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Globalization, Coverage of
Havas
Hong Kong
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International Herald Tribune
International Journalism
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New World Information and
Communication Order (NWICO)
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Newspaper Types

Advocacy Newspapers
Alternative and Underground Newspapers
Broadsheet Newspapers
Free Newspapers
Student Journalism
Tabloid Newspapers
Weekly Newspapers

Online Journalism

Blogs and Bloggers
Chat Rooms

Classified Advertising
Computers in Journalism
Convergence
Desktop Publishing
Digital Journalism Tools
Discussion Boards
Distribution, Online
Editing, Online and Digital
Internet Impact on Media
News Aggregators
Podcasting
Reporters, Online
Social Network Websites
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Academic Associations
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Editors' Organizations
Electronic Media Organizations
Foundations, Research Centers, and Institutes
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Investigative Journalism Organizations
Labor Unions
News Councils
Photo Agencies
Publishers' Organizations
Reporters' Organizations
Special Interest Journalism Organizations
U.S. International Communications
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Political Communications

Advocacy Groups
Cartoonists, Political
Congress and Journalism
Election Coverage
Equal Time
First Amendment
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Government, Federal, Coverage of
Government, State and Local, Coverage, of
News Conferences
Political Action Committees
Political Reporters
Presidential Families, Coverage of
Presidential Scandals, Coverage of
Presidents, Coverage of
Press and Government Relations
Press Pools
Satirists, Political
Spin
Supreme Court and Journalism
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Processes and Routines of Journalism

Agenda Setting
Automation
Diffusion
Digital Journalism Tools
Distribution
Distribution, Online
Editing, Newspaper
Editing, Online and Digital
Electronic News Gathering
Framing
Freelance Writers and Stringers
Graphics
Labor Unions
Layout
Magazine Design
News Hole
News Syndication
Newspaper Design
Newsprint
Printing
Recording
Satellite News Gathering
Sound Bites

Radio

ABC News
Agriculture Journalism, Electronic
Air America
Audio and Video News Services
British Broadcasting Corporation
British Broadcasting Regulation
British Commercial News Broadcasting
CBS News
Commentators, Radio
Community Radio
Digital Sound
Electronic Media Organizations
Equal Time
Federal Communications Commission
Foreign Correspondents, Electronic
Mutual Broadcasting System
National Public Radio

NBC News
Newscasters, Radio
Pacifica Radio
Podcasting
Public Radio Journalism
Recording
Reporters, Radio
Rip-and-Read News
Shortwave Radio
Simulcasting
Sportscasters, Radio
Streaming Media
Talk and News Radio

Technology

Automation
Blogs and Bloggers
Cables, Undersea
Cable Television
Chat Rooms
Computers in Journalism
Convergence
Desktop Publishing
Digital Journalism Tools
Digital Photography
Digital Sound
Digital Television
Discussion Boards
Distribution, Online
Electronic News Gathering
Facsimile
Graphics
Internet Impact on Media
News Aggregators
Newsprint
Photography
Podcasting
Printing
Recording
Satellite News Gathering
Shortwave Radio
Streaming Media
Telegraph
Telephone
Teletype
Type and Typography
Videotex and Teletext

Television

ABC News
Agriculture Journalism, Electronic
Anchors, Television
British Broadcasting Corporation
British Broadcasting Regulation
British Commercial News Broadcasting
Cable Television
CBS News
Commentators, Television
Digital Television
Docudrama
Documentaries, Television
Electronic Media Organizations
Electronic Newsgathering
Equal Time
Evening News, Television
Facsimile
Foreign Correspondents, Electronic
Fox News
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National Public Radio
NBC News
Producers
Public Broadcasting Service
Public Television Journalism
Reporters, Television
Satellite News Gathering
Simulcasting
Sound Bites
Sportscasters, Television
Streaming Media
Tabloid Television
Television News Magazines
Video News Release
Videotex and Teletext

About the General Editor

Christopher H. Sterling is Professor of Media and Public Affairs and of Public Policy and Public Administration at The George Washington University (GW). He earned his B.S. (political science, 1965) and M.S. and Ph.D (both in communication, 1967 and 1969, respectively) from the University of Wisconsin–Madison. He has been an academic for four decades and has served as a member of the GW faculty since 1982. He directed the university's former graduate telecommunication program from 1984 to 1994, and again from 2001 to 2003. He served as associate dean for graduate affairs in the arts and sciences from 1994 to 2001. Before coming to GW, he served as a special assistant to one of the members of the Federal Communications Commission from 1980 to 1982. Through the 1970s, he was on the communications faculty at Temple University in Philadelphia.

Dr. Sterling's primary research interests focus on the history of and policy for both electronic media and telecommunications. With several books still forthcoming, he has authored or edited some 25 monographs since the first appeared in 1973. He was general editor of a three-volume and multi-author *Encyclopedia of Radio* (2004), and the more recent *Military Communications: From Ancient Times to the 21st Century* (2007), a one-volume encyclopedia on that topic. He edits *Communication Booknotes Quarterly* and serves on the editorial boards of six scholarly journals. Among his recent books are *Sounds of Change: A History of FM Broadcasting in America* (co-author, 2008) and *Shaping American Telecommunications: A History of Technology, Policy, and Economics* (co-author, 2006). Among his earlier monographs are *Stay Tuned: A History of American Broadcasting* (co-author, 3rd ed., 2002), *The Focal Guide to Electronic Media* (CD-ROM editor, 1998), and *Broadcasting in America: A Survey of Electronic Media* (co-author with others, several editions). Sterling has also contributed articles to many scholarly books and journals (among them is "Pioneering Risk: Lessons from the U.S. Teletext/Videotex Failure" in the *IEEE Annals of the History of Computing*, 2006), as well as literally hundreds of encyclopedia entries and essays.

About the Key Documents Editor

Glenn Lewis is Director of the Bachelor of Arts in Journalism Degree Program and Professor of English at York College of the City University of New York (CUNY). He initiated and designed the curriculum and wrote or revamped all courses. The BA in Journalism was successfully launched in fall 2008 and includes concentrations in News Writing and Reporting, Broadcast Journalism, and Book and Magazine Publishing. Lewis had previously served for over 20 years as the Coordinator of the Journalism Minor he created and Faculty Advisor to the student publication that won dozens of major college newspaper awards during his tenure.

Lewis is also Professor of Journalism at the CUNY Graduate School of Journalism. He was a member of the founding Curriculum Committee and Admissions Committee in 2005 and currently serves on the Governance Council. Lewis teaches Feature Writing at the Journalism School and wrote the original syllabus. He also teaches narrative journalism and contributed to the creation of that course as well. Lewis wrote and teaches special seminars for the institution's January Academy in Non-Fiction Book Writing and Freelance Writing.

Lewis is a veteran journalist and author who has published scores of articles on media, journalism, sports, business, and societal trends. His work has appeared in numerous publications, including *Publishers Weekly, Sport, Car & Driver, GEO, Sunday Daily News, Family Weekly,* and *Philadelphia Inquirer*. Lewis contributed a series of profiles on legendary journalists to *Library Journal* that included interviews with Walter Cronkite, Jim Lehrer, David Halberstam, Betty Friedan, Studs Terkel, and others. He is currently an on-air journalism and media expert for Fox News television, online, and radio.

As an author, Lewis wrote a popular health and advice book with a model from the Ford Agency that was published by Henry Holt and Company. He also co-created the critically acclaimed Southside Sluggers Baseball Mysteries series for Simon & Schuster. Lewis was President and Creative Director of Book Smart, Inc., a book packaging company that developed projects in the adult trade, reference, and juvenile market.

Lewis has an MA in Creative Writing from City College of New York, CUNY.

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Introduction

Daily, hourly, and moment-to-moment journalism permeates nearly everyone's life. In ways most of us take for granted, journalism shapes perceptions of local communities and the world. Whether one tunes into National Public Radio's *Morning Edition* or NBC's *Today* show, follows news events on Internet sites, or reads a daily newspaper or weekly news magazine, journalism weaves through and often defines our days. Indeed, in these early years of the twenty-first century, journalism has become such a massive and ubiquitous process and business, so omnipresent, that it is hard to tell where it begins and ends.

Journalism's many impacts are pervasive across society. The role of news media in political communication—to take but one obvious example—is hard to precisely define because it is such a huge part of the process of both running for office and holding it. Yet even aside from politics, journalism is controversial because it is the messenger bearing both good and bad news on matters of public importance. Debates over hard and soft news, or left- or right-leaning editorial positions, are indicators of journalism's central role in so many things.

The process and content of journalism has been transformed many times in the past by technical breakthroughs, though perhaps never so fundamentally as since the mid-1990s with the rise and near domination of the Internet. Indeed, some have compared instant home and office access to worldwide resources to the fundamental changes wrought by invention of printing with moveable type. Four hundred years later, another dramatic transformation came with the spread of telegraph lines across land and under the sea. And early in the twentieth century, the rise of wireless services began to again transform the process of gathering and reporting news.

Using the Encyclopedia

This encyclopedia surveys the state of journalism at the end of the twenty-first century's first decade. The first four volumes contain some 360 entries ranging in length from 1,000 to 4,000 words, arranged by topic heading from A to Z. Each includes both cross-references and sources for further information and is signed by its author (who are listed with their affiliations on pp. xxi–xxv). The Reader's Guide on pages xiii–xviii is one good entry point to the information gathered here.

The focus of the entries is on the gathering, editing, reporting, and distribution of news. As will be evident, our emphasis is on American media and practice, with some reference to other nations. The encyclopedia has been designed to present a comprehensive analysis of all aspects of journalism—including the trends, issues, concepts, individuals, institutions, media outlets, and events that go into making journalism a pivotal part of contemporary media—and our political, cultural, and social life.

Coverage ranges from entries on specific countries or regions surveying the development and current state of journalism in each, to others focused on the major types of news media publications and programs (with many examples), and specific media markets. There are numerous entries about journalism's changing technologies, legal and ethical issues, education and training for journalism, the processes and routines of journalism, ownership and industry economics, and the audiences for news. While the encyclopedia does not emphasize history, sufficient background is presented to provide context for each entry.

Perhaps surprisingly, you will find no entries on individuals. Given the breadth of journalism, we decided early on to deal with categories of relevant

people, providing many brief biographies as examples of each. These broad categories include publishers, editors, many different types of reporters, television anchors, interviewers, photojournalists, columnists, commentators, and sportscasters, among others. A few people will show up more than once given the variety in their careers. Nor will you find individual entries on most publications (there are a few exceptions) as we deal with important newspapers within the individual market entries (e.g., *The Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel* under Milwaukee). Finally, there are no how-to-do-it entries as there are textbooks aplenty for that aspect of journalism.

At the end of each of the four A-to-Z volumes, you will find a comprehensive index, comprising the content of all six volumes.

The fifth volume provides a carefully selected and annotated collection of documents of importance to journalism past and present. Edited by Glenn Lewis of York College and the CUNY Graduate School of Journalism, these materials are designed for independent use on their own, as well as supporting materials found in the first four volumes.

The sixth and final volume includes a listing of journalism awards and prizes, a section devoted to journalism freedom in the last 30 years, and an extensive subject-divided and annotated bibliography on all aspects of journalism.

Acknowledgments

Getting a project of this scope into your hands depended on the efforts of many individuals. Thanks go first to Margaret Seawell, then the communications editor for Sage, who approached me to take on this editorial task. Although we had worked well together before (for a different publisher), I resisted her offer due to the scope and breadth of what she proposed, my own lack of knowledge about many aspects of journalism, and the several projects already on my plate. On her retirement, however, Rolf Janke, head of Sage's reference division, persuaded me and has been hugely supportive since. And his optimism has been a great support during the thin times any such project goes through.

Making a decision that was central for the project, Rolf contracted with Valerie Tomaselli's MTM Publishing in New York City to handle the huge administrative and editing jobs central to a multivolume encyclopedia project. Valerie and her experienced team have been an absolute delight to work with. Indeed, the multiyear task of developing this encyclopedia could not have been accomplished at all without the vital roles each of them played. For the first year (until he departed to head the reference division of a major university press), Paul Schellinger, with whom I had worked on a previous radio encyclopedia, played a key role in helping us determine how best to shape the encyclopedia to cover a vast field with a limited number of entries. Valerie's New York–based team of Zach Gajewski (who handled all the massive correspondence and kept track of who was doing what and when), Tim Anderson (a solid editor who saved us from multiple gaffes), and Hilary Poole (whose editorial experience with other encyclopedias surely helped this one) all worked well together and with the many authors and me to develop these volumes. I genuinely enjoyed working with this team—they know their business.

Our advisory board provided vital early service with their invaluable advice on developing the list of entry head words (and writing some of them), on suggesting potential entry authors, and on helping to evaluate many of the entry drafts. Their many areas of specialization helped fill in my own background. Among them, Chuck Whitney made the pioneering effort at getting the project started and beginning to shape its content. Mark Feldstein, Christine Ogan, and Barbi Zelizer were especially helpful in identifying potential authors. Many of our advisors also served as authors of one or more entries. And several helped back up the editorial process by reading and commenting on subjects within the manuscript they knew well—these included Donald Browne, Robert Trager, and Silvio Waisbord. Although not a member of the advisory group, Brian Winston played an essential role in rounding up authors for our several entries on British journalism.

Our many individual entry authors were nearly always pictures of patience with our editing and questions. Rex Martin (Bowie State University, Maryland) stands out as particularly helpful, even picking up and writing several "orphan" entries at the last moment when we could give him little time to do the job.

—Christopher H. Sterling
Washington, D.C.

Key Documents Introduction

The job of every journalist is essentially to become an "instant expert" on the subject he or she plans to report on or write about. This is a far cry from becoming a "true expert" on a subject—someone with all the answers, a mantle of authority, and a thorough mastery of an area. The instant expert aims to pick up just enough to comprehend the roots of a story, perhaps the jargon of an industry, and the core issues in play. Then they use this knowledge to form cogent questions.

In the scheme of the *Encyclopedia of Journalism,* Volume 5—Key Documents—plays the role of instant expert, while Volumes I through IV assume the burden of the true expert. The first four volumes contain the collected wisdom of scholars in myriad articles on every aspect of journalism. This volume more pointedly attempts to identify, and shed light on, specific selected documents that best raise fundamental questions about journalism and media. In essence, these documents take researchers back to the source to see where a dialogue on the practical aspects of the field must begin.

The real challenge for Volume 5 is to mount a substantial, revealing examination of the building blocks of journalism without overwhelming the reader. The first step, as in journalism itself, is to consider the needs and interests of the audience—journalism students, teachers, veteran reporters and editors, and researchers. These Volume 5 users are most concerned about the relevant foundations, current practices and prospective future of journalism revealed in four sections here: Journalism, Media, and the Law; Codes of Ethics/Newsroom Policies and Standards; Journalism Education: Preparation for Change; and Data on the Status and Practice of Journalism.

The representative sampling of documents for each section—especially Journalism, Media, and the Law—were painstakingly chosen. There are many traditional areas of journalism or media law with long histories and reams of law that has developed over the years through federal and state legislation and court decisions. This reservoir of media law rapidly continues to deepen as the journalism landscape evolves.

The advent of the Internet and growth in digital media present prime examples of innovation pushing the expansion of media law. There is a slew of regulatory legislation and intellectual property law already connected to online or electronic journalism, with more on the horizon. These newer segments of media law have a profound impact on the practice of journalism going forward. The same can be said for First Amendment law connected to clear and present danger, prior restraint and libel—and matters of privacy, freedom of information, and a reporter's privilege to withhold information. In each of these areas, legal experts weighed in on the landmark cases to include.

Volume 5 begins with the premise that journalists must first understand both the source of their legal limits and the rights they depend on. It then moves on to the self-imposed rules of journalism organizations and individual news outlets designed to protect the integrity of a profession often under attack. Section II looks to the most respected news organizations for the codes of ethics, newsroom policies, and standards of behavior that have become the benchmarks for the industry. It also serves to alert newer journalists to meaningful changes affecting different mediums and beats, including business, medical, education, and entertainment reporting.

Change has become the operative word in the world of journalism and every journalist's career seems to hinge on staying ahead of the curve. As a result, the topic of journalism education—and re-education—is paramount and merits a section of

its own here. Missions and curriculum from a number of the top journalism schools in the country, preceded by the accreditation standards they must meet, give readers a sense of what is being taught. White papers on the needs of the media in the future also paint journalism education as an engine for change.

The last section of Volume 5 presents a wealth of data and respected surveys to measure the current status of journalism in the eyes of the public and telling patterns about the business itself. Information on audience research shows the mediums with growth potential and those losing traction. A look at the Internet's impact on the media illuminates the benefits it provides for reporting, as well as the burden it imposes on the industry to make online journalism profitable. There are straightforward assessments of journalism employment and the progress of minorities and women in the profession. Finally, coverage of major trends in journalism suggest how journalists have changed what they report, the way they report it and their relationship with news consumers.

One of the chief challenges for Volume 5 was to make these lengthy, often dense, documents manageable without lessening their value. The goal here is to keep as much of the original documents and their intent as possible without sacrificing accessibility. As a result, this volume relies on a "key documents" approach. This means that some original documents appear in complete form, while other entries have been excerpted, adapted or perhaps repackaged. In several instances, this involves opting for executive summaries or collected findings taken straight from the original document. Dr. Consuella Askew, the managing editor, was instrumental in the design of sections, finding the most desirable documents, and helping adapt many of them for use.

The introductions for the sections and documents have also been designed with a specific, direct approach in mind. They begin by determining what is being addressed and how it came about. The volume editor then puts the subjects into a broader journalistic context and gives insight into how the journalist might apply the information on the job. In the end, the hope is to breathe life into the documents, and give journalists and researchers a deeper appreciation for the workings of journalism.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

A

ABC News

The weakest of the three legacy broadcasting networks for several decades, the American Broadcasting Company's (ABC) news division has since the 1970s become a serious contender in network news competition. Building on a fairly weak foundation, news division director Roone Arledge helped develop ABC News into a ratings powerhouse. Time and again, ABC has made effective use of journalists who had built their initial reputation at either CBS or NBC.

Radio Origins

ABC came into being as the Blue Network in 1943, the result of a U.S. Supreme Court decision that broke up NBC's longtime ownership of two radio networks. Blue was sold by NBC to Edward J. Noble, who had made his fortune with Life Saver candies. In 1945, the Blue Network changed its name to the American Broadcasting Company. The radio network was the first to break the national network ban on use of recordings on the air. As the fledgling network lacked the funding to enter television networking, in 1953 the company was taken over by Paramount Theaters under the direction of Leonard Goldenson. Beginning in the late 1950s, ABC fed hourly newscasts to its affiliates five minutes before the hour.

Over the years, the network enjoyed the work of a number of distinguished journalists. Raymond Graham Swing (1887–1968) was one of them, broadcasting Blue Network and then ABC News until 1947, sharing time with Elmer Davis (1890–1958). After a long career, including heading a government information agency during the war, Davis spent his last decade providing news and comment on ABC, offering liberal views and editorials against the communist witch hunts of Senator Joseph McCarthy. Paul Harvey (1918–2009) began his long radio network career on ABC in 1951 and was still on the air with his *Paul Harvey News and Comment* broadcast from Chicago more than a half century later.

A major boost for ABC radio came in early 1968, when the radio network broke away from the traditional network model of a single feed to the same affiliates. ABC radio was divided into four distinct programming services, sharing a single network telephone line to keep costs down. ABC had received permission to do this from the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), which allowed the move as long as only one of the four services was on the air at a time. One of them, the American Information Network, focused on providing news and feature programming and ran its primary newscast at the top of the hour. The other three services, including the first national network built around FM stations, carried their shorter newscasts at different times each hour. When satellite delivery became possible in the 1980s, further services were added.

Only two of these—including the American Information Network—were still operating by the middle years of the first decade of the twenty-first century. Both received what was by then called ABC News Radio service from news division bureaus in New York, Washington, and Los

Angeles, broadcast on the hour (the FCC's limit on simultaneous programming had been dropped in the late 1970s). The American Information Network provided slightly longer stories and more emphasis on world news. In addition, sound bites and premade reporter packages were fed to affiliates for their own use by both satellite and a dedicated website. All told, more than 4,000 radio stations carried ABC newscasts to 100 million listeners a week.

Early TV News

ABC was a weak television ratings contender for years in a world dominated by CBS and NBC. It took time to obtain sufficient affiliate stations to place a decent television network signal over much of the country, something CBS and NBC enjoyed years earlier. During the 1950s, veteran journalist John Charles Daly headed the small network news operation, also anchoring the brief evening television newscast.

ABC gained some notice with its full-time coverage of 36 days (187 hours) of the controversial Army–McCarthy Senate hearings in the spring of 1954 (only the DuMont network also covered the hearings—CBS and NBC stayed with their lucrative daytime soap operas). News director Fritz Littlejohn, who had joined ABC in 1945 when it barely had a news operation, insisted on the "gavel to gavel" live coverage and his argument won the day given ABC's weak daytime program lineup.

In 1960, ABC won the right to televise the last two (of four) debates between presidential candidates Richard Nixon and John F. Kennedy. After Kennedy entered the White House, former President Dwight Eisenhower's press secretary, James Hagerty, became the head of ABC News. In various posts, he would stay for 15 years. Among his early hires was CBS newsman Howard K. Smith (1914–2002), who had fallen out with the leadership of his network. In 1962, Smith joined ABC and soon produced a documentary on "The Political Obituary of Richard Nixon," which created considerable controversy (and turned out to be premature when Nixon was elected President six years later). Smith would briefly serve as one of several anchors of the network's evening newscast before moving on to commentary.

Network chief Leonard Goldenson overruled his news division rarely—but in 1962 he intervened so as to allow independent film producer David Wolper's "The Making of the President 1960" documentary (based on a best-selling book) to air. Wolper (1928–) went on to make other well-received documentary programs for ABC, which again was a leader in breaking down the longtime shared network policy of not airing news or documentary programs made outside the network itself. For years, Wolper gave the network first refusal on his productions.

Former CBS and NBC news executive Elmer Lower (1913–) moved to ABC in 1963 to take charge of day-to-day news operations, reporting to Hagerty. When he began, ABC spent about $5 million on news while its two competitors spent six times that—each. In his 11 years in the post, ABC news expanded from 250 to 750 employees, including future news stars Peter Jennings and Sam Donaldson, among others. Lower also changed network coverage of the political conventions from a full-time affair to a 90-minute evening wrap-up summary.

In early 1986, Capital Cities purchased ABC for $3.5 billion, renaming it Capital Cities/ABC. A decade later the network was taken over by the Disney Studios.

Evening News

John Daly anchored ABC's 15-minute evening newscast for its first seven years from 1953 to 1960, though he was also hosting a game show on rival CBS at the same time. For news film the network relied on Fox Movietone, which served movie theaters with weekly newsreels, and Hearst Telenews. The network had few reporters of its own; much of the news script came directly off the news agency tickers, and viewing audiences were tiny. After Daly left, a variety of people came and went as anchors of the nightly evening news program.

Peter Jennings (1938–2005), who would become something of an iron man at ABC, spent two very different periods in New York, separated by distinguished reporting from overseas, especially the Middle East. Born in Canada as the son of a Canadian Broadcasting Corporation official, Jennings got his start as a radio journalist. He anchored a Canadian network's newscast for two years before joining ABC as a reporter in 1964 (they did not know he was a high school dropout).

He began anchoring ABC's *Peter Jennings with the News* starting in February 1965 (for all of $39,000 a year) when he was only 28 and had little reporting experience. He was up against the older and far more experienced Walter Cronkite at CBS and the duo of Chet Huntley and David Brinkley at NBC. That he was appointed at all says a good deal about the limited options ABC then offered television journalism and its thin bench of reportorial talent. But it also represented the network's clear emphasis on appealing to a youthful audience. To get more experience abroad, he left the anchor chair in late 1967. The network had just extended the evening news program to a half hour, matching the change made four years earlier by CBS and NBC.

What became the *ABC Evening News* then worked through a steady change of anchors, some working solo, others as part of a pair or, briefly, a trio of anchors. Washington reporter Frank Reynolds (1923–83) became senior anchor from the nation's capital. Max Robinson, the first black network anchor (1939–88), co-anchored from Chicago. But few seemed to click with viewers. The 1976 hire of Barbara Walters (1929–) from her post at the NBC *Today* show was front-page news both because she was a woman in what was then very much a man's world (she was the first female news co-anchor for any network), and for her reputed $1 million salary. For two years, she teamed with veteran newsman Harry Reasoner (1923–91) to anchor the evening news before shifting to other programs.

The watershed change for ABC News that shifted it from also-ran to a serious journalistic operation came in 1977. Roone Arledge (1931–2002), ABC's longtime director of sports coverage, was also given the news division in 1977, the first person to head both such units at a network. Arledge sought to hire established network stars from CBS and NBC and brightened the news programs with more—and more effective—use of graphics (drawing on his sports background). He was both brilliant and difficult, from all accounts, as he struggled with a limited but growing budget to build a viable news team from those on board, and others he would soon hire. Arledge would run ABC News for two decades, giving way only in mid-1998 to David Westin.

Peter Jennings returned as one of a trio of evening news anchors in 1978, reporting from London. He was named sole anchor (from New York) of *World News Tonight* in September 1983. For eight years in the 1990s, his program came in ahead of its CBS and NBC competition in audience ratings. Jennings became a U.S. citizen in 2003, and continued anchoring until he fell ill with cancer, leaving the program in April 2005. After briefly experimenting with several young anchors, Charles Gibson (1943–), longtime co-host of the network's *Good Morning America* program, took the chair for *World News Tonight* in mid-2006, three decades after he had first joined the network as a reporter.

Other News Programs

ABC News gained considerable attention through 1980 by covering the Iran hostage crisis with a nightly broadcast *America Held Hostage,* talking about the dozens of hostages taken by angry "student" protesters from the American embassy in Teheran, Iran. As the program's anchor, Ted Koppel (1940–) soon demonstrated his ability to conduct insightful interviews. After the hostages were released at the beginning of the Reagan administration in 1981, the network decided to continue the late night program as *Nightline,* and Koppel remained its host for another 25 years. Often providing news-making interviews, *Nightline* ranged over a wide variety of topics.

Known for a willingness to experiment, the news division under Arledge created many of the network's most enduring—if not most distinguished—programs. Among them are two long-running news magazines. The first was *20/20,* which began in 1978 and was initially hosted by network veteran Hugh Downs (1921–) and Barbara Walters, airing two nights a week. *PrimeTime* began in 1989, anchored by longtime ABC stalwart Sam Donaldson (1934–) and Diane Sawyer (1945–), who had been hired away from CBS. The program originally featured interviews and other live segments, but within a few years melded into a regular magazine format. Both programs strayed from the hard news tradition of the network news division, focusing more—as did other network magazine programs—on stories of personality, crime, and other tabloid topics.

Longtime journalist David Brinkley (1920–2003), feeling underutilized at NBC, moved to ABC in 1981 and took up a variety of news and commentary

roles. He began hosting *This Week with David Brinkley,* a Sunday newsmaker interview program from Washington. It became simply *This Week* when Brinkley retired in 1996. By the early 2000s, the program was hosted by former Clinton administration staffer George Stephanopoulos (1961–).

Changing Technology

Seemingly always strapped for sufficient funding, ABC News was rarely a pioneer user of expensive new technologies. It adopted the use of videotape and color transmission after its competitors.

By the middle years of the first decade of the twenty-first century, ABC NewsOne was the network's affiliate news service. It provided regional, national, and international news to ABC affiliates and foreign networks. ABC News Now was ABC's 24/7 news channel available online and from other sources such as mobile phones. A news brief containing information relevant to college students was shown every hour on MtvU. ABC News segments were packaged or customized for broadcast over Wal-Mart's in-store television network. Its "i-Caught" website encouraged viewers to upload video of newsworthy items, celebrity sightings, or amusing ephemera. In 2006, ABC News Radio initiated an Internet-delivered FM news service aimed especially at younger audiences. And ABC News offered both RSS feeds and podcasts.

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See also Anchors, Television; Cable News; CBS News; Commentators, Radio; Commentators, Television; Documentaries, Television; Evening News, Television; Foreign Correspondents, Electronic; Fox News; Morning News; Mutual Broadcasting System; NBC News; Newscasters, Radio; Recording; Reporters, Radio; Reporters, Television; Television News Magazines

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Academic Accreditation

The Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications (ACEJMC) accredits about a quarter of all the journalism programs in the United States and one university outside the country. The council is recognized by the Council for Higher Education Accreditation (CHEA) to accredit programs for professional education in journalism and mass communications in four-year colleges and universities. It is the only accrediting agency in the United States for journalism and mass communications education.

The council's purpose is to foster and encourage excellence and high standards in professional education in journalism and mass communications. The council establishes educational requirements and standards and provides a process of voluntary program reviews by professionals and academicians, awarding accredited status to units that meet its standards. In this role, the council assures students, parents, journalism and mass communications professionals, and the public that accredited programs meet rigorous standards for professional education.

Accreditation is intended to serve students, parents, faculty, employers, universities, and the public by seeking continued improvement in the quality of instruction in journalism and mass

communications through an on-site evaluation every six years.

Development

The structure for evaluating and accrediting journalism and mass communications programs was established in 1945, when the American Council on Education in Journalism was formed. Its name was changed to the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications in 1980. The council originally was an association of journalism educators and newspaper organizations. Its membership was later broadened to include national and international associations representing newspapers, broadcasting, advertising, public relations, professional societies, and education in journalism and mass communications.

Accrediting standards are continually reviewed. In 1984, the council had a significant change in its standards. Before that year, schools were evaluated on nine standards. The new 12 standards adopted in 1984 included a commitment to diversity and inclusiveness. Schools were required to have a written diversity plan by 1990. Programs also were asked to develop curricula and instruction that educate faculty and prepare students with the multicultural knowledge, values, and skills essential for professional practice. Accreditation site teams apply this standard in compliance with applicable federal and state laws and regulations.

In 2003, the council underwent another review of its standards. Several pairs of standards topics were collapsed. For example, "Standard 2: Budget" and "Standard 8: Equipment/Facilities" were combined into one resources standard. One new standard, Assessment of Learning Outcomes, was added, resulting in a set of nine standards. This change became effective for accreditation visits during the 2005 to 2006 academic year.

The Assessment of Learning Outcomes requires schools to develop a plan to assess whether students are acquiring the core knowledge, values, and competencies that journalism and mass communications programs seek to teach. Schools must collect the data and use the findings to improve the school's curriculum and instruction. Grade analysis, student performance in contests, internships, capstone courses, portfolio reviews, and alumni surveys are some examples of areas where outcomes can be measured. Schools were required to have written plans for the assessment of educational outcomes by September 2003.

Despite its emphasis on professional education, the council always has embraced the value of a liberal arts and sciences curriculum as the essential foundation for professional education in journalism and mass communications. As part of the 2003 standards review, the council adopted 11 professional values and competencies. They say, "Individual professions in journalism and mass communications may require certain specialized values and competencies. Irrespective of their particular specialization, all graduates should be aware of certain core values and competencies."

The 11 core professional values and competencies are as follows:

1. Understand and apply the principles and laws of freedom of speech and press, including the right to dissent, to monitor and criticize power, and to assemble and petition for redress of grievances;
2. Demonstrate an understanding of the history and role of professionals and institutions in shaping communications;
3. Demonstrate an understanding of diversity of groups in a global society in relationship to communications;
4. Understand concepts and apply theories in the use and presentation of images and information;
5. Demonstrate an understanding of professional ethical principles and work ethically in pursuit of truth, accuracy, fairness, and diversity;
6. Think critically, creatively, and independently;
7. Conduct research and evaluate information by methods appropriate to the communications professions in which they work;
8. Write correctly and clearly in forms and style appropriate for the communications professions, audiences, and purposes they serve;
9. Critically evaluate their own work and that of others for accuracy and fairness, clarity, appropriate style, and grammatical correctness;

10. Apply basic numerical and statistical concepts;
11. Apply tools and technologies appropriate for the communications professions in which they work.

Before the nine standards were adopted in 2003, the diversity standard was most often judged out of compliance by teams visiting schools to determine accreditation (or renewal of same). Insufficient diversity in faculty and student bodies and insufficient coverage of diversity issues in curricula were problematic. In 2003, the council published "Diversity: Best Practices," a handbook designed to help schools meet the diversity standard. The manual described successful diversity initiatives already in place in schools. In the 2007–08 visit cycle, only one school out of 17 was judged out of compliance on the diversity standard. However, no school lost its accreditation because it failed the diversity standard.

The assessment standard has been the one most often judged in noncompliance since 2003. In 2007–08, eight schools out of 17 or nearly half were judged out of compliance with the assessment standard. Problems most often occur when schools do not meet the schedule for collecting assessment data or implementing changes to the curriculum based on those findings.

On the graduate level, the council evaluates only professional, not academic, master's programs. The council does not evaluate PhD programs or other graduate and undergraduate programs that are designed as preparation for academic careers or that provide nonprofessional education. A professional master's degree program in journalism and mass communications is one that prepares students to

- meet the council's basic competencies, with the added competency of contributing to knowledge appropriate to the profession.
- think intelligently, strategically, and critically about the fundamental and complex social and cultural issues of the profession.
- master the skills and responsibilities of the profession with grounding in professional experience.
- perform the profession's roles ethically.

Up to 2006, graduate and undergraduate programs were both evaluated at the same time by a visiting team. Now, accrediting teams make a separate recommendation for the accreditation status of the graduate program. It is possible that a team could recommend a different status for a school's undergraduate program and its professional master's degree program. Accrediting teams also write a separate summary for each of the nine standards for graduate programs.

The Accrediting Council

ACEJMC has 35 members representing professionals and educators. Three of its members have no affiliation with journalism and mass communications and represent the public. The council's president and vice president are a professional and educator respectively.

The council elects an Accrediting Committee composed of 15 journalism and mass communications educators and industry representatives. The majority of the committee members, as well as the chair and vice chair, are educators. The committee meets each spring to make its recommendations based on the reports prepared by visiting teams.

The council can make one of three decisions: accreditation, provisional, or denial. A school may receive provisional accreditation or reaccreditation when the council has found weaknesses that can be corrected in a relatively short time. Provisional accreditation or reaccreditation is for two years. When the council recommends provisional reaccreditation, the program loses no rights or privileges of accreditation. However, if a school receives a provisional decision on an initial visit, it lacks accredited status until the provisional restriction is removed.

The council makes the final decisions on the accreditation status for the schools under review. Accrediting teams may recommend accreditation, the committee may recommend provisional accreditation, and the council can vote to accredit the program. The council considers the teams and committee recommendations very seriously but does have the final vote in all accreditation decisions.

Unlike other accrediting agencies, the council and its committee conduct all business in open meetings. School representatives may attend the meetings to observe and to respond to questions

from committee and council members. The council had its first open meeting in 1988. The council also releases accreditation team reports to the public upon request.

Interest in journalism and mass communications accreditation remains strong. A major indicator is its growth. In 1986, the council had accredited 86 departments and schools; two decades later, there were 112. Currently, an additional 19 schools are working toward initial accreditation. When schools lose accreditation, whether by lack of compliance or lack of resources, parents and students voice the greatest concerns. The programs continue and many offer excellent educational opportunities, as do many schools that opt not to apply for accreditation.

The process of self-examination and peer review provides valued returns from multiple perspectives. Many administrators believe accreditation aids in fundraising efforts. Accreditation is widely viewed as the high mark of standard, thereby enhancing reputation—a factor when parents and prospective students are choosing a program. Several prestigious scholarships, internships, and competitive prizes are only available to students of accredited programs. Practitioners seeking entry-level hires know accredited programs prepare students with a solid professional education.

Susanne Shaw

See also Academic Associations; Criticism of Journalism; Education, Journalism

Further Readings

ACEJMC Accredited Programs, 2008–2009. http://www2.ku.edu/~acejmc/student/proglist.shtml.

ACEJMC (The Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications) Online Information Center. http://www2.ku.edu/~acejmc.

Academic Associations

With some organizations dating back to the World War I period, a variety of academic associations have helped to shape academic journalism and mass communication programs in the United States for nearly a century. Their interests often overlap but they center on sharing and improving methods of teaching and research into all aspects of journalism. They also reflect trends in the development of American academic teaching and research in mass communication.

Developing Media Education

College and university-level study of mass communication in the United States grew out of courses and programs in many fields, chiefly English and speech, sociology and political science, and later psychology. Other subjects, including management and law, were also contributors. While mass communication education and research in some universities dates to the 1930s, major growth took place only after World War II. By the 1950s, as media programs spread to more schools, a degree of specialization was already evident—a trend which would intensify in later decades.

Over time, the study of "communication" divided into several large subtopics, proponents of which rarely bridged into other areas. These included, among others, speech, journalism, radio-television (or electronic media), mass communication, film studies (starting in the 1970s), and international and comparative studies. This splintering led in the 1960s and 1970s to more free-standing media programs, rather than those subsidiary to a legacy field (such as speech, English, or theater). Most journalism programs, for example, began with a focus on the news/editorial function of the newspaper press, and slowly expanded to incorporate photojournalism, magazines, radio and later television journalism, public relations and advertising, political communications (and news in other fields), sometimes documentary film and video, and, most recently (in the late 1990s), the online world.

A more fundamental divide (which is still evident) is that between practical and sometimes professional training and more theoretical liberal arts–based media education. Sometimes working well together, but in other cases at sword point in opposition, the two traditions grow from very different backgrounds. The professional approach appeared first, developing out of media business needs for trained personnel, and student interest in media careers as well as in actually using media.

Courses in newspaper reporting and editing, and in radio, television, and film production, for example, were important as far back as the 1930s in some places and remain very popular. So were courses in broadcast performance, which grew out of the speech tradition. The more broadly theoretical liberal arts approach, on the other hand, developed largely after World War II, growing out of developing media research in traditional academic fields, including sociology and psychology (media "effects") and political science (media policy and regulation), as well as in communication programs. All of these variations are evident in academic media associations.

Academic Media Associations

Academic associations typically form for several reasons. Faculty active in a field of study seek out like-minded colleagues to compare notes on teaching and research topics and funding. This leads to conferences, some focused on specific topics, others dealing more generally with a broad subject area. Conference panels, discussions, and papers are also a means of gaining recognition beyond a professor's own campus. Another key factor in association formation is to create one or more viable research journals, usually issued quarterly, that help to reflect and project the ways the field is developing. Associations are often at the forefront of introducing new material into programs—such as media ethics in the 1980s. Finally, academic associations help to create national standards, albeit many of them informal, of both teaching and research. The growth of individual academic programs is sometimes encouraged by associations—and they may, in turn, contribute to the expansion of associations on both a regional and national level.

Academic media associations exhibit the strengths and weaknesses of their academic fields, as well as the various specializations, and sometimes controversies, that develop within those fields. They also demonstrate different roles—some actively lead the process of academic change while others reflect trends in media education. The brief descriptions that follow, arranged by organization name, provide brief comment on the background and scope of the primary academic organizations concerned with some aspect of journalism, and active in the early twenty-first century.

Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications

The ACEJMC (http://www2.ku.edu/~acejmc) is the agency formally recognized by the Council for Higher Education Accreditation for accrediting programs for professional education in journalism and mass communications in colleges and universities. What began as the Joint Committee of Schools of Journalism in 1929 became the American Council on Education in Journalism in 1945, changing to its current name in 1980. Its membership now includes national and international associations representing newspapers, broadcasting, advertising, photo journalism, public relations, professional societies, and education in journalism and mass communications. It includes three public members who are not affiliated with either the journalism business or educational groups concerned with journalism. The ACEJMC develops standards by which programs can be comparatively assessed, and sends small teams to periodically evaluate those programs which invite such consideration. By the early 2000s, about a quarter of the 400 or so academic programs in journalism were accredited. (It should be noted that many programs of quality do not emphasize professional training, often stressing the liberal arts instead, and thus do not qualify for accreditation.)

American Journalism Historians Association

A good example of a niche academic group, the AJHA (http://ajhaonline.org) was founded in 1981, and exists to promote the teaching of (and research into) all aspects of print and electronic journalism history, including people, organizations, content, regulation, and impact. It publishes the research quarterly *American Journalism,* which publishes peer-reviewed articles in all these topics.

Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication

The primary academic association for those teaching journalism and mass communication, what is now the AEJMC (http://www.aejmc.org), was founded in 1912 as the American Association of Teachers of Journalism, when the academic field itself was only just getting started. While its title has changed several times, what is now the *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*

began publication in 1924. The association began issuing another quarterly, this one devoted to journalism education, in 1944 and a series of *Monographs* starting in 1966. In 1983, the association began to publish an annual directory of members and journalism programs. AEJMC features many divisions and interest groups that attest to its broad interests in all aspects of print and electronic journalism. They all develop panel sessions for the annual conventions and several publish their own journals. By the early 2000s, AEJMC had nearly 3,500 members.

Association of Schools of Journalism and Mass Communication

A spin-off of the AEJMC, this organization (http://asjmc.org) is made up primarily of the deans and directors of nearly 200 academic schools, departments, or programs of journalism in the United States. It was originally formed as the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism in 1917 and took its present name in 1984. As might be expected, its focus concerns the effective administration of academic journalism units (departments, programs, schools) and their improvement.

Black College Communication Association

The BCCA (http://www.bccanews.org/vnews/display.v) was reformed in 2001, having been originally established in the 1990s through a grant from the Freedom Forum. Its purview includes all forms of communications—from speech through mass media. The mission of BCCA is to identify resources necessary for strengthening communications programs at historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs); provide technical assistance to HBCUs seeking accreditation; and establish state-of-the-art hardware systems that can be shared by member institutions. BCCA provides technical assistance to 40 communications programs within the 105 HBCUs in the United States.

Broadcast Education Association

The Association for Professional Broadcasting Education (APBE, http://www.beaweb.org) was formed in 1955 to help developing radio-television programs to better coordinate their efforts—and to create a scholarly journal, which began as the *Journal of Broadcasting* in 1956. APBE became BEA in 1973 in an attempt to better represent those academic programs not focused on professional training. Its annual convention, held each spring in conjunction with the conference and massive technical exhibition of the National Association of Broadcasters, has grown from around 200 attendees in the early 1980s to over 1,200 two decades later. BEA began to publish what is now the twice-yearly *Journal of Radio and Audio Media* in 1998. One of its many divisions focuses specifically on journalism.

Council of Communication Associations

Recognizing the need to coordinate the plethora of related associations, the Council of Communication Associations (CCA, http://www.councilcomm.org) began to form in 1995 as an umbrella organization for seven different national or international communication associations (all are noted here with their own entries). CCA was created to enhance the mission and facilitate the activities of those associations, and to promote advancement of communication as an academic discipline. It is helping to develop a comprehensive directory of relevant research journals and doctoral programs, and has spearheaded the inclusion of the field of communication (for the first time) in the 2007 national decennial survey of doctoral studies conducted by the National Research Council.

International Association for Mass Communication Research

Formed in late 1957, and closely related to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the IAMCR's (http://www.iamcr.org) main aim is to facilitate exchanges of methods and findings between research institutes and to promote personal contacts among individual members—and to seek recognition for mass communication as a subject for independent scientific investigation. It holds a biennial convention in different world cities.

Its more than 2,500 members from some 70 different countries are drawn largely from the critical studies school of research in mass communication.

International Communication Association

Formed as the National Society for the Study of Communication in 1950, having grown from a dissident group within the Speech Association of America (see NCA, below) and beginning publication of the *Journal of Communication* a year later, this became ICA (http://www.icahdq.org) in a 1968 reorganization. From its inception, ICA has focused on research. Fifteen years after its formation, it had about 500 members, most focusing on organizational or mass communications. Another reorganization in 1974 led to the journal being edited by George Gerbner for many years, and a substantial focus on mass communication while two other journals with theoretical and quantitative methodology interests were begun at the same time. ICA now has several thousand members, and assisted in the publication of a 12-volume encyclopedia of the entire field in 2008.

Journalism Education Association

Of the groups listed in this entry, only JEA (http://www.jea.org) focuses on journalism education at the high school level. Founded in 1924, its more than 2,000 members in the early 2000s included high school journalism teachers and publications (newspaper and yearbook) advisers, media professionals, press associations, adviser organizations, libraries, yearbook publishing companies, newspapers, radio stations, and high school journalism programs. They represent the growing number of high school journalism programs, many of which include the publication of school newspapers. Its conferences focus on improving both.

National Communication Association

The National Association of Academic Teachers of Public Speaking, formed in 1914, was the first American communications-related academic association. Paralleling changes in academic research and teaching, it would go through five changes of name over the years, finally becoming the National Communication Association (http://www.natcom.org/nca/Template2.asp?sid=9) in the 1990s. While it has very broad interests (its divisions include those focused on rhetoric and public address, debate, and theater, for example) it has for many decades included one division focused on mass communication. Its major research journal, now *The Quarterly Journal of Speech,* has appeared under various titles since 1916. In 1984, it added to its several journals one that was focused on mass media, *Critical Studies in Mass Communication.* NCA has some 7,000 members, most of whom teach in and conduct research about speech and rhetoric.

Society for Cinema and Media Studies

Founded in 1959, SCMS (http://www.cmstudies.org/index.php?option=com_frontpage&Itemid=1) is a scholarly organization of college and university educators, filmmakers, historians, critics, scholars, and others devoted to the study of the moving image.

They are involved in various fields of study, including film or cinema studies, television studies, media studies, visual arts, broader cultural studies, film and media history, new media, and studies of the moving image. While its primary interest lies in the entertainment film, some of its work includes or even focuses on nonfiction, documentary, and journalistic cinema and television. SCMS publishes the quarterly *Cinema Journal.*

University Film and Video Association

Since 1947, the University Film Producers Association, now the UFVA (http://www.ufva.org), has developed into an organization of almost 800 professionals and institutions involved in the production and study of film, video, and other media arts. The UFVA is an international organization where media production and writing meets the history, theory, and criticism of the media. UFVA members include image-makers, artists, teachers, students, archivists, distributors, college departments, libraries, and manufacturers.

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See also Academic Accreditation; Foundations, Research Centers, and Institutes; Scholarly Journals

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Academic Journals

See Scholarly Journals

Access to Media

This entry concerns an individual's right to speak through privately owned media and the availability to the public of diverse views. It reviews the development of the concept of "access" to media and how that concept applies to print and electronic media. The increasing opportunities for journalists and others to contribute to what some call the "marketplace of ideas" raise a host of complex legal issues as well as concerns important to democratic deliberation.

The phrases "right to know" or "right to access media" do not appear in the U.S. Constitution, but they are not empty slogans. The Supreme Court, Congress, and federal regulators have all recognized the concept of listener or viewer rights and the importance of access to diverse sources of information in the large body of court decisions regarding the First Amendment, as well as in legislation and regulation requiring speaker access to certain media. While this entry focuses on access to media in the United States, this concept is also expressed in Article 19 of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), which states: "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression: this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers." Whether UN declarations, U.S. free speech jurisprudence, or media policies will or should change in an era of digital communication is the subject of considerable debate. And whether access to media is even salient as Internet communication becomes more available is also the subject of considerable debate.

In general, while the founders advanced the access of citizens to media by subsidizing the distribution of newspapers through the postal service, their concern was to make print publications available to the general public. Debate over the obligations of media owners to allow public access to their communications services did not begin until the federal government began to license broadcasters, and provide protections and impose limits regarding who controlled stations in a community. A very limited right of access would be applied to broadcasting and media distributing broadcast signals, such as cable and satellite. But arguments that similar access rights should be extended to print media would fail. The debate over access to media was informed by notions about "free speech" that developed in the early 1900s.

Early Free Speech Jurisprudence

Few Americans cited the First Amendment's prohibition of government abridgement of speech, or even proposed a right to access media for the first hundred years of U.S. legal history. The beginnings of free speech jurisprudence in the United States were not encouraging. For example, Thomas Patterson, a U.S. senator and newspaper publisher in Colorado, was charged with criminal contempt for criticizing a court decision in his home state that

reversed a Denver election. In *Patterson v. Colorado* (1907), the Supreme Court upheld the state court's ruling against Patterson. Writing for the majority, Oliver Wendell Holmes ruled that the First Amendment does not limit punishment for speech whether the speech is true or false. In another Holmes opinion, *Fox v. Washington* (1915), the Court upheld the conviction of a writer who had endorsed a boycott of opponents of nude bathing. And in 1919, Holmes wrote for a unanimous Court in *Schenck v. United States* (1919), ruling that it was illegal to distribute fliers opposing the draft during World War I because, as Holmes put it, Charles Schenck's leaflet was akin to "falsely shouting fire in a theatre and causing a panic" and was thus "a clear and present danger" to the public.

That same year, Holmes issued his famous dissent that many consider the birth of modern free speech jurisprudence regarding access to media. In *Abrams v. U.S.* (1919) the Court held that criticism of U.S. involvement in World War I was not protected by the First Amendment, because the leaflet at issue advocated a strike in weapons production and the violent overthrow of the government. Holmes argued that the "surreptitious publishing of a silly leaflet by an unknown man" did not present a clear and present danger. Although Holmes's reasoning in *Abrams,* focusing on the weak voice of the speaker, has been ignored by subsequent courts, this part of his dissent survives: "But when men have realized that time has upset many fighting faiths, they may come to believe even more than they believe the very foundations of their own conduct that the ultimate good desired is better reached by free trade in ideas—that the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market, and that truth is the only ground upon which their wishes safely can be carried out."

Holmes's views regarding a "free trade in ideas" would not be fully embraced by the Supreme Court for another 20 years. The U.S. Post Office would regularly confiscate mail it deemed objectionable from pacifists, birth control advocates, and the NAACP. Free speech jurisprudence would be advanced both by a very different Supreme Court dominated by Franklin Roosevelt appointments and by the emergence of a new medium that would challenge the newspaper industry's dominance of the marketplace of ideas.

Oliver Wendell Holmes circa 1907. Holmes's early-twentieth-century rulings and dissents from the Supreme Court would affect free speech issues long after his tenure on the Court.

Source: Library of Congress.

Early Broadcasting Regulation

A right to media access, a right to access the marketplace of ideas through a medium controlled by another private party, became salient in the United States with the beginnings of broadcasting. Understanding the history of both the unique licensing and commercial regime of broadcasting as they developed in the United States is important to understand the foundation for a right to access media.

The regulation of radio began in response to the sinking of the *Titanic*. The press provided the public sensational stories of the celebrities and millionaires who drowned or were saved by the heroic Marconi operators as they relayed messages to shore. Congress responded with the Radio Act of 1912, which required a federal license to transmit radio signals. Though there was earlier regulation of certain ocean-going

ships requiring radio communication, the 1912 act established the basic pillars of U.S. broadcast law: federal control over the airwaves, the link between radio transmission and the public good, and federal licensing to limit interference. Almost a thousand existing transmitting stations were licensed within the year. The law however did not give the executive branch the right to refuse a license. Despite this loophole, many amateurs continued to operate without bothering to obtain federal permission. While most users were sending Morse code, a few were actually sending voice signals.

In the years immediately after World War I, Radio Corporation of America (RCA) stockholders General Electric and Westinghouse engaged in radio transmission as a way to promote the sale of the radio receivers they manufactured. While other commercial operators were not in the business of making or selling radio equipment, they saw radio as a way to draw attention to their grocery store or newspaper; they were not engaged in selling air time for others to advertise products or services. In 1920 the operators of a Westinghouse-owned transmitter in East Pittsburgh broadcast results of an election to a few listeners. The new experiment in programming was heralded in newspaper stories across the country, and the Department of Commerce adopted broadcasting as a new class of service and began issuing licenses in 1921, slowly at first but exceeding 500 by 1922.

In the early 1920s, most radio stations operated unreliably and with limited range, transmitting their signals only a few miles at best. The vast majority of the licensees were not affiliated with the RCA combination; they were schools, local churches, labor unions, or ethnic organizations, directing their programs toward communities not much beyond the neighborhood of the transmitter. Much of what was broadcast reflected the interests of the licensee, and most of the programming was live and recorded music, but also on the air were religious services, local and national political discussions, and "nationality hours" with news from other nations, such as Germany or Italy, and often in languages other than English. Given its limited power radio's beginning suggested a medium that would focus on the needs of communities sometimes ignored by local newspapers. Early radio was to some extent a technological solution to the limited access to the public at large provided by newspapers and the Associated Press wire service.

In 1922, AT&T, a partner in the RCA combination, experimented with something it called "toll" broadcasting at its New York station WEAF. Individuals and corporations were invited to come into the broadcast "toll" booth and send out, for a fee, any message they wanted. This was the beginning of commercial broadcasting as we think of it today. The RCA allies soon began to adopt the AT&T business model.

Almost as soon as he was appointed in 1921, Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover was bombarded with letters and petitions from the emerging commercial broadcasting industry regarding wireless interference. The commercial broadcasters argued that chaos was on the way if something was not done to resolve the problems of interference.

Hoover expressed strong reservations regarding his powers to regulate broadcasting. But at the second of four conferences on radio he called in 1923, Hoover was compelled to regulate station hours, transmission power, and frequency. The attendees, mainly commercial operators, resolved that regulation was necessary because their businesses would suffer if they could not broadcast with greater power and less interference. The emerging commercial broadcast industry argued for limits on broadcast licensing to support their ability to generate revenue. Hoover responded with a reallocation of the spectrum that would stand for years to come.

However, when Hoover sought to penalize a Chicago station owned by Zenith for operating on an unauthorized frequency, a federal court in Illinois ruled in 1926 that the 1912 act did not permit him to deny the license. Congress was pressed to address this problem and so it passed the Radio Act of 1927, reaffirming the intent of the federal government to exercise exclusive control over radio transmission and to issue licenses for the use of designated frequencies, reserving spectrum ownership to the public. A newly formed Federal Radio Commission (FRC) would have legislative, executive, and judicial authority—and the power to revoke licenses. In addition to a new "independent" bureaucracy to manage the airwaves, Congress introduced a new term—"the

public interest." Hoover had expressed this concept in a speech before his 1925 radio conference:

> The ether is a public medium, and its use must be for a public benefit. The use of a radio channel is justified only if there is public benefit. The dominant element for consideration in the radio field is, and always will be, the great body of the listening public, millions in number, country wide in distribution.

In March 1927, as the FRC was being formed there were 732 radio broadcast stations in the United States, more than 600 of them independent and unaffiliated with the RCA trust. A year later the FRC described the public interest requirement as follows:

> [Despite the fact that] the conscience and judgment of a station's management are necessarily personal…the station itself must be operated as if owned by the public…It is as if people of a community should own a station and turn it over to the best man in sight with this injunction: "Manage this station in our interest." The standing of every station is determined by that conception.

In August 1928, the FRC issued General Order 40, which set aside 40 "clear channel" frequencies where commercial broadcasters would be able to operate nationwide at very high power, 34 channels for regional broadcasts, and 30 low-power channels in each of the five zones. Twenty-three of the first 25 "clear channel" stations were affiliated with RCA/NBC, and the 6 percent of stations untouched by the massive reallocation were affiliated with either the National Broadcasting Company, which operated two networks, or the Columbia Broadcasting System. General Order 40 also created a process where anyone could challenge an existing broadcaster for a frequency assignment every three months. Beyond the technical capacities of applicants, the FRC established a two-step test as the basis for determining the outcome of a challenge: Was the broadcaster inclined to serve itself or listeners? And were the intended station listeners representative of the entire listening public or a specific audience? As the commission noted: "There is not room in the broadcast band for every school of thought, religious, political, social, and economic, each to have its separate broadcasting station, its mouthpiece in the ether." Thus, the doctrine of scarcity of broadcast licenses and service to a wide public reflected the interests of commercial broadcasters. General Order 40 would become the foundation for a set of FCC policies known as the Fairness Doctrine. The 1927 Radio Act was updated and enlarged in the 1934 creation of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC).

Much of Franklin Roosevelt's success in his first two elections has been attributed to his access to the public through radio, overcoming the near rabid opposition to his policies expressed by the most widely read newspaper publishers. Despite Roosevelt's fondness for the radio industry, the Great Depression spurred increased regulation of large corporations, including the radio trusts. Roosevelt's appointed FCC chairman, James Lawrence Fly, would complete a review of the networks (called "chains") and their influence over local stations.

The initial *Report on Chain Broadcasting* was released in 1941 and put into effect in 1942. The report found that NBC used its two networks to suppress competition. And it found that the CBS contract with affiliates, wherein it held an option to take over any period in the affiliate's schedule, amounted to a surrender of control and a violation of the station's license to serve its community. To correct these abuses the FCC ordered: "No license shall be issued to a standard broadcast station affiliated with a network organization which maintains more than one network." The FCC also ruled that the local station had the unquestioned right to reject any network offering.

The networks took the FCC to court. In 1943 the Supreme Court handed down a victory for the nine-year-old FCC using the very argument commercial broadcasters used to convince Hoover to regulate radio frequencies. After a review of the relatively new history of federal regulation of the airwaves, and the still recent experiences of interference, Justice Felix Frankfurter, writing for the Court in *NBC v. U.S.* (1943), ruled that the FCC had the authority to establish regulations in line with what they determined was in the public interest. As to whether such regulations abridged the broadcasters'

free speech rights, Frankfurter wrote: "The Regulations, even if valid in all other respects, must fall because they abridge, say the appellants, their right of free speech. If that be so, it would follow that every person whose application for a license to operate a station is denied by the Commission is thereby denied his constitutional right of free speech. Freedom of utterance is abridged to many who wish to use the limited facilities of radio. Unlike other modes of expression, radio inherently is not available to all." The doctrine of broadcast scarcity was thus firmly established as was the rationale for the unique set of media access requirements imposed on broadcasters.

Redefining the Public's First Amendment Rights

The radio trusts were not the only media conglomerates subject to federal scrutiny during the Roosevelt years. In 1945 the federal government determined that the Associated Press (AP) contract with its affiliated newspapers was a violation of the Sherman Act antitrust rules. AP argued that the government was in violation of the free press clause of the First Amendment. Writing for the majority in *Associated Press v. U.S.* (1945), Justice Hugo Black ruled against AP and clarified that freedom of the press was not designed to serve the private press. "The First Amendment," he wrote, "rests on the assumption that the widest possible dissemination of information from diverse and antagonistic sources is essential to the welfare of the public, that a free press is a condition of a free society."

Neither Black's nor Holmes's ideas about free speech have meant a right to access either public or private forums without restriction. In general, government can limit the time, place, and manner of speech if those restrictions are not because of the impact or intent of the speech. In other words, the restrictions must be content-neutral. Even if the speech occurs in a public forum, such as a park or a city street, the government may impose narrow restrictions if it can show that the regulation is necessary to address a significant government interest. In *Schneider v. State* (1939) the court held that mere administrative convenience (keeping the streets clean of leaflets) was not sufficient to prohibit speech. However, a ban on posting signs in public places to prevent "visual blight" was deemed a significant government interest in *Los Angeles v. Taxpayers for Vincent* (1984), and that a city has a substantial interest in protecting citizens from unwelcome and excessive noise (*Ward v. Rock Against Racism,* 1989). Both crowd and traffic control may justify limiting access to public forums.

There is a limited right of access to semi-public forums, such as schools, libraries, and fairgrounds, as long as the expression is compatible with the normal activity of the place. And while there are those who argue that government enforcement of limits placed on access to shopping centers and lecture halls inhibits the "free trade of ideas," in general there is no right of access to these private forums. Nor is there a right of access to one of the most important channels of communication, newspapers. Broadcast media are an important exception to this rule.

As stated earlier, commercial broadcasters lobbied for the responsibility to use the frequencies to which they were licensed to provide service to the entire community as a way to distinguish them from the independent ("noncommercial") broadcast operations. The resulting regulation is often characterized as the "public trustee" concept of broadcast regulation.

The concept of broadcaster as public trustee was most controversial in the implementation of FCC policies that became known as the Fairness Doctrine. Though applied in earlier cases, the broad understanding of the Fairness Doctrine was stated by the FCC in 1949 as a requirement that broadcasters present controversial issues of public importance, and that such issues must be presented in a fair and balanced manner. In 1959 Congress amended the 1934 Communications Act by adding: "Nothing in the foregoing sentence shall be construed as relieving broadcasters…from the obligation imposed upon them in this chapter to operate in the public interest and to afford reasonable opportunity for the discussion of conflicting views on issues of public importance."

The Fairness Doctrine was a powerful symbol, even the National Association of Broadcasters adopted much of its language in a "Code of Conduct" local broadcasters adopted and boasted of it on the air until the mid-1980s. The Supreme Court ruled that the Fairness Doctrine was constitutional in 1969 in resolving a conflict between two lower court rulings. One ruling involved a

Pennsylvania radio station operated by the Red Lion Broadcasting Company; the other ruling resulted from a suit brought by the Radio Television News Directors Association (RTNDA) claiming that the Fairness Doctrine was a violation of the First Amendment. In *Red Lion Broadcasting v. FCC* (1969), Justice Byron White reiterated much of Frankfurter's language from the *NBC* decision, but clarified that the First Amendment right of the broadcasters was subject to a balancing test, "the people as a whole retain their interest in free speech by radio and their collective right to have the medium function consistently with the ends and purposes of the First Amendment. It is the right of the viewers and listeners, not the right of the broadcasters, which is paramount."

As important as the Fairness Doctrine was in establishing the First Amendment rights of listeners, it left those listeners powerless to complain to the FCC about how the broadcast licensees were serving them. This limitation was addressed when the United Church of Christ–Office of Communication and a Jackson, Mississippi, chapter of the NAACP sued the FCC over the racist actions of WLBT. Writing for the Court of Appeals (D.C. Circuit) in *UCC v. FCC* (1966), Warren Burger shook the broadcasting industry: "in order to safeguard the public interest in broadcasting…we hold that some 'audience participation' must be allowed in license renewal proceedings." Burger delayed his ascension to the Supreme Court to admonish the FCC and take away WLBT's license in 1969 in part because of the station's violation of the Fairness Doctrine.

A *Right* to Access Media?

The media environment has changed significantly since the early 1790s when the marketplace of ideas was dominated by small printing presses. This change was noted by the Supreme Court as early as the *Associated Press* case of 1945, and in 1947 a Commission on Freedom of the Press led by the great educational scholar Robert Hutchins stated that "[t]he right of free public expression has…lost its earlier reality." Press monopolies in many markets combined with the introduction of new forms of communication, such as radio, also subject to local monopolies, were seen to constrict the free speech rights of the public.

In an influential *Harvard Law Review* article, Jerome Barron argued in 1967 that the time had come to establish a right of access to the press. In 1973, Barron had the opportunity to make his case before the Supreme Court as the lead attorney supporting a state "right of reply" statute in *Miami Herald v. Tornillo* (1974). The dispute centered on a Florida statute that provided that any candidate for nomination or election criticized by a newspaper had the "right of reply" free of charge, and that the reply must appear in as conspicuous a place and in the same type as the initial criticism. Pat Tornillo, the executive director of the Classroom Teachers Association and a candidate for the Florida House of Representatives, invoked the "right of reply" statute in response to *Miami Herald* editorials critical of him. The state supreme court upheld the statute, but the U.S. Supreme Court reversed. For a unanimous court, Chief Justice Warren Burger wrote that "the Florida statute fails to clear the barriers of the First Amendment because of its intrusion into the function of editors. A newspaper is more than a passive receptacle or conduit for news, comment, and advertising." The limited right of access applied to broadcast licensees would not apply to newspapers.

But to read *Red Lion* or *UCC v. FCC* as establishing a right to access broadcast media that might be enforced through public participation would be wrong. In *Columbia Broadcasting v. Democratic National Committee* (1973), the Supreme Court ruled that neither the Communications Act nor the First Amendment *requires* broadcasters to accept paid editorial advertisements. The Business Executives' Move for Vietnam Peace (BEMVP) filed a complaint with the FCC, alleging that a broadcast station's refusal to sell it time to broadcast spot announcements expressing the group's views on the Vietnam conflict was a violation of the Fairness Doctrine. Washington, D.C., station WTOP established a policy of refusing to accept paid announcements on controversial issues. In its defense, the station argued that it presented full and fair coverage of the Vietnam conflict. The FCC rejected BEMVP's Fairness Doctrine challenge and ruled that a broadcaster was not prohibited from having a policy of refusing to accept paid editorial advertisements. The Supreme Court upheld the FCC ruling and supported its authority to determine Fairness Doctrine violations on a case by case

basis. Organizations such as MoveOn and the United Church of Christ engaged in battles in the early 2000s over the policies of many broadcast and cable operations prohibiting the airing of advertisements on public policy issues they deem controversial.

In 1987, the FCC announced it would no longer enforce the Fairness Doctrine on the grounds that it actually limited or "chilled" free speech. The FCC was supported in its decision by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit decision in the case *Syracuse Peace Council v. FCC* (1989). In every congressional session since *Syracuse Peace Council* a few legislators introduce bills to reinstate the Fairness Doctrine, and there are still regulations reflecting the underlying rationale for that doctrine, such as the rules on candidate appearances and political advertising, that remain in effect. The Communications Act authorizes the FCC to require "reasonable access to or to permit purchase of reasonable amounts of time" by a legally qualified candidate for federal elective office, and equal opportunities must be afforded all other candidates for that office. And Section 315 of the Communications Act still requires commercial broadcasters "to operate in the public interest and to afford reasonable opportunity for the discussion of conflicting views of issues of public importance."

Access to Cable and Satellite Services

Even as First Amendment jurisprudence regarding media access was becoming clearer for broadcast and print media a new medium was taking shape. While cable television was nearly as old as broadcast television it was largely limited to an antennae service in those communities with reception problems. "CATV" (Community Antenna Television) was the name initially given to the technology now more commonly known as cable television. In the mid-1960s cable television combined with two-way closed-circuit television technology to fire the hopes of free speech advocates and regulators. Cable visionaries imagined a media environment that offered perhaps three or maybe even ten times as many television channels as the three or four channels available in most communities. Moreover, these visionaries anticipated "wired communities" where every interest, every minority group could be served, and where citizens and their elected officials could engage in live two-way dialogue over important local issues.

In 1969, the FCC issued its *First Cable Report & Order* (1969), stating that leasing channels on a first-come, first-served, nondiscriminatory basis was a way to promote First Amendment goals, especially desirable "[i]n view of the importance of an informed electorate and speech concerning public affairs to self government, the right of the public to receive suitable access to social, political, aesthetic, moral and other ideas and experiences, and the CATV systems' monopoly position over cable access to the subscribers' premises." The FCC did not, however, craft specific rules regarding leased access until 1972. The Supreme Court sustained only the provisions requiring that cable operators originate some of their programming locally in *United States v. Midwest Video Corp.* (1972). The FCC attempted another set of orders in a 1976 *Report & Order,* again requiring Public, Educational, and Government (PEG) channels to be set aside. In 1979, the Supreme Court again ruled that the FCC had overreached its authority under the 1934 Communications Act (*FCC v. Midwest Video Corp.,* 1979). Although the Court did not reach the cable operators' First Amendment claims, it noted in a footnote that the lower court's First Amendment discussion (finding the FCC rules in violation of the First Amendment) was not "frivolous."

In 1984 Congress stepped in. Section 612 of the Cable Communications Policy Act of 1984 provided for commercial leased access with the express intent of providing cable "subscribers with the diversity of information sources intended by the First Amendment." However, "[t]he diversity envisioned by this scheme is to be brought about in a manner which is not inconsistent with the growth and development of cable systems." In other words, a right of leased access would be subject to a demonstration that such access did not harm the financial interests of the cable operator. And public or PEG access would be *allowed,* subject to the negotiation of the local franchising authority, but not mandated.

As the Court acknowledged in *Time Warner v. FCC* (1996), "The 1984 legislation did not accomplish much. Unaffiliated programming [programming from sources entirely independent from the

cable operators] on leased access channels rarely appeared." Amendments enacted in 1992 authorized the FCC to establish a maximum price for leased access, to regulate terms and conditions, and to establish procedures for the expedited resolution of disputes. Congress also repeated its intent that leased access would "promote competition in the delivery of diverse sources of video programming." And in upholding the FCC provisions regarding leased access, the Court also referred again to Justice Black's language in *Associated Press* (Lampert 1992).

The 1992 Cable Act also affirmed that the FCC was authorized to require direct broadcast satellite service (DBS) operators to abide by certain remnants of the Fairness Doctrine: "reasonable access" for federal candidates and "equal time" for all political candidates. In addition, the court in *Time Warner* upheld those provisions of the 1992 act which authorizes the FCC to require DBS operators to "reserve a portion of its channel capacity, equal to not less than 4 percent nor more than 7 percent, exclusively for noncommercial programming of an educational or informational nature." The FCC's regulation places the selection of programmers who appear on these channels in the hands of the DBS operators. DBS operators, like broadcasters, are able to choose the diversity their viewers have access to.

Access to the Internet

Many think the greatest hope of media access may be offered by the Internet. In *Reno v. ACLU* (1997) the Supreme Court noted: "Access to most Web pages is freely available, but some allow access only to those who have purchased the right from a commercial provider. The Web is thus comparable, from the readers' viewpoint, to both a vast library including millions of readily available and indexed publications and a sprawling mall offering goods and services.... From the publishers' point of view, it constitutes a vast platform from which to address and hear from a worldwide audience of millions of readers, viewers, researchers, and buyers. Any person or organization with a computer connected to the Internet can 'publish' information." In affirming a lower court ruling that two provisions of the Communications Decency Act of 1996 violated the First Amendment prohibition against government abridgement of speech, the Court granted the Internet the highest protections against federal regulation. In part because it is "unlike radio, [the Internet] receives full First Amendment protection." Many legal scholars argue that this decision means that those companies that control access to Internet services are not subject to government regulation.

The apparent openness of Internet communication recalls the openness and chaos of the early days of radio before federal regulation. As Internet service providers, telecommunications companies, and other media began to find ways to generate revenue from Internet activity, the limits to access became clearer. Commercial Internet service providers began to prefer customers who offer opportunities for financial gain. Chat rooms developed non-negotiable rules for user conduct and began to monitor and edit user activity. Many websites began to introduce code that limited user access to material on their once open site. As some video and interactive services began to require greater bandwidth and speed, telecommunications companies—many telephone and cable operators—began to limit access by creating different tiers of service with faster service and fewer controls for those who would pay more. What began as a commons, an open environment with rules and capabilities applied equally, has to some extent become a series of walled gardens (Lessig 1999).

As the Supreme Court noted in *Reno,* the Internet offers expanded opportunities to communicate, but there are important limits. If one is insulted on an Internet website, one will likely be able to find or create a website to respond, but there is no right to reply on the site where the insult was launched. Internet service providers have no obligation to allow every paying user the ability to read or watch or listen to the Internet. A telecommunications company is not required to allow a potential publisher of an article or producer of a movie access to distribute on the Internet. Although the FCC has articulated a set of guidelines that suggest network operators provide nondiscriminatory access to all lawful content, services, and equipment, these guidelines are not binding. There is considerable debate over whether legislation that would enforce "net neutrality"

would stifle access because it may limit the revenue Internet operators can generate, or whether it would increase access because it would generate greater innovation of Internet technologies. At present, there is no *right* to access a privately controlled website or Internet service such as a chat room or a weblog (blog).

The public debate of ideas, the democratic deliberation dreamt of by the founders, is both limited and expanded by privately mediated communication mechanisms such as newspapers, radio, and the Internet. The obligation of media to provide the public with diverse discussion in accordance with a relatively modern interpretation of the First Amendment is broadly stated in law, but very limited in the regulation. In our complex media environment of print, broadcast, cable, and Internet communication, there is no effective right of access to mediated public debate despite the continued salience of media access as a political concept.

Mark Lloyd

See also Advocacy Groups; Alternative and Underground Newspapers; Censorship; Citizen Journalism; Criticism of Journalism; Free Expression, History of; Letters to the Editor; News Councils; News Values; Objectivity

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ACCREDITATION

See Academic Accreditation

ADVERTISING

Advertising has had a profound influence on American journalism. An enormous portion of media in this country have been advertising-supported. The implications of this are many, including the need for journalists to appeal to broad audiences, making their publication more attractive to advertisers. Of course reliance on advertisers has created challenges regarding how the news is reported. To truly understand the impact of advertising upon journalism, it is important to define what advertising is and what it is not.

Definition

Advertising is, according to Jef Richards and Catherine Curran, "a paid, mediated, form of communication from an identifiable source, designed to persuade the reader [listener, or viewer] to take some action, now or in the future." The term *mediated* means that some intervening medium like television or a newspaper or the Internet conveys the message from sender to receiver, as opposed to direct "in-person" communication. The term *identifiable source* distinguishes advertising from anonymous communications, such as those often found in unsolicited e-mail or spam. The *action* can be buying a product or service, but it also can be directed at voting behavior, or social behavior like recycling, saving money, saving the whales, or preventing abortion.

One aspect of this definition that clearly makes advertising stand apart from most concepts of journalism is the phrase "designed to persuade." The persuasive purpose of advertising is unambiguous. Further, advertising is distinguished from journalistic content since it is purchased, rather than decided by editorial opinion. Still, the two fields share a long history.

The Evolution of Advertising and Journalism in the United States

U.S. mass media developed a for-profit model funded predominantly by advertising. The result is a symbiotic relationship of media and advertising, whereby people rely on mass media for information and entertainment, and media depend on audiences to attract advertisers. Most media cannot financially survive unless they are able to deliver an audience that advertisers want and are willing to pay to reach.

As a consequence, advertising-supported media equates success with audience delivery. As the editor of *Ladies' Home Journal* said in 1898, "It is the growth of advertising in this country which, more than any single element, has brought the American magazine to its present enviable position in points of literary, illustrative and mechanical excellence. The American advertiser has made the superior American magazine of today possible" (quoted in Wright). In spite of this dependence on advertisers, and acknowledging that advertisers do have some influence on media content, most news media organizations strive to maintain a separation between advertisers and editorial content.

Advertising, it can be argued, was born of journalism's need for economic support. As a separate business, the modern concept of advertising emerged just over a century and a half ago.

In 1841, while selling ad space for a newspaper in Philadelphia, Volney Palmer realized the profit potential of independently buying and reselling prime newspaper space. Using that concept, he left his job to form the first advertising agency. In 1875, N.W. Ayer became the first agency to charge a *commission* based on the "net cost of space." By the end of the nineteenth century, advertising agencies such as J. Walter Thompson and Lord & Thomas (the predecessor to today's DraftFCB agency) began to develop and produce the ads for their clients (the advertisers) as a way of adding value to their media buying operation.

The role of advertising agencies has evolved concomitant with media technology. When radio became broadly available in the 1930s, advertising agencies provided clients with the means to sell products by sponsoring radio programs. Advertisers funded the programs while advertising agencies developed and produced the most popular network programming. The term "soap operas" reflects the fact that many early radio daytime dramas were owned by Procter & Gamble, a seller of soap products. The sponsorship model also ensured radio programming was primarily entertainment-driven, to attract large audiences.

The growth of television, starting in the late 1940s, had a dramatic effect on the advertising industry. Many advertisers made the transition to television. For example, the Kraft company began sponsoring the Kraft Television Theater in 1947. Indeed, by 1950 sponsors were moving *en masse* from both network and local station radio to television. Television was far more expensive than radio, however, posing a serious challenge to the agencies' commission structure. The prevalence of advertiser-produced programming ended during the late 1950s because some sponsors were condemned for manipulating the outcomes of popular quiz shows in order to create buzz and draw in more viewers. To appease public apprehension, networks moved to take more control of the programs they aired.

The 1959 quiz show scandal highlighted the public's perception that advertiser greed outweighed the integrity of program content. By assuming control of content, broadcast networks sought to reassert the image of media as an impartial provider of content. This impartiality was enhanced by federal regulations that ensured balanced presentation of political views and relatively neutral news broadcasts. Consequently, during the 1960s, mass media managed to portray advertising and programming as separate.

As the networks assumed the role of content providers, the advertising agencies developed an "all media" structure, divesting themselves of their programming responsibilities and focusing on creating advertising messages and buying space and time in a broad range of media. And instead of funding a single show, they purchased shorter time periods (at first 60 seconds, and later 30 seconds or less) across multiple programs. In this manner, advertisers continued to have economic power over content, selecting programs on the basis of audience delivery as well as whether or not they provided a suitable environment for their messages. By demanding both, advertisers still were in a position to determine the fate of television programs. Controversial programs risked advertiser boycotts and inevitable cancellation.

During the 1980s, media deregulation gave rise to a plethora of cable networks seeking advertisers. Unrestrained by broadcast regulations, cable networks offered advertisers an opportunity to reintegrate their messages into television programming. In fact, consolidation of media ownership, together with developing cable television networks, allowed advertisers to negotiate with companies that bundled an assortment of media into single packages, creating one stop shopping. The 1980s also gave rise to product placement, whereby advertisers could pay to have their products used by actors within entertainment programs. Once again, the lines between content and advertising were blurring.

The evolution of corporate media empires also had significant impact on the role of televised journalism. News departments became designated profit centers and were required to attract advertisers in their own right. Inevitably, television journalism began to share similarities with entertainment programming. Both departments had to provide audiences and environments that were suitable for advertisers.

Interestingly, however, the rise of cable television created new opportunities for journalism. The increased competition allowed cable networks to carve out market segments that were very appealing to advertisers, rather than court a broad audience. For instance, advertisers sought opportunities to address the educated, upper income men who frequently formed the bulk of cable news viewership. Cable made this narrower "targeting" by advertisers possible. In fact, cable news became adept at providing programming to attract specific audiences beyond the traditional news audience.

The rise of media conglomerates also had an enormous impact on the structure of advertising agencies. The media companies achieved greater negotiating power, putting agencies at a disadvantage. To compete, agency media buying operations needed a broader base of clients with a wide range of media needs. But media departments had a hard time acquiring new clients without risking conflicts of interest with existing clients. To avoid potential client conflicts, many advertising agencies split off their media buying function, allowing them to operate independently from the rest of the agency. Although most agencies maintained control of media planning, the separate media buying agencies began assuming greater planning responsibility.

During the 1990s, the introduction of Internet browsers once again changed the way Americans sought information and entertainment. This new medium, too, sought advertising support. Simultaneously, the Internet spurred a migration of newspaper readers to digital media, creating a crisis within the journalism-based industries. Lost readership translated into lost advertising revenues for newspapers. To compensate for lower revenue, newspaper owners sought new business models involving, among other things, lower costs (fewer reporters) and more sensationalism (to generate readers). Meanwhile, advertisers sought to measure the online audiences and the effectiveness of advertising messages in the new medium. A measurable audience is, after all, the basis of advertising sales. Effective advertising allows advertisers to take advantage of that audience.

While struggling to adjust to changing realities in the marketplace, advertising professionals also have changed the advertisements themselves. The messages conveyed, and the form they take, also evolved over the decades.

Seeking a Better Message

Research into advertising effectiveness, since the 1890s, has affected how advertisers communicate with audiences. Early efforts were crude by today's standards, but in 1904 John E. Kennedy defined advertising as "salesmanship in print." This concept drove message creation, as advertisements emulated the pitches of salesmen.

Unique Selling Proposition

In the 1940s Rosser Reeves introduced the concept of a unique selling proposition (USP), where an advertisement highlighted a specific benefit that distinguished one brand's product from its competition. Reeves believed the role of advertising was to make consumers aware of these unique, product-based, differences. This strategy remains effective when marketing a product that provides an obvious difference from competitors.

Increasingly, however, product-based advantages are both marginal and difficult to sustain, thanks largely to product proliferation. Consider,

for example, the number of brands and forms of laundry detergents. They are differentiated not only by format (powder, liquid, cakes), additives (e.g., fabric softener, bleach), or cleaning power (tough or gentle), but also by smaller distinctions, such as scent. While the fresh scent of lavender may be a distinct attribute, it might not motivate purchase. As differentiation among products became less significant, more advertising was focused on differentiating consumers rather than products.

Market Segmentation

Rather than market a product to a broad audience, many advertisers began focusing on how a brand could uniquely satisfy needs of one or more specific groups of consumers. Consumer needs vary by lifestyle, attitudes, or even aptitudes. An urban teenager usually has different wants and needs than a suburban soccer mom, so they likely use different criteria when evaluating cell phones, athletic shoes, and fast food. Depending upon the advertiser's intended or "target" market, the advertising message may promise different benefits or even use different language, graphics, and media.

As media became more fragmented, from a handful of television channels in the 1960s to hundreds four decades later, targeting a message to a specific market segment became easier. And emergence of "addressable" media such as direct mail and Internet marketing made "narrowcasting"—targeting a *very* specific audience—increasingly efficient and effective.

Positioning

In the 1970s Al Ries and Jack Trout introduced the concept of "positioning," which effectively combined segmentation with the USP approach. Their idea was to place a product within a specific context, or position, in the consumer's mind. For example, rather than compare gas mileage or acceleration, Volvo positioned its cars as the safe choice for responsible parents. Any parents who want a safe car to protect their children may search that "position" in their memories dealing with all things about safety, and they should recall that Volvo was linked with safety.

Advertising Effects

Advertising serves four functions in business and society. It is a marketing tool, a transmitter of information, an economic stimulant, and a purveyor of values. As part of the marketing mix, advertising communicates information about goods and services. It also adds product value by creating enduring "brands." Successful marketing campaigns stimulate demand and subsequent economic growth, but there are concerns regarding its effects on society.

Societal Impact

Among other concerns, critics believe advertising promotes materialism and encourages consumers to buy products they do not need. They also argue that advertising manipulates, perpetuates stereotypes, preys on children, is used to sell harmful products, and contributes to a variety of other social ills. It also is clear that in at least some instances advertisers exert financial pressure on media as a means of controlling or even censoring entertainment and editorial content in those media.

Those who defend advertising note that it is merely a tool, a form of communication that can be used for good as well as bad purposes, depending upon the advertiser. It is used not only to sell products, but also to gain donations for charities, as well as for other causes. And while advertising may deserve some blame for biasing media, it is not as simple as typically depicted. In fact, advertising is an enormous industry that is frequently defended by noting its economic contribution to society.

Economic Impact

Advertising is a global industry. In the United States alone, approximately $300 billion was spent on advertising during 2008. U.S. advertising revenues have accounted for approximately 2 percent of the GDP since 1950. Procter & Gamble, the leading advertiser, alone spent $5 billion during 2007. These expenditures affect everyone involved in advertising, including the advertisers, their agencies, and the media companies that provide advertisers with an audience.

For the market economy to work properly, consumers must be able to freely make informed

decisions in a competitive marketplace. Advertising provides that information and enhances competition. Furthermore, advertising reduces the time and cost for consumers to gather this information.

While critics suggest that advertising costs are passed along to consumers in the form of higher prices (as in prescription and other drugs, for example), in many cases it reduces prices by increasing sales volume. Increased consumer demand contributes to the economies of scale that reduce production costs and, consequently, consumer pricing. While these critics often believe advertising costs are a barrier to entry for new products, by increasing consumer demand advertising actually can stimulate competition in many cases. Advertising can be used to stabilize business cycles by generating uniform product demand and avoiding disruptive seasonal spikes and declines in volume, further reducing costs.

Advertising also can enhance product quality. By creating broad awareness of new products, advertising encourages diffusion of innovation and more rapid adoption of new technologies, thereby ensuring a steady stream of product innovation and improvement. Put another way, advertising can encourage introduction of new brands that compete on price or improved product attributes.

Finally, as mentioned above, advertising lowers media costs, allowing consumers to enjoy quality information and entertainment at a fraction of the production cost. For instance, "free" media such as broadcast television and radio, as well as much content on the Internet, would not exist as we know them today without the support of advertising, and even "pay" media such as newspapers, magazines, and cable television would cost much more.

Law and Ethics

Because advertising is a communication industry, the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution limits government's role in regulating it. There are, however, regulatory standards imposed by the government to ensure fair competition and protect consumers from deception. The Federal Trade Commission (FTC) is the primary federal agency governing advertising. The FTC is primarily concerned with eliminating advertising deception. The Federal Communication Commission (FCC), too, is involved through its licensing and oversight of broadcast stations, having the authority to fine broadcasters for violating mandated standards. The Food and Drug Administration (FDA) monitors advertising claims regarding food and drugs.

In addition, in the early 1970s the advertising industry created a major self-regulatory mechanism designed to supplement government regulation. The National Advertising Review Council (NARC) of the Council of Better Business Bureaus accepts and reviews consumer complaints about advertising. It follows a process for charging advertisers with violating accepted standards, judging their compliance, and enforcing subsequent corrective actions. When an advertiser is found in violation of established standards, voluntary corrections are sought. Failure to comply then can result in an announcement of noncompliance sent to the FTC and to the media.

Areas of Advertising

Historically, advertisers worked with what are now called "full-service" advertising agencies. Full-service agencies provide a range of services to their clients, including research, marketing, creative, media planning, media buying, and advertising production. In recent years, though, more and more advertisers have taken an a la carte approach, seeking agencies that specialize in a narrower segment of the business. Those traditional segments include account management, research, creative, production, and media.

Account Management

Account executives provide the interface between agency and client. Within the agency they represent client needs, pursuing services necessary to provide adequate support. This includes working with the client to develop business objectives for the agency to meet. Once the agency has developed an advertising plan to meet those objectives, account management must sell the client on the merits of that plan.

Research and Account Planning

Effective advertising is usually based on solid research. Both quantitative and qualitative research

are used to provide information about product use and performance. Agencies conduct any necessary research through a research or account planning (also called strategic planning) department. Account Planning is a newer twist on traditional research departments, and it is seen as representing the voice of the consumer. In this capacity, the Account Planning team provides consumer insights to the creative team regarding how the brand is used and perceived, to help determine the best way to approach the consumer.

Creative

The Creative department is responsible for actually designing the advertisement. The "creatives" work with the Account Management team to understand the business objectives, and with the Account Planners to understand how consumers interact with the brand. They then develop a "creative concept" that will drive the campaign, which one or more art directors and copy writers then use to guide them in making the advertisements. Ultimately, the client must approve their work before it goes into production.

Production

Once a campaign is approved, the Creative department relies upon the Production department to produce the final ad. Production is responsible for recommending production companies and directors, negotiating contracts, and overseeing all production budgets. They work closely with the Creative teams to ensure that the final ads meet client expectations.

Media Planning and Buying

For advertisements to work, they must be seen by many prospective customers. The Media department must develop a plan that delivers the necessary consumer exposure within the confines of the client's budget. It recommends the media that should be used and the schedule to be followed to achieve each client's objectives. Because budget is the ultimate constraint, media prices are crucial to planning. Agencies that secure the best pricing can deliver more powerful plans, hence the rise of specialty agencies that do nothing but media buying. While most advertising agencies have maintained media planning departments, these specialty media buying agencies have assumed a greater role in recent years.

Alternatives

In addition to media buying agencies, clients have turned to a number of other alternatives to the full-service agency. Newer options include industry-focused agencies that specialize in certain subject matters like health care, while minority agencies provide clients with greater expertise concerning specific racial or ethnic targets. Interactive agencies provide corporate and brand website development, as well as expertise regarding all aspects of interactive marketing. Creative boutiques focus on creative planning, development, and execution.

Agencies are struggling with these specializations and other means of differentiating themselves from competitors, while at the same time mergers and acquisitions have been leading to a consolidation of the advertising business into a handful of multinational corporations. The industry, like the market, continues to change.

Advertising's Future

Society faces numerous changes in media that will continue to affect creation and delivery of advertising. One ongoing development is that consumers now enjoy mass media sources of an almost limitless range. Media, including television, radio, newspapers, and magazines, have splintered into greater specialization tailored to target specific demographics. No single television channel or network commands the share of audience it once did. Newspapers, radio, and magazines are no different, as there are now thousands of these targeting special interests, regional areas, local communities, and global audiences. Technological innovations have created new media (i.e., the Internet) and altered existing media. Each of these developments represents challenges for the advertising industry.

Nevertheless, advertising has survived economic recessions, wars, and industry scandals. It survives because it plays an essential role in American business. Advertising proved its ability to reinvent itself when radio broke into the media environment in the 1920s and 1930s. Its innovation required

advertising agencies to acquire new skills, restructure their organizations, and make significant investments in talent and technology. When television began to overtake radio, advertising again redefined its mission and developed a new direction. More recently, the emergence of media conglomerates, cable television, and interactive web-based media again has altered the advertising landscape. It is possible that smaller, more flexible, agencies will prove nimbler and more able to out-perform their larger counterparts. The large, global agencies may end up following rather than leading over the coming years. Regardless, in some form, advertising will continue to be an essential part of selling a product, service, or idea. And it is likely it also will remain a significant support mechanism for providing the public with entertainment, news, and information.

Jef I. Richards, Terry Daugherty, and Kelty Logan

See also Advertorials; Circulation, Controlled; Classified Advertising; Marketing; Video News Releases

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ADVERTORIALS

An advertorial is any form of paid editorial material that has been written, designed, and executed

so as to resemble a news story, editorial, or other content. Advertorials form two broad categories depending on their desired outcome. Political/corporate advertorials are published statements about a controversial issue, pending legislation, or a public affairs initiative. Rather than selling a product or service, political/corporate advertorials seek to persuade the reader or viewer to a certain point of view on a public issue. Consumer advertorials, by contrast, function in a manner similar to paid advertising. These consumer advertorials, frequently referred to as "special advertising sections," usually include lengthy written copy that conform to the style format for nonpaid editorial content. Consumer advertorials seek to directly sell a product or service, while corporate/political advertorials seek to advance a public relations objective. Both categories of advertorials can take many forms. An advertorial may be a single print or broadcast advertisement or it can be an entire special section of paid advertising designed to approximate the editorial style as well as the typographical look and feel of a newspaper or magazine's editorial content. Text copy and visual images within an advertorial may be created by the advertiser itself, by an advertising agency, or in some rare cases by the editorial staff of the publication. However, the space is sold as an advertisement; and the advertiser, not the editor, has editorial control over both text and images within the space. Most printed advertorials are clearly marked as advertising. Disclaimers may be as simple as the word "Advertisement" printed near the advertorial, or as ambiguous as legal text implying the content is paid advertising. However, some advertorials carry no disclaimer at all. Most print publications allow advertorials with restrictions, and most allow them to have a similar typography and style as their editorial content.

Evolution of Advertorials

Advertorials are likely as old as mass-circulation print publications. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, wealthy patrons and aristocrats would pay printers for access to space in or near editorial content, usually in the form of letters addressed to the public. However, it is often difficult to distinguish between early advertorials and publicity advertisements. The practice of advertising firms creating and placing paid editorial content developed during the early twentieth century. The term *advertorial* may have been coined by advertising agencies themselves to avoid a negative reaction to a covert practice of influencing magazine editors. It first appeared in dictionaries in 1961.

Generally nationally distributed large metropolitan newspapers have been more associated with political/corporate advertorials because of their trusted editorial relationship with government leaders and corporate decision-makers. Advertising access to national newspapers (the *Wall Street Journal*) and large metropolitan dailies (*The Washington Post*) is expensive and involves more negotiation with the editorial staff and owners. Popular consumer magazines have traditionally been associated with consumer advertorials because of their national reach, slower production schedule, and special demographic relationship with their readers. As niche media, magazines have specific images and brands that are deeply linked to the relevance of their editorial focus to their readership. This brand connection is very valuable to a magazine's regular advertisers. The advertiser's product brand can be enhanced by the magazine's brand, and vice versa.

Thus consumer advertorials in magazines and other niche media allow advertisers to tailor a creative message to very specific audiences that can be both very diverse and very targeted; for example, an advertorial might target readers across different ethnic and class demographics who are the same age and topic interest level. An advertorial can be changed to match the readership of a specific magazine, while still retaining the marketing content of the overall advertising campaign. For example, an advertorial run annually in the *Arizona Republic* was designed to promote the local hockey team, an association of local restaurants, and a supermarket chain in a seamless campaign appealing to several related demographics while retaining an esthetic of soft news coverage. According to audience research in 2001 in *Mass Communication and Society,* the vast majority of both newspaper and magazine readers can easily differentiate between editorial content and advertorials, but tend to quickly forget the "advertising section" label. Marketing research by the Affinity Research Group has shown that a substantial majority of readers are less likely to read advertorials than a

periodical's editorial content. However, those readers who do read advertorials are far more likely to remember the product or take an action. Because of this unique retention factor, advertisers use advertorials as keystones in marketing campaigns because they allow longer portions of text to be published than standard advertisements, particularly for well-known brands.

Famous paid op-ed pieces in large metropolitan daily newspapers have evolved from simple letters written on behalf of boards and stockholders into sophisticated public affairs campaigns used by special interest groups. The contentious subject matter of political/corporate advertorials frequently receives both positive and negative press coverage from other journalists. For example, in 1999 the *Los Angeles Times* allocated their entire *Sunday Magazine* to the opening of the Staples Center, a new sports complex in which it had a financial interest. The publication admitted breaches in journalistic integrity, but continued the practice of advertorial placements. During congressional debates of politically controversial topics such as healthcare funding, reproductive rights, defense authorizations, and the impeachment trial of President Clinton, various political action groups have used political advertorials to forward their positions.

Reactions to Advertorials

Critics of advertorials believe that the practice is coercive because the placement in a print publication in or near editorial content implies endorsement or editorial oversight. Proponents of advertorials believe that the practice can enhance the brand of the publication and the product without damaging the journalistic credibility of the publication. Taken to a logical extreme, advertorials have been expanded to become independently published brand magazines and magalogs, hybrids of fashion magazines and catalogs. Well-known examples include *A&F Quarterly, Bloomingdale's,* and *Sony Style.* At the commercial extremes of corporate/political advertorials, media conglomerations have been accused of simply purchasing trusted news publications in order to gain editorial control of an entire newspaper. Well-known examples include the Hearst publications in the twentieth century, and News Corporation in the twenty-first.

The advertorial model has been applied to other media with limited success. Local radio stations sell large blocks of airtime to local advertisers who are given access to studios and production personnel and allowed editorial control within the operating practices of the station. The effectiveness of these sponsored time slots is limited and has not been embraced by advertisers in general. Local television stations and small cable networks also sell blocks of airtime for pre-produced advertising, usually in half-hour and hour time slots. The resulting "Infomercials" attempt to replicate the technical esthetics of regular programming, such as the talk show format or audience call-in format. While infomercials are largely reviled by audiences, the format can very effectively target specific demographics, particularly in niche cable programming. Advertising agencies that specialize in advertorials, magalogs, and infomercials pioneered the concept of "per inquiry" or "per order" advertising where the advertiser is paid for each individual action taken by a consumer. This practice has become a standard for online advertising, particularly paid search results and pay-per-click banner advertising.

The effectiveness of online advertorials is disputed. Many advertisers believe that readers can too easily bypass, block, or ignore online advertorials.

Cultural critics of advertorials believe they are an example of the erosion of the traditional "fire wall" between a publication or station's editorial and sales staff, and, furthermore, that advertorials are an example of the "creeping commercialism" within journalism and media culture. As narrowcast media such as print magazines, online magazines, and advertiser-supported weblogs continue to connect with their readership in a special way that emphasizes their particular editorial brand, it appears that some form of consumer advertorial will accompany them. As corporations and advocacy and political action groups grow more sophisticated they will continue to evolve the political/corporate advertorial into new forms of media distribution.

William A. Hanff

See also Advertising; Bias; Checkbook Journalism; Credibility; Ethics; Objectivity; Spin; Video News Releases

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Advocacy Groups

Advocacy groups are an important part of journalism. They represent a wide range of stakeholders, many of which have a vested interest in journalistic performance and therefore often monitor news outlets very closely. Advocacy groups often will seek to influence the substance of news content either directly or indirectly via a wide range of means, including direct pressure or protests aimed at news outlets, or via pressure placed on news outlets' advertisers, or even via efforts to affect the regulations and policies that impact the news media. In these ways, advocacy groups represent an important, and potentially influential, collection of organizations that closely monitor the journalistic field.

Group Types

The term *advocacy group* can be applied to any collective with shared social or political objectives that actively seeks to influence relevant institutions in order to achieve those objectives. When assessing advocacy groups' relationship to journalism, news media can serve best as a mechanism by which advocacy groups publicize their goals. Any advocacy group, regardless of its specific cause, seeks positive media coverage for the group and its cause.

News coverage is a vital mechanism by which these groups make the public aware of their stance and possibly increase the group's constituency. It also helps legitimize their position in the minds of decision-makers, whether they are elected officials, administrative policymakers, or business leaders.

There is a wide range of organizations that focus specifically on the practices and institutions of journalism. The content of news, structure of news organizations, and relationship between journalism and the democratic process are all points of focus for a diverse and vocal advocacy community. Among the more well known of such groups are Fairness and Accuracy In Reporting (FAIR), Project Censored, the Project for Excellence in Journalism, Reporters Without Borders, the Society for Professional Journalists, and Free Press.

Some of these, such as FAIR, the Project for Excellence and Journalism, and Project Censored, are concerned primarily with monitoring and publicly critiquing the nature of news coverage. These "watchdog" groups seek to hold news outlets accountable to specific journalistic standards. Many watchdog groups have a strong ideological orientation, operating on behalf of a broader political agenda. There often are public duels over whether news media are too liberal or conservative. Many advocacy groups focus on specific elements of news coverage, such as political news, or news about the environment.

Many groups also advocate on behalf of some part of the journalism community. Thus, for instance, international groups such as Reporters Without Borders and the Committee to Protect Journalists work to protect reporters in their professional rights (free speech, the right to maintain confidential sources, etc.), but also when they could be in physical danger. Many recent high tension situations such as conflicts in the Middle East have seen reporters harmed, kidnapped, or killed while gathering and reporting news.

Other advocacy groups are concerned with particular subsectors of the journalism community. Organizations such as the National Association of Black Journalists, the National Federation of Press Women, and the National Association of Hispanic Journalists promote job opportunities and programs designed to increase newsroom diversity. A key underlying premise of these organizations is that journalism institutions must be representative of the demographic diversity of the country.

In many instances, issues impacting journalism spill into the policy arena. Thus, such advocacy groups as Free Press and the Media Access Project center on policies that may impact journalism practice and institutions. These include media ownership regulation, minority employment requirements, and broadcasters' public interest obligations. Such concerns are perceived to have a significant bearing on how news is produced and disseminated. For instance, Congress has often considered reinstitution of the Fairness Doctrine, a policy (eliminated by the Federal Communications Commission in 1987) that called for broadcasters to provide balanced coverage of controversial issues of public importance. This has sparked considerable debate among advocacy groups over whether such a regulation enhances or undermines the quality of broadcast news and talk programming.

The advocacy group landscape is complicated by so-called astroturf groups—those that appear to be grassroots organizations, but in reality are faux-advocacy groups covertly organized and funded by one or more industry stakeholders. These groups illustrate the blurring of the "self-interested" and real public interest organizations. Self-interested groups work on behalf of the economic interests of a particular industry sector or firm. This line is not always clear, as self-interested advocacy organizations increasingly cloak their advocacy with public interest pitches. For example, Microsoft has at various times been accused of attempting to influence news coverage via astroturf groups with names such as Americans for Technology Leadership and the Freedom to Innovate Network. In recent years, journalists have come under increased criticism for often failing to identify the underlying sources of funding and organization for what appear, on the surface, to be traditional public interest advocacy organizations.

Influence Tools

Advocacy groups use many tools to achieve their goals. The most common mechanism is to provide what media researcher Oscar Gandy (1982) has described as "information subsidies." These include press releases, staged media events, press conferences, reports, protests, and packaged news reports or videos. Boycotts are another method, applied particularly when groups have been unhappy with news coverage. These can involve boycotting news outlets directly, or boycotting their advertisers. Both approaches seek to motivate news outlets to alter coverage out of fear of revenue losses.

Policy advocacy can also influence journalism. There has been continuing controversy surrounding FCC deregulations of media ownership. A key aspect of the debate has involved whether greater concentration of ownership will help or hinder quality news and public affairs. Some advocacy groups argue that more concentrated ownership will allow for economies of scale that will support more and higher quality news; others argue such concentration will undermine the diversity of news sources and narrow the range of viewpoints expressed.

In such a debate, policy advocacy can range from directly lobbying policymakers, to mounting court challenges to specific policy decisions, to building constituencies that may influence policymakers. Advocacy organizations such as the National Rifle Association (NRA) weighed in on the media ownership issue out of concerns that a more concentrated media environment would make it harder for the NRA to effectively deliver its message.

Conducting and publicizing the results of research is another mechanism by which advocacy groups seek to influence journalism. Press watchdog groups, in particular, are often quite active in conducting detailed and sophisticated analyses of news content in an effort to critique journalistic performance. The Project for Excellence in Journalism, for example, disseminates detailed analyses of news content in an effort to improve journalistic performance and to identify broad trends in news coverage. Similarly, more partisan groups try to document liberal or conservative biases in the news media. Some of the earliest and most historically significant research in this vein was conducted in the 1960s by the Office of Communication of the United Church of Christ, working with minority rights groups to challenge the license of a Jackson, Mississippi, television station that broadcast biased coverage of the African American community and the civil rights movement. This research contributed to the eventual revocation of the station's license.

Conclusion

As these examples illustrate, news content is constantly undergoing scrutiny from a wide range of advocacy groups. Such groups play a wide range of roles. Some work to support journalists while others critique them. Many seek news that better serves their interests. With the wide range of influence tools at their disposal, advocacy groups represent an important, diverse, and potentially very influential category of stakeholder capable of impacting journalism in many ways.

Philip M. Napoli

See also Civic Journalism; Criticism of Journalism; Diversity: Content; Diversity: Employment; Federal Communications Commission (FCC); Labor Unions; Objectivity; Reporters' Organizations; Social Movements and Journalism; Special Interest Journalism Organizations

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Advocacy Newspapers

Often passionate and fiercely opinionated, advocacy journalism rejects the separation of news and opinion that characterizes contemporary journalistic norms. While still rooted in gathering, organizing, and presenting reliable information, the advocacy journalist is openly trying to make a case, rather than affecting objectivity. Advocacy journalism has often been linked to political parties or social movements, serving as part of a broader mobilization effort intended to bring about social change (or sometimes to hold it at bay). However, advocacy journalists would insist that they are as committed to accuracy as anyone—perhaps more so, given the need to build credibility with readers accustomed to a different style of reporting.

A Journalism of Ideas

Advocacy journalism is one of the two founding strains in modern journalism (the other being the provision of the commercial and political news essential to societal elites). Most early newspapers were closely tied to political and religious factions; although some were explicit campaign organs, more typically newspapers adopted a stance of impersonal journalism in which the editor advocated his cause not in a strident tone, but rather through the mix of essays, letters, minutes, poetry, and other items selected for publication. Advocacy journalism served its cause by presenting information and ideas that supported a point of view, and secondarily by serving as a forum in which political and social currents could develop to and articulate a common program.

Until fairly recently, advocacy journalism was the norm, at least in coverage of political and social issues. From the earliest colonial newspapers to the partisan press of the early 1800s, editors were actively engaged in the political struggles of their day—and indeed formed the backbone of the emerging two-party system. The partisan press is perhaps the best known expression of advocacy journalism, and the mythology of a party press run amok that is often cited as the backdrop against which more commercially oriented popular newspapers emerged in the 1830s. Partisan

newspapers such as Boston's *Daily Advertiser,* the New York *Courier and Enquirer,* or Cincinnati's *Gazette* published detailed reports of the workings of government, helped mobilize voters and organize disparate interest groups into viable national political groupings, and crusaded on behalf of their party's pet nostrums—exposing the perfidy of Free Masonry, chartering the Bank of the United States, and of course singing the praises of their particular candidates. But penny papers such as the *New York Tribune* were every bit as politically engaged as the traditional partisan organs that served elite audiences. *Tribune* editor Horace Greeley rejected both "servile partisanship" and "mincing neutrality," opening his paper's columns to a wide variety of reform schemes from the establishment of socialist communities to temperance and universal public education. While there was a steady trend toward avowed political independence during the nineteenth century, as newspaper revenues shifted from subscription-based to advertising-based, advocacy retained a prominent role in many newspapers.

The new journalism that began in the late 1870s and was the dominant newspaper form by the turn of the century, boasted of its independence from party spirit, but nonetheless pulled no punches in its relentless pursuit of what it saw to be in the public interest. In the early twentieth century, muckrakers, similarly, were unabashed in their advocacy of greater regulation, civil service reforms, and other measures to safeguard the public from special interests and emerging corporate power. And if advocacy journalism continued to play a prominent role in the mainstream press, advocacy was central to the emerging foreign-language press and to the legions of periodicals issued by African Americans, labor unions, socialists, women's rights activists, and a host of other movement organizations. So central was journalism to these movements that when Chicago authorities set out to suppress the radical labor movement in the aftermath of the 1886 eight-hour working day movement, police raided the offices of the German-language daily *Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung,* arresting and ultimately hanging its editor and business manager, as well as the editor of the English-language labor weekly *The Alarm*. Chicago supported multiple radical labor dailies published in the various languages spoken by its immigrant workers for decades to come, as did other major cities. These newspapers published agitational and theoretical articles on a wide range of subjects, as well as cultural material and local advertising. But the heart of the newspapers was articles on local events and workers' struggles, often written by participants in the movements they served.

By the end of World War I, this foreign-language press was in decline, and newspaper consolidation encouraged newspapers to embrace the language of objectivity. While advocacy journalism never disappeared, it was gradually displaced in mainstream U.S. newspapers by more event-centered reports, and a journalistic ideology that sought to present an objective, even scientific, account of the day's events to a readership that crossed class, ethnic, and political boundaries. Newspapers seen to embrace a partisan tilt were reviled by journalism critics, and generations of reporters were trained to produce journalistic accounts free of the taint of political bias or personal judgment. It is far from clear that this just-the-facts style connected with readers; even as newspapers were banishing opinion and personal expression from their news reports, they were institutionalizing the columnist and entire sections devoted to features. The broadcast networks hired "commentators" for their news programs, and listeners were rarely forced to guess where they stood on the major issues. As broadcast news divisions became institutionalized and moved from single-sponsor programs to spot sales, however, they too increasingly sought objectivity in their reports.

New Forms of Advocacy

After being pushed to the margins by the 1920s (though a great deal of overt advocacy could still be found in the columns of William Randolph Hearst's newspapers, and sometimes more discreetly elsewhere), advocacy in the early twenty-first century is again a popular style of journalism, with Fox News' overt if undeclared partisanship, the "reported editorials" of *The Wall Street Journal,* the launch of conservative daily newspapers such as the *Washington Times* (even if these have not proved commercial successes), the growth of alternative weekly and community papers that often bring a more personalized approach to their articles, and a resurgent interpretive journalism that

inevitably blurs the lines between straight reportage and advocacy.

While many alternative newspapers and magazines have struggled to find distribution and financial support, leading to the collapse of the Independent Press Association in December 2006, much of the advocacy once found in their pages has shifted to the Internet. Sites such as Alternet, the Huffington Post, or ZNet offer a mix of commentary and reporting, including many carefully researched investigative reports. In San Diego, California, local activists have revived the underground OB Rag of the early 1970s as an online journal (and have posted scans of several issues of the original paper), one of several locally oriented online alternative news sites. The more eclectic IndyMedia offers diverse global perspectives through its many sites around the world, combining its contributors' activist commitments with grassroots journalism.

Because of their close connection to the grassroots, alternative journalists have often been able to break news stories or offer perspectives unavailable to established media, a phenomenon documented in the United States each year by Project Censored. Few who followed alternative journalists' reports would have shared the otherwise seemingly universal astonishment at the U.S.-British failure to uncover weapons of mass destruction in post-invasion Iraq. Just as alternative journalists, writing for such publications as the *National Anti-Slavery Standard,* Frederick Douglass' *North Star*, or the *Arena,* once forced the horrors of slavery and child labor onto the national agenda, more recent generations writing in *Ramparts, The Nation,* and a host of alternative publications exposed war crimes in Chechnya and Vietnam, published the first accounts of the AIDS epidemic, and gave voice to victims of police brutality and political repression around the world. The mainstream press, too, publishes much advocacy, even if it is often confined to editorial pages and op-ed page columns, or to magazine sections. *The New York Times'* Nicholas Kristof, for example, played a central role in pushing human rights abuses in Darfur onto the world stage, while media outlets of all stripes frequently advocate for civic improvement or other nonpartisan causes even on their front pages.

Advocacy journalism remains highly controversial within journalistic circles, however, even as evidence mounts that many in the audience are unable to distinguish between unabashed partisanship and journalistic reports that adhere to the norms of objectivity. As mainstream journalism outlets have experimented with more interpretive and narrative storytelling frameworks, many have accused them of slipping into (or, worse, embracing) advocacy. The charge of advocacy is seen as so serious that Fox News officially denies that it is engaged in advocacy journalism—instead adopting the motto "We report, you decide." (At the same time, the founder of the overtly partisan Huffington Post website differentiates her journalists' unabashed advocacy from Fox News by maintaining that her site is committed to providing accurate reports, and providing important information even when it sometimes undercuts causes or candidates they otherwise support.)

And yet, faced with continued erosion of public participation in the public sphere that has been a historic focus of journalism since its origins—reflected in the post–World War II era by declines in voting rates, newspaper readership, associational life, and even participation in amateur bowling and softball leagues—many media organizations turned to initiatives such as public or civic journalism in the 1990s, as part of an effort to simultaneously revive the public sphere and the practice of journalism. The *San Francisco Chronicle,* the only surviving metropolitan daily in its market (albeit one surrounded by a plethora of local free dailies, and suburban and foreign-language papers), announced in 2007 that it was embracing a "Journalism of Action," combining traditional reporting with information encouraging people to become involved in seeking solutions to the city's and region's problems.

Many have turned to civic engagement as a way of resolving the crisis facing journalism, and urged more interpretive and action-oriented coverage as one approach that might serve as a vehicle for rebuilding the public sphere. While journalism scholars argue that media need to promote civic reengagement, many journalists fear that this would challenge the objectivity they see as central to the journalistic profession. This debate resulted in some media outlets pulling back from public journalism initiatives, though interpretive and explanatory articles still press the boundaries of objectivity even as journalists are urged to offer more personal reflections on online blogs. But while many see

advocacy creeping into the mainstream (if often under the guise of analysis, or through special projects), it remains the core editorial mission for many nonmainstream media outlets, ranging from community radio and cable access public affairs programming, to alternative tabloids published in most major cities, to a plethora of "movement" publications. This advocacy plays an important role in enabling communities to identify and deal with concerns, and in providing millions with a voice in public debate that would otherwise be missing.

Jon Bekken

See also Advertorials; Advocacy Groups; African American News Media; Agenda Setting; Bias; Citizen Journalism; Émigré News Media; Feminist News Media; Framing; Labor Journalism; Media Accountability Systems; Muckrakers; Objectivity; Religious News Media; Social Movements and Journalism

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Africa, North

North Africa includes the countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea, which form a large region sharing many cultural and geographic characteristics substantially different from the majority of African countries found south of the Sahara Desert. Four of these nations, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco, are collectively known by the Arab term *Maghreb*, or "land of the sunset."

At least two major historical periods strongly influenced the development of news media across North Africa. Increasingly after the seventh century, Islam rose to prominence and soon dominance of the region, creating a largely shared religious, linguistic, and cultural influence. With the nineteenth century came European colonialists (Britain in Egypt and the Sudan; France in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco; and Italy in Libya) who introduced Western ideas, culture, and forms of administration. Both historical traditions are widely evident across the region today.

Most news media in North Africa operate under the dominance of their respective governments, whether administered directly or indirectly. While national constitutions and communications laws speak of freedom of the press, the reality is a very controlled press and broadcast service. Freedom of expression and of news media is limited in the name of (among other factors) religion, culture, and one-party government. Internet access is minor and usually controlled as well. Each country has its own news agency (usually controlled if not operated by the government), and many have at least one daily newspaper that speaks for the government.

This entry surveys the five major North African countries from east to west, beginning with Egypt, which is the most important media center.

Egypt

With a population of more than 75 million, and a literacy rate of about 50 percent, Egypt holds a dominant position in the Arab world. Thanks to its location at the intersection of the Middle East and North Africa, and to its long history of civilization, Egypt has been the cultural and information center of Arab publishing and media, and its press and broadcast facilities are the most developed in the region.

Most Egyptians (nearly all of them Sunni Muslims) live along the Nile River as 95 percent of the country is desert. Opening of the Suez Canal in 1867 began a period of European influence, and

until independence in 1923, British dominance. Britain maintained troops in the country until after World War II. The Egyptian army revolted in 1952, forcing out King Farouk and by 1954 Gamal Abdel Nasser was in full charge of what became a fairly stable one-party state, with only two successive leaders after Nasser's death in 1970.

The Egyptian press consists of nearly 500 newspapers and magazines. Three major dailies published in Cairo are controlled by the government, and *Al-Ahram* (with a circulation of nearly a million copies by the early 2000s) serves as the semi-official voice of the regime. Among the first papers in the country, it began as a weekly in 1875. The number of papers slowly expanded, most of them becoming increasingly partisan after World War I. After the 1952 army takeover, however, many newspapers disappeared and all others were closely censored for years. By the early twenty-first century, however, many weekly party papers were publishing in addition to the government-supported press. Virtually all are printed at government-owned printing facilities. Despite amendments in 2006, the country's press law still provides for punishment for publication of "false" news, attacks on Egypt's or foreign leaders, or libel.

Egyptian broadcasting is among the most important services in the region. The first radio stations began in 1926 in Cairo under private ownership, but the Egyptian Broadcasting Corporation, designed along the lines of the BBC, took over all operations in 1934. Radio service expanded substantially after 1952 and radio receivers are widely available. Egyptian television began service in mid-1960. In 1970 a new decree established the Egyptian Radio and Television Union (ERTU) with four sectors: Radio, Television, Engineering, and Finance, each reporting to the Ministry of Information. ERTU established two national terrestrial television channels (ERTU 1 and 2) that provide news for various Egyptian channels, supported by both advertising and listener license fees. By the early twenty-first century there were eight television channels operating, three based in Cairo. Cable service in Cairo began in 1990. Two private radio stations, Nijoom FM and Nile FM, which provide news, entertainment, and music in English, were established to appeal to younger listeners, with an underlining philosophy of promoting Islamic religion and customs. The country's first communication satellite (Nilesat) was launched in 1998 (followed by a second one two years later) to expand television service in Egypt and neighboring nations, and includes a news channel. Two privately owned television channels appeared in Cairo in the early 2000s. Internet use is expanding but remains only a tiny source of news for most people, though the government does not censor websites.

Libya

A desert nation with a small population (about 6 million, most of whom are Sunni Muslims living near the coast), Libya became an Italian colony in 1911. The country gained its independence in 1951 as a monarchy, but the army overthrew the king in 1969. Arabic is the national language, but Italian and English are used by urban elites. Oil is the primary export but Libya imports most of its food and consumer goods. While literacy is high, with 75 percent of the population able to read, newspapers have small circulations. Of the country's seven newspapers, only *Al-Jadeed* is published in English while the others (and radio and television stations) use French and Arabic as the language of communication.

Though freedom of the press was seemingly guaranteed by the 1969 constitution, the role of the press falls within the political principles of the revolution. All private newspapers were nationalized in 1973 and a public press organization was created to publish them. Under the arrangement, two daily newspapers were published, one in Arabic and the other in Benghazi, a major language in Libya. Periodicals may not challenge or criticize the principles behind the country's revolution, spread rumors, or publish materials offensive to religions. The government also operates all electronic media (the first radio station began service only in 1957; television began a decade later). Internet usage is very limited and closely monitored.

Tunisia

Geographically the smallest of the countries discussed here, Tunisia has more than 10 million people, two-thirds of whom are literate. France took over Tunisia in the 1880s and only ceded control in 1956. The country's laws and news

media long resembled those of France, and French is still spoken by urban elites.

Though one government French language newspaper was formed in 1861, *Le Petit Tunisien* was founded in 1889 to reflect the official position of the colonial government. The publication and others established thereafter (most in French, a handful in Arabic) were banned from expressing independent views. To enforce censorship, the government closed down all the nationalist newspapers and periodicals in 1933, only slowly allowing some to resume publication.

There are seven major newspapers published in the capital city of Tunis, three of them run by the government and the rest privately owned (by French newspapers) but supportive of the regime. Only one has a circulation of more than 100,000. There are many more small weekly papers. The widespread existence of self-censorship and absence of much opposition may be due to the fact that virtually all papers enjoy government subsidies.

Radio was introduced by French colonial authorities in 1930, primarily to serve French expatriates. There are now nearly 30 transmitters, and receivers are widely available. Television began in Tunis in 1966 and, unlike other North African nations, service was soon available through the entire country.

Algeria

With more than 30 million people, and a literacy rate of about 62 percent, Algeria is among the largest African nations. Most of its people live along the Mediterranean coast as much of the interior is dry desert. Arabic is the standard and official language, only about 15 percent speaking one of the Berber tongues. For much of the nineteenth century and up to 1962, France controlled the country, departing only after a bitter seven-year war.

The first daily Algerian newspapers were published in French, aimed chiefly at colonial elites in Algiers and other cities. Very little was published in Arabic. With independence in 1962, press-government relations varied but generally were under the thumb of the ruling FLN party. Newspapers circulated largely to the literate elite. While things opened up a bit in the late 1980s, the army takeover in early 1992 curtailed press freedom again. Through the 1990s and since, papers and individual journalists were often in jeopardy of government crack-downs, and dozens of newspapers were closed down. By 2001, laws made any criticism of government officials a matter of libel. While about 100 small, private newspapers do offer criticism, government control of most printing plants gives officials considerable control over what is disseminated.

The first private radio stations aired in Algiers in 1925. French colonial authorities took over operating stations in 1957, a year after the country's first television station began service. By the 1990s, broadcasting networks (one television and three radio) and stations were all operated by the government. Radio service covers most of the country, but television signals are limited to the coastal areas where most people live.

Morocco

Morocco is the westernmost of the four Maghreb countries, located on the northwestern corner of Africa's coastline along both the Mediterranean and the Atlantic Ocean. A protectorate of both Spain and France for the half century before it gained independence in 1956, the country is the only kingdom in the Maghreb. Of its more than 30 million people, slightly under half are literate. Morocco still demonstrates strong French cultural leanings; though Arabic is the official language, French is widely spoken among urbanized elites.

Newspapers were predominantly French in language and content under the Protectorate, and censorship was introduced during World War II. The few nationalist papers that did appear were quickly suppressed. Political Arabic newspapers proliferated in both the capital of Rabat and Casablanca after independence, though many were suppressed after 1959. While the constitution promises freedom of the press, press laws forbid, for example, criticism of the monarchy or Islam. Of the more than 20 major dailies, Arabic language papers have gained the highest circulation, and more appear each year. Indeed, there are more than 600 daily and weekly papers, plus another 700 or so periodicals published in the country. But the largest dailies, with perhaps three-quarters of all circulation, while they seek commercial support, rely on government publication subsidies.

Radio stations were privately owned until they were nationalized in 1959. Television began under private ownership in 1954 (the first in the Maghreb) but failed in two years. Service was only reintroduced in 1962. Broadcasting is operated by Radio Fusion television, Marocaine (RTM), also known as Radio Maroc, an agency in the Ministry of Information. Internet access was available to about 15 percent of the population in 2007.

Conclusion

In an era of satellite transmission, all of these nations can receive Al Jazeera, which provides an alternative source of regional and world news. As Internet penetration slowly increases, that, too, provides additional journalism options. But the domestic newspaper and broadcast media in these countries, generally held not to be free by Western observers, exhibit considerable self-censorship to avoid government regulation or outright suppression. Several of the governments license journalists (and one cannot practice the profession without such a license), another way of controlling political content.

Dayo Alao and Christopher H. Sterling

See also Africa, Sub-Saharan; Al Jazeera; Arab Countries; Comparative Models of Journalism; Development Journalism; Free Flow of Information; PanAfrican News Agency

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Africa, Sub-Saharan

Among the 48 sub-Saharan African countries, the liberalization of the media has been at the center of debate since a wave of democratic reform swept through the region in the 1990s. Within this wave of democratization, authoritarian one-party regimes yielded to multiparty systems in most African states. At the onset of democratization, a wide range of media reforms surfaced with countries opening up and deregulating their media sector. Moreover, legal frameworks emerged to restore press freedom. One key feature of the newfound media freedom has been the proliferation of independent media.

Despite these developments, sub-Saharan Africa receives only a tiny percentage of global news coverage. Furthermore, the region forms a complex cultural and ethnic tableau of 788 million people who speak approximately 2,000 languages. Although rich in natural resources, most of sub-Saharan Africa falls behind the rest of the world in terms of economic development due to poor infrastructure, government instability, natural disasters, vagaries of international markets, and the impact of HIV/AIDS. Situated in this environment is a complex political structure. In 2007, the region was home to several electoral democracies—for example, Cape Verde, Botswana, South Africa, Ghana, and Namibia—having held competitive, multiparty elections. Newspapers and the electronic media in these countries are relatively free to report and comment, and to expose corruption. As for the rest of the sub-Saharan African countries, there are emerging democracies, such as Senegal and Togo; a one-party state, Eritrea; a monarchy, Swaziland; and two transitional governments, Sudan and Somalia, where the leadership was installed through a nondemocratic process.

Given the varying degrees of political systems along with the region's diversity and economic variabilities, the media face insurmountable odds in order to operate. Some of the difficulties are historically situated within the legacy of colonialism.

Colonial Era

With the exception of Ethiopia, almost all African countries were colonized by one of seven European

powers (Britain, France, Germany before 1914, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, and Italy). Out of this colonialism and missionary activity, the region's first newspapers evolved. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries three press systems had emerged: one was owned by churches and was expressly intended for spreading the Christian gospel and reaffirming colonial rule; the second, a local or foreign-owned press; and the third, an African-owned and -financed press—sometimes with missionaries' financial support. In an interesting way, the colonial structure (especially in the British colonies) allowed a free and independent press, though not one without government control. In addition to laws controlling sedition and defamation, the British colonial administration, fearing the rising anticolonial press, began to codify press laws that required, for example, newspaper registration and the posting of a bond to publish a single newspaper. And although each colonial power established its own method of administering its colonies, they shared a common view of Africans. In line with the pseudoscientific racial thinking of the nineteenth century, colonial governments saw Africans as simple, and even subhuman. Without careful control, newspapers might easily excite this semibarbaric population that greatly outnumbered whites and lead to a backlash against colonial authority.

By the mid-twentieth century, the African press (whether published in colonial languages or in vernacular tongues) grew exponentially as anticolonial movements arose. Not surprisingly, several early African journalists were leaders in resistance movements and, after achieving their country's independence, became Africa's first heads of state. Nnamdi Azikiwe, a radical journalist and later the first President of Nigeria, established the *West African Pilot* in 1937. By the 1950s, he controlled ten newspapers. Ghana's first Prime Minister, Kwame Nkrumah, used two of his newspapers, *The Accra Evening News* and the *Cape Coast Daily Mail,* to proclaim his rallying cry for decolonization. Jomo Kenyatta, first Prime Minister and President of Kenya, established *Muigwithamia* in 1928. The leader of Tanzania African National Union (TANU) and first President of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, was the editor of the party organ, *Sauti ya TANU.*

During the colonial era, many African newspapers served as symbols of freedom against further European occupation. Serving as the voice of the oppressed, newspaper editors and journalists became heroes for displaying the fortitude to stand up to a colonial government even if it meant being imprisoned. Their actions gave them celebrity status, which boosted newspaper sales and enhanced the platform on which to organize resistance. As a result, several of the nationalist journalists were charged with sedition and were either heavily fined or ended up in prison.

When African countries regained their independence from European rule, they lacked many of the prerequisites for pluralistic democracy upon which press freedom is built. Consequently, the political systems that arose in the postcolonial era were usually authoritarian and resembled the same patterns of governance imposed by the former colonial regimes. In terms of the press, colonial governments made little effort to establish the legacy of Western libertarian press freedom. For the first 30 years of independence, the media became integrated into the party and government structure, relegating journalists and editors to the civil service.

Present Media Landscape

The democratization wave in the 1990s led to two significant developments: a rising conscientiousness and articulation of press freedom and a significant increase in independent media.

On May 3, 1991, the "Windhoek Declaration on Promoting an Independent and Pluralistic African Press," adopted by African journalists in Namibia and later endorsed by the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), concluded that an "independent, pluralistic and free press is essential to the development and maintenance of democracy in a nation, and for economic development." A year later, the Charter for a Free Press, adopted by journalists at a conference sponsored by the World Press Freedom Committee, began with "A free press means a free people." In 1993, the UN General Assembly proclaimed World Press Freedom Day as a means to raise awareness of the importance of press freedom in strengthening democracy and fostering development around the world.

The Windhoek Declaration and subsequent pronouncements lent support to the democratic transitions that were forcing authoritarian rulers

in most sub-Saharan nations to undertake a growing range of political reforms. By the end of the 1990s, some 42 nations entered a new era of multiparty democracy culminating with constitutional reforms that included freedom of the press and expression.

With these newfound political freedoms, along with the extensive media reforms, CNN-International, Canal France International, Radio Television Portugal International, India's Zee T, the Discovery Channel, and BBC World became household names. A proliferation of independent and community media, especially in radio broadcasting, also emerged. In 1985, there were only 10 independent (non-government-owned) radio stations in all of sub-Saharan Africa. By 2004, Uganda alone had nearly 100 radio stations jostling for space on the FM dial. In Kenya, the number of private radio stations soared from one in 1996 to 49 in 2005. Of the 122 licensed radio stations in South Africa in 2005, nearly 90 were community stations. From 2000 to 2005, Senegal's community radio expanded from seven to 19 while private regional stations increased from 20 to 35.

Access to television is also on the rise with penetration showing enormous range across countries as well as the rural/urban divide. In Kenya, for example, television reaches 56 percent of the population, in Nigeria 83 percent, but only 2 percent in Somalia. Namibia's television penetration is 66 percent in urban areas and only 37 percent in rural regions—a fairly typical ratio for much of the continent.

Television programs from North America and Europe are still available including *The Oprah Winfrey Show, 700 Club, The Bold and the Beautiful, Desperate Housewives, Everybody Hates Chris, Grey's Anatomy*, and *Judge Hatchett*. And this is because it has always been more cost effective to import foreign programs than to produce local content. However, since the mid-1990s, there has been a steady rise of regional production companies, especially in West and Southern Africa, generating more African-content television programs. With a highly developed media infrastructure, South Africa has been leading the way in producing and distributing these programs. In the early twenty-first century, one of the largest providers of television programs in the region is South Africa's M-Net's DSTV (a subscription television service available throughout Africa). However, a number of their program offerings are simply an African version of American or British programs: *Survival Africa, Who Wants to be a Millionaire, Catwalk Kenya*, and *Idols in Africa*. However, soap operas such as *Egoli: Place of God* have a distinct African flavor. In May 2003, M-Net's DSTV launched Africa's first international-format reality program, *Big Brother Africa,* to audiences in 42 sub-Saharan African countries with an estimated viewership of 30 million. South African–based Gateway Communications has already captured the pay-TV market with its services available in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Botswana, Rwanda, Mauritius, Malawi, Zambia, Ghana, Namibia, Ethiopia, and Sierra Leone. It is proceeding with a phased roll-out across sub-Saharan Africa in 2008.

Across the region newspapers are still concentrated in urban areas where literacy is higher and distribution comparatively easy. In countries where the economy is booming and democracy has taken a strong foothold, the newspaper market has been growing, such as South Africa, Senegal, and Mozambique. In other countries (e.g., Uganda and Zambia) newspaper growth is sluggish due to market stress and government policy. In countries, like Eritrea, where the government is hostile to the private media, newspapers have gone out of business. There are, however, other factors that put newspapers at risk or have led to their decline. For one, many newspaper entrepreneurs entered the market during the democratization wave with little understanding of the news business and were, therefore, unable to make a profit. Many of these newspapers have been short-lived. Six years after Côte d'Ivoire returned to multiparty governance in 1996, 187 newspapers were being published. By 2001, about 50 were still being published (about 20 were dailies while 30 were periodicals). In 2007, there were about six private daily newspapers.

Due to its limited penetration, the Internet is not yet posing a serious competition threat for newspapers. What the Internet has done, however, is provide a platform for both independent and state-owned and -operated media to put forth their own positions for the global market. Therefore, almost all media organizations in the region, regardless of their editorial stance, ideological leanings, or political affiliation, have an online presence and

regularly update their content. Probably the biggest and best-known international newspaper, South Africa's *The Daily Mail & Guardian,* was Africa's first online newspaper, launched in 1994.

Certainly the Internet is reshaping the media in the region. By 2000, all countries had secured access, at least in their capital cities. As personal computer penetration is low, users rely on cybercafes, community telecenters, schools, and other public access services. But sub-Saharan Africa still lags behind the rest of the world in Internet penetration, which is only approaching 5 percent. Internal disparities are huge. With a population of just over 3 million, for instance, Liberia had about 1,000 Internet users in 2007. The Congo, with a population roughly equivalent to Liberia, had about 70,000 users. In addition, the rural population, which comprises the vast majority of Africans, has not yet benefited from any of these new communication technologies.

However, the largest growth in telecommunication has been in the region's mobile market, which has been increasing by about 50–60 percent annually. Mobile technology is beginning to have a great impact on journalists who were previously hampered by poor communication infrastructure. Today, mobile technology is being looked at as an expedient and cost effective way for journalists to send images, news video clips, and news reports back to the newsroom.

In terms of news agencies, the South African Press Association (SAPA), which was founded by several urban newspapers in 1938, is one of the oldest in the region. Indeed the South African model is rare. In the post-independence period, governments began to establish their own news-gathering agencies, whether they followed a one-party state or multiparty democratic forms of governments. Following its independence in 1990, and with the establishment of multiparty democracy, the Namibian government created the Namibia Press Agency (NAMPA), which it owns and operates. Journalists working for government agencies such as NAMPA have long been accused of practicing self-censorship. In other countries, news agencies originally established to control the spin from the one-party state governments have undergone a metamorphosis since the 1990s. One year after Angola gained its independence from Portugal in 1975, the Angola Press Agency (ANGOP) was created as the propaganda instrument of the one-party state. However, after the democratization process and the introduction of a multiparty system in 2002, ANGOP became a provider of news for all media in the country. With the help of UNESCO, ANGOP was transformed from a state-owned and -controlled agency to a public enterprise.

Media Structure

Whether involving news agencies, newspapers, or electronic media, the pattern that is evident in most sub-Saharan African countries is that of a dual-media structure: state-owned and -controlled media along with privately owned media. This does not mean that such a structure is always harmonious and does not foment conflict. Depending on the system of government, the independent media face overwhelming obstacles and can be censored or forced out of business at any time. Where repression exists, new communication technologies have opened space for bloggers and others to develop alternative voices to state media institutions. Zimbabwean journalists who found themselves restricted from practicing their profession launched the ZimOnline News Agency in 2004 as part of an effort to establish just such an alternative voice.

Regardless of government interference, it is the private ownership patterns that are slowly changing the media landscape. The emerging pattern is one of concentrated ownership and conglomeration among local and foreign interests. In Kenya, the Royal Media Services own multiple media platforms including Citizen Television, Radio Citizen, The Leader Newspaper, and eight local-language radio stations, whereas two major publishing houses, Nation and Standard, dominate the print media. Following the dismantling of apartheid policies in 1995, the foreign-owned Independent News and Media bought the controlling share in the Argus group publishing empire; in 1996, Johnnic Communications (now Avusa) acquired control of newspaper publisher Times Media Limited, making it the biggest black-owned media company in South Africa; and in 1998 Caxton Publishers bought the controlling share in media and publishing corporation Perskor and consolidated its focus on community newspapers and free

news sheets. South Africa's MIH Holdings—a multinational media company, with its major operations in electronic media, including pay TV, Internet and instant-messaging subscriber platforms, and related technologies—has spread to the 48 sub-Saharan African countries, Greece, Cyprus, the Netherlands, the United States, Thailand, China, and Brazil. MIH also has print media interests in Brazil, China, Nigeria, Kenya, and Angola.

Training

After gaining independence from colonial rule, it was clear that a void existed in Africa's media infrastructure and that journalists needed training. In most countries there were no schools of journalism and no tradition of formal journalism education or systematic training. On-the-job training was the predominant model at the time, and continues to be the model most preferred by newspapers, which have resisted formal training of journalists.

Today, there are several models of journalism training available throughout the region. One is the workshop model for practicing journalists, which emphasize a particular set of skills such as investigative reporting, science reporting, and reporting on HIV/AIDS. These workshops, usually funded by donors and in partnership with a local nongovernmental organization (NGO), involve a limited number of participants, and are conducted either in the host country, inter-regionally, or in the donor's country. Another approach are vocational institutes that offer three-year diplomas in journalism, such as the Evelyn Hone College in Zambia and the Polytechnic of Namibia. Recognizing the need for in-country degree training at the university level, several countries—even those that gained independence in the early 1960s—established undergraduate degree programs. Nnamdi Azikiwe, the first President of Nigeria, saw the value of linking journalism education to a university and imported the American land-grant university model to the University of Nigeria Nsukka, thereby instituting Nigeria's first university journalism program. With 30 universities offering journalism training as of 2006, Nigeria had the highest number of university journalism degree-granting training entities in sub-Saharan Africa, followed by South Africa with 10. However, across the region journalism training institutions face a number of challenges.

The UNESCO report, *Criteria and Indicators for Quality Journalism Training Institutions & Identifying Potential Centres of Excellence in Journalism Training in Africa,* written in 2007 by journalism professors Guy Berger and Corinne Matras, outlines the challenges these institutions face: shortages of staff, the need for PhD qualifications among full-time faculty, insufficient scholarships for disadvantaged students, under-equipped facilities, insufficient funding, out-of-date curricula, lack of funds to replace and update computer/lab equipment, insufficient web knowledge, and poor Internet connectivity. Another challenge is sustainability. The Nigerian Institute of Journalism, for example, closed in 1999, due to a disagreement about the status of the institute and its programs, only to reopen four years later.

Professional Organizations

Another striking feature of the democracy transformation is the rise in professional associations. These professional organizations follow several patterns with varying agendas and levels of success. There are a few subregional organizations, such as the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA), which was established in 1992 and represents 14 southern African countries. Launched in 1997, the Media Foundation for West Africa (MFWA) represents the 16 West African countries. Congolese journalists established Journaliste en Danger (JED) to monitor and defend press freedom in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 1998. The JED expanded its work to eight central African French-speaking countries by 2003. These regional organizations see their common mission as that of being advocates for press freedom and raising professional standards through training. Well organized and with a range of global media partners and national branches or collaborators within each country, they also have a good track record in terms of monitoring constitutional press infractions by governments, disseminating annual reports on the state of the media.

In addition, professional journalistic associations and unions proliferate in many countries, although journalists find it difficult to sustain these organizations as well as their level of power within

the government structure. Some of these organizations pre-date the democratic wave. The Ghana Journalist Association (GJA) was established in 1949 and was incorporated into the state apparatus by then-President Kwame Nkrumah. Under the leadership of Kabral Blay-Amihere, the GJA changed its direction in the early 1990s to include journalists across sectors, and has since become an independent organization for professional training and socialization that displays an adversarial edge when it comes to government. Benin's Union of Private Press Journalists, established in 1966, brings together journalists working in the public press (state-owned). Since the wave of democratization in the early 1990s, over 25 organizations have been established in Benin, each catering to various specialized journalists (e.g., cultural, economic, environmental, and parliamentary journalists).

Some organizations cater solely to journalists working in the private press, such as Mali's Association des Editeurs de la Presse Privée du Mali. Others are gender-specific, such as the Uganda Media Women's Association that was created in 1983 as a nongovernmental organization for women journalists from government and private media. Science writers from Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana, and Uganda have partnered with the Canadian-based World Federation of Science Journalists to develop their own organization. In post-apartheid South Africa, senior journalists, editors, and journalism trainers formed the South African National Editors' Forum in 1996 to reflect South Africa's diversity, champion press freedom, and improve quality and ethics in journalism.

Legal and Other Constraints

Although the majority of sub-Saharan nations have adopted constitutions guaranteeing free expression and a free press, these protections are often limited through legislation inherited from colonial and early nationalist regimes. The MISA suggests that in Swaziland there are at least 32 pieces of legislation that can limit constitutional guarantees of press freedom, some dating back to 1938. While press freedom is constitutionally guaranteed in Equatorial Guinea, the government severely restricts freedom through a 1992 press law, which authorizes government censorship of all publications. In 2006, the U.S.-based Committee to Protect Journalists ranked Equatorial Guinea as one of the five most censored countries in the world. Criticisms of the President (who came into power in 1979) is not tolerated, and self-censorship among journalists is the norm.

Perhaps the most damaging colonial holdover is the so-called insult laws, a form of criminal defamation. Once designed to shield kings from dishonor, these laws make it a criminal offense to insult the honor or dignity of a public official in all but five sub-Saharan countries. In the first five months of 2007, insult laws led to the harassment, arrest, or imprisonment of more than a hundred journalists in 26 African countries. In mid-2007, the International Federation of Journalists launched the "Africa Journalist out of Jail Campaign," calling on African leaders to release journalists imprisoned in Ethiopia, Eritrea, and the Gambia. The World Association of Newspapers and the World Editors Forum in their Declaration of Table Mountain also issued a similar call against insult laws.

Adding to the problem of inherited laws is new legislation being enacted in a number of countries that impact press freedom. The 2002 Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) in Zimbabwe, for example, is designed to protect the Mugabe government from scrutiny by restricting access to information held by public bodies and penalizing public or media inquiries into its actions. Since its passage, several independent media outlets have been shut down, journalists have been arrested, and foreign journalists have been prevented from working in Zimbabwe.

Even in countries with a relatively free press, criticizing the government can backfire. In March 2001, the Namibian government banned all government advertising and prohibited any government department from purchasing the independent daily *The Namibian* as a result of it being too critical of government policies. In June 2007, the government of Lesotho banned all state and semi-government agencies from purchasing advertising in the privately owned weekly *Public Eye*. Given the relative dearth of commercial advertising in much of the continent, this type of economic pressure has a strong and immediate impact on targeted media.

The African press is in a quandary because both government officials and journalists operate

within two opposing press ideologies. Governments require loyalty from the media, whether public or private. Since independence, African leaders have argued that to avoid political instability, media should work in partnership with the government to achieve national development objectives. The partnership model generally works well within state-controlled media where journalists tend to appear as public relations specialists. However, independent media tend to model their professional ethics around the libertarian Western model of a free press that calls for freedom from state intervention. Conflicts regularly occur.

It is safe to say that journalists face a myriad of conditions that impact their careers. These include low wages, poor working conditions, lack of experience and professional training, and a culture of secrecy and self-censorship. Aside from these obstacles is the "brown envelope" syndrome. This is a widespread practice in many countries wherein journalists accept bribes or routinely seek payments from the individuals or organizations they cover. As is often the case in government and business, journalists contend that low salaries drive such unethical practices.

Across sub-Saharan Africa, self-regulation through codes of conduct is becoming the norm for encouraging high professional and ethical standards. Some countries, such as South Africa, have multiple codes for newspapers (*The Mail & Guardian's* Professional Code, *Business Day* and *Financial Mail, Die Burger*), television (e.tv, South Africa's first private free-to-air television channel), professional organizations (the South African Union of Journalists and South Africa National Editors' Forum), state regulatory bodies (the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa), and those concerned with national health issues (Reporting on HIV/AIDS: Ethical Guidelines for South African Media). Similarly, Tanzania has varied codes of conduct for media managers and editors, journalists, news agencies, and media photographers. There are also subregional codes of ethics. The East Africa Free Press Assembly adopted an East and Central African Code of Ethics in 2001, which was reaffirmed in 2002. Additional codes of conduct can be found in Rwanda, Angola, Kenya, Zambia, Malawi, Namibia, and Zimbabwe.

Conclusion

Given continued ethnic strife, the apparent rebirth of authoritarianism in a number of states, the massive diversity across the region, the struggle to create and maintain democratic governance that many countries are experiencing for the first time, and various legal impediments, press freedom in sub-Saharan Africa remains a constant struggle. Despite these challenges, African journalists have been building organizations that support a free and independent press as well as self-regulatory bodies to promote professional standards.

The developments associated with the 1990s wave of democratization have transformed the media in most countries from a predominantly state-owned and -controlled propaganda tool to a more open and independent media. However, within this open system there is a myriad of ways in which individual countries have responded to the liberalization and privatization of the media. The news and broadcast media are undergoing immense growth in sub-Saharan Africa. Yet there is a digital divide that separates sub-Saharan African countries from each other and the rest of the world. Internet penetration is low while costs are high. Mobile technology is rapidly expanding and journalists are beginning to reap the benefits of this technology. Conglomeration and convergence is shaping the media industry in many countries. Broadcasting formats and programming imported from North America and Europe continue to shape the cultural discourse. And despite commonalities, there isn't a one-size-fits-all media model. Sub-Saharan Africa has a varied media landscape in terms of media choice, accessibility, levels of government intrusion, and the legal and economic structures in which they operate.

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See also Africa, North; Comparative Models of Journalism; Development Journalism; PanAfrican News Agency

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African American News Media

African American news media grew—as media so often do—from a need to communicate displeasure, in this case, of blacks with the way the white U.S. majority had treated them. A single publication blossomed into several hundred, driving a popular movement for equality as well as a people's struggle toward civic, educational, and economic fulfillment. The black press dominated much of the first two centuries of that struggle, showcasing the debate on its pages while transmitting mainstream values and ideals to its readership and modeling prevailing newspaper business practices. Advances in technology have led to other, more viable forms of media, most notably radio and television—which continued to provide alternative, if relatively few, voices to the concerns of blacks. At the dawn of the Internet era, African Americans continue to struggle and plead their cause.

Origins

Despite their plight, African slaves who were brought to North America beginning in the 1600s created a strong, expressive tradition, singing songs and spirituals and orally passing down poetry and narratives through the years. But decades of being ignored or inaccurately portrayed by mainstream media prompted a group of free African Americans—led by college-educated John B. Russwurm and ordained minister Samuel Cornish—to start *Freedom's Journal* on March 16, 1827. The weekly paper advocated antislavery issues and furthered discussion on affluent, middle-class lifestyle and cultural matters (e.g., fashion and religion), becoming the model for the 40 or so black newspapers across the United States until the Civil War's end (and the ascent of political equality issues) in 1865, most of them in the North (although *The Daily Creole,* the first African American daily, was started in 1864 in New Orleans).

Raising blacks' political profile, inspiring them, and creating middle-class aspirations required passion and business insight, as black illiteracy and the lack of advertising support posed significant challenges for the early African American press. As illiteracy declined and black mobility increased after the war, black newspapers proliferated (more than 500 started in 1890 alone), but many were short-lived. Unlike white papers, the black press had to rely on copy sales—rather than advertising—for most of its income because there weren't many black businesses and no white businesses would advertise in the publications. And with literacy rates among African Americans reaching

only 50 percent by 1900, sales income was so low that many black editors had to take second jobs.

After the Civil War, with the increasingly mobile and literate black population spreading across the country, more and more black newspapers started publishing (although many died just as quickly), including one present-day survivor, *The Philadelphia Tribune,* started in 1884. No one paper dominated the continuing battle against segregation, lynching, and discrimination. Rather, a collection of papers of varying influences and duration took up the fight against injustice, particularly as portrayed by the southern white press (i.e., blacks as bungling, uncivilized, and morally lax). Southern black papers—including the *Charleston* (South Carolina) *New Era, Huntsville* (Alabama) *Gazette,* and *Savannah* (Georgia) *Tribune*—upheld the premise that blacks were human and deserving of better treatment but these three newspapers needed every voice of support they could muster as more and more of them had trouble surviving. Newspapers that did survive found much to write about, particularly the abolition of lynching and the power of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) in the South. Because the government and the courts would not "control" blacks, private white citizens took to illegal means to do so, resulting in terror among black families (between 1884 and 1900, some 2,500 African Americans were lynched) and fears of a return to slavery. So the Reconstruction Era (ca. 1865–77) black press continued to publicize wrongdoings and provide an outlet for racial pride and self-determination, albeit in short bursts because inadequate funding prevented consistent publishing schedules. Many black publishers did not operate their publications as profit-making businesses; they were so busy maintaining watch on the Republican Party and black-related concerns and issues and—as a result—neglecting advertising needs that they often couldn't subsist. Still, many renowned newspapers were published in major urban areas (in addition to Philadelphia), most notably Indianapolis, Washington, New York, and Cleveland; many were circulated throughout their respective states, effectively becoming more than local newspapers and wielding regional power.

The combination of moral outrage at perceived inequities and optimism that African Americans still could achieve the American dream helped to unite African Americans and inspire them to persevere at a time when complete freedom seemed unattainable. When the U.S. Supreme Court in 1883 ruled the Civil Rights Act of 1875 (which guaranteed equal treatment in public accommodations) unconstitutional—essentially denying federal protection of African Americans against discrimination in the use of their newly won rights—and the federal government withdrew troops from the South the same year, Jim Crow laws (requiring separate public facilities for blacks) began to appear (in nine states by 1892). Blacks protested this and other perceived wrongs through the black press, particularly in the North. (Southern and Midwest papers tended to be less demanding and more compromising.) Despite these dire trends, African Americans overall continued to be optimistic and to turn to black newspapers for inspiration.

Outstanding papers during this Reconstruction era included *The New York Globe* (later alternately known as *The Freeman* or *The Age,* the latter becoming the most widely read and influential black newspaper of its time), which promoted the idea of a national organization—the forerunner of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)—formed to contest racial discrimination and related issues. *Globe* founder T. Thomas Fortune suggested blacks stand firm and hold their ground against mounting white violence, contrary to the advice of more moderate black leaders such as Booker T. Washington. Fortune, the first to use the term "Afro American," said blacks should die for their rights, if necessary. Although he believed in following the law, Fortune also felt that, lacking adequate legal protection, blacks should protect themselves—even if it meant bearing arms.

A different type of black press leadership came from Baltimore, where in 1892 the *Baltimore Afro American*—by the early twenty-first century second only to the Philadelphia newspaper as the longest, continuously operating black newspaper—was started by former slave and later Virginia minister John H. Murphy Jr. Establishing a strong reputation for local sensationalistic news as well as coverage of black issues, the paper—under the direction of printshop supervisor-turned-manager John H. Murphy and his family—outlasted a half-dozen similar local publications by building its infrastructure through the selling of stock and building its content on its appeal to working-class blacks

rather than the elite. It also maintained a dual outlook toward racial issues—denouncing racial segregation while advocating for the best circumstances for blacks within the racist system—while increasing its influence beyond its midatlantic and Southern black readership to become more of a national voice for black America.

Political Action, With Restraint and Booker T. Washington's Help

Around the turn of the century, many black papers started to reflect the *Afro American* in that they were philosophically split on racial issues—but in large part they concentrated on how to reverse blacks' declining fortunes. Despite the moderation advanced by successful African Americans such as Booker T. Washington, some African Americans began to tout migration as a solution to the plight of Southern blacks in the columns of the black press. So encouraged, nearly 2 million blacks moved from the rural South to the more industrial North between 1910 and 1930. Inequities persisted, particularly regarding competition for jobs and housing; riots sometimes resulted, leading to the creation of the aforementioned NAACP in 1910. But regular American life—freedom from slavery, in other words—began to return some dividends: literacy growth (fostered by free public education) led to improved employment capacity for blacks. This resulting intellectual divide between middle- and lower-class blacks, combined with blacks' improved economic power and potential and the racially segregated housing and social patterns of the industrialized cities, laid the groundwork for a fairly dramatic change in the black press.

Washington's idea—essentially that through hard work, self-education, and patience, African Americans could better themselves and show whites that blacks were worthy of full citizenship—resonated with many black newspaper publishers. It helped that he headed Tuskegee Institute, which supplied the black-oriented National Press bureau with news releases and advertising while directly aiding some newspapers (via subsidies, free content, and advertising). Although it was not among the papers affiliated with the bureau, *The Chicago Defender*—founded in 1905 and generally acknowledged as one of the top three influential black papers in the country—nonetheless led the way in commercializing the black press. Increased reliance on advertising, combined with increased and controversial news coverage, helped position *The Defender* and its editor Robert Abbott as models for other publications. Not only did the paper advocate for blacks, it made a profit, too.

Washington's philosophy of advancement through financial success subtly worked its way into the very foundations of the black press. *The Defender*—while sensationalist in its own right—was an early proponent of the northward migration and at the outset shunned political coverage, concentrating more on branding itself as a voice for blacks throughout the country. By taking this approach, it was able to build up circulations in various cities that had their local *Defender* editions and successfully copy the circulation-is-king model of U.S. newspaper icons James Gordon Bennett and William Randolph Hearst. The increased circulation drew advertising, which led to development of ad-only sections and greater reliance on advertisers for revenue. *The Afro American* soon began to imitate this model, which continues to this day in certain states and metropolitan areas with large black populations (*The Atlanta* [Georgia] *Daily World,* for example, started as a weekly in 1928 and became the first black daily in 1932; it expanded to include 60 *Daily World*s across the country until economic realities and politics [it did not support sit-ins of downtown Atlanta restaurants in the 1960s] reduced its influence to only Atlanta; Birmingham, Alabama; and Memphis, Tennessee). By 1918, white advertising agencies were representing black papers to white advertisers, and black newspapers enjoyed an economic "golden age" until 1930 (*The Defender* grew from 21 columns of advertising per printing in 1917 to more than 61 columns in 1919).

But many black papers, despite their flourishing thanks to the advertising and the growing black middle class, also reflected the pro-protest position (i.e., that blacks should oppose and doubt whites' views) advocated by activist and scholar W. E. B. Du Bois and other intellectuals. Such papers—often carrying fewer commercial advertisements because their advertising space promoted socialistic ideas—joined their more commercial peers in condemning race-based policies; but they also tried to promote a certain kind of united black identity rooted in reform, dissent, equality, and integration. Partly

Linotype operators in April 1941 in Chicago at the printing plant of The Chicago Defender*, one of the most influential African American newspapers in the early decades of the twenty-first century.*

Source: Library of Congress.

because of Washington's heavy-handedness (via his own news and distribution service; his influence in gaining grants for black papers that refrained from certain criticisms of him or his political contacts; and his covert efforts to economically damage independent, critical black newspapers), however, these papers were dwarfed by those that urged self-betterment, domestic life, gradual social progress, schooling, and economic enhancement via conventional channels. Few editors could resist Washington's financial support and thus his influence, not even T. Thomas Fortune, who was befriended and later politically castigated by Washington.

World War I, meanwhile, assisted black economic progress by driving African Americans into the work force to fill the job vacancies left by whites going into the armed forces. Chicago (aided by *The Defender*'s continued encouragement of migration) became a magnet for blacks; two of every three copies of *The Defender* were sold outside Chicago, primarily in the South, indicating that Chicago beckoned as a black oasis in the United States. Headlines such as "Call the White fiends to the Door and Shoot them Down" did not endear the paper to whites. Not surprisingly, the paper became a target of war-time investigation by federal agencies and lasting southern ire.

The war added equal treatment for black soldiers to the newspapers' agenda, putting the black press in the position of having to protest while simultaneously being a patriotic war supporter. As

a result, the federal government—through flattery and legal threat—tried to monitor and control anything the 200 or so black newspapers did that approached war-time criticism. Anti-German and pro-patriotism materials, speakers, and events sponsored by the black press were not enough to pacify suspicious Justice Department officials, who often surveilled, interrogated, and occasionally jailed black editors and publishers, but never prosecuted them, for fear of seeming hypocritical—fighting for freedom and equality for non-Americans while some within its own borders weren't allowed the same privileges—to other countries.

Setting the Table for Civil Rights

At war's end, the black press resumed the struggle for civil rights. The federal government—led by Attorney General Mitchell Palmer's vigilance against any perceived collaboration between civil rights and communist groups soon after the Russian Revolution of 1917—never relaxed its scrutiny of the black press and attempted (albeit unsuccessfully) to pass peacetime antitreason legislation. Black newspapers, for their part, renewed the fight against lynching and the resurgent KKK while reaping the benefits of still-increasing black literacy and postwar black yearning for social progress. Soon many of the nearly 500 black newspapers, most of them published weekly, fostered a protest movement initially based on the ideas of Jamaican intellectual and editor Marcus Garvey, who believed that only self-reliance by African Americans could break the bonds of racism. Garvey also stressed the importance of the liberation of Africa from colonial powers and global black pride. These ideas inspired similar-thinking groups—such as the National Urban League, the NAACP, and the National Negro Congress—to call for mass black protest—notions that took hold not only in Chicago but also in the many other northern cities that benefited from black migration, such as Philadelphia, Cleveland, and New York.

One such city, Pittsburgh, began to nurture a rival to *The Defender* with *The Pittsburgh Courier*. Improved reporting and interesting content (coverage of notable black achievements and political satire, for example) enhanced the paper's reputation. Southern emigrant, lawyer, and *Courier* editor-publisher Robert Vann emulated *The Defender*'s business model, as well as its sensationalist ways, but tempered its coverage of the lurid and scandalous with expansive investigative reports on the American South and Africa, earning it readers nationally and abroad. Its continuous front-page campaign to integrate the U.S. Army and to urge African Americans to contact their congressmen about the importance of integration only shored up its support in the black community—so much so that it came under FBI suspicion and investigation in the late 1930s and early 1940s. Other black papers followed *The Courier* in lobbying for integration of the Army, to the point that in 1940 President Franklin Roosevelt (1933–45) signed a military draft bill that included a nondiscrimination section.

But the battle for military integration spilled over into World War II. *The Courier* started its "Double V" (double victory) campaign signifying that African Americans would fight for democracy abroad *and* at home for the war's duration. The paper enlisted black and white celebrities—such as singer Marian Anderson, band musician Lionel Hampton, writer Sinclair Lewis, actor Humphrey Bogart, and broadcast mogul William S. Paley—and held Double V–related events, sold Double V pins, held congressmen-writing parties, and even once had a Double V song broadcast on a national network radio program on NBC. Meanwhile, other black papers highlighted numerous wrongs committed against African Americans in the military, culminating in a meeting of some black publishers and select Roosevelt aides who were threatening censorship via the courts; also at stake was federally supplied "patriotic" advertising—businesses were granted tax breaks in exchange for reinvesting the gains in the economy in a novel manner (such as advertising in the black press). The meeting ended with the government agreeing to make its war officials available for interviews while the black newspapers toned down their criticism of the federal government. Eventually, Roosevelt—under criticism from the black press for not making himself available to black groups—met with members of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association in February 1944 and—as a direct result—three days later a black reporter was finally allowed to join the White House press corps.

With the economic gains made by African Americans serving in the military and in civilian

wartime jobs, the black press grew in stature. A 1944 national study commissioned by the Carnegie Foundation highlighted the black press's role in developing black pride and unity and its importance as a pressure group that encouraged strike lines and protest rallies with integrationist aims. *Ebony,* a national black magazine focusing on middle-class lifestyles, debuted in 1945. But any feelings of complacency about having "made it" into mainstream America on the part of the black press didn't last because of its continuing reliance on circulation sales (instead of advertising sales). This reliance on readership revenue would prove damaging amidst the growing civil rights movement.

Overcoming, but Not in Business

The limited success of protest emboldened African Americans to step up the pressure for change. The courts served as a backdrop for many such efforts, particularly the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* verdict that struck down the "separate but equal" doctrine used by state and federal governments since the nineteenth century to segregate blacks from whites. Although appeals and attempts to evade the ruling by recalcitrant southern states slowed its implementation, the federal government soon made it clear by distribution of funding and enactment of other, equality-driven measures in government agencies that full citizenship rights for African Americans were inevitable. The NAACP pursued several other education-related cases intending to increase black access to graduate and professional training between the 1930s and *Brown*. The black press highlighted the victories while criticizing and calling attention to the decisions' deficiencies and the subsequent foot-dragging by the losing parties.

In the face of escalating civil rights protests in the 1960s, the growing impact of African American voters on elections, the clever manipulation of the news media by those in the civil rights movement (the use of peaceful confrontations and marches was ready-made news), and the violent riots that resulted in several major cities by the mid- and late 1960s, the mainstream press could no longer ignore black protests and politics. Major daily newspapers and the broadcasting networks began to search black press newsrooms for reporters who could gain access to black sources at the heart of the civil rights story. Black newspapers soon became training grounds for the prestige news media. The number of black journalists working in mainstream publications in the mid-1960s was relatively small—the National Association of Black Journalists, for example, began with 44 members in 1975—and no official statistics about the number of black journalists were kept until the late 1970s, when there were 1,700 minority journalists out of a national total of 43,000—constituting just 4 percent. That number steadily increased to—and then stabilized around—8,000, or about 14 percent, in 2007, despite the fact that minorities represent about a third of the U.S. population.

Black readership also underwent change. Prior to the 1960s' push for civil rights, the centralized ghettoes of industrialized U.S. cities created a ready-made distribution area for the black press. But as literacy increased in the late 1940s and into the 1950s and 1960s among African Americans, they also discovered and began reading mainstream newspapers as well as the black press. Ironically, mainstream advertisers felt no need to advertise in the black press—because African Americans also read the mainstream press. Increased literacy, more education, and better jobs among African Americans also meant a flourishing black middle class, many of whom could afford to leave the ghetto, thus complicating black press distribution and making it more costly; the local black paper now had to find a way to reach areas outside the central black community. By the 1960s and commonly by the 1970s, the national black newspapers, in order to save the costs of expanded distribution, began to restrain distribution of their editions to areas closer to their base.

As a typical small business, the weekly black newspaper could not compete with daily news media. If an event occurred after the weekly deadline, the newspaper had to find another way to report about that event; this would take extra time for most reporters. Moreover, losing "star" staffers to the higher salaries and greater prestige of the mainstream press made finding experienced replacements difficult and costly. The black press's conservative (i.e., advocating gradual political change), middle class, integrationist editorial stances and approach to news also disagreed with many younger black journalists who often sought

the faster-paced change that mainstream news media could potentially offer.

In the modern era, what remains of the black press varies by locale. Some major cities, such as Houston, New York, or Los Angeles, may have multiple black newspapers—many of them unknown to (because they are too small to afford membership dues) or not members of the 200-member National Newspaper Publishers Association (NNPA), the self-proclaimed "black press of America." The two remaining black dailies—the *Atlanta Daily World* and *The Defender* top the NNPA membership list; the rest of black newspapers are weekly or monthly. *The Defender*'s circulation dropped from a prewar high of 157,000 to about 30,000 in 2008 while *The Daily World* saw circulation fall to 16,000 in the mid-1960s from its peak of 75,000. Meanwhile, the NNPA has partnered with Howard University in Washington to expand its operation to the Internet with BlackPressUSA.com, a daily compendium of news, art, sports, entertainment, and history. Developments such as this one suggest that the black press now finds itself a complement to the mainstream press, rather than a substitute for it.

Balancing Politics and Revenue

Lack of money perennially plagues the typical black newspaper, usually considered a "small business" with 50 or so employees (and most with perhaps two dozen or fewer). Advertising staffs are relatively small and typically solicit advertising from businesses that make products specifically for blacks. As national black newspapers' circulation began to dwindle in the 1960s, black press advertising staffers lacked the expertise and resources necessary to effectively promote the black press to advertisers. Indeed, only three local black newspapers undertook costly verification of their readership to assure advertisers of their audience's size.

By the 1970s, black publishers had to walk the line between becoming too strident in tone (satisfying younger or more race-conscious readers) and too dependent on sales (and thus seeking more advertising from mainstream businesses that want to try to sell to older, more conservative, and middle-class readers). This spawned a division in the black press between traditional and profitable integrationist-yet-critical newspapers and the more "militant" newspapers that increasingly appeared to have become somewhat obsolete protest vehicles.

Still, a successful business must make a profit to exist, which meant black newspapers had to more assertively start seeking advertising and appealing to readership in more interesting and diverse ways. With the gains made by the civil rights movement, African Americans *en masse* began to join the rest of the country in consuming products of the U.S. market economy. As a result, by the 1970s businesses took note, advertisers began to notice blacks' brand loyalty, and black entrepreneurs (along with the rest of the mainstream media) responded by trying to reach various segments of the black audience. For example, the first issue of *Essence*—a monthly publication targeting black women—appeared in November 1945. Its editors designed the 50,000 copies to foster readers' confidence in their physical appearances and supply an outlet for discussion of such issues as workplace politics and personal experiences.

Ebony publisher John Johnson also took a cue from the change in black readers' tastes. Johnson had simultaneously tried to promote his *Negro Digest,* a broad, integrationist publication (started in 1942) that had changed in the 1960s to cover black nationalism and related issues via content linking literature and politics. But lack of sales prompted Johnson to close the publication in 1970 and place greater emphasis on *Jet,* which he had started in 1951 as a general, small, and easy-to-read news magazine that immediately became nationally popular.

Earl Graves, a former aide to President John Kennedy (1961–63), used his experience and exposure to how wealth and power worked to inspire his creation of *Black Enterprise* in 1970. Graves had also been a consultant to many companies on economic development and urban affairs and parlayed his idea for a newsletter that detailed the successes of black businesspeople into *Black Enterprise,* which initially depended on tobacco and liquor corporations for advertising before eventually convincing technology and other business sectors that he had a viable audience.

Black Broadcasting

In the 1970s and 1980s, around the same time that black newspapers began to be challenged by their

readers' exodus to the suburbs, other black-owned news media also started appearing with more regularity. Although the first radio station to be owned by blacks was bought in 1948 in Atlanta, Georgia, only 16 such stations—out of several thousand in the country—existed by 1970. By 1980 that number increased to 140 and by 2000 it jumped to 211 stations, many of which featured gospel, rhythm and blues, rap, and other modern formats. Unlike the black press, black radio attracts white, Latino, and Asian American listeners as well; still, more than 75 percent of the listeners are black.

For many radio stations, however, ownership doesn't automatically mean programming reflects that ownership. Noncommercial radio stations tend to use this programming approach more than commercial stations that simply play music as a way of attracting advertisers. Such "community" stations usually are listener-supported, nonprofit organizations that try to represent alternative voices on various public issues. For example, during the 1980s, KUCB in Des Moines, Iowa, established a reputation for strong, community-based activism on racial matters and particularly stirred controversy in its crusades against police brutality.

Still, the role of black radio in African American progress is significant. Led by pioneers such as vaudevillian performer Jack Cooper and actor-scholar-athlete Paul Robeson in the late 1930s and early 1940s, black radio journalists, educators, and entertainers played an instrumental part in ending racial discrimination in federal agencies and defense plants and educating black and white audiences about each other in an effort to promote racial harmony at home during World War II. But postwar racist resentment returned and combined with cold war and "Red Scare" activities—such as allegations and campaign rhetoric by politicians that American Communist Party members (and, by association, communist Russia) were behind U.S. integration efforts—forced black broadcasters to find alternative channels in which to combat ignorance and discrimination. For example, *New World a-Coming* premiered on a local, non-network outlet in New York City and showcased dramas or documentaries on local and race issues, while Chicago's WMAQ-produced *Destination Freedom* presented similar programming. In the process, such local productions helped rouse black community identities across the country and black radio began to emerge from its blackface-and-minstrelsy origins and rival the black press as a particularly local force. During the 1950s and 1960s, black radio helped marshal blacks to attend civil rights protests, marches, and rallies as no newspaper could because almost every black household had a radio. That influence continued into the early 1970s, reaching full fruition particularly on the eastern seaboard, in cities such as New York and Washington, where several stations employed numerous journalists to cover local black issues.

This also was around the time of the first black-owned television station, which began to broadcast in Detroit in 1973. In the decades since, Congress has urged the Federal Communications Commission (FCC)—the agency that issues broadcast licenses—to find ways to increase minority-group ownership. In 1978, President Jimmy Carter (1977–81) created the Minority Telecommunications Development Program to specifically focus on the problem. But by the mid-1990s, such "affirmative action" programs began to encounter political opposition in Congress and stricter federal court interpretations as to what constituted legal, proactive FCC behavior on behalf of minorities. In 2007, while blacks constituted 13 percent of the population, they owned only 3.4 percent of commercial radio stations and 1.3 percent of commercial television stations.

Changes in broadcast ownership policy to allow more conglomeration reduced the odds of African Americans making gains in broadcast ownership. Black-owned stations are usually one-owner establishments and can't compete with conglomerate-level efficiency. Such difficult-to-beat competition prompted many black owners to sell their stations. Not surprisingly, the government reported that the number of black-owned television stations declined from 1995 (28) to 2000 (20) so that only 10 percent of the country's larger markets featured minority-owned TV stations. An independent, nongovernment report in 2006 put the number of black-owned TV stations at 18. Most of those stations are in areas lacking substantial black populations—such as Syracuse, New York; Salem, Oregon; and Rhinelander, Wisconsin—-suggesting blacks may be buying stations where they are least expensive. Put another way, black-owned stations are found in just 5 of the 59 urban areas where African Americans constitute a majority of the population.

Likewise, many black-oriented radio stations are owned by one or two large corporations. Some perceive that such ownership threatens African Americans' chances of affecting and becoming viable actors not only in the music business but the news business as well. In fact, 43 percent of all minority-owned stations in 2007 were locally owned (i.e., owned by a resident in the station's market). For many African Americans, black radio has replaced the black press as the central community information hub and the one medium that strongly advocates politically for African Americans. In 2000, 96 percent of African Americans age 12 or older listened to radio at least 20 hours a week. In addition, as with the black press, advertising remains a concern for black radio. In 2001, a New York radio station owner had to switch the format of one of his stations from urban contemporary—which aimed toward African Americans—to adult contemporary when some merchants told his advertising sales staff that they did not want African Americans in their stores. In 2007, Radio One, one of the top U.S. radio broadcasting companies, was the largest company to mainly aim at an African American radio audience. It owned and/or operated 69 radio stations in 22 U.S. markets and reached 12 million weekly listeners. Though it did provide news programming, it was generally embedded in other shows, particularly the morning drive-time shows. By 2008 the company was in what appeared to be a financial free-fall as stock value dropped in a difficult economic market.

African American radio listeners are also served by American Urban Radio Networks (AURN), launched in 1991. As of 2008, AURN provides programming—including a newscast and other political reporting—to over 300 affiliate stations across the country.

Blacks and Cable TV

Radio One also co-owned (with Comcast) the cable channel TV One. Launched in 2004, it featured reruns from previously popular shows as well as talk, celebrity, reality, entertainment, and news shows to about 2 million subscribers. In comparison, however, the efforts of former cable industry activist Robert Johnson stand out. He started Black Entertainment Television (BET) cable network in 1980, showing reruns, old movies, and infomercials on a part-time basis. Shrewd management allowed BET to flourish and eventually sell shares on the New York Stock Exchange, which added new investors that included media conglomerates Time Warner and Tele-Communications Inc. (TCI).

Initially, music videos made up more than three-fourths of BET's programming, which had millions of U.S. subscribers. The company bought three other cable channels, published several black magazines, and created an urban radio network to add to its assets. These moves provided enough profit to allow BET to add public affairs programming (e.g., news and talk shows such as *BET Tonight with Ed Gordon,* its successor *BET Tonight with Tavis Smiley, Lead Story,* and *Teen Summit*) and original entertainment shows to its programming schedule and enable it to boast that in 2004, 9 of every 10 U.S. African American cable households subscribed to BET; also, in 1993, 60 percent of BET's audience was non–African American. Still, some criticized BET's role as a black voice in America because of its relative lack of original programming and suggested it was more about business than about politics. In 1999, Johnson sold BET to Viacom, a media conglomerate that owns several other cable networks, including Nickelodeon and MTV. In 2002, Viacom cut back the public affairs programming drastically and eliminated regularly scheduled newscasts to save money.

Internet

With the exception of BET and the *Ebony*-dominated Johnson empires, African Americans have struggled to reach media conglomerate status. Media, as labor-intensive businesses, require large sums of money to operate. African Americans, because of the longtime denials of equal opportunity, have struggled to amass such capital; few have succeeded. New technology has made it more feasible for many individuals to create their own websites to house their own publications. Black newspapers have not rushed as a group to the web, but black online news sites have proliferated (as of 2008, the entry "black news sites" in Google yielded more than 3,000 sites).

One of the black sites most widely read on the Internet, *BlackPressUSA.com,* belongs to the NNPA, a 200-member group collectively known as "the black press." Some 27 NNPA members—of the 92 that offer online versions—in 15 states form the nucleus of the news provided by the site. An additional 14 locales (and their websites) in four additional states are to be added to the main site, which has 15 million readers at various times. But the fact that most African American newspapers are not online remains a concern, especially since although online site hosting is relatively inexpensive compared to running a newspaper, websites still require people to produce, monitor, and change content on an oftentimes more-than-weekly basis. This amounts to extra costs for African American newspapers, most already cash-strapped, so they have been slow to migrate to the web. Coupled with the aging of their primary audiences, the black press' slow development of a successful Internet strategy probably is costing it potential new, younger readers, and in general reflects a decrease in newspaper and magazine reading among African Americans. *Jet* saw a 5 percent readership decrease in 2006, for example.

While African Americans in major U.S. markets are purchasing electronic technology or using the Internet in greater numbers than previously thought—broadband penetration doubled from 2005 to 2006, while 43 percent of black households in 2008 had broadband connections—many experts still worry that its cost may be too expensive for less-affluent African Americans. In addition, today there are many more media outlets than when the black press started, which means that more media enterprises—including, probably, alternative media such as black-owned news media—will likely suffer.

Despite the marketability, readership, and circulation woes of print media, African American news media remain a viable voice for the black community. The ability "to plead our own cause," still resonates with many blacks, as it continues to do with other U.S. minority groups.

George Sylvie

See also Diversity: Content; Diversity: Employment; Diversity: Policy; Ethnic Minority Networks

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Agence France-Presse

Based in Paris, the Agence France-Presse (AFP) is one of the relative handful of news agencies operating globally in the early twenty-first century.

Development

The modern French news service grew out of the century-old Havas agency. Havas had been reorganized during the 1940–44 German occupation as the French Information Office (FIO). Following on similar earlier actions in Algiers (after the allied invasion of North Africa in late 1942), French Resistance journalists took control of FIO offices and personnel on the liberation of Paris in August 1944. To make clear the change in control that had taken place, they began to issue wartime news dispatches under a new name—Agence France-Presse. At the end of September of that year, AFP took over the facilities

and some of the staff of the old, now discredited, Havas service, and became a provisional public corporation—essentially, an arm of the government.

AFP's initial job was to rebuild the global news-gathering network once enjoyed by Havas. That they were at least partially successful was indicated in March 1953 when AFP broke the news to the West of Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin's death. By 1957, AFP had 25 bureaus across France and nearly 60 overseas bureaus (the first in China opened a year later), 13 of them based in what were for a few more years French colonies in Africa and Asia. AFP correspondents were active in 116 countries and the agency distributed news to 73 nations, all of it coordinated at the Paris headquarters. It enjoyed a near monopoly on service to newspaper and broadcast clients within France, though some larger newspapers also subscribed to other agencies, chiefly the AP or Reuters.

However, the AFP remained under the effective control of the government, with only a provisional charter. In an attempt to provide it with greater organizational stability and independence, the basic law under which the AFP operated was revised in January 1957. It defined fundamental principles that guaranteed the independence of the agency and freedom of operation for its journalists. Article 2, for example, stated "Agence France-Presse may not under any circumstances take account of influences or considerations that would compromise the accuracy or objectivity of the news; it must not under any circumstances pass under legal or de facto control of an ideological, political or economic group." The law remained in effect a half century later. Yet indirect government support (in the form of subscriptions for service from government agencies) remained essential to AFP's survival even if it did somewhat limit the agency's freedom of action to critique government policies.

The use of satellite transmission began in 1971. A year later *The Washington Post* and the *Los Angeles Times* agreed to distribute AFP service in the United States—an important breakthrough to the world's largest news market. By 1979, AFP operated 108 bureaus and had a presence in 167 countries. Total employment was just under 2,000 people. Depending on the technology utilized (cable teleprinter or satellite), total agency output was between 1.1 and 1.3 million words daily. An audio news service was launched in 1984 and a photo service just a year later. A news graphics service appeared in 1988.

Continually restricted by budget limitations, however, AFP was slow to use the Internet effectively, and by the mid-1990s its overall income was only a fraction of that going to Reuters. AFP finally launched a financial service on the World Wide Web in 1997. Just two years earlier, having terminated its longtime agreement with the Associated Press, AFP began to set up its own news-gathering operation in the United States. AFP-Direct was launched to allow customized news agency transmissions to subscribers. The agency also signed an agreement with mobile telephone manufacturing giant Nokia in late 1999: AFP began providing sports, financial, and news transmissions in five languages (English, French, German, Portuguese, and Spanish) to global mobile telephone subscribers.

The Modern AFP

In the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, AFP was the world's third largest news agency (after the Associated Press and Thomson Reuters). AFP's customers included about 2,000 print and broadcast media outlets worldwide. An AFP Foundation was developed in 2007 to help promote better journalism standards worldwide.

Under its half-century old enabling law, AFP has never had private shareholders—it operates as a public corporation under a government charter. The agency is headed by a chief executive officer elected for a three-year term (who may be reelected), and is advised by a board made of 15 representative members: eight from the French press, three from the government (one each appointed by the prime minister, minister of foreign affairs, and minister of finance), two from among the agency's own personnel, and two from the French government-owned public television and radio operation. This shared governance, which includes a majority of members from among the agency's subscribers, is a key reason for its limited budgets, as well as an indication of the compromises made to achieve a continuing operation.

Many French government entities subscribe to the AFP service, and their payments have long provided an indirect subsidy to the agency's

operations. New agency leadership at the turn of the century began to push for the right to seek private investors (and thus reduce the need for so many government agency subscriptions), and to provide more services in English—a belated recognition of the global importance of that language. Late in 2008, the government made moves to increase private investment, but the strong AFP unions began petitions against the idea, which they saw as a trend toward privatizing the agency.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also France; Havas

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Agenda Setting

Agenda setting is a concept that explores effects of exposure to news media. The logic behind agenda setting is that the news media do not necessarily tell people *what* to think but instead influence what people think *about*—they are an influence on the public's perception of which issues are important. The agenda-setting effect involves social learning—individuals learn the relative importance of a menu of issues based on how much coverage those issues receive in the news media. Since the initial study conducted during the 1968 U.S. presidential election (McCombs and Shaw, 1972), several hundred research studies have examined this process, making it one of the most thoroughly researched theories in the journalism and mass communication field.

Agenda setting has been a remarkably flexible theoretical approach. Researchers have applied the agenda-setting theoretical framework to studies involving such topics as content analyses of news coverage on a single issue and experiments examining information processing of news content.

The process of agenda setting begins with coverage of a particular issue. For example, a local newspaper could decide to run a series of stories dealing with why we need strict gun control laws. The paper's readers would be exposed to the stories. The stories would not necessarily lead readers to believe that the United States needs strict gun control laws. Rather, the effect of the stories would be to raise the salience of gun control as an issue in readers' minds. The coverage would lead readers to raise gun control on their own agenda of issues with which they are concerned.

Because agenda-setting research concerns the transferal of issue salience from news media to the public, analyses often combine two research methodologies: a content analysis of media coverage and responses to a public opinion survey. Many studies employ a survey item commonly used in Gallup polls. This "most important problem" question asks respondents: "What is the number one problem facing our country today?" Responses to this open-ended question are then used to form the public agenda.

Agenda-setting research can be grouped into five categories: original tests of the hypothesis, contingent conditions affecting the magnitude of agenda-setting effects, influences on the media agenda, consequences of agenda setting, and second-level agenda setting.

Original Hypothesis

The original hypothesis emerged at a time when media effects research was struggling. Prior research in the 1950s and early 1960s consistently found minimal effects of mass media. Many of these studies, however, were looking for behavioral effects of mass communication—notably, media influence on voting behavior. Early agenda-setting researchers, however, examined a different effect of mass media—a cognitive effect in which individuals learn about the important issues of the day from media coverage. Thus, instead of a powerful (behavioral) effect of media, agenda-setting researchers were proposing a moderate (cognitive) effect.

Agenda-setting researchers have examined this moderate effect using many different methodologies. At the heart of the analyses has been a comparison of two issue agendas—the media agenda, or those issues receiving news coverage, and the public agenda, or the list of issues perceived as important by the public. Research centers on how issue salience is transferred from the media to the public.

The original agenda-setting hypothesis proposed an analysis of an "agenda" of issues—or a series of issues. Some researchers, however, have conducted analyses employing a single issue. Single issue studies are especially effective at examining agenda-setting effects across time—how the rise and fall of media coverage coincides with the parallel rise and fall of public concern about the issue. Issues examined in agenda-setting research have included the economy, the environment, civil rights, and Watergate.

Researchers also have employed different units of analysis. Some studies focus on the issue as the unit of analysis by aggregating survey respondents—grouping individuals according to the issue that they believe is the most important problem. Other studies examine differences across individuals—which personal characteristics play a role in the agenda-setting process. Finally, agenda-setting effects have been studied in many different countries and cultures. In addition to the United States, these include Taiwan, Germany, Sweden, Australia, South Korea, China, Argentina, and Japan, among others.

Contingent Conditions

From the onset, researchers have sought to discover variables that either enhance or inhibit the agenda-setting effect. Even early researchers acknowledged that effects were not uniform across all individuals. Wanta (1997), for example, tested a model of agenda setting in which attitudes toward news media led to reliance on media for information about issues. This reliance led to exposure to the media, which in turn led to agenda-setting effects. Also impacting the agenda-setting process were interpersonal communication and political attitudes. If individuals talked often with others about issues that received a great deal of coverage in the news (e.g., the economy), this provided a second exposure to information about the issues and thus increased the agenda-setting impact. On the other hand, if individuals talked often with others about issues not in the news media, issues that received little media coverage (e.g., AIDS), this provided an issue agenda that conflicted with the media agenda and thus lessened the agenda-setting effect. In addition, people highly interested in politics were more likely to attend to media messages and therefore become influenced by them.

Weaver (1997) suggested a similar process is at work. His "need for orientation" concept predicted that if individuals had high uncertainty about issues and were highly interested in issues (issues had high relevance to them), they would be highly motivated to use the news media and thus demonstrate strong agenda-setting influences. Uncertainty and relevance therefore played key roles in the agenda-setting process through the need for orientation.

Educational level appears to be especially important. Studies have consistently found the strongest agenda-setting effects among highly educated survey respondents.

Influences on the Media Agenda

Several agenda-setting researchers have examined how the media agenda is constructed through news gathering routines. As these routines make abundant use of sources, important sources, such as the U.S. President, can impact the news media's issue agenda. One such study examined a series of presidential State of the Union addresses and whether the news media influenced issues mentioned in the presidential speeches, or if the speeches influenced subsequent media coverage (Wanta, Stephenson, Turk, and McCombs 1989). The findings were mixed. The issues emphasized in President Nixon's speech influenced subsequent media coverage in 1970. President Carter, on the other hand, was influenced *by* media coverage leading up to his speech in 1978. In other words, President Carter was reacting to the media agenda. President Reagan appeared to have influenced newspaper coverage but was, in turn, influenced by television news coverage. Thus, Reagan was reacting to newscast coverage, but print media were following Reagan's issue priorities.

The relationship among the President, press, and public has often been termed "agenda-building." Lang and Lang (1983), in their examination of President Nixon and the Watergate scandal, argued that the President, press, and public are highly connected. A President may discuss an issue, which will in turn receive media coverage which leads to public concern. That concern may lead to additional reactions from sources, which will lead to additional media coverage. This process will continue until one of the three actors tires of an issue.

Other researchers have examined coverage of city council issues, and how U.S. automakers' executives influenced news coverage of international trade. Public relations practitioners also have been shown to impact media coverage. Broadly, most studies demonstrate strong influences of sources on the media agenda.

In addition, some research has examined intermedia agenda setting, or how elite media set the agenda of other news organizations. *The New York Times* and Associated Press news service, for example, often impact coverage patterns of other media. Intermedia agenda setting has been examined through the Internet as well. Journalists routinely monitor Internet news sites and blogs for news story ideas. In turn, these websites and blogs monitor traditional media for their topics. The relationship between the traditional media and Internet, then, appears to be reciprocal if not circular.

Consequences of Agenda Setting

While research into the sources of the media agenda examine how the news is constructed—analyses of a process leading up to the press–public interface—research dealing with consequences of agenda setting investigates what happens later in the process, after the media agenda impacts the public. There are two main substreams in this area.

First, some studies have examined behavioral effects that follow the typical agenda-setting influences. Does media coverage ultimately motivate the public into action? In other words, research seeks out potential behavioral effects, such as voting behavior, which was largely abandoned after much early research (prior to the 1960s) showed minimal effects of mass communication. Other behavioral variables examined in agenda-setting research include writing letters to the editor, posting messages on electronic bulletin boards, and purchasing of products—all of which have been linked to media coverage.

Other studies have examined whether public officials act on issues or concerns brought to the fore by agenda setting. Such "policy agenda-setting" studies examine how policymakers take cues from both media coverage and public opinion to propose laws aimed at relieving a societal problem. But thus far such research has been scant, possibly because many issues receive inconsistent coverage over time. Thus, many policy studies are more anecdotal than empirical. They have examined media coverage and subsequent policy actions for issues such as child abuse and governmental corruption. Another reason for the limited research in this area is that public officials, the news media, and the public tend to interact with each other in the agenda-building process—creating a circular relationship that is difficult to track.

Studies of the consequences of agenda setting demonstrate the importance of the news media. Not only do the issues covered in the news raise the perceived importance of the issues among the public, but they often mobilize both the public and public officials to take action.

Second-Level Agenda Setting

The newest agenda-setting research involves the study of a "second level." Instead of an agenda of issues, second-level agenda-setting research investigates an agenda of attributes—the characteristics of people, places, and things in the news.

Second-level agenda-setting research is closely related to framing. Framing describes the process in which the media "frame" issues in the news by concentrating on certain elements but ignoring others. It is impossible to cover every aspect of every news story, so reporters must choose what to include and eliminate. Neither can the news media include every characteristic of objects in the news. Again, reporters must choose among attributes of objects. The public learns the significance of these attributes based on how often they appear in the news. Thus, the media again set the public agenda, here an agenda of attributes, through their coverage.

Researchers have commonly examined two dimensions of second-level agenda-setting research: substantive and affective attributes. Substantive attributes involve information about qualities of newsmakers, such as a presidential candidate's experience with foreign affairs. Affective attributes involve positive, neutral, and negative qualities. In other words, the substantive attributes deal with factual information and affective attributes deal with evaluations of newsmakers.

McCombs, Lopez-Escobar, and Llamas (2000) found support for media influence on both of these dimensions in their study during the Spanish national election of 1996. First, they found that public perceptions of substantive attributes were closely related to media coverage of those attributes. Likewise, they found that public perceptions of affective attributes were highly correlated with media coverage. Thus, the public linked both information about candidate characteristics and positive/negative evaluations of candidates to media coverage.

Second-level agenda setting has largely concerned people in the news as the object of the analysis, including analyses of the President or candidates in elections. Recent studies have investigated media coverage and public perceptions of other objects, such as countries and large corporations. Issues also can be examined as an object, with subissues acting as attributes. The economy, for example, could be an object, with inflation, unemployment, the budget deficit, gasoline prices, and so on, as substantive attributes.

Conclusion

Agenda setting has been an important theory in mass communication research for a third of a century. It has retained its importance even with the emergence of the Internet as a source of information that differs greatly from traditional news media. And it has evolved to include a second-level of study—an agenda of attributes. Indeed, there are many possible agendas and many possible objects that can be the focus of research. Agenda setting highlights a process of media effects that underlines the importance of the news business. Issues covered in news stories become those that the public believes are important.

Wayne Wanta

See also Advertorials; Associated Press; Bias; Blogs and Bloggers; Civil Unrest, Coverage of; Discussion Boards; Education, Journalism; Environmental Journalism; Framing; Government, Federal, Coverage of; Government, State and Local, Coverage of; Internet Impact on Media; Letters to the Editor; *New York Times, The*; Objectivity; Polls and Public Opinion; Presidents, Coverage of; Theories of Journalism

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Agriculture Journalism, Electronic

Agricultural news and market programs on radio, and to a lesser degree television, have long served the farming community. More recently, the Internet has offered further options for targeted rural communication.

Origins

Even before World War I, experimental wireless stations often included farm news and market reports (sometimes broadcast in Morse code) in their scattered program offerings. Station 9XM at the University of Wisconsin was one of these. Soon after World War I, when radios became the exciting new mode of entertainment in the rural areas, a rural audience in Illinois was willing in 1921 to listen to station KYW broadcast an entire season of the Chicago Civic Opera—and nothing else. Music and variety and other standard urban-based entertainment were the first rural radio offerings, but early on programmers realized that farm audiences had different music tastes and information needs. The "barn dance" format of square dance and fiddle (as opposed to violin) was one of the earliest and most popular offerings, consisting of "hillbilly" music and broad comedy; one of these—the *Grand Ole Opry,* which first aired from Nashville in 1925—is still playing today.

In addition to entertainment, both the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) and land grant universities rapidly realized this new medium's potential to reach the nation's farmers, many of whom were scratch producers, barely eking a living from the land. By 1922, the USDA started sending market reports on grain and livestock prices to radio stations, joining the U.S. weather bureau that began releasing official weather reports in 1921. This was no small service. With the new information, farmers could avoid some of the effects of rains and early freezes and time their harvests and shipments with higher crop prices.

In the 1920s, however, the six and a half million farms in rural America were largely without electrical power, and only the well-to-do few were able to afford such luxuries as telephone and automobiles. Even those who could afford a radio and its required batteries might not have the money or the mechanical knowledge to repair the frequently malfunctioning sets. Nevertheless, by the 1930s Department of Agricultural Census, roughly 20 percent of farms had radios, a figure that varied wildly between the relatively well-off North and Midwest, where adoption was as high as 50 percent in some areas, to lows of 3 percent in some of the poorer areas of the South. African Americans, often sharecroppers, were least likely to adopt.

From the 1930s to the early days of television, radio was a major source of farm and farm household agricultural news and entertainment. Television and, to some degree, changes in population demographics decreased the revenue that advertisers were willing to spend for entertainment and increased the amount of competition for direct advertising dollars. These same factors, and changes in direct marketing tactics in the post–World War II era, also challenged farm radio revenue streams, but even with the increased competition from other types of media agricultural radio has remained an overall informational mainstay for farmers.

From the start, typical farm broadcasting included market information, weather, and some agricultural news or features, which range from extremely local (interviews with 4-H members at the fair) to national (reports on the current farm bill's progress through Congress). The length of the broadcasts varies dramatically from a very few all-day agriculture stations to a few minutes of livestock and crop market reports and news briefs.

Farm Broadcasting Today

By the early 2000s, roughly 1,100 stations (both radio and television, but largely the former) offered some farm broadcast news. Typically radio farm news is delivered in one of two ways. In the Midwest, particularly Illinois, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, some radio stations have designated farm broadcasters, who report a variety of agricultural news and features. However, the majority of coverage originates with specialized networks that produce agricultural news and sell segments to affiliates or subscribers for airing.

Television is a minor (some 10–12 programs) portion of the electronic market. Television shows, such as *Ag Day* and *This Week in Agribusiness,* are mainly connected to university or farm bureau associations and include a similar range of news, features, and market information to that provided by radio.

Agricultural broadcasting is a demanding form of programming, requiring an unusually wide range of skills. Agricultural reporting is one of the more complex journalism jobs, requiring all of the skills of reporting in highly technical (scientific) areas and financial information, as well as covering the political news of national legislation affecting

agriculture. At the same time, however, farm broadcasters are expected to establish personal relationships with the area that they serve. Two thirds of those who listen to farm radio can name their farm broadcaster, and those from local stations are expected to cover such local events as the county fair.

Almost all farm broadcasters grew up on a farm and many include their active ties with agriculture—such as living on a farm or in a rural area, and raising animals—in their descriptions of their qualifications as broadcasters. The primary professional association for farm broadcasters, established in 1944 as the National Association of Radio Farm Directors, is the National Association of Farm Broadcasting (NAFB). It serves a mixed membership, including both farm broadcasters and agribusiness representatives, and is—according to its own description—"an established liaison between farm broadcast stations and networks and the AgriMarketing community of companies and agencies." The 146 NAFB members represent the vast majority of all farm broadcasters in the United States.

According to a 2005 Agricultural Media Research study commissioned by the NAFB, most farmers listen to—and rely on—farm broadcasters. Ninety percent of farmers over 40 said that the farm radio was an important medium to get information they need and over 50 percent said farm radio was extremely important. Farmers under age 40 were slightly less likely to say that that farm radio was extremely important (43 percent), but just as likely (90 percent) to say that farm radio was, at the very least, important.

The dominant agricultural broadcast challenge in the late 1990s and early 2000s grows out of the consolidation of the input side of agriculture—chemical and fertilizer companies. Not only were there fewer advertisers, but they were less and less likely to advertise through a general medium such as radio when farm numbers were now small enough to target through direct mail. Many farm stations, faced with the choice of "getting bigger, looking bigger, or getting out," changed their formats, dropping agricultural content.

Other farm broadcasters are exploring the larger (and growing) rural lifestyle market. Farm broadcasters offering stories on local wells, septic tanks, where to buy horse feed, or a weekly interview with local veterinarian (topics that appeal to newcomers to small towns and rural areas) are also opening up more avenues for local advertising.

The primary ethical challenge for farm broadcasters is whether the relationship between broadcasters and the industry they cover is too close, specifically whether farm broadcasters are advocates *for* agriculture rather than journalists *covering* the subject. This issue covers many situations, among them that the easiest way for farm broadcasters to make money is to produce paid-for content. However, the fundamental question is whether farm broadcasters *should* be advocates. Some broadcasters clearly take the position that farm broadcasters are first and foremost journalists and the best service they can give agriculture is to maintain a critical distance and the freedom to ask harsh question. Others see no problem with farm broadcasters being advocates for farmers, arguing that as a whole, farmers have few media representatives who are specifically looking out for their needs.

Internet Services

The Telecommunications Act of 1996, a major overhauling of American communication law, set a goal of universal access to the Internet, stating that "consumers in all regions of the Nation, including low-income consumers and those in rural, insular, and high cost areas, should have access to telecommunications and information services…that are reasonably comparable to those services provided in urban areas." Since the passage of this law, Internet use by farmers has grown relatively rapidly. Roughly 20 percent of all farmers have access to high speed Internet, but the majority of farmers still rely on dial-up (40 percent) or don't use the Internet at all. Those producers who are actively engaged in capital intensive conventional farming are a much higher percentage of those using broadband than the rest of the target populations, indicating that the farm audience is gradually becoming adapted to Internet usage.

The potential of the Internet offers a challenge for farm broadcasting in the next two decades, specifically in the way that agricultural radio stations will adapt to the information gathering habits of younger farmers who are more used to having information on demand. Universities and agricultural news networks and stations are experimenting with a variety

of Internet services, including blogs, information databases, and web-based audio. However, the larger challenge is how to tailor audio information that can be selected, downloaded, and available to farmers in whatever setting—tractor, living room, or grain elevator—that most directly suits their needs.

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See also Agriculture Journalism, Print; Food Journalism; Natural Disasters, Coverage of; Weather Journalism

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Agriculture Journalism, Print

Agriculture—a $250-billion-plus-a-year industry, with $69 billion in crop exports in 2006—is one of the oldest and largest of all American industries. Every export dollar creates another $1.48 so that agriculture generated another $102 billion in supporting business. The major source of information about this industry for those in it is, and has been over the last hundred years, the agricultural/farm magazine.

Agricultural media became a viable—that is, fairly reliable, roughly continuous, and relatively current—industry some few decades after the Civil War, ironically during roughly the same period in which the number of non–farm workers first surpassed the number of farm workers. The number of publications grew from 157 to over 400 from 1880 to 1920, prompted by sweeping changes in the nation as a whole. The postal act of 1879, which allowed magazines to be mailed at two (later one) cents per pound, coupled with railways, better wagon roads, and more mechanized publishing technology, increased the ability of communicators to produce and deliver magazines. During this period industry and large-scale capitalism was penetrating into the farm commodity chain primarily through farming production technology—such as the steel plow. Farmers financed those purchases by increasing their sale of market goods and learned about the technology through farm magazines. At the same time, farm editors were switching from being authorities on agriculture to becoming communicators who supplied information coming from agricultural colleges, state and federal government, and advertisers of agricultural products, a network of sources that has remained essentially unaltered since that time.

Prior to the Civil War, publishers had generally disapproved of what they called "foreign matter" in their magazine, but by the 1880s their objections to advertising had largely disappeared. Advertising revenue allowed publishers to drop their subscription prices and by the 1890s publishers were receiving more income from advertising than from subscriptions. And, since farm magazine advertisers were interested in selling farm products, it was important to these advertisers that farm families, rather than other types of families, received the magazine. The 1915 government survey of commercial farm periodicals was the first record of editors using controlled circulation (the practice of sending magazines free to lists of selected farmers who have advertiser-preferred demographic characteristics) as a method to increase their attractiveness to advertisers.

In terms of content, however, the farm magazine strategy remained essentially unchanged from the 1880s through the 1920s. Aimed primarily at the farm family, the magazines promoted the values of agrarian fundamentalism and Jeffersonian ideals of the rural life as the most moral balance between the untapped wildness of "nature" and the moral degeneracy of the "city." Farm magazines carried articles on family life, poems, fiction, advice on home management and raising children, and articles on production concerns, such as how

to increase the number of pigs per litter. One of the more major changes in content for farmers was the use of the "success story," a case study of a particularly successful farmer.

As the agricultural price slump of 1920 slid into the Great Depression, the main story of farm publications was their consolidation from 405 in 1920 to 295 at the end of World War II, although the number of readers increased somewhat. The main change in the farm press industry during the period 1920 to 1940 was a distinct increase in the number of publications produced by farm organizations, most particularly the Farm Bureau and the Grange. Overall, those magazines that survived these two decades kept their same editorial and circulation strategies.

The end of the war, and Europe's need for foodstuffs, brought back some degree of prosperity to farming in the later 1940s and 1950s and both the circulation and the number of farm publications increased somewhat during that time. But in the 1950s and 1960s, consumer-goods advertisers switched to television, radio, and consumer magazines, precipitating yet another drop in both numbers of magazines and breadth of content. In these decades, the media changes of the 1920s and 1930s—movies, radio, and new popular literature—effectively weakened farm publications' advertising base to the point that farm magazines dropped the home, family living, and fiction sections of the farm magazines to concentrate specifically on agricultural production information, which became—in terms of content—essentially the farm magazines of today. A second change, also continuing up to the present, was the change in advertisers' attitudes on the preferred audience mix, resulting in a move from desiring large circulations to a more specialized demand for high numbers of farmers in the mix of readers. As a strategy, more and more general agricultural magazines switched from paid subscriptions to controlled subscriptions, or a combination of controlled and paid. As had been true in the past, farm publication numbers ebbed and flowed with the health of the agriculture industry, going through a bonanza period in the early postwar years and declining with the farm crisis of the 1980s and the livestock consolidations in the 1990s.

Today farm magazines are considered trade publications primarily concerned with agriculture as a business, but are also regarded as advocates for agricultural interests. At just over 250 magazines in 2007, the number of farm publications is lower than at any time since 1885, partly due to the rapid consolidation of agriculture itself, which has significantly reduced advertising dollars. Since the 1950s farms have continually grown in size as the more successful farmers pushed the less successful out of business, a process that was particularly rapid during the farm-debt crisis of the 1980s. In addition, companies that produce agricultural herbicides, for example, have merged and have, more importantly, reduced the overall amount of money budgeted for magazines. For example, Monsanto, a giant in the agricultural industry, has been using genetic engineering to couple seeds with a specific herbicide, dramatically reducing its need to advertise that herbicide. Finally, the livestock industry significantly concentrated in the 1990s and early 2000s, reducing the total number of producers and increasing incentives to do direct marketing rather than advertising in farm publications. In addition, most farm publishers are acutely aware that the Internet is looming as yet another competitor for agricultural advertising revenue.

Magazines by Content Area

Roughly 30 agricultural magazines focus on "general agriculture," that is, they cover the variety of crops that would be found on a diversified farming operation. Of these, *Farm Journal* (circulation 443,000) is perhaps the closest to a truly national agricultural publication. However, this reach is somewhat deceptive since *Farm Journal* varies its content by region and allows geographically specific advertising buys. *Progressive Farmer*'s various editions (circulation 3.5 million) collectively cover the range of the continental United States, but are specified by geographical region—*Progressive Farmer Midwest, Midsouth, Southeast,* and *Southwest*. *Successful Farming* (circulation 440,000) is also widely distributed, but after these three the remaining general agricultural magazines are far more regionally specialized, commonly circulating in the 10,000 to 70,000 circulation range.

In contrast to the three leading titles, *Farm Journal, Successful Farming,* and *Progressive Farmer,* other general agricultural magazines are usually focused by geographical region or topic.

Such magazines as *Iowa Farmer Today, Maine Organic Farmer and Gardener,* or *Missouri Ruralist* cover a wide range of agricultural topics within their state—information on federal and state-specific regulations and incentives, crops and livestock management techniques, and research from the state's land grant university agricultural scientists. Less than 2 percent of all agricultural magazines are specifically aimed at small or organic producers.

Commercial media produce the majority of general agricultural magazines, with associations (Farm Bureau, National Farmers Union, Grange) producing roughly a third. The association publications tend to concentrate more on news and agricultural policy, rather than specific production techniques.

Livestock Magazines

Just under a third of agricultural magazines are livestock specific, although the numbers are slightly skewed by the inclusion of magazines aimed at horse owners, breeders, and racers. Livestock magazines are generally specific to a particular type of animal, and often a particular breed. Commercial firms produce a few magazines with controlled circulations and large readerships: *Beef* (100,000), *Drovers* (99,000), *National Cattleman* (38,000, paid and controlled).

The beef magazines are most commonly one of two types: geographically specific magazines sponsored by state livestock associations (*Alabama Cattleman, Montana Stockgrowers*) or breed specific magazines sponsored by that breed's official association (*American Red Angus, Hereford World, Red Poll Beef Journal*). Seventy-five percent of the nation's inventory of over 60 million cattle is raised on larger farms with 50 or more cattle and most of the geographically specific livestock magazines are aimed at readers with these larger herds. Breed magazines have different purposes, specifically to control and promote changes and developments in lines of cattle that have been bred for specific characteristics over the last several hundred years. These magazines are primarily for association members who are developing and selling purebred cattle.

The dairy industry magazine sector has much the same structure and purpose as the beef, with production magazines for the active dairy farmer—*Dairy Herd Management (*circulation 71,000, paid), *Dairy Today* (circulation 52,000, controlled), and *Hoard's Dairyman* (82,000, controlled)—and breed magazines for Ayrshire, Brown Swiss, Gurnsey, Holstein, Jersey, and Milking Shorthorn dairy cattle breeders. Less than 20 additional magazines serve the rest of the livestock industry, including swine, poultry, and more specialty livestock—emus, sheep, and goats.

The magazines for field crops, fruits, nuts, vegetables, and bees are relatively evenly split between paid and controlled circulation and cover production techniques, equipment, and input (fertilizers, herbicides, and seeds) for producers, with a few additional journals for researchers such as *Rangeland Ecology and Management, Soil Sciences,* and the *Journal of Animal Science.*

In additional to magazines aimed at active farmers, ranchers, and associated professionals, agricultural magazines cater to audiences served by rural electrical cooperatives and to horse owners, racers, breeders, and showers.

The industry's major challenges today include declining number of publications and fewer job opportunities combined with the increased complexity of the subject matter. Agriculture is becoming more specialized, globalized, and contested, and with a greater range of subject matter—from genetic modification of food crops to energy production. Analyzing specific commodity groups and writing articles about organic wine production or gardening require significantly different sets of skills, as well as different circles of sources.

An additional, related problem in writing for agriculture is the need to balance the varying and competing interests of commodity producers, food producers, and consumers. Adding further tension, many agricultural publications have limited travel budgets, encouraging agricultural journalists to accept travel opportunities from producer groups and/or agribusiness, which calls into question their editorial independence to some degree, but more importantly means that journalists report on less important, but more affordable, stories.

Advertising

Farm Progress (which publishes *Prairie Farmer*), PriMedia (which owns a variety of horse magazines), Farm Journal Media (*Farm Journal*), and

Meredith Corporation (*Successful Farming*) consistently held the top market share, with Farm Progress the clear leader. The predominance of these media firms over the total agricultural publishing fields means that agricultural magazines are a tight oligopoly, a market structure with only a few firms, none of which has complete market power. The effects of oligopolies on journalism are relatively ambiguous and depend on the degree to which the members of the oligopoly pay attention to each other. On the positive side, when oligopolies take notice of each other's activities, innovations from one can spread rapidly to other members. On the negative, however, if journalists have very few publishers in a particular field, the effects of limited employment opportunities might have a chilling effect on covering controversial stories, particularly those that challenge the financial interests of the parent company.

Both *Successful Farming* and the *Farm Journal* offer sophisticated marketing services for their advertising base. *Successful Farming,* for example, has a market research panel of roughly a thousand magazine subscribers, active farmers who are interviewed 8 to 12 times a year. Farm Journal Media offers a database that focuses on Class 1A farmers, those with over $100,000 of annual gross farm income. According to Farm Journal Media's description of its database, these "450,000 decision makers are responsible for nearly 80% of America's $200-billion farm production" and, hence, represent an enormous segment of the total food and fiber produced in the United States. Farm Journal Media also includes Farm Journal Database Strategies, a marketing service that "provides clients with a range of products including data analysis, direct marketing, consulting, systems design, and development and demographic enhancement," and Farmail, rented mailing lists drawn from the Farm Journal database guaranteed as viable addresses for the marketers' chosen demographics.

Conclusion

Agricultural communicators provide a majority of agriculture–related technical information to the producers who are responsible for growing food and fiber. The number and types of publications have decreased over time, and by the early 2000s, are significantly limited in kind and in scope. In addition, given the limited number of companies advertising agrichemical products, editors in general are wary of printing articles that will offend these companies. The pressure to self-censor stories, in particular stories that cast potential and current advertisers in an unfavorable light, has been and continues to be one of the major ethical concerns for agricultural journalists.

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See also Agriculture Journalism, Electronic

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Air America

Air America Radio (AAR) is a radio network that emphasizes liberal political talk shows in contrast to the conservative tone of most syndicated talk radio. From its formation in the early 2000s, however, Air

America struggled with insufficient capital, a declining number of affiliate stations, and many changes in ownership and management.

Origin

The beginnings of what became Air America date to late 2002. Chicago venture capitalists and Democratic Party activists Sheldon and Anita Drobny sought to arrange national syndication of Mike Malloy, a local talk show host they admired but who had lost his radio post. Working with radio consultant Jon Sinton, the Drobnys formed AnShell Media, and began to raise funds for a national network (or, failing that, a program syndication service) building on Malloy's work. News that they were raising funds for a liberal counterpart to radio's dominant conservative talk programming received considerable attention, initial support, and newspaper reports about the pending venture. Network plans included attempts to purchase up to five stations on which to secure the operation.

But when funds ran short, the original investment team sold out to Evan Cohen (whose money came from advertising), who formed Progress Media, with Sinton staying as president. Already evident was a growing tension between those driven by liberal ideology and those seeking to develop a successful broadcasting business.

Still, by early 2004, more staff was hired and an affiliation agreement was struck with New York AM station WLIB, a low-rated outlet. Indeed, many of the AAR affiliate agreements were made with stations with low ratings that had little to lose giving the new network a try. On March 31, 2004, the newly named Air America Radio Network began operation. (This was preceded by a potentially bad omen: An earlier "America Radio Network," which had also attempted marketing a liberal approach to radio talk programs, left the air just before Air America began.)

Programming

The notion behind AAR from its inception was to provide a menu of news, public affairs, interview, and entertainment programs that would reflect a progressive or liberal point of view. Critics argued such a network would have a hard time finding an audience amidst the right-wing domination of commercial radio talk shows (whose top stars were heard on hundreds of stations). And they added that the network seemed focused much more on having an impact on election politics than on broadcasting. As much to the point, the new network would have to buy program time on stations, a financial model the conservative talk shows had pioneered beginning in the late 1980s.

With some effort, Sinton persuaded comedian, author, and commentator Al Franken to become the network's centerpiece talent. Franken, already well known for skewering the political right, would be the network's best known on-air personality for the next three years. Soon others, hearing about the Franken deal and the developing network idea, also came onboard. When it first aired, many programs leaned toward political satire rather than hard news. Many of the on-air personalities were known for their comedy and entertainment backgrounds. In April 2005, AAR signed Jerry Springer to host *Springer on the Radio,* arguing that recognition, not to say notoriety, might help the network develop. Unlike his earlier television incarnation, the controversial Springer said his new venture was entirely political in nature.

In late 2005, popular comedian and AAR morning program co-host Marc Maron was let go (he would return in February on a different program). Others left AAR as well, including Sinton by mid-2006. In August nighttime host Mike Malloy—around whose role the network idea had begun four years earlier—was also let go. While not explained, some suggested that his criticism of Israel during its Lebanon incursion that summer may have played a part. Observing all of this confusion and people coming and going, many conservative radio talk shows highlighted Air America's problems in their own programs, and did so with considerable glee.

By late 2006, AAR was providing 19 daily hours of original programming and was being heard on 92 affiliates reaching nearly 60 percent of the country, and about 2.4 million listeners per week. Randi Rhodes' talk program was on the air twice each weekday, early in the morning and again in afternoon drive time, for three hours each. The Young Turks dominated the all important morning drive hours. And Thom Hartmann held

down the middle of the day. These and other programs featured call-ins as well as active webpages and audio and video streaming.

Seeking Stability

Air America appeared strong at first, signing about 100 affiliate stations, including outlets in 18 of the 20 largest markets, in six months. Each of these would be paid to carry network programs. But behind the scenes, insufficient capital was a continuing issue, as were disagreements among funders and managers. Almost immediately, however, affiliate stations in Chicago and Santa Monica claimed they had not received the contract payment for carrying AAR programs. Subsequent litigation and bad press contributed to further problems, as did the loss of network coverage in both Chicago and Los Angeles.

Just a month after the network's debut, several officers departed, though Sinton remained in charge. The network decided to stop trying to buy radio stations, and to allow its affiliates to carry programming outside of the network's offerings. In mid-2006, AAR lost its affiliation with WLIB and had to shift its New York affiliation to a smaller station WWRL, another outlet that had traditionally programmed to African Americans (for 15 years it had been a gospel station, which is what WLIB became). WWRL became the new network flagship affiliate.

In October 2006, the network was forced to file for bankruptcy protection (it had lost more than $40 million since first airing in 2004). The same Santa Monica affiliate that had complained about nonpayment two years earlier had sought to freeze the network's accounts. Recriminations were rife, some arguing the network had been overstaffed, a sign of its political expectations, rather than its broadcast revenues reality.

In late January 2007, AAR announced plans for its acquisition by the Green Realty Corporation, a New York office building firm. By the time the $4 million deal was consummated in March, and a new management team (headed by longtime liberal activist Mark Green, brother of the new owner) took control, however, AAR was down to 70 affiliates reaching a weekly audience of 1.7 million listeners. In an attempt to shore up its revenues, AAR signed with radio giant Westwood One to oversee all network and affiliate station advertising sales. Franken left the air February 2007 and announced plans to run for the U.S. Senate seat from Minnesota.

By early 2008, AAR was producing 21 hours of weekday network programming for its 62 remaining stations, though only about 40 carried most of the schedule. Indeed, some outlets carried only one or two programs. While AAR programs did well in such traditionally liberal towns as San Francisco; Portland, Oregon; and Madison, Wisconsin; ratings were often anemic in other markets. Yet even small audiences were often hugely loyal to specific talk show hosts, giving their programs greater impact. AAR programs were also carried on an XM Satellite Radio channel, and streamed on its own website.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Bias; Commentators, Radio; Credibility; News Values; Objectivity; Streaming Media; Talk and News Radio

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Al Arabiya

The Al Arabiya satellite TV channel, based in Media City, Dubai, was established in March 2003 with an investment of $300 million by

Middle East News, a Dubai-based production company that also runs the Middle East Broadcasting Center (MBC). From the start, Al Arabiya has billed itself as the less provocative alternative to Al Jazeera.

The company is owned by the brother-in-law of Saudi Arabia's King Fahd, Lebanon's Hariri Group, and other investors from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the Gulf. Unconfirmed reports suggest that the Kuwaiti funding for Al Arabiya has been withdrawn. Before the establishment of the Qatari-based Al Jazeera satellite channel in 1996, Saudi businessmen owned almost all of the major pan-Arab media, ensuring that Saudi rulers were rarely scrutinized by the Arab media. Qatar's prince did not interfere in the station's editorial decisions, thus allowing Al Jazeera reporters to take on the Saudis as well as other governments in the Middle East. Saudi Arabia's response to Al Jazeera came in 2003 with Al Arabiya TV, established just in time for the Iraq war.

The choice of Salah Qallab, a former Jordanian information minister who was also a columnist for a Saudi-funded newspaper in London, as the first director-general of Al Arabiya ensured that the station would not challenge Arab regimes the way Al Jazeera has. Noted Qallab, "We are not going to make problems for Arab countries. We'll stick with the truth, but there's no sensationalism" (Urbina 2003). Most of Al Arabiya's programs are prerecorded, allowing the station to avoid on-air call-ins venting against Arab leaders, Israel, or the United States. Because Al Arabiya competes with Al Jazeera for the same audiences, however, it initially tried to scoop its rival. In August 2003, Al Arabiya broadcast a clip of masked men threatening to kill members of the U.S.-appointed Iraqi governing council, leading a spokesperson for the U.S. State Department to call the station's action "irresponsible in the extreme." In September 2003, the Governing Council of Iraq restricted the operations of Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera for two weeks after the channels showed more footage of masked men calling for attacks against U.S.-led forces. Al Arabiya broadcast audio tapes by the then-fugitive Saddam Hussein exhorting Iraqis to rise up against the United States on November 16, 2003, leading Iraq's interim government to ban it from reporting from Iraq for two months.

According to Andrew Hammond in 2007, Al Arabiya's agenda took some months to unfold after the Iraq war when it ran documentaries about mass graves and other human rights abuses in pre-invasion Iraq in what may have been taken by viewers as an effort to create a balanced debate about tyranny, democracy, and nationalism in the Arab world. "To others, the programs appeared aimed at undermining the Iraqi insurgency which had wide support among public opinion throughout the Arab world." Islamist websites began to refer to Al Arabiya dismissively as Al 'Ibriya or "the Hebrew Channel" because it granted considerable space to American officials and their allies in Iraq and elsewhere to explain their policies. Like Al Jazeera, Al Arabiya designed powerful montages of Israeli soldiers putting down the Palestinian *Intifada* (Uprising), but it also discredited the activities of the Islamist insurgency movement in Saudi Arabia.

Al Arabiya has 40 news bureaus across the world, including both Israel and the occupied Palestinian territories. The channel airs a news bulletin every hour around the clock. Although Al Arabiya has a strong news presence and several successful talk shows, it also broadcasts light items not found on Al Jazeera and distinguishes itself from its rival by keeping individual news items shorter than two and a half minutes. The channel notes on its website that it covers Gulf Council Countries (GCC), an area some feel Al Jazeera does not cover regularly. The channel is available in the United States via cable subscriptions and worldwide on the Internet via Canadian Jump TV.

In 2004, Al Arabiya was placed under the management of Abdel Rahman Al Rashed, a Saudi who wrote opinion pieces against Islamists. Al-Rashed moved Al Arabiya away from the graphic images of the aftermath of bombings and the bloody scenes of the conflict to which Americans objected, toward a more sanitized version of the news. But the channel still covered the Faluja battle of April 2004 aggressively and had a reporter inside the city while the fighting was going on. On the other hand, Al Arabiya expanded what counts as news by adding the type of apolitical stories critics of the American media dub as infotainment. Thus, in one November 2007 week, the five "most read" items covered the following topics: (1) short-term "pleasure marriages" of Iraqi women to Syrian and Iraqi men in Egypt; (2) Saudi court imprisonment and threatened flogging of a woman who was kidnapped and gang raped; (3) Saddam Hussein

in the eyes of his warden: he is nice and polite, and he "deserves to be loved"; (4) How an Indonesian turned into a tree after suffering from a rare disease; and (5) New information on Saddam Hussein in prison before his execution.

Under Al Rashed, Al Arabiya also took a turn to the right by discouraging the use of left-leaning British papers, *The Guardian* and *The Independent,* in the channel's international press roundup. Anchors and correspondents were instructed to refer to American troops in Iraq as "multinational" not "occupying" forces, and "[h]osts were instructed to cut off guests who digress into anti-American rants" (Shapiro 2005). The instructions did not result in the total elimination of that terminology owing to both staff and guest resistance. Still, President Bush was interviewed by the station at least three times, once in May 2004 to explain that Abu Ghraib was an aberrant incident, not U.S. policy; in October 2005 to comment on Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine; and in October 2007 to give an Al Arabiya correspondent a tour of the White House ("where decisions of war and peace are made") and the Rose Garden, and to assure him that the United States is not against Islam as Al Qaeda claims, and that it has no intention of partitioning Iraq.

Unlike Al Jazeera, the station has no trouble securing political or commercial ads. Still, Al Arabiya has been subject to attack in Iraq and elsewhere. One previously unknown Islamist group, in an Internet statement in late 2007, claimed responsibility for attacking the station "because it has insisted on praising [Iraqi Prime Minister Ayad] Allawi's government and the criminal Americans, describing them as the liberators" of Iraq, and because Al Arabiya "pretends to be unaware of the heroic mujahideen operations." Eleven Al Arabiya staff members were killed, five in a suicide car bombing of the channel's bureau in Baghdad in October 2006, and two "were killed by American occupation force" (Al Arabiya 2007).

Programming

By 2007, Al Arabiya was transmitting two regular news media review programs. The first, *The Fourth Estate,* reviews opinions of the international print media on Middle East issues, and hosts international journalists who comment on current issues. The second, *Last Edition,* reviews regional and Arab print media and interviews Arab journalists to learn their perspectives on regional and world events. The channel features a mixture of solid political programming as well as lighter fare. *Bilarabi* (In Arabic) hosts prominent and high profile guests and discusses past decisions they have made, then discusses current events. *Across the Ocean* concentrates on American policy toward the Arab world and examines Arab American issues. *From Iraq* conducts "interviews with influential figures in Iraq to highlight the daily lives of Iraqis, their daily problems, concerns, and how they see their future." Al Arabiya notes that *From Iraq* is highly rated in Iraq and large quantities of pirated CDs and videos are sold the day after the program is broadcast. *Ida'at* (Illuminations) hosts prominent guests from the Gulf region. *Mahattat* (Stations) covers "new or weird" aspects of life. *Point of Order* "hosts controversial characters." *Under the Light* is a political live talk show that hosts three or four guests from different countries with different opinions to shed light on a hot topic (Al Arabiya TV Popular Programs 2007).

Over the years, polls have differed on how popular the channel is. A U.S. State Department poll in seven Iraqi cities in October 2003 found that among Iraqis with satellite dishes, 37 percent named Al Arabiya as their preferred news source, followed by Al Jazeera at 26 percent (Department of State, 2003). A Zogby poll conducted in Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and United Arab Emirates in October 2005 asked: When you watch the international news, which of the following network's broadcasts do you watch most often? Results revealed that 65 percent chose Al Jazeera, while 34 percent preferred Al Arabiya (Telhami 2006). The poll was criticized for not polling Iraqis.

Brian Whitaker, Middle East editor of *The Guardian,* believes that "even with the best intentions Al Arabiya's journalists could feel constrained about reporting fearlessly on issues such as the succession, internal reform and the rise of separatist currents in the kingdom" of Saudi Arabia (Feuilherade 2003). But the channel's managers seem pleased about how well they are competing against their rival, Al Jazeera.

Orayb Aref Najjar

See also Africa, North; Al Jazeera; Arab Countries

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Al Jazeera

Al Jazeera was not the first Arab satellite channel, but it was the first global news channel broadcasting in Arabic from the Middle East rather than Europe. The channel started broadcasting in November of 1996 with a six-hour transmission schedule that was increased to 24 hours by February 1, 1999. Al Jazeera broadcasts news updates every 60 minutes and has four main news bulletins, one of which includes sign language.

In March 2006, Al Jazeera was formally named the Al Jazeera Network. It now consists of the flagship Al Jazeera Arabic, Al Jazeera English, Al Jazeera Documentary, Al Jazeera Sport, Al Jazeera .net (the English and Arabic websites), the Al Jazeera Media Training and Development Center, the Al Jazeera Center for Studies, Al Jazeera Mubasher (Live), and Al Jazeera Mobile. Al Jazeera expanded to Malaysia in November 2002 where it is translated into Malay for six hours a day.

A special issue of *Al-Hadath* magazine devoted to Al Jazeera in March 9, 2000, concluded that 50 years from that date, "historians would rate the establishment of Al Jazeera as one of the most important events in the Arab political arena at the end of the century." Others credit the station for loosening the stranglehold of Saudi money on Arab media globally. In the 1990s petrodollars allowed Saudi Arabia "to steal the thunder of Egypt, once the Arab media leader in the 1950s and 1960s with its Arab nationalist political ideology" by buying up newspapers and establishing TV stations outside Saudi Arabia. "Egypt's once omnipotent 'media of mobilization' (i'lam ta'bawi) gave way to Saudi Arabia's 'media of pacification,' or i'lam tanwimi," Egyptian journalist and political activist Salah Issa told Andrew Hammond, Reuters reporter in Saudi Arabia, in a 2002 interview. In such media, "entertainment helps put the political mind to sleep and politics is maintained within strict limits. If [Egyptian President] Abdel-Nasser wanted you fi-shari' (on the street), Al Saud wants you fi-sala (in the living room)" (Hammond 2007). Qatar's Al Jazeera news policy "filled the glaring gaps in political and social coverage of the Saudi media with frank discussions of internal situations in Arab countries where opposition and government figures were

equally welcome to offer their viewpoint" (Hammond 2007).

Al Jazeera ignores Arab media laws which forbid criticism of rulers, foreign ambassadors, and other Arab countries, and shies away from discussing sex or religion, the national currency, the army, or other controversial topics. The news channel's open media policy led six Arab countries to withdraw their ambassadors from Qatar, while others, like Saudi Arabia and Tunisia, refused to allow Al Jazeera to open offices in their countries. By refusing to buckle under Arab government pressure, however, Al Jazeera gained the respect of Arab viewers who soon made it the most-watched and credible station in the Arab world with 50 million viewers. A 2006 study of Arab expatriates in Egypt found that Al Jazeera is the first source for political news when its newscasts are broadcast simultaneously with other stations for 75 percent of the Arab expatriates, followed by Al Arabiya (19 percent), and the BBC (10 percent). In 2005 Inter-Brand ranked Al Jazeera as the most recognizable and influential news brand globally.

Al Jazeera Arabic reached a deal to provide a cable channel in the United States in April 2004 for about $29 (basic package). It now also transmits its contents on the Internet and posts transcripts of its programs within 36 hours of airing them.

Al Jazeera, which means "the Peninsula," has put the small country of Qatar on the map of Arab and international politics. Aided by its adopted slogan, "The Opinion and Other Opinion," the network has edged out Egypt and Saudi Arabia as the media leaders/funders in the Arab world. Critics and defenders agree that the station is important for accomplishing the following: creating a vibrant pan-Arab and inter-regional news space in which viewers can discuss formerly taboo political and social issues that authoritarian Arab governments may complain about but not directly censor; establishing news bureaus that American planes have bombed three times, once in Afghanistan, and twice in Iraq, but could not silence; giving dissidents in the Arab world a forum denied them by their own governments; making an Arab channel an important source of international news, thus weaning Arabs from their reliance on the West for information about themselves (Al Jazeera has since become a model for Latin America's TeleSur and for a proposed pan-African project); actually instituting the "New World Information and Communication Order" discussed during UNESCO debates of the 1970s and 1980s, thus reversing the direction of news transmission by making it move from East to East and West, and from South to South and North; forcing Western governments to take account of Arab and Islamic public opinion, after years of stubborn reliance solely on the opinion of Arab rulers; forcing important U.S. government officials to play on Al Jazeera's own media turf by granting it interviews after first ignoring the channel; and enabling Arab viewers to confront the reality of Israel by interviewing Israeli officials.

The establishment of Al Jazeera in Qatar came about through a lucky set of events. The BBC, which has always had a strong Arabic section with staff drawn from several Arab countries, signed an agreement with the Saudi-owned Orbit Communications to provide Arabic newscasts for Orbit's main Middle East channel. When Orbit pulled out of the deal, the Prince of Qatar, Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani, hired 150 out of the BBC's 250 Arabic service employees. The prince wisely financed the station to the tune of $137 million annually, initially until November 2001, thus ensuring its quality. At the same time, he adopted a hands-off policy on its content, leaving that to its board of directors. Qatar continues to finance the station because Saudi pressure prevents advertisers from supporting the station for fear of losing access to the lucrative Saudi market. By dedicating Al Jazeera to news, instead of entertainment, however, and by allowing the channel editorial independence, the rulers of Qatar signaled to the Arab world that Qatar was radically departing from the Saudi practice of controlling the media they finance.

By late 2007, Al Jazeera employed 41 on-air presenters, 15 of whom were women from various Arab countries, though none was a Gulf national. Whereas in the past Arab services depended on foreign news video to tell their stories, Al Jazeera relies on 39 correspondents, six of them women, stationed all over the globe. The correspondents represent different currents of thought in the Arab world. An examination of staff biographies posted on Al Jazeera shows that its reporters are a cosmopolitan and highly educated group who speak several languages including Russian and Chinese.

Programming

Al Jazeera is primarily a news and public affairs channel. It transmits daily press reviews and weekly roundups in which it summarizes news reports on Middle East issues in Arab and international papers. Al Jazeera also features documentaries, for example, *Our History and Their Archives,* a series in which Arab history is told through the archives of mostly European powers that colonized the area in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. *The Book Is the Best Companion* and *I Read for You* deal mostly with academic books on Middle East politics. Both shows invite either the books' authors or professors to summarize and then discuss the selected books.

Four broad issues occupy Al Jazeera: Palestine, Iraq, political reform, and America. The channel concentrates mostly on the Arabic speaking regions of North Africa and the Sudan and Somalia, both because of its viewers' interests and the recruitment problems it had faced in other areas of Africa. The channel is best known for its weekly political talk show programs, *More Than One Opinion, The Opinion and the Other Opinion,* and *No Limits. The Opposite Direction,* Al Jazeera's most popular program, once pitted Safinaz Kazem, an Islamist woman from Egypt, against Toujan Faisal, a Jordanian feminist and former member of parliament who has had run-ins with Islamists in Jordan over her interpretation of Islam. Kazem walked off the set while the show was on the air because she had never heard anyone question her or religious authority in such an open manner. This practice of assembling diametrically opposed panelists together on the same program (an Iraqi female member of the Communist Party who believes in gay rights next to a religious woman and a Sheik, for example) to discuss combustible topics reflects the button-pushing ethos of Al Jazeera.

Al Jazeera highlighted women's rights and their political and professional achievements in two programs, *For Women Only* and the one that replaced it, *Pioneers*. Both removed women's programs from the kitchen and the nursery where they had resided for years. But the main contribution to public debate on women's issues was their "taking as their starting point that qualified women should be aiming for decision-making jobs and that the subject of debate was not whether to aim for them but how" (Sakr 2007, 142).

The level of political interactivity of Al Jazeera in large part accounts for its popularity. The channel's call-in shows have been "particularly distinctive…as almost any voices could potentially be heard and individuals were placed into unscripted, uncensored dialogue over which hosts could exercise only some control" (Lynch 2006, 248). The sparks that fly from the religious and ideological debates and confrontations keep the viewers coming back, but lead some Arab critics to accuse Al Jazeera of sensationalism.

Those unedited on-air programs continue to get the channel in trouble with Arab rulers allied to the United States and with the American administration because viewers are openly critical of U.S. Middle East policy on air. Al Jazeera has always covered the United States extensively, including broadcasting American military CENTCOM briefings in full, as well as airing presidential speeches and debates. The station ran afoul of the American administration, however, as early as 1998 when the U.S. embassy of Qatar lodged a strong protest after calls to strike U.S. interests were made on air by callers to the program *The Opposite Direction.* (Al Jazeera's had covered the Anglo-American bombing of Baghdad in December 1998.) Yet despite various criticisms lodged against Al Jazeera, it "offered a diverse array of forums, each privileging very different participation and debate. Dissenting views and reasoned analysis could be heard, albeit within a generally accepted [Arab] identity framework. These debates produced a consensus that was hostile not only to the American project, but also to the perspectives of the Arab regimes eager to stifle reform" (Lynch 2007, 116). The U.S. government may object to Al Jazeera's coverage, but since September 11, its top officials have realized that they need to use the network to address Arab public opinion they had previously ignored. American officials who have appeared on the channel include the Secretary of Defense, National Security Advisor, and the Secretary of State.

American government attempts to prevent Al Jazeera from airing taunting videos from Osama Bin Laden failed, earning the channel the wrath of the frustrated U.S. administration. In defense of Al Jazeera, Hafez al-Mirrazi, then host of *From*

Washington, said, "How can you say to a news channel, 'You can't carry this guy because we hate him'?" al-Mirrazi found that stance "ridiculous, especially coming from the leader of the free world" (Heckman 2002). British journalist Hugh Miles explains that when the service offers its viewers exclusive interviews of Bin Laden, "it's easy to confuse access with endorsement." He adds that the channel's "willingness to present terrorists as legitimate political commentators" has enraged critics such as U.S. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, who found its coverage "inaccurate and inexcusable" (Miles 2003). Al Jazeera was a pioneer in interviewing Israelis, a fact that did not go over well with some of its Arab viewers who accused it of being in the pocket of the CIA or Mossad, the Israeli intelligence service. Bahraini rulers used that charge as well when they attacked Al Jazeera's coverage of Bahrain.

Al Jazeera Scoops International Media in Afghanistan

Unlike Western media, Al Jazeera had opened an office in Afghanistan in 1999, two years before Western media, which thought the country was too unimportant to cover even when they were offered the opportunity to set up news bureaus. On September 19, 2001, when the Taliban evacuated the last foreign journalist from the capital Kabul, only two Al Jazeera correspondents in Kabul and Kandahar and three Afghan reporters working for Reuters, AFP, and AP news were allowed to stay, forcing all Western stations to use Al Jazeera footage. An examination of the footage and transcripts of Al Jazeera broadcasts of video of Afghan casualties between October 9 and 28, however, reveals that CNN, using Al Jazeera footage, ran photos of physical damage, but not the attendant human cost. In contrast, Al Jazeera went to hospitals, talked to the parents of the dead, and showed closeups of wounded children, which infuriated American government officials. Al Jazeera photographer Sami Al-Haj was picked up on his way to Afghanistan on assignment in December 2001 and even though he had a legitimate visa, he was still being held at Guantanamo as an "enemy combatant" in 2008, as Al Jazeera Arabic and English remind their viewers in a solidarity message placed on their websites.

Al Jazeera Scoops International Media in Iraq

Al Jazeera launched an English-language website dedicated to special coverage of Iraq in March 2003, as the U.S. invasion began, with the intention of offering a perspective differing from that of the Western media, which Al Jazeera described as the "most spinned in history" (Timms 2003). In Iraq, the coalition commanders claimed that Iraqi troops had been surrendering in droves, that morale had collapsed in the South of Iraq and that most of one Iraqi division had become POWs. Al Jazeera showed reports that contradicted some of those claims and even interviewed an Iraqi military leader the coalition claimed had surrendered. When a marine commander in Qatar dismissed Iraqi claims to have captured U.S. troops as "Iraqi lies," Al Jazeera broadcast pictures of five captured American servicemen. The Iraqis also told tall tales of their own that Al Jazeera had broadcast such as the claim of Muhammad Said Al Sahhaf, the Iraqi minister of information, "that American tanks had not attacked the presidential palaces…it is a ruse spread by their failed communication organs" and his claim that the Americans had not occupied Baghdad when they were around the corner from the location of his press conference.

The rebroadcast of video of American dead soldiers shot by Iraqi TV as well as the video of American POWs looking scared, at a time when the United States was projecting a "Shock and Awe" stance, infuriated the American leadership. That, combined with the way Al Jazeera covered the first Battle of Faluja in 2004 by concentrating on civilian casualties and the plight of families who were forced to leave the city, earned the station the enmity of the American administration and some members of the American public who hacked the station's website, taking it offline for a while. Al Jazeera had eight teams all over Iraq, allowing it to scoop international media. The staff of Al Jazeera had a hard time battling first the Iraqi handlers before Saddam Hussein disappeared, and later, the American military, who detained several Iraqi Al Jazeera staffers and placed one in the Abu Ghraib prison.

The United States bombed Al Jazeera offices in Afghanistan in 2001, shelled the Basra hotel where

Al Jazeera journalists were the only guests on April 8, 2003, and killed Al Jazeera's Iraq correspondent Tareq Ayoub and two Spanish journalists a few days later when it bombed the Palestine hotel in Baghdad. Though the American military said the bombing was accidental, Al Jazeera staff believe it was deliberate because they gave Americans the coordinates of Al Jazeera offices to avoid accidental bombing. Britain's *Daily Mirror* reported that during an April 2004 White House meeting with British Prime Minister Tony Blair at the peak of the first U.S. siege of Faluja, President Bush floated the idea of bombing Al Jazeera's headquarters in Qatar, according to leaked "top secret" minutes of the summit. Al Jazeera was one of the few news outlets broadcasting from inside the city. Its exclusive footage was carried by every network from CNN to the BBC. The story raised fresh doubts over U.S. claims that previous attacks against Al Jazeera staff were military errors. Furthermore, following the handover of sovereignty in Iraq the U.S.-backed Prime Minister Iyad Allawi closed the offices of Al Jazeera and banned it from operating for a month in August 2004. Al Jazeera broadcast a short clip in which accusations leveled against it by Saddam-era government officials were intercut with similar statements made by Allawi and his officials, suggesting that nothing had changed for the media in Iraq. But despite Allawi's antipathy toward Al Jazeera and his placing of ads on rival network Al Arabiya when he wanted to reach the pan-Arab audience, he chose to be interviewed by Al Jazeera and submitted to a grilling by a well-informed Iraqi presenter, Layla Sheikhali in August 2007.

The station continues to scoop international media and even Arab media in different countries. In July 2007, for example, Al Jazeera showed ballot stuffing in Egypt, shot via a long lens through a window of a polling center. It also has carried dramatic cell phone footage from Iraq.

Al Jazeera has had a profound effect on Arab public opinion. Demonstrations erupted in several Arab countries in support of Palestinians after Al Jazeera broadcast images of the 2002 Israeli siege of the city of Jenín. The channel is able to circumvent two sources of marginalization of Arab public opinion: Arab governments that used to control traditional borders and prevent journalists from other Arab or foreign publications from entering their countries; and Western news agencies that Arabs felt treated their issues unfairly.

Al Jazeera English (AJE)

Al Jazeera English (AJE) started broadcasting as a 24-hour English-language news and current affairs channel on November 15, 2006. Even though it set as its original launch target 40 million cable and satellite homes, less than one year after its launch, it was transmitting to 100 million viewers. AJE is now determined to obtain broad distribution in the highly competitive U.S. market, closed to it due to conservative pressures on cable TV stations as well as commercial considerations. The news channel has attracted veteran journalists from around the world, which make up some of the 800 employees from 55 countries.

AJE is seen by some as an alternative to American stations that chase ratings by catering to the lowest common denominator. Because Qatar's prince funds Al Jazeera, it is free from the economic pressures that drive U.S. media. AJE broadcasts from Doha in Qatar; London; Washington, D.C.; and Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, and has 21 supporting bureaus—in the Middle East, Africa, Europe, the Americas, Asia, and Australia. AJE has a strong presence in Africa through its bureaus in Egypt, Ivory Coast, Kenya, South Africa, and Zimbabwe, and it shares the resources of Al Jazeera Arabic Channel's African bureaus located in Chad, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Senegal, Somalia, South Africa, and Sudan. The station seeks out interesting stories neglected by the Western-oriented media in Latin America, Southeast Asia, the G-8 countries (Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, United Kingdom, and the United States), and the Middle East. Half a million of AJE's viewers are Israeli. AJE is also attempting a deeper penetration into India and China. In the United States, however, the service may be seen only on a handful of cable systems including Buckeye Cable in Ohio; Burlington Cable in Vermont; Washington Cable; and Fision, a fiber-optic entertainment network seen only in Houston. Elsewhere, viewers may access the station on several Internet sources. AJE provides service online, and has a dedicated program on YouTube. Al Jazeera English's decision to retain the Arabic logo of its sister channel has paid off

despite the controversy surrounding the Arabic station.

When the English service began, there was some dispute over its identity, with some in the Arab world suggesting that it is of no use to fund such a channel if it would be no different than other Western TV channels regarding Arab issues. But AJE sees itself as the world's first global English language news channel to be headquartered in the Middle East, and says on its website that "[f]rom this unique position, Al Jazeera English is destined to be the English-language channel of reference for Middle Eastern events, balancing the current typical information flow by reporting from the developing world back to the West. . . . The channel gives voice to untold stories, promotes debate, and challenges established perceptions."

Conclusion

On the Arab level, Al Jazeera has contributed to the formation of a pan-Arab political public space in which important issues avoided by government television are discussed without censorship; namely, American-Israeli relations, Arab rulers and the Iraq war, autocratic governments, dissent, human rights, corruption, religion, and social issues of gender and class. By breaking all the taboos imposed on Arab communication, the station earned the enmity of many an Arab government, but gained the trust of the millions of Arabs who have adopted Al Jazeera as their most trusted source of political information.

Throughout recent history, Arabs were forced to view the wars waged against them through Western eyes. They saw the Suez War of 1956, in which Israel, Britain, and France invaded Egypt, through the news agencies of their enemies: Reuters and Agence France-Presse. They saw the 1991 Gulf War through the lens of CNN. Al Jazeera, by contrast, showed the 2003 invasion of Iraq through Arab eyes. For the first time an Arab station had the resources to beat the West at its own broadcasting game. As former Marine spokesperson, now AJE presenter, Josh Rushing put it, "That war looked starkly different than the war that Al-Jazeera was showing. If CNN were to show where the missile took off, Al-Jazeera would try to show where the missile landed" (NPR 2007). Knowing where the missiles landed was enormously important to Arabs, and very frustrating for the Americans who could no longer control the war narrative. Thus, Al Jazeera gave Arabs a voice they never had before, and sparked competition from other Arab stations. On the other hand, it spurred the governments of the United States, Britain, France, Germany, and Russia to start their own media in Arabic in an attempt to reach the Arab public. American media pundits constantly refer to Al Jazeera and wonder what the channel will make of various news items, an awareness that suggests that the channel cannot be ignored, and is now a major source for shaping or questioning conventional communication wisdom in a world in which the West used to enjoy media dominance, but no longer does.

Orayb Aref Najjar

See also Africa, North; Al Arabiya; Arab Countries

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Al-Manar

Al-Manar ("The Lighthouse") is a satellite television service based in Lebanon. It is the mouthpiece of Hizbullah (The Party of God), established in the mid-1980s as an umbrella group uniting religious Shi'a Muslim groups in Lebanon in the wake of the Israeli invasion. The organization played a major role in ending Israel's 22-year occupation of the South of Lebanon, with the exception of the Sheba'a farms, which Israel still occupied in 2008.

As Al-Manar explained on its website when it was established in June 1991, the need for the channel arose because, even when 20 percent of Lebanon was under Israeli occupation, it was not unusual for Lebanon to be under Israeli fire "while singers chanted on numerous TV channels simultaneously. There had to be a TV that committed itself to put in images the suffering of our people in the occupied territories."

Al-Manar identified five parts of its communication strategy for what it called *Al I'lam al Muqawim,* or "resistance communication":

> 1) Inoculating Lebanese society against Israeli psychological warfare by exposing the Israeli attempt to divide the Lebanese along ethnic and sectarian lines; 2) Shining a spotlight on the brave daily resistance to the Israeli occupation of the border strip so that, cumulatively, the person who resists becomes a symbol that…embodies the military and moral power Arab nations have lost…and highlights the need to exert human effort to make liberation possible; 3) Demolishing the myth of "an [Israeli] army that is never defeated"; 4) Correcting the misinformation spread by Israel and its supporters; [and] 5) Making world public opinion accept the legitimacy of resisting Israeli occupation. (Muhsen 1998, 58–66)

Al-Manar was especially sensitive to the language of conflict and avoided terms that suggested that only Hizbullah had a stake in the liberation of the South of Lebanon because Shi'ia live there. It objected to calling the 10-mile strip Israel occupied in the South "the security zone" as Israel and the international media had been doing, and it called fighters killed "martyrs" because "they died defending their country against an occupier." It objected to calling the Israeli army "the Israeli Defense Forces" rather than "the army of occupation it is."

Development

Al-Manar was one of fifty unlicensed Lebanese television stations that went unregulated until Lebanon promulgated a broadcasting law in 1991 and enforced it five years later. Al-Manar later received a license for satellite transmission just in time to broadcast the Israeli withdrawal from most of the South on May 24, 2000, a withdrawal it

attributed to its own resistance and to the support it received from the Lebanese people. The prolonged victory celebrations of a channel that calls itself the "channel of resistance" (*qanat al-muqawama*) allowed Arab viewers to compare the exploits of a nongovernment actor to the inactivity of Arab governments that were unable to liberate their territories from Israel through peaceful means.

Al-Manar, like other advocacy media, does not claim neutrality but bills itself as partisan to the cause of its constituents: initially, the disadvantaged and poor Shi'ia of the South and the Beka'a valley in Lebanon; later expanded to include the larger Arab and Islamic worlds. The channel provided extensive coverage of the second Intifada (Uprising against Israel) of 2000 in the occupied Palestinian territories, and later, the war in Iraq. Hizbullah, through its media, took on the mantle of the protector of Palestinians, a cause Marc Lynch says tends "to produce an unchallenged consensus unifying different sectors of Arab opinion." The channel "communicates the idea that Israel is hegemonic in the region, tightly connected to the United States, and that Israel and the United States want a weakened Lebanon and Syria, unable to resist Israel's actions. Iraq was targeted to fragment the country, not make it sovereign" (Baylouny 2006). Regarding U.S. positions on Lebanon, one Al-Manar spot compares how the United States deals with UN Resolution 1559 (calling for Syria to withdraw from Lebanon), by showing a menacing man ready to strike with a stick he is holding. "This is followed by another scene, with the words 'and this is how the United States treats UN resolutions regarding Israel.' The screen shows a man picking the petals of a daisy" and stating: "it applies, it does not apply, it applies, and so on" (Baylouny 2006).

The Shi'ia Hizbullah, Al-Manar's patron, began to see itself as a pan-Islamic organization that speaks for both Sunni and Shi'ia, as well as a pan-Arab organization that has Christian allies. Lebanon's largest Christian political party, the Free Patriotic Movement, is Hizbullah's ally. Hizbullah has participated in elections in a democratic fashion, allying with other religious groups, including Christians, and encouraging its members to vote for them. The party won 14 seats of a 128-member parliament in the 2005 elections.

Programming

Unlike Lebanese channels that often import Western programming or present local versions of Western reality shows, Al-Manar produces its own programming based on Arab or Islamic history, or hosts serious talk shows. The station does not allow advertising for tobacco or alcohol or any advertising that treats women as sexual objects to sell products. Female announcers appear in head scarfs, but "Al-Manar does not conform to stereotypes of it (or of Hizbullah) that it marginalizes women or injects religion in all its programming. On the contrary, the station highlights practical problems of women and solutions proposed by them" (Baylouny 2006).

And while Al Jazeera lists standard New York and Mecca time, Al-Manar lists Jerusalem time. It is no wonder, then, that the station is the second most popular station among Palestinians, right after Al Jazeera.

Al-Manar pioneered the idea of embedded videographers who accompanied Hizbullah fighters on their missions. The channel admitted it was deliberately trying to sow fear into the hearts of Israeli mothers by convincing them (programming in Hebrew since 1996), that it is futile to fight Hizbullah. The station showed video of dead Israeli soldiers not broadcast on Israeli TV.

On December 14, 2004, Al-Manar was placed on the U.S. Terrorist Exclusion List, preventing it from operating in the United States or receiving funds from American citizens. France had similarly banned the service a week earlier.

The idea of banning Al-Manar "originated with Israel's Natan Sharansky and former Foreign Minister Silvan Shalom," then expanded to include "the Anti-Defamation League, CAMERA.org, American Jewish Congress," and several other foundations. Furthermore, "[t]he neocon Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI) took credit for persuading" some world leaders to outlaw Al-Manar (Schuh 2006).

Al-Manar ridicules the American military in Iraq by juxtaposing claims of precision bombing over photos of dead children. After the Abu Ghraib torture photos were broadcast, Al-Manar taunted the United States over human rights abuses committed under its watch. But more recently Al-Manar has attempted to moderate its

programming due to a new awareness of how it is being perceived in the West.

On July 12, 2006, Israeli warplanes demolished Al-Manar's five-story headquarters in Beirut's southern suburbs in seven separate attacks, injuring three staff members. They also hit the station's infrastructure in the Beqa'a valley. Al-Manar was off the air only for two minutes as the service's engineers had prepared undisclosed alternative transmission and studio sites.

In Lebanon, where Al-Manar ranks fifth in viewer popularity among the country's nine stations, its news bulletins are popular because they are deemed to be reliable and balanced about local politics. Al-Manar, however, is detested by the Arab regimes of Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Jordan, which accused Hizbullah of giving Israel an excuse to invade Lebanon in the summer of 2006.

Although Al-Manar's enemies accuse it of serving as a voice for terrorism, one researcher found that the channel "both represents the ideas of its audience and attempts to alter them, to spur the constituency to action. A part of this process is altering their self-concepts from victim to empowered and proud. Tactically, many of the emphases of al-Manar can be viewed as effective frames for mobilizing against a militarily superior enemy [Israel]." She added that one could also view Al-Manar "as an opposition or resistance media, covering the non-dominant perspective," by airing interviews with Palestinian rejectionist groups (Baylouny 2006).

Conclusion

The attempt to prevent reception of Al-Manar is seen by many Arabs as more than an issue of the rights of broadcasting by a specific service, but as an example of the hypocrisy of Western governments who defend their right to broadcast offensive materials about Arabs and Muslims such as the anti-Muhammad cartoons in the name of free speech, but feel threatened when others transmit programming they do not like. So Western governments and Israel are faulted for lecturing Arabs on the need for free communication, but denying transmission to services they disapprove of or, worse, bombing them. The International Federation of Journalists, located in Belgium, described the ban on Al-Manar as "political censorship of the worst kind" and criticized the bombing of its facilities. Yet Al-Manar continues functioning despite an advertising boycott, and despite the refusal of several international satellites to carry its signal. It is now available on the Internet.

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See also Al Arabiya; Al Jazeera; Arab Countries; Free Flow of Information; Israel

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Alternative and Underground Newspapers

During the 1960s and early 1970s, underground periodicals critiqued the government and mainstream society and celebrated alternative lifestyles. Some underground writers and editors thought they were inventing America's first alternative press, but in many ways, the nation's first newspaper—*Publick Occurrences, Both Forreign and*

Domestick—of 1690 took the honor when it was suspended because it had been printed without government authority.

Origins: Labor and Abolition

After the American Revolution, most commercial newspapers continued to represent white, middle- to upper-class male readers. Most ignored the plight of laborers, slaves, other people of color, immigrants, and women. In reaction, alternative newspapers appeared during the first half of the nineteenth century. Most used journalism as an agent for social change.

The country's first successful labor newspaper, the *Mechanic's Free Press,* was launched in 1827 in Philadelphia by shoemaker William Heighton. Between then and 1832, 50 to 60 labor weeklies were published around the country. The commercial press overreacted to the new labor press, and the two groups soon traded insults in print. Labor newspapers promoted eliminating child labor, subsidizing education for poor children, closing debtors' prisons, and instituting a 10-hour workday. Their most important goal was to transform the working class into a political force and elect labor candidates to public office. By the 1830s, there were early successes. Most early union members were skilled artisans. Later in the century factory workers, including so-called factory girls, began unionizing and publishing their own newspapers.

During the early nineteenth century, abolitionists, both black and white, founded antislavery newspapers. The first abolitionist newspaper, Charles Osborn's *The Philanthropist,* was printed in Ohio in 1817, and fellow Quaker Elihu Embree began printing *Manumission Intelligencer* (later renamed the *Emancipator*) in Tennessee in 1819. Some publishers advocated gradual emancipation; others argued for the immediate abolition of slavery. Some wanted slaves to be assimilated; others, such as Benjamin Lundy of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* (1821), advocated colonizing slaves in Africa. The first black newspaper, Samuel Cornish and John Russworm's *Freedom's Journal,* was founded in New York City in 1827. With a readership of 1,000, the anticolonization paper focused on improving the lot of free blacks, emancipating slaves, and eliminating lynching. The same year in Philadelphia, *The African Observer* began publishing articles about the evils of slavery.

In 1831, William Lloyd Garrison, who had worked with *Genius* editor Lundy, began printing the *Liberator* from Boston. Garrison had ceased supporting Lundy's gradual approach to ending slavery. His newspaper, printed for 35 years, was the longest-lived abolitionist newspaper.

The abolitionist movement reached its peak between 1830 and 1860. Cornish edited *The Colored American* (1837), which ran articles about freed slaves' achievements and their involvement in the abolitionist movement. In 1840, Lydia Maria Child and David Lee Child established the *National Anti-Slavery Standard,* the official weekly of the American Anti-Slavery Society. In early 1847, Willis Hodges founded *The Ram's Horn* in New York. John Brown (later of Harper's Ferry fame) and Frederick Douglass, a former slave and a celebrated antislavery speaker and writer, were two of Hodges's contributors. Douglass started his own paper, the *North Star,* in Rochester, New York, in December 1847. It reached more than 4,000 readers, including many whites, in the United States, Europe, and the Caribbean. The *North Star* merged with the *Emancipator* in 1851, and continued as *Frederick Douglass' Paper* until he began *Douglass' Monthly,* an abolitionist magazine in 1860. The pages of Douglass's publications served as forums for women and other marginalized people. The *North Star*'s motto was "Right is of no Sex—Truth is of no Color—God is the Father of us all, and we are all brethren."

Women's Voices

Women's newspapers did not appear until mid-century, but within a few decades, there were approximately 30 woman's rights periodicals. Many grew out of the abolitionist and temperance movements. For example, Amelia Bloomer had been involved in the temperance movement in Seneca Falls, New York, for years before she began editing *The Lily* (1849), a newspaper for the local women's temperance society. The next year Elizabeth Cady Stanton, using the pseudonym Sunflower, helped Bloomer edit the paper. Through Stanton's influence, *The Lily* switched its focus to woman's rights.

Social reformer Paulina Wright Davis, who was president of what early feminists considered the

first convention for women's rights in 1850, started *The Una* in 1853 in Providence, Rhode Island. *Una* (Latin for "one") is considered the first newspaper devoted solely to woman's rights.

The next woman's rights newspaper was Lydia Sayer Hasbrouck's *The Sibyl: A Review of Tastes, Errors and Fashions of Society* (1856). Published for nine years, the biweekly *Sibyl* covered woman's rights, suffrage, and abolition, but its focus was dress reform. In her paper, she argued that women's equality and health were connected and depended on doing away with corsets and stays that confined and deformed women's bodies and heavy hoops that hampered their mobility.

After the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution granted the right to vote to all men, but still withheld it from women, the woman's movement broke into two camps. In 1868, the more radical faction began a newspaper, *The Revolution.* Susan B. Anthony published it, Stanton and Parker Pillsbury wrote for and edited it, and George Francis Train helped fund it. Its motto read, "Men, their rights and nothing more; women, their rights and nothing less." The reforms the *Revolution* championed included property rights, divorce and custody law, birth control, and education, among others.

In 1870, Lucy Stone and her husband Harry P. Blackwell began publishing *The Woman's Journal* in Boston. The newspaper, which featured authors such as Harriet Beecher Stowe, Louisa May Alcott, and Julia Ward Howe, appealed to more conservative readers than *Revolution*'s. It survived until 1917, when it was merged with other suffrage periodicals and became *The Woman Citizen.*

Besides promoting suffrage, *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly* (1870) advocated free love and licensed prostitution, raising some Victorian eyebrows. Victoria Woodhull, the first woman to run for President, established the newspaper with her younger sister Tennessee Claflin. Despite the sisters' affinity for edgy topics, they never covered birth control; not until almost 50 years later, when Margaret Sanger wrote *The Woman Rebel, No Gods No Masters* (1914), would the subject be addressed extensively. Sanger, a nurse and major figure in the American birth control movement, advocated sex education and birth control as alternatives to abortion. In her short-lived paper, Sanger wrote "a woman's body belongs to herself alone." The Post Office eventually suppressed it under the nineteenth century Comstock laws, which prohibited using the U.S. mails for distributing information about contraception.

Historians have paid more attention to abolitionist and feminist newspapers than to the periodicals of immigrants and people of color. Immigrant papers, which had been published in the colonies, increased during the new century, as did ethnic newspapers, such as Georgia's *Cherokee Phoenix* (1828). Approximately 1,300 nineteenth-century foreign-language newspapers provided immigrants with news from home as well as local, national, and world news. Not all editors thought retaining their readers' mother tongue important. Most editors, however, emphasized retention of both language and culture.

Political Papers

Race, ethnicity, language, and gender weren't the only things separating people in the nineteenth century. Commercial newspapers, which were frequently affiliated with one national political party or another, did not cover other political parties. Therefore, advocates of liberalism, populism, anarchism, progressivism, socialism, and communism had their own newspapers.

The *Nation,* the oldest continuously published weekly magazine, by the early twenty-first century described itself as the flagship of the left. When abolitionists founded it in 1865 at the start of Reconstruction, it was socially liberal but politically conservative. The magazine, edited by E. L. Godkin, covered politics, the sciences, literature, and art for an intelligent, engaged audience. Newspaper magnate Henry Villard bought the *Nation* in 1881, and for almost four decades, it was a weekly literary supplement for his newspaper, the *New York Evening Post.* In 1918, Villard's son, Oswald Garrison Villard, took over as editor. Under him, the magazine became a liberal current-affairs magazine. The *Nation* has continued to represent the liberal left to the present.

The Madison-based *Progressive* (1909) is still published a century later. Founded by Progressive Wisconsin Senator Robert M. La Follette, the magazine had contributors such as Jane Addams, Helen Keller, Jack London, Upton Sinclair, and Lincoln Steffens. Many issues covered in its early years remain timely, such as U.S. interventionism,

corporate power, civil rights, environmental policies, and women's rights. A third liberal magazine, the *New Republic* (1914), also continued into the twenty-first century. Originally edited by Herbert Croly, it promoted Theodore Roosevelt's reform philosophy.

Like liberals and progressives, populists had their publications. The populist movement of the 1890s appealed to discontented farmers and small businesspeople, who feared Eastern industrialists and bankers. They wanted banks, railroads, and communication regulated, so government would be put back in the hands of common people. During the populist era, about 900 newspapers backed the movement.

Radical Dissent

Several alternative periodicals focused on groups that were more radical than the liberal, progressive, and populist movements. One of the most successful, the Kansas-based *Appeal to Reason,* was founded in 1895. By 1912, the socialist weekly had 760,000 paid subscribers, more than any American radical publication before or since. *Appeal* editor, A. J. Wayland, supported organized labor, attacked capitalism, and promoted the American socialist movement. His contributors included Jack London, Helen Keller, and Upton Sinclair, whose muckraking article on the Chicago meatpacking industry was serialized in the *Appeal* before it became the celebrated 1906 book, *The Jungle.* Other prominent socialist newspapers included the *New York Evening Call* (1908) and the *Milwaukee Leader* (1911).

The Masses (1911), another socialist magazine, was a mix of antiestablishment politics, fiction, poetry, art, and culture. Well-known contributors included Carl Sandburg, Walter Lippman, Sherwood Anderson, John Read, and Max Eastman, who became its editor in 1913. Many other writers and artists of this cooperative magazine lived in Greenwich Village. Because of the paper's pacifism, several staff members were tried unsuccessfully under the Espionage Act in 1917, the same year the magazine, weakened by the turmoil, ceased publication.

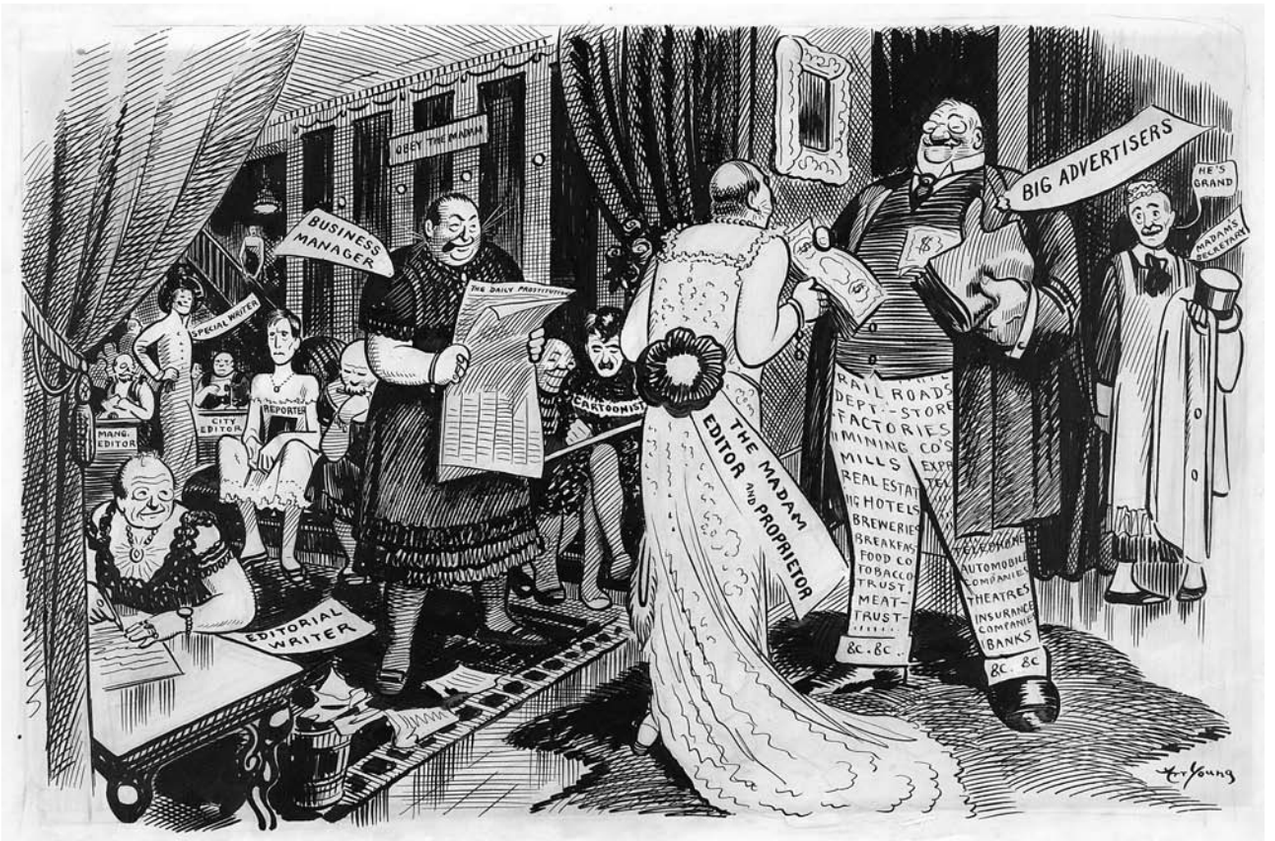
Anarchists were also active in publishing early in the twentieth century. In 1904, Mexican revolutionary Ricardo Flores Magón escaped Mexican dictator Porfirio Díaz and moved to the American Southwest, where he reestablished *Regeneración,* his anti-Díaz newspaper. American authorities, in tandem with the Díaz regime, persecuted him. He was imprisoned several times in the United States and died in Leavenworth Penitentiary in 1922. During his stay in the United States, Flores Magón had become friends with many radical American intellectuals.

Among them was Emma Goldman, who in 1906 founded an anarchist magazine, *Mother Earth, A Monthly Magazine Devoted to Social Science and Literature.* Besides Flores Magón, her contributors included famous radical and anarchist thinkers—historian Will Durant, playwright Eugene O'Neill, novelists Leo Tolstoy and Maxim Gorky, screenwriter/director Ben Hecht, and anarchist theorist Prince Peter Kropotkin. Famous artists, including Man Ray, did cover art. In addition to anarchism, Goldman covered the labor movement, education, literature and the arts, woman's rights, sexual freedom, and birth control. On September 11, 1917, *Mother Earth* was excluded from the mails under the Espionage Act, and in December 1919, Goldman was deported to the newly established Soviet Union.

The Communist Party published several periodicals, such as the *Midwest Daily Record, People's World, New Masses,* and many foreign-language newspapers. In 1924, the American Communist Party started the *Daily Worker.* From the Depression through the cold war it grappled with red baiting, McCarthyism, and changing party lines. With a few name changes and a merger, it survived until 1991. *The Militant* (1928), another communist newspaper, was Trotskyist and promoted the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). A weekly, it also published books by SWP leaders and revolutionaries, such as Lenin, Trotsky, Malcolm X, and "Che" Guevara.

Underground Forebears

While the country's long tradition of dissident and/or alternative periodicals paved the way for the underground press, some other more contemporary predecessors did as well. The *Catholic Worker* (1933), edited by Dorothy Day, provided an example of a pacifist publication that some antiwar periodicals would follow. *I. F. Stone's Weekly* (1953) with its iconoclastic reporting, pro–civil rights and anti-Vietnam stands, and hard-hitting investigative



Political cartoon from the December 1912 issue of The Masses, *criticizing the mainstream press for being influenced by its advertisers, such as mining companies, factories, railroads, and banks. The cartoon compares popular newspaper media of the time to a house of prostitution, with the editor as the proprietor and the advertiser as the patron.*

Source: Library of Congress.

journalism inspired many underground reporters. The *Nation,* under the editorship of Carey McWilliam, also strongly opposed U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia and turned out first-rate investigative pieces.

Earlier investigative journalists—the muckrakers—also inspired many underground writers. Their detailed investigative pieces about society's ills exposed the downside of capitalism in the age of the robber barons and often resulted in significant changes in society. S. S. McClure founded *McClure's* (1893), which became the best-known muckraking publication. In 1902, Ida Tarbell began a series on John D. Rockefeller's business practices and the Standard Oil Company that lasted until 1904 and later became a book. Lincoln Steffens wrote a series on corruption in major cities across the country, and Ray Stannard Baker wrote about labor problems.

The *Guardian* (1948), *The Realist* (1958), and the *Village Voice* (1955) were further role models for underground journalists. The *Village Voice*'s irreverent motto, "Some people swear by us . . . other people swear AT us," speaks volumes about the future of the underground press.

Counterculture Pacifism

To fully understand America's alternative press in the mid-1960s and 1970s, it's necessary to know something about the era's mainstream media—publications that represented the interests of the established social, economic, and political order. Because commercial newspapers were in business

to make money, they catered to and protected the establishment, who often were the papers' advertisers. In addition, they tried to reach a large and universal audience to sell more papers. This focus resulted in marginal social groups—the poor, workers, immigrants, minorities, women, and political dissidents—being stereotyped, misrepresented, undercovered, and/or not covered.

An estimated 500 underground papers gave these groups and others a voice. By the end of the 1960s, most major cities had at least one underground publication. Some advocated social and political action while others created their own news to promote their causes. Many just wanted to celebrate the music and art counterculture.

What made the underground press possible? Many factors went into its creation: millions of baby boomers, a widely perceived generation gap between parents and children, distrust of authority, changing lifestyles, a sexual revolution, a drug culture, ethnic and racial pride, the draft and the unpopular Vietnam War, and the failure of mainstream media to recognize that times were changing. The editorial mix of underground publications typically focused on leftist politics, antiwar sentiments, the counterculture, and anything that contradicted the mainstream. Some newspapers that focused exclusively on culture began covering politics as the war escalated. Later they reverted to covering lifestyle issues. Some publications combined politics and culture.

Art Kunkin's *Los Angeles Free Press* is considered by many to be the earliest—as well as the most successful—underground newspaper. First published in 1964 as a broadsheet for the Southern California Renaissance Faire, the *Faire Free Press* became the *Los Angeles Free Press,* or *Freep,* and changed to a tabloid format in 1965. Controversial stories, such as a 1969 article listing the names, addresses, and phone numbers of eighty narcotics agents in Los Angeles, got the paper in trouble with local police and state authorities. During its heyday, more than 100,000 copies of *Freep* were printed every week. According to some sources, the paper was responsible for spearheading the counterculture movement.

Others consider *The Berkeley Barb* the most influential underground paper in the country. In 1965, Max Scherr sold his Berkeley bar, the Steppenwolf, for $10,000 (about $65,000 today) and started *The Berkeley Barb*. Scherr advocated a menu of political, social, and sexual change and used his newspaper to criticize the establishment. At its peak in 1968, the *Barb* had a weekly circulation of about 90,000. Many of those copies were sold by flower children on street corners. In 1970, Scherr sold the newspaper to a Berkeley anthropology professor and it ceased publication a decade later.

Other influential underground newspapers of similar ilk from the era included the *San Francisco Oracle, San Francisco Express-Times, Berkeley Tribe,* and *The Helix* (Seattle) on the West Coast; the *Fifth Estate* (Detroit), the *Seed* (Chicago), *Kaleidoscope* (Milwaukee), and *The Spectator* (Bloomington, Indiana) in the Midwest; *The Kudzu* (Jackson, Mississippi), *The Great Speckled Bird* (Atlanta), and *The Inquisition* (Charlotte, North Carolina) in the South; *The Rag* (Austin) and *Space City!* (Houston) in Texas, and the *Rat Subterranean News* (New York; later called *Women's LibeRATion*), the *East Village Other* (New York), *Distant Drummer* (Philadelphia), *Avatar* (Boston), *Old Mole* (Cambridge, Massachusetts), and *off our backs* and the *Washington Free Press* (Washington, D.C.) on the East Coast.

Many college towns supported underground papers, some independent and others funded by universities. Most were antiwar and anti-university administration. Some examples include *Columbia Free Press* (University of Missouri), *Connections* (University of Wisconsin), and *Mother of Voices* (Amherst). According to some sources, the FBI operated several fake underground papers in college towns. There were approximately 3,000 underground high school papers, most of them short-lived and of limited circulation. There were also military underground newspapers as well as papers published by liberation movements—women, gays, blacks, and Native Americans. Two Hispanic publications included *El Malcriado* (1964), a paper started by the United Farm Workers (UFW) leaders Delores Huerta and Cesar Chavez in Delano, California, and Los Angeles's *La Raza* (1967), a bilingual newspaper and later magazine that filled a definite need for Chicanos in the L.A. barrio.

While few alternative publications were moneymakers, some counterculture newspapers were prosperous. Advertisers discovered that they were good vehicles for reaching college-age readers, an attractive demographic. Because the mainstream

media ignored changing formats of popular music, underground press coverage of the music scene increased circulation and thus attracted advertising from Columbia and other record labels.

Rolling Stone (1967) was the most financially successful underground publication. Its coverage of the Doors, the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin, and other musicians ensured a circulation that could command ad revenue unlike any other underground publication.

Another thing that attracted *Rolling Stone* readers was its look. The cover art and the cartoons and drawings inside most counterculture newspapers were imaginative and iconoclastic and as revolutionary as the ideas discussed in most papers' pages. Psychedelic colors drew readers in as much as content. The split-fountain technique of inking colors allowed colors to bleed into one another and created unique softly colored effects. On the technical side, two inventions—offset printing and cold-type composition—made starting underground publications financially feasible. Offset printing was a quick, inexpensive way to create innovative publications with colorful, groundbreaking design concepts.

Underground publications naturally did not exist in a vacuum. Some 60 underground and radical papers, including *The Black Panther, Guardian, East Village Other, San Francisco Oracle, Los Angeles Free Press, Berkeley Barb,* and *The Paper,* formed the Underground Press Syndicate in 1967 in Washington, D.C. The UPS was a wire service for members, who were free to reprint shared information, articles, and breaking news reports. They also sold communal advertising. Police harassment was something else many publications shared in common at both a local and national level. The FBI allegedly conducted surveillance and disrupted the underground press.

Some underground publications, such as *Rolling Stone* and *Ramparts,* endure. Most, however, were gone by the end of the 1970s or early 1980s. Many staff members never wrote again; some joined established or newer alternative periodicals while other reporters, cartoonists, and artists worked in corporate media or in academe. For instance, Abe Peck, editor of the Chicago *Seed,* went on to work at *Rolling Stone,* Associated Press, and the *Chicago Sun Times* before he became a journalism professor at Northwestern University.

The idea of an alternative and dissident press thrives again in the age of the World Wide Web. Periodicals geared toward activists of all stripes—animal rights, AIDS, human rights, the environment—abound. Then there are small, self-published zines, which are usually outside the mainstream, that reach a small community of loyal readers. At the same time, many long-standing publications are abandoning their print products for a strictly Web presence, and some zines are evolving into E-zines. And with the savings in paper, printing, and postage, new alternative media are mushrooming all the time on the Internet.

Victoria Goff

See also Advocacy Newspapers; Free Expression, History of; Labor Journalism; Muckrakers; Peace Journalism; Social Movements and Journalism; Student Journalism

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Anchors, Television

Television news anchors are among the few journalists known to the public on a national scale. They capture attention because they are vested with a special and powerful role. In addition to keeping the public informed, viewers who watch a television newscast come to feel as though they *know* the people who report the news. Of all

those practicing television journalism, the struggle between the time-honored principles of print and radio journalism and the elements of television appearance, personality, emotion, and celebrity is experienced to the greatest degree by network television news anchors.

Although TV news anchors often ascend to their network posts from local stations and from jobs as correspondents and reporters, they are soon distinguished by their status as the most recognizable figureheads on the nightly network news broadcasts. TV anchors' implicit associations with "hard news" as opposed to softer news and entertainment formats also distinguish them from such other television personalities as program hosts or commentators. Critics note that while British television reporters are rightfully referred to as "newsreaders" (accurately reflecting what they actually do), a marked difference exists in the way they are regarded in the United States where "anchor" and "host" are often used interchangeably. The prestige and notoriety of American television news anchors grew steadily between the inception of the phenomenon in the 1940s and the 1980s, the decade during which they reached their apex in terms of attention and autonomy. Since then, with the influx of competition for viewers' attention from other TV news channels, including cable and satellite, as well as from other newer forms of electronic media, the power of the network television news anchor has been somewhat diluted amidst the sea of available news options, but the anchors are still regarded as an institution within TV news.

Emergence of TV Anchors

The American TV news anchor role came into being after World War II. Although television began operating on a commercial basis in mid-1941, the medium had been stunted by wartime priorities and a halt in the manufacture of receivers. The earliest television newscasts were little more than radio journalists reading the news in front of a camera, sometimes accompanied by still photographs.

In 1948 NBC began a newsreel program that included film clips of news items spliced together. A year later, the program was expanded to 15 minutes and became the *Camel News Caravan,* anchored by John Cameron Swayze, and lasting until 1957. Swayze provided the introductions to, explanations of, and transitions between the film clips presented. CBS contracted with Telenews, a subsidiary of Hearst-MGM newsreel, for film, and began a regular nightly bulletin, *CBS News with Douglas Edwards,* in 1948 sponsored by General Motors. As a precursor to current practices, Edwards was seen as "a speaking subject against an abstract map" (quoted in Winston 1993, 187). Later NBC anchor John Chancellor is also credited with having helped define television news in these early days.

Discrepant accounts characterize early anchors as humble figures who merely read the news, yet, at the same time, had some control over the broadcasts. Television journalists developed onscreen personas to connect with viewers by using strategies to mimic face-to-face interaction. These included the anchor looking into the camera (and thus directly into the eyes of the viewer), and speaking directly and personally to each viewer.

Dimensions of appearance and performance introduced by television brought a disjuncture in the standards that Edward R. Murrow and his followers had established for radio journalism. While print experience was prized in radio journalism, training and experience would not suffice for television as an element of showmanship became an essential trait for video journalists. An ability to communicate and connect with viewers became paramount. Until the mid-1950s, the 15-minute evening network newscasts were treated as unimportant by the networks and their anchors were similarly regarded.

As the medium's reach expanded across the country in the early 1950s, television became an important political force. President Eisenhower embraced the new medium, and Richard Nixon saved his political life with his televised "Checkers" speech. In 1952 NBC's morning news and talk program debuted with Dave Garroway anchoring the *Today* show. It would not have a morning news competitor until the launch of ABC's *Good Morning America* in 1975. The softer and more eclectic morning news format offered a more informal forum for showcasing the onscreen talents and versatility of Jane Pauley, Barbara Walters, Tom Brokaw, and other hosts over the years.

CNN's entry into cable television news in 1980 offered opportunities for new faces on TV news. For many ambitious young correspondents, the

1990–91 Gulf War represented a big break. Bernard Shaw and Wolf Blitzer were among the CNN correspondents who benefited from hours of wartime coverage. Shaw was a pioneering black anchor, while Judy Woodruff, Paula Zahn, and Anderson Cooper are other well-known anchors who have been featured on CNN. Other cable news networks were founded and rose in the late 1980s and 1990s, including CNBC in 1989, MSNBC in 1996, and the Fox News Channel also in 1996.

The Anchor's Role

In addition to the TV journalist who appeared on camera, many others worked to assemble the components of each news broadcast. As early as 1949, for example, Douglas Edwards was supported by a full-time CBS staff of 16 plus 14 part-timers.

With Walter Cronkite at CBS, the network anchor also assumed the title of "managing editor" of the broadcast. This was a means of allowing the TV anchor to use his news judgment to select, hone, and shape news stories in the broadcast, while alerting the news staff and viewers that the anchor was more than a face on the screen. All solo network evening news anchors to follow would also hold the dual titles of anchor and managing editor. Yet an anchor may have little to no involvement in many stories other than reading materials prepared for him or her by others.

The advent of the TV news anchor posed challenges to traditional journalistic values and routines largely because of anchor celebrity, authority, and salary. At the heart of continuing criticism is the placing of an anchor's pleasing persona and appearance over journalistic ability, the pervasive influence of market research on hiring and promotion of TV journalists, and the enormous salaries that network anchors receive.

Conclusion

By 2005, most industry analysts agreed that the networks' morning news programs, which typified the hybridization of news and entertainment, were eclipsing the evening news programs in viewer popularity and thus value within their news organizations. Reexamination of the anchor's role was sparked by the departures of anchors at all three broadcast networks in 2005–06, in addition to growing challenges posed by 24-hour cable news networks.

Routes to entry and promotion within the TV news field have also changed over time. The generation of television reporters who came to prominence in the 1960s and 1970s often had been trained in the wire services or radio and gained experience as foreign or war correspondents or by working their way up through local station and network ranks. In contrast, the trajectory of TV journalists in the 1980s and 1990s was somewhat different. Some of these new anchors entered the field through journalism schools (Jane Pauley is an example), or by working up through the newsroom ranks. Other anchors rose from semi-entertainment backgrounds (as with Katie Couric).

By 2006, the anchors and their signature newscasts on broadcast and cable TV were still commanding an average of 30 million viewers. TV news anchors deliver information to people about the world around them in a visual, personal, emotional, and dramatic way that television made possible. Even as television faces new challenges from online and mobile technology, the news anchors remain some of the most recognizable faces in American media.

Notable American TV News Anchors

Tom Brokaw (1940–)

Brokaw began his career in local news, and after several local news positions around the country, he moved to Washington, eventually becoming NBC's White House correspondent during the Watergate era. He shifted from hosting NBC's morning *Today* show in 1983 to anchoring the network's evening newscast. He was briefly paired with Roger Mudd as co-anchor in 1982–83, and then remained the sole anchor of the broadcast until his retirement in 2004.

Connie Chung (1946–)

Chung was hired by CBS during the women's movement of the early 1970s when the networks put more women on the air. By 1974, the three networks had added about a dozen women reporters and were recruiting more. After working her way up from positions at local TV news stations to

the network level, Chung was named co-anchor of the *CBS Evening News* with Dan Rather in 1993. She was the second woman (after Barbara Walters) to become an anchor, but the pairing only lasted two years. Subsequently, Chung co-anchored ABC News' *20/20* and *Connie Chung Tonight* on CNN. She is the only person (male or female) to have served as a substitute anchor for all three network nightly newscasts as well as all three network morning newscasts.

Katie Couric (1957–2009)

In 2006, Katie Couric moved from her post she held for 15 years as co-anchor of NBC's *Today* to CBS where she anchors the *CBS Evening News with Katie Couric*. The move made her the first solo female anchor in network television evening news. Couric and NBC made the deliberate choice of calling her "Katie" from the onset of her *Today* show career, while she had previously been known as "Katherine" as a local TV reporter and as a reporter for CNN.

Walter Cronkite (1916–2009)

Cronkite began as a United Press wire service reporter who then anchored local news for the CBS-owned Washington station in 1950. He rose to become a journalistic star with coverage of the 1952 political conventions. The first use of the term *anchorman* came at this time. According to Barbara Matusow, author of *The Evening Stars*, Sig Mickelson, then head of CBS television news, and producer Don Hewitt "discussed the need to have their strongest person in the booth, holding together the coverage from the floor. Hewitt compared the arrangement to a relay team, where the strongest runner, who runs the final leg of the race, is called the 'anchorman.'" From the late 1960s until his retirement in 1981, Cronkite presided over the top-rated network news program.

Two moments epitomized Cronkite's career and impact. His visibly emotional relay of the November 1963 assassination of President Kennedy's death included, according to communications researcher Barbie Zelizer, "removing his eyeglasses in a distracted fashion and forgetting to put on his suit jacket." In a sense, he shared the national shock at the event. Five years later, on his return from onsite reporting from Vietnam, he clearly expressed his opinion that the war would never be won on military grounds and that the only end was negotiation. The two-part editorial, broadcast on successive days, was one catalyst for President Johnson's decision to not run for reelection.

Charles Gibson (1943–)

Gibson moved from hosting ABC's *Good Morning America* to solo anchoring *World News Tonight* in 2006. Gibson returned to the morning program with Diane Sawyer in January 1999. He previously co-anchored the morning program from 1987 to 1998. In addition, Gibson was also co-anchor of *Primetime,* and was a regular substitute anchor on *World News Tonight* before his permanent appointment.

Chet Huntley (1911–74) and David Brinkley (1920–2003)

Huntley and Brinkley emerged as news stars with their coverage of the 1956 political convention coverage for NBC. Huntley had previously worked for Movietone News and then CBS radio in Los Angeles, as well as NBC TV in Los Angeles. Brinkley was a former UPI reporter. The Huntley–Brinkley duo that dominated network news in the early and mid-1960s was created to appeal to viewers in all parts of the country, as Chet Huntley was from the West and David Brinkley hailed from the East. Their nightly *Huntley-Brinkley Report* ran on NBC until 1970. Other networks tried to replicate the on-screen chemistry of the Huntley-Brinkley duo, but subsequent anchor pairings, such as those of Barbara Walters and Harry Reasoner on ABC, of Tom Brokaw and Roger Mudd on NBC, and of Connie Chung and Dan Rather on CBS, were all short-lived.

Peter Jennings (1938–2005)

Jennings was a high school dropout who transformed himself into one of the most well-known network TV anchors. In an attempt to raise its newscast from the depths of third place against Cronkite and Huntley–Brinkley, who had emerged as trailblazers from their coverage of the decades' assassinations and scandals, ABC made Jennings, a

26-year-old former Canadian television anchor, the anchor of its evening news broadcast in 1965, making him by far the youngest national network anchor. Although the network thought his fresh and handsome looks would appeal to younger viewers, his inexperience and the strength of his competition led Jennings to seek other assignments and ABC replaced him in 1968. Jennings would later gain recognition as the first network correspondent on the scene when Palestinian terrorists murdered Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Olympics. He returned, substantially more seasoned, to the anchor chair in 1978. He remained at the helm of ABC's *World News Tonight* until his death from lung cancer.

Robert MacNeil (1931–) and Jim Lehrer (1934–)

MacNeil and Lehrer began their television partnership in 1973 when they provided the National Public Affairs Center for Television's (NPACT) continuous live coverage of the Senate Watergate hearings, broadcast on PBS. Lehrer was the solo anchor for subsequent PBS coverage of the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment inquiry of Richard Nixon. Lehrer had previously been a Texas newspaper reporter. Lehrer's newspaper career led him to public television, first in Dallas, as KERA-TV's executive director of public affairs, on-air host, and editor of a nightly news program. He subsequently moved to Washington, D.C., to serve as the public affairs coordinator for PBS. Canadian born MacNeil had previously reported for Reuters News Agency and NBC News and for the BBC. In October 1975, the half-hour *Robert MacNeil Report,* with Jim Lehrer as the Washington correspondent, premiered on Thirteen/WNET New York. In September 1983, Lehrer and MacNeil launched *The MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour*. MacNeil departed the program in 1995 and Lehrer took stewardship of the program under a new title, *The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer*. In addition, Lehrer served as a moderator for ten nationally televised debates among the candidates in the presidential elections since 1988.

Roger Mudd (1928–)

Mudd began his journalism career in 1953 as a reporter for the now-defunct Richmond News-Leader and was news director at WRNL-AM in Richmond. He also worked as a reporter for WTOP-TV in Washington. Mudd joined CBS News in 1961 and worked as a correspondent for 19 years. In 1980, Mudd moved to NBC as co-anchor of the *NBC Nightly News* with Tom Brokaw (1982–83), and co-anchor of *Meet the Press*. Later, he became the primary anchor of The History Channel. From 1987 until 1992, he was an essayist and correspondent for the *McNeil-Lehrer NewsHour* on PBS. He left the program in 1992 and became a journalism professor at Princeton University.

Edward R. Murrow (1908–65)

Murrow made his name with radio reports during World War II. While he was more comfortable with radio, Murrow established a tradition on television as well—that of the crusading reporter—with his 1954 attack on Senator Joseph McCarthy and in reporting on the injustices committed against those accused of communist sympathies. He also introduced such techniques as the multipoint radio roundup and the split screen interview. He anchored the weekly TV documentary series *See It Now* on CBS from 1951 to 1955.

Dan Rather (1931–)

Rather succeeded Walter Cronkite as anchor of the CBS evening news in 1981. In the mid-1980s, the program was the leading evening newscast. An early groundbreaking moment for Rather was his televised exchange with President Nixon during a news conference, recounted in Rather's 1977 memoir, in which Nixon asked Rather, "Are you running for something?" and Rather replied, "No, Mr. President, are you?" This began a protracted grudge conservatives would hold toward Rather, and the first of many media tornadoes in which Rather would find himself. Among them was his six-minute walk-out to protest that the U.S. Open Tennis tournament had cut into the *Evening News* in 1987. CBS struggled at times to manage and withstand the fallout from Rather's behavior over the years, yet stuck by him through his controversies. However, in 2006, Rather left CBS, having been unable to quell criticism brought on by a flawed broadcast report during the 2004 elections. He signed on to host a weekly news program on HDNet.

Harry Reasoner (1923–91)

Reasoner was a reporter, White House correspondent, and anchor while at CBS News from 1956 to 1970. In 1968, he became one of the original correspondents for CBS's news magazine program *60 Minutes*. In 1970, Reasoner left CBS to become an evening news anchor for ABC, at first paired with Howard K. Smith, and later with Barbara Walters. He returned to CBS and *60 Minutes* in 1979, where he continued to work full time until 1991.

Frank Reynolds (1923–83)

Reynolds was the primary anchor of ABC *World News Tonight,* with co-anchors Peter Jennings in London and Max Robinson in Chicago, until his death in 1983. Reynolds began his career in local radio broadcasting and then local television broadcasting in Chicago for CBS and ABC affiliates. In 1965, he became the only Chicago television reporter to travel to South Vietnam to report from the battlefront. That same year, he became an ABC network correspondent in Washington. His first stint at anchoring the evening news took place in the late 1960s, ending in December 1970. For the next eight years, he covered major stories for ABC News until he was made co-anchor again in 1978.

Max Robinson (1939–88)

Robinson became the first (and thus far the only) black anchor on broadcast network television in 1981, as the Chicago-based co-anchor of ABC's *World News Tonight* with Peter Jennings and Frank Reynolds. Robinson caused a stir when the press reported that he had made remarks about the TV networks discriminating against black reporters and that "unconscious racism" existed at the decision-making levels in news media at a speech he gave at Smith College in 1981. Robinson then became anchor of the local news in Chicago, a reversal of the normal progression of an on-camera reporter's career.

Bob Schieffer (1937–)

Schieffer succeeded Dan Rather as anchor of the CBS *Evening News* on an interim basis in 2006 as speculation abounded as to what long-term shape the program might take. He became a contributor to the broadcast when Katie Couric was named as a permanent replacement in April 2006. Schieffer began his career with CBS News in 1969, and was anchor of the CBS *Evening News* Sunday edition from 1973 to 1976 and anchor of the Saturday edition from 1976 to 1996.

Elizabeth Vargas (1962–) and Bob Woodruff (1961–)

Vargas and Woodruff were paired to anchor ABC's *World News Tonight* after Peter Jenning's death in 2005. ABC had scrambled to find a successor, and emerged with not one anchor, but two. This was ABC's attempt at returning to a multi-anchor format, although not by repeating the placement of one male and one female anchor side by side at a desk, but rather a tag-team format whereby one anchor reports from the desk in New York and one from assignment in the field. In 2006, Vargas thus briefly became the first woman of Hispanic descent to achieve the network evening news anchor post. However, less than six months after the pairing, with Woodruff recovering from serious injuries sustained while on assignment in Iraq in January 2006, and Vargas preparing for maternity leave, ABC named Charles Gibson the sole anchor of its evening newscast.

Barbara Walters (1929–)

Walters left her job as the first female co-host of NBC's *Today* show in 1976 to become the first female co-anchor of a network evening newscast, ABC's *Evening News* with Harry Reasoner, also becoming the first million-dollar anchor on television. Her "auction" brought into question the entire issue of the anchor as celebrity. Considering that journalism had been slow in promoting minorities and women, the fact that the first million-dollar anchor would be a woman made the announcement all the more sensational. When Walters' pairing with Reasoner ended in 1978, she continued hosting *The Barbara Walters Special,* which featured interviews with a newsmaker or celebrity. Walters also co-hosted the ABC news magazine show *20/20* beginning in 1979. In 1997, she became the main host and

producer of the all-female ensemble-hosted morning talk show *The View* on ABC.

Brian Williams (1959–)

Williams started his journalism career at a small TV station in Kansas. After working as a reporter for a number of local East Coast stations, Williams moved to CBS in New York City. In 1993, he shifted to NBC and a year later became the network's chief White House correspondent. For seven years beginning in 1996, he was anchor and managing editor of *The News with Brian Williams*, a nightly program on MSNBC and then on CNBC. Williams served as anchor and managing editor of the Saturday edition of NBC *Nightly News* for six years before becoming anchor of the weekday edition. He was subsequently named to succeed Tom Brokaw in 2004.

Kimberly Meltzer

See also Cable News; Commentators, Television; Evening News, Television; Hard Versus Soft News; Reporters, Television; Women in Journalism

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ANTITRUST

On several occasions during and since the twentieth century, antitrust (or antimonopoly) law has had important impacts on the news media business. Antitrust enforcement is designed to limit or break up monopolies. Yet many de facto media monopolies have existed for decades—monopoly metropolitan newspapers in most American markets, and monopoly cable television systems in many areas. The question is what triggers either a private or government antitrust decision.

Antitrust Laws and Agencies

Two federal laws about a century-old dictate national antitrust policy (some states have antitrust authority within their own borders, but that rarely concerns media mergers). In 1890 the Sherman Antitrust Act, the country's first antimonopoly law, outlawed monopolies and monopolization, and said any contracts, combinations, or conspiracies in restraint of trade were illegal. Price fixing and profit pooling were also prohibited. The very short law awarded triple damages to successful claimants, and gave regulatory powers to the Justice Department which in 1903 formed its Antitrust Division headed by an assistant attorney general.

The 1914 Clayton Antitrust Act clarified the Sherman Act and expanded antitrust enforcement. The new law held that business practices as well as market domination could be the subject of antitrust enforcement. Among the practices prohibited were so-called tying arrangements (having to buy one product in order to get another) and refusal to

deal (not selling to those who buy from competitors). This law added the new Federal Trade Commission (FTC, created just a month earlier) as a player in antitrust concerns. The FTC's Bureau of Competition focuses on monopoly and antitrust concerns.

With formation of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) by the Communications Act of 1934, antitrust concerns again played a part. Section 313 of the act requires the FCC to deny a license to any applicant for a broadcast station who has been found guilty of monopoly practices. While the roles of the FTC and Antitrust Division are expressly stated in the antitrust laws, the FCC has no specified authority. The commission cannot legally block a merger, but it can refuse to grant license transfers, or it can place conditions on those transfers. Indeed, many have criticized the agency for using a merger review process to extract concessions from companies that may have nothing to do with the merger.

Other critics have argued that FCC merger reviews take far too long for the fast moving electronic media industry. Some criticize the FCC for leaking information about the progress of its reviews. And many have called on the agency to at least adopt rules that define and govern its antitrust merger reviews. In an attempt to clarify the overlapping agency issue—and the delays that often result—it has been suggested that for mergers in regulated industries (such as broadcasting), the relevant antitrust agency (Justice Department) should perform the competition analysis. The relevant regulatory authority (FCC) should not then redo the competition analysis of the antitrust agency. But all of this remains unresolved.

Key Supreme Court Media Cases

There have been a number of landmark Supreme Court decisions that have helped define the role of antitrust in media ownership and operation.

Associated Press (1945)

The Associated Press's restrictive membership policies triggered a very important Supreme Court decision. When the *Chicago Sun* and *Washington Times-Herald* newspapers applied for AP membership, several AP members objected. According to the AP rules at the time, new members had to have the approval of existing members in the same market, and then had to pay exorbitant dues to join. The Justice Department challenged the AP rules, and the Supreme Court held that simply because the agency handles news while other companies handle goods "does not afford the publisher a peculiar Constitutional sanctuary.... Freedom to publish means freedom for all and not for some.... Freedom of the press from government interference doesn't sanction repression of freedom by private interests." The 5–3 vote (one justice did not participate), which the Court refused to revisit when petitioned to do so by the AP, opened AP service to anyone willing to subscribe.

As a result, over the next few years, AP's client list rapidly expanded. Many papers began multiple subscriptions to the AP as well as the UP and INS. But as the number of dailies (especially evening papers) slowly declined in the 1950s and afterwards, the cost of subscribing to largely duplicative news services made less sense to a growing number of newspapers. They began dropping their UP and INS (which merged to become UPI in 1958) contracts, thereby weakening the AP competitor's commercial underpinning. Thus the 1945 Court decision contributed to an ironic result of strengthening the AP until by the turn of the twenty-first century, it held a virtual monopoly as the sole American news agency.

Paramount (1948)

Monopoly concerns in the motion picture business are perhaps only tangentially related to journalism. But for many years, the government had been concerned about the major film studios that controlled the production, distribution, and exhibition of their popular theatrical motion pictures. The major studios were said to be vertically integrated, and their control of film making, distribution, and theatrical exhibition made it virtually impossible for any new entity to enter the market and compete. While the studios owned less than a fifth of the country's theaters, those theaters controlled about 45 percent of film theater revenue.

Concern about the studios' unfair trade practices with theaters (which had arisen in the silent

film era) finally led to all the major movie studios being sued in 1938 by the Department of Justice's Antitrust Division. The complex case was initially settled with a consent decree in mid-1940, which allowed the government to reinstate the lawsuit if, in three years' time, it had not seen a satisfactory level of compliance with its conditions by the studios. The government did not and refiled its suit in 1943. The Supreme Court in 1948 decided 8–0 against the movie studios and forced Paramount (and in a parallel series of new consent decrees, the other major studios) to divest their theater chain. New and independent owners of those theaters could exhibit films from any studio or independent producer.

That the decision came down just as television was beginning its network service was coincidental but made the decision's impact that much stronger. By the 1950s, the Hollywood studios were in trouble, no longer able to count on theater chains automatically supporting high levels of film production. At the same time, expanding availability of television kept people at home and away from the theaters. Film revenues dropped accordingly, and the once-strong studio system slowly fell apart.

Lorain Journal (1951)

The *Lorain Journal* enjoyed a 15-year monopoly on newspaper and radio advertising in its small Ohio market—until a competing radio station began operation after World War II. In response, the newspaper refused to accept advertising from any entity that purchased time on the new radio outlet, thereby threatening its survival as retailers could not risk giving up newspaper advertising. Put another way, the newspaper created a boycott of the new radio station. The station filed suit on the grounds that the newspaper's "refusal to deal" with recalcitrant advertisers was a clearly illegal "attempt to monopolize" the Lorain market, in violation of the Sherman Act. A federal trial court agreed, and on appeal the Supreme Court confirmed that decision, making clear that its findings violated no First Amendment rights.

The *Lorain* case underlined that newspapers and broadcast stations had to compete fairly, and could not adopt practices intended to keep out or drive out potential competitors.

RCA (1959)

In the 1950s, Westinghouse had two NBC television affiliates (Boston and Philadelphia) and valued their network contracts. It was seeking to add another affiliate in Pittsburgh. These affiliations gave the network considerable leverage over Westinghouse. Unhappy with its own owned-and-operated station WPTZ in Cleveland, Ohio—a much smaller and thus financially less-desirable market—NBC sought to swap with the Westinghouse Philadelphia station, KYW. The network allegedly threatened Westinghouse with the loss of one or more of its existing or potential network affiliation agreements if it did not comply. The FCC, apparently unaware of the latter point, approved the license transfer in 1955.

The Justice Department filed suit against RCA (the parent company of the network), claiming it had used its network monopoly power in the market exchange. NBC argued that the FCC had the information (including allegations of antitrust issues) it needed to issue its approval of the trade. But the Court concluded in a 7–0 vote that the FCC had no independent antitrust role here and directed the commission to undo the exchange. KYW returned to Westinghouse in Philadelphia (though the licensee has changed names, it continues to own the station today), and NBC continued to operate the Cleveland WPTZ (which it soon sold).

This case created the important precedent for the Antitrust Division to challenge broadcast mergers and transfers even if they have been approved by the FCC.

Citizen Publishing (1969)

This case demonstrates that Congress can always step in and change the law to get around a Supreme Court decision it does not like. A joint operating agreement (JOA) between two Tucson newspapers was held to be in violation of antitrust law. Justice William O. Douglas said the only defense against antitrust was if one of the companies was on the verge of failing. Many JOAs had been created in markets where neither newspaper was actually failing. Now that these were all threatened by the Court's decision, newspaper publishers lobbied Congress into passing the Newspaper Preservation Act of 1970, which legalized existing joint operations and cleared the way for new ones (if approved

by the Attorney General), in effect overriding the Court's constitutional interpretation.

The Antitrust Division continued to oppose some mergers, for example, blocking them in cases where the two papers were in adjacent markets. It appeared to be legal for chains to own many newspapers in various places, but not in close proximity. During the Reagan administration (1981–89), proposed mergers in Seattle and Detroit were not blocked, but in 1995, the Justice Department blocked the sale of a Fayetteville, Arkansas, newspaper to a group that owned another major newspaper in the northwestern part of the state.

Recent Merger Activity

In the aftermath of the Telecommunications Act of 1996, which generally deregulated the ownership of radio stations, the Antitrust Division moved to block a number of proposed mergers. For example, by early 1997, the division had acted in five cases where mergers would have allowed too much control of radio advertising in single markets to accrue to one owner.

In 2001, EchoStar made a $26 billion bid to buy larger satellite-TV rival DirecTV from General Motors. Analysts figured regulators likely would balk at the idea of giving one company control of 91 percent of the U.S. satellite-TV market. The Federal Communications Commission ruled against it in October 2002, then the U.S. Justice Department and 23 states filed suit to block the merger. Rupert Murdoch's News Corp., which ardently lobbied against the EchoStar-DirecTV union on antitrust grounds, ultimately swooped in to buy DirecTV in 2003. Less than four years later, News Corp. in December agreed to sell its 38 percent DirecTV stake to John Malone's Liberty Media.

In 2003, the Justice Department issued a consent decree in *United States v. Village Voice Media*. NT Media ("New Times") and Village Voice Media were head-to-head competitors in publishing alternative newsweeklies in Cleveland and Los Angeles. In October 2002, New Times agreed to shut down its Los Angeles alternative newsweekly, the *New Times Los Angeles,* if Village Voice Media closed its newsweekly in Cleveland, the *Cleveland Free Times*. The companies essentially swapped markets, leaving New Times with a monopoly in Cleveland and Village Voice Media with a monopoly in Los Angeles. This eliminated the competition that had brought advertisers in both cities lower advertising rates, more promotional opportunities, and better service, and that had benefitted readers with a higher quality product. The consent decree undid the arrangement.

Early in 2007, in a deal that seemed to parallel the satellite television attempt, the two satellite radio companies, Sirius and XM, proposed a merger of their multichannel (including many news and talk services) companies. The Justice Department approved the deal in March 2008 and the FCC, as expected, approved the merger in July of the same year, with conditions.

Despite all of this, many large-scale proposed media mergers have *not* been blocked in recent years: Time Inc. merging with Warner Brothers; Viacom taking over the Paramount studio; MCA/Universal buying Polygram Records; Disney taking over the ABC network; Viacom taking over CBS; Time Warner buying Turner Broadcasting (including its CNN cable network); Time Warner's takeover by AOL (in what became an infamous failed deal); AT&T and the TCI cable multiple system operator; Vivendi and Universal Studios; and AT&T Cable's purchase by Comcast. In each of these cases, a determination was made that allowing the merger did not harm overall competition in the various media markets affected.

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See also Associated Press; Joint Operating Agreements; Media Ownership; Supreme Court and Journalism

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Arab Countries

Defining what countries constitute the Arab Middle East can be a tricky and politically charged exercise. The term *Middle East* defines a geographical area in Asia, but it lacks predefined borders. Although Egypt is largely located in North Africa, it is often included as a Middle Eastern nation due to the Sinai Peninsula's location in Asia and the country's Arab-speaking population and political influence in the Middle East. Iran is also counted as a Middle Eastern nation due to its political influence in the region and its location in Asia. Here, the Arab Middle Eastern borders include Egypt, the countries that make up the Mediterranean Sea's eastern border to Turkey (Syria, Lebanon, and the Palestinian Territories), the Red Sea's eastern coast (Jordan and Saudi Arabia), the Gulf of Aden's northern coast (Yemen and Oman), and the countries that abut the Persian Gulf (Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates).

Summarizing journalism in the Arab Middle East is equally difficult considering the varying political and social nuances that exist in the countries that comprise this dynamic region of the world. Journalists in some of these countries enjoy relative freedom while others operate under strict controls. As a region, however, Western watchdog organizations like Freedom House and Reporters Without Borders annually rank Middle Eastern nations among the worst in the world for press freedom.

In its 2008 annual ranking of global press freedom, Freedom House lists only three Arab countries—Kuwait, Lebanon, and Egypt—as even "partly free" while the rest are considered "not free." Media experts in the Middle East question the validity of Western watchdog organizations' assessments of complex foreign political systems, claiming Middle Eastern evaluators could better understand subtle social nuances and their impact on media. However, when Arab organizations like the Amman Centre for Human Rights Studies (ACHRS) rank Arab media, their rankings are fairly consistent with those of the Western groups.

In general, the primary role of media in Middle Eastern countries is to support national development. Historically, a country's political system determines the type of journalism practiced. In the case of the Middle East, the country's political leaders play a direct role in how journalists are able to ply their trade. Journalists work amid a panoply of restrictive laws that punish reporters and their editors with criminal charges if they should violate these laws and punish the media organizations with fines or closures. The result is that the free-flow of information to consumers is hindered by overt government censorship, willing self-censorship by journalists, and collusion by political players and media operators.

Traditionally, the Western press has been considered the enemy of closed-press systems. With the recent rise of Pan-Arab media properties (media organizations that can be seen, heard, or read throughout the Middle East and often around the world) and various Internet channels, however, a new dimension to the Middle Eastern journalistic landscape has been created. These Pan-Arab channels—like the Qatar-based Al Jazeera television channels and the London-based Al-Hayat newspaper—break the mold by aggressively criticizing Middle Eastern leaders and their governments.

Governmental Influence

Throughout the region, each country's government has a great influence on the style of journalism practiced therein. The job of the journalist in these countries is perceived as producing news items that support national development, inform the population of activities by the country's leaders, and promote the continuation of good relations with the

nation's allies. Unreleased information about the inner workings of government is heavily controlled. Strict laws prohibiting libel and the insult of monarchs and public figures also shackle reporters. With this overall lack of governmental transparency in its day-to-day operations, it is not surprising there is little investigative journalism or opportunity for reporters to delve deeply into social problems. It is equally not surprising that enemies of the state—the nation of Israel, for example—are wholly vilified in the media as a means of supporting the country's official political view.

Religion also plays a large part in the Arab countries' social and political landscapes. Even among Muslim nations, a split exists between the Shia and Sunni factions of Islam, which contributes to the unrest in the region. The majority of Muslims are Sunnis, but Shia are in the majority in several important countries in the region—Iran, Iraq, Bahrain, and, some say, Yemen.

Two powerful nations represent both factions—Saudi Arabia for the Sunnis and Iran for the Shia—and a competition for power exists within the region. These power struggles often erupt into sectarian violence within countries threatening civil war and unrest in the region.

Governmental licensing and oversight of journalists is common in the Middle East. A journalist cannot work unless a governmental agency (often a Ministry of Information) has approved a license. This applies to journalists working for domestic media and those working for international media organizations such as the BBC, *The New York Times,* or CNN. Such licensing makes it easier for the government to monitor, marginalize, or keep critical journalists out of the country entirely. A union or association exists in some countries to act as a unified voice for reporters and editors. But these unions have limited influence and are even prohibited in some countries. Such unions are no match against governments that actively seek to stifle the work of reporters.

Reporters Without Borders calls Saudi Arabia "one of the world's biggest enemies of press freedom." No criticism of the Saudi leadership is tolerated and journalists are punished for unflattering reports about other Muslim nations. One result of this draconian treatment of journalists is that self-censorship is widely practiced by reporters. Since local news is thus often unreliable, some Saudis turn to foreign television channels and the Internet for news and information. The often critical Al Jazeera service, however, is banned in Saudi Arabia.

Reporting from the Palestinian Territories requires journalists to deal with multiple parties—the Israeli military, Hamas in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and its political opposition, Al Fatah. Newsrooms have been ransacked by all sides, Hamas disbanded the journalists union, and Fatah radio and television stations were forced off the air. One of the most prominent journalistic cases that received international coverage was the kidnapping of BBC journalist Alan Johnston by a Palestinian militant group, Army of Islam, in March 2007. Johnston was released four months later after negotiations with Hamas's leadership.

Journalism's Varied Roles

Journalism in the Middle East is perceived as a public service. A journalist's role is to report on and support the regime and the nation's development. To this end, media reports tend to cover daily activities of the nation's leadership, recent social or economic successes the nation has enjoyed, and noncritical reports about what allied nations are doing. Media maintain social norms by encouraging the agenda set by political figures and discourage behavior that detracts from national development.

As a theocracy, Iran's spiritual and political leaders are one and the same so any political criticism of the system or its leaders leveled by journalists can be construed as blasphemy by the clerics and punishment can be doled out by the state. Generally, the social and political agendas are dictated by the clerics. There was an exception in the mid-1990s. During President Mohammad Khatami's reformist administration, from 1997 to 2005, the role of the press was to determine the political agenda for the nation. Khatami's belief in free expression and a strong civil society created a positive journalistic atmosphere, and the number of newspapers grew exponentially during this time. But journalists may have pushed for change too hard and too quickly. In 2000, fearing social instability, the government ordered a series of bans on press coverage and the closure of reformist newspapers. The sudden lack of the reformist press forced people to seek information from illicit leaflets, flyers, and the Internet.

In the early twenty-first century, the press remains a vigorous, but harassed, channel for political debate in Iran. Khatami's government was succeeded by a much more conservative one that is far more hostile to press freedoms. Reformist newspapers have assumed a more moderate stance, but even that has not spared them from harassment by the Ministry of Culture. Dozens of journalists were arrested in 2006 for criticizing authorities and some were secretly imprisoned without access to lawyers. In March 2008, Iran banned nine lifestyle magazines for publishing personal details and photos of celebrities that Iran's culture minister found offensive. Governmental closures of publications like these are usually inconsequential; journalists simply launch a new publication under a different name. Even book authors were advised by the ministry to self-censor rather than face the government's prepublication red pencil. The government has curbed its jailing of journalists but reporters are still routinely threatened. In July 2007, Ayfer Serce, a Turkish journalist for the Euphrates News Agency who was investigating several suicides by Kurdish women, was killed by the Iranian army in the northwestern province of Azerbaijan. At first it appeared she was killed in combat with Kurdish rebels, but evidence later indicated she was killed afterward. The government refused to explain the circumstances of her death and would not return the reporter's body to her family. In February 2007, several media outlets were ransacked by the government for insulting the architect of the 1979 Iranian Revolution, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

Due to the Iraq war (2003–), Iraq is one of the most dangerous places to work as a journalist. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists, 124 journalists and 49 media workers have died in Iraq since March 2003. One third of those killed worked for international news organizations. In 2007, 31 journalists were killed, making that year one of the deadliest for journalists in ten years. Both Iraqi and U.S. authorities have carried out violence against journalists. Although the number of journalist detentions decreased in 2007, Al Jazeera camera operator Sami Al-Hajj was held in Guantanamo Bay in Cuba for six years. No charges were ever filed and he never stood trial before he was released in 2008. The United States detained Associated Press photographer Bilal Hussein for over two years in Iraq without presenting evidence against him.

Media Operators

To ensure adherence to often strict regulations, media outlets in Middle Eastern countries are (1) operated by the government, (2) operated by compatriots of and heavily funded by government subsidies, or (3) privately owned and operated. In the second and third cases, veteran journalists reinforce the stringent press laws with their supervision of reporters. As libel lawsuits often include the editor in addition to the reporter who penned the story, there is more incentive for supervisors to adhere to press regulations.

Lebanon remains a unique example among Arab countries. It has one of the most aggressive media operations in the region mostly because the media represent political ideologies. Unlike in many parts of the region, journalists and columnists in the country's many press organs frequently criticize the government, but that criticism comes largely from antigovernment political press organs. However, Lebanon is also where Shia and Sunni factions vie for power, often by using the Lebanese media as their megaphones. In Lebanon political parties operate their own media outlets. Thus, media are at the center of sectarian divisions that add to the country's instability. The newspaper *Al Mustaqbal* is a progovernment publication. Hezbollah, a political and paramilitary organization that opposes the government, operates the Al-Manar television channel, and Sa'ad Hariri, a Sunni political leader, owns Future Television and Radio Orient. It is not uncommon in Lebanon for government to take opposition media channels like Al-Manar off the air under the auspices of maintaining social stability.

Lebanese radio is dynamic, diverse and political. On one end of the spectrum stations like pro-Hezbollah Al-Nour broadcast political and religious messages along with a heavy amount of anti-Zionist rhetoric. On the other end are stations like Mix FM, which broadcasts dance music and sponsors concerts and beach parties that feature Arab and Western musical artists.

Lebanese television can be divided into two political camps. Hezbollah-supported Al-Manar TV, the National Broadcasting Network (NBN),

and New TV oppose the government, while Mustaqbal (Future) TV and the Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation (LBC) are progovernment. LBC is a pan-Arab channel that was originally launched in 1996 by the leader of the Lebanese Forces. From its outset, LBC was intended to be the voice of Lebanese Christians, but it is now considered a progovernment channel.

Despite a law prohibiting sectarianism, Lebanon's media are being blamed for fanning sectarian fires in the country via news and talk programs. Future TV and Al-Manar are often singled out as particularly sectarian. A recent addition, Orange TV, is a 24-hour news channel launched by Future TV and utilizes the ubiquitous color of a particular political party in its name.

In a region where most countries' television channels are government operated or co-opted, Lebanon is an exception to the rule. Its kaleidoscope of politically tinged media outlets can be seen either as a healthy and vigorous attempt at free expression or as a means of fueling social and political instability.

Press Laws

In general, in the Middle East, one's right to know is secondary to a person's right to privacy. Other laws impacting journalists make it a crime to criticize or insult the ruler or other prominent persons. Such laws make reporting a political minefield for journalists. To compound the issue, most media laws in Middle Eastern countries are woefully outdated as well as extremely stringent. In many cases errors are treated as criminal offenses where reporters and editors could face imprisonment. Although plans are underway in many of these Arab countries to update these "rules of the road" for journalists, the process is slow and politically charged.

Reforming Jordan's strict press and publications law has been tabled several times while the government continues to keep journalists under surveillance, censor news organizations like Al Jazeera, and enforce laws that prohibit the criticism of rulers or the ruling family. The professional journalist union—the Jordan Press Association—is a progovernment body and membership is mandatory for all working journalists. The result is a cowed press corps that prefers self-censorship to governmental run-ins.

Progress in updating press laws is being made in some countries. In March 2006, the Kuwaiti parliament approved a new press law designed to better protect journalists' basic rights. The government ceded its monopoly control over issuing operating licenses for the media and established an appeals process for unsuccessful license requests. The new law also allows for new political newspapers and the expansion of the overall number of newspapers. It specifies that only judges can order imprisonment of journalists.

Creating a media-friendly atmosphere for free expression is a stated goal of the United Arab Emirates (UAE). Political leaders encourage journalists to push the envelope on reporting and say that critically evaluating official institutions contributes to the UAE's progress toward becoming a modern state. However, despite promises to do so, the government has not updated its press law since 1980 and international watchdog groups list it as one of the most restrictive in the Arab world. The UAE closely monitors journalists. Local and foreign reporters and editors cannot work unless annually licensed by the Ministry of Information. Self-censorship remains the biggest challenge facing press freedom in the UAE. Newspaper management is legally held accountable for what is published. Faced with possible imprisonment alongside their reporters, section heads and editors err on the side of journalistic conservatism rather than jeopardize their careers with critical reporting.

In October 2007, UAE journalists adopted a code of ethics that recognizes the press's responsibility to inform the public. In March 2008, the UAE Vice President and ruler of Dubai signed an order that limited a person suing for libel to suits against media organizations, not individual journalists, as had long been customary. Official orders like this in support of a freer press are viewed by journalists as hopeful signs of change.

In April 2008, a rise in sectarian violence in Bahrain brought media regulation front and center. Despite government orders for press organs to practice responsible journalism and calls from political societies and other organizations for journalists to refrain from fueling sectarian views through their reporting, the government claims that media websites that feature political blogs instigate unrest. Websites were not covered in the 2002 press law and are thus considered immune

from potential lawsuits. In May 2008 Bahrain took steps to amend that law by decriminalizing press offenses and lifting preprint censorship on local (but not foreign) publications, and the Bahrain Journalists Association is considering a code of ethics to guide reporters. Lawmakers fear an updated press law may grant too many special privileges to journalists, but journalists hope parliament will abide by the wishes of the king to amend the law.

The overall workforce in Qatar—and this includes the press corps—largely consists of expatriates. Since permission for foreigners to live and work in the country is dependent on a governmental-issued visa, reporters are often conscious of falling afoul of the law and facing expulsion. Journalists also face fines and detention for violating the numerous articles in Qatar's strict press law, further intensifying the pressure to self-censor. Qatari law prohibits the formation of professional associations (such as a journalist's union) by non-Qataris, making it difficult for journalists to present a unified front on press freedom issues when dealing with the government. Paradoxically, Qatar has housed and nurtured Al Jazeera, one of the most provocative media organizations in the region. As one of the first pan-Arab satellite channels, Al Jazeera has helped redefine Arab journalism by challenging actions of regional leaders and encouraging its journalists to report freely instead of self-censoring their stories. Al Jazeera is owned by a member of Qatar's ruling family and, maybe not surprisingly, appears less critical of the Qatari ruling family and of social, political, and economic development in Qatar.

Censorship and Self-Censorship

Outdated press laws, shifting lines about what information can and cannot be reported, the cautionary tales of jailed colleagues, and fickle government leaders understandably contribute to uncertainty among journalists. Add to this outright governmental censorship in some countries and it becomes clear why self-censorship is common among the Arab press corps.

In Egypt, a news editor of a local tabloid was sentenced to six months in prison in March 2008 for publishing a story on President Hosni Mubarak's health. The journalist was freed on bail, but the report caused an economic panic among international investors that adversely impacted Egypt's economy. In a separate case, using the social networking website Facebook, one political dissident, who came to be known as "Facebook Girl," organized a protest rally against the Mubarak administration. Though the rally didn't attract large numbers, the "Facebook Girl" was imprisoned for a time by Egyptian authorities. Her Facebook group calling for the protest claimed to have about 75,000 members, an example of the issue of outside media organizations impacting internal politics.

Pan-Arab Journalism

In general, domestic radio and television in the Middle East suffer from lack of originality and poor production values. With a few exceptions, commercial domestic radio still targets a general audience. Although topical hours may be set aside for target audiences like children or the elderly, narrowcasting to specific demographics and format-based programming have yet to catch on in these Arab countries. The exceptions here largely originate in Lebanon. Radio stations that program formats like rhythm and blues, pop, and hip-hop exist and help promote Lebanon's thriving music industry.

Commercial television features political and entertainment talk shows, game shows, a few live, call-in shows, and movies. Entertainment television originating from Lebanon has become a force for attracting the younger audience. *Star Academy,* an ongoing talent contest that pits people from various parts of the Arab world against one another, has become a fan favorite and a source of national pride among viewers. The holy month of Ramadan is a cherished television viewing period as it usually features a fresh line-up of programs for the family to watch. In general, domestic television news in Arab countries lacks investigative journalism and its content usually spotlights national development and the actions of government leaders.

Over-the-air broadcasting in most Arab countries is controlled by the government and features government-owned channels. Cable television, with its pay-TV and commercial stations, has never reached a critical mass in this part of the world. However, satellite television has gained a

foothold. Experts say nearly one in four Middle Eastern households uses home satellite dishes, making this method the primary way that viewers access commercial television in the region. Pan-Arab satellite channels—the most well known being Al Jazeera (Arabic and English), Al Arabiya, the Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation (LBC), Future TV, and MBC—have become increasingly popular for both news and entertainment. Two of these enterprises (LBC and MBC) are overseen by Saudi Arabia. Al Jazeera, which is owned by the ruling family in Qatar, is considered one of the few Arab broadcasters beyond the influence of Saudi Arabia, and it has often produced critical stories about the two most influential Arab countries—Saudi Arabia and Egypt.

Since Al Jazeera burst onto the world stage during the opening days of the 2002 war in Afghanistan other countries have launched their own pan-Arab satellite channels and news operations. A few examples include Nourmina in Jordan, One TV Dubai in the UAE, and Bahrain TV. However, these channels generally lack Al Jazeera's glitzy production values and confrontational style, preferring to more closely reflect the governmentally compliant nature of their country's journalism. Domestic politicians consider satellite television a sign of modernization and therefore support its development and even tolerate their own Pan-Arab channels as a national symbol of progress within the region. However, channels that are critical of regional regimes, like Al Jazeera, which boasts a viewership of about 35 million people, have been threatened with censorship or closure by Arab leaders who permit the channels to broadcast within their borders via an agreement among Arab states.

In February 2007, information ministers of the 22-member League of Arab States adopted a satellite broadcasting charter ostensibly meant to counter Western cultural influence and reinforce "Arab solidarity," but that also placed more governmental control over private Arab satellite channels like Al Jazeera. According to the amended charter, satellite channels that broadcast material that jeopardizes "social peace, national unity, public order and general propriety" or that threatens "pan-Arab cooperation and integration" could face suspension or license revocation by their host governments. Western media watchdog groups like the Committee to Protect Journalists decried the charter as an attempt to further limit free expression, while the Egyptian minister of information promised his country would be one of the first to implement it. By early 2008, the Egyptian government had closed three stations—Al Baraka, Al Hikma, and UK-based Al-Hewar—known for their critical coverage of Arab governments and raided the offices of the Cairo News Company, one of the largest suppliers of breaking news in the region.

The success of pan-Arab satellite channels in reaching Middle Eastern audiences has prompted Western media organizations and governments to respond with their own satellite channels in order to reach, and hopefully influence, the Arab viewer. In March 2008 the British Broadcasting Corporation launched its BBC Arabic news channel. The earlier U.S.-government-funded Al Hurra television and radio stations like Radio Sawa and Radio Farda present Middle Eastern news through an American lens in an attempt to counter criticisms from other Arab channels. The French, Russians, and Germans have followed suit with their own Arabic-language news channels. All of these have had limited success at attracting viewers but seek to engage the Arab audience with Western political ideologies.

Experts think Al Jazeera's significance has less to do with its actual audience size and more with the impact it has had on other regional media. For example, Pan-Arab channels in Jordan, the UAE, and Egypt have adopted Al Jazeera's onscreen appearance and have adopted similar news program formats. Al Jazeera's reputation in the West has generally been as a mouthpiece of Arab anti-Western ideals. However, recent research indicates the launch of Al Jazeera's English channel has improved the image of the Al Jazeera brand in the Western world. In time, Westerners may come to view Al Jazeera in a more positive way, increasing its global credibility, strengthening its position in the region, and easing the way for newer media to gain a journalistic foothold in the Middle East.

Newer Media

Newer media including Internet-based newspapers, blogs, text message alerts, and social-networking websites like Facebook, YouTube, and MySpace promise to broaden information

dissemination and challenge the status quo in the Middle East by creating homegrown channels for discussion, debate, and dissent. However, since these websites can be viewed by anyone, the impact of a local journalistic decision can have international repercussions like the above example of an economic downturn caused by a report in a local newspaper about Egyptian President Mubarak's health. In an attempt to control their global, regional, and local images, Middle Eastern governments are trying to stem the flow of information through monitoring and filtering software.

Yet governments accustomed to controlling traditional media information are finding it harder to control digital information highways. Sophisticated filtering and monitoring software—developed, ironically enough, by such countries as the United States—is simplifying their task. In addition, monopolistic, government-licensed, and government-supported ownership of such systems as mobile phones allows tighter control of the news content via text messaging and identification of people sending and receiving messages. However, as global pressure to deregulate telecommunication increases, such links may become more like satellite communication—difficult to control and ubiquitous within society.

User-generated content from and about Arab nations on websites like YouTube and Facebook is on the rise. Political pressure groups, nongovernmental organizations, and ordinary citizens use these social networking channels to disseminate their messages. Mainstream media often use these materials as examples of voices within their respective countries. Although these newer interactive media tools give voice to the voiceless by empowering citizens as journalists, it also puts the onus of verifying the accuracy of the information on traditional media outlets that use it. Reporters are well aware that many such providers have political agendas to advance and thus their stories must be carefully vetted to ensure the mainstream media do not become inadvertent advocates for a cause.

In April 2008, Queen Rania of Jordan launched a YouTube channel for users to contribute questions, voice opinions, and address common stereotypes about Muslims and Arabs in an attempt for the world to better understand Islam. This example of informal governmental usage of the Internet is an exception, however; most Arab governments are discouraging Internet use for discussion and debate.

Some governments block opposing views on the Internet altogether. In March 2007, authorities in Yemen blocked access to opposition websites and banned news sent via text messaging. In Syria the government's policy of blocking websites and the jailing of cyber-dissidents is considered by Western watchdog organizations to be the worst in the Middle East. The country's Kurdish minority is a particularly taboo subject in Syria.

Overt censorship of websites takes different forms. In Saudi Arabia, the government substitutes the user's desired webpage for another saying the website has been blocked by the authorities. In other countries, including the UAE, sensitive websites suffer from recurring "technical problems" or carry a similar webpage warning that the content on the site does not conform to the country's cultural sensitivities. In the UAE, users at Internet cafes must register before they can sign on.

Bloggers are extremely vulnerable to government harassment and therefore self-censor rather than have their sites shut down. In Egypt bloggers have been arrested and their websites blocked. In 2007, one Egyptian blogger was sentenced to four years in prison for criticizing the President and commenting about religious control of the country's universities.

Bloggers use different methods to skirt governmental censors. Expatriate bloggers may criticize their home country's policies while operating outside its borders. If their Internet site is blocked, another can be started with ease and the new site address relayed to loyal readers. Users can also download a software work-around to access the blocked site via a new path to the same information. As text messaging becomes globally ubiquitous it will become more difficult for censors to wade through the millions of messages that are sent every day.

Although Arab journalism in the Middle East is far from free, progress is being made. Arab media organizations are reaching larger audiences, and technology is making information delivery harder to censor. One result may be greater Arab news media freedom, but it could also mean more harassment of the messenger by desperate leaders

trying to hold back the flood of information that challenges the status quo.

David P. Burns

See also Africa, North; Al Arabiya; Al Jazeera; Al-Manar; Censorship; Comparative Models of Journalism; Development Journalism; Free Flow of Information; Globalization, Coverage of; International Journalism; Internet Impact on Media; Israel; U.S. International Communications; Violence Against Journalists

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Zayani, M., and S. Sahraoui. *The Culture of Al Jazeera: Inside an Arab Media Giant*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2007.

Archives and Museums

Across the world, a vast number of museums and archives hold material relevant to journalism. There are two distinct categories of this material: news media content and the means of producing that content. The first includes newspapers, newsreels, radio recordings, television news footage, photographs, and, most recently, websites. And the second includes objects representing the technology involved in producing and delivering journalism, such as printing presses, cameras, radio and television sets, and computers.

The importance of collecting, preserving and interpreting both categories for the benefit of present and future generations cannot be overstated. It may be hyperbole to describe journalism as "the first draft of history." Nevertheless, much of what journalists produce—whether print, film, or electronic—does constitute an important record of events, trends, and opinions and is therefore an invaluable resource for students of many disciplines. Moreover, everyone recognizes the pervasive influence—whether it be positive or negative—which the news media exercises over public opinion. Therefore, an informed understanding of how news is put together is itself a worthwhile subject for study.

Attempting to categorize and label the museums and archives engaged in this work across the world is a tricky exercise. In almost every area of museological and archival activity, there is rarely an overarching logic explaining why certain collections are held in given institutions. Historical accident, government initiatives, philanthropic whims and fancies, and any number of other factors have produced the museums and collections we have today. Nevertheless, a few broad conclusions can be drawn about both museums and archives relevant to journalism and about how the Internet and the World Wide Web have brought a new dimension to the subject.

Museum Types

Though they are relatively few, there are some museums that deal exclusively in the business of news. They are concerned with the process of journalism as an area of human activity and are interested in

journalism across a number of media genres. The Newseum in Washington, D.C., which reopened its doors in 2008, is the leading example.

There are also countless newspaper museums. Some tell a comprehensive story about the newspaper industry, like the International Newspaper Museum in Germany and Newspark in Yokohama in Japan. Other smaller museums concentrate on the archive and story of particular newspapers. These museums are interested in the process of producing newspapers and also often hold newspaper archives.

Finally, there are museums that deal with one or more media topics in which journalism forms part of the story. Britain's National Media Museum in West Yorkshire and the Paley Center for Media in New York and Los Angeles are both examples of multimedia museums where news material and the news process are included as part of a larger narrative and within a larger collection. Likewise, the many radio and television museums around the world do not specifically focus upon news but they are nevertheless relevant to journalism. In addition, there are a number of museums dealing with computers and the Internet—notably the Computer History Museum in California—that are relevant to the most recent developments in journalism such as news websites and blogging.

Archives

Archives are an equally diverse area. There are a number of major institutions quite independent of news organizations that hold material produced by journalists. The British Newspaper Library in London and the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., are two examples of archives holding news material for public benefit. Similarly, there are other archives dealing with still or moving images including news material. The British Film Institute's National Film and Television Archive in London is an example.

Additionally, there are archives held by news organizations themselves. Every newspaper in the world will have its own archive—kept primarily as a tool to enable its journalists to do their job. Major broadcasting organizations like the BBC and American networks hold their own archives. Others have transferred their archives to public institutions.

Local and regional archives are another important depository of news material. Most libraries will collect local newspapers. Local film archives will often hold valuable material about events in their areas and will often be the depository for news broadcasters to keep their older archive material.

In addition, although outside the scope of this article, there are commercial picture libraries like Getty Images that hold millions of photographs relevant to journalism.

The digital age is transforming the way journalism works in three main ways. First, the World Wide Web is itself an increasingly significant news outlet in its own right, and preserving news material from the web poses enormous challenges for museums and archives. Also, the Internet is increasing the accessibility of archives and museums by enabling them to make their material available online to audiences who will never visit the actual locations of the archives. Last, many news organizations themselves are making their archives available via the web, which provides a valuable research tool for students.

Museums About News and Journalism

The Newseum, Washington, D.C., USA

The Newseum, which opened on its new site in the heart of Washington, D.C., in April 2008, is a vast 250,000-square-foot museum of news. The exterior includes a 74-foot-high marble engraving of the First Amendment of the United States Constitution (the amendment that guarantees a free press). The Newseum features seven levels of galleries, theatres, retail spaces, and visitor services. It is highly interactive offering visitors an opportunity to try their hand at being a TV reporter or a photojournalist and includes a gallery about the coverage of the 9/11 attacks on New York and Washington. The Newseum—which previously existed on a smaller scale in Arlington, Virginia—is run by the Freedom Forum—an organization dedicated to the celebration and preservation of a free press.

Newseum, 555 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, DC 20001, USA. Tel: +1 888 639 7386. Website: http://www.newseum.org.

Rupriikki Media Museum, Tampere, Finland

The Rupriikki Media Museum is much smaller than the Newseum but is one of the relatively few museums in the world which take a holistic look at the news media. The museum contains sections on the press, television, radio, telephones, and computers. It provides an insight into the history and the development of mass communication and sheds light on how news is put together. Rupriikki also provides real, up-to-date information about the media and information on the background of various forms of communication.

Rupriikki Media Museum, Väinö Linnan aukio 13, Tampere, Finland. Tel: +358 3565 66411. Website: www.tampere.fi/mediamuseo/english.htm.

Newspark, Yokohama, Japan

Newspark is Japan's newspaper museum. It was opened in 2000 in Yokohama, the birthplace of Japanese daily newspapers. Starting with Japan's oldest known printing blocks, the museum's vast collection reflects every era of Japanese newspapers. It has roughly 200,000 items on display including a selection of tools used in reporting and newspaper delivery, newspaper supplements, posters, and postcards. There are six areas that trace the history of the medium, describing the dawn of newspapers, the establishment of modern newspapers, the age of military censorship, the birth of Japanese democracy and newspaper revival, the growth of high-quality newspapers, and newspapers in the age of diversified media.

Newspark, Yokohama Media and Communications Center, Yokohama, Japan. Tel: +81 045 661 2040. Website: www.pressnet.or.jp/newspark.

International Newspaper Museum, Aachen, Germany

This museum (Internationales Zeitungsmuseum) in Aachen covers the history of newspapers and the press. It is located in the house where Israel Berr Josaphat Reuter established the first ever news agency—the forerunner of Reuters. The museum houses over 100,000 newspapers from around the world from the seventeenth century to the present day.

International Newspaper Museum, Pontstrasse 13, Aachen 52062, Germany. Tel: +49 (0) 241 432 4910. Website: http://www.izm.de.

Paley Center for Media, New York City and Los Angeles, USA

The former Museum of Television and Radio was renamed the Paley Center for Media in June 2007. It opened in New York in 1976 and then added a second location in Los Angeles in 1996. The Paley Center for Media has an international collection of more than 140,000 programs covering almost 100 years of television and radio history, including news; public affairs programs and documentaries; performing arts programs; children's programming; sports, comedy, and variety shows; and commercial advertising. Some 70 countries are represented in the collection. Throughout the year, the Paley Center for Media hosts discussions with influential newsmakers, journalists, and world leaders on important media issues. It stages annual television and documentary festivals.

The Paley Center for Media: New York: 25 West 52nd Street, New York, New York 10019, USA. Tel: +1 212 621 6800. Los Angeles: 465 North Beverly Drive, Beverly Hills, California 90210, USA. Tel: +1 310 786 1000. Website: http://www.paleycenter.org.

National Media Museum, Bradford, England

The National Media Museum—renamed in 2006 from its previous title of the National Museum of Photography, Film and Television—covers seven floors of a downtown building in Bradford in Northern England. It includes permanent interactive galleries about photography, television, and animation as well as the Magic Factory, which demonstrates the basic optical principles behind those technologies. Its collection, comprising three and a half million items, includes an internationally significant collection of television technology and a vast photography archive including the Royal Photographic Society Collection and the *Daily Herald* Picture Library

(a photojournalism archive covering the first half of the twentieth century). Over 1,000 TV programs can be viewed free of charge in a facility called "TV Heaven." The museum hosts the BBC's local radio, television, and online operations within the museum as a living exhibit.

National Media Museum, Pictureville, Bradford, England BD1 1NQ. Tel: +44 (0)870 7010200. Website: http://www.nationalmediamuseum.org.uk.

NHK Museum of Broadcasting, Atagoyama, Japan

Known as "the birthplace of Japanese broadcasting," Atagoyama is where Japanese radio broadcasts began in 1925. The NHK Museum opened in 1956 as the world's first museum exclusively about broadcasting. The museum houses various exhibits on broadcasting history and has an on-demand video library and a reference library open to the public free of charge. In the Broadcasting Library, visitors can watch approximately 6,000 old NHK programs and can access literature and information relating to broadcasting and its history.

NHK Museum of Broadcasting, 2–1-1 Atago, Minato-ku, Tokyo, 13 105-0002, Japan. Tel: +81 (0)3 5400 6900. Website: http://www.nhk.or.jp/museum/english/about.html.

Computer History Museum, Mountain View, California, USA

This museum is dedicated to the preservation and celebration of computing history. It is home to one of the largest international collections of computing artifacts in the world, encompassing computer hardware and ephemera, photographs, moving images, documents, and software. The museum includes two sections particularly relevant to journalism: the "Visible Storage Gallery," which includes over 600 key objects from the collection; and the "Innovation in the Valley," which offers a study of Silicon Valley start-ups.

Computer History Museum, 1401 N Shoreline Blvd, Mountain View, California 94043, USA. Tel: +1 650 810–1010. Website: http://www.computerhistory.org.

Pavek Museum of Broadcasting, St. Louis Park, Minnesota, USA

The Pavek Museum houses one of the world's finest collections of antique radio, television, and broadcast equipment. The core of the museum is the Joseph R. Pavek Collection of more than 1,000 radio receivers, transmitters, and televisions from the first half of the twentieth century. Highlights include a working 1912 rotary spark-gap transmitter, similar to the one used aboard the Titanic; crystal radios of the early 1920s; a chronologically ordered collection of vacuum tubes; and extensive treasuries of radio literature.

Pavek Museum of Broadcasting, 3515 Raleigh Avenue, St. Louis Park, Minnesota 55416, USA. Tel: +1 952 926 8198; Website: http://www.museumofbroadcasting.org.

Le Musee de Radio France, Paris, France

Le Musee de Radio-France Museum in Paris retraces the history of radio and television and the recording of sound from its earliest days. There are some reconstructions of laboratories used by pioneers such as Guglielmo Marconi, inventor of the radio telegraph, and Heinrich Hertz, who was the first to send and receive radio waves. There are a number of very old appliances and some rare items like early crystal radio receivers and the 1793 Chappe telegraph.

Le Musee de Radio France, 116 Avenue du President Kennedy, Paris 75016, France. Tel: +33 157 050 436. Website: http://www.radiofrance.fr/rf/musee/accueil.

Major Archives

Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., USA

The library is the de facto national library of the United States and the research arm of the U.S. Congress. Located in three buildings in Washington, D.C., it is the largest library in the world. Its collections include 1 million issues of world newspapers spanning the past three centuries, 33,000 bound newspaper volumes, 2.7 million sound recordings, and more than 13.7 million prints and photographs. Audio and video recordings and films are held at the new Packard Center in Culpeper, Virginia, about 40 miles south of Washington.

Selected Additional Museums

USA

American Museum of Radio and Electricity, Bellingham, Washington—http://www.amre.us

Early Television Foundation and Museum, Hilliard, Ohio—http://www.earlytelevision.org

InfoZone News Museum, Pueblo, Colorado—http://www.infozonenewsmuseum

Lancaster Newspapers Museum, Lancaster, Pennsylvania—http://www.lancasteronline.com

Minnesota Newspaper Museum, Minneapolis, Minnesota—http://www.minnesotanewspaperfoundation.org

Museum of the Moving Image, New York—http://www.movingimage.us

Museum of Radio and Technology, Huntington, West Virginia—http://www.mrtwv.org

National Museum of Communications, Irving, Texas—http://www.yesterdayusa.com

Newspaper Museum in Collinsville, Oklahoma—http://www.cvilleok.com

Radio and Television Museum, Bowie, Maryland—http://www.radiohistory.org

Western States Museum of Broadcasting, Ashland, Oregon—http://www.wsmb.org

Elsewhere

A.S. Popov Central Museum of Communication, St. Petersburg—http://www.rustelecom-museum.ru/main/?langID=58

Australian Centre for the Moving Image, Melbourne—http://www.acmi.net.au

Austrian Film Museum, Vienna—http://www.filmmuseum.at

Communications Museum, Tokyo, Japan—http://www.teipark.jp

Danmarks Mediemuseum (Danish Media Museum), Odense, Denmark—http://www.brandts.dk

German Film and Television Museum, Berlin—http://www.kinemathek.de

German Museum for Posts and Telecommunications (4 locations)—http://www.dgpt.org

Glenbow Museum Library Newspaper Clippings, Calgary, Alberta, Canada—http://www.glenbow.org

The Newsroom, Guardian and Observer Archive and Visitor Centre, London—http://www.guardian.co.uk/newsroom

Philippine Communications Centrum Media Museum, San Juan—http://www.aijc.com.ph/PCCF/mediamuseum.htm

The Library of Congress, 101 Independence Avenue, SE, Washington, DC 20540, USA. Tel: +1 202 707 5000. Website: http://www.loc.gov.

Library of American Broadcasting, College Park, Maryland, USA

This library holds a wide-ranging collection of audio and video recordings, books, pamphlets, periodicals, personal collections, oral histories, photographs, scripts, and vertical files devoted exclusively to the history of broadcasting. Founded in 1972 as the Broadcast Pioneers Library, it was housed in the headquarters of the National Association of Broadcasters in Washington, D.C., until 1994, when it became part of the University of Maryland Libraries. Housed in an adjacent space are the country's primary public broadcasting archives for both radio and television.

Library of American Broadcasting, 3210 Hornbake Library, University of Maryland College Park, MD 20742, USA. Tel: +1 301 405 9160. Website: http://www.lib.umd.edu/LAB.

British Newspaper Library, London, England

These collections—part of the British Library—are held mainly at Colindale in North West London. They consist of over 693,000 bound

Selected Additional Archives

USA

The 14 presidential libraries and museums in the USA all have extensive press/news media sections and collections—http://www.archives.gov/presidential-libraries

One of the older broadcasting archives that includes much news and public affairs material is the Peabody Collection at the University of Georgia in Athens—http://www.peabody.uga.edu/awards_collection/preserve.php

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, in Madison, has a major media history archive (including much of the NBC network archive; the rest is at the Library of Congress in Washington)—http://www.loc.gov/rr/record

UCLA Film and Television Archives—http://www.cinema.ucla.edu

Elsewhere

The UK's National Archives—http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk

The UK's Imperial War Museum holds an extensive archive—http://www.iwm.org.uk

The UK's Independent Television News makes its news archive available commercially—http://www.itnsource.co.uk

Newsreel archives in the UK include:

British Pathe News—http://www.britishpathe.com

British Movietone—http://www.movietone.com

March of Time—http://www.hboarchives.com/marchoftime

Getty Images is one of the world's biggest commercial photo archives—http://www.GettyImages.com

volumes and parcels and over 370,000 reels of microfilm, holdings altogether occupying some 45 kilometers (28 miles) of shelving in total. Over 52,000 separate newspaper, journal, and periodical titles are currently held. Currently about 2,600 UK and Irish newspaper and periodical titles are received including the main London editions of the national daily and Sunday newspapers. Major overseas newspapers printed in European languages are also collected.

The British Newspaper Library, Colindale Avenue, London NW9 5HE, England. Tel: +44 (0)20 7412 7353. Website: www.bl.uk/collections/newspapers.html.

BFI Archive, London, England

The BFI Archive is one of the largest film archives in the world. It collects, preserves, restores, and then shares the films and television programs that have helped shape and record British life since cinema was invented in the late nineteenth century. The BFI's international holdings are substantial. However, the bulk of the collection is necessarily British. The collections themselves are accommodated on several sites. The J. Paul Getty, Jr. Conservation Centre in Berkhamsted, Hertfordshire, named after its benefactor, is the base for much of the work. It now comprises over 200,000 feature, nonfiction, and short films (dating from 1894) and 675,000 television programs. Some of the material is available for public viewing in the BFI Mediatheques on London's Southbank and at QUAD in Derby.

BFI Archive: Kingshill Way, Berkhamsted, Herts HP4 3TP, England; Tel: +44 (0)1442 876301; also BFI, 21 Stephen Street, London W1T 1LN England. Tel: +44 (0)20 7255 1444. Website: www.bfi.org.uk/filmtvinfo/services/ask.

Vanderbilt University Television News Archive, Nashville, Tennessee, USA

The archive, which dates from August 1968, holds recordings of news broadcasts from the U.S. national television networks including ABC, CBS,

NBC, CNN, and Fox News. It operates as a unit of the Vanderbilt University Libraries. Visitors to the archive in Nashville can view all content from the collection. The archive makes all the items in its collection available to the public through a loan service.

Vanderbilt University Television News Archive, 110 Twenty-First Avenue South, Suite 704, Nashville, Tennessee 37203, USA. Tel: +1 615 322 2927. Website: http://www.tvnews.vanderbilt.edu.

BBC Archive, London, England

The BBC Archive consists of about 4 million TV and radio items—equivalent to 600,000 hours of TV and about 350,000 hours of radio. In addition the BBC has a new media archive preserving content from the BBC's websites. There are also large sheet-music collections, commercial music collections, and press cuttings. Like most broadcasters and news organizations, the BBC maintains its archive partly for historical reasons and partly to assist its own program making. Access is available in three separate locations—the British Film Institute (TV holdings), British Library Sound Archive (radio programs), and BBC Written Archives Centre (documents), which is in Caversham. A changing program of archive content is available online.

BBC Archive. Website: http://www.bbc.co.uk/archive.

Conclusion

The wealth of material held in archives and museums around the world about journalism is evidence of the interest in the subject to the general public and academics alike. It remains vital that, in the increasingly competitive world of twenty-first-century news operations, the commitment by news organizations to preserve their own history remains undiminished. Self-interest on the part of news organizations gives cause for hope. There is money to be made from exploiting the archive and the archive is, of course, necessary for doing the job in the future. However, the growth of a more fragmented media landscape, the advent of citizen journalism, the arrival of blogging, and more on-demand delivery of news via the Internet will all mean that the preservation of the history of journalism for future generations will be an increasingly complex and challenging task.

Colin Philpott

See also Academic Associations; Education, Journalism; Foundations, Research Centers, and Institutes

Further Readings

Godfrey, Donald G. *Reruns on File: A Guide to Electronic Media Archives*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1992.

Howell, Chuck. "Dealing with the Archives Records." In *Methods of Historical Analysis in Electronic Media,* edited by Donald G. Godfrey. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2006.

Rowan, Bonnie G., and Cynthia J. Wood, eds. *Scholar's Guide to Washington, DC Media Collections*. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center, 1994.

Asia, Central, South, and East

Among the world's continents, Asia has both the largest geographic expanse and the largest population. Approximately one-third of the world's land mass lies within Asia, and the number of people living in Asia, at 3.9 billion, is greater than the rest of the world combined. Media of the region are of a similar scale. The three countries with the largest daily newspaper circulations are in Asia. Audiences for broadcast media exploded in the 1990s, and today the world's two largest national TV audiences are also in Asia. Separate entries on India, China, and Japan that go into more detail on those countries can also be found in these volumes.

The global trend toward liberalization of economies beginning in the 1980s had a large impact in Asia, and the continent therefore experienced the same media restructuring as occurred elsewhere. In Asia, this took the form of media consolidation and—especially in broadcasting—privatization of outlets. Whereas previously most countries in Asia had media that were directly or indirectly managed by government agencies, liberalization effectively weakened or eliminated policymakers' control. A direct result of the growth in specialized media was an erosion of readership for general interest magazines, especially

those that were offered as regional publications. One of the leading news magazines of Asia, *AsiaWeek,* ceased publication of its print edition in 2001, although its online presence continues. Another leading newsweekly, the *Far Eastern Economic Review,* converted to a monthly publication in 2004.

Broadcast media have experienced the greatest changes as a result of economic reforms leading to privatization of media ownership. Print media in most non-socialist countries had already been in private hands before the shift to liberal market-oriented principles began to affect ownership of broadcast media that had generally been under public or state control. Some observers argue that the privatization trend was a good thing, in that government restrictions were inevitably loosened when ownership passed to private parties. However, in practice, this was mitigated somewhat by the fact that the shift from government to corporate control has its own problems. For example, in a number of countries the new private owners were cronies of political leaders, and their corporations demonstrated little independence from government.

Literacy has been a significant impediment to the broad use of media in many countries. Although definitions of literacy vary, there is little doubt that in South Asia this problem has been particularly acute, with most countries there having populations of which less than 50 percent are able to read and write. Afghanistan, for example, reports that less than a third of its citizens have attained literacy. Comparable figures for East and Southeast Asia are generally higher. Compounding this issue is the language complexity found in nearly all countries of Asia, which leads to the question, if an individual has gained literacy skills, does this provide access to the literature and mass media common in the country or region? So, even if a Sri Lankan resident is literate in Tamil, he or she would still be excluded from the readership of the major language newspapers in Singhalese and English. An additional factor affecting literacy is the variety of scripts in common use across the continent. In Sri Lanka, for example, the Tamil and Singhalese languages employ entirely different scripts.

A Survey of Asian Regions

Partly because of its enormous scale, Asia is also the most diverse and culturally complex continent. As a result, any statement about the whole of Asia can only lead to the simplest kinds of generalizations. Because of the cumbersome nature of the continent, most students of Asia prefer to think of it in terms of its constituent subregional parts—East Asia, Southeast Asia, Central Asia, and so on. At least at this level of description the nations have a degree of geographic, historical, economic, and—sometimes—cultural common features. What follows is a short survey of the features of these subregions and their media.

East Asia

The East Asian subregion consists of Korea (North and South), Japan, China (including Hong Kong and Macau), and Taiwan. The wealth and huge population of this subregion provides journalists many high quality media for the practice of their craft. However, the contrasting political and historical features of these countries have produced sharp differences in the media and their audiences. China naturally dominates the region due to the sheer number of its citizens. Despite strict policies to limit population growth, including its one-child-per-family rule, this country's total number of residents exceeded 1.25 billion by 2006. Also, China's economic expansion surpassed 9 percent growth in GDP each year between 2001 and 2006, and seems likely to achieve the same in succeeding years.

A discussion of journalism in China and Japan can be found elsewhere. Taiwan, considered by Beijing as a breakaway province, has a media structure that is more similar to that found in the Philippines or Japan than to that of the mainland. This entity has been dominated by the Kuomintang (KMT) party for a major portion of its existence and represents the remnants of the nationalists who retreated from the mainland after defeat by Communist armies in 1949. The KMT has exerted a predominant influence over media through ownership of key outlets and state regulations. This weakened somewhat after 1987's political liberalization, when martial law was revoked.

The main Taiwanese broadcasting news outlets have been the major television stations of Taipei. Their telecasts present news heavily influenced by KMT ideology and perspectives. These channels held sway until the growth of cable TV in the 1980s broke their exclusive hold on Taiwan audiences. Today, Taiwan has one of the highest cable

penetration rates in the world, reaching more than 80 percent of all television homes by the year 2000. As in the United States, Canada, and other cable saturated regions, this has significantly fragmented audiences and diminished the influence of the over-the-air channels. Newspapers in Taiwan include the *China Times, Liberty Times,* and *UDN,* each published in Chinese. Also important are the English language *China Post* and *Taipei Times.*

Hong Kong holds a unique status in China, under terms of the agreement that set the stage for handover of its control from Britain to China in 1997. This is embodied in the concept of the "One China Two Systems" principle that continues many of the policies and practices from British colonial times. Included are those that afford Hong Kong media a greater degree of freedom, though with less openness than before. (For example, most media in Hong Kong are privately owned, and laws governing media provide for freedom to criticize government.) This small enclave within China hosts more than 50 daily newspapers and numerous other publications. The predominant English language daily, and one of the best known in East Asia, is the *South China Morning Post.* Its influence is greater than its circulation (about 100,000 copies a day) would suggest. The main Chinese language newspapers are the *Apple Daily* and *Oriental Daily News,* both of which have circulations above 300,000. Broadcasting is mixed, made up of both private and publicly owned stations. RTHK, which had been a public corporation service prior to handover, is the official state broadcasting outlet on radio and television. It now provides seven radio channels, a television production house that airs its programs on commercial TV channels (including an educational service), and other services including an online website. There are two large commercial terrestrial broadcasting organizations, Asia Television Ltd (ATV) and Television Broadcasts Ltd (TVB), each transmitting two television channels. These two organizations have been active in the production of Chinese serial dramas that are exported to countries wherever a large population of Chinese expatriates has settled. Additionally, all across Asia Hong Kong is known as the home of STAR TV, the satellite service providing programming to a wide swathe of East, Southeast, and South Asia.

South Korean newspapers include the main national dailies *Chosunilbo, Dongailbo,* and *Joonangilbo.* The Korean Broadcasting Service (KBS) is a public service broadcaster and is the largest radio and television organization in the South. KBS offers two television channels, the schedules of which revolve around primetime newscasts. There are also seven channels of radio programming. Two other large networks are commercial, private services.

In North Korea, there are two radio services available from Pyongyang that can be heard throughout the northern region. There are also three television channels provided by Korean Central Television, but these are only seen in the vicinity of Pyongyang. Other large cities have their own local channels. In North Korea, *Choson Sinbo* is the official daily in Korean and the companion *People's Korea* is published in English.

For purposes of this survey Mongolia will be addressed in this region, although it is sometimes considered to be located in Central Asia or even in what has been called "Inner Asia." This is a large land-locked country that is the most sparsely populated in the world. Mongolia's geographic expanse is about the same as Iran, but it has a population of only 2.8 million, less even than tiny Singapore. The main newspaper is the state-owned *Daily News* published in Mongolian. There is also an English language daily, the *Mongol Messenger.* The latter is part of a newspaper group operated by the official MONTSAME News ("evening urgent news") Agency that also includes publications in Russian and Chinese. This agency also produces the *MONTSAME News* daily. State broadcaster Mongolian Central Radio provides programming throughout the country, but its services have been largely eclipsed by numerous private and community stations. A similar situation prevails in television where National Central TV offers a government service, but private and local channels have gained in popularity.

Southeast Asia

The grouping of eleven nations within this region possibly represents the greatest diversity of social, economic, and political conditions within the entire continent. At one political pole is Brunei, one of the last absolute monarchies remaining in the world, and at the other is the communist government of the Laos People's Democratic Republic. Indonesia, which had long been governed by Suharto and his political allies, emerged from that era with a

uniquely comprehensive but complex democratic political system. There is also a pronounced disparity among the economic systems of the nations in this grouping. On the one hand, there is Timor-Leste (the former East Timor) with a per-capita GDP of about U.S. $800, and on the other there are Brunei and Singapore where personal incomes compare with the developed industrialized countries of Europe and North America. Diversity in the media structures and policies roughly parallels those of these political and economic indicators, with a number of countries having international quality media and press outlets, but others so restricted either by governments or by financial pressures that their publics cannot be properly served.

Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand have attempted to establish themselves as regional media centers, especially in response to new technologies. As satellite television and the Internet have become important, these nations have sought to encourage local media to carve out special niches for themselves and to compete across the whole of Asia for readers, listeners, and viewers. This was an important aim of Malaysia's Multimedia Super Corridor, an expansive multidimensional effort to project the nation's information and communication technology firms into a global leadership role.

Among print media, a number of daily newspapers stand out as quality publications. From Manila, the *Philippine Daily Inquirer* has the largest national circulation of about 250,000. Other Philippine newspapers include the *Manila Bulletin* and *Manila Times*. In Thailand, English language newspapers *The Nation* and *Bangkok Post* enjoy readership among expatriates and the intellectual community but Thai language newspapers have much larger circulation figures. The journalistic work of *Kompas* and *Tempo,* among others in Indonesia, has been cited as deserving recognition. Both of these magazines faced pressure by authorities over their coverage of stories during the Suharto era and over subsequent political events. Indonesia presents a special difficulty to news professionals because of the lack of a mature and reliable court system. Media called to answer for their news coverage cannot depend on a fair hearing from the judicial system, and this has often reinforced a tendency for self-censorship. Two newspapers, Singapore's *Straits Times* and Malaysia's *New Straits Times,* present an interesting history. The *Straits Times* was founded in 1845 and throughout the colonial period was the newspaper of record for Malaysia. A regional edition of this newspaper in Kuala Lumpur became the *New Straits Times* in 1965 following the split of Singapore from Malaysia in that year. These two can now be considered "semi-official" newspapers, as each is tightly connected to the dominant political party in their respective countries.

Southeast Asia's broadcast media have traditionally been operated by government organizations, either directly as a branch of government or as a state supervised public agency. The sole exception has been the Philippines, which followed the private commercial model established during American colonization (1898–1946). State media's power has been drastically reduced by technologies that emerged beginning in the early 1980s. Starting with video recorders, and then followed by satellite television and finally web-based Internet media, audiences for state broadcasters have shifted to alternative stations and channels.

South Asia

The nations of South Asia share a British colonial history, and this has afforded them certain similarities in their systems of education, jurisprudence, and governance. Many aspects of media also have drawn heavily from examples in Britain or from practices common during the colonial period. The British Raj, that is, colonial British India, encompassed what are now Pakistan, Bangladesh, and contemporary India, while Nepal, Sri Lanka, Maldives, and Bhutan were separate British territories. Naturally, in many respects the subregion is overshadowed by India, where the population approaches 1.2 billion (Indian journalism is addressed elsewhere).

Radio was the dominant broadcast medium across the subregion until the 1980s and had the greatest influence on the masses because lagging literacy prevented much of the population from making use of print media. Radio services were loosely modeled on the BBC during colonial times, and thus carried some of its high professional standards. Radio Ceylon, for instance, offered an extremely popular service from the earliest days of radio. Its broadcasts were on high powered transmitters that could be received from the Philippines to Iran. All India Radio had been the official radio broadcasting voice of British India, and it grew to

become one of the largest broadcasting organizations in Asia by the time of independence in 1947. This broadcaster served as a foundation for the Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation that inherited its radio services after partition. It was also somewhat a model for Bangladesh Betar (radio) after East and West Pakistan separated in 1971.

Television services grew slowly in South Asia, and only by the middle of the 1980s did it become a significant factor in any of the nation's media. The establishment of Pakistan Television, Sri Lanka Rupavahini, and other national television services in the region produced a large growth in audiences. However, by the 1990s satellite television channels became available, and cable services sprang up everywhere to receive their signals from space and to deliver them to audiences. Across South Asia, a similar pattern prevailed—audiences for television exploded and a growth in channels followed, eventually spurred on by the development of popular satellite channels in national languages all across the region.

Even though Pakistan has languished under military rule for much of its 60 years since independence, it has developed a lively and increasingly independent media scene. Although much smaller in geography and population than India, it is nevertheless a large country of 160 million residents. A favorable business climate since 2000 has made it possible for many private channels to start operations, mostly via satellite relays. The state broadcasters are Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation (radio) and Pakistan Television (PTV). PTV offers several channels both by terrestrial and satellite transmissions and is the official voice of government. Private channels have larger audiences, especially Geo TV, and they carry news that is largely free from interference by authorities. Many Pakistanis have access to Indian TV channels that present news in Hindi and English and are easily understood by most viewers. Outside the country, the best known Pakistani newspaper is *Dawn,* which has the largest circulation of any English language daily. However, its circulation is tiny in comparison to the *Jang Daily,* which claims 1.2 million readers each day.

Central Asia

The five countries of this subregion—Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan—were all incorporated as republics into the Soviet Union until independence came in 1991. The sudden collapse of the Soviet Union presented a huge challenge to these societies because there was no opportunity to manage a smooth transition to independence. These countries lurched from their status as a remote region of the vast Soviet nation to a group of societies cast away to determine their own destiny. On top of this, an immediate cause of the dissolution of the Soviet Union—a failing economy—was left for the inheritors to correct and resolve.

For media in all the Central Asian republics, the fundamental problem after independence was reform; organizations were poorly adapted to a post-Soviet reality. Workers had been trained in Marxist-Leninist principles in which journalists were expected to function as propagandists, in the special communistic ideological sense. In such a role, the purpose of news was not one of disseminating information, but to move publics toward party goals. Consequently, under these principles news priorities were entirely different. For example, timeliness of reports was of secondary importance; stories sometimes took days to pass through complex editorial review channels. Furthermore, media organizations had become highly bureaucratic; they were bound in red tape and rigid rules.

In the years immediately following 1991 there was little change in the large dominant media organizations; they carried on in much the same manner as they had before. The real changes occurred in the private stations that sprang up where they were allowed. For example, in the Kyrgyz Republic private commercial radio operations began services by 1994, and their programs contrasted greatly with sleepy state programming, although news was not an important feature in their schedules. Indeed, among the five republics, only one—Kyrgyzstan—has offered support for development of comparatively free and open media. Soon after independence, three private radio "stations" emerged in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan's capital, but all were forced to share hours each day on a single FM transmitter supplied by the government.

In Kazakhstan, private media are reasonably well developed in the republic, and a vigorous competitive media environment has emerged, especially in the capital, Almaty. Although subject to restrictions and considerable informal pressure

from officials, independent media have become well established there. Media in Uzbekistan are among the most restricted in all of Central Asia. Tashkent is the largest city and serves as the capital not only of Uzbekistan but, unofficially, the entire region. While private media are allowed, they are not in any sense independent of government, which keeps its watchful eye on all outlets. In Tajikistan, a protracted civil war at independence produced conditions unfavorable to development of quality journalism. Many journalists were killed during that conflict, either in covering stories or by assassination, and media still remain under that shadow. Nevertheless, several fledgling media corporations have arisen, though their journalistic practices are hampered by government restriction and a lack of training. In Turkmenistan, genuine independent media have not been allowed to start operation. This country has the smallest population of the five republics, and its economy is poorly developed. The Committee for Protection of Journalists rates Turkmenistan among the five most censored nations.

Journalism and Asian Values

Asia has been the site of a philosophical debate about the proper role of journalism in society, centering on journalists' relationship to government authorities and on the regulation of news media content. This argument arises from the proposition that in Asia there are unique cultural values that bind people of the region together, and these values dictate that journalists respect and yield to the authority of political leaders. The values most often cited as fundamental to Asian societies have been a strong attachment to families and to patriarchal family structures, social harmony, and an extension of these principles into the workplace. These "Asian values" are nevertheless fragile and can be overwhelmed by inauthentic foreign—that is, Western—values. Censoring of media content is the solution most often proposed to counter foreign challenges. This "Asian" way of media supervision has had both critics and defenders.

Critics of the Asian values thesis point out that key cultural values such as family orientation and group harmony are definitely not unique to the Asian setting and can be found to some extent across the globe. Moreover, they argue, it seems unlikely that a single set of values exists uniformly in countries from the Pacific to the Mediterranean. Indeed, research has shown that among certain countries of Asia, differences in core cultural values are very large. Many observers criticized the Asian values thesis on the grounds that it was merely used as a justification for authoritarian political control of media and information within nations of Asia.

Nevertheless, content control of media has been institutionalized across the Asian region. Of course, how the process works differs greatly from country to country. In socialist countries such as Vietnam, Laos, and China, content is controlled within media organizations, because all of them are state enterprises. In other countries there may be no formal provision for reviewing content before publication or broadcast, but guidelines for content are sometimes spelled out. When guidelines are available, they typically are broad and open to various interpretations.

In other cases there may be no formal guidelines. But even in these situations journalists develop a notion of the boundaries imposed on their work. This tends to shift responsibility for meeting content requirements to journalists themselves. The vagueness of rules forces journalists to approach subjects with utmost conservatism, since a sanction by officials over their coverage can wreck a career. Self-censorship is commonly practiced throughout the region as a consequence. Studies have shown that Asian journalists tend to impose on themselves more strict rules than they would have to face if content regulations were more clearly spelled out and directly enforced by government authorities.

Community Media

The lives of most Asians are circumscribed by geographically and culturally defined communities. The costs and difficulty of travel, language and physical barriers, and related factors narrowly focus the lives of the majority of residents on their own localities. These factors, plus the fact that the cost of building grassroots media has declined sharply thanks to technological advances, have produced an explosion of community journalism in many places. The trend has been especially pronounced in countries that have experienced strong

increases in educational levels. In countries that have permitted them, these community outlets have become an important part of the mix of media available to the public.

Indonesia, Thailand, and Nepal, to name just three, have experienced a large expansion in community radio. In these countries, low-power radio transmitters together with simple production setups provide local residents the capacity to create and broadcast content catering to localized issues and themes. Although programs tend to lack professional polish, they enjoy great popularity in many places because they provide relevant and up-to-date information of precisely the sort needed within somewhat insular communities. One researcher described how one small community radio station in Thailand collected and broadcast news on the latest market prices for locally grown fruit, information that no conventional radio station would bother providing. Another community radio station in the South of Thailand offered programs for the under-served Malay speakers of the region, a service not available on any official station.

The operation of community media is fraught with numerous problems, however. Most such outlets are purely volunteer projects, and so they seldom have full-time professional staff. Consequently, their operations tend to suffer from poor planning and coordination, and the information they broadcast may not always pass proper standards of journalism. Such shortcomings can lead, of course, to serious problems.

New Media and Online Journalism

A great many news organizations in Asia employ new media, particularly those utilizing online and streaming web services. Internet-focused organizations have substantially changed the nature of news reception in certain countries, even though access to the Internet is quite uneven. In some countries—for instance, Burma—Internet access is strictly regulated. In other nations, the costs inherent in using the Internet are prohibitively high, given low household incomes. Overall, access to the Internet totals only about 12 percent of Asian residents. It is important to stress that these conditions do not accurately characterize the entire continent. Nine of the countries having the largest number of Internet users are in Asia. In fact, Asia has more Internet users than any other region, a figure totaling almost a half a billion persons. (The comparable figure for North America is about half that of Asia.)

The boom in online journalism started when news organizations began placing some of their content on the web. At first, this was done as something of an afterthought, a kind of service for those who did not have direct access to print or broadcast editions. In Asia as elsewhere, for the major news outlets this practice soon developed into a range of full-blown distinctive services. Today, no major newspaper or broadcaster would think of operating without an online presence. In Asia, a major function of online journalism is to bring news from home countries to those who have moved overseas. For nations having large populations that have emigrated—China, India, Vietnam, Korea, among others—this enables official media to reach out to their expatriates who might otherwise lose contact with their home country.

Part of the explanation for growth in new media is in the burgeoning expansion of technology industries of East, South, and Southeast Asia. Much of the hardware used in new technologies originates from countries in these subregions. In particular, India, Taiwan, China, and Singapore have become home to well-established high-tech industrial centers, and national policies have fostered wide adoption of technologies in related fields—including the media—to support their technology firms' efforts to compete at the global level. The enormous popularity of mobile telephones is another potential way of disseminating news. India's Doordarshan television started a pilot service for cell phones in 2007, streaming eight different channels of content, including one all-news telecast.

Another factor that has apparently spurred growth in online journalism is that across the continent there are many barriers to the establishment of conventional news media free of government control. Because news websites can be located offshore, it is impossible for governments to restrict them at their source; the only means of blocking these websites is through restrictions at the receiving end. The technical requirements for blocking websites from users are such that only a few nations, China and Singapore, for example, are able to employ them. As a consequence, Asian online news outlets have sprung up that aim to

give voice to alternative political and social movements. In Singapore, Sintercom has been a news site that attempted to provide independent news reports, despite efforts by government to check its operation. This website's server, which was originally based in the United States, experimented with operation from Singapore. After a time in its home country it was moved out of the country to protect it from government rules meant to restrict its content. This news website has no print edition and is representative of online journalism sites that have been established to circumvent domestic media restrictions. A problem faced by many online newspapers like this is that they tend to be hosted by individuals who lack credentials as professional journalists; therefore, their news product may lack polish, and they may not even meet professional standards for accuracy, sourcing, and clear exposition.

How online newspapers in Asia can become profitable remains a question. For some, websites are merely cost centers and no revenue is expected, but for others, advertising must help defray the additional cost of the online operation. A few charge subscriber fees. *Malaysiakini* is an online Malaysian newspaper that must rely on subscriptions, as it has no print version and it must depend exclusively on revenues generated by its website. Unlike most other news sites, it is operated by professional journalists and it has earned many awards for the quality of its reporting.

Satellite News Media

Satellite television has significantly changed the practice of journalism across Asia. By satellite, television signals are distributed across vast sections of Asia, including many areas where no other access to the medium is possible. Rural portions of the continent can now receive programs that were once only available in major cities. New channels that sprang up beginning in the 1990s also provide an alternative to the heavily controlled media present in most of the region. Of course, satellite channels are independent of state control and therefore are able to carry alternative, even opposition news. This was possible because the point of origin could be moved out of the country and beyond the reach of domestic authorities. A few countries attempted to block these channels by outlawing or restricting satellite receiving setups, but most did not act quickly enough to make this strategy effective. In Indonesia, for instance, a domestic cottage industry grew up around the construction of homemade satellite receiving stations. By the time the government realized that thousands were receiving foreign signals by satellite it was too late to ban their use. Malaysia, on the other hand, did ban home satellite reception before any significant number had been placed in service. Even so, in time the number of clandestine receivers grew and so policymakers eventually were forced to change their approach. Their solution was to license Malaysia's own satellite television service, ASTRO, to accommodate public demand for more channels and for access to international programming.

Satellite Television Asian Region Limited (STAR) can be credited with pioneering satellite television in Asia. STAR began multichannel transmissions from Hong Kong at the end of 1991. Founded by a partnership of Hutchinson Wampoa of Hong Kong and its chairman Ka-Shing Li, STAR television gained a new partner when Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation purchased a 63.6 percent share of ownership in 1993. STAR audiences have showed consistent growth and after ten years of operation, the organization claimed an aggregate audience of about 300 million viewers, though the largest portion was in Chinese-speaking areas of Asia.

Many other broadcasters have tried to emulate STAR's success, generally by seeking more narrowly targeted audiences. In the more populous Asian nations all-news channels in the national language (or English in South Asia) have become influential information sources. Pakistan's Dawn News is one such channel, complementing its print edition with television coverage seen via satellite across the Indian subcontinent. A few satellite services have tried to reach a broader audience. Al Jazeera, based in Qatar, is a prominent example. After successes in the Middle East, it has opened an English news channel from Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Its programs are relayed by satellite across Asia and around the world. From nearby Singapore Channel NewsAsia, another MediaCorp holding, seeks to draw an audience with news coverage tailored specifically for Asian viewers. It offers news in English by satellite in two feeds—one just for Asian audiences and another for international viewers outside the region.

In summary, media in Asia have tended to benefit from high literacy and expanding economies across the continent. Together, the rises in wealth and ability to read have brought media within the reach of even the most humble households. This, together with economic reforms, has made possible a growth in numbers of private media outlets. Asia has also seen a dramatic spread of technologies such as the Internet and satellite media. As a consequence, Asian journalism is now characterized by an ongoing tension between political leaderships—long accustomed to strict control of the media—and the new media that are far less susceptible to restrictions.

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See also Al Jazeera; China; Chinese Television; Development Journalism; Hong Kong; India; Japan; New China (Xinhua) News Agency; Pacific Area; Singapore; STAR News (Asia)

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Asian American News Media

Asian American journalism can be defined in two ways: through publications and electronic media that focus expressly on Asian American interests and issues, and through Asian American journalists who ply their craft in any medium. The importance of this subset of journalism is rising, due to the large Asian immigration influx that has taken place in the United States over recent decades. Prior to the 1965 Hart-Celler Act, a set of preferences based upon "national origins" established immigration quotas that blocked large numbers arriving from Asia. Under the new law, these restrictions were lifted for all Asian countries, and by the 1970s there were great increases in immigration from many parts of the continent.

Asians in America

Asian Americans are generally defined as persons who are descendants of immigrants or who are themselves immigrants from Asia, and who are also either citizens of the United States or are permanent residents. However, the term *Asian American* cloaks an enormous diversity in cultures, religions, and other aspects of social life that characterizes those who come from the Asian region. (Usually persons from the Middle East are not considered Asian Americans, even though this region is part of Asia.) Asia is the world's largest continent and its total population exceeds the rest of the world combined. Hence diversity stems from the huge span of immigration from the continent. Once, the stereotypical view of Asians as "all alike" was common, but this is clearly refuted by the vast differences in social traditions among different groups that make up Asian American communities.

The number of Asian Americans identified by the 2000 census was approximately 12 million, thus constituting a bit less than 5 percent of the total U.S. population. At about 4 million, Philippine Americans form the largest group, slightly larger than the 3.5 million Chinese Americans. Korean, Japanese, Vietnamese, and Indian descendants each number more than 1 million. Asian Americans tend to live near the West Coast, especially in California, or in Hawaii, and

the majority live in urban areas. The racial prejudices that gave rise to the earlier immigration barriers have become less obvious, though some have been outspoken in their criticism of persistent discrimination they have experienced as Asian Americans in journalism. For instance, in television news, about 21 percent of persons employed in the field are minority journalists, and the proportion shows little growth since 2000. Though in a recent year for which figures are available, most of the 1 percent annual growth in minority hiring was for Asian Americans, according to a 2005 Radio-Television News Directors Association study, across the nation only 1.9 percent of personnel working in TV newsrooms were Asian American. A higher proportion can be found on the two coasts and a lesser proportion in the Midwest United States.

Development

A growing number of Asian Americans have gained prominence in the news media, despite barriers that have been present. One of the most noteworthy is William Woo (1936–2006) who was the first Asian American to become editor of a major U.S. newspaper. He was named editor at the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* in 1986 and served for ten years before joining the journalism faculty at Stanford. Three times he was a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize. Another leading journalist is Nancy Yoshihara, who has served in various reporting and editorial capacities for the *Los Angeles Times*. She won the Los Angeles Press Club award and the John Hancock award in 1989 for her editorial writing and with Stanley Karnow authored *Asian Americans in Transition* in 1992. For many Americans perhaps the most familiar Asian American journalist is Connie Chung (1946–), who briefly co-anchored the *CBS Evening News* and hosted *Eye to Eye with Connie Chung* until 1995. She co-anchored *20/20* from 1998 to 2002 on ABC. Chung was recipient of three Emmy awards for her television work.

Newspapers serving Asian Americans have been published since the mid-nineteenth century. In 1854, immigrants from China started publication of *Kim-Shan Jit San-Luk* (Golden Hills' News) in the San Francisco area. Before 1900 a number of other publications aimed at different communities had appeared. Because of the diverse nature of Asian Americans, media aimed at them tend to be segmented according to country of origin or language. For the smaller population groups, publications can be newsletters rather than broadsheets or tabloids, and some of these may appear irregularly. Newspapers for each of the major immigrant groups as well as many smaller immigrant nationalities can be found scattered across the United States. Most of these newspapers are published weekly, but some are dailies. Some examples: *Hokubei Mainichi* (North American Daily) is aimed at Japanese Americans. Published in San Francisco five times weekly and distributed mainly in northern California, it is a bilingual newspaper covering international and national news as well as regional and local stories. For the Korean American community the *Korea Daily* and *Korea Times* are dailies that are published in a number of cities across the country. *Asia Observer* is a weekly newspaper catering to an American South Asian readership published in New Jersey but distributed throughout North America. A news weekly with a circulation of about 20,000, *Nokor Thom* (Great Nation) is published in Long Beach for the Cambodian American community. It was once the largest daily published in Phnom Penh but moved to the United States after the Khmer Rouge takeover of Cambodia in the 1970s. The oldest Vietnamese language newspaper is *Nguoi Viet Daily News* (Vietnamese People Daily News) published since the mid-1970s in California. It was founded by Yen Do, who had been a war correspondent for American newspapers before Vietnamese reunification in 1975 when he immigrated to the United States. Today, the daily has a circulation of 17,000 and a staff of about 50. For readers from the Indian subcontinent, the leading publication is *India Abroad*. This weekly claims to be the largest and oldest of the South Asian American publications and has been in operation since 1970. It is available in paper and online versions. For Pakistani Americans, there is *Sada E Pakistan*, published in New York City with a circulation of about 30,000.

By the end of the 1960s, a new generation of Asian American publications emerged based less on a single ethnic identity and presenting a more pan-ethnic view. These publications frequently presented themselves as alternative voices for all

Asian Americans. The times were politically turbulent and many of these alternative publications had a strong political agenda. Many were short lived. Arising out of this period was *Amerasian Journal,* the most important scholarly publication for general Asian American subjects. Begun at Yale University in 1971, it is now published by UCLA. Its contents are devoted to serious scholarship on Asian American topics, especially on historical as well as current issues faced by Asian Americans.

Another such national newspaper, *AsianWeek,* is a weekly aimed at readers among all Asian American communities. *AsianWeek* bills itself as "The Voice of Asian America" and "the oldest and largest English language newspaper serving the Asian/Pacific Islander American community." Based in San Francisco, it attempts to offer a broad diet of news that would interest readers across the country, although there tends to be an emphasis on Bay area items. This tabloid was founded in 1979 and today enjoys a circulation of about 60,000. But *AsianWeek* has been embroiled in controversy due to its editorial policies. In 2007 editor Kenneth Eng authored several inflammatory columns including ones titled "Why I Hate Blacks" and "Proof that Whites Inherently Hate Us." Some Asian American groups reacted with outrage, calling for a repudiation of the column by the newspaper publisher. Editor-in-Chief Samson Wong answered critics with the statement that "*AsianWeek's* operation and editorial policy are based on a philosophy of diversity. This includes fighting to promote diversity of opinion in our own community and even to expose its disturbing warts." In March 2007, Wong was demoted to "Senior Editorial Consultant," apparently as a result of this incident.

Broadcast

Although the main news media for Asian communities are principally print publications, there are broadcast media aimed at them as well. One of the pioneers of Asian American broadcasting was Leo Chen, who has been dubbed the "Father of Chinese Television" in America. He used his own financial resources to purchase airtime for his program *Asia-Am TV* on San Francisco's KEMO-TV beginning in 1973. Chen was producer and newscaster in the weekly telecasts. In localities where large concentrations of Asian American populations have settled, it is common to find local radio broadcasts or television programs aimed at these communities. This trend matches a growing fragmentation of broadcast audiences everywhere in the United States. As more and more radio and television stations and cable channels have opened, they have been forced to appeal to ever narrower segments of the total audience in order to maintain their viability.

The San Francisco area has enjoyed a variety of Asian American media outlets because Asian Americans make up nearly a third of the population in the city. For instance, KSJX-AM in San Jose has a Vietnamese program containing local, national, and international news. A Cantonese language program is aired by KVTO-AM in San Francisco, also presenting a complete newscast of local as well as national and international news in Mandarin. One example (among several others) of an over-the-air television station that provides programming for Asian audiences is KTSF in Brisbane, California, which provides broadcasts available throughout the San Francisco Bay area. News is presented in a number of languages, including Mandarin, Filipino, and Japanese. A number of this station's newscasts are relayed from broadcasters in Asia such as NHK Japan. Some communities make use of public access channels on cable for local news programs aimed at Asian American groups. The advantage of these channels is that their use is free, or nearly so, and cable companies sometimes provide facilities and production support.

Another station operating from California is KVNR in Westminster, just south of Los Angeles in Orange County. Known as Little Saigon Radio, it is also retransmitted in San Jose for Bay Area residents. A third broadcast station is also part of this mini-network, KYND in Houston, Texas. The stations share programs and pick up additional programming from international broadcasters such as the BBC.

Online media have grown in importance as Internet access has become widespread among Asian Americans. Most websites for the Asian American community, though not all, are extensions of existing legacy media organizations. For instance, Little Saigon Radio provides additional services in Vietnamese via its website. For radio and television broadcasters, text based news and streaming audio or video are commonly offered,

and newspapers can maintain continuous news coverage through their websites. This is especially important for weeklies, as it allows a newspaper to maintain contact with its target readership between editions.

Community

In 1981 the Asian American Journalists Association (AAJA) was formed as a support organization for Asian Americans working in the media and to encourage Asian Americans to consider careers in the news field. At the time, Asians were practically invisible in the media. This organization has grown to become the predominant professional association for Asian Americans working in the media, and the membership numbers about 2,000 in twenty chapters across the United States. AAJA has four goals—providing training for Asian American and Pacific Islander journalists so that they can promote positive change in the news field; building relationships with Asian American and Pacific Islander communities; strengthening its chapters; and building financial resources. Another organization with similar aims is the South Asian Journalists Association (SAJA) formed in New York in 1994 and today claiming more than 1,000 members. According to the organization's officers, it is not a competitor to AAJA and many of its members belong to both. SAJA annually hosts a convention attended by more than 500 participants.

There has been little research into the media habits of Asian Americans, though the few studies that are publicly available suggest, not surprisingly, differences in consumption preferences among various communities. Overall, much as in the general U.S. population, Asian Americans tend to watch television, listen to radio, and read newspapers avidly. Research indicates that television is the medium most often used by Asian Americans, followed in order by newspapers, radio, and magazines. One study of school age children found that Asian American youth watched television at a rate slightly higher than their European American counterparts but their limited use of newspapers was similar.

For Asian Americans, media tend to serve broad functions: First, Asian American media help build and sustain a sense of community, without which many immigrants would simply be swept into the general population. Such media present their readers with a reassuring affirmation of their identity and cultural heritage. Second, for some Asians, media of all types provide a valuable means to acquire language proficiency. Immigrants frequently arrive with limited ability to use English, and so media, especially television, can provide daily lessons in conversational American speech. Finally, community media offer recent immigrants an opportunity to become acquainted with the everyday concerns and interests of Americans—in short, to serve as a tool of acculturation. In this sense, these media serve an important purpose not only for the community but for the larger society as well, helping provide a smooth induction for immigrants into the national mainstream.

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See also Asia, Central, South, and East; China; Émigré News Media; Hong Kong; India; Japan; Pacific Area; San Francisco; Singapore; STAR News (Asia)

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Associated Press

The Associated Press (AP) is a not-for-profit news cooperative in which "members" of the cooperative are required to contribute and share news

with the AP for mutual benefit. The AP serves as a central clearinghouse for that contributed member news. It also reports, writes, and produces news of its own for its members. The AP serves approximately 1,500 U.S. daily newspaper members, who are the primary stakeholders in the cooperative and who, through an elected board of directors from member news organizations, oversee the AP's organization, policy, and strategy. It also serves 5,000 radio and television broadcasters in the United States.

The AP also serves news organizations in more than 120 countries in five languages, and delivers news in multiple media formats for newspapers, radio stations, television stations, and online and wireless services. In 2007, more than 4,000 employees staffed more than 240 AP bureaus in 97 countries, making AP's reach and news dominance nearly unparalleled.

News delivered by the AP is normally marked with the AP dateline or "AP bug": (AP). The dateline is an indication of the story's origin, such as "New York (AP)—." AP correspondent names are included with AP produced reports, but are not required to be included in member-produced media. Thus, much of AP's staff is unknown to the public, leaving the AP as one of the last media organizations mostly untouched by the impact of celebrity journalism.

AP's dominance, traditions of objectivity, and speed in news gathering are well documented. Particularly in the United States, AP is a leading agenda setter for news, creating daily digests or lists of "top news items" in each state and for the nation and world that news editors use to determine the day's top stories. Because so much of the AP news report contains member-contributed news and because the AP serves so many diverse news organizations, AP editors strive to produce an unbiased news report that reflects the multiple viewpoints each story might require and that would appeal to the most members. Through an elaborate network of computers and satellites that reach both its bureaus and the news organizations it serves, the AP is able to receive breaking news within moments and redistribute that news to the globe. Thus, the story on a plane crash in a remote section of the United States might be reported by a small local member newspaper, shared with the Associated Press and sent worldwide within minutes, and even seconds. Because of its reputation for speed and reliability, news organizations around the world are often known to confidently attribute news to AP, particularly breaking news, with phrases such as, "According to the Associated Press…," "The AP reports today…," or "This just in from the Associated Press. . . ."

Origins

The concept of cooperative news sharing did not originate with the AP, but the AP was among the first news organizations to perfect the idea. Prior to the 1840s, the flow of news between Europe and the United States and within the United States was subject to the ability to deliver news by foot, pony express and sailing ships. The sources of news came from other news publications, in addition to firsthand accounts of travelers from other regions. Beginning in 1840, Cunard (and soon other) steamships delivered passengers and European news to Boston and Halifax, and later to New York City. Representatives from the local U.S. coastal papers in these areas raced in smaller boats to meet those steamships, sometimes as far as 200 miles from shore, often engaging in bitter battles on the waters and devising tactics to outwit their competitors to meet the incoming steamships. The competition was particularly fierce and strenuous. Harry Blake, who gathered news in Boston for Boston's *New England Palladium* and the *Boston Courier* would often venture out in a boat "in darkness, storm and tempest," said historian Joseph Buckingham. He adds that Blake's rugged lifestyle led "to indulgences not justified by strict requirements of temperance" (Schwarzlose 1989, 13–14). The historical record is replete with fantastic tales of brave correspondents racing to meet the sources of news and then racing to deliver the information to various news outlets, often risking their lives in the process. The action-packed stories of correspondent news gathering at that time are tales that encouraged further interest in the speed of news delivery as well as interest in the romance and thrill of the profession itself.

Both the fierce and growing competition in news delivery and the arrival of the electric telegraph after 1844 led six competitive New York City newspapers to consider the benefits of news sharing, particularly political and business news

from overseas. The six New York City papers included: the *Courier & Enquirer,* the *Express,* the *Journal of Commerce,* the *Sun,* the *Herald,* and the *Tribune*. They first established a cooperative harbor news organization that coordinated news arriving from overseas. They also hired AP's first general agent, Alexander Jones (1802–63), who gathered that news and wrote a single one-to-two column daily news dispatch that was shared among the six papers. By 1851, Jones hired agents in Baltimore, Buffalo, New Orleans, Boston, Albany, Cincinnati, Norfolk, Montreal, and Toronto, and the AP was well on its way to establishing its reach and dominance in the United States. The AP model in New York would soon be copied by other regions and led to the formation of five other regional APs, including those in New England, New York State, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and the Southern AP.

For years, historians and the AP itself agreed that the first meeting of the six New York City papers was in the spring of 1848, in a meeting led by James Gordon Bennett, the flamboyant publisher of the *New York Herald*. But new evidence indicates that the discussions to form the cooperative may have taken place two years earlier, in 1846. Documents obtained in 2007 from the great-great-grandson of Moses Yale Beach (1800–68), the second owner-publisher of the original *New York Sun,* indicate that the sharing of news took place at Beach's urging, when the *Sun* agreed to share news it gathered from the U.S. war with Mexico with the other five papers. In an interview in the New York *World* of January 20, 1884, Moses Sperry Beach (1822–92) said the Mexican War "was the beginning of The Associated Press. It all grew out of this." Given the fierce competition and ego of the six founding members, it is not at all surprising that the date of AP's origin has been a source of considerable debate since its founding. Such member debates would be common throughout AP's history, as members made peace with the "necessary evil" of cooperating and sharing news with their competitors to make maximum use of the new technology and the demand for current news.

In 1851, the New York AP replaced General Manager Alexander Jones with Daniel Craig (1814–95), who had a long history of running pigeons carrying news from Halifax to U.S. East Coast destinations. Craig set out to expand the cooperative and became a shrewd negotiator with Western Union, primary operator of the telegraphic wires, working to secure the best rates for the cooperative. In doing so, and in securing control of news off the Cunard steamships, Craig began establishing AP's dominance over the flow of news.

AP's rise after 1860 was interrupted by the Civil War, leaving the cooperative and Craig mostly with only official dispatches. AP's news was heavily censored. Midwestern papers were particularly unsatisfied with AP's war coverage and placed their own agent in New York to gather more news independently. In March 1865, these papers formed the Western Associated Press, headquartered in Chicago, and emerged as a major power in cooperative news gathering. Their growing influence would later fuel a showdown with the New York AP toward the turn of the century.

AP's bylaws restricted its membership. Local newspapers with existing franchises retained their exclusivity to publish AP reports while competing papers were effectively denied access to those reports. This exclusivity opened up room for competitors, and in 1882, the United Press (UP) appeared, offering non-AP newspapers access to shared news and giving AP its first substantial competition. By this time, both the New York AP and Western AP were singularly managed from New York. To protect AP's dominance, AP general manager William Henry Smith (1833–96) covertly arranged with the UP to divide up the country. The AP and UP signed two trust agreements to limit competition between them in 1885 and 1887. Under the agreement, UP stock was sold to AP members in exchange for the delivery of AP news to UP members. When the secret stock pool arrangement was discovered by a new generation of Western AP members, the Western AP broke ties with the New York AP and formed a singular Associated Press in Illinois under the leadership of General Manager Melville Stone (1848–1929). Members of the New York AP joined what remained of the first United Press, but that organization folded in 1896. The new Associated Press, formed by the former Western AP members, created a singular national AP, removing all the regional AP structure and centralizing the operation. Historian Richard Schwarzlose wrote that the elimination of the regional AP structure created a

national dominance that placed an even stronger emphasis on local publisher rights to the AP report and greater protections for it than had existed under the New York AP.

Such dominance did not go unchallenged. Between 1888 and 1914, AP's bylaws were challenged in more than a dozen court cases around the country. Challengers claimed the AP's bylaws restrained trade and violated the 1890 Sherman Antitrust Act, with which Congress sought to prevent trusts from creating restraints on trade or commerce and reducing competition. The AP won nearly all these cases. The courts found that as a private business, the AP wasn't obligated to provide news service to all organizations seeking its service.

But in 1900, in *Inter-Ocean Publishing Co. v. AP* the Illinois Supreme Court disagreed. The court determined that because AP's business involved the telegraph and its news was "of vast importance to the public," it was a public utility with a public interest and could therefore be regulated. The court found that AP's bylaws restricted competition and created a monopoly. As a result of the *Inter-Ocean* decision, the AP moved its headquarters in 1900 from Chicago to New York, where a new corporation was formed, and the AP became a not-for-profit cooperative. The AP reworked its bylaws to address *Inter-Ocean* concerns, but the decision to exclude nonmembers remained. Excluding nonmembers from using the AP report was left up to the board of directors, and the board continued to exclude those that threatened the strength of its existing membership.

AP in the Twentieth Century

By the turn of the twentieth century, the AP had more than 900 newspaper members, and AP General Manager Melville Stone had firm control of the operation. But competition remained a great concern for Stone, and when publishers E. W. Scripps (1854–1926) and William Randolph Hearst (1863–1951) were unable to obtain AP memberships for their papers, they formed their own wire services. Scripps' new United Press (UP) was formed in 1897 and Hearst's International News Service (INS) began operation in 1909. Both were privately owned companies and proved to be significant competitors for the AP.

With increasing competition, AP's leadership grew increasingly protective of its report. In the late 1800s, news piracy grew rampant, a byproduct of the increasingly competitive nature of the news business. The AP was particularly vulnerable. Historian Barbara Cloud's research indicates that one-half of the news distributed by other news agencies during the latter half of the nineteenth century was stolen from the AP.

General Manager Stone set out to protect AP's news-gathering investment, but unsuccessfully lobbied Congress for a statute to protect "hot news" from theft. When INS began pilfering AP dispatches from the front during World War I, the AP sued for misappropriation, and the case ultimately reached the U.S. Supreme Court. In *INS v. AP,* the Court ruled for the AP and established a limited property right in news that lasted as long as the "hot news" had value. This common law right gave AP—as well as other news organizations—an additional weapon from which to protect its product from competitors.

The 1920s saw the end of Melville Stone's reign at the AP and the beginning of Kent Cooper's (1880–1965) leadership. Cooper, who was AP's chief of the traffic department and thus responsible for delivery of AP news, quickly rose to the top. While Stone is remembered as the modern AP's founder, Cooper is often credited with advancing AP's technology and guiding the cooperative through the golden age of newspaper journalism and the advent of broadcasting. Cooper began the practice of adding bylines to AP stories, eliminating the anonymity of those who produced the report, and he expanded the report by adding human interest stories and expanding other features, such as sports and entertainment. He oversaw the transition from telegraphy to Teletype that moved AP copy at 60 words per minute in 1933, and he helped to support development of technology to move photos by wire in 1935.

Despite lawsuits and fierce competition, AP's dominance continued, and the AP board maintained the right to refuse memberships to those who sought them. The debate came to a head in 1942, when the *Chicago Tribune,* a longtime AP member, prevented the new *Chicago Sun* from obtaining AP membership. The government sued the AP for antitrust violations and this time, in a 1945 decision handed down by the Supreme

Court, the AP lost and was compelled to open up its membership. Writing for the district court, which ruled against the AP (and was upheld by the high court), Judge Learned Hand wrote that AP

> . . . serves one of the most vital of all general interests: the dissemination of news from as many different sources, and with as many different facets and colors as possible. That interest is closely akin to, if indeed it is not the same as, the interest protected by the First Amendment; it presupposes that right conclusions are more likely to be gathered out of a multitude of tongues than through any kind of authoritative selection. To many this is, and always will be, folly; but we have staked upon it our all. [111 U.S. 53, 55 (1884)]

Following the decision, AP membership was opened to all, and many more newspapers sought to join. Ironically, the Supreme Court's decision thus helped to boost AP's reach and dominance, forcing its competitors to combine, which in 1958, the UP and INS did. The new organization became United Press International, under the leadership of the Scripps organization, and strongly challenged AP's dominance.

The Supreme Court's decision also ended the debate about whether radio broadcasters would be permitted to join the cooperative. After several years of denying use of its report by radio stations, the AP formed a separate organization, the Press Association, Inc., in 1941, to deliver AP news to broadcasters. AP broadcasters eventually gained the title of "associate members" and became part of the AP in 1947. Today, broadcasters hold two seats on AP's board of directors, but the majority of seats—22—belong to newspaper members, and thus they continue to determine the cooperative's future.

In the latter part of the twentieth century, the corporate story of the AP was primarily one of technological change. In the 1960s, AP began to computerize its operations and move away from Teletype transmission. This began with the computerization of stock listings in 1962. By 1970, the AP began to transmit news by computer. Two years later AP introduced its high-speed computer service, "Datastream," with which news was delivered at 1,200 words a minute, up from 66 words a minute on the Teletype. Under the leadership of President Louis D. Boccardi (1938–), the AP began to rely on satellites for connecting AP bureaus and member news organizations in the 1980s.

AP also continued its dominance in news photography and transmission, pioneering much of the development of digital news photography. This began with the introduction of LaserPhoto in 1976, in which photos were laser-scanned for transmission, and with the first news electronic darkroom, in which computers not only delivered photos but also handled the tasks of a conventional darkroom. Color photos were first sent to members in 1982 and were first sent by satellite in 1987. In the 1990s, the AP introduced its LeafPicture Desks (AP's first electronic picture desk and the first time news photos were on computer) into member newsrooms, effectively forcing newspapers—many then still operating traditional film darkrooms—into the computer handling of news photography. It was a significant investment on AP's part, and AP bore the brunt of the cost and member grumbling about the change. But the move would keep newspaper members competitive amidst rapid technological changes in media.

By the late 1990s, the AP began experimenting with digital cameras and helped introduce digital equipment specifically designed for news photographers in the field. AP's early digital cameras were initially criticized as not quite ready for serious news photography. Photographers criticized the cameras' slow shutters, heavy weight, and short-lived batteries. But with later versions—and the emergence of the Internet—the plunge into digital photography was inevitable. By 2007, all AP photographers used high-end digital cameras.

Not surprisingly, the AP also made more significant investments in radio, television, and online transmission as the twenty-first century approached. In 1994, the AP launched a 24-hour radio news network, AP All News Radio, and also initiated AP Television (APTV), based in London. Later named Associated Press Television News (APTN), this video news operation quickly gained in popularity and challenged Reuters Television. By 2007, APTN had 550 international broadcast members and became a major supplier of international video to the world's leading news broadcast and cable operations.

Online Revolution

In 1996, the AP began a service for members with online news sites, and eventually made AP news available to online sites such as Yahoo! and AOL. This shift proved a sore point with many newspaper members, who felt their contributed news was offered to online operations which could then compete with their own content and without remuneration. As retired writer and former AP executive Walter Mears (1935–) described the dilemma for AP and its members, "it was a matter of getting on board or being rolled over." "The audience is shifting to digital, on-demand platforms," AP President Tom Curley (1948–) told some reluctant publishers in 2005. "Advertising is following the migrating eyeballs, and new distribution networks are requiring us to rethink how our content reaches the consumer" (Associated Press 2007).

Indeed, the state of the newspaper industry at the time was grim. According to the Project for Excellence in Journalism, newspaper revenues were flat and earnings fell in 2006. The price of newspaper stocks fell about 11 percent, after 20 percent declines the year before, precipitating layoffs, particularly at large metro dailies. AP, like many news organization at the time, was compelled to seek new revenue sources, mostly online, to adapt to the changing media landscape.

"The wire of the next century and a half," wrote Jim Kennedy (1953–), vice president and director of strategic planning for the Associated Press, "will be plugged into a database that will be able to deliver almost any kind of news experience, from text headlines to rich images and sounds" (Kennedy 2006, 57–58). Though born of newspapers and the telegraph, the AP of twenty-first century will emerge as far more of an online, multimedia product. With newspapers still the major stakeholders in the running of the cooperative, however, the challenge will be how willingly and quickly those print monoliths will respond to the growing importance of content provided online.

Key Stories Covered

During its more than 160 years of existence, the AP has reported some of the most critical moments in world history, and often has been the first to document their occurrence. It has 49 Pulitzer Prizes to its credit, including 30 for photography. It has lost more than 30 correspondents in the line of duty. Some of AP's notable stories include the following.

1863. AP stringer Joseph Ignatius Gilbert (1842–1924) is credited by historians with delivering the most accurate version of President Abraham Lincoln's remarks at the dedication of the cemetery in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, November 19, 1863. Gilbert reportedly borrowed Lincoln's handwritten text, copied it word, for word, and used that for his story.

1906. Paul Cowles (1867–1935), chief of the AP San Francisco bureau delivered first word of the San Francisco earthquake that killed thousands by relaying a news bulletin via Honolulu.

1912. In cooperation with its members, the AP delivered precinct-by-precinct, county-by-county votes in the U.S. presidential race between President Woodrow Wilson and Republican Charles Evans Hughes.

1932. AP's Frank Jamieson (1904–60) won the Pulitzer Prize for coverage of the kidnapped infant son of aviation hero Charles Lindbergh. Lindbergh's son was missing for 11 weeks and eventually found dead in Hopewell, New Jersey.

1943. Hal Boyle (1911–74), war correspondent and often known as AP's first columnist, won a Pulitzer Prize for his stories from the North African and European war theaters during World War II. He began reporting the experiences of G.I.s at the front in 1943. After the war, Boyle filed stories with datelines from 66 countries on six continents, writing nearly 8,000 columns.

1945. AP war correspondent Joe Morton (1911–45) was executed by the Nazis along with nine American and four British officers. Morton is the only known journalist executed by the Axis powers during World War II. The same year, AP Paris bureau chief Edward Kennedy (1905–63) reported Germany's surrender in violation of an Allied Headquarters news blackout. Kennedy was dismissed by the AP. And AP photographer Joe Rosenthal (1911–2006) captured what has been described as the most reproduced photo of all-time: the raising of the flag on Iwo Jima. Rosenthal

won the Pulitzer Prize for the shot, and the picture was used worldwide. Initially, it was adopted in a war fund-raising campaign and a decade later was recreated in the Marine Corps War Memorial statue in Washington, D.C.

1950. AP photographer Frank Noel (1906–66) won a Pulitzer Prize for his photos of a POW camp in North Korea during the Korean War. Noel secretly took the photos as a POW himself.

1961–75. During the Vietnam War, the Associated Press established a major presence in Saigon, winning five Pulitzer Prizes for its war coverage. AP's Vietnam War correspondents, particularly Malcolm Browne (1931–), Peter Arnett (1934–), and George Esper (1932–), became familiar names at home. Several AP photos emerged as iconic images of the war including Browne's photo of a Buddhist monk who lit himself on fire in protest of the Vietnamese government, Eddie Adams' (1933–2004) photo of the execution of a Vietcong prisoner by Vietnamese soldiers, and the Nick Ut (1951–) photo of a young South Vietnamese girl running naked from a napalm attack. "They were very good, the men, and in time the women, of the [AP Saigon] bureau, both at the beginning and at the end," wrote David Halberstam (1934–2007), who was a colleague. "And gradually people realized how good they were, that they were as good as those legendary journalistic figures from the past who had covered previous wars and from whose shadow they had emerged, until they were casting their own shadows" (Associated Press 2007). Esper was among the last correspondents in Saigon when the capital was overrun by North Vietnamese troops in 1975.

1984. On March 16, AP chief Middle East correspondent Terry Anderson (1947–) was kidnapped by Islamic militants in Beirut. He was held captive for six years and eight months, the longest held journalist captive in the Middle East.

2000. The AP won its first Pulitzer Prize for investigative reporting. The story involved allegations of a massacre by U.S. troops of South Korean refugees under a railway bridge at No Gun Ri a half century earlier. Using the Freedom of Information Act and other investigative methods, a team of journalists led by AP's Charles J. Hanley (1947–) found evidence that as many as 300 were shot to death. In 2001, the U.S. Army issued a report that refuted key parts of the AP story. After the Pulitzer was awarded, one witness quoted in the story was found not to have been at No Gun Ri, raising more questions. Others did confirm the AP account, and most news media reviews of the series since its publication support the story, though there were continuing disputes about the number of casualties. In 2007, for example, AP uncovered evidence that the Army failed to release key documents in its 2001 investigation, and relatives of the No Gun Ri incident demanded a new investigation and an apology.

Conclusion

The Associated Press for more than 160 years has been a major contributor in the flow and distribution of news within the United States and throughout the world. Much of its business success can be attributed to three key factors: Its not-for-profit cooperative structure; its ability to adopt new technology for news delivery; and its global reach. The AP's cooperative structure requires member participation and sharing of news without the pressure of meeting public stockholder demands for profitability. As a result, the AP is able to invest in technology and personnel to deliver news ahead of other concerns, and in the various formats that its subscribers demand. With bureaus and correspondents around the globe, the AP is also able to deliver breaking news within minutes. In creating an organization with such tremendous stability, reach, and versatility, however, the AP has also harnessed significant power in setting the world's news agenda. Over the years, many have questioned AP's domination of the wire services and of the news in general.

The advent of Internet journalism and the rise of citizen media present challenges to that dominance and AP's future will depend on how it reacts to the changing media environment.

By the early 2000s, for example, a number of newspapers (including the large *Chicago Tribune* chain) announced plans to withdraw from AP membership (they must provide two years' notice) because of their own declining revenues and because of growing unhappiness with some of the

agency's practices that compete with its member papers (such as selling news to Google and other websites). AP held its membership fees flat from 2005 through 2008 in the face of this concern. Nonmember clients provide about three-quarters of the agency's revenue. But the message was clear—-even AP is being affected by the steady decline of American newspapers.

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See also International News Service; Photojournalists; Telegraph; United Press; United Press International

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Athletics

See Sports Journalism

Atlanta

The financial and media capital of the American South, Atlanta has always found its formula for success through compromise. After the Civil War left it burned down to the red clay, this upcountry Georgia city reemerged, phoenix-like, by embracing a New South of industry and marketing. *The Atlanta Constitution* helped bring about a series of World's Fair–like expositions, such as the 1895 international expo that featured the "Atlanta Compromise" speech of black leader Booker T. Washington. Eventually, justice caught up with this attempted compromise on racial segregation, leading to the civil rights movement of the 1960s. New compromises over race were reached, led by the Chamber of Commerce, City Hall, and native son Martin Luther King Jr. This set the stage for untrammeled growth of the metropolitan area and a positive international image symbolized by Ted Turner's Cable News Network (CNN). In the twenty-first century, the challenge for Atlanta's news media was to recover some measure of civic influence after so much of civic culture had been compromised, in the negative sense, by the sprawl of this hustling city.

With a name coined in 1845 from the feminization of Western & Atlantic Railroad, Atlanta quickly evolved from a rail terminal to a major crossroad. City boosters touted Atlanta's ideal location. Temperate in its seasons and a good in-between spot for the eastern United States, Atlanta would become an airline hub with the busiest airport in the country, Hartsfield-Jackson Atlanta International Airport, named for two of the city's mayors. The city limits stopped growing in 1950 and its population peaked in the early 1970s just below half a million, with white flight leaving a black majority and black political control. But the 20-county Metropolitan Statistical Area was the fastest-growing metro area in the country by 2005, with 4,768,685 residents.

Early Development

Atlanta's earliest daily newspapers were *The Examiner* and *The Atlanta Intelligencer,* which both began in 1854 and were eventually merged because of financial difficulties. *The New Era* appeared immediately after the Civil War to defend "radical" Reconstruction against attacks in other Southern papers, and *The Atlanta Daily Herald* introduced New York–style sensationalism in 1872. But these and other Atlanta papers died and were buried in the historical dust left by the two dailies that ultimately survived: the *Constitution* and the *Journal.* Colonel Carey W. Styles launched *The Atlanta Constitution* on June 16, 1868, the name of the paper having been suggested to Styles by President Andrew Johnson in bitterness after losing his fights with Congress for a less harsh postwar Reconstruction. Other business partners and editors followed in quick succession. One of them, William A. Hemphill, brought in some of the best editors and writers on any newspaper in the country for that period. Among these were lawyer-editor Evan P. Howell, poet-columnist Frank L. Stanton, folklorist Joel Chandler Harris, and New South orator-editor Henry W. Grady. Howell's son Clark Howell and grandson Clark Howell Jr. became *Constitution* editors and part owners, keeping the newspaper in that family for 70 years. Joel Chandler Harris, who as a boy had been a print-shop apprentice on a Georgia plantation during the Civil War, became one of the most popular writers in America with his Uncle Remus and Br'r Rabbit tales.

Grady was the boy-wonder of the Southern press. He had already edited and partly owned several Georgia newspapers when he joined the *Constitution* in 1876, at age 26. Even while writing for and managing the *Constitution,* he was a popular speaker and an aggressive stringer for *The New York Herald* and other non-Southern newspapers. He was one of the pioneers of the journalistic interview (following Horace Greeley's example) and made a historic turn away from the region's long tradition of personal and partisan journalism. Declining an invitation by Atlanta leaders to run for Congress, Grady declared, "[J]ournalism is a jealous profession, and demands the fullest allegiance of those who seek its honors or its emoluments." As a stringer for distant newspapers, he scooped the national press on such major stories as the voter fraud in Florida in the Tilden-Hayes presidential election of 1876 and the devastation of Charleston, South Carolina, by an earthquake on August 31, 1886. At the celebrated dinner in New York where he delivered his powerful "New South" oration later that year, he assured his elite business-minded audience that the South was working on the race problem "in honor and equity" and had "put business before politics." Grady spoke publicly for the South, but behind the scenes he always worked for the special advancement of his "brave and beautiful city," Atlanta. When he died at 39, of pneumonia aggravated by a tiring trip to Boston in December for a speech, Grady was eulogized as the South's greatest editor and first post–Civil War visionary.

The *Evening Journal* was first published on February 23, 1883, by Confederate veteran E. F. Hoge. It flourished under other owners and editors, including Hoke Smith, a lawyer who sold the paper in 1900 and would later become governor. The *Journal* started the first women's page in the South in 1887, gave unprecedented coverage to sporting events starting in 1901, and launched the region's first enduring Sunday supplement in 1912. The Sunday *Journal* magazine's first editor, Angus Perkerson, trained staff writers from Margaret Mitchell (*Gone with the Wind,* 1936) to Olive Ann Burns (*Cold Sassy Tree,* 1984). In December 1939, the *Journal* was bought by former Ohio Governor James M. Cox, owner of several Ohio newspapers and the unsuccessful Democratic candidate for President in 1920. This also gave him control of the broadcasting affiliate WSB (the station call letters standing for "Welcome South, Brother"), which started the South's first radio station in 1922 and would launch the region's first television station in September 1948. Cox also bought and shut down the daily *Atlanta Georgian,* and in 1950, bought his only other Atlanta rival, the *Constitution.* The two papers, under the private Cox chain, together moved into a new nine-story downtown building in 1972 and merged newsrooms in 1982.

A Changing Media Landscape

Thus ended the last serious newspaper competition in Atlanta. In 2001, the *Journal* was shut down,

leaving a combined morning *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* (AJC) as the only daily paper for the wider metro area. But this "monopoly" staggered from the many hits of postmodern media competition: direct-mail advertising, hyper-local suburban papers, public cynicism or indifference, free Internet classified ads and news, and most of all, the time rush of consumers snarled in traffic or plugged into the latest telecommunication product. The AJC's paid circulation dropped steadily, despite metro growth, to 357,399 on weekdays and 523,687 on Sundays (by early 2007), down from a peak of 508,169 daily and 719,047 Sunday (in 1990 and 1994, respectively). Its popular online website, ajc.com, was free to readers. For broadcasters, metro Atlanta was the ninth largest market in the United States, but competition for time and market share was fierce among the 13 television stations, 91 radio stations, and many cable and satellite offerings across a territory 185 miles wide.

Starting in the mid-1950s, *Newsweek* and *Time* established bureaus in Atlanta to cover the growing civil rights story in the South, and national newspapers soon followed suit. Atlanta was also the base from which the national news media covered the story of economic growth across the South. In time, it became a center for national and international 24-hour cable stations such as the Weather Channel and Ted Turner's array of news and entertainment channels. Turner, starting with a billboard company inherited from his father in the 1960s, repeatedly shattered conventions of the media business with his impish self-confidence. He changed a dying UHF TV station into a satellite-beamed "Superstation" that broadcast the Atlanta Braves, which he bought in 1976. He launched the world's first round-the-clock television news, CNN, in 1980. He bought MGM's studios and film library to provide content for his Turner Classic Movies channel. With other startups such as the Cartoon Network, Turner Network Television, and a Southern-sports channel, Turner's Atlanta-based enterprises merged with Time Warner in 1996.

Atlanta's black population, strengthened by a professional middle-class and the city's complex of five historically black colleges and universities, presented a complicated dynamic for the local press. Conservative black owners of *The Atlanta Daily World*, the only black daily in the country to survive between 1932 and 1956, trained many black journalists but struggled financially. Far more influential during the civil rights era of the 1960s were the *Constitution*'s then-publisher Ralph McGill and editor Gene Patterson, each writing daily columns arguing for decency and justice in race relations. Their columns on civil rights were often lyrical, always moral, and instinctively aimed at fellow white Southerners. Both writers worried about getting too far "ahead" of their white readers—or, despite winning Pulitzer Prizes, their corporate bosses. McGill was so worried about this, he held on to a secret offer to write public relations for Coca-Cola should he need another job.

Such uneasiness between Cox corporate management and other talented journalists at the *Journal* and *Constitution* was common. Pay scales were for years well below those of other large metro papers, and the company dealt harshly with staff efforts to organize strong unions. Investigative reporters who won Pulitzer Prizes in 1948 and 1960 at the *Journal* and *Constitution,* respectively, had not been nominated by the papers' managements. Gene Patterson left in a fight with management in 1968, and editor Bill Kovach did the same in 1988. Editorial resources became far more robust starting in the 1980s, but the slow growth, then fall, of circulation forced continual rethinking of the "product." In 2007, employee buy-outs and attrition cut 70 veteran journalists, about 14 percent of the editorial staff, and the news operation was reorganized to reflect a fundamental break with the past. "Digital" and "print" became separate units, and "content-providers" (writers, editors, photographers, and artists) separate from either. With short, 24-hour news updates diverted to online ajc.com, the newspaper was to be a better-written, more local, more aggressive publication for a smaller group of older readers. But even this was sure to change again, for everything changes in Atlanta.

New money, new high-rise buildings, and the accelerating pace of mobile technology made Atlanta the most energized city in the Southeast for new and old media alike. A highly competitive market for advertising dollars and audience put every local medium into play—cable and broadcast

television, radio, the Internet, and newspapers. How to make money from news in such a sprawling, too-busy city became increasingly problematic, but the trend in Atlanta around the turn of the current century was toward hyper-local coverage and a diversity of voices.

Doug Cumming

See also Cable News; Civil Unrest, Coverage of

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Attacks on Journalists

See Violence Against Journalists

Audience

Three important generalizations can be made about the collective entity known as "the audience." First, in journalism, the audience is *sine qua non*: the audience is king. Second, despite its primacy, the defining characteristic of the mass media audience is its uncertainty, unpredictability, and "unknowability"; indeed, the very notion of "the audience" is elastic. Third, in contemporary journalism, the audience is changing at a pace surpassing that of any prior era, as the number of competitors for audience attention has proliferated.

To say that the audience is king begs an extraordinarily important question: In what sense is this true? Is it because democratic theory presumes that the rationale for a free press is informing the public so that it may make reasoned civic judgments? While journalists' sense of their *relationship* with their readers, viewers, and listeners most often conforms to a public service ideal of informing the audience and serving the "watchdog" function as a check on powerful institutions (most especially government), that sense of social responsibility increasingly is not shared by media owners and managers. For example, declines in audience size are used to justify the pruning of news staffs. Is the audience king because it directly or indirectly provides the economic support sustaining news media? In most of the world, the economic basis for news media is advertiser support, coupled, for print media, with subscription or circulation support. Thus news media attract audiences to collect revenue either directly from subscriptions or indirectly from advertisers' payments to reach the eyes and ears of that audience.

Origins

The concept of the audience is as old as theorizing about communication; indeed, Aristotle's rhetoric with its emphasis on the *pathos* or impact on the intended audience, was a first effort at establishing its primacy in the West. But the audience for mass media in general and journalism in particular is at great remove from the living, breathing, present and public audience of ancient Greece. For much of human history, "the audience" was aural, and the word itself derives from the Latin *audire,* to hear. Assembled audiences were necessarily ephemeral, active, and interactive.

While such audiences continue to exist, the dominant characterization of audience was shaped first by the technology of writing, amplified by that of printing, and then transformed by newer technologies of electronic communication.

Writing and then printing fundamentally altered the nature of communication, from being spontaneous and transitory to being fixed; the nature of the communicative relationship from taking place solely between speakers and listeners to also involving writers and readers; and the nature of modes of reception from essentially public and social to *primarily* private and individual. As part of that process, the relationship between message producer and receiver changes fundamentally. The audience becomes separated in time and space from the producer; it is literally anonymous and unknown to that producer (and much of the time, elements of the audience are likewise unknown to each other), and whatever feedback is available to the producer is delayed, fragmentary, and, in the modern era, industrialized and institutionalized, through, for example, audience research.

Moreover, the emergence of the true mass audience in the nineteenth century with the advent of the penny press is accompanied by the emergence of mass marketing and advertising, by the coming of industrialization, urbanization, commercialization, and modernism. The development of modern mass media up to the age of television gives rise to a very media-centric desire to "know the audience," to build it as a commercial base, and to regulate its attention; at the same time, critics of media performance domestically and from other normative systems of regulation press for attention to the audience's needs and rights. More recently, economic and technological changes have led to the fragmentation of news and other mass media audiences, giving rise to other urgent concerns over maintaining existing audiences and meeting the needs of new ones. Critical here is the idea that, especially compared with the "classical" audience, the mass media audience cannot be "known" in any way: predictions about what an audience will want, will buy, and will read can be made with varying degrees of accuracy, and assessments of what media sources that audience has liked, been moved by, or learned from are likewise murky.

Theorizing about the mass media audience generally begins with the proposition that a defining characteristic of such media is that the "actual" audience is remote, atomized (members are physically separated and unknown to each other), and unknown to the mass communicator, and feedback from that audience is slight, partial, and structured.

In discussing the mass media audience, its existence as an ineffable and remote abstraction is usually taken as its defining characteristic. Media theorist Martin Allor has noted that "the audience" really exists only as an analytic construct and doesn't inhabit any real space. Put slightly more concretely, we can think of the audience in any number of ways—as a *market,* as a *public,* or as *fans,* for example—and we may likewise distinguish between thinking of the audience from an "audience-centered" and a "media-centered" point of view. The former would explore such goals as meeting responsibilities to serve the audience, evaluating press performance from an audience point of view, or exploring contexts of media use. The latter would include measuring audience composition and reach for advertising and marketing reasons, predicting and managing audience choice behaviors, or indexing methods of reaching new audiences. And finally, again cross-cutting prior categories, we may approach the audience *empirically* (how can we describe, define, measure, or predict it?) and *normatively* (how should it be served?). Media sociologist Denis McQuail has noted:

> An audience can…thus be defined in different and overlapping ways: by *place* (as in the case of local media); by *people* (as when a medium is characterized by an appeal to a certain age group, gender, political belief or income category); by the particular type of *medium* or *channel* involved (technology and organization combined); by the *content* of its messages (genres, subject matter, styles); by *time* (as when one speaks of the "daytime" or "primetime" audience, or an audience that is fleeting and short term compared with one that endures).

Further, citing Virginia Nightingale (2003), McQuail notes a more audience-centric typology of (a) *audience as "the people assembled,"* focusing attention on the aggregation of spectators or readers of a given performance or product; (b) *audience as "the people addressed,"* referring to the imagined characteristics—including wants, needs, capacities, and perhaps weaknesses of an audience—sometimes called the "inscribed," "interpellated," or

imagined audience; (c) *audience as "happening,"* focusing on the experience of reception of an audience member alone or in the company of others; and (d) *audience as "hearing" or "audition,"* focusing attention on the participatory audience experience; this notion has particular relevance for newer interactive forms of online journalism.

The Journalists' Audience

As noted earlier, journalists frequently cite service to the audience as primary values; the most respected survey of U.S. journalists, repeated about every ten years over the past three decades, *The American Journalist in the 21st Century,* has consistently found journalists' agreeing most uniformly to two value propositions—that journalism's primary responsibilities are to *investigate government claims* and to *get information to the public quickly*. Both value statements adhere to the venerable notion of the "public's right to know" and the journalists' insistence that theirs is a public service craft or profession. They believe, in short, that the audience and the public are one and the same.

At the same time, a recurrent theme in journalism studies is that journalists' "imagined audiences" are at best hazy. A classic study of BBC journalists argued that, lacking any concrete evidence about audience composition, interests, and tastes, communicators relied on a paternalistic set of professional attitudes about what sorts of programming audiences *needed*. Herbert Gans's (1979) observation of elite journalists at national newsmagazines and network evening newscasts found both that they paid scant attention to, and showed decided lack of interest in, the business and financial side of their firms and that they were likewise uninterested in their audiences, about which they knew next to nothing. (Famously, television newsmen with whom he talked had no idea that half their audiences were age 60 or older.) Gans noted that these journalists, lacking concern for what audiences learned from their news or what coverage they cared about, were themselves unconcerned, since their "interpellated audiences" were their colleagues and superiors in the newsroom and their competitive peers. Other research on journalists' notions of their audience in the 1980s and 1990s confirmed that their ideas about its composition and taste were frequently drawn from relatively rare examples of feedback—which they frequently acknowledge as being unrepresentative—and from encounters with friends and family. Such imagined audiences led journalists to invoke both professional norms and "rules of thumb" for production practices that may diverge significantly from empirical reality.

Radical changes affecting newsrooms in the past 15 years, including far more widely diffused readership and market research, have changed matters. Most journalists today have at least passing knowledge of the basic demographics of their audience, and increasingly managers call attention to the most popular items from daily newspaper and television websites as measured by page views and most popular emailed and blogged items. We return to this conflict below.

Other Imagined Audiences

The idea that what one believes about the audience is of great importance is significant not just for journalists and other mass communicators but also for regulators and for the audience itself. In an intriguing argument, researchers James Webster and Patricia Phalen have argued that the imagined audience that Federal Communications Commissioners invoke in governing broadcast media makes a great difference in the sorts of regulations they enact. When approaching the "audience as victim"—that is, that broadcasters have the capacity to harm the audience, particularly the most vulnerable segments within it such as children—regulation is likely to be punitive and proscriptive: Punishing indecency is a prominent example, but the commission may under this model also promote regulation if it believes licensees are not living up to public service ideals. However, since the 1990s, commissioners have concurrently, but far more often, invoked a "marketplace" or "consumer" model which assumes audience members are able to make rational, informed program choices; it enacts laissez-faire regulations or deregulates to "let the market decide" what sort of content is available. Finally, the FCC may instead invoke a "commodity" model which wholly depersonalizes the audience and treats it as a "coin of exchange" to be bought, sold, or bartered; in this mode, the FCC considers only whether competitors are fairly buying and selling the economic

commodity value the audience represents. A second stream of inquiry under the general notion of "third person effects" argues that a principal way that media, and especially news media, influence the audience is indirectly: A message may not be seen by individuals as having any influence on them personally (a "first-person" effect), or on others seen to be like them (friends, family, and others in a comparable social group; a "second-person" effect). The message may have a profound indirect effect if an audience believes *other* "third persons" are somehow likely to be influenced by the message. Unsubstantiated rumors on a political website might have impact on us, for example, not because the reader believes them but because he or she believes that politically less sophisticated persons would.

The Audience as Aggregate

If the audience is "the people assembled," we can give attention to measuring the size and scope and characteristics of any audience, and audience research does just this. Although entries in this section note declines in the audience for "mass news" on network television and in daily newspapers, the aggregated audiences for media delivering news are huge, and the introduction of new media capable of delivering news continues to make them so. Data and estimates from the Census Bureau's *Statistical Abstract of the United States 2008* showed total annual use of all media growing from 3,543 hours per year in 2005 (about 9.7 hours per day) to an estimated 3,620 hours (9.9 hours per day) in 2010. Clearly not all this media use involves news and information, but the data bring into vivid relief the idea that media use in general occupies more time than any waking activity: an "average" person working 40 hours per week, 50 weeks per year would spend almost one and a half times as much time attending to media. However, just 184 of 2007's 3,620 hours of media attention went to newspapers, a number expected to drop to 165 hours by 2010. Data from other census tables show, too, that aggregate news and media use varies by demographic categories as well. For example, age is related to use of most media, with younger persons slightly less likely to use television and much less likely to use newspapers, and the oldest age cohorts somewhat less likely to listen to radio and much less likely to access the Internet; gender is only very modestly related to attention to television, cable, radio, newspaper, or Internet use. Likewise, education is unrelated to television viewership but less-well-educated individuals are less likely to view cable television or listen to radio and considerably less likely to read newspapers or use the web, a pattern consistent with income distributions as well.

Audience as Market

Much of the news media's concern with audience is understandably economic: in the United States and much of the rest of the world, the audience contributes directly to the support of newspapers, newsmagazines, and other print media through subscriptions and direct purchases and indirectly to these media as well as to broadcast and cable media and Internet sites through advertising sales. Advertising billings to all media in 2008 were estimated at $285 billion, with just over half of that going to media, including the Internet, that carry journalistic content. The audience in virtually every respect is pivotal to the continuing existence of commercial media, and a number of media critics have noted that even noncommercial media must cater to audience wants and desires in ways almost identical to their commercial counterparts, in order to convince corporate and governmental sponsors of their public worth.

Meeting audience wants is in and of itself no criticism of journalism; where journalists become concerned is when (a) catering to audience desires becomes the exclusive concern of a newspaper, magazine, or newscast and (b) where the *arbiters* of audience wishes are not themselves journalists. While ploys to attract, retain, and expand the audience date at least to the nineteenth century, the fragmentation of the news audience, as more news outlets scatter that audience into smaller fractions, coupled with increasing attention by corporate owners to the bottom line, has led to new tactics of attracting audiences, from the development of "infotainment" programming to increased sensationalizing of the news (particularly with regard to crime stories), use of fear-laden teasers, and increasing prevalence of "soft news"—all frequently at the urging of managers and owners unsteeped in the craft of journalism. Here is a conflict of *audience*

values between the business of journalism and its professional counterpart. If Allor is correct that the audience is no more than a rhetorical device to stake out different sorts of claims, there is a clash between the audience as *market* and the audience as *public.*

The Audience as Public

In their examination of a journalism undergoing a critical reexamination of itself in the face of economic, political, technological, and existential challenges, journalistic researchers Bill Kovach and Tom Rosensteil have offered up a series of prescriptions of "what newspeople should know and the public should expect," sometimes dismissed as "journalism for dummies" but likely the best-read book about journalism in the past decade. It opens with a list of ten "elements of journalism," noting that "the primary purpose of journalism is to provide citizens with the information they need to be free and self-governing." Their quick history explicating this idea is consistent with most other Anglo-American histories, emphasizing journalism's *raison d'être,* as embodied in the First Amendment guarantees of free expression, is an unfettered search for truth; the protection of the press from government in this reasoning is primarily if not exclusively to the process of winnowing truth from falsehood so that the public may govern itself.

At the time of the ratification of the U.S. Constitution (1789), the nation's population was a shade under 4 million, and fewer than a hundred newspapers existed, most circulating a few hundred copies or less. "Citizens" at the time were free white males, and in most states, voting required proof of property ownership, but except for those citizens in the remotest rural districts, most of the public would have had some personal relationship with a publisher. The audience-public at the end of the eighteenth century contrasts drastically to the present, when a population of somewhat more than 300 million, virtually all with access to news and information through thousands of sources; most of today's citizens would have only the remotest connection to a publisher, editor, reporter, or producer of news. The imposition of the audience-as-market notion led the late journalism researcher James Carey to remark that we now have "a journalism that justifies itself in the public's name but in which the public plays no role, except as an audience" (cited in Kovach and Rosensteil).

The Audience as Journalist

Kovach and Rosensteil end their list of elements with a notation that "[c]itizens, too, have rights and responsibilities when it comes to the news." Paradoxically, Carey's complaint that the public's role within journalism is limited to that of mere receivers has collapsed, aided and abetted by revolutionary technological advances that potentially make virtually everyone a global publisher; a weblog by virtual unknown renegade journalist Matt Drudge was the first to report a sexual relationship between then-President Bill Clinton and White House intern Monica Lewinsky in 1998; a digital video posted in 2006 on YouTube—a website that did not exist until 2005—in which a U.S. senator running for reelection in Virginia used a racial epithet on an audience member, was widely credited with leading to his loss in the election. In the 2008 presidential primary campaign, an audio recording by a "citizen journalist" of a closed-door fundraiser in which then-Democratic candidate Barack Obama talked about "bitter" rural voters "clinging" to their guns led to several days of mainstream media attention to this issue. This is not to suggest that intrepid freelancers invariably get the facts right: In the aftermath of the 2008 election, bloggers' reports that former vice presidential candidate Sarah Palin thought that Africa was a country, reports that were amplified by attention on cable news programs on Fox and MSNBC, were from a nonexistent "source." Fox, however, stood by its story and did not disclose its veiled source for its version of the story.

New media technologies, then, place the ability to make news in the hands of nonprofessional journalists; for the moment, the three primary impacts of "citizen journalists" are in introducing isolated but newsworthy bits into the information stream for amplification by more mainstream media (MSM); for deconstruction and parsing of what is in MSM accounts; and for the creation of large numbers of blogspots that aggregate the work of individual bloggers and vie for the attention of an increasingly fractionated audience. We have arrived, according to citizen-journalism advocate Jay Rosen, at a new journalism that is in

the hands of "the people formerly known as the audience," and in which the position of the audience is less than clear: Large audiences are shrinking, small audiences are born daily, and the power relationships between the producers of mainstream media and their audiences are shifting ground.

D. Charles Whitney

See also Audience Research; Mass Media, Decline of; Media Accountability Systems; News Audiences, Decline of

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Audience Research

News media are increasingly guided by audience research in making decisions about what stories to cover, to what depth, and in what fashion. Critics argue that "happy talk" infotainment is not really news, but some news executives point to research showing that such programming is exactly what many readers and viewers want.

In his famous "Vast Wasteland" speech of 1961, then–Federal Communications Commission Chair Newton Minow chided broadcasters for providing too much programming that catered to the desires of their audiences, and not enough to inspire and inform. Minow wanted broadcasters to offer programs that would help listeners and viewers become more enlightened citizens. The dichotomy he identified exemplifies a central debate in journalism—should news give people what they want, or what they "need"?

Those who advocate the "want" approach argue that the audience is supreme, and its preferences should drive the content of print and electronic information. Theirs is a marketplace model of news that privileges free expression, and the profitable fulfillment of audience demand. Those

who advocate the "need" approach, on the other hand, base their argument on a social responsibility model of journalism. They view news media as guardians of public knowledge, responsible for meeting informational needs of readers, listeners, and viewers. Both characterizations represent extremes, with multiple variations in between—"ideal" journalism in a democratic society has as many definitions as it does advocates. Regardless of one's preferred definition, however, the goals of news organizations and journalists are tested through research on the news audience—which makes an understanding of audience research methods and interpretations central to evaluating the performance of news media.

News audience research, whether for print, broadcast, or Internet media, takes many forms and serves a broad range of interests. Advertisers want to know who is exposed to their messages in ad-supported media. In fact, the development of research on news audiences in the United States can only be understood in the context of the commercial nature of American mass media. Research methods were developed to supply advertisers with the information they needed to sell products; but the same information is used by others to evaluate the quality and influence of news. Some research on news audiences is syndicated, meaning it is available to anyone who pays a subscription fee; some is proprietary, conducted by organizations only for their own purposes. Academic research may be available to the public, or may be conducted to support the work of an individual or organization.

Development of Research Methods

Virtually any social science research method can be applied to the study of news audiences. Surveys assess which news stories interest viewers and readers. Effects studies using experiments and quasi-experiments measure changes in attitudes or opinions based on the content or format of news. Interviews with news consumers (focus groups) determine which elements of news programs or articles "work" and which do not. Research studies may provide anything from relatively straightforward estimates of the number and demographic characteristics of audience members, to measures of psychological, behavioral, and geo-demographic patterns used to predict economic or political choices. But they all have one thing in common: they describe the audience for some type of news media content so the "success" of that content can be evaluated.

The simplest measurements of news audiences were implemented with the growth of newspapers in the early twentieth century. As advertising revenue became an important means of financial support, publishers had to provide information about the people who were most likely to see the ads. The readership of newspapers and magazines is relatively straightforward to measure and report, simply because customers pay for copies of publications. Publishers can combine billing information with data on single-issue sales to generate "circulation" numbers that tell advertisers who is buying (and thus presumably reading) a paper or magazine. Once publishers and advertisers agreed on a mutually acceptable way to calculate "circulation," that statistic became the basis for setting advertising space rates.

The next hurdle the industry faced was overcoming a transaction cost problem—the potential for cheating. Publishers had an incentive to inflate their circulation numbers to command higher prices in the ad market. After a few false starts, industry organizations found a workable solution to this threat. In 1914 they formed an organization to conduct reliable and unbiased verification of circulation estimates: the Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC). Today ABC provides the same service for which it was founded—auditing member publications to ensure fair negotiations with advertisers. Its board of directors includes representatives from among advertisers, publishers, and advertising agencies in order to ensure fair treatment of all categories of trading partners. Audited circulation numbers can be compared across publications to find out which readers gravitate toward which kinds of news content.

The basic information conveyed by circulation figures has been expanded over the years through different types of research. Some studies have been done by industry associations on behalf of member publications; others have been performed by individual publishing organizations or the third-party research services they hire. One of the earliest readership reports, "So They Don't Read the Ads?" used consumer-interview data gathered by media industry researcher C. E. Hooper in the

1940s. Publishers used the information he provided to convince advertisers that newspaper readers paid close attention to all types of content. This report paved the way for an industry-wide study, commissioned by the Bureau of Advertising, which sent researchers door to door in Rochester, New York, and Louisville, Kentucky, to elicit information on reading habits. The results were encouraging (and intriguing) enough to prompt investment in an ongoing study, "The Continuing Study of Newspaper Reading." More knowledge about readership led to further studies. Publishers wanted to know which readers spent the most time with different sections of their publications, and they used this information to convince advertisers to place ads more strategically.

The dominance of print news and information was first challenged by radio in the early 1930s. Simple comparisons of readership could no longer capture the news consumption patterns. In fact, the idea of "circulation" became deeply problematic because there were no bills to audit—radio news was there for anyone who had a receiver. Thus, neither advertisers nor broadcasters could directly verify an audience.

Broadcast Research

A solution was provided by survey researchers using techniques of quantitative research. They could design representative samples of radio listeners, ask them about their media consumption habits, and use this information not only to estimate the total potential radio audience, but also to further define the groups who listened to news programs. Although stations could employ researchers to conduct their own audience studies, they faced the same problem as the publishers who provided circulation numbers. Advertisers were wary of information generated by the seller of advertising time because radio stations had a strong economic motive to inflate the audience numbers. The answer was to hire third party research organizations that served the entire industry—or at least any player in the industry that paid to subscribe to the research service. Early radio audience researchers, including C. E. Hooper and Archibald Crossley, eventually gave way to larger companies including Nielsen Media Research and Arbitron, which now conduct most of the radio and television audience studies that are used to negotiate advertising prices.

Early radio audience measurement relied on surveys conducted by telephone, in-person, or via paper survey instruments called diaries. As technology developed, researchers used electronic methods, specifically a recording meter inside the receiver, to capture when the radio was in use and what stations were tuned. By the time television became a standard household medium in the early 1950s, these research methods were well developed and accepted by media, advertisers, and the public and were easily adapted for the newer technology. Over time, Nielsen Media Research, Arbitron, and others continued to develop more sophisticated measurements of audience preferences based on their research experience in the broadcast world.

With newer media came new challenges to audience research methodologies. By the end of the twentieth century, television and radio audiences were increasingly fragmented by cable channels, direct broadcast satellite, video recording, and the Internet. Established research companies had to redesign their audience samples to measure use of niche programming services, which had smaller, more highly targeted, audiences than did the large networks. Researchers developed a system of embedded electronic program codes to identify digital video recorder (DVR) playback patterns as more viewers shifted their viewing to times more convenient for busy lifestyles. For the most part, advances in distribution technology required the tweaking of old methods of sampling and measurement. But as the Internet gained momentum in the late 1990s, and audiences began to seek news and information online that they previously acquired through print and broadcast, researchers had to develop means to track a new generation of media consumers.

Internet Research

Internet audience research relies on software programs that record individual choices. The information is collected and sorted by such third party research organizations as Nielsen/NetRatings and comScore Media Metrix, and made available to subscribers. Although the statistics look much the same as those provided to broadcasters, the information collected from Internet users is much more detailed. In fact, the amount of data can be

overwhelming. As newspapers place more content on the web, the recall methods used in early readership studies can be, at least partially, replaced with real-time monitoring of audience behavior. Variables such as article choice and time spent reading or viewing can be captured electronically and tracked in far more detail than was previously possible. These real-time measurements of content choice probably say much more about attention than earlier, post hoc, estimates of reader interest.

Researchers face another challenge: finding ways to measure audiences for increasingly personalized—and mobile—technologies. Viewers and listeners now have much more control over the time and place they choose to consume news and information, and they come in contact with a wide variety of media on a daily basis. The personal diary, which was used effectively for decades to estimate radio and television audiences, is simply too limited to keep track of so many media options. To address this challenge, Arbitron developed the Portable People Meter (PPM), a small device designed to pick up signals from any electronic source of media content. All a sample respondent has to do is carry the PPM; exposure to the media is recorded automatically. Some are skeptical about this technology because (1) it cannot distinguish between signals to which the respondent is actively paying attention and those that are only background noise, and (2) the respondent must remember to keep the PPM with him or her at all times. Even so, many stakeholders see this option as the wave of the future.

Uses and Limitations of Research

As the technologies of measurement have developed, so too has the speed with which decision-makers gain information about the popularity of news content choices. This presents two problems for evaluating content. First, audience research of any kind can be deceptively "accurate." When statistical techniques are used to estimate audiences, there is always a chance of error due to inadequate sampling, poor response rates, and reporting errors. Too often, these errors are ignored in programming decisions. Second, media content needs time to build an audience, especially when hundreds of options are vying for consumer attention. But virtually immediate estimates of audiences, combined with pressure to make decisions quickly, means that some content is not given adequate time to build a following.

Research on print, radio, television, and Internet news serves a number of purposes, depending on who is using the information. Advertisers, news directors, and politicians use the data to find out whether they are reaching the right target for their messages, and whether the effects of these messages vary by medium. Policymakers, lobbyists, and research institutions take advantage of audience research to argue in support of, or against, proposed laws and regulations. Academics and professional analysts ask questions about the contribution of news to political knowledge, citizenship, and the worldviews expressed by news consumers. Psychologists and others are interested in how news audiences of different ages, demographic characteristics, and education levels process media content. Even when these interest groups rely on the same research, they often differ in their interpretation and application of audience data.

Research on news audiences is often conducted by nonprofit groups interested in the health of modern democracy. The Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, for example, generates research on variables including public opinion, news consumption patterns, the effects of news stories, and the public's attitude toward the news. Audience information is also collected in ongoing studies such as those conducted by Roper and Scarborough research organizations. Their surveys question respondents about their news consumption habits so researchers can track changing patterns over time. Some data are made available free of charge to interested parties, but much of the research on audiences is proprietary and either unavailable or available only at some cost to the consumer.

While commercial news organizations use audience information to increase advertising revenues, noncommercial news organizations such as National Public Radio (NPR) and Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) use the data to prove effective public service. The motive might be to show its relevance as a news provider or to justify government, donor, and underwriter support. Pressure for noncommercial media organizations to attract large audiences may be less than for their

commercial counterparts, but the pressure exists nonetheless.

Media organizations' dependence on advertisers has created a continued tension between news professionals and the businesspeople responsible for profit margins. It's a short step from discovering that a particular item of content attracts a large audience to mandating more of that content to increase audiences. The same holds true for specific socioeconomic and demographic groups—if affluent viewers prefer a particular type of news content, why not create more of the same in order to attract audiences that are likely to go out and buy advertised products? But a large or affluent audience does not mean a quality news product, even if it does mean lots of revenue—and professional journalists know the difference. The use of audience research to determine the direction of news and information will continue to fuel this tension.

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See also Audience; Audience Research Companies; Infotainment; Theories of Journalism

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Audience Research Companies

Largely because of advertiser demand for reader, listener, and viewer information, print and electronic media spend millions of dollars each year obtaining those data. They rarely develop the data themselves as that is seen as an obvious conflict of interest. Indeed, in the nineteenth century, newspapers and some magazines routinely inflated their circulation information to impress and attract advertisers. Advertisers want audience figures they can trust and even verify, preferably from independent (nonmedia) sources.

Encouraged by advertisers, newspaper and magazine publishers founded the Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC) in 1914 as the world's first independent media audience measurement source. The ABC would create standard ways of measuring circulation that would allow ready comparison across publications. Fifteen years later, the nascent radio business took the same step, though here advertisers played a more overt role in forming the Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting (CAB). Getting data on radio listeners was harder because tuning in was ephemeral—there was nothing physical (like copies of newspapers) to measure. Indeed, how best to research who was listening took years to resolve as different companies tried different methods, and many fundamental questions of sampling and measurement remain controversial to this day.

The audience research companies and services that developed to meet the needs of both advertisers and media have all been independent, meaning they are not owned by media companies or advertisers, the two chief clients for their products. Many of these firms (A. C. Nielsen is a prime example) provide extensive marketing research with media "ratings" merely being one part of their corporate mix. Each company faces the same central problem—how to conduct the best possible research at the lowest possible cost. Commercial audience research is the result of a compromise between these two conflicting goals. Determining the absolute numbers of readers or viewers for any given medium would cost far more than any client could afford. Instead, media audience research must rely on a "good enough" standard balancing the expense of obtaining and publishing the information with what customers are willing to pay for that information.

Described here are the more important organizations (most of them commercial companies), past and present, that have researched audiences

for print, radio, television, and (eventually) newer news media. Each company tended to specialize in how it sampled and measured audiences (these methods are described elsewhere), and usually focused on print or electronic media.

Pioneering Research Firms

Early commercial media audience research organizations (arbitrarily defined as those formed before 1960) are arranged here in approximate chronological order by their date of formation. While many are no longer in operation, some of the most important names in the current audience research business appeared early on.

Audit Bureau of Circulations (1914–Present)

ABC (http://www.accessabc.com) has for nearly a century monitored the circulation of newspapers and both consumer and business (trade) magazines in the United States. It was the world's first such circulation-auditing agency, designed to provide a trusted standard measure of how many copies of periodicals are published and distributed. A nonprofit organization based since 1980 in Schaumburg (outside of Chicago) Illinois, ABC is funded by dues and service fees paid by the three groups it serves: advertisers, advertising agencies, and publishers. As of mid-2008, ABC was serving 863 daily and 250 weekly newspapers, 800 consumer magazines, 213 business and 23 farm publications, more than 415 advertisers, and nearly 700 ad agencies. In recent years, ABC has expanded its reports to include Internet-based use of print publications, thus providing a fuller picture of their audiences.

Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting (1930–46)

The Crossley Business Research Company conducted its first interview-based studies of radio advertising in 1927 and again two years later. Company president Archibald Crossley suggested to the Association of National Advertisers that his method (of telephone interviews) to determine who was listening be established on a regular basis and with broad advertiser support, the CAB began in March 1930 to provide monthly reports on audiences for sponsored (advertiser-supported) network radio programs. By 1937, both NBC and CBS were helping support the effort, known to the public as the Crossley ratings. Telephone calls were placed to households in some 30 cities, asking people to recall what they had listened to over the previous several hours. CAB ratings were widely trusted by the advertising community but in the face of competition declined in use during World War II and the firm was purchased by Hooper.

C. E. Hooper (1934–71)

C. E. Hooper was another source of radio network program ratings, issuing regular "Hooperatings" to subscribers. Formed by Claude E. Hooper and a partner (who left in 1938), the company used a different research method than the CAB, asking in its telephone interviews what program respondents were listening to at the time of (coincidental to) the call. Early results suggested, among other things, that people were least likely to remember news broadcasts. Because Hooper actively popularized his ratings service and their results (such as the top ten network programs), they became better known and more widely used than those of the CAB, which Hooper purchased after World War II. As television began to expand, however, Hooper sold his national broadcast rating service to A. C. Nielsen in 1950, and died four years later in a boating accident. Hooper gathering of local daytime radio ratings (alternated with local television watching information) continued for another two decades before the firm, unable to adequately measure out-of-home or late night listening—both very important in radio—was sold in 1969, becoming Starch-INRA-Hooper. Its television ratings stopped appearing two years later.

A. C. Nielsen (1936–Present)

A. C. Nielsen (http://www.nielsen.com) began as a product testing and market research firm in 1923, providing surveys to consumer drug and other companies. After purchasing the key patents for and pursuing further experimentation with automatic meter devices installed in radio receivers beginning in 1936, it first offered its commercial Nielsen Radio Index service in 1942. Nielsen purchased the Hooper radio and television ratings surveys in 1950 and expanded its Nielsen Television Index network meter operations into the growing local television

business with its Nielsen Station Index in 1954. A decade later, Nielsen dropped its radio ratings to focus on both local market and national television ratings, a field it has dominated ever since. Nielsen was acquired by Dun & Bradstreet in 1984, and three years later began its "Peoplemeter" service, which provided more demographic information on individual viewers. The Dutch firm VNU took control of Nielsen Media Research in 1999, and the whole company a year later. In recent years, Nielsen has studied how best to measure use of television recording devices and the delayed viewing they allow. Late in 2008, Nielsen announced its return to the measurement of radio audiences (using written diaries) after Arbitron faced continuing problems with its PPM service.

The Pulse (1941–78)

The Pulse was founded by psychologist Sydney Roslow in New York and assessed radio (and later television) audiences using personal interviews. Its interviewers visited a cross section of homes in New York City, and soon expanded to 64 markets. They aided listener (and later viewer) memories by displaying a program schedule for that day and the previous one, asking what programs anyone in the household had seen or heard. Every tenth interview was checked by a follow-up letter to the family. For a time, The Pulse was the largest local radio research service, measuring listening in nearly 250 markets. The company began television research in 1949 (as Tele-Pulse). By the mid-1950s, for the average half-hour nighttime television network program, The Pulse based its rating on some 7,000 interviews in 70 markets, assembling a national rating from its local surveys, and claiming the largest sample among firms then providing television audience ratings. But competition from Nielsen and others forced it to leave that field in 1958.

Taylor Nelson Sofres (TNS) (1946–Present)

TNS (http://www.tnsglobal.com) began as the National Family Opinion public opinion polling company. During the 1960s, the company expanded globally, forming Intersearch (1960), AGB in Britain (1962), Sofres in France (1963), Frank Small Associates in Australia (1964), and Taylor Nelson in Britain (1965). Over time these consolidated to form, by 1997, the present TNS. Media audience measurements are among many marketing services the firm provides.

American Research Bureau (ARB) (1949–Present)

ARB/Arbitron (http://www.arbitron.com/home/content.stm) was founded by James Seiler, research director for an NBC radio station, who sought to measure individual rather than household listening. ARB developed the use of written one- or two-week "diaries" of respondent listening and viewing, and in 1957, a receiver meter to provide overnight ratings from New York area viewers. In 1961, ARB was taken over by the Committee for Economic and Industrial Research (CEIR), which despite its name was a commercial research company. CEIR dismissed Seiler in 1964 and most of ARB's management joined him at his new Media Statistics Inc. Control Data Corp. bought the then-struggling ARM in 1967. The name of ARB's meter-based audience survey, Arbitron, became the name of the company in 1973. The firm has since become the primary source of radio station ratings, having left the television market to Nielsen after 1992, after a failed attempt to introduce its "ScanAmerica" peoplemeter service. By 2008–9 its Portable People Meter (PPM) service was being rolled out for radio measurement, though to considerable controversy over its sample and methods, as initial results often ranked stations very differently than had more traditional diary methods.

Sindlinger & Co. (1948–Present)

Albert E. Sindlinger built a radio research business based on recall-based interviews with individual listeners, rather than focusing on households. From his start with national polling in 1955 (as one of the pioneers determining levels of "consumer confidence"), he began offering data on radio network listening in 1962, using recall telephone interviewing techniques pioneered by the CAB. Until 1967, this was the only radio network ratings service. Building on their radio research, the company attempted a national television ratings service in 1961, but dropped it a year later. Sindlinger focused largely on custom market-level research based on continuing interviews with sample households.

Videodex (1949–58)

Videodex used a diary system to report television audiences. It issued a monthly *National TV Rating Report* based on a larger sample than any other service at the time, and for a while provided more local market ratings (and more frequently) than did other services.

Trendex (1950–61)

Trendex used the telephone interview method pioneered for radio by Hooper. To spot-check viewing while the television receiver was on, the company assigned phoning to 400 women who called from their homes in 15 major cities in which all three networks competed. Results for each program were based on about a thousand completed calls. The interviewers used a set list of questions and a pattern for randomly selecting phone numbers. Not a national survey, a true sample nor even a gauge of audience size, Trendex provided an index of relative program popularity in the 15 cities, reporting its results overnight (faster than any other ratings firm).

Modern Commercial Research

Modern audience research companies (those formed since 1960) are arranged alphabetically by their corporate name.

AGB Research (1962–Present)

AGB, a British firm (the initials once stood for Audits of Great Britain), began to provide meter-based television ratings to the commercial companies in Britain in 1968, expanding to report on audiences in several other countries, and finally, in 1981, the BBC. Having introduced peoplemeter technology in Europe, in 1982, AGB announced plans to do the same in the United States, beginning with a market test in Boston. Faced with introduction of the Nielsen peoplemeter service, however, it left the U.S. market in 1988. The company is now tied to Nielsen through common ownership.

Birch Radio Ratings (1978–92)

Birch was formed by Tom Birch, and grew to become the largest provider of newspaper audience data and, for a while, the second largest provider (after Arbitron) of radio audience ratings. Using a daily telephone interview to capture prior day listening, Birch was successful in gaining widespread support from radio stations, advertisers, and their agencies. At its peak, Birch conducted over 100,000 monthly telephone interviews, measuring nearly 250 markets in the United States and Canada. The firm was sold in 1987 to Dutch publishing conglomerate VNU (which would later acquire A. C. Nielsen), and merged with VNU's subsidiary Scarborough Research. In December 1992, VNU sold a half interest in Scarborough to Arbitron, which closed down the Birch ratings service.

International Demographics Inc. (1971–Present)

International Demographics (http://www.themediaaudit.com/company.htm) was founded in Texas. Among other services, it provides a syndicated local-market, qualitative-audience survey conducted in over 80 markets and sold as *The Media Audit* to communications business subscribers. These are not the program ratings most people know; rather, they seek to find out why people use media and for what purpose.

iTVX (2001–Present)

iTVX (http://www.itvx.com) was founded by Frank Zazza, a pioneer in the product placement business. The company evaluates the impact (such as consumer recall) of product placements within television drama and other programs. Again, this is not a "ratings" kind of research, but rather focuses on what ads viewers recall—-and why.

Knowledge Networks (1998–Present)

KN (http://www.knowledgenetworks.com/index3.html) was founded by two Stanford University professors to pioneer market and consumer online research. Since the early 1990s, the firm has conducted annual studies (more than 40,000 interviews) designed to understand how consumers approach media, the circumstances that bring them into the audience, and the decisions and behaviors that characterize their use. Issued as *How People Use Media,* this analysis forms the core of the company's media research. Among

other topics, KN provides radio ratings for children 6 to 14 and mothers with children 2 to 11, making it the default source for the demographic. KN took over Statistical Research Inc (SRI) in the early 2000s.

Media Statistics Inc. (1964–84)

MSI was formed by James Seiler after he left Arbitron. After considerable effort, MSI began a 40-market radio and television listening diary service in 1965 after an initial test in New York City. Faced with expanding competition from Arbitron, however, MSI sold its list of ratings subscribers to them in 1967. It moved on to more customized research including its monthly Mediatrend recall questionnaire-based analyses of radio listening covering several major markets. Birch took this over in the early 1980s.

Scarborough Research (1975–Present)

Scarborough (http://www.scarborough.com) was developed as a newspaper measurement researcher and continues to be important in that industry. Its radio ratings service (offered with Birch) was closed in 1992. Scarborough then expanded to include broader media and lifestyle research, regularly surveying by telephone more than 80 markets. Scarborough is a joint partnership with Nielsen and Arbitron, and is a provider of local television, radio, and newspaper qualitative and shopping behavior information, and serves agencies, sports teams and leagues, and outdoor companies.

Statistical Research Inc. (1969–Early 2000s)

SRI was founded by Dr. Gerald Glasser of New York University and former Nielsen researcher Gale Metzger. Among many other media measurement services, SRI developed the sample for the first RADAR (Radio's All Dimension Audience Research) studies of radio network audiences, and after 1972 administered the telephone interview-based surveys as well. An attempted survey of television audiences dubbed SMART (for Systems for Measuring and Reporting Television) was terminated in 1999 for lack of industry support. SRI was taken over by Knowledge Networks in the early 2000s.

Public Broadcasting Research

Two commercial research operations have focused on analyses of audiences for American public radio and television stations.

Audience Research Analysis (1977–Present)

Audience Research Analysis (http://www.aranet.com) was founded by David Giovannoni and is a primary provider of audience research for American public radio stations. Many of its reports are available at the firm's website at no charge. Giovannoni's research suggested, among other findings, that public radio station supporters (those who contribute financially) preferred news and public affairs content over music. Other studies have helped determine the specific appeal of different kinds of National Public Radio programs.

TRAC Media Services (1979–Present)

TRAC (http://www.tracmedia.org) was created by Drs. Judith and David LeRoy and provides analysis of Nielsen ratings research, conducts community surveys, offers programmer and development training seminars, holds "core viewer" forums, and generates public station audience analysis. TRAC has conducted research with the PBS network, PBS stations, and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting on topics as diverse as ethnic public television viewing, station membership and pledge drives, and electronic philanthropy.

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See also Audience; Audience Research; Consultants, News; Foundations, Research Centers, and Institutes

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Audio and Video News Services

An audio or video news service is usually a commercial entity that provides prerecorded sound or video for news media, general business corporations, or (more recently) individuals. In its overall purpose, it somewhat parallels the function of a photo agency. Some entities operate as a part of long-recognized news services (such as the Associated Press or CNN) that make their own reports or footage available, but increasingly, many are independent firms making use of the Internet for inexpensive distribution of both professional and amateur (or "home") audio or video recordings.

Audio and video news services developed as recording and playback technology made them possible. In the Internet era, much of the business lacks a formal structure—there are new companies popping up all the time. Some firms produce video news releases, which are described elsewhere. Others focus on producing "stock" audio or video that can be used as background for station news programs.

Audio News Services

Audio news services appeared as effective means of analog sound recording made them possible. The earliest began in the 1950s as more and better reel-to-reel audio tape recording equipment became available, and as equipment prices dropped. The innovation of audio tape cartridges and cassettes in the 1960s and 1970s made the handling of sound recordings much easier for stations to use. Early automated radio station operations relied on such technology where music and advertisements could be preprogrammed, allowing occasional inserts of live news and other features.

Both United Press International (which was first, in 1958) and the Associated Press initiated audio services to serve their radio station subscribers with recorded hourly newscasts and sound actualities they could insert into their own news. Stations received a daily menu of recorded stories and features from which they could select. For the first time, even "local" radio news from smaller markets could feature a variety of audio features from across the country and around the world. Audio quality was a problem as the news agencies used telephone lines for distribution. AP Radio began in 1974 and became a 24-hour all-news operation two decades later. UPI Audio became the UPI Radio Network with extensive hourly feeds to local stations, but closed in 1999 as the parent agency began to wither.

Government agencies quickly joined what became an expanding audio services bandwagon. Many federal agencies maintain sources of sound bites and scripted reports for news media use (though others can also use them). The U.S. Department of the Interior, to cite one example, provides recordings concerning the national parks, as well as Native Americans. The Department of Education offers recorded reports on all aspects of primary and secondary education. Availability of such audio reports makes their use by broadcast stations more likely.

One type of specialized audio service that dates to the 1930s is the production and distribution of sound effects. While early stations and fledgling networks produced needed sounds in the studio (as in the network *March of Time* series), by the late 1930s, prerecorded sound effects of all types were coming on the market for use by radio journalists and others as needed. Indexed collections of 78-rpm discs provided almost any imaginable sound effect. Most were used in drama—news was more traditionally conceived by most radio broadcasters as using only sounds that might be actually present, and not added later on.

Video News Services

Several factors contributed to the development of video news services, the first of which was technology, as had been the case with audio. News film was the only means of recording images for television for the medium's first decade. It was cumbersome to use and required extensive processing before it could be used on the air. Major news events—such as the coronation of Queen Elizabeth in London in June 1953—were filmed and (in this one case) the film was developed aboard aircraft flying across the Atlantic to Canada. From there, developed pictures were sent to New York for transmission by the networks to their affiliates—all less than a day after the real events. Still, the process was time consuming and costly.

The transformative breakthrough came with video tape recording in 1956. While pricy and cumbersome at first, and thus used only on the network level (including for both the CBS and NBC evening newscasts), video equipment grew both smaller and less expensive. Development and use of time-base correctors and other devices made use of video recordings on the air easier. As news programming (newscasts and documentaries) became widespread, demand by networks and stations for video clips and reports rose. By the 1970s, portable equipment further expanded video use. And in the next decade widespread availability of satellite distribution made transmission of video news and feature material to stations and cable systems almost cost-free.

As with audio recordings, federal departments (and many nonprofit organizations as well as commercial courses) soon provided video as well. The U.S. Department of Defense, for example, became a ready source for video clips and often complete narrated reports on weapons of land, sea, and air.

Developing Online Services

Just as technology had made earlier audio and video news services possible, development of the commercial Internet in the mid-1990s soon suggested new options. Audio was used first in an era of narrowband connections and limited capacity. Many organizational websites soon offered archives of audio news and related clips, chiefly for news media, but often available to anyone.

Adding broadband capabilities by the 2000s opened up the ability to speedily syndicate video to news media as well as individual consumers. Facebook and other popular networking websites soon flooded over with news clips. Advertisers, eager to reach a global audience, snapped up options to purchase space on such websites, which provided free consumer access.

Broadband distribution further blurred the one-time division between traditional journalism and wider civic participation and sharing of news. Such widespread distribution naturally raised questions of copyright. Websites made clear that material was copyrighted and placed limits on how it could be used (beyond individual viewing on personal computers or laptops).

MSN Video was by the mid-2000s the largest video-only streaming service on the web, offering 41 channels of content updated many times each day. In addition to streaming an average of 66 million news, entertainment, and sports video clips per month from more than 45 content partners, MSN Video provided an array of live events. Advertiser supported, MSN Video is available to consumers at no charge and is available in the United States, Canada, Japan, and Australia; and in beta testing in the United Kingdom.

Announced late in 2005, the Associate Press's Online Video Network (OVN) was launched early in 2006 and by mid-2007 was reaching 61 million unduplicated visitors and serving over 1,800 radio and television affiliates (it began with less than 500). Using a Microsoft Network local video contribution option, OVN affiliates can use their own content to combine AP breaking news video with national advertising. Also by mid-2007 OVN was providing some 40 video clips per day covering national, international, technology, business, and entertainment news. At about the same time, CNN.com launched its own broadband video news service and the other cable and broadcast networks were soon active as well.

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See also Advertorials; Associated Press; Copyright; Digital Sound; Digital Television; Ethics; Feature Syndicates; Hard Versus Soft News; Infotainment; Photo Agencies; Podcasting; Recording; Sound Bites; Spin; Streaming Media; United Press International; Video News Releases

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AUSTRALIA

Australia falls very much within the traditions of Anglo-American journalism. Historically the strongest influences were British, inheriting a mixed model of public and private broadcasting and a strong but not constitutionally protected tradition of press freedom. Australia's smaller market and concentrated media ownership have sometimes inhibited more diverse offerings. Today it shares with other advanced liberal democracies a trend toward ever larger media organizations, and a multitude of challenges with technological changes, an expansion of many parajournalistic genres and fragmenting audiences.

Colonial Period

European settlement began in Australia with the founding of the penal colony at Sydney Cove in 1788, and a printing press was carried aboard the first fleet. However, it was not until 1803 that the first newspaper, the *Sydney Gazette,* began rather inauspiciously as a government-licensed publication carrying officially sanctioned information. By the 1820s there were several independent, competing newspapers, taking up the rights of emancipated convicts and free settlers, and the principle of press liberty was officially recognized and observed. Fierce conflicts with officialdom soon arose, with some journalists being jailed and some papers charged with sedition. When the conflicts abated, however, the principles of independent journalism with rights at least equal to those in the colonial power, Britain, prevailed.

The bulk of the newspapers formed in this period were very small operations run by a publisher/editor with minimal supporting staff. Representative self-government came to the colonies from the 1850s. As gold rushes and agricultural development transformed the colonies' economies, the move toward federation and a growing sense of Australian nationalism gathered increasing impetus. The press was responsive to these political currents. Its role in the major cities became more politically important and their editorial attitudes more varied and strongly stated.

The outstanding figure of Australian journalism from the mid-nineteenth century was David Syme, editor and publisher of the *Age* in Melbourne and a strong voice for federation and also for tariff protection to allow the infant country's industries to grow. Meanwhile the major Sydney paper, the *Sydney Morning Herald,* was more conservative, favoring free trade, and less enthusiastic about moves toward severing ties with mother Britain. Nevertheless the mainstream metropolitan press was unanimous in its sense of hope and patriotism for the new nation in 1901.

The Murdochs

From the 1920s, the most powerful figure in Australian journalism was Sir Keith Murdoch, father of contemporary global media magnate Rupert Murdoch. Murdoch senior had become famous and an intimate of political leaders and press barons as a result of his disclosures about the disasters of the 1915 Gallipolli campaign in World War I. After the war, he pioneered English tabloid techniques in Australia. Indeed he was nicknamed Southcliffe, the antipodean version of Britain's famous tabloid press baron, Lord Northcliffe, with whom he had a close personal association.

At least as important as his journalistic innovations was that Murdoch was a leader in the consolidation of Australian press ownership. In the 1930s, the Great Depression brought the collapse of many papers, and most of the survivors were under financial stress. This facilitated Murdoch's task. By his death in the early 1950s, the company of which he was chief executive officer (but not the major shareholder, much to the chagrin of his son Rupert, for whom keeping family control of his company became an abiding preoccupation) had a central presence in all Australian state capitals except Sydney.

Such concentration has made Australian media proprietors very important in the development of journalism, probably even more so than in other democracies. The trend toward concentration was further enhanced when television started in 1956 because ownership of the commercial channels was dominated by newspaper proprietors, the biggest of whom were also active in radio and magazines.

Television and Competition

The 1960s was a time of ferment in Australian journalism. Television had opened up new possibilities, even though in the early days the primitive technology imposed great logistical constraints. Later, a combination of legislative and technological changes, and the emergence of public affairs programs, made radio a more dynamic medium for news. The better use of the telephone and tape recorder allowed more actuality reporting and for the first time reporters' voices, rather than just announcers' voices, became part of radio journalism.

Moreover, the greater competition in speed and audience reach from broadcasting as well as internal developments prompted considerable movement in the press. Overall there has been great stability in Australian metropolitan morning newspaper titles. The majority of today's papers had their origins in the nineteenth century, but the three most recent surviving daily titles all were born in the first half of the 1960s. Two existing titles became daily—the business newspaper, the *Australian Financial Review,* and the national capital's *Canberra Times*. Most importantly Rupert Murdoch founded a national newspaper, *The Australian,* in 1964. These ventures set off competition for good journalists, especially among the quality newspapers, changing the balance of power somewhat between the better known journalists and their proprietors. Bylines became more common, as did political columns, which started to probe more deeply behind the political facades.

Era of Crisis

The greater vigor in journalism that these changes brought was reinforced by a period of political change. The reign of Australia's longest-serving Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies, came to an end in 1966. His dominance of the political environment—the relative one-sidedness of the electoral competition, the stability inside his conservative government, the economic growth and rising prosperity, and not least his close relationship with the major press proprietors—allowed him to achieve news coverage and editorial commentary largely supportive of his government. As divisions appeared among his successors, and the electoral initiative passed to the Labor Party, a new generation of reporters in the Federal Parliamentary Press Gallery also came to the fore, many of them university graduates, more vigorous and competitive and with more contemporary outlooks than the generation they were displacing.

Once television became established, and newspaper competition stabilized, Australian media ownership was for some decades marked by stable and entrenched oligopoly. Four companies dominated the major TV channels, the daily press, and were important players in other media as well. Changes to media policy by the Hawke Labor government in 1987 stimulated a radical transformation of media ownership, but one that in some ways resulted in even more concentration. In less than a year, 12 of the then 19 metropolitan daily newspapers changed owners, three of them twice, while one closed. Eleven of the 17 metropolitan television channels changed owners, two of them twice. None of the four companies that had dominated Australian television in November 1986 was still involved a year later. All had sold out at a handsome profit, as new aspirants, thinking this would be the last opportunity to buy into television, laid out vast amounts of money. But the debts they incurred were too great and within a few years all had to exit the medium.

In the 1990s, television stabilized and returned to its traditionally high profit levels. However, it is arguable that the financial crisis changed industry attitudes toward journalism. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s television journalists had had a very tangible sense of improvement in their work. This stemmed most obviously from technological developments. Color TV had come to Australia in 1974, and daily satellite transmission soon after. There was an increasing capacity for "live crosses" to outside locations, and the introduction of ENG (Electronic News Gathering) made gathering film

easier and the editing of it much quicker. As a result TV news could cover stories closer to their deadline, could cover stories from a much wider range of locations, and could edit more elaborately—with the result that although each sound bite became shorter, the number and variety of them in each story increased greatly. At the time also television schedulers thought that capturing audiences for the prime time news, which often began adults' viewing for the evening, was a key to ratings success more generally, and so for reasons of both prestige and strategy were prepared to invest in their news programs. However, the shake-out in ownership following the debt crises changed these attitudes, and—in journalists' parlance—the accountants and marketers became more dominant, making for more financial stringency and for the commercial networks to move "down market" in their news priorities.

Journalists in Contemporary Australia

The financially straitened state of the media industry was a factor weakening journalists' power in the early 1990s, especially given the large loss of jobs, for example, with all Australia's afternoon newspapers going out of business within a few years of each other. Although the Australian Journalists Association (AJA), later to become incorporated in the Media Entertainment and Arts Alliance (MEAA) as many trade unions amalgamated in the 1980s to maintain their strength, was one of Australia's first white collar unions, its bargaining strength has always been limited. To some extent there has been a buyer's market. Both the narrowness of ownership and the limited outlets in any city limited job mobility. Moreover, to some degree the individualism of journalists and the variety of their career routes also limited the capacity for collective action. Just as Walter Lippmann described journalism in America as a refuge for the vaguely talented, in Australia the founder of the AJA, Bert Cook, thought it attracted "that frayed type of somewhat cultured mankind who had fallen to the temptations of the wayside" (quoted in Lloyd 1985). Another major recruitment pool was from the talented upwardly mobile, often individualistic but eager for opportunity and so wishing to please their employer.

Fewer than one in five Australian journalists have had tertiary training in journalism, although journalism schools have been going for more than 40 years. No professional body controls entry. While the traditionally high degree of nepotism has greatly decreased, recruitment processes (and training and induction) are still extremely varied. No association has the power to enforce observance of professional standards. Journalists are employees with no direct relationship with their clients, with whom they interact only as consumers of the larger product to which they contribute. Moreover, as employees they have limited control over their own professional output.

As an occupation Australian journalism is surrounded by apparent contradictions. Although public surveys show it consistently ranks low compared with other occupational groups, it is one of the most sought after careers with typically far more applicants than vacancies. Although difficult to break into, the occupation also has a very high voluntary departure rate. This is despite the fact that from quite early in their careers, journalists may gain a public profile through their bylines in print or their on-air reports in broadcasting. But this upward mobility often plateaus. The high exit rate from journalism is partly because of increased opportunities elsewhere. Cognate occupations, most especially public relations, have grown much faster than mainstream journalism itself, and frequently they offer more pay, more security, and better working conditions. "Push" factors in the nature of journalistic work itself are also pertinent. Many tire of the daily pressure involved in meeting deadlines. What produced an adrenaline surge early in their careers may later just become tiresome and stressful.

While Australia's media entered the 1990s in a battered state, the period since has continued to be a dynamic era of expansion and innovation, stimulated by technological change, globalization, and the seemingly ever-expanding variety of media markets. This dynamism, wedded to changing patterns of employment in the economy generally, has changed many of the assumptions that marked journalistic careers and management practices. At an ever accelerating pace, there have emerged far more individualistic and various career patterns. The capacity of the media to manufacture "stars"

in journalism as well as entertainment gives those individuals much more leverage with potential employers, as well as often of an increasing sense of their own worth as commodities. The increasing number of niches and individual outlets has broadened the talents that are rewarded. The ranks of journalism have become more socially diverse. (The 1970s was the crucial decade for women to break into the occupation in large numbers, and in the time since successive glass ceilings have been broken.)

Genres

As in most other advanced democracies, the forms of journalism are becoming ever more varied. There are increasing numbers of outlets which are somewhat journalistic, but without necessarily having the disciplines and accountability mechanisms ideally associated with its pursuit. Advertising supplements in newspapers and infotainment outlets on television are often tied in ways invisible to the audience with advertising and public relations transactions, and do not necessarily aim at balanced or penetrating accounts. Travel programs, for example, have been described as showing the sun but not the sunburn. The magazine industry, especially perhaps women's magazines, is increasingly linked with public relations exercises, especially involving stories about celebrities, in which any attempt to balance conflicting viewpoints is typically absent.

The Australian journalistic tradition has always been closer to the Anglo-American straight news, objective reporting model than to continental journalism of opinion models. Television was required to be impartial through the licensing system, but more importantly the audiences of the major networks are split down the middle in terms of partisan affiliation, giving them an incentive toward balanced presentations. Nevertheless an increasing number of platforms reward opinion over reporting. As in the United States, there has been a great increase in columns in newspapers, overwhelmingly skewed toward the conservative end of the political spectrum.

Similarly talk radio, especially on commercial stations, has grown enormously and mainly as a vehicle for strongly opinionated presentations, often conducted with a minimum of empirical discipline. Some years ago some of the most famous presenters were found by the Australian Broadcasting Authority to have accepted "cash for comment," but although the cases received intense publicity, their careers continued almost uninterrupted. The most famous figure, John Laws, rather disarmingly told the inquiry he was an entertainer not a journalist, so there was "no hook for ethics" (quoted in Tiffen 2002).

As elsewhere the Internet has seen huge growth in Australia since the mid-1990s, and a large number of people now seek news online. The major providers in Australia are still the established, "brand name" organizations, although some new, smaller businesses have arisen. Australia has not yet seen "bloggers" arise as an important part of the political environment.

With the multichannel environment fragmenting the broadcasting audience, with newspaper circulation in a slow but clear long-term decline, and with advertising, especially classified advertising, moving to other areas, such as the Internet, with the public service broadcasters increasingly squeezed by governments for funds, and with major media proprietors increasingly preoccupied with achieving profit levels, there are increasing issues about how quality journalism will be funded in the future. Even as media channels proliferate, there are questions about who will bear the cost of independent and active reporting, or whether there will be increasing reliance on what official sources and other groups seeking publicity make available.

It would be wrong to jump to dismal conclusions. There was never a golden age of journalism in Australia, and there are many contradictory trends at present. In some ways the information mix is becoming richer, but in others there seem to be fewer checks and balances. The material rewards for successful journalists are greater than ever, but how that success correlates with a professional excellence beyond immediate market forces is increasingly problematic. But the many forces for change suggest that in coming decades Australian journalism will continue to be transformed in both its career structure and social role.

Rodney Tiffen

See also Checkbook Journalism; Pacific Area

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AUTOMATION

In both news gathering and production/distribution, automation can be divided into three separate but parallel aspects. These include newspaper automation of both layout and printing, broadcast automation of studio operations, and more general automation of news writing, editing, and distribution functions across media platforms. Naturally, there has been a progression of convergence among these three aspects of automation as the technologies of printing, broadcasting, and news gathering move several different technologies into common digital platforms. Both journalists and the general public have maintained a neutral view concerning the impact of news automation, praising the efficiency, speed, and control it allows, while remaining guarded about its negative effect on the workforce, the growing reliance on technology, and a continued conglomeration of news outlets into fewer corporations. Most powerfully, news automation has long been a self-reinforcing cycle, with one form of automation leading to the adoption of another.

News automation has had an enormous impact on all forms of news gathering as well as entertainment productions. Automation continues to be a driving force across all electronic media. At one extreme, news automation can be considered a form of "strong" technological determinism, whereby the techniques and technologies used in a process become the driving factors in the content produced. For example, newsroom automation and other technical advantages have made real-time satellite uplinks and downlinks commonplace. Frequent use of several direct satellite connections is now perceived as a necessity for many television newscasts. The ubiquity of the technology begins to control not only the format but also the content of news gathering and production. However, built-in checks and balances, particularly editorial oversight and professional adherence to journalistic and ethical standards, remain a balancing factor in news automation both now and into the future. This balancing of editorial standards with the effects of technology is referred to as "weak" technological determinism, where news automation is one of many social and cultural factors which have pronounced effects on news gathering and production but do not control form and content. Other examples of technological determinism include the addition of complex moving graphics to broadcast journalism, the publication of zoned editions of metropolitan daily newspapers, portable in-field production and editing in radio news, and the expectation of frequent updates and headlines in all news media.

A continuing argument regarding news automation is that it inherently created the 24-hour news cycle. This would be an example of strong technological determinism, stating that the technological advances in journalism drove the society that produced them to find newsworthy events more frequently in order to create content for ubiquitous news media. The counter argument in favor of weak technological determinism is that as societies

grow larger and more sophisticated they create both more information and the technological means for easy gathering and mass distribution of this information. However, both arguments agree that there is an expectation by both society and professional journalists for speed as well as accuracy in news gathering that did not exist before industrial automation.

Automation in Print Media

In print journalism, automation of the printing process in turn created the need to automate and streamline the editorial process in order to take full advantage of the opportunities of faster print times. From the late nineteenth through the twentieth century, the process of typesetting, printing, and finishing newspapers and magazines was increasingly mechanized. This process began with the labor-intensive procedure that required editorial staff to first arrange, then proof the typesetting placed on the print sheet. With the development of mechanized presses, precision manufacturing, and print-finishing (folding and binding), printers no longer had to feed individual sheets into presses, making creation of larger newspapers—and more of them—fast and fairly inexpensive. As printing times shortened, editorial roles adapted to allow more last minute deadlines and coordinated drop-shipping of finished newspapers. With each technological advance, the trend of shorter and shorter production schedules, driven by commercial competition, continued. The technical evolution of print automation included the linotype, which allowed for faster mechanized typesetting; off-set lithography, which allowed images to be printed from reusable plates; and rotary presses and flexography; which used flexible rubberized or silicone plates that curve as they print their image onto paper rolls. Each of these technological advances allowed for more rapid and increasingly sophisticated typography, higher-quality illustrations and photographs, and faster layout of individual print runs. These physical printing processes were collectively referred to a "hot printing." In the 1940s the process of phototypesetting, or "cold printing," was perfected. It involved making photonegative images of typesetting and illustrations that were then transferred directly to curved silicone plates for printing. Again, this process made page layout faster, necessitating increased automation of editorial oversight.

Each increased degree of automation required fewer workers. The new printing technologies did not require heavy and unwieldy metal type plates, which in turn meant that the physical location of the printing presses could be moved away from the newsroom and layout facilities. The printing and editorial staff became increasingly specialized and removed from each other. Throughout the late twentieth century this process of automation continued to decrease the production time for all printing, allowing for later deadlines and the contraction of the news cycle from several days to just one or even less. With the advent of computer-assisted layout toward the end of the twentieth century, software programs such as PageMaker and Quark XPress pulled the process of layout out of print shops and into the desktop computers of editorial personnel. Simultaneously, wide-scale adoption of word processing software allowed for full workflow automation of print journalism from the reporting and editing stages to layout and printing. Today, this automation has created nearly real-time news cycles, with even newspapers able to respond to last minute events and still achieve widespread and timely distribution.

Automation in News Gathering

The process of automation in news gathering arguably began with the first news pools in the early nineteenth century and continued with the establishment of news agencies in the mid-1800s. News pooling involved an agreement between several newspapers in a metropolitan area to send a single reporter to cover a predictable news story or area, for example, a minor city hall hearing, small press conference, or ship arrivals and departures. Simple reports involving basic facts, and little or no editorial opinion, would be copied and sent to all participating newspapers. This practice evolved into separate news agencies that collected information, press releases, and on-location stories and automated the process by regularly sending the information to subscribing newspapers. Individual reporters and editors could access basic factual information gathered by other on-location reporters not necessarily directly employed by the newspaper (or later broadcast network).

Early news pool and news agency stories and information were gathered by editors and physically posted or filed in newsrooms. News agencies grew in sophistication thanks to the telegraph and undersea cables, which came into use in the 1840s and 1866, respectively. This allowed for dispatch of news agency stories from considerable geographical distance for use in local newspapers. More importantly, the text of a news agency story could be integrated into the local reporter's story. As information arrived in newsrooms faster, the process of story assignment, research, and writing was increasingly automated.

By the mid-twentieth century, news agencies adopted Telex and teleprinter automation technologies, which took advantage of the newer pulse-dial telephony systems to deliver formatted text to multiple terminals. This also allowed reporters to file stories back to newsrooms from remote locations, further speeding and automating the process of news gathering and dissemination. As individual newspapers and broadcast stations adopted computerized word processing, news agency stories could be directly electronically copied into news stories in progress. For stations and networks, production rundowns (an outline of each news production's content) moved from being a physical print-out or paste-board to an electronic document. Editors and multiple reporters could directly collaborate and edit one single news story in the process of preparation while approaching deadlines could be pushed close to broadcast time thanks to broadcast automation.

Broadcast Automation

The rise of radio networks in the 1920s, and television networks three decades later, posed several logistical problems that were resolved by automation. Broadcast journalists and newsroom producers face multiple live events and dozens of playback sources, far tighter broadcast deadlines than traditional newspapers, and the need to standardize the division of labor within broadcast facilities. Early broadcast automation included control of film or video playback machines and switching to and from the network signal using simple electronic pulse control. This automation was standardized using time code for program switching in television network news gathering and distribution. Time code involves assigning each frame of video a sequential number allowing for perfect cuing of sources. The Society for Motion Picture and Television Engineers (SMPTE) sets and maintains the engineering standards for broadcasting. SMPTE time code is the most widely used format for broadcast automation. Networks and television stations adopted a master clock to generate a time code to which all playback and routing devices are synchronized. A central control device, usually the facility's broadcast switcher, can then control live elements and combine them with prerecorded playback.

Proprietary engineering of individual playback devices was slowly replaced with open technical standards that allowed for better integration of equipment. This trend expanded in the 1980s and 1990s to include graphic character generators, TelePrompTers, and robotic cameras. As most video production by the turn of the twenty-first century became digital and "tapeless," all playback devices can utilize an expanded form of open standards referred to as MOS (metal oxide semiconductor) technology. This ensures that all equipment will be compatible with all software, a change from earlier engineering systems, which were still split into production automation (such as the BASYS system for tape control), and work flow automation (such as scheduling software). (MOS technology should not be confused with the script marking of "M.O.S.," an abbreviation for "minus optical sound" referring to any visual medium used without sound.)

Toward Fully Automated Media

The development of television and later satellite/cable network news operations was greatly aided by expanding automation. Television reporters and producers were able to cover multiple events. The movement toward full news automation allows newswire stories, production rundowns, and finished stories to be acquired, tracked, and loaded from individual reporters and editors into a central computer server for access by all members of the production and engineering teams. Central control of the production process has become "Rundown Based"; every element in a production is linked to a single electronic document that can be viewed by all members of the production team.

Key to this process is the addition of standardized metadata and tags. Metadata are small pieces of information at the beginning (or head) of each digital file of information—scripts, rundowns, visuals, and moving image media that define the individual file based on which news story was created. This metadata allows individual operators to determine if the information is relevant to their particular production or news story. During live broadcasts, directors and technical operators can control all linked machines using one single protocol for moving information. Increasingly the open MOS technology uses XML standards for data control. During automated playback, a master control device can operate all devices, thus reducing the need for personnel. Broadcast automation has made possible the techniques creating interconnected global broadcast news operations. Automation systems also allow for inexpensive backup redundancy, archiving of productions, and a more intuitive graphic user interface that displays information in two-column script format.

Implementation of newsroom automation is capital intensive and has been resisted by some news professionals. Historically, small and mid-sized news-gathering operations first embraced news automation, and leveraged its benefits. Many newspapers and broadcasters adopted automation in phases. The first phase usually involves automation of playback devices (both analog and digital) and cameras. The second automates rundowns and story editing along with newswire services and TelePrompTers. The third phase involves a complete switch to all-digital media and the addition of metadata to all media, stories, and rundowns for control and oversight.

Many news organizations retain a "hybrid automation" system integrating personnel-based control with computer automation. Advocates claim this system allows for greater flexibility and faster reaction to unscripted elements such as breaking news, retains a human element, and allows for faster switching back to full manual control. Editorial objections to full automation include the idea that automation can obscure the difference between subjective reports and objective facts, the continuing problem of verifying multiple sources under tight deadlines, and the contentious idea that news automation weakens the editorial firewall between professional editors and corporate media owners. Many of the objections to full automation of news are being addressed by improved software and digital hardware, and by new generations of "digital natives" comfortable with an all-digital environment working in newsrooms.

Some news automation uses business enterprise software specifically designed for newsroom operations, such as EZ-News and Avid. Consumer software packages such as Adobe InDesign for desktop publishing and open source software such as CampCaster for radio news production bring converging news and broadcast automation within the financial reach of even small news organizations and citizen journalists. Collaboration brought about by news automation has also eroded the concept of single authorship of news stories. While individual field reporters remain, some news gathering organizations have begun to eliminate bylines as a direct outcome of newsroom automation. Paradoxically, some broadcast news has become increasingly "personality driven" as news anchors and reporters now require fewer technical skills in order to create broadcasts.

Continuing Impact and Evolution

Automation continues to converge print and electronic news to the point where historical divisions between them become obscured. Traditional employees in news organizations such as engineers and technical producers have been retrained or phased out. Personnel duties have also converged, as many employees have duties that combine elements of the technical, editorial, and creative. RSS feeds and news aggregators—automated computer software that collects news stories and has begun to assemble "news front pages"—are increasingly taking on the traditional function of assistant editors, who worked as background researchers. Archiving of news stories through automation with XML metadata allows for easy later retrieval by both news personnel and their audiences through ubiquitous websites. The tight deadline and scoop-based journalism that characterize the 24-hour news cycle are arguably a direct result of growing automation and greater connectivity. News aggregators and RSS feeds will likely continue this trend in the future with the audience automating its process of news consumption. Discussions and debates

about technological determinism and other effects of automation will continue as the technology continues to evolve and change and influence editorial practices and methods of news gathering.

William A. Hanff Jr.

See also Computers in Journalism; Convergence; Editing, Online and Digital; Electronic News Gathering; Graphics; Layout; News Aggregators; Newspaper Design; Press Pools; Printing; Telegraph; Teletype; Type and Typography

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B

Baltimore

Baltimore is the largest city in Maryland, its metropolitan area the twentieth largest in the United States. In 2007, the population of Baltimore was 641,000 people to which the suburbs add another 2 million residents. The city is part of the Baltimore-Washington metropolitan region of 8 million people. Once an industrial seaport with an economic base in heavy manufacturing and shipping/transportation, Baltimore's economy has shifted since World War II to the services sector, with the largest employer no longer Bethlehem Steel, but the Johns Hopkins hospital and research center.

Although lying just 40 miles northeast of Washington, D.C., Baltimore is a major media market in itself. With over 400,000 subscribers, the daily *Baltimore Sun* was the country's twenty-seventh largest in 2006. The same year, Baltimore was rated the twenty-fourth television and the twenty-first radio market.

Newspaper Origins

The colonial Maryland General Assembly created the Port of Baltimore in 1706. Due to its sheltered harbor and the relatively easy routes inland, it became an important port for the colonies. After New York City, it was the second city in the colonies to reach a population of 100,000. Baltimore became the second leading port of entry for immigrants during the early 1800s. Until 1860 it was the second largest city in population, only then being surpassed by Philadelphia.

In such a fast-growing city, broadsheets to supply news of Britain and other colonies appeared before the American Revolution, published and posted by local printers on an irregular basis. The best known of these were the competing *Baltimore Advertiser* and *Maryland Journal,* both printed during 1773. Following independence, several short-lived weekly newspapers were founded: the *Palladium of Freedom* (1787), the *Baltimore Evening Post* (1792–93), the *Baltimore Daily Gazette* (1794–95), and the *Baltimore Town and Fell's Point Gazette* (1796–98). In 1798, the *Baltimore Intelligencer,* the first successful newspaper in the city, arose from the collapse of the *Gazette;* under a variety of names, it would be published continuously until 1964 when, as the *Baltimore American,* it would merge with the *Baltimore News-Post* and become the Hearst-owned *Baltimore News-American,* which folded in May 1986. Its demise left the *Baltimore Sun* as the city's sole broad circulation daily newspaper.

Founded by Arunah S. Abell, a journeyman printer from Rhode Island, the *Baltimore Sun* first appeared in May 1837. It consisted of four tabloid-size pages and sold for a penny, in marked contrast to the six-cent daily newspapers then in fashion. The lead story in that first issue dealt with recent actions by the Baltimore City Council, which none of the other half-dozen papers published in the city bothered to report. Over the next few years, Abell created a prototype of the inexpensive, community-focused, impersonal, institutional paper

that today dominates American journalism. The *Sun* was the national leader in innovative news-gathering methods and community journalism through the Civil War. The company was a pioneer in the use of the telegraph (the first line running from Washington to Baltimore brought "News from the Hill" daily), high-speed presses, and underwater cables to maintain contact with overseas bureaus. The *Sun* was the first to use railroads to distribute papers to outlying communities, and among the first to conduct reader service surveys.

A Washington bureau was established by the paper early on. That tradition of focusing on how distant events affected Baltimore residents was demonstrated as the paper augmented the fledgling wire services with its own correspondents. The *Sun* was the first to inform President James Polk (1845–49) of the surrender of the Mexican city of Vera Cruz to American forces, signaling the end of the Mexican War. In 1924, the *Sun* opened its first overseas bureau in London.

The Abell family ran the paper through 1910, after which the A.S. Abell Company held controlling interest until 1986, when the paper was acquired by the Times-Mirror Company. For 85 years there were two editions of the *Sun,* a morning edition (which is still published) and the *Evening Sun,* published from 1910 to 1995. In 2006, the *Baltimore Sun* had approximately 1,500 full- and part-time employees, making it one of the largest businesses in the city.

Modern Press Scene

Besides the *Baltimore Sun* with its traditional coverage, the *Daily Record* provides local business and legal news. In 2006, the *Baltimore Examiner* was launched as a free daily newspaper. Founded in 1977, the *City Paper* is a free, alternative weekly newspaper focused on local issues and events. Ethnic newspapers include the Baltimore edition of the *Afro-American,* the *Catholic Review,* and the *Baltimore Jewish Times*. The *Baltimore Business Journal* and the *Jeffersonian,* published in Baltimore County, are business-oriented weeklies. Over 200 newspapers, periodicals, and journals are published in Baltimore, including numerous medical publications.

For topics and views not normally found in the mainstream newspapers, residents turn to the Baltimore *City Paper,* a controlled circulation weekly founded in 1977. Distributed free at over 1800 locations in the metro area, it is best known to visitors for providing information and reviews on avant-garde clubs, concerts, and restaurants, but it also offers an alternative source of news and opinions on local politics, communities, and culture. Its extensive editorial pages give provocative views on everything from sports to sex to cyberspace to city hall. The paper has even published controversial fiction and poetry unable to find a venue elsewhere. In 2007, the paper's management claimed a readership of over 300,000.

A recent challenger to the *Baltimore Sun* is the *Baltimore Examiner,* launched in 2006 by the Clarity Media Group. Through boxes and home delivery, primarily in affluent neighborhoods, the free paper offers traditional coverage of both national and local news. The company also publishes the *Washington Examiner* and *San Francisco Examiner,* in competition with the established daily newspapers in those cities. The same national and international stories are run in all three, but local offices produce city coverage and advertising. Plans by the paper call for distribution of an eventual 250,000 copies in Baltimore, published Monday through Saturday.

Baltimore has an ethnically diverse population, and a number of nationally influential newspaper evolved to serve specific groups. The *Afro-American* is the oldest family-owned black newspaper in the United States. It was founded in 1892 by former slave John H. Murphy Sr. by merging three local church publications. By 1922, Murphy had increased the paper from a one-page weekly to the most widely circulated black newspaper along the East Coast. Under his son Carl Murphy, who served as its editor for 45 years, the paper rose to national prominence, with editions in Baltimore, Washington, Philadelphia, Richmond, and Newark. The *Afro-American*'s status as a black paper serving black communities endowed it with an authoritarian voice on civil rights, and it took on issues from the Southern Railroad's use of "Jim Crow" cars to a fight to obtain equal pay for Maryland's black schoolteachers. The paper frequently joined the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in legal cases, such as the 1954 lawsuit against the University of Maryland Law School for its segregationist admissions policies.

The paper continues to offer a uniquely African American view of the news, with weekly editions published in Baltimore and Washington.

The *Catholic Review,* founded in 1833 as the *Catholic Mirror,* is Maryland's largest paid weekly newspaper, with 72,000 subscribers in 2006. It offers a Catholic view of national and international events, and serves as the paper of record for the Archdiocese of Baltimore. Edited by lay Catholics since its inception, it has displayed a decidedly liberal stance as well as taking an active role in various social movements. Even in the 1800s, the paper rallied against opposition to mass immigration into the city, called for religious tolerance for other faiths, advocated Catholic outreach to African Americans and Native Americans, and supported public assistance for the poor. Following the second Vatican Council (1962–65), the paper turned to issues such as birth control, liturgical music, and women's roles in the church. In the 1960s the paper was one of the first to support integration, even condemning a Catholic gubernatorial candidate trying to woo the segregation vote.

The *Baltimore Jewish Times* is a weekly newspaper serving the Jewish community, and is one of the most respected publications in the country for readers of that faith. The paper was founded in 1919 by David Alter, and in 1972 editorial direction was taken over by Charles Buerger, Alter's grandson, who expanded the scope of the coverage and the size of the paper; in the 1980s, the paper regularly exceeded 200 pages and claimed 50,000 readers. Although it has declined slightly since its peak, in 2006 weekly issues still averaged 120 pages with a paid circulation of 15,000.

In May 1844, Samuel Morse transmitted a message by telegraph, over wires running from the Supreme Court Chamber in Washington to the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad's "outer depot" in Baltimore. Even before the line was complete, the impact of the telegraph on journalism had been shown to be profound. The previous month Henry Clay had been nominated as the Whig Party's presidential candidate. A report was carried by rail to Annapolis Junction, from which the telegraph then "wired" the news to the capital, where it appeared in newspapers the next day. It was the first news story sent by telegraph.

Broadcasting

The oldest radio station serving Baltimore, WCAO, began broadcasting in May 1922. Having passed through several formats, by 2000 the AM station was broadcasting gospel and evangelical programming, its news programs taking a distinctive Christian perspective in topic and slant. CBS affiliate WHFS began broadcasting in November 1961 in FM (hence the call sign for "Washington High Fidelity Stereo") as the first station in the region to broadcast in stereo. It has passed through various music formats, from classical to contemporary.

WBAL is the best-known news/talk radio station in the area. It began in 1925 as an AM subsidiary of the *Baltimore News American,* owned by the Hearst Corporation. The station took on its all-news format in the 1950s, and employs the largest number of news staff of any station in the state. WBAL and its sister FM station WIYY are the only two stations still run by the Hearst Corporation.

WMAR-FM was launched in 1958 by the Abell Company, owner of the *Baltimore Sun* and WMAR-TV. The station was transformed into "98Rock," celebrating its thirtieth year in that format in March 2007. WJFK and WNST are both sports radio stations. WYPR is the National Public Radio affiliate in the city, carrying content from NPR and the BBC World Service, as well as self-generated programs focused on local affairs. Starting in 1979 as WJHU, owned by John Hopkins University, its programming has expanded over the years to be primarily news/talk during the daytime and classical music overnight.

Radio One Inc. the nation's seventh largest radio broadcasting company, operating 69 stations in 22 American cities, is the largest radio network that primarily targets African American and urban listeners. Founded in 1980 in the Baltimore suburb of Lanham, it produces a number of syndicated news and talk shows, and operates the only nationwide African American talk channel simulcast over multiple stations.

Television began in Baltimore in October 1947 when WMAR-TV began as the eleventh television station in the country. It was launched by the A.S. Abell Company, then publisher of the *Baltimore Sun.* In March 1948, WBAL-TV introduced itself from its downtown studio with an avowed mission of providing the community with superior news

reports. The station was owned by the Hearst Corporation, one of two stations created (rather than purchased) by the company. In the 1950s, the station made its mark with live programming, including *Romper Room,* the first live morning children's variety show and eventually nationally syndicated. Baltimore's third television station was launched in November 1948 as WAAM with presidential election returns. Its studio was the first in the city specifically designed for television news yet it was the only station without ties to a city newspaper. Westinghouse Corporation purchased WAAM in 1957 and renamed it WJZ-TV. WJZ was the first station to hire a full-time consumer reporter, as well as the first station in the city to create an investigative reporting crew. In 1965, Wiley Daniels became the first African American broadcast reporter in Baltimore at WJZ, joined two years later by the first black anchorman Jerry Turner.

In 1959, WMAR, WBAL, and WJZ combined efforts to build the world's first three-antenna "candelabra" tower. The 730-foot tower significantly improved the stations' coverage in the region, even reaching into Pennsylvania and Delaware.

Baltimore has been home to a number of independent television stations, several of which have become affiliates for new networks. In March 1967, WMET-TV signed on as Channel 24, the first UHF in the city and touted as "Baltimore's fourth television news station." A low-budget and low-power sister station to WFAN-TV in Washington, it was owned by United Television; in 1972 both stations ceased broadcasting due to financial difficulties. WBFF-TV began operations in April 1971, Baltimore's second UHF station; it is now a Fox network affiliate.

Maryland Public Television (MPT), established in 1966, is overseen by a governor-appointed commission. Broadcast from several transmitters in the state, MPT shows a number of original news and documentary programs, as well as airing PBS series. It has been a leader in producing news and public affairs programming.

In 2007, seven television stations were broadcasting from Baltimore. These included affiliates of ABC, CBS, NBC, Fox, CW, public television, and the Home Shopping Network. Several services provide access to CNN, ESPN, MSNBC, and other cable networks. In 2007, the 17 Baltimore and nine suburban AM and FM radio stations broadcast programming that included talk radio stations focused on news, sports, or religion, and music stations that ranged from classical to country to contemporary.

Media Notables

A number of important journalists have spent part or all of their careers working in Baltimore. These include H. L. Mencken, Drew Pearson, Louis Rukeyser, Jim McKay, Edmund Duffy, and Oprah Winfrey.

Perhaps the best-known and most influential newsman in Baltimore's history was Henry Louis (H. L.) Mencken (1880–1956), an editor and columnist for the *Baltimore Sun.* Known later in his life as the "Sage of Baltimore," he was born and raised in the city. In 1899, Mencken became a reporter for the Baltimore *Morning Herald,* then joined the staff of the *Baltimore Sun* in 1906, where he remained until his retirement in 1948. In only a few years at the *Sun,* Mencken moved from reporting to writing editorials. His writing was known for its acerbic wit, its crisp style, and the subjects these addressed. Often turning his eye on local and American politics, he was a fierce libertarian before the word came into common usage. By the 1920s, Mencken was a nationally syndicated columnist and the acclaimed author of several books on American language, literature, and politics. His editorials in opposition to Prohibition and the New Deal, on segregation, patriotism, and organized religion, were filled with pungent and scathing invective, usually aimed at what he saw as the smugly ignorant, self-righteous, and overly credulous American middle class. His pieces opposing American involvement in World War II saw him fall out of favor. By the end of his career, by his own estimate, he had written more than 3,000 editorials. Mencken has been accused of elitism, misogyny, racism, and anti-Semitism. Whatever his faults, his pugnacious insights and erudite style set the standard for political pundits and his editorials remain useful reading for aspiring columnists.

Among the other renowned journalists who began their careers in Baltimore is Drew Pearson (1897–1969), one of the most prominent newspaper and radio journalists during the 1940s and

1950s, best known for his muckraking column on national politics. In 1929, he became the Washington correspondent for the *Baltimore Sun*. In 1931 and 1932, Pearson anonymously co-authored a controversial expose book (and a sequel) on politics titled *Washington Merry-Go-Round*. When the *Sun* editors discovered in 1932 that these works were written by Pearson, he was promptly fired for what was seen as a conflict of interests.

Louis Rukeyser (1933–2006), best known as the host of television news programs and editor of financial newsletters devoted to coverage of Wall Street, spent 11 years as a political and foreign correspondent for the *Baltimore Sun* newspapers. In 1970, Rukeyser joined MPT, a PBS affiliate based in the Baltimore suburb of Owings Mills, in creating *Wall $treet Week,* the first television news show to focus on the stock market.

Other notables at the Baltimore papers include Edmund Duffy (1900–62), an editorial cartoonist for the *Baltimore Sun*. Joining the paper in 1924 and friendly with Mencken, he would win the Pulitzer Prize for Editorial Cartooning three times between 1931 and 1940. He was among the first white cartoonists to attack the Ku Klux Klan and segregation, with some of his most powerful works depicting lynchings. Jack Germond (1928–) was a veteran award-winning journalist and columnist at the *Washington Star* and, after that paper ceased publication, the *Baltimore Sun*. A noted political insider, he would become a fixture on the television news programs *Meet the Press* beginning in 1972 and *The McLaughlin Group* from its inception in 1982. Somewhat more controversial is Michael Olesker (1945–), a longtime columnist for the *Sun* beginning in 1979. Olesker was known for his liberal viewpoints and criticism of Republican state officials; in 2004 then-Governor Robert Ehrlich even issued an executive order banning state executive employees from talking with Olesker.

Other journalists have made their mark in Baltimore broadcasting. James "Jim McKay" McManus's (1921–) first job was with the *Baltimore Evening Sun*. In 1947 the *Sun*'s management invested in Baltimore's first television station, WMAR-TV, and McKay was chosen as that station's first on-air personality. He served as the station's producer, director, sportswriter, and reporter. His growing reputation as a hardworking sportscaster earned him the opportunity to host a New York City–based CBS variety show. Soon after moving to New York, McKay was offered a position at fledgling ABC Sports.

Perhaps the most successful, at least in terms of income, of Baltimore television journalists is Oprah Winfrey (1954–). In 1976, Winfrey moved to Baltimore's WJZ-TV to co-anchor the six o'clock news. After two years, she was recruited as a co-host of WJZ's local talk show *People Are Talking*. Her easy interviewing style and focus on the astounding stories of common people in the city made her popular and brought her several broadcasting awards. In 1983, she took her skills to Chicago and soon rose to national fame.

The media-rich and competitive environment of Baltimore continues to be a proving ground for aspiring journalists. Given its proximity to Washington, its own distinctive culture, and the size of its market, Baltimore offers a chance for reporters and anchors to quickly gain national recognition.

Rex A. Martin

See also African American News Media; Columns and Columnists; Ethnic Minority Networks; Muckrakers; Religious News Media; Sportscasters, Television; Talk and News Radio; Telegraph; Washington, D.C.

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Bandwagon Journalism

Bandwagon journalism is a type of media behavior whereby journalists follow the actions and storylines of other journalists or broad trends in media coverage as a result of journalism habits, mores, and culture. The term often refers to political news coverage, although the topic of the media coverage can vary, and it is often meant as a pejorative. The term is also somewhat archaic and not widely used today, though "pack journalism" is still heard and has a similar meaning.

Background

The term takes its name from the late-nineteenth-century bandwagon, a large wagon pulled by draft animals that was part of political processions, sometimes even carrying a band, but also often carrying political figures. The term also refers to circus bandwagons, which were used to carry circus animals, musicians, and supplies. To jump or hop on the bandwagon indicated one's willingness to join the winning political side or the side appearing to have current momentum.

Bandwagon journalism should not be confused with the bandwagon effect in public opinion research. The bandwagon effect suggests voters are influenced in an election by their perception of which side is winning. The bandwagon effect holds that there is pressure on some audience members to alter their opinions to be in agreement with those enjoying greater support, renewed interest, or greater enthusiasm for their cause.

Application to Journalism

Bandwagon journalism is often used to describe the behavior of political journalists who, broadly speaking, appear to be following the lead of other journalists in their news media coverage. In this way, bandwagon journalism is sometimes used interchangeably with the term *pack journalism,* which is the tendency of journalists to concentrate on the same stories and storylines. The term *pack journalism* originated in the 1970s and is now more widely used and understood than bandwagon journalism.

Bandwagon journalism differs from pack journalism by the former's emphasis on the reasons why the coverage looks the same across media outlets. Bandwagon journalism is said to take place when journalists cover a political candidate or social movement because it is seen to have momentum and rapidly gathering support. One example of this is when a political candidate is considered likely to win political office and therefore attracts more news coverage than other candidates. Bandwagon journalism suggests that journalists react to political momentum by concentrating their coverage on the candidate who is benefiting from that momentum. Often this coverage is considered more favorable or positive than that accorded others in the race.

At the same time, the positive news coverage prompted by the bandwagon in the political realm can be short lived. Once a candidate has moved to front-runner status or has received greater attention in the news, journalists may resume a more critical "watchdog" stance in their coverage.

Researcher Thomas Patterson has pointed to what he sees as an effect that is the opposite of the bandwagon, the "losing-ground" candidate. When a candidate is seen to have lessening support in polls or has a campaign that is in disarray, news coverage becomes steadily less favorable. In this case, the losing ground bandwagon takes place as journalists follow the lead of other journalists in writing about problems within the campaign and the likely loss of the election.

The 1948 presidential campaign between incumbent Democrat Harry S. Truman and challenger Republican Thomas E. Dewey is a study in the impotence of bandwagon journalism. Truman was widely expected to lose the election and faced a press corps convinced he would lose. The resulting coverage included historic gaffes that reflected the media mood, such as the *Chicago Tribune* headline the day after the election—"Dewey Defeats Truman." But bandwagon journalism did not influence voters or portend Dewey's loss. Several scholars have focused on examples of bandwagon journalism in presidential primary news coverage, which can move negative to positive nearly overnight and thrust candidates into the spotlight or consign them to also-ran status. A candidate perceived to be winning enjoys more coverage that is more positive.

A losing-ground candidate suffers the reverse. Perhaps the clearest example in recent history is

the deluge of positive news coverage for Democratic presidential candidate Howard Dean in 2004. Dean was considered the front-runner for the nomination after raising more money than expected and engaging his supporters via Internet technology, but his electoral support was thin and he quit the race a month after the first caucuses in Iowa, never having won a caucus or primary. The criticism of bandwagon journalism was also made of the press corps following Barack Obama during the 2008 presidential campaign. Critics argued that campaign coverage was overly positive because of the consistent lead Obama had in the polls, his charismatic candidacy, and the historic backdrop of the likely first black President.

Pack journalism, on the other hand, centers more on journalists' behavior in relation to each other. It is promoted by journalistic norms that reward reporters for obtaining "scoops," or exclusive stories, and even more importantly, not being scooped by others. Journalists thus practice what has been called "defensive journalism," or covering events mostly to preclude a competing media outlet from obtaining an exclusive. This practice discourages journalists from reporting on their own and encourages them to stay close to their competition. It may happen more often when journalists are forced to work closely together, such as during political campaigns, where reporters may travel together and work side-by-side for long periods of time. The term *pack journalism* takes its name from journalists moving in a group while covering a story.

Several authors have pointed to this tendency of journalists to adopt similar storylines with political news coverage and to be unwilling to deviate from the accepted wisdom of the current coverage. Journalists make up a risk averse profession, and shy away from coverage too dissimilar from their colleagues. The same effect can take place among editors or broadcast producers who must compare the journalists' output with that of other news sources. In doing so, both reporters and their editors push coverage to greater sameness. The effects of both bandwagon and pack journalism are thus parallel to one another: similar news content centered around widely accepted storylines with similar sources. However, the reasons for this coverage differ between the two.

In common usage, the phrase *bandwagon journalism* is generally held to be a pejorative. It is often used as a criticism of news media coverage or the behavior of journalists, and it is often used in a broad, general way. The term suggests reporting conduct that is lazy, unthinking, and too shackled by journalism habits. It is often used by one side in a political race to downplay the reporting of the other.

Joseph Graf

See also Bias; Ethics; Infotainment

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Bias

The subject of media bias has become a hot topic of contemporary political discourse. Conservatives have succeeded in making the phrase "the liberal media" a staple of the American vernacular while other scholars argue the media promote a more conservative, pro-American, pro-free-market bias. In recent years, best-selling books on the topic have further driven public debate. However, these works rely heavily, if not exclusively, on anecdotal evidence and lack coherent, quantitative analysis to back up their claims. Scholarly studies of media bias have focused largely on elections; empirical research on bias, or slanted presentation, in domestic political issues, such as health care, is lacking.

Agenda Setting, Priming, and Framing

In a 2007 article called "Framing Bias," Robert Entman suggested that future studies on media bias should incorporate previous work on the

effects of agenda-setting, priming, and framing. Agenda-setting research has shown a strong, positive relationship between the amount of attention the media give certain issues and which issues the public regards as important. Priming research suggests that the more prominently an issue is featured in the media, the more important that issue becomes in citizens' evaluations of political leaders. Finally, framing is a matter of selection and salience—highlighting certain aspects of an issue and featuring them more prominently.

So how does all of this relate to bias? Entman argues that by use of framing, political actors prime audiences to think a certain way about an issue. In other words, the existence and amount of coverage (agenda-setting) and the way it is framed will prime news consumers to think a certain way. News slant exists when news stories feature the preferred framing of one group (say, the administration) over another (i.e., the opposition party) in a dispute. In order to demonstrate bias, one would have to show a consistent pattern of slanted news coverage of a certain issue.

One key determinant of a frame's success or failure is cultural congruence. These types of messages resonate with the public, falling in line with accepted ideas and attitudes within the dominant political culture. Culturally congruent messages are more likely to be accepted by the general public and the media. Incongruent messages are likely to block mental associations and may even discourage further thinking.

An incumbent administration enjoys an advantage in setting the dominant frame given its resources and media reliance on it as a source. One might call this an "official source" bias. However, presidential administrations have had mixed success in framing certain initiatives. The demise of the 1993 Clinton health care plan is one example of culturally incongruent framing. By highlighting the redistributive impact of the plan and promoting it as a boon to the poor and the uninsured, the administration opened themselves up to counterframes highlighting individual liberty, effort, and responsibility, which are more culturally congruent notions within dominant political culture in the United States.

Criticism has been leveled that media are too critical of government policies or are not critical enough; favor "horse-race" over substantive coverage; or oversimplify complex events. While lacking empirical evidence of "bias" as defined by Entman, researchers have identified a conservative slant in media coverage of certain cases, such as social movements, unions' tax policy, and, oddly enough, media bias (more on this below).

In 2005, Tim Groseclose and Jeff Milyo found evidence of a strong liberal bias in mainstream media; however, their measurement of what constitutes a liberal news outlet is somewhat convoluted. The authors develop an ideological score for media outlets based upon the number of times a news outlet cites a think tank or policy group and compares that with the number of times members of Congress (who have been given a liberalism/conservatism score by the Americans for Democratic Action) cite the same think tank or policy group. This measure seems overly complex and the authors provide no content analysis to examine the context in which these groups were cited. However, this article received quite a buzz within the political world upon its release and remains one of the most-cited media bias studies, especially by conservatives and others who argue the existence of a "liberal media" bias.

In 1992, James Kuklinski and Lee Sigelman examined coverage of U.S. senators throughout the 1970s and 1980s and found the coverage to be fairly objective. In 2000, Dave D'Alessio and Mike Allen performed a meta-analysis, combining existing studies of bias in television network news, and found an admittedly small, liberal "coverage bias," meaning Democrats received more airtime. However, to say that coverage was biased because one side was given more air time is disingenuous if you do not take into account what the coverage looked like. It is almost certain that a candidate would prefer less coverage to negative coverage.

More recently, a group of researchers from Yale University performed a field experiment by assigning individuals in the Washington, D.C., area to receive subscriptions of *The Washington Post* and the *Washington Times,* then conducted exit poll surveys on these subjects after the 2005 Virginia gubernatorial election. They found that those who received the *Post* were eight percentage points more likely to vote for the Democratic candidate. They also found that a subscription to either paper

resulted in a decrease in approval ratings for President George W. Bush and the Republicans.

Journalists and the Perception of Liberal Bias

Perceptions of media bias seem to be based on one of three premises. First, it is possible that the media actually *are* biased, although consistent empirical evidence is lacking. Second, apart from whether or not the news media actually do slant to liberal or conservative views, viewers often perceive the media to be hostile to their own political views. Finally, perceptions of bias might be the result of an increase in news coverage of bias, especially claims of liberal bias.

David Domke, a well-known political communications researcher, argues that the growing percentage of the public who say the news has a liberal bias is due not to changes in the news coverage, but to the increase in coverage of liberal bias claims. In a 1999 study, Domke found that, over the course of the 1988, 1992, and 1996 election campaigns, when media reported claims of media bias, 95 percent of the time they were speaking of a liberal bias.

The conventional wisdom on bias, especially liberal bias, whether in journalism or scholarly literature, focuses heavily on how personal political views of journalists might affect news content. In his best-selling book *Bias,* former CBS reporter Bernard Goldberg argued that journalists and media elites cannot help but slant the news because of their largely shared liberal views. "Almost all of them think the same way on the big social issues of our time: abortion, gun control, feminism, gay rights, the environment, school prayer," he said. "After a while they start to believe that all civilized people think the same way they and their friends do. That's why they don't simply disagree with conservatives. They see them as morally deficient."

Goldberg and others argue that journalists, as a demographic, tend to be liberal. Indeed, as a collective group, journalists are more liberal than the general public. However, these authors fail to recognize that a journalist's political persuasion is only one of many factors that could lead to slanted coverage. In fact, some journalists work so hard to prevent their personal biases from creeping into their work that they overcompensate and end up supporting the opposite viewpoint.

Certainly a journalist's personal political opinions influence their thinking and possibly their work, but during the course of a given day, journalists have to contend with a number of other issues. The time constraints and deadline pressures of a newsroom affect a reporter's final product as do other institutional factors like monetary considerations or newsroom politics. Journalists don't have the time or money to seek out every source or explore every possible avenue.

A lot of current debate focuses on whether a report gives "both sides" of the story, if it is "fair and balanced." But sometimes a story has more than two sides. It's also possible that both sides are making claims and only some of them are true. It is the journalist's job to determine the truth of any situation, to the extent that he or she can, and report it as fairly as possible to members of the public who could not attend the city council meeting, or the state representative's press conference, or the Supreme Court hearing. This sounds simple enough, but as mentioned above, a journalist has to manage many obstacles when reporting a particular story. Who are the players involved? Are they credible? Are they telling the truth?

The journalist serves as the conduit through which messages are sent and when average people flip on the news or pick up a newspaper in the morning, they're not only seeing a news item through the ideological eyes of a particular journalist, but they are also witnessing a framing battle between participants in that story. Which side's message was given more attention? Was the congressman presented as a credible source while the local Green Party candidate was marginalized? Were all sides presented fairly? The way average news consumers answer those questions is likely to result from their own personal biases. It is the journalist's job, in the face of that scrutiny and criticism that is sure to come from the reader, to report the facts.

The "Game" Frame

There is one type of bias that scholars do agree on: the media's tendency to frame policy issues in terms of a "horse race," or a "game," focusing more on political strategy and competition rather than substantive issues or underlying interests. The "game" frame is more likely to appear in election

campaigns than substantive policy- or issue-based coverage. Horse-race coverage bleeds into other public policy issue areas as well.

In his 2004 book, *Projections of Power,* Entman used a somewhat different terminology to distinguish between horse-race and more substantial reporting. He argued that procedural frames (including "game" or "horse-race" frames) emphasize political actors' successes and failures, and the legislative process in general. Substantive frames, on the other hand, are those that are "clearly relevant to audience members' understanding and acceptance of a policy remedy." In their landmark book *The Spiral of Cynicism,* Joseph Cappella and Kathleen Hall Jamieson argued that the use of strategic or procedural frames in news coverage creates feelings of cynicism and helplessness toward the political process that discourage participation. In 2000, Regina Lawrence said this phenomenon was particularly unfortunate, given that "news organizations are most likely to approach the political world with the superficial and cynical game schema at precisely those times when public opinion is most likely to be formulated, mobilized, and listened to by politicians: during elections and highly consequential legislative debates." Relying on strategic frames has the added benefit of making a journalist's job easier. Focusing on the "horse race" gives the impression of being "fair and balanced." It also, Lawrence said, allows journalists to display a level of expertise that does not require extensive research or a deep understanding of complex issues.

The Limits of 50/50 Coverage

As noted above, discussion of bias begs the key question: what should news coverage, in general, look like? If congressional and popular support are strongly in favor of a particular program, is 50/50 coverage that gives equal time and legitimacy to both sides really ideal? Some have argued that the side which wins the framing competition in news media can have an impact on public opinion. In 2005, Kevin Armitage argued that counterclaims challenging the "global warming" frame, and especially given their equal treatment in media coverage, have resulted in something of a stalemate. "At the time when science confirmed the existence of global warming, the public in the United States grew less sure of its reality," Armitage said. "Clearly the intense media pressure of right-wing global warming deniers has had a profound effect." The implication, at least in this case, is that news coverage should reflect fact, based on evidence and scientific consensus, rather than journalistic norms of reporting "both sides." In 2005, researchers Sandy Tolan and Alexandra Berzon argued "the weight many journalists give to such ['lack of consensus'] views, in insisting on balance but not on putting it within a broader scientific and political context, appears to be at the heart of the confusion among Americans."

Future research into slant or media bias should seek to establish a theoretical foundation for thinking about the issue. What is the existing conventional wisdom? How do Americans form opinions on this or any issue? What factors are likely to influence news slant, beyond whether or not a claim is positive or negative? In normative terms, it could be argued that—as with the global warming debate—media coverage of important policy issues or legislative debates should reflect, as much as is possible, the empirical evidence, instead of ensuring that dueling ideologies are equally represented irrespective of their own support or validity.

Gerard Matthews

See also Agenda Setting; Framing; Objectivity; Spin

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Blacklisting

The relationship between news/public affairs broadcasting and political affairs has been close since radio's launch in 1920. The ability to transmit messages to potentially large audiences made broadcasting a tantalizing prospect to politicians of all colors. The divisive political struggle between conservatives and liberals influenced broadcasting most visibly and negatively during the period known as the Red Scare (1947–57). Although news media are constitutionally protected from government influence in the United States, the historical reality is that broadcasting is frequently susceptible to political pressures.

The early cold war (1945–60) following World War II saw a growing distrust of communism and a deep-seated fear that "Reds" were infiltrating the United States. Political conservatives sought and identified suspected Communists in every walk of life. Although anti-Communists vigorously asserted that they were responding to a threat to national security, historical evidence is ambiguous. Some historians interpret the Red Scare as a conservative backlash against liberals long in power. Recent research in the former Soviet Union, however, reveals that the USSR did successfully infiltrate several institutions in the United States during the 1940s and 1950s. At the time, however, with little evidence to support the Red denunciations but innuendo and blacklists, the fear of being labeled a Communist left the country nearly paralyzed.

Broadcasters were susceptible to politically motivated attacks for a number of reasons. Significantly, they are licensed by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), which is overseen by the legislative branch. Further complicating their vulnerability to the Red Scare was broadcast dependence upon sponsors. Until about 1960, network entertainment programs were produced by sponsors and their advertising agencies. The considerable profits reaped by selling airtime enabled broadcast networks to subsidize news and public affairs programming. Accordingly, accusations of coddling Communists threatened that relationship. At the same time, the rapid transition from radio to television placed networks and stations under greater financial pressure.

Network Response

Although the influence of the Red Scare on broadcasting started as early as 1941, a single publication in June 1950 escalated political pressure on the industry. A conservative group issued a paperback book entitled *Red Channels: The Report of Communist Influence in Radio and Television* that took the form of a "blacklist" which publicly identified an individual with communism with the intent of denying employment and socially alienating the accused. *Red Channels* listed the names of nearly 150 individuals, including 10 broadcast journalists. NBC and CBS took immediate notice of *Red Channels,* although the two networks responded differently.

NBC was undeterred by *Red Channels* or other blacklists and rarely denied employment to a person accused of being a Communist. NBC was a subsidiary of RCA, one of the most profitable and powerful corporations of the mid-twentieth century, and was led by David Sarnoff, whose power

over NBC/RCA was unquestioned and whose conservative politics were indisputable. Further, NBC enjoyed the luxury of RCA's financial resources to support it through the transition from radio to television. For these reasons, NBC could financially and politically afford to risk criticism for failing to heed the blacklists; its corporate and political credentials were above reproach.

CBS was more vulnerable as it lacked the financial largesse that NBC enjoyed from RCA. By 1950, when *Red Channels* was published, CBS was involved in two very expensive endeavors: developing its television network and its consequent need for programming and affiliates, and the innovation of a color television system. Further complicating the situation was the perception that network chief William S. Paley was considered politically liberal. These factors prompted CBS to respond very differently to *Red Channels*. It developed a two-layer system of investigating alleged subversive activities of its employees. A "clearance" system vetted talent for "suspicious" activity and individuals whose names were blacklisted were fired or not hired by CBS. The second layer required employees to sign loyalty oaths on which they swore they were not and never had been Communists. The elite corps of broadcast journalists at CBS, led by Edward R. Murrow and including Eric Sevareid, William Shirer, Charles Collingwood, Alexander Kendrick, and Don Hollenbeck, was incensed by the loyalty oaths. Nevertheless, Murrow encouraged his team of journalists to sign the oath, as he did himself. Murrow chose his battles carefully and was already considering future broadcast investigations of the Red Scare; thus he was willing to sign the loyalty oath. CBS's willingness to institute a loyalty oath for its employees revealed the lengths to which the network went to protect itself and its business interests.

Broadcast Journalists

"Are you now, or have you ever been, a Communist?" Although relatively few broadcast journalists were asked this question before a congressional hearing, being labeled as suspected Communist or sympathizer was an anxiety that many endured. Radio commentators were an early target of *Counterattack,* the newsletter that began publishing in 1947 as, in the words of writer David Everitt, an "anti-Red muckraking publication that would drag not only Communists but all their defenders out into the light." Anti-Communists feared journalists would use their access to the airwaves to broadcast views favoring Communist positions and responded by publicly naming journalists they believed to be Communist sympathizers.

In 1950, the publishers of *Counterattack* released *Red Channels* and identified ten broadcast journalists whose political affiliations allegedly indicated Communist sympathies. The list included prominent journalists such as Kendrick and Shirer, as well as Howard K. Smith and Lisa Sergio. The evidence cited was questionable, largely depending upon the testimony of suspected Communists before congressional committees, or on the speeches, appearances, or organizational memberships of the journalists. For example, chief among Shirer's "offenses" was that he signed a petition to the Supreme Court encouraging reversal of the convictions of the "Hollywood Ten" for refusing to testify as to their political beliefs. Smith allegedly criticized the U.S. government for meddling in the 1948 Italian elections. Kendrick's offenses included publishing essays in *New Masses* and *Soviet Russia Today* and leading a panel discussion during a meeting of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Sergio, a commentator and broadcast journalist for both NBC and ABC, was cited for signing a petition that urged outlawing anti-Semitism. It is notable that none of the "evidence" that *Red Channels* listed against the ten broadcast journalists included any actual broadcasts. Smith and Kendrick later reported that their inclusion on the blacklist did not affect their professional or personal lives. Shirer, on the other hand, believed that being blacklisted had a significant impact on his career, and soon after his *Red Channels* appearance he left broadcasting and turned to freelance writing and lecturing. Interestingly, Soviet archives later revealed that one of the lesser-known journalists included in *Red Channels,* Johannes Steel, was, indeed, a Soviet agent.

Blacklisting was accomplished through other means in addition to *Red Channels*. Aware, Inc. was formed in 1953 to ferret out Communists from radio and television. It produced "Publication No. 12" in which suspected Communists were named and, as John Cogley writes in *Report on Blacklisting,* "decreed 'unemployable.'" Other journalists were

identified in the popular press. One of the tragic repercussions of blacklisting was the case of Don Hollenbeck, who worked for CBS News and was identified as a Communist-sympathizer by Jack O'Brian, a columnist for the Hearst-owned *New York Journal American*. Hollenbeck's subsequent suicide in June 1954 was understood to be partly the result of being blacklisted. Whatever the means of public identification, the reputations and credibility of broadcast journalists suffered as a result of extreme political pressures.

News Programs

Fundamentally, the Red Scare in broadcasting came down to concerns about content. Although there is no evidence to suggest that any broadcast journalist communicated pro-Communist messages, blacklisters nonetheless feared that they might. Anti-Communists sought to prevent the spread of communism by creating a climate of fear in which journalists self-censored their material. Broadcast journalists who were blacklisted correctly understood that they were targeted because their personal convictions challenged conservative politics.

Although the networks and many advertisers capitulated to the atmosphere of fear, either tacitly like NBC or overtly like CBS, one voice of resistance was heard amidst the silence. By the autumn of 1953, Murrow, arguably the most influential broadcast journalist of his time, decided to confront the Red Scare. In a series of reports broadcast for his television program *See It Now,* Murrow hosted a number of investigations into prominent figures of the Red Scare, including Air Force Lieutenant Milo Radulovich and Pentagon employee Annie Lee Moss. Radulovich had been dismissed from the Air Force for maintaining close relationships with suspected Communists (his father and sister), while Moss was suspended from her clerical position for being a suspected Communist. The most influential and historically significant broadcast, however, was Murrow's March 1954 investigation of the tactics used by Senator Joseph McCarthy, in which Murrow used television clips to skillfully and publicly denounce the senator. It was a blacklister's greatest fear come true. Although Murrow did not espouse a pro-Communist message, he adeptly used television to publicly challenge the power of the leading anti-Communist crusader. Even so, the business aspects of the broadcasts remained paramount. Murrow had to get his sponsor's permission to shift its commercials, and CBS refused to advertise the programs for fear of the political and commercial backlash. Nonetheless, many historians consider the Murrow–McCarthy broadcast to be one of the more important in the history of television as an early example of the medium's power, particularly in the hands of a skilled and credible journalist.

Implications

The Red Scare started to fade with the U.S. Senate's censure of McCarthy in 1954, and blacklisting was fully exposed and discredited in 1962 when Aware, Inc. was found guilty of libel when it blacklisted an actor. With enough political and historical distance, industry leaders such as Paley and Frank Stanton of CBS later regretted instituting the loyalty oaths and using blacklists. Certainly the lives of blacklisted figures were changed, some more than others.

The Red Scare period of blacklisting is a case study of the dangers of using political yardsticks to measure journalists. Although anti-Communists did not directly engage in prior restraint, their accusations and blacklists had a strongly chilling effect on broadcast journalists whose personal politics were used as "evidence" of their lack of objectivity and credibility. The end result was that one of the most significant news stories of the 1950s received remarkably little broadcast news attention.

The tenuous relationship between politics and broadcasting reverberated after the decline of the Red Scare and continues today. Walter Cronkite's denunciation of the Vietnam War in 1968 was a turning point in the public's antiwar attitudes. Richard Nixon used the FCC to target television stations that opposed his politics. By the late 1990s as American politics became more conservative and the FCC loosened station ownership restrictions and suspended its former Fairness Doctrine, the number of broadcast and cable outlets that carried conservative talk shows escalated while liberal voices remained largely unheard. Broadcasters seem to avoid identifying themselves as liberal, while outlets such as Fox News readily communicate conservatism. More subtly, the broadcast news media so

vigilantly protect their business interests that they rarely investigate the actions of corporate America. Perhaps that trend started in the 1950s, when the fear of being labeled a Communist taught the broadcast journalists that the economic and political risks of being identified as "liberal" were too great.

Susan L. Brinson

See also Anchors, Television; CBS News; Censorship; Commentators, Radio; Commentators, Television; Congress and Journalism; Federal Communications Commission (FCC); History of Journalism: 1930–1995; NBC News; Newscasters, Radio; Reporters, Radio; Reporters, Television

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Black Media

See African American News Media

Blogs and Bloggers

A weblog (or blog) is a webpage format that allows people, either as individuals or as part of larger groups, to discuss issues and events by posting hyperlinks to and commenting on other Internet-based materials, including other blogs. Generally speaking, a blog consists of the author's (or authors') entries, arranged in reverse chronological order, as well as hyperlinks to other Internet-based materials mentioned in those entries. Blogs usually also feature an additional list of more permanent hyperlinks to other sources that the author believes to be relevant to potential readers (commonly referred to as the blogroll). Since the early 1990s, when blogs first appeared, three different types of journalistic significance have emerged: (1) those produced by individual citizens, such as *Bluye Blog* and *Jon Swift*; (2) those produced by professional journalists, such as *Behind the News* by Elisabeth Donovan and *First Draft* by Tim Porter; and (3) news media-hosted blogs produced by professional journalists, such as *Ask the Editors* by the *Spokesman-Review* and *WE Blog* by the *Wichita Eagle*. Given that most of the claims about the journalistic significance of blogs have centered around those produced by individuals, the following sections will briefly describe the two other types of blogs, followed by a more comprehensive discussion of citizen-produced blogs.

Private Blogs Produced by Professional Journalists

By the middle of the first decade of the 2000s, hundreds of professional journalists began to produce their own blogs, which they use, among other things, to publish the complete transcripts of interviews with sources, invite fact-checking of given stories, and solicit suggestions for future stories. Moreover, many professional journalists use such

A screen shot from the popular blog Wonkette, *established in 2004, features irreverent political gossip concerning Washington, D.C., movers and shakers. Its first star editor, Ana Marie Cox, went on to become a political reporter for* Time *magazine, for which she covered John McCain in the 2008 presidential election.*

Source: Wonkette.com, used by permission.

blogs to further comment on the topics of published or broadcast stories. This latter practice has not been without its problems, however. Indeed, a number of professional journalists have been reprimanded, or even fired, for crossing the line between news and views on their private blogs. For example, Steve Olafson, a longtime journalist at the *Houston Chronicle,* was fired after he had used his private blog to criticize local politicians he was assigned to cover at the *Chronicle*.

News Media–Hosted Blogs Produced by Professional Journalists

By the middle of the first decade of the 2000s, dozens of mainstream news organizations around the world began to host blogs produced by professional journalists, notably in the form of so-called editorial blogs and editorial board blogs. Such organizations as the BBC, CBS, the *Guardian,* the *Los Angeles Times,* and *The New York Times* have added editorial blogs to their online sites where senior editors explain editorial decisions; invite questions, comments, and feedback from readers and viewers; and respond to their concerns. Similarly, many newspapers, including the *Dallas Morning News,* the *Sacramento Bee,* the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer,* the *Spokesman-Review,* and the *Wichita Eagle,* have added editorial board blogs to their online sites where members of the editorial board, either individually or as a collective, outline their ideas for upcoming editorials, discuss those ideas with interested readers, and respond to their comments on published editorials. While some papers, like the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer,* announce topics being considered for the next day's edition following their editorial board meetings each day, other papers, including the *Dallas Morning News,* invite reader comments as editorial topics are still being discussed by the editorial board.

While a growing number of newspapers use their editorial (board) blogs to make their editorial decisions more transparent as well as to hold themselves more publicly accountable for those decisions through direct interaction with readers, there are reasons to question their broader journalistic significance. First, many of these efforts began after newsroom scandals at such high-profile news organizations as CBS, CNN, *Newsweek, The New York Times,* and *USA Today*. To take just two prominent examples, CBS's editorial blog, the "Public Eye," was created after a controversy on the disputed authenticity of documents presented on *60 Minutes,* concerning President George W. Bush. Similarly, *The New York Times*' editorial blog, the "Public Editor's Journal," appeared following a scandal surrounding journalist Jayson Blair's dishonest reporting. The reactive nature of these and other editorial (board) blogs makes one wonder whether the underlying motivation is to truly make editorial decisions more transparent or whether the motivation is to enhance newspaper and broadcaster credibility with citizens. Indeed, once the scandals fade from memory, some of the current initiatives might be abandoned. While editorial (board) blogs have yet to inspire scholarly research, the little research that does exist shows that such blogs leave much to be desired. Most notably, few such blogs address or acknowledge the commercial interests of media owners and advertisers, organizational pressures and work routines, and information-gathering and news-reporting conventions. Similarly, despite discussions between editorial board members and readers about editorials and editorial topics, few discuss what members of the editorial board are trying to achieve in a broader political sense as reflected in those editorials.

Private Blogs Produced by Ordinary Citizens

If there is reason to question the significance of news media–hosted blogs, this is even more so the case for blogs produced by ordinary citizens, the type that continues to be the focus of scholarly and journalistic speculation. Citizen blogs gained rapidly in popularity in the late 1990s with the appearance of easy-to-use, freely available software like LiveJournal and Blogger. Indeed, from an estimated 30,000 citizen-produced blogs in 1998, the number of such blogs grew exponentially to about 60 million by 2007. Content analyses suggesting that about 17 percent of citizen blogs deal with public affairs would put the number of journalistically oriented, citizen-produced blogs at around 10 million.

Their wider visibility and claims about their journalistic significance owe much to several high-profile cases of their alleged ability to force topics

onto mainstream news agendas and thus to inspire changes within both politics and journalism. For example, many observers claim that the concerted publicity of thousands of ordinary blog writers forced Senator Trent Lott (R-MS) to resign as Senate Majority Leader following his racially insensitive remarks in 2002. Lott's remarks initially attracted little attention in the news media. It was only after Lott's remarks appeared on the popular blog *TalkingPointsMemo* as well as on numerous other citizen-produced blogs that the mainstream news media began to devote coverage to the event. Similarly, many observers claim that the negative fallout from the aforementioned newsroom scandals was largely due to citizen-produced blogs. Among other incidents, the concerted publicity of thousands of ordinary blog writers has been credited with leading to the firing of CNN executive Eason Jordan in 2005, following his remarks at the World Economic Forum that U.S. troops had deliberately targeted American journalists during the war in Iraq.

Observers argue the journalistic significance of citizen-produced blogs is based upon their capacity for independent, original news reporting. In contrast to the centralized, top-down approach to news reporting of most mainstream news media—based as it is on elite sources of information—blogs facilitate a decentralized, bottom-up approach by turning traditionally passive news consumers into active news producers. One of the most widely cited examples of citizens engaging in independent, original news reporting is Salam Pax, an anonymous Iraqi architect. During the war in Iraq, Salam Pax used his blog, *Where Is Raed?,* to file regular eyewitness reports on life in Baghdad before, during, and after the 2003 allied bombing. Pax juxtaposed what he and relatives witnessed with what was reported in both Western and Arab news media.

Finally, some observers suggest that the interactivity of blogs, and especially the practice of linking to and commenting on other Internet-based materials, gives rise to a radically different kind of news discourse than found in mainstream news media. Specifically, the practice of juxtaposing news reporting and commentary from a wide range of sources, which has been referred to as an act of "consumptive production," is seen to facilitate a multifaceted news discourse. By juxtaposing reporting and commentary from many sources, blog writers not only challenge the narrow range of topics and sources featured in mainstream news media, but also allow their readers to compare numerous competing truth claims. Taken together, these features have led observers to characterize citizen-produced blogs as amateur journalism, folk journalism, grassroots journalism, personal journalism, and public journalism.

While critics claim that citizen-produced blogs signify the dawn of a new public journalism, empirical research tells a very different story. First, although it is possible that at least some political and newsroom scandals were brought to wider public attention through the concerted efforts of thousands of ordinary blogs, there is little evidence that citizen-produced blogs forced those scandals onto the mainstream news media agenda. The Trent Lott scandal, for example, which remains one of the most widely cited examples of the ability of ordinary blog writers to steer mainstream news media coverage, owes much to the influence of other mainstream news organizations. While Lott's remarks were initially publicized on the popular, left-leaning blog *TalkingPointsMemo,* they were reported by the online magazine *Slate* and *The Washington Post,* before they gained widespread attention elsewhere. Indeed, many early hyperlinks to the story were to the *Slate* article rather than to *TalkingPointsMemo*. Similarly, while CNN executive Eason Jordan's remarks were initially publicized on *Forumblog.org,* an independent blog devoted to coverage of the World Economic Forum, they were also reported by a number of mainstream news media, including the *New York Post, The Wall Street Journal,* and *The Washington Post,* before they gained widespread attention on other news media.

More generally, aside from the example of Salam Pax, and the ordinary blog writers invited to cover the 2004 Democratic and Republican Party conventions, there is little evidence of any independent, original news reporting. Ironically, even Salam Pax is no longer an independent reporter; having been located by the *Guardian* in May 2003, he now writes for its online counterpart, the *Guardian Unlimited,* as well as for the BBC.

The vast array of alternative news providers available on the Internet *could* afford ordinary blog writers the opportunity to cover a wide range of

topics using an ideologically diverse range of sources, thereby facilitating more varied news discourse. Yet research shows that ordinary blog writers rarely challenge mainstream news media's narrow range of topics and sources. In much the same way that the topics discussed in other popular, citizen-based media of communication like electronic bulletin boards follow the agendas of traditional mainstream news media, many studies have confirmed that topics discussed on citizen blogs parallel the narrow agenda featured in mainstream news media. Even more problematically, these same studies make clear that most blog writers simply repeat accounts from a narrow range of elite news organizations, notably *The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal,* and *The Washington Post.*

The same pattern of news media influence on citizen-produced blogs has been found with respect to so-called warblogs, those blogs devoted to the U.S. War on Terrorism. Two content analyses of selected warblogs found that their primary sources of news reporting and commentary were such elite news organizations as the BBC, CNN, *The New York Times,* and *The Times*. Only about 5 percent of hyperlinks were to alternative news providers, of which only a handful was to alternative news media in the Middle East. Similarly, other studies have found that warblogging is based upon remediation of mainstream news media content. While warblogging would lose relevance if it departed too far from agendas of broad social concern, the heavy reliance on mainstream news is problematic. Like blog coverage more generally, warblogs' remediation of mainstream news perspectives serves to strengthen, as opposed to challenge, the views of their elite sources, notably U.S. government officials. Indeed, considering the strong influence of mainstream news media on warblog coverage, and their general support of the U.S. government's war in Iraq, it should come as little surprise that most warblog writers have been found to be supportive of the war. Given the influence of mainstream news media on blog coverage, it is ironic that so many blog writers cultivate a sense that they are outsiders from mainstream news organizations.

While only a few studies have looked at the commentary that ordinary blog writers attach by means of hyperlinks, available evidence suggests that commentary also serves to further amplify the views of mainstream elite sources of information. While one study found that ordinary blog writers simply link to given news stories without attaching much evaluative commentary, another found that the commentary falls within the narrow parameters of political elites.

This lack of originality on the part of citizen blog writers also shows in their resistance to engage in genuine deliberation across ideological divides. Research on inter-blog linking patterns shows that ordinary blog writers primarily interact with those of similar political persuasions: conservatives link to other conservatives, liberals to other liberals. In the rare instances where conservative and liberal blog writers do link to one another's postings, their commentary most often puts up straw-man arguments so that the political positions of others are repudiated as being fundamentally flawed.

If mainstream news media dominate the blogosphere, a small number of blog writers have become highly influential. Indeed, in much the same way that elite news organizations like *The New York Times, The Washington Post,* and the major television networks set the agenda for numerous smaller news organizations and, apparently, also for citizen-produced blogs, a phenomenon commonly referred to as inter-media agenda-setting, these highly influential blog writers function as what could be called inter-blog agenda-setters. Three studies of inter-blog linking patterns found that a small number of blogs receive a highly disproportionate number of all incoming blog links.

The highly skewed distribution of inter-blog links, a phenomenon that has been found to characterize the distribution of hyperlinks on Internet websites more generally and politically oriented websites in particular, suggests that an internal hierarchy has emerged within the blogosphere. Indeed, it shows that the topics discussed in the blogosphere do not arise more or less spontaneously through interaction among thousands of ordinary blog writers or, as many observers claim, that blog discourse is the result of many simultaneous, distributed conversations, but rather that those conversations are initiated by a select few blog writers. And to the extent that these take their cues from mainstream news media coverage, rather than vice versa, they serve as intermediaries (or opinion-leaders), channeling information from

the mainstream news media to the blogosphere at large. Put differently, empirical research suggests that the agenda-setting process runs from mainstream news media, through certain influential blog writers, to the blogosphere at large.

While it is difficult to determine, in the absence of large-scale surveys, why so many ordinary blog writers link to so few blogs, it is certainly possible, as some speculate, that they do so to enhance their own visibility and credibility. Though prevailing netiquette requires ordinary blog writers to link back to those who link to them, the highly skewed distribution of inter-blog links shows that these influential blog writers do not usually reciprocate.

The influence of mainstream news media on blog coverage is certainly strengthened by the fact that some of the most highly linked blog writers are professional journalists rather than ordinary citizens. According to blog counts such as Blogdex, Blogstreet, Daypop, Technorati, and Truthlaidbear, such highly linked blog writers as Mickey Kaus (*KausFiles*), Joshua Marshall (*TalkingPointsMemo*), and Andrew Sullivan (*AndrewSullivan*), also write for such elite news outlets as *Newsweek* (Kaus), *The New York Times* (Marshall), and the *Sunday Times* in London (Sullivan). As media employees, these blog writers might be even less likely than ordinary citizens to juxtapose the reporting and commentary of an ideologically diverse range of sources for fear of upsetting their employers.

Given the disproportionate influence wielded by a few blog writers, it should come as little surprise that few professional journalists read a variety of citizen-produced blogs to gauge public opinion. A survey of more than 140 journalists found that, although the respondents collectively read more than 125 different blogs, the 10 most read accounted for more than half of the blogs mentioned. Among journalists working for elite news organizations, this skewing was even more pronounced: the 10 most read blogs accounted for three-quarters of the blogs mentioned. For all respondents, the blogs maintained by Mickey Kaus, Joshua Marshall, and Andrew Sullivan were among the five most read. Considering that a small number of blog writers wield a strong influence, professional journalists need only to attend to these blog writers to obtain a relatively accurate impression of the distribution of opinions on any given topic.

Conclusion

Blogs have become a prominent component of the contemporary news media landscape. While private blogs produced by professional journalists are used to offer citizens a more comprehensive understanding of the basis upon which journalists construct their stories, news media–hosted blogs produced by professional journalists are used to enhance the transparency of news decision-making processes and to render the outcomes of those decision-making processes more publicly accountable. Citizen-produced blogs generally cite the news reporting and commentary of mainstream news media and, by implication, their elite sources of information.

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See also Access to Media; Agenda Setting; Citizen Journalism; Civic Journalism; Ethics; Framing; Internet Impact on Media; Theories of Journalism

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Bloomberg

Bloomberg News is a news service based out of New York operated by Bloomberg L.P. that in the past two decades has increased the competition among business news wires. Although it is best known for providing business and economic news to investors, it also carries content in other areas, including the arts, politics, and sports. In 2008, Bloomberg News had more than 2,200 reporters and editors in 130 bureaus and published more than 5,500 stories per day. It has become a well-known news-gathering organization that has won dozens of awards and now includes television, radio, magazines, and book publishing divisions.

Former Salomon Brothers general partner Michael Bloomberg founded the company that became Bloomberg L.P. with his severance pay in 1981. Originally, the company just sold computer terminals to Wall Street investment banks that included financial data about stocks, bonds, and other investments. Those financial data still provide the bulk of the company's revenue.

The name changed (1986), and the company began what was originally called Bloomberg Business News (1990) with a six-person editorial team. Bloomberg hired *Wall Street Journal* reporter Matthew Winkler, who had written a story about Bloomberg for the *Journal,* to run the operation. The news service was—and still is—provided on the terminals, which are leased for about $1,800 per month. The first Bloomberg news story was published in June 1990.

During its first year, Bloomberg Business News opened bureaus in New York, Washington, London, Tokyo, Toronto, and Princeton, New Jersey, writing about the stock market and company news that had previously been covered by other wire services such as Dow Jones, the Associated Press, and Reuters. By early 1995, the organization had grown to 325 reporters and editors in 54 bureaus and had started an investing magazine called *Bloomberg Personal* that was distributed as a Sunday newspaper supplement. The two main newsrooms at that time were in Princeton—for business and company news—and New York—for markets and financial news.

In its early years, Bloomberg Business News distributed its editorial content to other media organizations as a way to improve its name recognition, giving terminals for free to newspapers in virtually every U.S. city. Those newspapers then pulled Bloomberg stories off the wire and ran them in their business sections. In many cases, Bloomberg helped the newspapers by creating an index of local stocks that could run each day in the business section.

Bloomberg attracted business journalists from daily newspapers and other media organizations by offering them higher salaries and stock certificates that fluctuated in value based on the number of terminals sold by the company. The number of installed terminals reached 10,000 in 1990 and doubled by 1992, the same year that the company introduced *Bloomberg Markets* magazine. The fifty thousandth terminal was installed in 1995, and the company leased its seventy-five thousandth terminal in 1997. In 2004, the company surpassed the 200,000 installed terminals mark.

The organization purchased WBBR-AM, a New York–based radio station with a business focus, and launched a show on several New York area television stations in the 1990s. WBBR is the flagship radio station of Bloomberg Radio (1993), which syndicates reports to more than 840 radio stations around the world. Bloomberg Television (1994) operates 24 hours a day, competing against CNBC and Fox Business Network, and reaches more than 200 million homes worldwide, operating in seven languages. The company also launched *Bloomberg Morning News,* a daily financial news program on 155 public television stations.

In 1996, Bloomberg started Bloomberg Press, which publishes books for financial professions and the general public on investing, economics, and current affairs. One of the first books was based on the reporting of Bloomberg business journalists Carrick Mollenkamp, Joseph Menn, and Adam Levy.

In 1997, *Time* magazine's Wall Street columnist Daniel Kadlec criticized Bloomberg in a *Columbia Journalism Review* article for putting pressure on newspapers and other media outlets to use more of the media organization's content. Kadlec noted that Bloomberg had pulled its terminals out of some newsrooms that weren't using or attributing Bloomberg editorial content in its publications. Bloomberg's Winkler denied that the organization placed quotas on other news organizations. However, by the end of the decade, Bloomberg had stopped giving its terminals to other media organizations at no charge.

As Bloomberg grew in the business news world, its competitors became wary of its success. "Bloomberg found niches that Dow Jones and Reuters didn't fill," wrote Bloomberg in his 1997 autobiography *Bloomberg by Bloomberg,* cowritten with Winkler. "From the start, it was easier for us to add to our basic product what they provided, than for them to add what we built to theirs." Dow Jones ended up selling its Telerate data operations (similar to the Bloomberg terminal in that they were leased to Wall Street traders and contained data about investments) because it couldn't compete with Bloomberg, and in 1998, Reuters employees were accused of stealing confidential data from Bloomberg in an attempt to copy some of its services. A competing service, Bridge Information Systems, started in the 1990s, but went out of business after the stock market bubble burst in 2000.

Bloomberg has been a major force behind changes in journalism. Winkler pushed federal government agencies to recognize it as a media organization in the 1990s, allowing its reporters to be credentialed to cover breaking news such as monthly unemployment statistics and quarterly gross domestic product numbers. Bloomberg reporters had been denied credentials because their news was distributed through terminals, not a wire service or in a publication.

In addition, Winkler was behind a push for Regulation Fair Disclosure, a law enacted by the Securities and Exchange Commission that requires public companies to disseminate important information to everyone at the same time. Previously, companies could choose to block investors, analysts, and journalists from listening to its conference calls discussing its earnings or other news, and from attending meetings where it discussed its operations. The new regulation gave business journalists access to more information about the companies they covered.

Bloomberg's newsrooms have traditionally included fish tanks with exotic fish from around the world for a soothing presence and snack bars filled with soft drinks, potato chips, cookies, and fruit designed to keep reporters and editors at their desks. It also has a reputation of having an intense, editor-driven culture, and employees who leave Bloomberg for other media organizations are not hired back, per company policy.

Business journalists who join Bloomberg are trained to write stories in a specific manner based on the internal stylebook, *The Bloomberg Way*. The book, which has been updated several times since its original publication in 1995, tells its reporters how to cover specific stories, such as company earnings and the daily stock market performance. Basic Bloomberg News stories are known for their four-paragraph lead structure, which includes the "nut" paragraph (the paragraph that explains the rationale for the story) as the third paragraph and a quote in the fourth paragraph.

The Bloomberg terminal has become a handy reporting tool for many business journalists around the country. The terminal provides access to information about millions of company executives, Wall Street analysts and investors, and industry consultants, including phone numbers and e-mail addresses. It also provides Securities and Exchange Commission documents for all public companies, and a recent addition to the service includes lawsuits and legal rulings.

For years, rumors persisted that Michael Bloomberg would sell the company, which is 20 percent owned by Merrill Lynch. Those rumors increased after he was elected mayor of New York in 2001. However, in October 2006, Bloomberg announced that he was not selling the company despite receiving overtures from interested parties. Since his election, the company has been run by his friend Peter Grauer, a former Wall Street banker.

Business journalist Carol Loomis of *Fortune* estimated in 2007 that the company's 2006 operating profits were about $1.5 billion with $4.7 billion in revenues. Loomis also estimated that Bloomberg's stake in the company is worth more than $13 billion, and that the overall company is worth about $20 billion. In 2007, Bloomberg consolidated its Princeton and New York newsrooms into a new operation in its New York headquarters.

Winkler remained editor-in-chief of Bloomberg News in 2008. In recent years, the company has continued to hire business journalists at a time when many other news organizations were contracting. Some of its best-known hires were Amanda Bennett, the former editor of the *Philadelphia Inquirer,* and former *Fortune* and *Wall Street Journal* reporter John Helyar, co-author of the seminal business book *Barbarians at the Gate*.

Bloomberg News reporters and editors have won some of the top business journalism awards, though its editorial staff has not won a Pulitzer Prize. Its stories and data are now syndicated in more than 400 newspapers around the world.

The acquisition of rival Reuters by Canadian media company Thomson in 2008 meant increased competition for Bloomberg. Combined, Reuters and Thomson Corp. hold about a third of the financial data and news market, roughly equal to Bloomberg's market share. With business news coverage growing in importance in the early twenty-first century, however, it seems likely that Bloomberg News' stature will likely continue to grow.

Chris Roush

See also Business Journalism; Dow Jones; Reuters

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Books as Journalism

Journalistic books are described in many ways. Sometimes they are classified as "new journalism" or "*new* new journalism"; at other times such books are seen as "literary" or "literary narrative" journalism, sometimes as "literary nonfiction," or "nonfiction reportage," "journalit," or "nonfiction novel." There are varying arguments about what makes a nonfiction book a journalistic work rather than a literary one. One way such books differ from other journalism is in the way the traditional journalistic approaches to news gathering are expanded. Journalists' research can last for years, allowing writers to immerse themselves into the characters' lives and environment, sometimes undercover. Journalists who are unable within the limits of their publication restraints to expand news stories will often return to earlier work and expand that into book-length treatments.

The debate over required elements of the form and its very name is closely related to arguments over *who* can write it. Some argue that only journalists can write such books because of the methods of research required and the narrative approach to the stories. Others feel that literary or creative writers can also produce works that address their subject in a journalistic manner. One example is Rachel Carson's 1962 path-breaking ecology book, *Silent Spring*. Although a scientist by training, her work is recognized as the catalyst that banned DDT pesticide use in America.

Regardless of authorship, the ultimate goal is to produce a news *story* that not only tells what has happened or is happening but strives to make readers feel like they are a part of the story. Beyond telling a human-experience story, journalistic books are often written to inspire change. This approach is closely related to the "muckraking" of a century ago. Such writing uses such literary techniques as an emphasis on characterization, symbols, narrative, and plot motifs, which often allow subjects of a news event to tell their own story. These books can be written as nonfiction or they can include entertaining fictional aspects.

Regardless of the term used, book-length journalism remains underrepresented in scholarly studies and the works themselves are rarely categorized as a separate genre in libraries or bookstores. Rather than being recognized as a separate genre, these books are categorized by their subject matter, making it more difficult to build a sense of commonality, let alone scholarly analysis.

Development

Journalism books have developed in at least three major periods: the late 1890s, the 1930s and 1940s, and the 1960s and 1970s. The early twenty-first century has already been suggested as a fourth period.

The origin of book-length journalism is often debated. Some suggest the beginning dates to the end of the American Civil War (1861–65) and the growing popularity of literary journalism. Others believe the genre's origins lay in the famous "yellow journalism" newspaper rivalries of the 1890s between Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst. Matthew Arnold coined the phrase "new journalism" in 1887 to refer to Pulitzer's innovative editorial style of sensationalist and entertaining reporting.

Relevant books include those of both nonfiction and historical fiction. These are often intertwined with factual elements in the central narrative, including a heavy emphasis on characterization (more than a shorter journalistic report, though sometimes with fictional names), or the use of literary symbols. However, these books can also tell a fictional story with relevant social themes, issues, or criticisms that reflect the society about which the author is writing. Examples include several of Charles Dickens' books critiquing nineteenth-century British society and Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* about conditions in Chicago meat-packing plants early in the twentieth century.

Such books combined the truth of current events with dramatic fiction using literary techniques such as involved plot motifs, careful characterization, and literary symbols with social criticism undertones. This book-as-journalism was so closely linked with its literary cousin that it was not uncommon for many aspiring novelists to see journalism as an avenue to literary fame.

Many works produced before the 1890s are now perceived as early examples of literary journalism thanks to their use of similar techniques. One example is Mark Twain's *Life on the Mississippi* (1883), which described his earlier years in the riverboat world.

Again between the twentieth century's world wars, new forms of literary book-length journalism were produced by such authors as Ernest Hemingway. While the genre experienced a period of renewal in the 1930s and 1940s, Hemingway was one of the few authors to remain quite active in the genre during the 1920s. His work during this decade includes *The Sun Also Rises* (1926), focusing on society's lost innocence and optimism after the war as manifested in the "lost generation"; and *The Killers* (1927), a satirical description of the human experience (although a short story first published in *Scribner's Magazine,* is an example of precursory work in the genre). His contribution to the genre's renewed popularity in the 1930s and 1940s includes *The Fifth Column and the First Forty-Nine Stories* (1938), a collection of writing including *The Fifth Column,* a full-length play about the Spanish Civil War, and *The Denunciation* (written in 1938, although not published until 1969 in *Fifth Column and Four Stories of the Spanish Civil War*).

In the 1960s, Tom Wolfe published a handbook about journalism writing that argued that his "new journalism" stemmed from earlier authors (not newspapers) who used their fiction to bring current social issues into public light. Instead of being concerned with class, Wolfe's new journalism addressed broader social issues such as one's class status.

As with other social institutions, news reporting experienced a shift during the early twentieth century. Objectivity became the cultural expectation in journalism, one which remains today. Thus the "new" journalism books of recent years are often called books of "*new* new" journalism. While these often mixed nonfiction with fictional elements, the "*new* new" journalism books of recent years often lack fictional elements. Prior to being published in book form, these stories often feature pieces in magazines or newspapers. Many of the new journalism books have also been made into motion pictures including *Black Hawk Down* (1999, 2001) and *A Civil Action* (1995, 1998).

The twenty-first century ushered in a fourth period of development of these books. The so-called new new journalism is characterized by the journalists' new depth to reporting. The books are written after living for years among their subjects and in some cases attempting to assimilate into their subject's culture. Barbara Ehrenreich's *Nickel and Dimed: On (Not) Getting By in America* (2001)—in which the author investigates the impact of welfare reform on the working poor by traveling to Florida, Maine, and Minnesota and working in a series of low-paying jobs at Wal-Mart, a nursing home, a cleaning franchise, and several restaurants—is an example of this twenty-first-century model of journalistic books.

Selected Authors

James Agee (1909–55)

Agee began his career as a magazine journalist. His famous journalistic book *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (1941) was a result of an assignment with *Fortune* that was never published (possibly because he was unable to write in a way suited to the magazine). He turned his experience living with poor white Alabama sharecroppers into a compelling book, one acclaimed as showing Agee's daring ability to share his emotion. Another similar human experience placed Agee and his family as the subjects. The title *A Death in the Family* (1958) was a fictional piece based on his father's death that was published posthumously and received a Pulitzer Prize.

Mark Bowden (1951–)

Bowden authored *Black Hawk Down: A Story of Modern War* (1999), about an American military raid into Mogadishu, Somalia, that was originally reported for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. The book made such a profound statement about the way the government determines a successful or failed mission and resulted in such public outcry that it was made into a motion picture two years later.

Truman Capote (1924–84)

Capote mixed journalism and fictional elements in much of his writing. One of his most famous pieces, which Capote called the first "nonfiction novel" and which is considered a forerunner of the "new journalism" genre, is *In Cold Blood* (1966). Capote chronicles murders that shook Holcomb, Kansas, in 1959. While he was accused of including fictional elements in the book, he maintained that all details were drawn

from interviews or official documents. His use of literary techniques to tell a true story (that he spent six years researching and writing) explains why it is considered a major book of journalism. It is often used as a marker for the second phase in the genre's development. The book was originally written in 1965 as a four-part series for *The New Yorker*.

Stephen Crane (1871–1900)

Crane utilized many literary journalistic techniques in his human-interest sketches of daily life in New York City in the 1890s. These include "When Man Falls a Crowd Gathers" (about the selfish reasons people gather around accidents or victims as seen in a crowd reaction to a man's epileptic seizure), "The Men in the Storm" (about homeless men in the snow waiting for a shelter to open), and "A Lovely Jag in a Crowded Car" (societal reactions to alcohol abuse). Crane was fascinated with the city's poorer areas such as the Bowery, which had been transformed from a respectable prosperous neighborhood to one considered immoral and rife with saloons, brothels, and flophouses. Crane felt that nothing real had been written about life in this area and immersed himself in the community to do just that. After his time in the Bowery, Crane wrote *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* (1893), which Hamlin Garland proclaimed in a review as one of the most honest accounts of the slums ever written. Despite this review, *Maggie* was less than successful. In stark contrast, *The Red Badge of Courage* (1895), Crane's book about the American Civil War, which critically addresses the realities and human side of war, earned him international acclaim.

Charles Dickens (1812–70)

Dickens is identified as one of the revolutionaries in new journalism by Tom Wolfe and is most famous for his literature, or as some have categorized it, literary journalism. Most of Dickens' nineteenth-century novels used character development, literary and social symbols, and narrative to criticize or bring to public attention the social issues of the poor, including workhouses, orphanages, crime, and street gangs. His most representative works include *Oliver Twist, Little Dorrit, The Pickwick Papers, Nicholas Nickleby, Dombey and Son, Bleak House, Great Expectations,* and *Hard Times.* While they read as entertainment, each includes socially loaded themes and criticisms.

Jonathan Harr (1948–)

Harr's *Civil Action* (1995) chronicles lawsuits brought by eight families in Woburn, Massachusetts, against Beatrice's tannery and W. R. Grace's factory for allegedly contaminating drinking water that caused their children to develop leukemia. Harr was a staff writer for *New England Monthly* when he decided to pursue the story. Rather than focusing on the victims as he had in the past—a popular approach in journalistic books—Harr focuses on the lawyers. He was initially questioned about the ways in which he obtained what were seen as some very intimate details; however, all documentation subsequently released has supported Harr's book. In 1998 it was made into a motion picture.

Lincoln Steffens (1866–1936)

Steffens was known for his muckraking journalism and was one of the earliest champions of literary journalism at the *New York Commercial Advertiser* where he was city editor in the 1890s. His muckraking work included what is referred to as a "critical consciousness" of journalism, which even then was seen as a form of not quite journalism because of its emotional consciousness and not quite literature because the content was factual. While most of his work appeared as feature-length magazine pieces in *McClure's,* his articles calling for urban political reform were also published in *The Shame of the Cities* (1904) and in *The Struggle for Self-Government* (1906).

Mark Twain (1835–1910)

Twain, pen name for Samuel Langhorne Clemens, is often cited as a journalist because of his background and the realism in his fiction. Twain's narrative journalistic pieces were often published in weekly magazines for their entertainment value. However, his narratives and most of his books are really critiques of such human

fallacies as vanity and hypocrisy. A majority of his works chronicle his own travels and the lives he encountered, often resulting in insightful criticism of society. Among his important titles are *The Innocents Abroad* (1869), which critiqued a movement to profit from history; *Life on the Mississippi* (1883), which detailed society's greed and tragedy; and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884), a fictional narrative criticizing Southern American antebellum society.

Tom Wolfe (1931–)

Wolfe is credited with shaping and driving "new journalism" in the twentieth century. Wolfe is perceived as a father of "new journalism" (despite the earlier coinage of the term in the 1890s and his open dislike for the term). He believed that this type of journalism would rival novels to the point that the genre should fear the new journalism genre. Some of his important titles include *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (1968), *The Pump House Gang* (1968), *Radical Chic & Mau-Mauing the Flak Catchers* (essays in book form, 1970), *Mauve Gloves & Madmen, Clutter & Vine* (1977), and *The Right Stuff* (1979).

Heather E. Gilbert

See also Hard Versus Soft News; Human Interest Journalism; Investigative Journalism; Literary Journalism; Muckrakers; New Journalism; News as Narrative; Social Movements and Journalism

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Boston

Boston is the birthplace of American journalism: the first three newspapers in colonial America were started there, beginning with *Publick Occurrences, Both Forreign and Domestick* in 1690. Modern Boston (pop. 600,000 or about 2 million with surrounding suburbs) is a media-rich city with many universities and information technology businesses, and serves as the hub of New England's political, commercial, scientific, artistic, educational, and sports activity. The Boston Designated Market Area (Boston–Manchester, New Hampshire) encompasses 2.4 million homes and is the seventh largest market in the country.

Boston is credited with several other firsts in American journalism, including the first woman editor of a major paper, Cornelia Wells Walker of the *Boston Transcript,* 1842–47; the first woman founder of a major American daily, Mary Baker Eddy, who in 1908 created *The Christian Science Monitor* to promote "clean journalism" in the face of the prevailing "yellow journalism" of her time; the first news story transmitted via telephone, *The Boston Globe,* 1877; the first full-page advertisement, *The Boston Globe,* 1875; the first commercial radio license, WBZ, 1921; and the first all-women radio station, WASN (All Shopping News), 1927.

Newspapers

Publick Occurrences, a 6- by 10-inch three-pager, was immediately accused of printing "sundry doubtful and uncertain Reports" and was shut down by the colonial authorities five days after its appearance. It was never resurrected. *The Boston News-Letter* (1704) and the *Boston Gazette* (1719) lasted much longer. Early news items dealt first with financial and commercial issues and later with politics and urban life. James Franklin's *New England Courant* (1721) is credited by some historians as being the first American newspaper to carry on a crusade—it was against the smallpox inoculation.

The 1800s were dominated by continuous appearances and disappearances of newspaper titles. At one time in the 1830s the city had 15 daily and weekly newspapers, some of which

offered short-lived evening editions. Most were concentrated in downtown Boston's famous "newspaper row" on Washington Street where one of the popular traditions was the daily display of handwritten news signs or blackboards in a newspaper's street-level windows.

Most notable newspapers of that era included the *Boston Daily Advertiser* (1813), the first successful New England paper catering to the interests of the elite, purchased by William Randolph Hearst in 1917; *The Boston Traveler* (1825), originally dedicated to stagecoach listings and the first Boston paper to use newsboys to sell copies in the streets; The *Boston Transcript* (1830), a stodgy, literary paper, which served the city's gentry, and was the subject of T. S. Eliot's poem "The Boston Evening Transcript"; *The Daily Post* (1831), a very successful paper (at its peak it sold more than 600,000 copies daily) that was Democrat and prolabor; *The Liberator* (1831), published by abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison; *The Boston Herald* (1846), a penny-paper founded by a group of area printers; and William Randolph Hearst's *The American* (1904). In 1912 the *Herald* bought the *Traveler* and in 1967 they combined to form the *Boston Herald-Traveler*. In 1972 the *Herald-Traveler* was forced by a government decision to sell its broadcast stations and was soon sold to Hearst's *Record-American* to survive. These properties eventually formed the *Boston Herald*.

A new era in Boston journalism was launched with the appearance of *The Boston Globe* in 1872. The newspaper was the result of a $150,000 joint investment by six prominent local businessmen, led by Eben Jordan, one of the owners of the Jordan Marsh department store. The paper's first year was disappointing, but in 1873 the investors were able to hire Colonel Charles H. Taylor, a Civil War veteran and publisher of the struggling *American Homes Magazine,* to run the paper. Taylor changed the *Globe* from Republican to Democrat, insisted on impartial news presentation, introduced stories of interest to women and children, and cut the price to two cents. It turned out to be a formula for long-term success.

Helped by the steady leadership of one family, the Taylors, for more than 100 years and the special talents of editor Lawrence Winship and later his son Thomas, the *Globe* has been Boston's journalism standard. It has won numerous journalistic distinctions, including 19 Pulitzer Prizes between 1966 and 2007. Some of the most notable of those were the 1975 "Public Service" award for its coverage of the Boston school desegregation crisis; the 1984 "Investigative Reporting" award for its coverage of race relations in Boston; and the 2003 "Public Service" award for its series on children abused by Boston-area Catholic priests. In 1993 the *Globe* was acquired by *The New York Times,* and by the next decade had a circulation of about 400,000.

The *Globe*'s main competitor in the early twenty-first century was the *Herald,* a scrappy blue-collar tabloid with a circulation of about 200,000. The *Herald*'s four Pulitzers in editorial writing are among the most ever won by any one newspaper in that category. Its other three Pulitzers are for its news photography. One of the Pulitzers was given for a 1926 editorial that reversed a long-held *Herald* position and asked for a new trial for Ferdinando Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, who had been tried and convicted for the murder of two payroll clerks and were facing execution, though the judge and the prosecution had been widely criticized for improper conduct. Over the years, the paper faced continuous financial difficulties and was sold to Rupert Murdoch's News Corp. in 1981. Murdoch sought to expand his Boston electronic media holdings but was unable to overcome Federal Communications Commission cross-ownership restrictions. In order to acquire WFXT-TV, the Fox Boston affiliate, Murdoch sold the *Herald* to one of its News Corp. officers in 1982.

In addition to the *Globe* and the *Herald,* the last major player in the Boston newspaper market was the *Post,* "New England's Great Breakfast Table Paper," which went out of business in 1956. The paper gained prominence after its 1891 acquisition by Edwin Grozier, one of the editors of Joseph Pulitzer's New York *World*. Probably the *Post*'s most famous story was its investigation and 1920 exposé of the "Ponzi scheme," which resulted in the imprisonment and eventual deportation of serial swindler Carlo Ponzi. Grozier had brought with him the Pulitzer formula for success—not only sharp writing and sound news judgment, but also great promotional stunts for circulation building. Some of the most notorious were the daily giveaway of a Ford car for the day's best essay, the gold-tipped ebony cane to be given to a town's oldest citizen, and the "primitive man stunt" that

resulted in a crowd of up to 250,000 Bostonians coming to newspaper row to see the condition of a man who had entered the Maine wilderness naked and stayed there for two months. One of its promotional gimmicks survives to this day—the *Post* Santa (a Christmas campaign to collect toys for poor children) is now the *Globe* Santa.

By 2009, the city has five dailies: *The Boston Globe,* the *Boston Herald, The Christian Science Monitor,* and the free *Boston Metro* and *Boston Now.*

Boston also enjoys a large variety of nondailies and weeklies, the most notable of which are the alternative, arts-oriented *Boston Phoenix;* the *Boston Business Journal;* the African American community's *Bay State Banner;* the Roman Catholic Archdiocese's *The Pilot;* the gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender community's *Bay Windows* and *In Newsweekly;* the South End's *Boston Courant;* and the ethnic *Asian Times, Boston Korea, Irish Emigrant, The Jewish Advocate, El Mundo, Post-Gazette, Sampan,* and *El Planeta.*

Finally, Boston is home to the third oldest American magazine, the *Boston Weekly Magazine* of 1743, which was followed later the same year by *The American Magazine and Historical Chronicle.* Boston's signature magazine over the years, however, was the literary *Atlantic Monthly,* which was started in 1857 and featured the works of such famous New Englanders as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and Oliver Wendell Holmes, among others. The magazine moved to its new headquarters in Washington, D.C., in 2005. Many scientific, business, and entertainment magazines are published in Boston today, including *The New England Journal of Medicine, Horticulture Magazine, CFO, Dollars and Sense, Creative Business, Non-Profit Quarterly,* and *New England Home. Boston* is the city's main culture and entertainment magazine.

Radio

Boston was served by one of the early radio stations in America—1XE, later known as WGI, was sporadically broadcasting after 1916. An arrangement between 1XE and the Boston *American* yielded two newscasts per day in 1922. The first U.S. commercial license was assigned in 1921 to WBZ, which remains one of the city's premier stations.

John Shepard, owner of Shepard Department Stores, started another important radio outlet, WNAC, in 1922. WNAC innovated by broadcasting live music from the black Broadway musical "Shuffle Along," which was touring Boston. By 1924 WNAC was broadcasting synagogue services (Rabbi Harry Levi became known as the "radio rabbi") and in 1926 it broadcast live play-by-play coverage of a Boston Red Sox–New York Yankees baseball game.

Boston was briefly served by the country's first all-female station, WASN (All Shopping News), which in 1927 was headed by Station Manager Marion Smith, announcer Grace Lawrence, and saleswoman Claire Crawford. The station lasted six months and was replaced by WBIS (Boston's Information Service) later the same year. It featured phonograph record music obtained from Shepard's Department Store.

Shepard linked up with his brother's radio station WEAN in Providence and with New Bedford's WNBH to form the Yankee Network in 1930. As his network grew, Shepard searched for agreements with newspapers, but encountered significant opposition until he formed the Yankee News Service in 1934 and successfully challenged the newspapers and AP agreements that would allow radio stations only two newscasts per day.

In 1937 Shepard was granted a permit to build an FM station in the Boston area, W1XOJ (later W43B), but construction problems delayed the start of transmission for a couple of years. Shepard's second FM station, W1XOY in Mt. Washington, New Hampshire, created the first FM relay network in America (1940). In 1941 Shepard sold his first FM network commercial to Socony-Vacuum Oil Company.

In 1941 a disgruntled former Shepard employee founded the Mayflower Broadcasting Company and challenged the FCC license renewal of WAAB, one of Yankee Network's Boston stations, on the grounds that the station's editorials and political coverage were unfair and unbalanced. The commission found that WAAB made "no pretense" to report objectively or impartially, but said that for a radio station to be "an instrument of democracy" it must serve "the public interest—and not the private." The FCC asked WAAB to present issues "fairly, objectively and without bias." WAAB agreed to change its ways and retained its license.

In 1949 the Mayflower decision was replaced by the Fairness Doctrine.

The promise of the emerging electronic media market led to several newspapers looking into diversifying into radio and television. In 1946 the *Herald-Traveler* bought WHDH-AM, and later WHDH-FM and WHDH-TV. In 1972 the conglomerate was challenged by other local competitors to divest. The Supreme Court agreed and the *Herald-Traveler* had to sell the stations that had long supported the paper, which eventually caused its demise.

Some of Boston's key radio stations in the early twenty-first century included WBZ-AM (news-talk), WJMN-FM (contemporary hits), WBCN-FM (alternative), WMJX-FM (adult contemporary), WODS-FM (oldies), WRKO-AM (talk), WEEI-FM (sports), WTKK-FM (talk), WKLB-FM (country), WAAF-FM (active rock), and WCRB-FM (classical). WBUR-FM and -AM are the NPR affiliates and are known nationally for such programs as "Car Talk" and "On Point." WGBH-FM is another NPR affiliate known nationally for its classical, blues, and jazz programming.

Television

In 1928, the engineers of WLEX, the radio station of the Boston suburb of Lexington, were optimistic they would soon be able to transmit sound and pictures. Station engineers had been working on mechanical television (a device that would capture and display images through a revolving disk with a series of holes in a spiral pattern) and Raytheon Manufacturing Co., also of Lexington, was beginning to produce the "kino lamp" that was to be central to the new television technology.

Boston newspapers the *Post* and the *Evening Transcript* were supportive but the experiments were unsuccessful—the images were unclear and crude and the sound was noisy. Just as support for the experiments was beginning to lag seriously, the New England Council, a group of area business leaders, stepped in and underwrote the project's funding. New equipment was brought in and a television-specific structure was built, thus allowing for the better separation of the sound and sight transmission frequencies. This time the experiments were successful.

The first commercial television station in New England was WBZ (Channel 4), which went on the air in June 1948. Originally an NBC affiliate (CBS has owned and operated the station since 1995), WBZ was the first New England outlet to offer regular newscasts and to broadcast live play-by-play accounts of Boston Red Sox and Boston Braves baseball games.

Among the long-running programs on WBZ have been the *Big Brother Bob Emery Show* and Rex Trailer's *Boomtown* and *People Are Talking*. Anchors Liz Walker and Jack Williams, along with sportscaster Bob Lobel, formed an anchor team for two decades, from 1980 until 2000. Williams and Lobel continued anchoring into the new century. In 1965–68, the station featured the city's first African American anchor, Terry Carter.

Channel 7 is the second oldest television station in Boston, having started just 12 days after WBZ in 1948 as WNAC-TV. It became WHDH in 1961. The station offers an extensive selection of weekly programs addressing various religious and ethnic Boston communities (i.e., *Asian Focus, Higher Ground, Jewish Perspective, Revista Hispana,* and *Urban Update*). WHDH is Boston's NBC affiliate. Since 2006 it has been producing the 10 p.m. weeknight newscast for its sister station WLVI.

WLVI (Channel 56) is Boston's oldest UHF station (1953) and is a CW (CBS and Warner Bros.) network affiliate. For lack of funds, the station closed twice (1956 and 1962). From 1966 to 1969 and again from 1985 to 1990 the station served as the broadcast source for Boston Celtics road games. In 1999 it served as the flagship station of the Boston Red Sox.

WGBH (Channel 2), the Boston public television outlet, went on the air in 1955 as an early non-commercial television station. In the early 2000s it was a major production center for the Public Broadcasting Service with such programs as *Antiques Roadshow, American Experience, Basic Black,* and *Greater Boston.*

WCVB (Channel 5) took the channel originally allocated to WHDH, which was owned by the Boston Herald-Traveler Corporation. Pressure by local competitors forced the FCC to raise ownership concentration issues and WHDH had to relinquish its ownership. WCVB went on the air in 1972 with a strong schedule of public affairs programs. Starting in the early 1980s, husband-and-wife team Natalie Jacobson and Chet Curtis formed the city's most successful anchor team for

more than 20 years. Since 1982 the station has been producing the nightly news magazine *Chronicle*. WCVB is Boston's ABC affiliate.

WSBK (Channel 38), the city's youngest station, went on the air in 1964 under the ownership of the Boston Catholic Television Center with call letters WIHS-TV. At various times in the past, the station broadcast Boston Bruins, Celtics, and Red Sox games.

More than 300 years after the first colonial newspaper appeared in this city, Boston continues to play an important role in the life of American journalism. Veteran and budding journalists in Boston's many established news outlets and academic institutions are working on the cutting edge of journalism's future. They research and experiment with new multimedia platforms and storytelling techniques as they prepare the next chapter of journalism in America.

Manny E. Paraschos

See also Baltimore; Philadelphia; New York

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British Broadcasting Corporation

The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) is one of the world's most prominent and successful broadcasting organizations, and is viewed by many as the premier national public service broadcaster. It has gained a reputation for high levels of creativity across a range of programming formats. None has been more prominent than its journalistic output, whether at the local, regional, national, or international level. Throughout the twentieth century the prevailing form of broadcasting globally, with the prominent exception of the United States, was that of public service broadcasting. There is perhaps no greater testimony to the importance of the BBC and its principles and values than the fact that many countries, when they were establishing broadcasting in the early decades of the twentieth century, chose the BBC as the model to emulate (with, it has to be said, varying degrees of success). This was particularly the case with its journalistic output, where the BBC was seen to set the gold standard for independence, impartiality, balance, and comprehensiveness in its output. In the twenty-first century, however, there is a growing use of market values to determine the output of electronic media.

Origins

The BBC began life as the British Broadcasting Company on October 18, 1922. It was formed by a group of radio manufacturers, including radiotelegraph inventor Guglielmo Marconi, who were eager for an organization to provide programming for their product. Daily broadcasts began on November 14, 1922. The general manager was a dour 33-year-old Scottish engineer, John Reith. In these fledgling years some news was broadcast, but never before 7 p.m. so that newspaper sales would not be affected. In 1926 the BBC faced the first major crisis over what, even then, was taken to be absolutely axiomatic to its founding principles: its editorial independence. During the general strike of that year the biggest and most intense conflict between the trade union movement and the government in modern British history took place and the public turned to the BBC for news because no newspapers were being published. The BBC sought, with a modicum of success, to represent the news of the strike as seen from both sides. This infuriated the then chancellor of the exchequer, Winston Churchill, who

wanted the BBC to be taken over by the government. Reith and then–Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin resisted, and the BBC maintained its independence. The incident would be the first of many conflicts between the BBC and the government of the day. Yet the 1926 conflict demonstrated just how effectively the BBC was fulfilling its commitment to independent journalism on the grounds that if the government is disturbed about news coverage then the corporation must be doing something right.

At the beginning of 1927 the BBC became the British Broadcasting Corporation, established by a Royal Charter. This would be crucial to its continued efforts to maintain its independence since the charter meant that the BBC was an institution of the monarchy and not the state. The charter also established a board of governors, appointed by the monarch, who were deemed to be trustees of the public interest. The significance of this for the BBC's independence in general, and its journalism in particular, was that the only way the government could seek to control the BBC would be, ultimately, by getting the monarch to remove the governors. Since this would inevitably be extremely controversial, and since under the terms of the (unwritten) British constitution the monarch cannot be seen to be involved in political controversy, the possibility of the governors being removed was remote in the extreme. It was also determined that the BBC would be funded by a license fee, paid by anyone who owned a radio receiver and, later, a television. The purpose here was to provide financial independence for the corporation, so that it was reliant neither on advertising nor state subvention. The thinking behind this was very much that of Reith who looked west to the unregulated radio of America and east to the rigidly controlled radio of the Soviet system and did not like what he saw in either direction.

In January 2007, the BBC's latest Royal Charter came into force and will continue through 2016. From that date the BBC was to be governed by the BBC Trust, rather than a board of governors. The trust's function is to set the strategic direction of the corporation, leaving operational responsibility to an executive board, chaired by the director general. The charter also reasserts the BBC's editorial independence.

Journalism and the BBC's Basic Values

The BBC's purpose through its history has been to "inform, educate and entertain." Drawing from a number of sources, such as the Broadcasting Research Unit's "Public Service Broadcasting: Main Principles," it is possible to suggest the intellectual framework that defines the BBC and that, therefore, provides the framework within which it practices its journalism:

- *Universality of Availability:* Public broadcasting historically sought to ensure that its signals were available to all, wherever they might live. The imperative that guided this principle was not that of maximizing customers in a market but of serving citizens in a democracy, on the basis that if one defines one's audience as all the citizens of a country, then logically one has to reach them all.

- *Universality of Appeal:* Public broadcasting sought to provide programs that catered to the many different tastes and interests that constitute a society's life, understanding that each of us, at different moments, is part of a majority and a minority. The rather optimistic premise was that well-produced programs can please a lot of the people a lot of the time, and everybody some of the time, driven by the desire, to use an aphorism coined by a senior BBC executive Hugh Wheldon, to make good programs popular and popular programs good. This goal, however, set its face against giving people what they want. This was a vital principle for the BBC's journalistic output since the corporation understood its role as one of providing the citizenry of the United Kingdom with the information they needed to exercise that citizenship, rather than what they, the public, wanted, which was assumed would be trivial and not healthy for democratic culture.

- *Provision for Minorities, Especially Those Disadvantaged by Physical or Social Circumstance:* Public broadcasting saw the public as a rich tapestry of tastes and interests each of which, insofar as possible, should be served. Journalistically this meant that the BBC undertook to provide news and information for specific groups and interests, as well as for the general citizenry.

- *Serving the Public Sphere:* Public broadcasting recognized its special relationship to a sense of national identity and broad community. Any

nation is a patchwork of localities and regions, but it also is a nation, heterogeneous and homogeneous at one and the same time. Public broadcasting's very nature was then to nurture the public sphere as a means of serving the public good, since it is within the public sphere that individuals function as citizens. The corporation's journalistic output was key to this commitment.

- *A Commitment to the Education of the Public:* The most outstanding example of public broadcasting's commitment to the audience-as-citizen is the longtime provision, in almost all public broadcasting systems, of educational programming at every level. The basic premise was that political and social literacy, as well as literal literacy, are an essential prerequisite to the healthy working of a democratic order. Above all else, the commitment to this principle required that it treat its audience as mature, rational beings capable of learning, growing, and demanding information.

- *Distance From All Vested Interests:* It is a simple but key principle of public broadcasting that its programs can best serve the public with excellence and diversity when they are produced from within a structure of independence.

- *Competition for Good Programming Rather Than Competition for Numbers:* This principle was central to public service broadcasting and essentially involves a commitment to making programs that are of high quality, whatever their intended audience. Hence the BBC's commitment to "quality" news and current affairs.

- *Liberal Broadcasting Rules for Program Makers:* While it was understood that all broadcasting will inevitably be governed by certain prescriptions—"educate," "inform," "entertain," "balance," "fairness"—the essence of the legislative foundation empowering it should sustain a liberal function for the program maker.

These principles, articulated by an independent think tank, were echoed in the BBC's own 2007 "statement of purpose" when it declared that it creates "public value" in six ways: sustaining citizenship and civil society; promoting education and learning; stimulating creativity and cultural excellence; representing the United Kingdom and its nations, regions, and communities; bringing the United Kingdom to the world and world to the UK; and delivering the benefit of emerging communications technologies. From the standpoint of its journalistic practices all these values are clearly present: it supports civic and cultural life by providing news and information "that helps citizens make sense of the world and encourages them to engage it"; it seeks "to broaden the national conversation"; it provides news at the national, regional, and local level, as well as having a growing international role; and it defines itself as "the world's most trusted provider of international news and information."

The Royal Charter identifies another purpose, one that is and will continue to be of enormous importance in the BBC's proffering of news and current affairs programming: in promoting its other purposes the BBC will deliver to the public the benefit of emerging communications technologies and services and, in addition, take a leading role in the switchover to digital television. The anchoring of the BBC to the monarchy, historically a key part of sustaining its independence, is maintained, and defined in article 12(3): "The Chairman, Vice-Chairman and ordinary members of the Trust shall be appointed by Order in Council." The "Council" is the constitutional body overseen by the monarch.

An "agreement" complements the 2007 charter, and was made between the BBC and the Secretary of State for culture, Media and Society following a debate in Parliament in July 2006. The agreement goes into more detail than the charter in relation to the obligations of the BBC and how they will be pursued. With regard to news and current affairs, the agreement declares that the public "can trust the BBC to provide high-quality news, current affairs and factual programming that keeps you informed and supports debate about important issues and political developments in an engaging way."

The agreement also declared that the BBC's journalism would encourage conversation and debate about news, current affairs, and topical issues among friends, family, and wider groups through forums for debate such as phone-ins and online discussion areas. It also declared its intent to build a greater understanding of the parliamentary process and political institutions governing Britain, including those of the European Union.

The BBC also defines a number of values that it uses to guide its journalistic practices and that it

demands of its journalists: news and current affairs programs that are balanced and unbiased; reporting that strives for accuracy and truth; commitment to fairness and privacy; respect for the audience through production and broadcast of "dignified programming"; and the maintaining of its independence from all vested interests, be they economic or political.

BBC Journalism: Organization and Output

There are three main organizational elements to the BBC's journalistic activities:

1. The Journalism Group consists of the BBC's journalism at the international, national, regional, and local levels across radio, television, and online interactive media. Within the group, BBC News provides all the UK-wide news and current affairs content and news gathering. The BBC News website is one of the fastest growing areas of the BBC. In 2007, 80 percent of all adults in the United Kingdom accessed the BBC each week, either through radio, television, or the Internet.

2. BBC Global News includes BBC World Service Radio, BBC World Television, and online services. In 2006, the different services reached an estimated 233 million people globally and outperformed CNN International (CNNI) and other international competitors. In 2006–07, BBC World was available in 280 million homes around the world, and the BBC World Service Radio reached 183 million homes across its 33 language services.

In 2006–07, through its national television services (BBC1, BBC2, BBC3, BBC4, BBC24, and BBC Parliament) the corporation produced 20,287 hours of news and weather reports inside the UK. It also produced 821 hours of current affairs programming. Through its national radio services (Radio 1, Radio 2, Radio 3, Radio 4, Radio 5 Live, 1Extra, BBC Music, and BBC Asian Network) the corporation produced 12,642 hours of news and weather reports, and 3,470 hours of current affairs programming. While figures were not available for the journalistic output of BBC Global News, BBC World Services produced 1,258 hours each week, in 33 languages, which is 65,400 hours a year. In addition, there are tens of thousands of hours of news and current affairs broadcast by the BBC's affiliate stations at BBC Scotland, BBC Wales, and BBC Northern Ireland, and in its English Regions and its large network of local radio stations.

3. In 2007 the BBC established a web-based College of Journalism, open to the BBC's 7,500 journalistic staff, with the purpose of promoting "the BBC's values and the highest ethical and editorial standards, as well as developing the strongest craft skills and knowledge base across the BBC." The website contains modules, practical guides to journalism, and blogs, all provided by BBC journalists. There are also sections on values, ethical dilemmas, law, writing, audiences, and craft skills.

BBC Journalism and Credibility

The essence of the BBC's commitment to journalism has historically been its declared editorial independence and its commitment to impartiality. This means that it is axiomatic that no other institution, in public or private life, can tell it what to do or how to do it, and the BBC does not take sides on issues when covering the news and public life in general. However, audience research in the first decade of the twenty-first century suggested that there was a growing sense among the public that the BBC is failing in these areas. The BBC, in its annual report in 2007, declared that 76 percent of respondents in a survey said that they trusted BBC news programs "the most to give a fair, informed and balanced view on important issues and events. Overall, 53 percent rate the BBC as fair and impartial, against 18 percent who believe it is biased." However, in a survey conducted on behalf of the BBC World Service, as part of a global report into perceptions of media freedom, and reported in the press in December 2007, only 29 percent of 1,003 Britons polled said they rated the BBC positively. Forty-three percent percent said the BBC's performance was "average" in reporting news, and 26 percent said it was poor. In fact, British respondents thought less of their publicly funded news organization than those in countries such as Venezuela, Russia, Egypt, Kenya, and Nigeria. Britain, much to the embarrassment of the corporation, came eleventh out of 14 countries polled in levels of trust toward that national public broadcaster. One of the other revealing findings was that many Britons were critical of the accuracy of the BBC's news reporting.

A possible explanation for this negative public opinion might have been that the survey was conducted at a time when the whole of British broadcasting, including the BBC, was rocked by a number of scandals. These included fraudulent call-in programs, where the results of what were supposed to be open contests in which the public could vote by telephone or text message were found to rigged. While these didn't originate within the BBC news and current affairs departments, the general sense of a lack of honesty seemed, to some observers, to wash over public judgments about the BBC's news output.

There were, however, specific instances in 2007 in which BBC news and current affairs programs engaged in what can only be described as deceptive practices. One such became known as "Queengate." The BBC was making a documentary of a year in the life of the Queen. In one sequence, the Queen seemed irritated by a particular question. In the promotional film for the documentary the question and her irritated response are shown and then she is seen walking away in some haste, as if she had stormed out of the set where she was being filmed. In fact, the sequence of her walking was shot before the question had been posed and she was in fact walking toward the set. This caused a huge furor, particularly on the grounds that if footage of the monarch could be manipulated in order to garner attention for the program, what else in news and current affairs could be manipulated? The head of BBC One, which had commissioned the documentary, was forced to resign. In a similar vein a current affairs program edited footage of then–Chancellor of the Exchequer (later Prime Minister) Gordon Brown in reverse chronological order simply to obtain a more dramatic effect. The BBC was forced to apologize.

Another more profound explanation for the decline of public trust might have been that, as with every other news broadcaster, the BBC was functioning in a global and national political environment that was ever more fractious and polarized, and in which its reportage was much more susceptible to accusations of bias. One stark example of this was when the Israeli government banned the BBC from press conferences because of what it took to be the BBC's anti-Israel agenda in its coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. There was an enormous collision between the BBC and the British government after a news report from the corporation claimed that the government had manipulated intelligence in the run up to the Iraq war. An official inquiry, headed by Lord (Brian) Hutton, severely criticized the BBC for offering misleading information, and both the chairman and director general were forced to resign.

The BBC recognized that serious and threatening questions about its impartiality were afoot and that they were propelled by a number of different forces. In June 2007, a report titled *From Seesaw to Wagon Wheel* from an internal Impartiality Steering Group was published. It is a particularly important statement about the issues swirling around the BBC's journalistic practices since it examined not just the politics within which it now had to function, but also the ways in which its practices were being drastically affected by a radically changed media ecology:

> Impartiality in broadcasting has long been assumed to apply mainly to party politics and industrial disputes. It involved keeping a balance to ensure the seesaw did not tip too far to one side or the other. Those days are over. In today's multi-polar Britain, with its range of cultures, beliefs and identities, impartiality involves many more than two sides to an argument. Party politics is in decline, and industrial disputes are only rarely central to national debate.
>
> From its foundation, the BBC developed an impartial approach which distinguished it from the largely partisan world of print. Other broadcasters followed this lead, and impartiality became a central feature of public service broadcasting. Now, in the early 21st century, with digital switchover only a few years away, impartiality is under increasing pressure, whether from shock-jocks, opinionated news channels, or unregulated broadband broadcasters.
>
> The BBC is not isolated from these developments. Thanks to the revolution in communications technology, its programs swim in the same sea. The convergence of platforms, services, and technical devices is blurring the boundaries between television, radio, and print, and creating a single media market. People no longer need to go to fixed points to watch or listen: they can now access BBC material almost anywhere, by wireless connections and handheld devices and

> often via portals which have no interest in or understanding of impartiality. The public can tailor content to suit themselves, and are increasingly able to view or listen on demand.

The significance of this statement lies in its recognition that the issues confronting the BBC's journalism, as the twenty-first century unfolded, lay not just in the relationship between good and bad practice, but rather in underlying structural change and disruption. The corporation could not escape the fundamental reality that it was one part of a larger media environment, and that just as global warming could drastically affect the physical environment, so could the developing conjunction of technology and new patterns of audience choice drastically influence the character of even the most famous and renowned of broadcasters.

Conclusion

Perhaps the greatest challenge to the BBC's journalistic mission in the twenty-first century will not be issues of its professionalism, nor the ever-present collisions with the government over political content. Rather it will be—indeed already was in the century's first decade—the growing indifference of a public, particularly a young public, distracted by the myriad new ways of being entertained and informed, not to mention a continuing decline in its revenue stream from the license fee. The decisive development that enjoined these two processes began in the Thatcher years (1979–90) when repeated collisions with Conservative governments over such issues as civil war in Northern Ireland and industrial disputes did not endear the corporation to the Conservatives. This also coincided with the effort by government to implement neoliberal social, economic, and cultural policies throughout British society such as reducing the value of the license fee, creating greater competition among different broadcasters for the audience, and removing all public service commitments from ITV, the BBC's main competitor for the mass audience. This translated into the ever-greater desire to employ market forces to guide the destiny of the nation. That trend of conflict and the pursuit of market economics continued, with even greater animus and energy, under the Labour government, which came to power in 1997, along with the escalating migration of audiences to the web for entertainment and information, particularly among the young. The result will be a shift from the provision of news and information by a large organization to citizens, to a culture of consumers who will choose what they do or do not want of the news and information being offered. It is a profound inversion of that original Reithian conception of the role of the public broadcaster (demonstrated by the BBC's own growing use of multiple platforms, and branding and marketing of its news and current affairs output) alongside a serious reduction in resources for its journalistic output.

As the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century approached it seemed that the BBC was in what professor Georgina Born of the University of Cambridge had called the "post-impartial era." In reality, the shift was deeper than that and the BBC was to all intents and purposes starting to live within the post–public service broadcasting era. In that sense the BBC was coming full circle, back to a time when it was the British Broadcasting Company, that is, a commercial enterprise. The implications of this for the BBC, its journalism, and its role within the democratic culture of the United Kingdom are likely to be enormous and, if one believes in the democratic process, deeply negative as news and current affairs programming become mere commodities in the vast markets of a new media universe.

Michael Tracey

See also Bias; British Broadcasting Regulation; British New Media; Credibility; English Roots of the Free Press; Objectivity

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British Broadcasting Regulation

Regulation has played a major role in the development of British broadcast journalism. In a number of areas British broadcasting regulation has been more rigorous and extensive than that in other Western democracies. British regulators have set high standards for broadcast content—not only in traditional areas for regulation such as taste and offence (the portrayal of sex and violence, offensive language) but also in journalism—requiring broadcast news and current affairs to be both accurate and impartial.

As well as setting content standards, regulators have also been closely involved in determining the structure of British broadcasting and assessing the quality of its program output. Regulation has extended to the scheduling and length of news programs, their resources and budgets, as well as the amount of current affairs programming. At the same time, the regulatory bodies, in a country that does not have the same constitutional protection of freedom of expression as the United States, have had to maintain their own independence from political and commercial influence and protect the independence of the broadcasters.

For much of the twentieth century this approach to broadcasting regulation helped ensure high programming standards in both publicly funded and commercial broadcasters. The benefits of this competition were most clearly seen in journalism, where the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and its commercial counterparts were encouraged to devote substantial resources and air time to high quality journalism. But with the growth of a more competitive media market in multichannel television and online media at the end of the century, the traditional British model came under severe pressure, and the role of regulation in commercial broadcasting began to weaken, although it continued to have a major role in publicly funded media like the BBC. The implications for British broadcast journalism were significant.

The BBC

British broadcasting regulation began in 1926 with the first BBC charter. The BBC at the time had a monopoly on radio and the politicians wanted to ensure that it could not be captured by any special interest. The BBC charter gave the job of regulating to the BBC Board of Governors, 12 men and women appointed by the Crown on the advice of the government to ensure that the BBC was properly managed, that its programs met the required standards and that it remained independent. The charter was renewed and reviewed every ten years until the replacement of the governors by a new body—the BBC Trust—in 2006.

From the start, the BBC was expected to be impartial in its coverage of public affairs and not broadcast its own or its staff's opinions. Impartiality became an essential part of the BBC's culture and the governors were responsible for regulating it. The 1996 charter reinforced this by formally requiring the governors to ensure that controversial subjects were treated with due impartiality, but it was only making explicit a requirement that had existed for more than 70 years.

The governors combined these regulatory responsibilities with the strategic direction of the BBC—hiring and firing the director-general (chief executive) and approving the BBC's budget.

Constitutionally, the governors *were* the BBC, putting them in the unusual position of being both regulator and part of the organization they were regulating. This led, at the end of the century, to growing criticisms that their regulation of the BBC was insufficiently independent and rigorous—that in arguments over BBC news coverage, for example, or the way the BBC's growing commercial activities affected its competitors, the governors had been "captured" by the management and would support it against valid outside criticism.

Commercial Television

The arrival of commercial Independent Television (ITV) in Britain in 1955 meant the BBC faced competition for the first time. A separate regulatory structure was created to ensure that the new commercial stations were in some ways as tightly regulated as the publicly funded BBC. Initially, the regulators—first the Independent Television Authority (ITA) and, from 1972, the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA)—were legally the broadcasters and had the right to decide what could be broadcast. The regulators also had enormous power over the regional companies that made up the ITV Network. The regulators awarded and renewed their licenses on the basis of the companies' promises to deliver high quality programming in areas such as regional and national news, education, current affairs, and documentaries.

The regulators would set quotas for the amount of programming in different categories, and for the amount of regionally based production—local news and documentaries, for example. In addition, the commercial broadcasters were subject to the same content regulation as the BBC in areas such as taste and offense—as well as the same obligations of accuracy and impartiality in news.

When a second commercial channel—Channel 4—was launched in 1982 it was again subject to tight regulatory control. Although its role was to innovate, it was also clearly part of public service broadcasting. The regulator set out the channel's program remit in some detail, including the minimum amounts of time to be devoted to different genres—such as news, documentaries, and education. The result was the launch of Channel 4 News in 1982, a 50-minute-long nightly news analysis program combining news and current affairs that rapidly became one of the channel's iconic programs.

When the license for the third commercial broadcaster—Channel 5—was awarded in 1996, the regulator gave the license to the company that had the most ambitious news plans, and *Five News,* with a new, informal, style of presentation, rapidly became one of the key programs on the new network. The *Five News* newscaster, Kirsty Young, the first woman to be the principal newscaster of a UK network, presented while perched on a desk in the newsroom or walking around rather than seated behind a conventional desk on a conventional news set. *Five News* also made more use of video diaries and user generated content than its competitors. Both of these new news services were subject to the same regulatory obligations on impartiality.

A similar regulatory model was adopted when commercial radio was introduced into the UK in 1973. Licenses were awarded on promises of performance and stations were encouraged to provide current affairs programming and news as well as music. Radio journalism too was required to be impartial.

In 1990, the Broadcasting Act set up two new regulators for commercial television. The Independent Television Commission (ITC) took over most of the IBA's functions but no longer had the right to censor programs before they were broadcast. And somewhat confusingly, the ITC had to share responsibility for content standards and complaints with a new, separate regulator, the Broadcasting Standards Council (BSC) whose remit was also extended to hearing standards complaints about BBC programs (except for those related to impartiality and accuracy). Radio was given its own regulator, the Radio Authority. The multiplicity of commercial regulators was all replaced in 2003 by a new single regulator, the Office of Communications (Ofcom).

Independence

A key objective of British broadcasting regulation, in addition to high programming standards, is independence. The BBC governors and the members of the various commercial regulators were, in the main, independent figures from the professions—such as lawyers and academics, business

executives from media and nonmedia industries, and people with experience of the creative arts, such as writers and directors—rather than politicians. They were expected to operate in the public interest rather than as representatives of any party. As politicians became more aware of the growing influence of television, from the 1960s onward, there were tensions between broadcasters and the government that often found expression in arguments over regulation.

Generally, regulators tried to maintain their own independence as well as that of the broadcasters, but there have been occasions where they were seen to bow to government pressure, particularly over coverage of the tense political and religious situation in Northern Ireland. In 1978 the government of James Callaghan persuaded the IBA to use its powers of pretransmission censorship to pull from the schedule a current affairs documentary by Thames Television, the biggest ITV company at the time, on allegations of ill treatment of suspected members of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in the Castlereagh interrogation centre in Northern Ireland.

In 1985 the BBC governors, under pressure from the government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, previewed and stopped transmission of *At the Edge of the Union,* a documentary that featured the Sinn Fein leader Martin McGuinness. Sinn Fein was the political wing of the IRA and McGuinness, as well as being a prominent figure in Sinn Fein, was also believed at the time to be an IRA commander. The decision of the governors led to a protest strike by BBC staff and at the insistence of the director-general, who argued that as editor-in-chief of the BBC the final decision was his, the program was later broadcast.

On other occasions, the regulators stood firm. In 1986 the IBA defied a government request to ban the transmission on *Death on the Rock,* a current affairs documentary by Thames that challenged the official version of the killing by British security forces of three IRA terrorists in Gibraltar. And in 1988, after the Thatcher government had failed to persuade the broadcasters and the regulators to stop programs carrying interviews with members of Sinn Fein, the government bypassed the regulators and ordered a ban on Sinn Fein and other republican voices being heard on the airwaves. The broadcasters, with the support of their regulators, continued to interview republicans, but had their words voiced by actors. The ban was eventually lifted in 1994.

In 2003 the BBC governors backed a BBC broadcast that alleged that Prime Minister Tony Blair's government had deliberately misled the public when it claimed before the Iraq war that Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction. The BBC's source, a government scientist, Dr. David Kelly, was revealed and committed suicide. A judicial inquiry into the affair by Lord Hutton found that the most damaging part of the story—the allegation of dishonesty—was untrue. The BBC's management and governors were severely criticized. The publication of the Hutton Report in January 2004 provoked the biggest crisis in the BBC's history. Gavyn Davies, the chairman, resigned on the day of publication. The next day, Greg Dyke, the director-general, resigned, having failed to win the full support of the Board of Governors.

Impartiality

One of the most striking characteristics of British broadcasting regulation is its insistence that news and current affairs should report on controversial subjects with "due impartiality"—that is, not show any bias in favor of any argument or party. This obligation was actively policed by the regulators, who also acted as the final court of appeal in the event of any complaint that a program had failed to show impartiality. The BBC governors and their replacement, the BBC Trust, were responsible for impartiality on the BBC; the commercial regulators had similar responsibilities for all other broadcasting.

Impartiality was an essential part of the culture of British broadcasting from the start and continued to be a key value into the twenty-first century. It was recognized and appreciated by the audience—surveys of public opinion show that broadcast journalism was far ahead of print journalism in its reputation with the public for accuracy and fairness. As trust in many British institutions and professions—including politicians—declined in the last quarter of the twentieth century, public trust in broadcast journalism remained high. In 2004, a major independent review of UK government communications by Bob Phillis, the chief executive of the Guardian Media Group, reported research that

showed 74 percent of the British public trusted television newscasters to tell the truth, compared with 36 percent for civil servants and 29 percent for business leaders. And the report also pointed out that in the 2003 Iraq war, 70 percent of the British public thought television news was the most trustworthy source of information, compared with 14 percent for radio and just 6 percent for newspapers.

The notion of impartiality is a controversial one. Some critics argue that it is unachievable—that what the broadcasters call impartiality is simply their preferred bias—though critics disagree over whether the bias is too liberal or too conservative. At the start of the twenty-first century a new criticism of impartiality was heard—that it was irrelevant in a world of multiple news sources where plurality mattered more than impartiality. It was argued that impartiality rules should only apply to the traditional UK public service broadcasters and not to foreign news channels such as Fox News and Al Jazeera.

Harm and Offense

British broadcasting regulation has always set content standards in areas such as harm and offense—bad language, portrayal of sex and violence, the protection of children from inappropriate content at times when they were likely to be watching television—as well as fairness in the way broadcasters behave—issues such as respecting individuals' right to privacy and proper treatment of interviewees and contributors. The regulators' role has been to try and strike a balance between freedom of expression and the rights of broadcasters to be creative and experimental. They and the broadcasters evolved a system of programming codes and guidelines to make clear what was permitted and the regulators acted as the court of final appeal in the case of complaints about programs.

The regulators also have the role of policing the "watershed" in British television. This is a rule that material unsuitable for family viewing is not shown on broadcast channels before 9:00 p.m. In making their judgments on taste, the regulators have always taken into account the time at which programs were broadcast and the likely composition and expectations of the audience.

Regulators have substantial powers to punish broadcasters who break their codes and guidelines. They can require the offending program to be re-edited, prevent its retransmission, and in many cases fine the broadcasters. They are particularly concerned about the honesty of broadcast journalism. In 1999 the ITC fined Carlton Television, a leading ITV company, the record sum of £2 million for broadcasting *The Connection,* a documentary on the cocaine trade that had faked a number of sequences.

The End of the Duopoly

The unique British experiment in regulating all broadcasting as a public service could only exist as long as there was effectively a duopoly of the BBC and the commercial broadcasters who in turn enjoyed a monopoly on advertising revenue. The arrival of multichannel television—particularly Rupert Murdoch's BSkyB in 1990—changed that stable situation, as satellite and cable television services were subject to much lighter regulation. The commercial television regulators were responsible, however, for ensuring that news programs on multichannel television (such as Sky News, the first 24-hour British news channel) met existing national standards for impartiality.

Margaret Thatcher's 1980–91 government used regulation to inject further competition into what it saw as a complacent and overmanned industry. The 1990 Broadcasting Act marked the beginning of the end of the long British experiment in public service broadcasting. The new commercial regulator, the ITC, was given the job of awarding new ITV licenses when they came up for renewal in 1992 not on the basis of program promises, as in the past, but in a blind auction where once a minimum-quality threshold had been met the highest bidder was given the license.

The new ITV companies lobbied the ITC to be allowed to make cost savings through mergers and to be relieved of the most expensive of their surviving public service obligations. By 2003, ITV in England and Wales was one company; and although some programming obligations remained, these were seen as living on borrowed time as Britain moved toward its digital transition (planned for 2008–12) at the end of which, the ITV companies argued, their licenses were no longer worth enough to justify providing expensive programming like regional news. They had agreed to invest in these genres when their licenses, in an era of spectrum

scarcity, gave them a near monopoly of television advertising. The move to digital meant that their competitors could take channels on the new platforms without having to make expensive promises to the regulator.

In the new, more commercial environment, regulators allowed broadcasters, particularly ITV, to cut back on their commitments to news and current affairs. ITV lost its dominant position in regional news to the BBC. ITV also fought a long battle in the 1990s with the regulators to move its most successful network news program, *News at Ten,* from its regular weeknight slot to make way for entertainment programming. The move proved a disaster for ITV, which eventually restored the news to its traditional slot in 2008, by which time it had lost much of its news audience to the BBC.

The New Age of Regulation

At the start of the twenty-first century, two new institutions were created that marked a significant shift in the structure of British broadcast regulation. In 2003 the Blair government (1995–2007) set up a new telecommunications and broadcasting regulator, the Office of Communications, or Ofcom. This agency policed surviving public service obligations like regional production quotas and was given an overarching role as a "converged" regulator, to consider long-term policy in the telecoms and broadcasting fields as the two industries came closer together. It was responsible for all content standards in commercial television and all standards except impartiality and accuracy for the BBC.

Ofcom published a series of far-reaching reviews of public service broadcasting from 2004 to 2008 that suggested a difficult future for commercial broadcast journalism. In particular, in its analysis of the future of news in 2007 it put forward that ITV, the main commercial channel, would not be able to afford regional news in the long term. Ofcom offered various options for broadcast financing in the future—including the possibility of some of the BBC license fee being "top-sliced" (taking some of the license fee income that had always been given only to the BBC and giving it to Channel 4 and others) to help subsidize commercial public service broadcasters.

An equally significant change took place in BBC regulation. When the BBC's charter was renewed in 2006 the governors were replaced by a new body, the BBC Trust, tasked with representing the interests of licence fee payers (the British audience) and being more clearly independent of BBC management. It retained the governors' old responsibility for accuracy and impartiality.

The new system's first real test was a series of scandals in 2007 involving dishonest programming by both BBC and commercial broadcasters. Radio programs had been broadcasting faked calls from viewers; the results of television competitions had been rigged; viewers had been encouraged to take part in phone competitions (and charged high tariffs for the privilege) when the competition had already closed and their calls had no chance of winning or being counted.

Ofcom and the BBC Trust both commissioned independent investigations into what had gone wrong. A number of producers lost their jobs; commercial companies and the BBC were fined; and new and tougher guidelines and rules were introduced. The scandals did not involve journalistic programs and public trust in broadcast journalism was not undermined.

Conclusion

The new structure of regulation pointed to the fact that the commercial and publicly funded parts of British broadcasting were parting ways at the start of the twenty-first century. The BBC was to continue to be tightly regulated, as an organization paid for by the public through the television license fee; the commercial sector could look forward to lighter regulation. However, public and political support for high quality, impartial broadcast news, guaranteed by external regulation, remained as perhaps the last enduring journalistic legacy of the British experience with public service broadcasting.

Richard Tait

See also Al Jazeera; Bias; British Broadcasting Corporation; British Commercial News Broadcasting; British New Media; British Press Regulation; Fox News; Indecency and Obscenity

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British Commercial News Broadcasting

Since 1955 British commercial broadcast journalism services have provided an alternative to and competition for the publicly funded British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). For 40 years, that competition resulted in high levels of investment in broadcast journalism, both news and current affairs, and high standards of editorial and production quality together with a commitment, in the main, to a quality editorial agenda. Journalism on commercial networks was supported by a regulatory regime that rewarded investment in high quality news and current affairs and insisted on impartiality and accuracy as the key journalistic values. For most of the period, commercial broadcast journalism enjoyed a reputation for enterprising and investigative reporting and was seen to match the BBC for quality. At the end of the twentieth century, however, growing competition for audiences and the progressive deregulation of British television led to a decline in the significance of broadcast journalism in commercial television. By the early twenty-first century, one of the major issues as Britain switched to digital television was how much of that journalist heritage would survive.

Network News on ITV

When commercial television was launched in the UK in 1955 it was as a network of regional companies. None of them had the resources or expertise to produce national and international news. Despite that, the then regulator, the Independent Television Authority (ITA), insisted that the Independent Television (ITV) companies provide high quality national and international news as part of their licence obligations. With the regulator's encouragement, they set up a separate company, Independent Television News (ITN), to provide the network news service. It soon established itself as an enterprising and innovative operation. Geoffrey Cox, ITN's editor from 1956 to 1968, was one of the creators of modern television news in the UK. Where the BBC had used presenters to read the news, he hired experienced journalists to write as well as read news stories. ITN soon also employed the first woman newscaster (Barbara Mandell) in British television.

Cox introduced interviews into news programs, making headlines with a controversial interview by his star interviewer, Robin Day (later the BBC's main current affairs interviewer), with President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt in 1957, a few months after British forces had temporarily seized the Suez Canal. ITN's news coverage was equally enterprising and daring. When the Soviet Union crushed an uprising in Hungary in 1956, ITN's cameraman shot the classic pictures of the column of Soviet T34 tanks heading for Budapest. During the 1960s, ITN developed the technique of the "reporter package"—cutting pictures to match the correspondent's commentary—which had been pioneered by CBS and other American broadcasters. Cox was determined that television news should be accurate

and impartial and have the same high ethical standards as the BBC. He helped ensure that the culture of impartiality was deeply embedded in British broadcast journalism.

News at Ten

Cox's most important innovation came at the end of his editorship. In 1967 he persuaded the regulator and the skeptical ITV companies to experiment with a 30-minute news program in prime time—at 10 p.m. on weeknights. The broadcast was called *News at Ten* and it immediately established itself as one of the most important programs on the network, with audiences regularly in the top 20 or even top ten ITV programs of the week. In 1968 it was the most popular show on British television on three occasions and for 30 years it remained a fixed point in the ITV schedule. Its newscasters from Alastair Burnet to Trevor McDonald—the first black journalist to be a British television network's principal newscaster—became household names. Its style of presentation owed something to American network news at the time with a combination of serious, frontline reporting and stories with a popular touch—the program often ending with a lighter, human interest item introduced with the words "and finally…."

Starting in the 1970s, ITN offered three main newscasts each weekday—at lunchtime, in the early evening, and *News at Ten*. The company had a reputation for technical innovation—making effective use of lightweight electronic news-gathering (ENG) cameras, video editing, computer graphics, and satellite news gathering (SNG). ITN usually matched and sometimes beat the BBC in its coverage of major events—elections, space shots, the fall of European communism, the 1990–91 Gulf War. However its owners did not allow it to diversify into current affairs or regional news and it entered the 1990s too dependent on its contract with ITV and on the reputation and prestige of *News at Ten*.

Channel 4 News

When Channel 4 was launched in 1982, its remit was to provide a commercially funded alternative to both the BBC and ITV. Nowhere was that more evident than in its news service. Channel 4 was a publisher/broadcaster—it did not make its own programs but commissioned them from independent producers. It commissioned its news from ITN, but with the brief to be very different from the ITV service. Where ITV was appealing to the mass audience, *Channel 4 News,* at 7:00 p.m. each weeknight, was unashamedly high-brow—combining news and current affairs in an hour-long program with specialist reporting, in-depth analysis, and studio interviews.

After a disastrous start with zero ratings, *Channel 4 News* was turned around by its second editor, Stewart Purvis, who soon made it one of the channel's most respected programs and a key part of its assignment from the regulator. Like *News at Ten* it became a fixed point in its channel's schedule and its investigative, in-depth approach to journalism won it numerous industry awards. In 1992 a joint *Channel 4 News/News at Ten* team discovered the Bosnian Serb detention camps at Trnopolje and Omarska. The pictures of emaciated Bosnian Muslim prisoners, which were rapidly distributed around the world, caused an international outcry.

Five News

The last terrestrial television network to launch in Britain was *Five News*. It had a much smaller budget than ITV and Channel 4 but the company that had won the license had promised the regulator a high quality news service with a distinctive approach to news, aimed at a younger audience than its competitors. *Five News* initially commissioned ITN to produce the program, presented by Kirsty Young, the first woman to be chosen as principal presenter of any British network's news service. While her (predominantly male) rivals sat behind desks in conventional news studios, she perched on a desk in the middle of the newsroom.

The program launched in the middle of the British general election in 1997 and rapidly established itself as one of *Five News*'s most distinctive and admired offerings, with an appeal to younger viewers who were turning away from more conventional newscasts. A number of its innovative approaches to news production—video diaries, deconstructing the reporter package—were copied by other programs.

Current Affairs

From the early days of ITV, the regional companies were obliged by the regulator to produce and broadcast serious current affairs programming in prime time. Over the first 40 years of its history, ITV produced an impressive amount of analytical and investigative journalism—notably two flagship programs in prime time.

The first, *This Week,* began in 1956. It was produced by the company that held the London weekday franchise, initially Associated Rediffusion and then its successor, Thames Television. It specialized in controversy and investigations—bringing it into conflict with the British government, particularly over tensions within Northern Ireland. In 1977 a program criticizing the treatment of Irish terrorist suspects was pulled from the schedules by the regulator under government pressure. In 1988, a program entitled *Death on the Rock* challenged the official version of the circumstances in which three members of an Irish Republican Army (IRA) unit had been killed by British security forces in Gibraltar. There was speculation that *Death on the Rock* was a factor in the government of Margaret Thatcher deciding to have a blind auction for ITV licenses in 1991, as a result of which Thames lost its license and stopped broadcasting in 1992.

From 1963 *This Week* was joined by *World in Action,* produced by Granada, which held the franchise for the northwest of England. *World in Action* also produced a string of hard hitting programs. It investigated miscarriages of justice such as the Birmingham Six—a group of men wrongly convicted of an IRA Birmingham pub bombing in 1974 who were eventually released in 1991.

ITV also produced more populist current affairs, particularly consumer investigations such as *The Cook Report,* which usually ended with a dramatic confrontation between the reporter and the alleged villains. And an impressive roster of current affairs programming was completed by the more cerebral *Weekend World,* produced by London Weekend for a Sunday lunchtime slot, which from 1972 to 1988 offered an hour's analysis of an issue of the week, including an extended interview with a key figure in the news (usually a politician), rather like the American networks' Sunday morning programs.

Channel 4 was also under a regulatory obligation to carry serious current affairs in prime time. After a number of experiments it found a format that worked—*Dispatches.* This was a 45-minute program that looked in depth at a single subject each week. Each edition was produced by a different independent production company. It focused on investigative journalism and international stories and won numerous industry awards for its analytical reporting.

Regional News

ITV had begun as a network of regional companies, so the regulator required them as a condition of their licences to produce high quality regional news and current affairs programming. For many of the smaller companies in the network, these local programs were the most important output they produced and a key factor in retaining their lucrative licenses when they came up for review. ITV was the most important broadcaster of regional news in the UK. Its programs were better resourced and had larger audiences than their BBC counterparts. Their newscasters were important personalities in their local communities. Many, if not all, of the senior executives in the ITV system began their careers in local newsrooms.

The regional companies also fed pictures and stories to ITN for incorporation in the network news, but resisted any attempts to merge the different operations. Their programs carried the names of their companies—*Granada Reports, Thames News*—rather than any reference to the ITV network as a whole. The regions they served were determined by the location of the regional transmitter network, so the companies began to split some of their regions into subregions. At the system's peak, ITV was running 17 different early evening news programs to its regions and subregions. At the end of the century, the British government established a Scottish Parliament and similar assemblies in Northern Ireland and Wales, with new powers to run major parts of domestic policy such as health and education. This led to a wave of investment in broadcast journalism (facilities and programs) in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland to match the transfer of responsibilities from the Westminster Parliament to the new bodies.

Cable and Satellite News

In 1989 Rupert Murdoch launched Sky News as Britain's first 24-hour news channel. Although produced at a loss and with small audiences compared with the terrestrial newscasts, it brought credibility to the emerging satellite and cable sector. Its fast moving, popular style of journalism gradually won it greater respect and it established itself as a channel with a reputation for frontline reporting and innovative techniques.

Until 1997, when the BBC launched its news channel, Sky's only competition was from international news channels such as CNN International. Sky was able to position itself as the first place for viewers to go for breaking news. It benefited from consistent and heavy investment by the Murdoch empire. By the turn of the century BSkyB, a satellite operation, was spending more on its news service than terrestrial ITV, and Sky News was beginning to compete head-to-head with the BBC and ITN for industry awards.

Throughout the 1990s, Sky News tried hard to persuade the terrestrial broadcasters to move their news contracts from ITN to Sky when they came up for renewal. The competition helped the terrestrial broadcasters force down the price of their news from ITN at a time when they were trying to cut costs. ITV and Channel 4 stayed with ITN. But in 2005 *Five News* moved the contract for its news service to Sky, giving Sky News a significant foothold in public service broadcasting.

In 2000, ITN entered the news channel market with its own 24-hour channel, ITN News. After two years of losses, ITV bought the channel and renamed it ITV News. But it continued to lose money, falling third in the ratings behind Sky and the BBC. ITV closed it in 2005.

Radio News

When British commercial radio was launched in 1973, it was as a growing group of local stations, which were required by their licenses to provide local, national, and international news. They decided to provide their own local news services, but to take their network news from a new company, Independent Radio News (IRN), which was run by the main London radio station, the London Broadcasting Company (LBC).

IRN and LBC were pioneers of new approaches to radio journalism with much greater use of location reporting and introducing program techniques such as the phone-in during which correspondents and presenters could discuss the news with listeners. They borrowed formats from North America and Australia and many of their editorial staff were Australian and New Zealand journalists. IRN became a training ground for many reporters and producers who went on to great success in commercial television. But British commercial radio lacked network service and there was never a 24-hour news and information station to support further expansion of the news service beyond, in the main, short newscasts aired on music stations.

In 1991, after LBC ran into financial problems, the IRN service was contracted out to ITN. This was one of the first "bi-media"—combined radio and television—operations in British journalism, with ITN television staff providing material for radio bulletins. As BBC Radio expanded its news and current affairs output the gap between publicly funded and commercially funded journalism in radio was much more pronounced than in television.

The System in Decline

The range and quality of commercial broadcast journalism had been protected by spectrum scarcity that had limited competition and by a regulatory system that actively encouraged and rewarded investment in and commitment to high-quality journalism. The deregulation of the British television market in the 1990s and the arrival of digital television undermined the business model that had supported commercial broadcast journalism as a match, on television at least, for the journalism produced by the publicly funded BBC.

The first sector to show the strain was ITV current affairs programming. A senior executive of one of the new ITV companies that won the blind auction in 1991 said that it was not the job of ITV programs to get innocent people out of jail. In an environment in which entertainment and ratings were the priorities, the network's serious current affairs programming began to decline. In 1992, after Thames Television lost its license, *This Week* disappeared from ITV schedules, to be replaced by less successful and less demanding

programs such as *The Big Story*. Six years later *World in Action* was replaced by a more populist program, *Tonight,* with a similar agenda and approach to U.S. news magazines of the period such as *Dateline NBC*. The new regulator, the Independent Television Commission (ITC), allowed ITV to cut the number of network current affairs programs and cut back radically on regional current affairs and factual programming.

Equally dramatic changes took place in network news. From 1992 to 2001, ITV halved ITN's budget for national and international news in real terms. In 1998 it shut down its most important journalistic brand, *News at Ten*. This proved to be a disastrous decision. When the regulator, alarmed at collapsing news audiences, tried to get ITV to reinstate it a year later, the result was an unsatisfactory compromise where the program started sometimes at 10 p.m. and sometimes at 10:30, leading it to be branded "News at When." ITV then got the regulator to agree to move its news to 10:30 p.m. again in 2002, only for *News at Ten* to be revived by new ITV management in 2008. But by that time the BBC had moved its flagship news to 10 p.m. and ITV found it very difficult to get viewers back to a program it had abandoned.

The picture in regional news was equally grim. ITV changed its early evening schedule and began to cut back on regional news budgets. By the end of the century the BBC had for the first time overtaken the early evening ITV regional news audience in every region of the UK. ITV executives warned that their commitment to regional news could not be guaranteed after digital switchover, where all viewers would have access to multichannel television and ITV no longer enjoyed the advantages of being one of the five terrestrial networks.

Uncertain Future

The beginning of the twenty-first century saw government, industry, and regulators engage in a complex debate and negotiation about the future of British commercial public service broadcasting. Many of those discussions centered on how much of commercial television's journalistic heritage could be preserved for the digital age.

Analysis by the Office of Communication (Ofcom), the ITC's successor in 2004 as commercial broadcasting's regulator, suggested that network news of high quality on ITV, Channel Four, and *Five News* would probably survive digital switchover and there would still be room in the schedules for some current affairs. But Ofcom was much more pessimistic about the regional news services on ITV—which might need to cut back the network to a smaller group of big regions and even then might require some form of public subsidy to survive.

There was also the beginning of a debate about whether the obligations of impartiality should still apply to commercially funded news and current affairs, with some politicians, regulators, and broadcasters arguing that in a world of digital media, plurality of opinion and approach to news was more important than adherence to the strict rules of impartiality at least as far as commercial broadcasting was concerned.

Conclusion

Despite these challenges, British commercial broadcast journalism remains more diverse, better resourced, and more committed to high standards than in many other Western democracies, where commercial pressures and deregulation have resulted in a more marked decline. And the strong program culture of British broadcast journalism—a commitment to impartiality and accuracy and to a less tabloid agenda than many mass circulation newspapers—ensures that in many ways those standards are maintained into the digital age.

Richard Tait

See also British Broadcasting Corporation; British Broadcasting Regulation; British New Media

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British Literary Journalism

According to the American media historian and theorist, Michael Schudson, "Reporters make stories. Making is not faking, not lying, but neither is it a passive mechanical recording. It cannot be done without play and imagination." Such a view lies at the heart of this brief overview of British literary journalism—and it can transform our perceptions of the epistemology, functions, form, and content of journalism. For by stressing the creativity of journalism we can identify it as a specific literary field yet one closely linked to fiction—and the other arts.

Too often, journalism and literature in Britain and the United States are seen as two separate spheres (one "low," the other "high"). And while the British media today exert enormous political, ideological, and cultural power, journalism paradoxically still retains only a precarious position within literary culture and academe. One result is that literary journalism (defined here simply as the journalism of authors, poets, and playwrights) is usually either forgotten or marginalized.

The many factors (historical, cultural, ideological, and political) behind the marginalization of journalism as a literary genre in Britain are complex. Certainly, since their emergence in the early seventeenth century in Europe's cities, particularly London, the "news media" (variously known as corantos, diurnals, gazettes, proceedings, and mercuries) have been associated with scandal, gossip, and "low" culture. As British archivist Louise Craven comments, these publications "brought sex and scandal, fantasy, sensationalism, bawdiness, violence and prophecy to their readers: monstrous births, dragons, mermaids and most horrible murders."

Defoe and the Blurred Boundaries Between Fact and Fiction

Intriguingly, Daniel Defoe, an eminent early British journalist, presented all his writings—whether fact or his now famous fiction such as *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and *Moll Flanders* (1722)—as fact, almost all of it anonymously. While the boundaries between fact and fiction can often blur, journalism from its outset generally succeeded on the basis of its claims to accuracy and authenticity. Thus Defoe was at pains to stress in *The Storm* (1704), his celebrated account of a tempest that struck the British Isles in November 1703, the accuracy of his observations and the authenticity of the documents he drew on. There may well have been ironies here. Yet within the diversified literary culture of early eighteenth century England, Defoe's rhetoric of factuality became all the more necessary, if only to win the trust of readers—and the support of advertisers.

A fascination with "human interest" also lies at the core of the journalistic imagination. Defoe's *The Storm* was a pioneering example of the "human interest" story making it particularly compelling for modern readers. Moreover, Defoe's journalism was very much a product of his times. While the first specialist women's magazine, the *Ladies' Mercury,* was launched as a monthly in 1693, the lapsing of the restrictive Licensing Act in 1696 unleashed a torrent of new literary forms. Not only did Britain's first recognizable newspaper, the *Daily Courant,* appear on March 11, 1702, but the journalistic imagination also expanded about this time to incorporate war stories, parliamentary proceedings, travel accounts, political editorials, book adverts, bills of mortality, cargoes of ships, biographies, bibliographies, Hebrew anagrams, lottery numbers, assize reports, literary criticism, and social comment.

Hackery and the Higher, Literary Form of Journalism

By the early eighteenth century the derogatory term *Grub Street* had come to be associated with all forms of struggling, low-life publishing. Originally applied to Milton Street, a warren of garrets and tenements in the London Moorfields area where poor writers lived, by the 1720s Grub Street had spread through the impoverished wards on the edges of the city, close to Clerkenwell and St. John's Gate—home of the *Gentleman's Magazine* in the 1730s. Around the same time the word *hack* (and *hackney*) came to be associated with writers and prostitutes—basically anything overused, hired out, or common. Even after hundreds of years of cultural change, the words *hack* and *Grub Street* are still associated with journalism.

A "higher," extraordinarily rich literary form of journalism evolved in Britain during the eighteenth century: It included the literary essays of Joseph Addison and Richard Steele in *The Spectator;* the polemical writing of Lord Bolingbroke, Cato, and Junius; the legislative reports of Dr. (Samuel) Johnson in the *Gentleman's Magazine;* and, later, of Henry Sampson Woodfall, one of the first Gallery reporters, in the *Public Advertiser*. By the mid-nineteenth century, an unprecedented number of serious journals of opinion were prospering, including the *Saturday Review, Fortnightly, National Review, Macmillan's,* and *Cornhill,* under the command of the novelist William Thackeray.

Yet overall the low status of journalism as a form of literature has persisted. While the term *journalist* was imported from France in the 1830s to refer to writers on periodicals (distinguishing them from writers of book-length literature), the identification of journalism largely with newspapers and mass culture has had a profound impact on the sensibilities of writers. For instance, William Hazlitt was a literary journalist in two senses: both as a literary writer and one who discussed literature. In other words, he practiced the "higher" journalism. Yet his journalism was deeply inflected by his belief in the marginal position of journalism in relation to the "aristocratic" writers of "literature." As a result, his literariness became (like Keats's) intrinsically combative. According to researcher Kirsten Daly, Hazlitt's essays amount to a defense of the craft of literary journalism as a valid form of creative writing. Hazlitt, she suggests, puts forward an alternative model of creativity that values quotation: the effective articulation of someone else's words.

Certainly issues of creative control and his relationship to the mass audience fascinated Charles Dickens as he strove (in the end with remarkable success) to become a major editor and proprietor with his magazines *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*. Dickens, well known as the author of such masterpieces as *Oliver Twist, David Copperfield,* and *A Tale of Two Cities,* also published about 350 articles—more than a million words—in magazines and newspapers. But only in recent years has the scale of his achievement as a journalist been recognized.

Journalism and the Distorting Effects of the Market

On one level, journalism has provided writers with an income. Yet this has reinforced journalism's position as a subliterary genre. For while literature is often seen as the fruit of "scholarship"—hence pure and disinterested and above market considerations, including those of being readable and accessible—journalistic writing is viewed as distorted through the constraints of the market, tight deadlines, or word limits. The poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge, for instance, wrote for a variety of journals (such as the *Morning Post* and the *Watchman*) throughout his life in a range of genres—nonpolitical essays, profiles, leading articles, parliamentary reports. But these are largely ignored today by both the public and scholars.

While Coleridge may be considered one of Britain's first "modern journalists" or "professional intellectuals," his journalism was never a source of pride for him. He much preferred to think of himself as a humble poet. To some extent, the attitudes Coleridge expressed toward journalism live on today in the academy since academic writing in general—"scholarship"—is meant to be disinterested, above mere market considerations.

By the 1930s, the critic Cyril Connolly was bewailing the "victory" of journalism over literature. Journalism's plain style, he claimed, had thrust aside the "Mandarin style"—characterized by long sentences with many dependent clauses, allusions, metaphors, long images, Latin terminology,

subtlety, and conceits. Literature was merely responding to market demands and the democratization of culture epitomized in the growth of the mass-selling media: books grew cheaper and reading them ceased to be a luxury, and the reading public multiplied and demanded less exacting entertainment. And these trends horrified Connolly.

Journalism as a Lower Form of Writing

Another effect of the low status of journalism has been the tendency among critics to see it as a genre that writers exploit to experiment with styles, voices, and ideas that are later expressed more fully in their higher or literary writing. Virginia Woolf, though a literary journalist for much of her career, was very critical of the politics of the journalistic economy—seeing it as male-dominated. For instance, her original version of *Orlando* has a great deal to say on literary politics—censorship, men's opinions of women, the corruption of the literary marketplace, the idiocy of the Burdett-Coutts literary prize, and the embargoes on women writers. In her poem, *Fantasy,* the journalist is depicted as a bug, repellent, crawling, and blood-sucking. However, the failure of critics to acknowledge the significance of her extensive career as a journalist (1904–41) has produced a seriously distorted image of Woolf's literary project and personality. In dismissing her nonfiction altogether, critics have perpetuated the construction of a literary figure, and the Modernist movement with which she is so often associated, as separate from a whole sphere of literary and cultural production.

Similarly George Orwell, considered by many as one of the greatest, if not the greatest, British journalists of the last century, was dismissive of journalism. In his columns, published between 1943 and 1947 in the leftist, London-based journal *Tribune*, he displays a remarkable range of tones, styles, and themes. But, throughout his career, Orwell constantly looked down on his journalism as mere pamphleteering and a "lesser" form of literature. He had a horror of hack reporting and despised what he referred to in a 1944 "As I Please" column for the *Tribune,* as the "dreary sub-world of the freelance journalist." And while this column has received almost unanimous praise from critics, there has been no major critical assessment of its literary elements.

Yet Orwell used his columns effectively to define a new kind of radical politics. This involved reducing the power of the press barons, facing up to racial intolerance, and defending civil liberties. It also incorporated an awareness of the power of language and propaganda, a celebration of the joys of nature, and an acknowledgment of the cultural power of both Marxism and Christianity. Above all, in the face of the vast political, cultural, and economic factors driving history, it recognized the extraordinary richness of the individual's experience.

Likewise, Graham Greene's stints as a film reviewer have attracted little critical attention. Yet David Finkelstein in 2007 argued that the author of more than two dozen novels (such as *Brighton Rock* and *End of the Affair*) was also among the best film critics of his generation. Linden Peach similarly suggests the journalism of Angela Carter is rarely acknowledged as a significant part of her output, worthy of serious consideration in its own right. In fact, her journalism was an intrinsic part of her broader intellectual project—to scrutinize and resist dominant ways of thinking that constrain or distort intellectual, emotional, sexual, and aesthetic development. Peach remarks, "As cultural and political commentaries, her journalism is as original, tough-minded, intelligent and as astute as her other writings."

Literary Journalism's Plain Style

Journalism also has its own voice and style. Its vocabulary is the vocabulary of public discourse. At best, journalism's strength lies in its clarity of language and structure—and conciseness. Even the seventeenth-century "mercurists" reinforced the veracity claims of their reporting with a sober "perfect style of language." And in the following century, Defoe defined journalism's "plain style," in his 1726 work *The Complete English Tradesman,* as one "in which a man speaking to five hundred people of all common and various capacities, idiots and lunatics excepted, should be understood by them all." Dickens's capacity to observe, mirror, and recreate popular speech was another crucial element of his own journalism.

But journalism's "plain style" does not mean it is incapable of capturing complexity. For instance, Kirsten Daly suggests William Hazlitt's "familiar

style," in fact, helped him negotiate the complex tensions inherent in his position as a literary journalist and theatre critic: the need to adopt a persona, whilst speaking honestly about the works under review, and the need to present authors' words to readers through the medium of print in a way that did justice to the original performance context. Moreover, according to Linden Peach, Angela Carter not only covered a wide variety of literary and cultural topics in her journalism in the *Guardian, London Magazine,* and *New Society,* but often displayed the linguistic and narrative experimentation that characterizes her fiction.

Whether he was writing a novel, poem, essay, review, column, or polemic, Orwell was always "journalistic," using direct and pared-down language. Significantly, in his essay, "Politics and the English Language" (first published in *Horizon* in April 1946), Orwell linked clarity of expression with sincerity. "The great enemy of clear language is insincerity. When there is a gap between one's real and one's declared aims, one turns as it were instinctively to long words and exhausted idioms, like a cuttlefish squirting out ink."

On the Qualities of Journalism

Within the intellectual economy of modern societies, authors, editors, publishers, campaigners, and academics are found regularly changing roles. Indeed, for so many of the men (and women) of letters since the eighteenth century the continuous flow of their writing has incorporated not only books, reviews, polemics, sociological research, or poetry—but also journalism. Today, the flame of literary journalism in Britain is being carried by a host of novelists, such as Monica Ali, Martin Amis, Julian Barnes, Gordon Burn, Zoe Heller, Salman Rushdie, Will Self, and Adam Thirlwell.

Moreover, as the work of the writers highlighted here demonstrates, a range of textual and thematic continuities and contrasts can be identified between authors' journalism and their other literary works. Journalism is best seen, then, not as a marginal literary pursuit, but as a central cultural field that writers exploit for a variety of reasons and where, crucially, they self-consciously construct their public identities.

Much academic commentary on the media (for understandable reasons) is highly critical. Either journalists are too trite, sensational, or perpetuating of various kinds of stereotypes (racist, sexist, militarist, and so on), or they are purveyors of myth, propaganda, and lies. This brief selection of British literary journalists, in contrast, provides models worth celebrating and from whom students of English and journalism can learn such a lot.

Richard Lance Keeble

See also Books as Journalism; British Magazines; British New Media; Literary Journalism; New Journalism

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British Magazines

The world's first "magazine" was published in Britain. The *Gentleman's Magazine* (or *Monthly*

Intelligencer), published by Edward Cave in 1731, is widely regarded as the first publication to use the term *magazine,* a term adapted from the Arabic *makhazin,* meaning "storehouse," to denote a periodical miscellany aimed at a general readership. While other British periodicals were issued before that date, such as *The Ladies Mercury,* founded in 1693, *The Tatler* (1709), and *The Spectator* (1711), they were not referred to as *magazines* and Samuel Johnson's 1755 *Dictionary of the English Language* credits Cave with inventing the term. The roots of contemporary British magazines, whose principal tenets are to serve, entertain, and involve their readers while of course making a profit, can be found in these early publications.

Origins

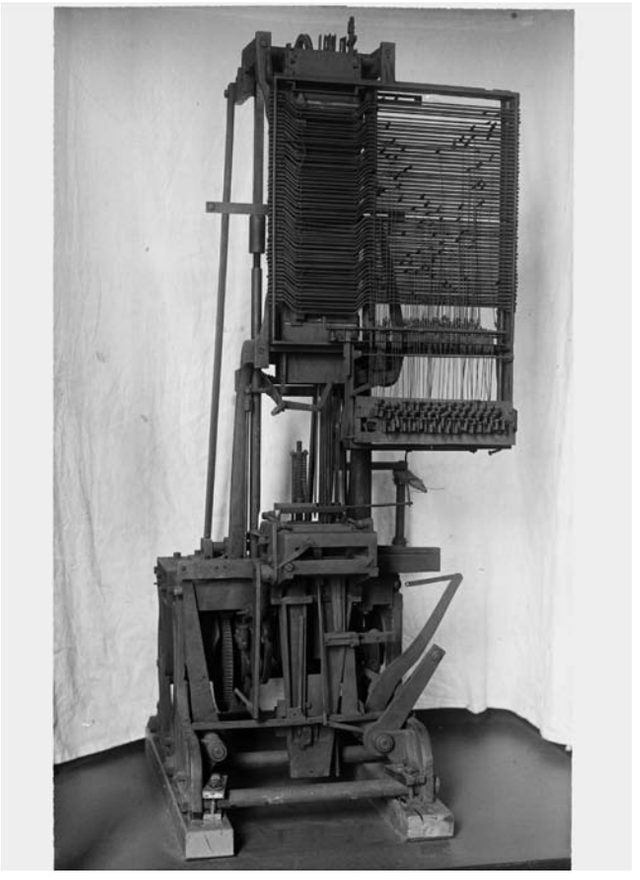
Not only did the *Gentleman's Magazine,* which soon sold 10,000 copies a week, make Edward Cave rich, it also laid the foundations for the "reader comes first" mantra that all British magazine publishing employees learn to recite like a prayer from their first day working in the industry.

Serving the reader generally takes three forms—what is sometimes called the "sacred trinity" of information, education, and entertainment—and Cave realized this from the start. He called his magazine *A Collection of All Matters, Of Information and Amusement* and introduced it in response to what he saw as readers' demand for a publication that explained complicated matters, such as parliamentary debates, in a language they could understand. He also recognized that with "two hundred or so Halfsheets per Month thrown Upon the Press," there would be a demand for a publication that brought all the news of the latest "Accidents and Occurrences" together into one magazine (quoted in Ardburgham). "Newspapers," he wrote, "are of late so multiplied as to render it impossible…to consult them all" (quoted in Ballaster et al.). Like the magazine industry in the early twenty-first century, Cave was innovative—parliamentary debates, for example, had never been reported on before—and he experimented with new forms of writing—the government declared parliamentary coverage illegal in 1738 but Cave got around this by having his reporter write in code about a so-called Parliament (or Senate) of Lilliput. British magazine editors are passionate about their publications and their readers, and Cave was no different. His magazine combined essays, stories, poems, biographies, political commentary, and even recipes. It covered pretty much everything Cave thought his readers would want to know about, from the fluctuating prices of grain or coal to the latest diseases, inventions, and executions. It had a star writer, Samuel Johnson, and several female contributors in an age when "ladies" would never dream of publishing under their own name: a significant forerunner for an industry that is closer than most to abolishing the glass ceiling. The one thing setting *Gentleman's Magazine* apart from most new twenty-first-century magazines is its longevity: even with a circulation that is small by twenty-first-century standards it survived for 183 years.

Birth of Mass Consumer Media

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, magazines tended to be largely the playthings of the upper classes, favoring text-heavy formats and literary discussion aimed at an educated audience. But technological advances, most notably the linotype machine (1886), which moved magazine production away from painstaking letter by letter text assembly to allow type to be printed line by line, and the rotary printing press (1833), which could produce a million pages per day, gave publishers the opportunity to broaden their audiences. This, along with increased literacy rates (public education was introduced in 1870); improvements in lithography, which allowed magazines to use illustrations and, later, photography; and the growth of advertising in the 1870s and 1880s in response to an increased disposable income across most societal groups in Britain, laid the foundations by the end of the nineteenth century for the development of a mass consumer media.

By 1896, there were over 2,000 magazines circulating in Britain (compared to 557 in 1866), many of which targeted readers with specific interests. The first special interest magazine, *The Field* (1853), was followed by titles including *Shooting Times* (1882) and *Horse and Hound* (1884), which used glossier paper and improved photo-reproduction techniques. The first general interest magazines, such as *Titbits* (1881) and *Answers to Correspondents* (1888), pioneered by the newspaper barons George



The linotype machine, invented by Ottmar Mergenthaler in 1886, catalyzed the mass communication revolution in Britain and other countries through its line-by-line automation of the printing process.

Source: Library of Congress.

Newnes and Alfred Harmsworth, began the rise of the high circulation "weeklies," (at one stage *Titbits* was selling 400,000–600,000 copies a week), which packaged information as entertainment, thrived on news and gossip, exposed scandals, and gave readers a voice by printing their letters.

During the 1930s, thanks to technological advances in cameras and lithography, photography and photojournalism began to take hold of British magazines, following pioneering work by *Muncher Illustrierte Presse* and *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* in Germany and *Life* and *Picture Post* in the United States. By the 1950s, the "glossies" like *Vogue* (1916) and *Esquire* (1933) were evolving the high production values and reputations as arbiters of taste they still aspire to today, while a distinctive "women's market" was increasingly apparent with weeklies like *Woman's Own* (1933) and *Woman* (1937) becoming their readers' trusted advisors, full of lifestyle tips and consumer goods to indulge in as wartime rationing came to an end (1953). The general interest men's magazine market didn't really take off until the 1990s, with the launch of the irreverent *Loaded* (1994) and *FHM* (1996). Before these, men's magazines were generally seen as being merely part of the pornography magazine sector (e.g., *Playboy,* 1953).

By the end of the twentieth century, magazine publication had undergone yet another technological revolution, with the rise of desktop publishing and computers in every office. This has led to many magazines surviving with much smaller production teams and a heavy reliance on freelance contributors for content. It has also led to a proliferation of "niche" publishing, with the business magazines sector in particular showing strong growth in the last years of the century.

Magazines in the Early Twenty-First Century

British magazines in the first decade of the new century exist in a tough market, although, for those that succeed, the rewards are great. The industry is worth about £7 billion ($12.3 billion) and employs 185,000 people, more than half of whom are women (the female-to-male ratio being 53 percent to 47 percent). Although there are local magazine companies, such as The Regional Magazine Company in Sheffield, the industry is predominantly based in London and the South East and 42 percent of all magazine staff work for companies employing more than 200 staff. As of 2008, some of the major publishers included IPC Media, Reed Business Information, BBC Magazines, Condé Nast, H Bauer, The National Magazine Company, CMP Information, Haymarket, Redwood Publishing, Future Publishing, and IDG Communications.

By 2008 there were around 8,500 magazines published in Britain and more than half of all UK journalists are employed in the magazine industry. The magazines they work on can be divided broadly into three sectors: consumer magazines such as Condé Nast's *Glamour* or BBC Magazines' *Radio Times,* which provide leisure time information and entertainment; business to business (B2B) magazines, which are trade publications marketed to industry sectors such as CMP's *Property Week*

for the real estate industry or Haymarket's *Management Today;* and customer (or contract) magazines produced to promote a particular client's business such as Redwood's *Land Rover Onelife,* published for the car manufacturer, and *Your M&S,* published for the food and clothing retailer Mark's and Spencer's. There is a great deal of variety within the sectors. Consumer magazines, for example, include lifestyle or "guide to life" titles like The National Magazine Company's *Cosmopolitan* and specialist titles such as *Trout Fisherman* (Bauer), *Digital Camera* (Future Publishing), and the political magazine, *The Spectator* (The Daily Telegraph group). As of 2008, there were 311 magazines about sports and 199 magazines for women.

In the business sector, the big markets are sciences (412 magazines), business management (282 magazines), finance (220 magazines), and computers (201 magazines). There are magazines for every conceivable taste and if there isn't, a publisher will soon start a new one.

Magazines have been advertising consumer goods for over a century and advertising remains a huge source of revenue. Consumer magazines make about 36 percent of their revenue from advertising, although the bulk of their income comes from subscriptions and single copy sales. The majority of business magazines' revenue (82 percent) comes from advertising. Other sources of revenue for magazine publishers include awards, such as the annual Elle Style Awards; events like the *Sugar* magazine roadshow and model competition; showcases such as *Dazed and Confused*'s art exhibition; and the sale of data such as subscriber mailing lists to marketing companies.

The highest circulation magazine in 2008 was *Sky, the magazine*—a free customer magazine sent out to all customers of Sky, the biggest digital television provider in the UK. Other big magazines in the UK with sales around the million mark include Bauer's *TV Choice,* IPC Media's *What's on TV* and *Radio Times,* all program listings magazines, and *Take a Break* (Bauer), a women's weekly. The consumer magazines that have been thriving in the first decade of the new century in the UK market include the men's weeklies, such as IPC's *Nuts* and Bauer's *Zoo,* the women's glossy weeklies (e.g., Bauer's *Grazia*), customer magazines (the supermarket titles *Tesco* and *Asda*), celebrity weeklies (Bauer's *Heat* and *Closer,* Northern and Shell's *OK!,* and IPC's *Now*), and the real life weeklies (*Take a Break,* IPC's *Chat,* and Bauer's *That's Life*). Magazines that have been struggling, such as teen magazines, have been looking to the weeklies for inspiration but some titles simply have had their day. Currently, the magazine market is flat but dynamic, with some sectors, such as young children's magazines, growing while others, such as women's monthlies, are losing ground.

And the industry continues to look for new markets. A recent innovation (2007) has been the "free" consumer men's weekly, *Shortlist,* which is given away free on public transport in London. Before the men's weeklies *Nuts* and *Zoo,* there was no men's weekly market at all; now the two magazines combined sell over 400,000 copies a week. These sales may already be on the wane but both magazines are now showing huge growth in website traffic, and competition between them remains as intense as it has been since they launched within a week of each other in 2004.

Competition, which began with the earliest magazines, continues to be fierce in the magazine industry. The *Gentleman's Magazine* was endlessly plagiarized, and among its imitators was *The Lady's Magazine* (1759), which copied Cave's design and content (minus the parliamentary debates) almost exactly. If *Shortlist* succeeds, more free weeklies will surely follow.

With such intense competition, it is inevitable that the magazine publishing industry is littered with the corpses of dead magazines. The teen magazine sector, for example, has suffered greatly since the 1990s with the arrival of the Internet. The preteen market—sometimes called "tweenage" or "tweenies"—has seen some growth—magazines like the BBC's *Girl Talk* and Egmont UK's *Go Girl* are doing well. But beloved titles for teenagers such as *Jackie, Just Seventeen,* and *Smash Hits* have long been consigned to magazine heaven as their readers migrated in droves to the web. *Sugar* (Hachette Filipacchi) and *Bliss* (Panini) survive but managing their Internet provision is increasingly core to their business. *TV Hits* (Essential Publishing) a teen "celebrity" title, recently moved its entire production online. *Cosmo Girl* did the same thing but its digital version, *Jellyfish,* launched in March 2007, survived only five months.

Online Magazines

Experiments with digital magazines—effectively an online facsimile of a print product—have been largely unsuccessful, but the online magazine business was by 2008 a huge growth area as publishers began to work out new ways to develop their brands in the new formats offered by the Internet such as podcasts, rss and mobile feeds, video diaries, breaking news e-alerts, webisodes, and blogs. British magazine publishers talk about achieving the perfect "circle"—a magazine website that sends readers back to the printed product, which then sends readers back again to the website. It has taken time for publishers to feel comfortable with the web, and the dot.com financial crash in 2001 generated even more caution after innovative online magazine experiments like IPC's Beme.com and Uploaded.com were forced to close. But the online magazine revolution is surging ahead as publishers gradually find new ways of making money from their online content through access fees and competition sponsorship, as well as through the traditional route of advertising. The buzz words in magazine offices are all about the Internet: things like "search engine optimization"—how to get your web news stories to come up first on search engines—and "user-bility"—how to produce a website that's easy for readers to use and keeps them coming back.

Over time successful British magazine operations have moved a long way from the printed miscellany pioneered by Cave. In the early twenty-first century they also often include a complementary online presence, and sometimes even a TV show, such as Nuts TV, or a radio channel, such as Heat radio. Editors, in addition to reading proofs and supervising covers and design, appear on web video, sharing insider magazine gossip, promoting new content. They also respond to reader forums and create podcasts. In the ever-changing magazine market, editors function as the guardians of an entire brand.

If much has changed technologically for British magazines, generally readers still want the same things—information, entertainment, and news from a magazine they trust. Editors use many of the same techniques pioneered by the early magazines to win reader loyalty. The principles laid down by *The Ladies Mercury* in 1693, which promised to answer "all the most nice and curious Questions concerning Love, Marriage, Behaviour, Dress and Humour of the Female Sex, whether Virgins, Wives, or Widows" (quoted in Ardburgham) can still be seen in the "how to" material prevalent in contemporary women's magazines while *The Spectator,* which covered everything from "deep moral and aesthetic questions to the latest fashion in gloves" was realizing the vital importance of reader participation, urging responses in its first issue for "those who have a mind to correspond with me"—a practice that clearly prefigures the readers' letters, web forums, and reader polls of early-twenty-first-century magazines.

There is, however, a feeling among British magazine managers that readers have become harder to please than they once were. The bright, gaudy magazine covers, crammed with cover lines and free gifts, are in strong contrast to the dense typography of early publications, which appeared to assume readers had unlimited time and enthusiasm.

Magazines have also become more news hungry. Cave's approach was to "reprint" news rather than transmit it, an important distinction that enabled him to avoid a government stamp tax applied only to "news" publications. But while there may have been a time when British magazines were more than happy to develop and build on the news rather than break it, they are now moving away from this. In an increasingly difficult market, magazines are increasingly run like newspapers, endeavoring to break news and exclusives, rather than simply recycling old news or covering the issues thrown up by news media outlets in more depth. The web is driving this too, with magazine editors determined to get their best news stories online as quickly as the newspapers while still finding a news angle that works in the printed form, in a bid to keep the new "click it, have it" generation of readers, who want everything immediately, interested.

Many publishers feel that pleasing the reader has gotten out of hand—particularly with the contentious introduction of "cover-mounts" (free gifts) in the mid-1990s, which have left British editors wondering why they bother spending hours perfecting their editorial if their readers are now only buying their magazines because of the free sunglasses or CD on the front. There has been a growing sense that far from increasing brand loyalty, what

started as a cost effective way of attracting new readers has created a new, promiscuous reader who is now happy to ditch their old magazine for whichever publication offers the better gift. Covermounting may also put off advertisers, who have previously been attracted by the special relationship between reader and magazine often described as an "unconditional friendship": they may now feel that readers don't trust and feel loyal to their magazines as they once did and will consequently feel less likely to buy advertising space.

Nonetheless, even if their readers do love them less, magazine editors will never give up trying to win back their love. And magazines must be doing something right with many arguing that the rather less affluent newspaper industry that has been hit hard by the web revolution has been engaged in a process of "magazinization" for some time, appropriating magazine formats by creating magazine cover style front pages and endeavoring to tailor their publications as closely as possible to the interests of their readers in a bid to replicate the close personal relationship that magazines and their readers have tended to share.

Criticism of Magazines

Some British academics have been quite critical of magazines, seeing them as part of a sinister consumerist conspiracy—offering readers the remedy to all their problems through consumption. The lifestyle titles in particular have been criticized for helping to reinforce stereotypes by failing to embrace racial and sexual diversity and treating readers as a homogeneous whole rather than as individuals. Some critics have questioned the way magazines such as *Cosmopolitan,* ironically the magazine that once promised its readers they could "have it all," was seen to construct modes of femininity that were all about looking good and pleasing men rather than celebrating their achievements. Feminists have also written angrily about men's magazines such as *Loaded* and *FHM,* which are seen to promote women as sex objects and construct identities for men in which a man's role is little more than voyeur. The body image debate has also come to dominate media discourse with women's magazines' use of stick thin models and the retouching of models by both men's and women's titles coming under scrutiny. The vogue in the past decade for "they're just like us" celebrity journalism, pioneered by *Heat* magazine (launched in 1999), in which the editorial content criticizes famous women who gain weight/have acne/fail to do their hair, has also added to a picture of a media that, rather than serving its readers, is actually putting them under pressure to be more than they are. Some critics have even accused magazines of causing anorexia.

Although these criticisms tend to focus on magazines, and women's magazines in particular, they are problems that afflict the media as a whole—newspapers, television, and the Internet are guilty too—though this is rarely addressed. More recently, a postmodern approach to magazines has begun to enter academic criticism with a move toward accepting that readers may actually be capable of subverting media messages and using magazines for their own ends. But magazine editors still have questions to answer. Editors fervently insist that their content choices are only designed to give readers what they want and, of course, that makes sense—they want to sell copies. But some commentators have recognized that however much market research they do or how many reader events they attend, or reader forums they participate in, editors may never really know their readers and may sometimes be guilty of concentrating on an "ideal" reader rather than listening to the "actual" one.

Conclusion

Some publishers believe that, in business to business publishing at least, paper magazines may disappear altogether as companies increasingly move their content online. Set-up costs for a website are a fraction of those for a magazine, and eco-arguments make the continuation of such paper-intensive products increasingly hard to justify. Yet, readers continue to love their magazines—after all, you can't read a laptop in the bath—and the techniques pioneered by Edward Cave in the 1730s have served the industry well ever since. The only question now is whether they will still be here in another 300 years.

Liz Nice

See also British New Media; British Press Regulation; British Tabloid Press

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British New Media

The production, distribution, and reception of news in Britain are all changing as digital media provide new possibilities for producers and consumers alike. The key trend is toward convergence of media content, computing, and telecommunications sectors. According to the UK government Office of Communications, as of August 2008, broadband was available to more than half of all British households, with a rapid increase in mobile broadband use; 87 percent of homes had digital television; and the number of active cell phone accounts exceeded the country's population. The increasing ubiquity of such platforms means that news is increasingly accessed on computers and mobile devices, creating opportunities for new kinds of news organizations, original approaches to circulating content, and new forms of audience participation. However, undergirding these significant transformations are two distinctive and continuing characteristics of news in Britain: the dominance of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in broadcasting and the highly competitive market in national newspapers.

Broadcasters and the New Media Environment

British broadcast news is provided by a mix of publicly funded and commercial organizations, operating across free-to-air analog and digital platforms as well as subscription-based satellite and cable services. By far the biggest and most influential institution is the BBC, formed in 1922. Transformed into the British Broadcasting Corporation on January 1, 1927, with a now-formal government mandate to "inform, educate and entertain," advertisements and editorializing were strictly prohibited. The BBC's funding relied upon the sale of licenses to users and, indeed, the BBC continues to receive most of its funding from compulsory TV licenses. As of July 2008, a license is required for all households owning a television: the annual rate is £139.50 (about $280) for those with a color TV set (and less for households owning only black-and-white receivers).

According to the BBC's *Annual Report* for 2007–08, more than 80 percent of Britain's population over the age of 15 make some weekly use of BBC news services. Worldwide, 233 million people accessed the BBC's online, TV, and radio news services. Its online services are especially popular: the BBC Mobile service is the most-used cell phone news service in Britain. In December 2007, the BBC launched its iPlayer, an on-demand service for downloading or streaming TV and radio content to computers and mobile devices. The service was an immediate hit: within four months, the BBC claimed that downloads and streams associated with the iPlayer accounted for up to 5 percent of all Internet traffic in the country.

The BBC is the world's largest public service broadcaster, and it has extended its public service role to the use of new media in its news services. In November 1997, it launched two initiatives: a rolling news channel BBC News 24 (renamed the BBC News Channel in 2008), and the BBC News Online service. The BBC News website offers visitors a choice of British or international versions, with corresponding differences in emphases. The BBC's size, reach, and resources give it a significant advantage over competitors: its online staff can

draw upon hundreds of BBC correspondents around the world.

The BBC News website maintains a searchable archive of every item posted on the site since its 1997 inception. The site has developed in ways that exploit three central possibilities offered by convergent media. First, it offers *automated* services—email digests and headlines; news feeds to the user's cell phone; news alerts sent straight to the user's desktop; RSS feeds; and audio and video podcasts, including edited versions of the key TV current affairs shows *Newsnight* and *Question Time*. Second, it offers scope for the user to *personalize* the site—for example, to choose between international and British versions, between more or fewer graphics, and from text offered in a range of languages, including Spanish and Mandarin Chinese. And third, it offers some modest possibilities for the user to *participate* in the news process—there is a "Have Your Say" section, offering an ability to respond using automated forms. More significantly, readers are invited to submit story ideas, pictures, or video, with the iconic cell phone camera images of the London bombings of July 7, 2005, included on the page as a reminder of how contributions from the audience ("user-generated content") can become central to even the biggest news stories.

Newspapers and the Internet

Britain has an extremely competitive national daily and Sunday newspaper market. There are 11 national daily newspapers, and many other regional and metropolitan titles. Free newspapers such as *Metro* have also gained a significant national readership. This competition for readers and advertisers is a significant driver of the papers' online ventures. All national papers have a web presence, and some of these have been significant innovators, particularly in incorporating user-generated content.

The *Guardian,* a liberal daily, has won a number of awards for its website, including one for best newspaper website in 2005, 2006, and 2007, beating leading American dailies. A distinctive feature of the *Guardian* site is its large collection of blogs: as of July 2008, the site ran 28 specialist blogs on aspects of news, education, entertainment, travel, politics, arts, and gardening. The largest of these, "Comment Is Free," is an online extension of the newspaper's op-ed page, opening all its opinion columns up to moderated comments from readers, and augmenting these with additional columns and featured debates. Users must register in order to post comments, and these are moderated after posting. Comments are often deleted for breaches of the stated guidelines, but the basic principle of "publish first, moderate later" is unmatched by other British newspaper websites. The blog format attracts significant numbers of contributors: for example, in July 2008, one column by satirist Charlie Brooker drew more than 1,700 comments in three days. While this degree of participation was exceptional, many columnists routinely draw several hundred comments from users.

The *Telegraph,* a conservative daily, has also made significant use of blogs through its "My Telegraph" service. This allows any user to run a blog on its website, under the *Telegraph* masthead, and to post comments on those of others, as well as to save articles from the paper and to network with other users. Posts and comments on "My Telegraph" blogs are not moderated before publication, although they may be removed if they breach stated policies; in contrast, comments on the paper's own blogs are moderated before publication. Launched in May 2007, "My Telegraph" had drawn more than 20,000 registered users by the end of its first year, making it one of the most successful ventures to date to incorporate user-generated content into an established newspaper business.

However, it is not yet clear whether such innovations in participatory culture are a key factor in driving audience numbers for newspaper websites. As of June 2008, Britain's number one most-visited news website was that of the conservative *Daily Mail* (http://www.dailymail.co.uk), which saw a 100 percent increase in traffic in a year. This site hosts a much smaller number of blogs than the *Guardian* or the *Telegraph* and has a much stricter comments policy, with all comments moderated before publication. The popularity of the *Mail* website may suggest that continuity (in the form of trusted news content) is valued more highly by some audiences than is transformation (in the form of avenues for audience participation).

Independent Online News Sources

The influence of public service broadcasting and the unusually competitive newspaper market may

help explain why Britain has so far not seen the rise of a very influential news blog culture separate from the established news media. While there are many news-related bloggers, there is no site or individual with the profile or influence enjoyed by many American projects. The highest-profile British news-related blog is *Guido Fawkes* (http://www.order-order.com), run by Paul Staines. It is credited by some commentators as the first in the country to force the resignation of a government minister (Peter Hain in January 2008) by pursuing a story that the established news media did not.

However, while there are relatively few individual UK news bloggers of real stature or influence, there are important instances of people using the Internet in the creation of alternative news projects. One example is Make Borders History (http://makebordershistory.org). Created in 2005 as part of the protests against the meeting of leaders of the G8 nations in Scotland, this was a moderated site using the same Mediawiki software as Wikipedia, which allowed anyone to create an account and log in to contribute or edit information on the goals of the project. It combined its activist functions with news reports and features contributed by users and moderators, pointing toward approaches to online news that bypass objectivity and professionalism in favor of a politically engaged, participatory news culture.

The most important of such experiments to date is the international Indymedia movement, established in 1999. Indymedia is a global network of independent news websites, each using a local version of the common domain name indymedia.org; in October 2008, more than 130 Indymedia sites were active. Each site publishes news stories and other items submitted by anyone who wishes to contribute; while this policy is evolving and subject to local variation, the defining principle of Indymedia is the ethos of "open publishing." Open publishing can be thought of as an ethos of transparency as well as one of access: in this view, the mechanisms of the production of news should be as visible as possible and all users should be able to participate. In Britain, a network of 10 regional Indymedia sites operates collectively as UK Indymedia (indymedia.org.uk), and there are additional sites for Scotland and the cities of York and Bristol. This combination of local focus with national and international networking is an important contribution to the online news environment.

The activities of online news projects such as Make Borders History or UK Indymedia are, of course, on a very different scale to the BBC or the *Guardian*. However, they do point toward key trends in Internet use for news in Britain and elsewhere. Such trends include experiments with nontraditional forms of management and organization; alternative approaches to reporting, objectivity, and professionalism; and an emphasis on participatory, audience-centered production in contrast to the top-down hierarchical approach that has characterized much of the established news media.

Conclusion

The use of new media for the production, distribution, and reception of news in the UK demonstrates the extent to which continuity and transformation are contending forces in the digital news environment. While the most influential and trusted news institutions remain the same as they were in the pre-Internet world, those institutions are having to adapt rapidly to the changing media environment. While digital media offer new possibilities for new kinds of producers, some of the most innovative approaches are coming from established organizations that have the reach, financial resources, and expertise to refashion their services to the online environment.

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See also Alternative and Underground Newspapers; Blogs and Bloggers; British Broadcasting Corporation; British Commercial News Broadcasting; Citizen Journalism; Convergence; Internet Impact on Media

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British Newspapers

Newspapers have always been a crucial component of British news media, informing the public sphere, articulating the public interest, and instigating and conducting significant debates on issues vital to democracy. Writers as diverse as Edmund Burke and Richard Carlyle have claimed newspapers as a fourth estate of the realm, a vigilant watchdog holding the powerful to account on behalf of the public. More prosaically, newspapers have also been the archivists and chroniclers of the local, regional, and national communities in which they have circulated, recording the various rites of passage (births, marriages, and deaths) of those communities, as well as the activities of judicial and political elites and institutions, manifest in court reports and publication of the proceedings of parish councils and Parliament. But newspapers have increasingly tried to entertain as well as inform their readers, and to report the social and cultural life of communities. These accounts published in the columns of the local and national press constitute an important record and have been acknowledged to be the "first draft of history."

Contested Futures

In the new millennium, British newspapers confront a pivotal moment in their history. All national papers now have extensive online editions: *Guardian Unlimited,* for example, attracts 16 million readers (unique users) and 147 million page downloads each month. Newspapers understood literally as "news" printed on "paper"—rather than as news content on multiple media platforms that is delivered by the Internet, podcasts, and mobile telephony, more often than by newspaper boys and girls—constitutes an increasingly modest element in the editorial mix in an age of digital convergence. Newspapers in Britain, like many countries around the globe, are once again in a state of flux reflecting the influence of a number of technological, economic, political, and cultural changes.

The scholarly literature offers two distinctive predictions for the British press. The first, pessimistic account argues that newspapers will suffer reduced numbers of published titles, dramatic reductions in circulations, the loss of readers and advertisers to increasingly attractive Internet and television advertising channels, and a decline of public trust in media credibility reflecting—among other factors—newspapers' growing reliance on public relations firms as sources of news. Newspapers' editorial preference for celebrities, human interest, and trivia above the reporting of hard news stories will exacerbate these trends, making newspapers "an endangered species." Some pundits offer unrealistic extrapolations based on declining circulations, to predict the precise date on which the last newspaper reader will vanish.

A second, more optimistic, account acknowledges newspapers' need to strike an urgent editorial and financial accommodation with the web, but suggests that they are well along in adapting both their editorial contents and formats to developments in media technology, pressures of market forces, and readers' changing requirements for news. They believe this "editorial Darwinism" explains how newspapers have survived previous challenges—from telegraph to television—to their business and editorial environments, enabling them to adapt to changing circumstances; this editorial Darwinism is central to understanding the history of newspapers. Moreover, the availability and popularity of new media technologies—in living rooms no less than newsrooms—empowers a growing army of citizen journalists, bloggers, and readers wishing to post comments online, to construct a more pluralist debate about matters of public interest. The "tablets of stone" model of journalism, in which journalists and leader writers

hand down authoritative opinions, is giving way to a new participatory journalism that encourages readers to join journalists in a more interactive discussion.

Which vision for British newspapers will be vindicated by events is uncertain. The ambition here is to offer a brief history of British national and local newspapers and to consider recent policy developments and trends.

Development and Policy

Origins

The first daily London paper, the *Daily Courant,* appeared on March 11, 1702. There is less certainty about the earliest provincial paper, though it was likely the *Norwich Post* in 1701. But the news was rarely new. The *Courant* offered snippets culled from European papers, with some items often more than two weeks old; the price was one penny. The launch editorial claimed the paper would "relate only matters of fact, supposing other people to have sense enough to make reflections for themselves" (Williams 1957). Rehashing such old facts while eschewing informed opinion made the *Courant* a dull read.

Press historians have largely neglected developments in the local press, but like their national counterparts, local and regional newspapers enjoyed readerships in the large but expanding urban areas, and collected and recycled news from the London (rather than European) papers, including any errors. An editorial in the *Northampton Mercury* in 1721 explained, "we hope…readers will not condemn our *Mercury* for the many Falsities that have of late been inserted therein, as we took them all out of the London printed papers" (Walker 2003).

From these rather inauspicious beginnings, British newspapers flourished in the late nineteenth century following the repeal of the "taxes on knowledge." Fueling this growth were the burgeoning numbers of readers and an explosive demand for news reflecting a growing literacy among working class readers and enhanced educational provision in the new urban centers. Technological and editorial changes were also significant. The new linotype printing machines, the expansion of communication via railroads and the telegraph, along with changes in editorial formats and contents, encouraged growing markets for newspapers. The *Daily Telegraph,* launched on the day that stamp duty was abolished, reported news in a more dramatic, lively, and colloquial style than *The Times,* and adopted the typographical and photographical techniques of the American press, which Matthew Arnold dubbed the "new journalism": the use of eye-catching headlines, inclusion of news interviews, coverage of sports in preference to politics, and the use of the inverted pyramid writing style. Sales spiraled from 27,000 in 1856, to 141,700 in 1860, 191,000 in 1871, and in excess of a quarter million by 1880. Editor Joseph Levy claimed "the largest circulation in the world" for the newspaper.

During the twentieth century, up to World War II, three features of the press were significant: expanding circulations (from 4.7 million in 1926 to 10.6 million in 1939 and 15.5 million in 1947); a declining number of separate titles (between 1921 and 1937, 3 national daily papers, 4 Sundays, and 13 provincial papers ceased publication) and increased concentration of newspaper ownership (three newspaper groups, owned by Beaverbrook, Rothermere, and Kelmsley, controlled 43 percent of national newspaper circulation).

Declining Titles and Circulations?

As of late 2008 there were 11 national daily papers, which the Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC) places into three broad categories reflecting their circulation, editorial style, and, before the arrival of the "compact" editions in 2003, the size of the newspapers. The *Daily Mirror, Daily Record, Daily Star,* and *The Sun* constitute the high circulation, entertainment oriented tabloid papers or "red tops"—reflecting their gaudy mastheads. The "mid-market" papers, the *Daily Express* and *Daily Mail*, report more politics and business news but lack the editorial gravitas of the "qualities." Finally, the *Daily Telegraph, Financial Times, Guardian, Independent,* and *The Times* comprise the "qualities" that report a "hard news agenda" replete with reports of government policy, global economic news and international affairs. They also attract a readership that is more highly educated and enjoys a higher socioeconomic and professional status than other newspaper categories. The Sunday

newspaper market is similarly differentiated: the *Daily Star Sunday, News of the World, Sunday Mirror, Sunday Sport,* and the *People* (Sunday tabloid) typically carry front page reports of celebrity news delivered in a salacious style. The *Mail on Sunday* and *Sunday Express* (mid-market) and *Independent on Sunday, Observer, Sunday Telegraph,* and the *Sunday Times* (qualities) are more sober in editorial style, but as Sundays, these papers offer more feature-length reports summarizing and exploring the stories of the week in great detail and with more opinion and editorial comment.

The development of new "direct input" printing technologies, publisher Rupert Murdoch's 1986 move to a modernized production plant at Wapping, and the weakening of trade union influence in the British press prompted the unprecedented launch of 10 new daily newspapers between 1986 and 1990: *Today* (1986), *The Independent* (1986), the *Sport* (1986), the *Sunday Sport* (1986), the *London Daily News* (1987), the *News on Sunday* (1987), the *Post* (1988), the *Correspondent* (1989), *The Independent on Sunday* (1990), and the *European* (1990). The *London Daily News* survived only five months, *News on Sunday* only eight, while others like *Today* struggled through to 1995. The *Independent* titles face a continuing decline in sales, revenues, and profitability.

The reduction of titles is even more striking for provincial (local) newspapers. The 108 paid daily and 1,306 weekly titles published in 1948 had declined to 94 daily and 526 weekly papers by 2005, a 56 percent reduction in titles. But the hemorrhaging of paid weekly titles was stemmed and their numbers complemented by the emergence of free weekly papers during the 1970s. These papers (disdained as "freesheets" by journalists for their "downmarket" editorial contents and complete reliance on advertising for revenues) enjoyed remarkable growth from 325 titles in 1980 to a peak of 882 six years later; currently 637 titles are published. But since 1999, Associated Newspapers have published an expansive portfolio of (currently ten) daily free *Metro* titles that enjoy wide readerships and advertising revenues; for some commentators they offer a possible business model for the national press. In London, Associated's free *London Lite* and Murdoch's *London Paper* vie for distribution supremacy and advertising revenues. The local press in 2008 offered 1,308 local and regional titles including 32 morning dailies (22 paid and 10 free), 78 evening papers (72 paid and 6 free), 532 paid weeklies, 648 free weeklies, and 18 Sunday newspapers (10 paid and 8 free).

Fewer papers signal fewer readers. Aggregate circulations for national daily and Sunday titles fell from 38.4 million in 1965 to 32.7 million in 1985 but crashed to only 22.6 million in 2008 (11.2 million dailies and 11.4 million Sundays), representing a loss of 15.8 million sales or 41 percent of the market. But the circulation fortunes of the British press vary across market sectors. The circulation of national dailies, for example, has *declined* from 14.8 million copies in 1965 to 11.4 million by 2007 and Sundays have similarly dropped from 23.7 million to 11.3 million across the same period, but quality dailies have *increased* their circulations from 2.0 million to 2.6 million while the quality Sundays have *held steady* selling 2.5 million copies in 2007 compared to 2.7 million in 1965. By contrast daily tabloid and midmarket newspapers have *plummeted* from 12.7 million in 1965 to 8.8 million in 2007; the Sunday popular press has crashed from 20.9 million copies in 1965 to 8.8 in 2007. These figures offer interesting data with which to assess the alleged "dumbing down" debate. In Britain it is the serious quality or broadsheet titles that have sustained or even increased their readerships while the editorially more frivolous tabloid papers have shed readers dramatically. One possible conclusion here is that editors should move editorially up market not down market in order to enhance circulation.

The circulation trends for local and regional papers are also strikingly down, from a peak in 1989 (48 million copies sold each week) to 41 million by 2004: down 15 percent of market. Free papers have similarly declined from a distribution high of 42 million in 1989 to 29 million in 2004 (–28.6 percent) even when the burgeoning free metro newspaper distributions are included. There is much evidence here to support the worst speculations of the pessimists.

Newspaper Organizations: Costs, Revenues, and Profitability

Local and national newspapers enjoy highly profitable returns on their investment compared to

other industries. Typical rates of return for local newspaper groups have varied between 25 percent and 30 percent, although Media Wales (Trinity Mirror Wales before November 2007) achieved quite remarkable pretax profits of 38.2 percent (£20.999 million) in 2005 on a turnover of £54.596 million. National newspaper groups also enjoy healthy profits and high turnovers. Between 1985 and 2004, average profit for the nine newspaper groups was 7.8 percent. The Guardian Media Group, however, enjoyed a 47 percent rise in pretax profits from £66.4 million to £97.7 million in the year ending April 2007, in what was judged to be a "difficult and challenging" year.

Three factors explain this profitability. First, advertising revenues are crucial; they have remained stable, high, and constitute an average 80 percent of local newspapers revenues. In 2004–05, advertising income for the regional press was £3.132 billion and for national papers it was £2.036 billion, with local (20 percent) and national (13 percent) newspapers taking 33 percent of total UK advertising revenues followed by television (26 percent), magazines (12 percent), radio (4 percent), the Internet (4 percent), and cinema (1 percent).

Second, production costs have been kept low by reducing journalism jobs and wages to a minimum. A study of major British newspaper groups between 1985 and 2004 concluded that the average number of editorial employees was fairly constant at around 500 employees per group. In 1985 the average number of journalists for each group was 786, falling to a low of 427 in 1987 following News International's move to Wapping, but rising again through the 1990s to an average 741 in 2005, a figure very close to the number of journalists employed 20 years earlier. But individual cases defy averages. At Express Newspapers Ltd., for example, journalism numbers fell from 968 to 532 between 1996 and 2004, with a sharp increase in job losses reflecting the arrival of new owner and executive editor Richard Desmond. In November 2008, *The Independent* sacked 60 of its 230 journalists and the *Telegraph* similarly laid off 65 journalists. In local newspapers, job cuts are similarly commonplace with Trinity Mirror (now Media Wales), which is Britain's largest provincial newspaper publisher with 232 titles in its portfolio, reducing journalists and other production workers in post by almost 20 percent (19.2 percent) from 6,898 to 5,575 between 2000 and 2005. Those still employed receive modest salaries. Half of British journalists earn less than the national average wage of £26,161, and half of journalists working in the regional press earn less than £20,000 a year.

Third, these economic benefits have been sustained by the consolidation of the regional newspaper industry, via a series of mergers and takeovers during the 1980s and 1990s, into a handful of regionally based monopolies that dominate the local newspaper market. Consequently, the 200 groups publishing local newspapers in 1992 were reduced to 137 by 1998 and 84 in 2008. Thirty-six of these companies own a single newspaper while the "big 20" now own 88.3 percent of all British regional and local newspaper titles and 97 percent of all audited circulation. The five largest groups (Trinity Mirror [186 titles and 12.5 million copies], Associated Newspapers [12; 9.7 million], Johnston Press [295; 9.4 million], Newsquest [210; 9.1 million], and Northcliffe [130; 8 million]) own 833 (64 percent) of all local newspaper titles with aggregate circulations of 48.7 million while the remaining 79 publishers own a mere 25 percent of the market by circulation (14.8 million). Corporations, moreover, make "tacit agreements" with major rivals not to invade each other's "territories" rendering local newspaper markets noncompetitive. They integrate their holdings vertically, horizontally, and diagonally to ensure that they are able to sustain supplies of key production materials but also develop economies of scale such as centralized printing and subediting.

Changing Style and Contents

A key feature of newspapers in the new millennium has been their changing shape (literally), the emphasis on relaunches and redesigns, and the constant "tweaking" of editorial content resulting in a greater emphasis on news and features about lifestyle, fashion, leisure, travel, celebrities, human interest stories, and "infotainment." These changes reflect the increasingly competitive markets for readers and advertising revenues that newspapers confront, rather than developments in media technology. Technological change has played more of an enabling role, with new printing presses providing opportunities for crisper typefaces, color pictures on

every page, the inclusion of illustrative graphics, and enhanced quality for photographic reproduction. These changes to newspaper format, layout, and design to meet readers' changing requirements for news are striking and undeniable; the shifts in contents have proved more contentious.

The global move to tabloid formats since 2001 has also occurred in Britain, but owners and editors have preferred to use the word "compacts," in order to avoid the anticipated opprobrium associated with "tabloid" and to defuse any suggestions of "dumbing down."

The Independent pioneered the move to compact in September 2003, which undoubtedly reflected the title's sustained loss of readers from 400,000 in 1990 to 220,000 a decade later. Research revealed that compact editions would be popular with young readers, women, and commuters but, more significantly, with advertisers. Sales of the new style *Independent* initially soared by 40,000 a day; *The Times* promptly launched a similar compact edition. But amid the celebrations of growing readerships, *Guardian* editor Alan Rusbridger was deeply concerned about the possible impact of this shift to tabloid on editorial contents and argued that a tabloid size would inevitably prompt a tabloid content. He opted for the European style Berliner format exemplified by *Le Monde* which, in terms of page size, sat somewhere between the tabloid and disappearing broadsheet. Only the *Daily Telegraph* retains the broadsheet format.

Visually the most striking feature of the new compact editions is the increased use of photo journalists for telling stories, especially on the front page above the fold. Given the shrinking page size, there are obviously fewer stories with fewer words on each page. *The Independent* exemplifies this design shift by adopting a "poster" style front page featuring a single story, illustrated by a colorful graphic or photograph with virtually no text or even headline. The editor's preference for columnists and editorial comment above "straight" factual news coverage is reflected in his proud boast that *The Independent* is a "viewspaper" not a newspaper.

Online Editions: What's the Business Plan?

All British national and many local and regional papers publish online editions and yet curiously this move to convergence has failed to generate an agreed, industry-wide business model or strategy to make online journalism profitable. Newspaper groups have identified three sources of income from online news: subscription, advertising, and ad hoc sales although each element in the revenue stream is problematic since there are potential economic tensions between them. Company business plans usually employ a judicious mix of all three.

The basic problem with subscriptions to online editions, compared to paying the cover price for a hardcopy newspaper, is that it is not clear why anyone should pay to buy news from the former when essentially the same news is available for free from many other newspaper websites. So charging is problematic except for worldwide quality brands that specialize in a particular news/information sector, such as *The Wall Street Journal Online*. In brief, the business logic of print editions does not transfer online. But even if companies *are* successful in persuading readers to move online, they cannibalize their own print readership and reduce their revenue base because of fewer cover sales but more significantly reduced advertising. The consequences of this cannibalism are severe.

Advertising represents newspapers' vital revenue source, accounting for up to 80 percent of paid papers' revenues and 100 percent of free newspaper income. Web-based advertising revenues are growing (and rapidly) but from a low baseline and constitute a very modest proportion (5.7 percent in 2006) of global revenues ($425 billion) while printed newspapers receive 29.4 percent. Each convert to online editions is won at a substantial financial cost and such victories are Pyrrhic. But companies cannot return to a subscription based strategy since charging for site access reduces reader traffic and with it the vital advertising revenues. Typically, newspaper groups compromise by selling what is popular with readers but unique to their brand. Consequently in Britain, *The Times* charges for its crossword, and *The Independent* for the features by its distinguished Middle East correspondent Robert Fisk.

Ad hoc sales involve newspapers using their valued brand to associate themselves with a range of goods and services such as travel, cars, property, and dating. While newspapers typically offer traditional advertisers simply a paid platform from which to attract readers to their products, the extent of endorsement for some of these products

is much closer. These goods and services provide the fastest growing revenue stream for the sites (20–30 percent a year) but also attract further reader traffic and, in turn, advertising income.

Conclusion

The history of British newspapers has been shaped and informed by newspapers' constant adaptation to a host of changing economic, technological, political, social, and cultural factors; a central concern in a market driven system has been the requirement to meet readers' shifting demands for news and the ways in which it is written and visually presented. This process of "editorial Darwinism" began in 1702 with the launch issue of the *Daily Courant* and is an essential ingredient in understanding the evolution of the British newspaper; it continues to shape future developments. In contemporary Britain, the arrival of Internet technology combined with readers' growing preference for online news is prompting changes in journalism practice and journalists' news-gathering and -reporting regimes. These, in turn, trigger radical changes to the ways in which news is reported and presented online. In northern Europe, newspapers understood simply as "news" printed on "paper" are hemorrhaging readers; online editions are offering new life blood in the form of expansive readerships and advertising revenues to the constantly evolving British press.

Bob Franklin

See also Blogs and Bloggers; British Magazines; British New Media; British Press Regulation; British Tabloid Press; Columns and Columnists; Convergence; Infotainment

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British Press Regulation

The history of Britain's struggle for a free press fills five centuries with official bans, threats, and laws passed to intimidate or silence journalists. The signal virtue of British press freedom is that it is long established and has been long fought for, which means its methods and institutions are often copied and frequently admired from afar. Anyone who seeks to found a newspaper in Britain from scratch can do so. There is no license required, nor any great amount of paperwork. As long as you obey the law, you are free to operate—and merger rules, by and large, are less restrictive than they are in, for example, the United States. Only regional monopolies create occasional problems. Because Britain has no written constitution clearly enumerating what is allowed and not allowed, however, there are few certainties regarding the rights of journalists and no guarantee of UK press freedom, such as the American First Amendment.

The history of modern British press regulation, however, is far shorter. Essentially, it began on July 21, 1953, in an office on London's Fleet Street, then the great center for Britain's national newspapers, when a body soon known as the Press Council—two dozen or so leading editors and publishers—met for the first time. These self-elected founding fathers set themselves two public tasks: to defend the freedom of the press and to monitor its standards of conduct.

The Press Council (1953–1991)

After centuries of guerrilla warfare with government, this council would offer a new approach for a new postwar era. A responsible press would police itself—but it would also campaign against oppressive restrictions such as the Official Secrets Act of 1911 (amended in 1989), a law imposing areas of government secrecy and making imprisonment possible for journalists (or anyone else) who pulled aside that curtain. The council's members intended to "Publish and Be Damned" (as the great *Daily Mirror* slogan proclaimed) but also to break some of the chains of libel and defamation litigation that made the United Kingdom one of the most difficult developed countries in the world in which investigative reporters and their editors had to work.

Those who gathered for this first meeting, though, were not exactly starry-eyed about the initiative. As was also the case nearly 40 years later, when the Press Complaints Commission supplanted this first Press Council, newspapers and magazines invented their own solution to a perceived problem to ward off worse official action. Self-regulation was a response to constant government and backbench pressure. Three Royal Commissions on the Press—in 1947, 1962, and 1977—made a continuing case for change; and events, including the beginning of a new tabloid circulation war after publishing magnate Rupert Murdoch bought the restrained middle-market *Sun* in 1969 and transformed it into something more populist, produced an inescapable rise in complaints about the press by the public and an equally inescapable demand for further press reform. There were "still flagrant breaches of acceptable standards," wrote the chairman of the 1977 commission, Sir Oliver McGregor. Though the idea of a Press Council had been welcomed—and copied—around the world from Australia to Sri Lanka, the original concept was steadily battered into irrelevance. It had seemed a big enough step in 1953 to set up a committee of senior journalists and managers under an independent chairman and ask them to investigate cases of supposed bad behavior by newspapers as well as laying down standards of conduct and stepping in to defend and promote the profession (rather like the Bar Council defended lawyers and the General Medical Council defended and policed doctors). But times grew rougher and faith in the council gradually diminished.

The council's critics, inside and outside the newspaper industry, had a litany of complaints: that it was underfunded and unable to initiate its own inquiries; that it had no easy and universally recognized code of practice; that its propensity for choosing lawyers and ex-judges as chairmen made its proceedings inherently legalistic, and, thus, slow moving—so that findings emerged too late, many months after the original offense. Worse—that this almost stagnant pace was exacerbated by the scheduling of aural hearings which were often delayed when witnesses (or solicitors) couldn't make themselves available. Furthermore, critics argued, editors themselves ceased to attend these hearings, sending along surrogates who didn't have the profile needed to command attention. Moreover, confusion over the "legal waiver"—determining whether complainants could sue through the courts as well as pursuing a Press Council judgment—made it impossible for editors to be utterly frank when submitting evidence. Time and again, critics alleged, the original aim of promoting press freedom didn't fit with the way reader demands had developed. How could a council be expected to champion a free press while simultaneously seeking to discipline errant newspapers?

Press Complaints Commission (1991–Present)

All these criticisms were addressed in 1991 when the Press Complaints Commission (PCC) replaced the old Press Council. It was a time, soon after the fall of Margaret Thatcher (1979–90) as Prime Minister, when a supposedly too powerful press had angered members of Parliament (MPs) with its relentless front-page coverage of the many scandals involving MPs (and sex), a trend that contributed to increasing animosity between the press and the government. The arts minister, David Mellor, had famously warned that "the press is drinking in the Last Chance Saloon" as yet another government-commissioned report, by Sir David Calcutt, began to make the case for a PCC with statutory powers to fine offending papers. There was genuine alarm among publishers about new laws on privacy that, it was feared, could do great circulation damage by cutting off the tabloids' supply of

celebrity kiss-and-tell stories. The Newspaper Proprietors Association moved quickly to kick-start a complaints commission chaired by Oliver (now Lord) McGregor, 69, who had made a reputation as chairman of the very successful self-regulatory Advertising Standards Commission. His lessons learned there, as well as his analysis of Press Council failings, provided a foundation for the PCC, and still inform the commission's practices in the early twenty-first century.

The PCC needed proper funding, so a separate fund-raising body, the Press Standards Board of Finance (PressBof), was put in place to secure that. Because it needed a code of behavior to monitor, McGregor helped establish a high-level editors' code committee that set standards by agreement across the whole industry, then handed them to the commission to police. There would be no lawyers on the commission and no aural hearings, which would allow claims to be more speedily processed. commission staff were asked, as a first step, to affect a reconciliation between complainant and newspaper, so that a letter or apology might resolve matters. If a complainant was intent on suing, then the commission's doors were closed to him. As for the authority wielded by the commission, great efforts were made to give the organization a different profile, one far more imposing than the old council. First there would be a minority of "lay members"—senior doctors, retired civil servants, even a former lady in waiting to the Queen—who would sit alongside national and regional editors themselves (no deputies, no surrogates). The lay minority (later to become a majority) was intended to show the public that this was not some cozy, closed journalists' club; the presence of national editors on the commission, in turn, showed other editors how seriously the job in hand was being taken. And, of course, the PCC had no responsibility to uphold press freedom (except by showing that the press could regulate itself successfully). This was a leaner, hopefully faster-moving, more focused body.

The editors code committee—first chaired by the tabloid *News of the World*—began swift and surprisingly fruitful work, with clauses defining the rights to privacy and places where it might be expected, as well as safeguards against harassment or intrusion and even more vexing matters such as the protection of children. A sweeping paragraph of introduction made clear that these rules had "to be observed in the spirit as well as by the letter." And the industry as a whole—regional papers and magazines included—signed up for such regulation. It was, in many respects, an exemplary start.

Perhaps inevitably, however, some problems surfaced rapidly, and others came up repeatedly. The old Press Council did not perish without some hurt and rancor. The National Union of Journalists, which had withdrawn from the Press Council many years before, denounced the new PCC as an employers' organization, and sat outside the tent. Some critics wanted the real pain of fines against offending newspapers, rather than the milder sanction of printing a commission adjudication. Other critics, failing to understand why editors were represented so heavily on the commission, demanded a clear citizen/reader majority. Many up-market journalists, professing distress over tabloid ethics which they felt reflected badly on them, poured scorn on an initiative that lacked sufficient teeth.

Some of these points have been addressed over time. There is a clear lay majority now. Appointments to the commission are made by an independent appointments committee, and vacancies are widely advertised. Observance of the code is written into the employment contracts of journalists and editors, so that a flagrant breach can become a firing offense (with legal force). Increasingly, the commission has prescribed where and how newspapers should print the fiercest PCC adjudications—and so the placing of those adjudications has become more prominent. But some difficulties are not so easily dealt with.

During the commission's early days Lord McGregor experienced problems that almost brought his chairmanship to an embarrassed halt at a time when the tabloids were running with stories of Princess Diana's estrangement from her husband Prince Charles and her involvement in a series of extramarital affairs. On the one hand, the Princess was talking voluminously off the record to tabloid journalist and official biographer Andrew Morton (for his book-writing purposes); on the other hand, she was constantly pursued by paparazzi and ready to complain to the PCC about these pursuits at a moment's notice, with Buckingham Palace's full support. The chairman, filmed on his lawn or standing outside his office, spoke out fiercely against such harassment by the

press. The pursuers and gossip writers "were dabbling in people's souls," as he put it. But editors with better information—those of the Mirror Group, home of the *Daily Mirror,* for instance—poured scorn on McGregor's naivety when he lectured them over the taking of sneak photographs of the Princess at her gym. Lord McGregor, the *Mirror* said, was an "arch buffoon." The commission seemed, for a while, to teeter on the edge of becoming a laughing stock. 1993 was a turbulent, bitter year.

There were—and remain—real problems of striking a proper balance in matters of this kind. The commission was plagued by questions of whether it should be so closely in touch with the gossip of the day that it doesn't rush to defend the indefensible and whether it should put itself more squarely in the place of the ordinary reader who lacks any inside knowledge of, for example, the sex lives of the rich and famous. More irksome, still, was whether the PCC had been put in place primarily to serve the 14 million or so ordinary people who read a newspaper every day—or to intervene obediently when a tiny group of royals wanted its protection. The Mirror papers threatened to withdraw from the entire system and thus to destroy the new edifice. Only much hard talking behind scenes saved the newly created system from collapse.

Contemporary Challenges

The lesson for proprietors and editors, often as sharp-edged as the latest picture of a young prince drunk outside a night club or embarrassing as the hysterical coverage of the missing three-year-old Madeleine McCann, is that self-regulation cannot for a second be taken for granted. It is only as good, and accepted, as its last case or crisis. If its aim is to win public approval, and so reduce the flow of political threats and legislation, then that is a continual battle without final victory. Every morning in the world of daily newspapers presents a fresh challenge.

Such challenges in the years since 1991 have been many and varied. Cases the commission has adjudicated include that of a politician chairman (Lord Wakeham, McGregor's successor) and his ties to disgraced U.S. energy giant Enron in the wake of that company's fraudulent accounting activity and subsequent bankruptcy; the diplomat Sir Christopher Meyer (Wakeham's successor), who sold his memoirs to a newspaper, fueling charges of media favoritism; and one long-standing press member, Peter Hill, editor of the *Daily Express,* who was forced to apologize for grossly misleading reporting in the McCann kidnapping before stepping down from the commission after a number of weeks under public pressure.

The commission has many achievements of which it can be proud. It has a hot telephone and Internet line that readers who feel under some personal threat from press intrusion can call for assistance. Its levels of public recognition and awareness improve every year: 4,340 complaints were received in 2007, with 822 investigations and 1,229 total rulings. The PCC makes itself ever more available as a background organizer of press coverage—for some contentious court case, for example, so that vigorous competition doesn't spill over into chaos or the courts. It increasingly offers help to other newspaper centers around the world, instructing them on creating self-regulation mechanisms. In particular, a complex series of legal judgments have given the PCC some unofficial standing as a kind of court of first resort, so that newspapers following its code of practice have that as a defense in disputes, and a commission ruling in their favor will normally discourage any attempt to take matters further.

The PCC and the Practice of Journalism

Any proper examination of British press regulation has to set a context beyond the central role of the commission. The PCC came into being to restrict the spread of legal impediments to free journalism, but it has in no sense swept such barriers away. Newspapers still need to bear the law in mind every day they go to press. Editors need to worry whether they have inadvertently reported a case where the judge has insisted that no reporting be allowed (often cases involving children, growing more frequent in number annually).

This reporting can cause a trial to be stopped, with newspapers often required to pay the bill for all proceedings before the stopping point. Such contempt of court can be very expensive—and can be used in different ways, so that reporters refusing to reveal a story's source can also be cited for

contempt and sent to prison. Add copyright violation, as a catch-all for the illegal publishing of leaked documents; rights of confidentiality enshrined in many areas of English commercial law; libel law (often reckoned one of the most punishing in the world); and the complexities of reporting on official secrets, and you have a critical mass of legislation to vex any editor. Starting at the end of the twentieth century, moreover, there has been a real growth in privacy law and privacy cases, with the European Convention of Human Rights being incorporated directly into English law and individual judges required to balance the competing influences of Clause 8 (defending privacy) and Clause 10 (defending freedom of expression) in a growing number of celebrity suits which have left judges to decide how and if supermodels, football stars, and other big names have had their privacy invaded by tabloid coverage. Many editors now fear that "judge made law" could spell the eventual end of the traditional "red top" tabloid, with its scarlet masthead and obsessive interest in scarlet behavior.

Self-regulation is one answer here. PCC handling of privacy complaints grows year by year (though it attracts few rich or famous complainants). And self-regulation, even in the face of terrorism's threats, may have a role to play through the long-standing D Notice committee, which brings editors and Ministry of Defense officials around the same table at regular intervals to discuss the imperatives of national security and, in effect, to operate an early warning system so that editors are informed of sensitive areas where care has to be exercised. But self-regulation has not removed legal constraints of a quite onerous nature; it has merely helped to slow the flow of additional law-making. And nobody—after the case of Max Mosley in 2008, which saw a sporting administrator awarded £60,000 (U.S. $119,000) in privacy damages against a paper that had (wrongly) claimed there was a Nazi element in a five-hour video of a sadomasochistic orgy featuring Mosley and five different prostitutes—could say where the flow might stop.

Every major British newspaper, perforce, employs its own specialist team to read copy for libel purposes before publication. Every paper has cases on its books involving millions of pounds in damages. Every paper is also expanding because of the digital revolution in journalism that is changing the nature of the problem and of the threat so that the PCC itself has raised the question of who shall police gray areas where no accepted jurisdiction has been assigned.

An increasing number of issues, for instance, affect more than the traditional print media. Television and radio broadcasting are regulated by statute, with a supreme regulator, the Office of Communication (Ofcom), in charge of everything they do. Thus, words or pictures broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) are subject to Ofcom criticism—and potentially fines—when shown on the Internet if they give offense through, for example, bad language or if they offer prizes in competitions that are sloppily run. The self-regulating role of the PCC applies to audio and visual streaming on newspapers' online news sites as well as to the print versions. So the same pictures, drawn from the same news agency sources, can have different regulators imposing different criteria in a new media world in which there is no existing Internet regulator. This creates a regulatory anomaly, readily admitted to by the chairman of the PCC, but it could also become a gaping hole in the overall web of media regulation, prompting political demands for an overarching, and statutory, regulator. Ofcom, able to fine and suspend, could surely fill that role if the existing system proves inadequate.

In just the same way, the growing tendency of newspapers to appoint their own ombudsmen (or readers' editors), working to their own house rules of conduct, threatens some clash with the Press Commission code or, indeed, the separate code drawn up by the National Union of Journalists. Confusion, at every level and in every direction, is a constant danger in British journalism.

There is also, all too obviously, no final reconciliation of the tension between articles 8 and 10 of the European Convention of Human Rights, the clauses concerning privacy and free expression, or in the legislation connecting that convention to British law. Moreover, there are differences of legal interpretation even within the UK, where Scottish law is separate and autonomously administered (without a Scottish Press Complaints Commission). There is also a dialogue, continually maintained just off stage, between politicians seeking media support and newspaper proprietors seeking protection against more legislation that could seriously

interfere with their profitable publication of celebrity pictures, among other breaking news.

At first glance, to visiting journalists from outside Britain, the written press appears vigorous and relatively free of governmental meddling or interference from vested interests. Editors today do not often complain about constraints on their freedom to publish. Competition for the public's attention, rather than fear in the face of invasive regulation, appears to be the order of the day. Look closer, however, at the history as well as the practice of British journalism in the early twenty-first century, and a much different, more subtly menacing situation emerges. In a country like Britain, which has no written constitution, freedom of the press is always as frail as the last fragment of law passed through a Parliament gripped by a fear of terrorism. With no First Amendment protection, Britain instead has a thousand little amendments, which can often spell trouble. Regulation is both friend and foe to a free press; and self-regulation—changing its requirements with every fresh case—is a friend in need that needs constant, watchful scrutiny.

Peter Preston

See also British Broadcasting Regulation; English Roots of the Free Press; Media Accountability Systems; News Councils

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British Tabloid Press

A class of popular British newspapers, mainly established in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, aimed at mass readerships, and became notorious for their focus on scandal and sensationalized human interest stories. Although in long-term decline, they remain dominant in terms of circulation and the setting of the news agenda for other British media organizations and politicians.

Britain retains an extensive network of local and regional newspapers, but the British news agenda is still largely determined by 11 national morning daily and 11 Sunday newspapers, principally based in London. Of these, six daily and seven Sunday titles can be described as tabloid.

The term *tabloid* refers to three aspects of popular journalism:

- a style of journalism that is readeer-friendly and uses a stylized imitation of popular speech, a dramatic layout, and large visuals;
- a small format newspaper, generally half the size of a "broadsheet";
- pejoratively, a journalistic content that is stigmatized as "down-market," lacking in veracity, and malignly concerned with titillating its readers with the worst in human behavior.

In June 2008 tabloid newspapers accounted for 7.6 million of the 11.1 million total circulation of British national daily papers and 8.9 million of the 11.3 million Sunday circulation. In addition most local newspapers in Britain have shifted to a small size tabloid format and many cities now have free newspapers, in the same user-friendly shape, distributed to homes or handed out in city centers, so that size alone is no longer a clear indication of a tabloid news approach.

British tabloid newspapers are distinguished by a strident focus on crime, celebrity, scandal, gossip, sport, and human interest stories with relatively little space given to politics, foreign news, and social issues. They tend to have bold layouts and designs, with an emphasis on large headlines and visuals, typically within a small format page ranging in size from 11.8 by 15.6 inches to 11.4 by 14.2 inches, and the use of a striking front page, frequently as a poster promoting the contents within. They deploy a variety of devices to involve readers, including campaigns concerning high-profile issues such as child-abuse, gifts, competitions, gambling (Bingo, Lotto, football, horse-racing), stunts (infiltrating airports with fake bombs, gate-crashing celebrity birthday

parties), and horoscopes, and they carry prominently a range of feature material devoted to lifestyle issues such as health, personal finance, and relationship problems.

Three Tabloid Types

Within this category it is possible to distinguish three distinct, but overlapping types of newspaper. One can be described as mid-market tabloids, or what media researcher Colin Sparks (2000) terms "serious popular" papers, aimed at a prosperous working and lower middle class audience, with some serious news and commentary, a limited amount of overseas news, and extensive treatment of health and personal finance, mixed in with the classic tabloid formula of scandal, celebrity, and human interest. *The Daily Mail* (founded 1896) and the *Daily Express* (1900) and their Sunday editions represent this type. The *Daily Mail* is the dominant newspaper in this category with a 2008 circulation of 2.2 million compared to 700,000 for the *Daily Express*. Both newspapers are characterized by right of center politics.

The second type can be described as "true" or "newsstand" or "classic" tabloids, aimed at an overwhelmingly poorer working class readership with an agenda dominated by scandal, celebrity, television, glamour photography and sport, but with some concern for politics, particularly at election time and in relation to cost of living issues, and for overseas operations by British armed forces, usually described in patriotic mode as "Our Boys and [latterly] Girls." These newspapers are often called "red tops" because of their eye-catching red mastheads. The four titles in this category are the *Sun* (1964), the *Daily Mirror* (1903) and its Scottish stablemate the *Daily Record* (1895), and the *Daily Star* (1978). The *Sun* and the *Daily Mirror* are the circulation leaders and have been fierce competitors since the late 1960s. Circulation figures in 2008 are 3 million for the *Sun* and 1.4 million for the *Mirror*.

The third category can be described as the "supermarket tabloid," characterized by an even greater focus on scandal, sport, strong sexual content, and entertainment. There is no commitment to a serious news agenda but a mischievous interest in constructing fantasy stories, or rather fascinating headlines to which a "story"can be attached. In the United States this category includes the *National Enquirer*. In the UK this category has been solely represented by the *Daily Sport* (1991) and its stablemate the *Sunday Sport* (1986). Circulation for these titles in 2008 was a low 100,000, and many British journalists refuse to describe them as newspapers. The *Daily Sport*'s most celebrated headlines include "World War II bomber found on the moon" and its follow-up some weeks later "World War II bomber missing from moon!" Ironically, campaigns against soft-core pornography and the classified advertising of sexual services have led to some supermarkets refusing to stock the title, or confining it to a high shelf out of children's reach.

The Meaning of Tabloid

In British journalism, the term *tabloid* possesses two overlapping meanings. Historically one meaning described a form of condensed, easy-to-read journalism, aimed at the popular market, and distinct from the so-called quality newspapers aimed at the middle and upper classes. The term *tabloid* itself derives from the words "tablet" and "alkaloid" and was registered as a trademark by the Victorian drug industry in 1884. Within a few years the word was in common use to describe a concentrated form of anything.

Among the appropriators of the term was the Irish-born newspaper magnate Alfred Harmsworth (later Lord Northcliffe), who was in the process of creating his new daily newspaper, the *Daily Mail* (1896). Starting in 1888, Harmsworth had built an empire of inexpensive weekly magazines and then moved on to evening newspapers. Magazines taught him the advantages of short, cheaply produced, often plagiarized factual items combined with fiction and competitions in one handy, economical, entertaining package. Although the *Daily Mail* was produced in a broadsheet format, which aped *The Times* and all the other established morning newspapers, it cost only half the price. And it included many magazine elements; stories were limited in length, and there was an emphasis on human interest and show business, short fiction serials, and competitions and stunts—all designed to build circulation and create a daily newspaper habit. Above all, there was a focus on talking points—short factual items designed to promote a

national conversation—and campaigns on any issues that could, in Harmsworth's favorite phrase, be "worked up," by diligent and sensational journalism, into a national scandal. It was the first daily newspaper in Britain to achieve a circulation of over a million, at the close of the Boer War (1899–1902).

Harmsworth saw himself as the prophet of a new-style, timesaving newspaper fit for a new century. In a rare example of a media innovation flowing from west to east across the Atlantic, he was challenged by Joseph Pulitzer, the publisher of the *New York Daily World,* to edit his paper for a day. Harmsworth produced a "tabloid" version on January 1, 1901. All stories were restricted to 250 words or less, paragraphs and sentences were kept short, and layout was rationalized, with columns of brief new items and stories organized into clearly signposted sections. A page one editorial authored by Harmsworth declared, beneath the headline "The Daily Time-Saver" and "All the News in Sixty Seconds," that "I claim that by my system of condensed or tabloid journalism hundreds of working hours can be saved each year' (quoted in Tulloch 2000).

The second meaning describes a particular newspaper format: the British tabloid of the latter half of the twentieth century was a small newspaper (typically about 16 in. × 12 in.) handy to read on the way to work in the bus or on the underground train. London evening papers pioneered the format in Britain at the end of the nineteenth century, and the first morning example was the *Daily Mirror* (1903), also launched by Alfred Harmsworth. In Britain for most of the last century this format became strongly identified with popular newspapers with large circulations, although elsewhere in Europe the format was utilized for more upmarket papers such as *Le Monde* and *Liberation* in France.

However, in recent years most British broadsheet newspapers, under increasing competition from new media, and rising production costs, have begun to adopt a tabloid format—but such are the negative connotations of tabloid that they christened themselves as "compact" instead. The midmarket newspapers were the first to embrace the format in the 1970s. Of the so-called quality newspapers, *The Independent* (1986) was first to convert from broadsheet to compact format in 2003 and pioneered an issue-based front page using large scale graphics or photos. *The Times* (1785) began to publish a compact edition two months later, alongside a broadsheet version, but with a front page that would hold up to a dozen stories. In 2005, the *Guardian* (1821) converted from broadsheet to the smaller, slimmer "Berliner" format, 18.5 by 12.6 inches. By 2008 only the *Daily Telegraph* (1855) and the *Financial Times* (1888) maintained the old broadsheet format. In addition, the majority of British local newspapers have adopted a tabloid size, but with a considerable variation in the treatment of stories, although all share a heavy emphasis on sensationalized crime coverage. Most major cities also have giveaway or free newspapers in tabloid format, funded exclusively by advertising and distributed to homes or outside railway and bus stations.

History: The Radical Roots

Popular newspapers in Britain were established in the early nineteenth century by radicals campaigning for political reform. Notable examples were the Chartist *Northern Star* (1837) and William Cobbett's *Political Register* (1802–36). These were subject to censorship and control by the state through a series of so-called Taxes on Knowledge on paper and printing. The relaxation of these controls, in pursuit of the mid-Victorian ideal of the free market, encouraged the rise of a commercial popular press. This largely superseded the radical press by mid-century with newspapers financed by advertising as well as sales. Some academics present this as a move from political control of popular expression by censorship and taxation to the use of the market. In particular, Sunday newspapers such as the *News of the World* (1843) and *Reynold's Weekly News* (1850–1967), began to colonize the popular market, with a combination of crime and sports news, and to experiment with the idioms of popular speech that would enable them to directly address their readers. These are the origins of the distinctive stylized language of classic British tabloids. As one observer noted: "The history of the development of the popular newspaper into the tabloid newspaper in Britain is the story of the evolution of that idiom across shifting economic and historical circumstances. Its language was to become the articulation of a particular, proletarian version of Britain" (quoted in Conboy 2006).

Sunday newspapers were undeniably popular with British proletarians but it took another century before the daily newspaper reading habit penetrated to the working class. Harmsworth's *Daily Mail* was mainly aimed at the lower middle classes—the expanding army of clerks and officials required to man the commerce of the late Victorian city. It was the *Daily Mirror,* the *Daily Express,* and the trade union backed *Daily Herald* that achieved a mass circulation breakthrough in the interwar period, 1920 to 1940, and established a working class daily newspaper reading habit.

The *Daily Express,* published in broadsheet format until 1977, was taken over by the Canadian-born businessman and politician Max Aitken (later Lord Beaverbrook) in 1916. Like Northcliffe, Beaverbrook was a "hands-on" proprietor, and an unscrupulous and skilled communicator, serving as British propaganda minister in 1918 and in Winston Churchill's administration in 1940. By adopting and developing tabloid techniques utilized by the *Daily Mail,* Beaverbrook and his editor, the outstanding newspaper technician Arthur Christiansen, achieved a circulation of 2.25 million in 1936 and 4 million by 1949, overtaking the *Mail* and becoming the leading midmarket popular daily. In particular, the *Express* was the pioneer of a new, lively layout with an emphasis on banner headlines, Hollywood features, and gossip columns about celebrities. A paper of pronounced conservative opinions, tied to Beaverbrook's political preoccupations, it campaigned on imperial issues and against accession to the European Common Market.

As the *Express* slugged it out for the midmarket with the *Daily Mail,* the *Daily Mirror* achieved a dominant position as the leading paper of the British working class, creating the classic look of the mid-century British tabloid. This was principally due to a repositioning suggested by the advertising agency J. Walter Thompson in the early 1930s, which argued that the paper should repurpose itself to appeal to a young working class, politically left-of-center audience. Brash and irreverent toward royalty and politicians, with glamour photos and comic strips, the paper pioneered the front page as an all-purpose poster and developed a close relationship with its readers based on readers' letters and "problem" pages. *Mirror* sales increased substantially during World War II and the paper became the most popular among British troops. With a close relation to Britain's Labour Party, the paper also pioneered incisive investigative features exposing the social conditions of the country, and in 1956 notably opposed the invasion of Egypt by British and French forces during the Suez Canal crisis—as half a century later it opposed the second Iraq war.

By the mid-1960s, the *Daily Mirror* had the largest circulation of any daily newspaper in the Western world, selling 5 million copies a day. Serious competition, however, was about to develop. On November 17, 1969, the *Sun*—a defunct broadsheet sold by the *Mirror* group to the global media proprietor Rupert Murdoch—was relaunched as a tabloid, describing itself as "[t]he paper that cares about people. About the kind of world we live in" (quoted in Griffiths 2006). One year later, the *Sun* printed its first picture of a topless model on page three, with the caption "We, like our readers, like pretty girls" (quoted in Griffiths 2006). Overtaking the *Mirror* in 1978, during the 1980s and 1990s the *Sun* achieved international notoriety not just for its page three girl, but for a strident British patriotism and an unflinching support for British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (in power 1979–90), best typified by the front page headline "Gotcha!," attached to the story of the Royal Navy's sinking of the Argentinean cruiser *General Belgrano* during the short Falklands war in mid-1982.

Conclusion

With the exception of the BBC, no other British media institution is as well known internationally as the country's tabloid press. However, few British commentators would regard this as a source of international prestige. Loud, turbulent, mischievous, and often scorned and mocked by other journalistic cultures, tabloids function as a handy symbol of the more malign aspects of journalism: a narrow focus on celebrity, a lack of intellectual challenge, xenophobic and flag-waving chauvinism, and a slipshod or deceitful approach to veracity and sourcing.

Cultural anxieties about the role of the British tabloid press crystallize around its alleged role in

- creating moral panics about social issues such as crime, migration, health, and youth culture, and demonizing minorities and "outsiders";

- exerting undue influence on politicians and policymakers as self-appointed tribunes of public opinion;
- routinely breaching human rights and conventional decencies, including the right to privacy;
- a "dumbing down" of the media, as formerly serious newspapers allegedly adopt "tabloid values" or engage in "tabloidization";
- more generally degrading journalistic culture, and fostering a decline in professional standards;
- creating a "theater of cruelty" in which celebrities and other public figures are routinely monstered;
- encouraging legislators to introduce laws restricting freedom of expression on the grounds that the high profile abuses of the tabloids endanger the legal and political process and the right to privacy.

Communications researcher Steven Barnett observes that concerns about declining standards in the British media "go back at least to the launch of the *Daily Mail*." Anxieties about immigration and crime and the political influence of powerful newspapers go back equally as far. More firmly based are the charges about human rights abuses by British tabloids and the ruthless destruction of people in the media spotlight. A 2007–08 example was the coverage of the Madeleine McCann abduction case, which occupied tabloid front pages continuously from May 2007. In March 2008 the *Daily Express* and *Daily Star* were forced to apologize to Madeleine's parents for suggesting they caused the death of their daughter and then covered it up. Another suspect, Robert Murat, won over £600,000 ($1.2 million) in damages from eleven British tabloid newspapers for stories which wrongly suggested he was linked to the abduction of the missing child.

Apart from the millions who still buy them in Britain, tabloids undeniably possess an ambiguous fascination for media academics, who are particularly concerned with their effort to create a special rapport with readers, and the ways in which they attempt to mirror the language and concerns of working people—a process akin to ventriloquism and described by journalism researcher Martin Conboy as the attempt to create a community through language.

Moreover, some commentators would argue along with Barnett that tabloid journalism "has a long and honourable tradition of making difficult concepts or stories 'come alive' for people who lack either the ability or the inclination to read long-winded articles on complex subjects." Defenders of the tabloids might point to certain traditions in British media culture—a brutality of political comment going back at least to the eighteenth century, a strong vein of satire and invective, and a persisting attempt to construct languages of the people. Some commentators value the technical inventiveness of the tabloids, their carnivalesque refusal to take the mighty seriously, and their commitment to entertainment and mischievous fun. The spread of the tabloid techniques of a pithy, colloquial writing that apes a national "language of the people," vividly packaged with large format pictures and graphics in an accessible, reader friendly format, is not necessarily inconsistent with a hard-hitting journalism that values professional integrity and accuracy and reaches out to wider audiences while treating the powerful—politicians, officials, and celebrities—with appropriate suspicion.

John Tulloch

See also Criticism of Journalism; Free Newspapers; Human Interest Journalism; Infotainment; Newspaper Design; Privacy; Tabloid Newspapers

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Broadsheet Newspapers

The term *broadsheet* refers to the size of the paper used for a newspaper. The large sheets of newsprint characteristic of the broadsheet format have traditionally dominated the daily newspaper industry. In the early days of newspapers, the large size of the page made it easier for printers to print a smaller number of larger pages. Because of cost and other considerations, over time broadsheet newspapers have shrunk in size, and many newspapers have shifted to the smaller tabloid format. The term *broadsheet* also carries particular connotations of journalistic quality and seriousness in contrast to tabloids, which have come to be associated with a more entertainment-oriented, sensationalistic, and colloquial style. While "broadsheet" and "tabloid" continue to connote these different journalistic styles, in practice this divide began to disappear by the 1990s as the content of both types of newspaper began to overlap and as more publishers shifted from the broadsheet to the less expensive tabloid format.

Origins

While newspapers developed during the print revolution that was made possible by the spread of the printing press, they slowly expanded in size to accommodate the medley of content crammed into publications by printers, including shipping news, foreign dispatches, commodity prices, and advertisements. Similar to modern newspapers, these early-seventeenth-century broadsheets organized their text into vertical columns.

The broadsheet form developed largely out of technical necessity. In the 1600s and 1700s, newspapers continued to be printed on wooden presses requiring pages to be pressed against the type one sheet at a time. Printing was a slow, labor-intensive process. This constrained circulation to small numbers and made the single-sheet newspaper a necessity. As editorial and advertising content increased and the need for more space forced newspapers to expand, it made technical and economic sense to increase the size of the page rather than expand the total number of pages. A single page only needed to be folded; not assembled. One large sheet of newsprint could be printed on both sides and folded to create four separate pages.

In the early 1800s, the rise of mechanical presses increased printing speeds and allowed for greater print runs and thus circulations. Implementation of steam-powered presses further quickened the pace with which newspapers could be produced. But this did not lead to a diminishment of page size. Rather, it remained sensible, from the printer's standpoint, to churn out larger pages rather than assemble many smaller sheets. On the extreme end, broadsheet pages grew to enormous sizes due to advertising policies that encouraged yearly contracts, but did not restrict the size of the display ads. As a result, in the 1830s, a page of the New York *Journal of Commerce* measured a width of 35 inches and a height of 58 inches. When opened, the two pages spanned 70 inches, occupying a little over 28 square feet of space. Each page carried news and advertisements across 11 columns. This format came to be known as the "blanket" sheet because of its cumbersome size.

Large sheets remained standard for urban newspapers. In 1867, the *Chicago Tribune* carried ten columns, two more than the eight or nine column pages common in that era. Within columns, spaces between rows of text—known as leading—decreased. With a minimum of graphics, the pages came across as seas of gray type. Because of the large page dimensions, the total number of pages in nineteenth-century papers remained either four or eight, depending on the size of the circulation and the size of the city. This meant only one or two actual pages were needed (before folding). In the twentieth century, the increase in use of graphics and movement away from text-heavy pages led to smaller page sizes and fewer columns—usually five or six. The total number of pages increased and newspapers began to be divided into sections.

Broadsheets and Tabloids

Challenges to the dominance of the broadsheet format began in the United States when some of the penny press newspapers began to run smaller pages. These mid-nineteenth-century newspapers were the original tabloid-sized papers and, in key ways, foreordained the popular journalism of the tabloid newspapers of the twentieth century. Two early twentieth-century examples of tabloid newspapers are the *Daily Mirror* in London and the *Daily News* in New York. The quick success of both newspapers raised interest in the format.

The rise of the tabloid format led to an important differentiation extending beyond simply page size. Tabloids came to be identified with a brash style of emotionally charged journalism. Tabloid pages teemed with short, punchy articles written in a distinct voice with abundant photographs. While broadsheets offered a range of stories on the front page representing the range of stories on any given day, tabloids featured one key story on the front, usually accompanied by a large, attention-grabbing headline.

With the rise of tabloids and their particular brand of populist journalism, broadsheets by comparison came to be identified as more sober with the reputation of seriousness. This was particularly the case in Britain with its nationally circulated newspapers. Tabloids and broadsheets competed across Britain, appealing to different demographics. Broadsheet readers were viewed as more educated and sophisticated whereas tabloid readers, many of whom were working class, were seen as the opposite. This difference was less pronounced in the United States because of the dominance of local market-specific newspapers. Tabloid newspapers competed directly with broadsheets in only the largest markets. Further melding the two approaches, starting in 1981, the national newspaper *USA Today,* while a broadsheet in its dimensions, featured the colorful graphics and short stories characteristic of tabloids.

For a vivid example of the broadsheet-tabloid mix, consider New York City, by far the most competitive American newspaper market, though a shadow of what existed as recently as the 1960s. The two daily broadsheets, *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal,* are considered paragons of in-depth news. By contrast, the *New York Post* and *New York Daily News,* both tabloids, are seen as sensational and succinct. For example, when the city's newspapers carried front page stories about President Gerald Ford's refusal to grant federal funds to help the city avoid bankruptcy, the *Times* ran the headline: FORD, CASTIGATING CITY, ASSERTS HE'D VETO FUND GUARANTEE; OFFERS BANKRUPTCY BILL. By contrast, the *Daily News* ran the now-classic headline: FORD TO CITY: DROP DEAD. The complicated, policy-specific headline at the *Times* contrasted sharply with the emotional paraphrasing of the *Daily News,* whose headline became a famous example of the tabloid style.

The tabloid-broadsheet distinction diminished by the start of the twenty-first century. Rising paper costs, a shrinking audience, declining advertising revenues, and the general unwieldiness of the broadsheet format (especially for public transit commuters) resulted in many European newspapers shifting to a smaller, tabloid size. Even *The Times* of London, once a paragon of the content associated with the broadsheet, shifted to a tabloid format in 2004 after 216 years as a broadsheet. The switch resulted in an increase in circulation, matching the result when the broadsheet *Independent* made the same change. While a tabloid during the week, however, *The Times* continues to publish its Sunday edition in broadsheet format.

In the United States, newspapers have been reluctant to shift to tabloid size, but broadsheet pages have shrunk in the face of rising newsprint costs and decreases in the number of advertisements. The page width of *The New York Times* dropped from 13.5 to 12 inches in 2006. The once-10-column-wide *Chicago Tribune* was reduced to an 11-inch-wide page. Page depths—the vertical measure—generally stood at 21 or 22 inches. Another direction has been a mix of formats. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* remains a broadsheet on weekdays and Sunday, but began running its Saturday edition as a tabloid in November 1996.

Conclusion

While the large pages of the broadsheet newspaper have traditionally defined what a quality newspaper looks like, the early twenty-first century marked a shift to smaller sizes, and sometimes a move away from broadsheets altogether. This reversal came about because of changes in production and cost. As content style and page size increasingly came to be unrelated, the journalistic distinction between the broadsheet and the tabloid has become less meaningful. Despite this, invoking "broadsheet journalism" continues to connote quality in-depth, serious news.

Matt Carlson

See also Newspaper Design; Newsprint; New York; Tabloid Newspapers

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Business Journalism

Business journalism refers to reporting and writing about businesses and the economy. In addition, it commonly includes other beats such as labor, workplace, technology, personal finance, investment, and consumer reporting, as well as investigative reporting focusing on these topics. The field is also known as financial journalism, particularly in countries other than the United States. The common theme in all of this coverage is money—who spends it, who earns it, who makes it, and where it comes from. As more consumers of journalism become aware of how the economy and the stock market affects their daily lives, they are increasingly turning to business journalism to explain the significance.

Business journalism in the United States has grown in importance over the past century due to significant changes in the economic makeup of American society. At the time of the great stock market crash of October 1929, less than 10 percent of U.S. households owned shares of any stock. By 2002, more than 50 percent of homes owned stock in at least one company, typically through mutual funds or retirement plans. Also feeding public interest in business news is the fact that fewer people in the twenty-first century remain with one company throughout their careers, which had been typical from the 1940s through the 1970s.

As a result of these developments, more and more people have come to be interested in news about companies, the stock market, and the economy. The amount of business journalism exploded during and since the 1970s, with daily newspapers creating standalone business sections; personal finance magazines such as *Money, Worth,* and *Smart Money* launching; and the number of business journalists working in the country tripling in number to more than 12,000.

In the early twenty-first century, business journalism is presented in various media forms, including the business section of most daily newspapers, weekly business newspapers found in every major metropolitan market, websites such as TheStreet.com and Marketwatch.com covering specific segments of business journalism, and two cable television networks, CNBC and Fox Business Network. There are also a number of business-only daily

newspapers, such as *The Wall Street Journal* (though its focus under new owner Rupert Murdoch appears to be growing somewhat more general) and *Investor's Business Daily*, as well as magazines, such as *BusinessWeek, Conde Nast Portfolio, Forbes,* and *Fortune,* all devoted to business journalism.

Business journalism, in its role as a watchdog on companies and regulators, can be credited for uncovering illegal and unethical practices that have caused investors to lose millions of dollars and workers to lose their jobs. A 2007 Harvard Business School study studied 263 cases of accounting fraud and determined that 29 percent were identified by the business press before the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission or the company itself announced an investigation. Further, in 36 percent of those early identifications, the reporter conducted original financial analysis to support the story.

Early History

Business journalism can be traced back to the earliest forms of communication. David Forsyth (1964) argues that the genesis of writing and the establishment of a numerical system in the Bronze Age (3300 BCE–1200 BCE) stemmed from economic activity. Even the Hammurabi Code, a set of laws created by the sixth Babylonian king in approximately 1760 BCE, established forerunners of today's interest rate and minimum wage laws.

During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, wealthy families in Europe employed correspondents throughout the continent to provide them letters with business information useful to further their power. One of these families was the Fuggers, a German family of bankers and traders who needed to keep abreast of events that might affect the interest rates they charged their clients. From 1568 to 1604, hundreds of letters were written by correspondents hired by the Fuggers, and the information in them was used to determine whether or not to loan money and at what rate. They also included prices for products and services in the city from which the letter originated. These Fugger newsletters began what has evolved today into the complex system of providing information about business and the economy, which in the early twenty-first century is available almost instantaneously through the Internet and other media forms.

Many newspapers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were created to allow businesses to notify members of the community about the products and services being offered for sale, and early newspapers carried such business information as the cargo of ships arriving in a city's harbor. These newspapers were commonly called "price currents" because they listed the current prices of various products offered for sale by local merchants, and they rarely, if ever, contained any editorial content. The papers were strictly informational and extremely numbers intensive. Among the products listed in most price currents were cotton, flour, furs, leather, oil, animal skins, tobacco, and wheat.

A Philadelphia price current from 1783 also listed sample wages for workers such as carpenters, sail makers, and blacksmiths, and later price currents included information about shipping traffic. Price currents were published in the cities of Baltimore and Boston in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The *Boston Daily Advertiser* was one example: it listed prices for foreign and domestic goods on the front page, and most of the rest of the four-page broadsheet contained shipping information and small advertisements from merchants.

As American business and the economy began to flourish in the nineteenth century so did the relevant journalism. James Gordon Bennett's *New York Herald* was the first newspaper that regularly devoted a large amount of space to business and economic news. Started in 1835 on Wall Street, the *Herald* developed the best financial section of any of the mainstream newspapers, according to Forsyth (1964). Bennett was a former economics teacher, and he often wrote what he called the "money page," which was used to explain why stock prices rose and fell. A member of his financial reporting staff, Thomas Prentice Kettell, began writing a financial column for the *Herald* in 1835 and is considered the first financial editor of any daily newspaper in the country. Kettell went on to found *United States Economist* in 1852.

Perhaps the most influential business journalism in the United States during the nineteenth century occurred in an industry newspaper, the *American Railroad Journal*. Edited by Henry Varnum Poor from 1849 to 1862, the publication extensively covered the booming railroad industry.

Poor expanded business journalism from its tendency to simply regurgitate facts and figures of products for sale by requiring the railroads to provide financial statements to his publication. He then dissected these financials for his readers, reporting whether he thought the company was a good investment. This was the first time that business journalism explored the profits or losses of companies in any depth. Poor later collected his data into a book, and his company (today known as Standard & Poor's) tracks the finances of every major industry.

Important Developments

The Industrial Revolution after 1840 resulted in larger companies with more complex structures and control of local communities and as a result, journalists began to pay more attention to business. *The Wall Street Journal* was founded in 1889, providing investors with information about the stock market and business news in New York City. Acquired by Clarence Barron in 1902, it expanded with editions in Philadelphia and Boston, and then started a weekly newspaper named after its founder in 1921. While muckrakers Ida Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens, and Upton Sinclair were not considered business journalists, they wrote widely about business practices and their impact on government and society. Tarbell's "History of the Standard Oil Company" set the future standard for how companies would be covered by journalists because she used public records such as lawsuits and depositions to make her argument that the company had undue control of the U.S. oil market.

The first three decades of the twentieth century saw an important development in business journalism—the creation of magazines devoted solely to business and the economy. Although the now-defunct *Financial World* started in 1902 and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce began publishing *Nation's Business* in 1907, the best-known business magazines were *Forbes,* started in 1917 by a syndicated business columnist for the *New York American.* McGraw-Hill began publishing *The Business Week* in 1929 and Time Inc. founded the monthly *Fortune* early in 1930.

Most publications focused on business journalism suffered circulation declines during the Depression, but none was hurt more than the *Wall Street Journal.* It was seen as a stock market booster, and 1932 congressional hearings uncovered that some stock touts had been paying the paper's journalists to write favorable stories about companies whose shares they held. The *Journal* remade itself in the late 1930s and 1940s into a more critical business newspaper and one that provided a business angle to nearly every news story. Its lead after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, stated that "War with Japan means industrial revolution in the United States."

As the postwar economy expanded exponentially in the 1950s and 1960s, business journalism grew as well. The New York Financial Writers Association, which had been created in 1938, and the Society of American Business Editors and Writers, which started in 1964, took on increasingly important roles in promoting business journalism in the country. Both have developed professional standards and ethics codes that prohibit business journalists from participating in the stock market or from accepting gifts from companies they cover—two common practices in earlier years.

Business journalism on television began to gain traction in the late 1960s. Louis Rukeyser began covering business and economics stories for ABC News in 1968, and in 1971 he started hosting *Wall Street Week* on public television. Irving R. Levine began reporting regularly about business and the economy on NBC News that same year. Both became news fixtures in the 1970s, discussing the Arab oil embargo, inflation, price controls, and the changing stock market. The first business news program was *Nightly Business Report,* which began airing in 1979 on public television stations around the country. It remains a fixture today, airing on more than 250 stations.

Growth and Problems

The dramatic growth in the stock market throughout much of the 1980s and 1990s caused a dramatic expansion of business journalism—and led to many problems. Dozens of journalists began covering business and economics stories without a real understanding of the issues and the nuances of how to properly report and write about those topics. Business journalism in the 1990s was criticized—albeit after the fact—for being too boosterish to industries such as the Internet and telecommunications while

turning CEOs of some companies into celebrities, praising them for their operation's results without examining the underlying warts, which included the fact that many of them were not making money for their shareholders.

After the tech bubble burst and the stock market began to drop in March 2000, companies such as Enron, WorldCom, Adelphia, and others were exposed as having duped investors, workers, and the business journalists covering their respective industries into believing fraudulent accounting practices that made the companies look stronger than they actually were. As tech companies began to fail because of their accounting practices, the accounting techniques or other companies began to be reviewed. Some business journalists were criticized for having failed to uncover the scams earlier.

Most of the bigger media outlets compete against each other with their business coverage. *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal,* for example, go toe to toe on many business news stories, such as mergers and acquisitions and corporate scandals. "Business news is now the arena where mainstream editors say they test their mettle against the competition," stated a 1999 report on the status of the American newspaper by the *American Journalism Review*. The report noted that business news was increasingly being found on the front pages of newspapers and on the covers of general interest magazines. In addition, wire services like Reuters, Dow Jones Newswires, Bloomberg News, and the Associated Press compete to have the best coverage on almost every story every hour of the day.

Like most mass communication forms, however, business journalism is undergoing dramatic change in the early twenty-first century. At daily newspapers, standalone business sections at newspapers, such as the *Orange County* (California) *Register* and *The Denver Post*, have been cut and business news now appears in other sections of the paper. In addition, printed stock and mutual fund listings have been dropped from many newspapers and now appear on related websites, primarily as a way for newspapers to trim printing costs.

Business magazines are struggling to overcome a decline in print advertising that has led to fewer pages for stories. Some business titles, including Time Warner's *Business 2.0,* ceased publication because of the advertising decline. The decline in business magazine advertising has been attributed to the increase in Internet advertising by companies such as computer makers and auto makers.

However, business journalism on cable television and in specialized newspapers is growing. The Fox Business Network (FBN) launched on October 15, 2007, to compete with CNBC, which had the cable business journalism market to itself after Time Warner's dedicated financial news channel, CNNfn, stopped airing in 2004. Ratings for FBN, however, were low during the first six months of airing. *The Wall Street Journal,* acquired by News Corp. in 2007, continues to see circulation gains while metro daily newspapers report declines, and its website boasts more than 1 million paying subscribers. Weekly business newspapers continue to boast advertising and circulation gains as they focus their business news on small and medium-sized companies that often go unnoticed by the larger business media.

Several developments in business journalism may improve the quality of reporting. The expansion of the Internet has made it easier for business journalists to gain access to documents and public records that allow them to cover companies in more depth. Until the mid-1990s, documents filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) by the 12,000-plus public companies—those whose shares trade on one of the major stock markets—could only be obtained for a fee from a service based in Washington, D.C. The SEC now provides all corporate documents online, as do many other federal and state regulators.

Another major initiative is the Donald W. Reynolds National Center for Business Journalism, launched in 2003. First based at the American Press Institute, it is currently part of the Walter Cronkite School of Journalism and Mass Communication at Arizona State University. The Reynolds Center conducts training sessions around the country and online, and began studying trends in business journalism shortly after its formation. Despite advances in the quality of business journalism, the training is sorely needed. A study in the spring/summer 2002 *Newspaper Research Journal* found that journalists believed that education about business was needed in order for them to be able to do their jobs more effectively. They also believed that such education should apply for all journalists, not just those covering business and the economy.

As more readers turn to the Internet for up-to-date business and financial information, sites such as TheStreet.com and Marketwatch.com appear to be well situated for catering to consumers. In addition, traditional business journalism publications such as *BusinessWeek* and *Fortune* have been boosting the amount of information on their websites. *The Wall Street Journal*'s website, for example, has more than 1 million paid subscribers, making it one of the largest paid sites in the world.

Chris Roush

See also Bloomberg; Business Magazines; Dow Jones; Reuters; *Wall Street Journal, The*

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Business Magazines

Magazines devoted to business can be organized into many categories, including those aimed at a management readership (such as *Business Week*), trade publications reporting about and to those in a specific field (such as journalism or banking), periodicals issued by companies about their own products and services, and magazines aimed primarily at consumer investors. All of these, along with business sections of major daily newspapers, specialized cable networks, and a growing number of Internet sites, make up the American business press.

Development

Early magazines included occasional business news stories as early as the eighteenth century. But as business remained a small-scale proposition well into the nineteenth century, there was not much demand for specialized coverage or publications about it. But business news grew in importance as business and industry became national enterprises. The rise of technology-based business such as railways in the mid-nineteenth century, along with the telegraph and telephone in decades that followed, prompted more attention to those and other industries in the press.

A newspaper focused on business, *The Wall Street Journal,* first appeared in 1889. Business leaders and their companies were generally perceived as helping to further develop the country and its commerce and were treated accordingly in press stories. The so-called Gilded Age up to about 1910 was covered positively in papers and magazines. Only the development of muckraking investigative reporting (such as Ida Tarbell's dramatic series on the rise of Standard Oil in *McClure's* magazine in 1902–3, later made into a book) began to suggest a darker side to the rapid rise and consolidation of big business.

During the Depression, much of the perceived sheen came off American business. The economic activities of the federal government during Roosevelt's New Deal in the early 1930s took center stage and thus the spotlight in business magazine reporting. News reports and business publications expressed a more critical view of

management decisions and big business. The appearance of *BusinessWeek* in 1929 and the stately *Fortune* less than a year later ushered in the modern era of business magazines. In their quite different ways (the first providing breaking news, the second lengthy and usually positive profiles of important business leaders, companies, and industries) they raised the importance of business journalism from the low level of attention most magazines and newspapers had devoted to it.

The first consumer periodicals, including *Consumer Reports,* appeared in the late 1930s, helping buyers find the best product or service, while encouraging a skeptical view of advertising promises. World War II manufacturing again reversed the media view of business, contributing to a generally glowing coverage that continued with postwar prosperity. The rise of such business critics as Rachel Carson (whose watershed 1962 book *Silent Spring* detailed the dangers that pesticides pose to the environment and to wildlife) and Ralph Nader in the 1960s (whom General Motors secretly investigated, an act later discovered and reported widely, to its embarrassment) once again placed business on the defensive, as business reporting again sought stories beneath the public relations surface of many corporations.

In Britain, the monthlies *Management Today* and *Director* reported on the country's staid pre-Thatcher business scene, pretty much dividing up potential readership with their sober reporting. Given the dramatic changes wrought by that prime minister in the 1980s (including privatization of many government-run businesses, and breaking much of the political power of British labor unions), however, Conde Nast introduced the well-designed and more sprightly written monthly *Business* in 1987, published in a joint venture with the *Financial Times* newspaper. But the magazine folded in a few years, in part because of the thriving British daily newspaper marketplace which incorporated most of the breaking business news.

During the 1970s, and accelerating into the 1980s, many local or regional business publications appeared in major American markets, often more than one in some cases. Usually aimed at business owners and managers, these publications formed their own trade association in 1979. Three decades later, the Alliance of Area Business Publications boasted some 70 member publications that regularly reached more than a million readers. Their chief concern was gaining sufficient advertising, for which they competed fiercely with urban newspapers.

According to the U.S. Department of Commerce, business and industry was the most popular magazine category in terms of new titles introduced in the growing economy between 1988 and 1998. The number of business titles grew from 358 in 1988 to 694 a decade later. By the early twenty-first century, business was being widely reported in mainstream news media, and any business sector of any size had at least one specialized trade publication devoted to it.

Trade Publications

Trade magazines are, among other roles, news vehicles for their specific field. Those people and companies in the business rely upon them for the latest trends, problems, profiles of other people and companies, as well as policy and regulation. Reporters for the trade press become authorities about their industry. Some trade titles cater to professions, including those in medicine and law.

The first business sector–specific publications appeared in the 1830s, among them two for bankers and others for farming and agriculture, then the dominant sector in American life. Financial services, and journals serving them, began to appear in New York after the Civil War. *Railway Age* is perhaps the oldest industry-specific journal still publishing—it first appeared in 1876. Soon there were many more of them, covering the expanding mining, banking, dry goods, and tobacco industries, among other businesses. Whole new industries—such as electricity and the manufacturing and services based upon it—sparked creation of sector-specific magazines such as *Electric Age* and multiple titles focused on telegraphy and telephony as well as—after 1900—wireless or radio.

Regardless of the specific field involved, trade periodicals are often critical of malfeasance in their industry, backing education about and improved standards for their sector, promoting self-regulation, and generally rejecting government regulation or control. Once established, trade magazines can be hugely profitable as they provide essential information to their readers (and information

often found nowhere else), and can market those readers to advertisers eager to reach such a defined and identified group. Consolidation of the ownership of such magazines has been a continuing trend for decades. Likewise, when a business or industrial sector suffers, so do the periodicals serving it. Downturns in the computer and information sector in the early 2000s, for example, spelled the end of many once-successful titles. The narrower the field the magazine serves, the greater the danger this can happen. And just as such titles become an essential part of the industry they cover, they can also become beholden to a few large advertisers.

Founded in 1964, the American Society of Business Publication Editors (ASBPE) is the professional association for full-time and freelance editors and writers employed in the business, trade, and specialty press. For an annotated guide to current journalism/mass communications–related trade periodicals, see the bibliography in Volume 6, Section 11.

Competition

Business magazines began to face growing competition by the late 1970s. Though newspapers had covered business since the 1890s, *The New York Times* was the first to begin publishing a standalone daily business section in 1978. Many other urban papers soon followed suit, providing local business news reports theretofore not readily available to readers.

Soon thereafter, cable television provided a newer means to distribute business news—and growing competition for business magazines. The specialized Financial News Network began in 1981, aimed at small investors and providing far quicker reporting than was possible on television or in the press. It became a 24-hour cable network in 1985, but weakened by financial scandal in 1989, it closed down in 1991. The longer lasting Consumer News and Business Channel (CNBC) began operations in 1989. The competing Fox Business Network channel first appeared late in 2007, trying to report even serious business with a lighter and sometimes irreverent tone.

Finally, and by far the most important, the appearance of the commercial Internet in 1995 laid the groundwork for upheaval in business periodical journalism just as it did with all other publishing activity. In the years to follow, more business information of all kinds became available at the touch of a button, threatening the longtime dominance of both newspapers and magazines devoted to business news.

Regardless of their format—print or electronic—the business press has always faced a fundamental conundrum. Should journals be supportive of business managers and company trends, or should they take a critical stance, pointing up shortcomings? Each magazine has answered this differently. Independent magazines—including the "big three" described just below—have often been quite critical, especially of outright malfeasance or poor management decision making. At the same time, these titles generally celebrate the capitalist system and business as a general concept. They are often skeptical of government regulation. Those firms and managers who excel are celebrated in these pages. Those who do not may quickly see the back of the journalistic hand at work.

Business's Big Three

Three long-lived publications (each still published by the company that created it) represent the heart of the business press for most American readers.

BusinessWeek (1929–Present)

BusinessWeek was first published (as *The BusinessWeek*) just seven weeks before the Wall Street crash. Owned by McGraw-Hill, the business news weekly is the leading periodical among general business publications. From the early 1930s until 1961 its cover carried a thermometer providing an index of how American business was doing compared to a year earlier, a graphic device that also served as an indicator of the magazine's interest in the overall economy. Only in 1954 did the first woman (who created Tupperware parties) appear on its cover. Circulation by the end of 2008 was about 1.9 million, a loss of nearly a third since 2005.

Forbes (1917–Present)

Forbes was the biweekly pioneering business news magazine (devoted, as the cover initially said, to "doers and doings"), though it was aimed more

at investors than managers. Created by B. K. Forbes, it became best known under his flamboyant son Malcolm who built it up and advertised it as a "capitalist tool," though he promoted more critical reporting. Its circulation exceeded that of *Fortune* by 1976. Its famous lists—that of the country's highest-paid executives, which first ran in 1971, and the 400 richest people first published in 1982—became hugely popular and widely reported. *Forbes* continues to take an irreverent and critical tone in its stories. Circulation is right around 1 million.

Fortune (1930–Present)

Fortune first started out as a monthly, and in 1978 it became a biweekly. It appeared from Time Inc. just months after the 1929 Wall Street crash–not the best timing. And at a then-expensive dollar a copy, it was priced out of the reach of most people. But for the price, a wealthy business leader got a very handsome oversize monthly that quickly set graphic standards for both editorial (business leaders were depicted as "heroic") and advertising content. Excellent and path-breaking use was made of color graphics and both black-and-white and color photography at a time the latter was both new and costly. *Fortune* featured lengthy analyses of specific companies and sometimes industries or trends. The famous "*Fortune* 500" list of the largest companies first appeared in 1955. The magazine became more critical in its tone and coverage after founder Henry Luce's death in 1967. Circulation has varied with business conditions but was about 2.4 million in 2008, down about 20 percent since 2005.

Other General Business/Finance Magazines

A multitude of other publications cover business regularly. These are among the titles ranging over business and finance generally.

Barron's (1921–Present)

This weekly is a finance and market investor's magazine published by *The Wall Street Journal,* and named after its first editor, Clarence W. Barron. For years printed only in black and white, editorial color was introduced in May 1990 and full color throughout six years later. Up to 1994 it was issued in one section, growing into a four-section publication by 2002. Its content focuses on investment decision making. By mid-2008, the magazine circulated about 1.4 million copies and had gained a few percentage points from three years earlier.

Folio (1972–Present)

This monthly is devoted to magazine management including all types of periodicals (consumer and professional). It publishes industry news, covers trends and newsmakers, and highlights the technology influencing magazines. It emphasizes stories concerning magazine management, including their editorial, advertising, and circulation functions, and publishes an annual *Source Book* of statistics and other information.

Harvard Business Review (1922–Present)

The *Review* started out as a bimonthly and became a monthly in 2001. It began as a means of applying Harvard Business School research findings to practical day-to-day management in all fields. It took on a more general management approach after World War II, and by the 1980s had updated its look (even adding cartoons) and content (among other things, interviews) to create a broader appeal. In 2008, the *Review* circulated about a half-million copies.

IndustryWeek (1882–Present)

IndustryWeek began as *Trade Review* in 1882, changed to *Steel* in 1930, and became *IndustryWeek* in 1970. This weekly is aimed at senior management in American manufacturing companies—a shrinking sector of the nation's economy. It covers overall trends, technologies, and management strategies as the only magazine dedicated to covering the managing of a manufacturing company. Circulation is about 125,000.

Nation's Business (1907–Present)

This monthly is published by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. It covers strategies, newsmakers, technology, human resources, and—as might be expected from this lobbying source—legislation and regulations that affect all aspects of business. Each issue includes profiles of both a small- and a

medium-sized business. Regular sections include an entrepreneur's notebook, advice on managing a small business, plus coverage of finance, enterprise, insurance, technology, and franchising.

Portfolio (2007–Present)

This monthly appeared from publisher Conde Nast (after two years of planning and much expense) as the first new general business magazine started in a decade. It features investigative reporting and breaking news covering finance and technology, media, art, and related topics. Early circulation figures reached about 300,000.

Three Consumer Magazines

Unlike those titles profiled thus far, these titles are directed toward discerning consumers, to help them make better financial planning and purchasing decisions. All have a tone of recommendation to their stories.

Consumer Reports (1936–Present)

This monthly is published by the Consumer's Union, and was the first of the product-review periodicals, and remains the best known today. It is not supported by advertising as an indication of its independence in rigorously testing and ranking consumer products and services of all kinds. As might be expected, it has a skeptical and often downright critical view of business. Circulation approaches 4 million.

Kiplinger's Personal Finance (1947–Present)

Kiplinger's, a monthly, was known for decades as *Changing Times,* taking its present title in 1991. Founded as *The Kiplinger Magazine,* this was the first personal finance magazine, and it covers often complex matters in clear, concise language, including tips on managing money and achieving financial security, saving, investing, planning for retirement, and paying for college and other major purchases. Circulation is just over a million copies.

Money (1972–Present)

This monthly is published by Time Inc. and claims to be the nation's largest magazine of personal finance, with nearly 2 million subscribers and newsstand buyers and more than 7.5 million total readers. Its articles are aimed at anyone responsible for making money decisions in a household. It issues an annual list of the best places to live in America. Circulation dropped about 25 percent from 2005 to 2008.

By the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, virtually all business journals provided a presence on the web. Some limit this to billboarding the print issue, but most sites are increasingly extensive expansions of what print subscribers see. Some trades—such as the weekly *Aviation Week & Space Technology*—provided subscribers with advance (by a couple of days) access to stories in the print version. Virtually all feature special stories, or expansions of those in the printed magazine, on their websites. *Business Week,* for example, has a special contents page to direct readers to the online attractions, some of which include extensive photo displays or offer video. Many of these magazines provide a view behind the scenes with blogs written by editors or reporters.

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See also Bloomberg; Business Journalism; Dow Jones; Government, Federal, Coverage of; Labor Journalism; Science and Technology Journalism; *Wall Street Journal, The*

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C

Cable News

Since the late 1970s, the number of American cable television networks, services, or channels (but never "stations") has greatly expanded—and continues to do so. While most of them are devoted to some type of entertainment, news and public affairs content is well represented among the many networks available in the middle of the first decade of the twenty-first century. Indeed, operation of various types of cable news networks—from general news to finance, sports, and more specialized types of programs—served to substantially diminish the journalistic importance of the older broadcasting networks, as audiences gained a greater variety of cable viewing options with 24/7 service to which to tune.

Origins

Several factors converged in the mid-1970s to lay the groundwork for the creation of cable networks. The technological basis came first—geostationery orbit communication satellites were well proven by the mid-1970s. By orbiting a satellite about 22,300 miles above Earth, the "bird" would appear to stay in the same place day and night. It could operate like a super-high antenna, and cover a third of the globe. Three of them in the right orbits could theoretically blanket Earth with signals. Given sufficient receiving antenna dishes at local cable systems, a signal sent ("uplinked") to such satellites could be transmitted ("downlinked") around the country, forming an instant network. The question was how to fund all those initial TVRO (TV receive-only) antenna installations to make a viable national network possible.

About a quarter of the country's homes were being served by cable by 1975—many more were "passed" by feeder lines but had not yet subscribed. In just five more years, however, cable penetration reached half the households, a proportion that very slowly rose to something around 70 percent by the 1990s. Here was a vast potential audience for more than simply the local market television signals plus a few distant signals that most cable systems then provided. By the early 1980s, half the cable subscribers were being served by the top ten multiple system operators, creating substantial empires with money to invest in new programming lures to attract more subscribers.

Finally, regulation no longer blocked cable's widespread use of satellite signals. The Federal Communications Commission, after years of trying to protect television broadcasters, had by the late 1970s begun to deregulate cable (or, in some instances, not regulate it in the first place), relying instead on intermedia competition rather than regulation to meet public interest concerns about prices and services. The cable market would no longer be defined or constrained by governmental policies.

The first service to make the jump to using a satellite distribution system was the Home Box Office (HBO) subscription channel owned by Time Inc. HBO announced in 1975 plans to nationally distribute by satellite what had been a regional

service. In Atlanta, television station owner Ted Turner made public his plans to do the same thing—thus making his local UHF station (restyled as WTBS) a "superstation" offering movies and sports programming for use by cable systems across the country. To get these new networks underway, both HBO and Turner announced plans to assist cable systems in buying and installing the needed TVRO antennas so they could link to the promised services, both of which were available by late 1976.

Other independent (non-network affiliate) television stations in Chicago and New York followed Turner's initiative, creating further superstations. Soon the Showtime subscription service began to compete with HBO. By 1979, C-SPAN, the first ESPN sports channel, the Learning Channel, and Nickelodeon (targeted for children) had all begun operation. Taken together, these services were the pioneers of cable networking. Their examples prompted a flood of additional cable channels in coming years. Many focused on some form of journalism.

C-SPAN

Brian Lamb (1941–), a longtime Washington hand and journalist, was the key figure behind the creation of the C-SPAN (Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network) service, which began operating in March 1979. He was still running it three decades later. But C-SPAN, supported from the beginning by funds from other cable operators (figured at five cents per subscriber per month) rather than advertising, has from the beginning exhibited a very different intent than the cable news services that would follow.

After years of debate, Congress was slowly moving (the House first, followed by the Senate) to approve television coverage of its floor proceedings. While Congress would control the cameras and personnel inside the Capitol building, C-SPAN was formed to provide gavel-to-gavel carriage of House and then Senate floor proceedings without any journalistic analysis. When the House was not in session (only about 13 percent of the channel's airtime by the early 2000s), the network covered important committee hearings or other events. 24-hour-a-day programming began in 1982. Two years later, C-SPAN was the only service to provide full-time coverage of the national political conventions (the broadcast networks had long since reduced their coverage to brief nightly summaries).

C-SPAN2 began service in June 1986 to provide full coverage of Senate floor proceedings. And the U.S. Congress was not its only focus. In 1985 C-SPAN began coverage of the Canadian Parliament in Ottawa, followed by the British House of Commons in 1989. C-SPAN3 was initiated in September 1997 to provide live coverage of important (usually Washington-based) events during the week, and longer form documentaries and other programming on weekends. A weekend service devoted to books and libraries, Book TV (strongly reflecting Lamb's own interests), was begun in 1998 on C-SPAN2.

CNN

The landmark cable news breakthrough move came from Atlanta about a year after C-SPAN. In June 1980, the Cable News Network (CNN) began its 24-hour operation. Ted Turner (1938–) had announced his intentions to create an all-news network some months before—to universal disdain from the New York–based broadcast network news divisions which expected little from such a provincial location (they dubbed it the "Chicken Noodle Network," convinced it would fail). Those critics would soon discover that audiences liked the flexibility of a 24-hour service, though CNN was initially losing some $2 million every month and relied upon support from Turner's successful WTBC "superstation."

Slowly advertisers took notice of CNN's rising audience. Its first overseas bureaus were established in London and Rome, with Moscow, Cairo, and Tel Aviv added by 1985. The network broke into the black in 1985. Within four more years, it could be received in 65 countries. CNN developed an evening newscast to better compete with the broadcast television networks, and had added a highly popular interview program hosted by Larry King (1933–).

While CNN slowly built acceptance during the 1980s, the 1990–91 Gulf War was the real baptism of fire that brought the network widespread following and respect. CNN anchor Bernard Shaw (1940–) and reporter Peter Arnett (1934–) were in Baghdad when coalition bombing began, and were able to get their reports out using portable

satellite videophone devices. But much of CNN's reporting relied heavily on access provided by the military and that led to charges the network was just a government mouthpiece. Still, the network was the first source to which many turned for breaking news—often including Pentagon and other government officials.

A separate CNN2, later called CNN Headline News service, began in January 1982, in part to blunt rising competition. For 15 months in 1982–3, CNN was threatened by the Satellite News Channel (SNC), a joint venture of the ABC Network and Westinghouse—both of which had long experience in electronic media journalism. Based in Stamford, Connecticut, SNC, which first aired in June 1982, made heavy use of ABC News video. Unable to obtain sufficient cable system channels, however, it was sold to CNN, which closed it down in October 1983. The second CNN network provided updated news every half hour, a much shorter cycle than the parent network. Three years later, CNN International began airing a variety of global, regional, and "foreign" (a term avoided on the air) news that soon divided into seven regional services (Europe and the Middle East was the first in September 1985; others included Spanish- and German-language services in 1997, and a Turkish service added in 1999).

CNN-produced material is also on view at nearly 40 airports over its Airport Network, begun in January 1992. A doctors' waiting room service, AccentHealth, began three years later. By the early 2000s, the CNN franchise, owned by Time Warner, extended to 16 cable and satellite networks, a dozen websites, two radio networks, and the syndicated "CNN Newsource." One or more of these reached upwards of a billion people across more than 210 countries.

MSNBC

NBC's initial cable venture was America's Talking, which began broadcasting from Ft. Lee, New Jersey (across the Hudson River from New York City), in July 1994. It was largely filled with talk shows. Wildly popular with some, it didn't achieve viable overall ratings and was closed down after two years in favor of a new, more journalistic venture.

MSNBC, the second general cable news channel, began in July 1996 as a joint effort of the Microsoft software firm and the NBC television network, each company investing about $220 million. A fancy news facility was constructed in Redmond, Washington (Microsoft's headquarters), east of Seattle. Part of the network's original intent was to meld television with interaction with viewers (using the Internet) as well as to provide longer stories than those airing on CNN. The schedule combined newscasts with feature programs. And it operated with different personnel and an independent budget from NBC's news division.

When MSNBC scored a scoop with the news of the loss of TWA Flight 800 just a day after the cable network began operating—and beating CNN by eight minutes—their competitive stance was underlined. Audiences grew with its close coverage of the impeachment of President Clinton in 1998–99, but fell thereafter. Overall audiences grew slowly, and rarely approached those of CNN. Programming tensions related to the coverage of breaking news versus the airing of longer form programs arose time and again. So did debate about left- or right-leaning talk shows.

In late 2005, NBC purchased majority control of the cable network, though the software firm retains just under a fifth of the stock. Long headquartered in New Jersey, the all-news operation moved to the New York headquarters of NBC in the fall of 2007 as NBC News and the cable network integrated their operations. They were increasingly marketed as one and the same, as both were produced out of the same facility, using many of the same people, and sharing a busy and widely promoted website.

Fox News

Rupert Murdoch's Fox Broadcasting Company began life as a broadcasting operation in April 1987. The 24-hour Fox News Channel cable network began in October 1996 as a competitor with the established CNN and then-new MSNBC. Murdoch hired former Republican strategist Roger Ailes (1940–) to direct the operation. Due to contractual issues with cable systems, only about 10 million households could receive the news channel at first, and it did not serve viewers in the country's two largest cities, New York and Los Angeles. Legal proceedings finally resolved both "missing" markets. For a time the new network had to pay

cable systems to carry its signal—a reversal of the normal order of business in cable television.

Despite its "fair and balanced" and "we report, you decide" promotional lines, the Fox journalism prompted almost immediate criticism over its perceived conservative bias, especially in opinion and talk shows such as that hosted by Bill O'Reilly. The Fox newscasts looked different as well given the network's emphasis on graphics and other images. Beginning in 2003, it syndicated some of its reports on Fox News Radio and also serviced the broadcasting network.

The news channel achieved a huge bump in ratings during the 2003–04 Iraq war and while audiences dipped somewhat after major fighting concluded, Fox News regularly outpaced both CNN and MSNBC in overall listener levels.

Financial Networks

A more specialized type of cable news includes those channels with a full-time focus on Wall Street, investing, and general business and finance news. It has proved a difficult market, however, with at least two notable cable network failures.

The first attempt at such a service was the Financial News Network (FNN). The channel began in November 1981 as an offshoot of the business television station KWHY in Los Angeles. FNN opened another bureau near Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, in association with WKID-TV. FNN's target audience was small investors watching on affiliated broadcast television stations or on the cable channel. The FNN signal featured a digital stock ticker running across the lower third of the screen, showing constantly changing stock and index prices. In 1982, FNN relocated to the ground floor of Merrill Lynch's headquarters in Manhattan. Three years later, FNN became a full-time cable-only service with news, sports, and other longer-form programs during overnight hours. FNN moved into newly built production facilities in Los Angeles and in New York's Rockefeller Center. A 1990 financial scandal involving its main financial officer spelled the end of the service, which declared bankruptcy early in 1991. After a bitter and confusing bidding war for its satellite transponders and whatever else remained (the fight was between Dow Jones/Westinghouse and NBC), NBC won and FNN left the air in May 1991.

The Consumer News and Business Channel (far better known by its initials as CNBC), created as a joint venture between the NBC network and Dow Jones, publisher of *The Wall Street Journal,* first aired in April 1989. Competing with FNN, it combined newscasts, talk shows, interviews, and even some entertainment programming. By the early 2000s, the network's "Business Day" programming (weekdays from 5:00 a.m. to 7:00 p.m., eastern standard time) was produced at CNBC's headquarters in Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, near New York City. That it served a wealthy target audience was made clear in a July 2004 survey by Mendelsohn Media Research, which concluded that the median household net worth of a "Business Day" viewer exceeded $1.2 million. CNBC Europe launched in January 1998 carrying both the U.S. and specialized European markets content, and replaced Dow Jones's channel there. In early 2006, NBC Universal took over full ownership of CNBC Europe and CNBC Asia.

The year 1995 saw the start of two further financial networks. In January, Bloomberg Television began service. Bloomberg became widely known for their busy data screen in which news tickers and business data boxes took up most of the television screen. A more simplified image, where the live video concerning people and events is shown almost full screen, was progressively being introduced across the different feeds in the mid-2000s. Bloomberg provides 11 separate channels in seven different languages, and also syndicates some of its news reports to about 100 television stations.

CNN/fn (Financial Network) began operating in December 1995 as a business-related spin-off of the primary CNN service. It was designed to provide business and personal finance stories and utilized a number of digital innovations in both its operations and what viewers could see on the screen. But unable to achieve a sufficient audience, and despite a refocusing on personal investment instead of breaking financial news, it ended its service just less than a decade later, in late 2004.

Most recently, in mid-October 2007, the Fox Business Network inaugurated service. A subsidiary of the Fox News Network, it was in the works for some time, part of Rupert Murdoch's pending purchase of Dow Jones and *The Wall Street Journal.* Initial reactions were that the channel was too light

in tone, and its audiences were a fraction of those reached by CNBC. But Fox had the money and experience behind it to improve the product and become a real competitor.

Sports and Other Networks

The ESPN brand appeared as the Entertainment & Sports Programming Network in September 1979, the first all-sports cable network. It claims to be the first service that aired all four major professional sports—football, basketball, baseball, and hockey—and covers nearly 60 other types of sporting events over a year. Suggesting the appeal of sports content, the network claimed to be the first cable service to reach half of the country's households by mid-1987. Largely owned by the ABC network, the service expanded to ESPN International in January 1988, ESPN Radio in January 1992, ESPN2 in October 1993 and began ESPNews in November 1996. Many of these services are also available on wireless devices. ESPN Classic (purchased in 1997, two years after it began) provides coverage of past sports contests. A high-definition service began in March 2003. All of these services have pioneered various kinds of graphic enhancements of field action, such as computer-generated first-down lines in football games (which first appeared in 1998).

A prime ESPN competitor, Fox Sports Net, was launched in November 1996 and claims to be the only cable network covering national, regional, and local events (the latter produced by local affiliates, many of them older than the parent firm). It produces some 5,000 hours of live events annually and is the primary television "home" for more than 60 professional teams in all sports. While play-by-play is the focus of all of these services, they also provide news, interviews, documentary, and feature material.

Despite the widespread availability of sports on such omnibus multichannel services, there are some specialty networks as well. The Golf Channel began in January 1995, centered on covering golf tournaments worldwide. Talk, news, documentaries, and feature programs fill out the schedule, most broadcast from the Orlando, Florida, network headquarters. There is also a channel devoted to tennis, which began service in May 2003.

A variety of additional networks can be said to specialize in specific kinds of news and public affairs programming, providing a good example of the niche appeal of cable service. A few examples are described here.

The Weather Channel (TWC) debuted in May 1982 to widespread disbelief that 24 hours of nothing but weather could possibly be a success in the increasingly crowded cable market. The original notion of a Chicago meteorologist, TWC utilized constant weather updates with longer form feature programming built around hurricanes, floods, heat waves, and other weather phenomena. The channel also provides special forecasts of aviation weather for different parts of the country, the weather expected for major sports events, heat and other weather danger advisory alerts, and traveler forecasts for major airports, all as early features. Its presumption was that viewers would tune in for short periods of time, perhaps several times a day. And it worked—TWC was a rapid success. The network originally gathered national weather information from the U.S. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), and local forecasts from local NOAA offices, but since 2002 it has done its own local forecasting from its Atlanta headquarters. Attempts to broaden the TWC franchise with channels elsewhere have failed, save for one in Canada (The Weather Network, which uses both French and English) and another in Australia. A British version lasted but two years (1996–98), and a Spanish-language version for Latin America closed at the end of 2002. Early in 2008, TWC owner Landmark Communications announced plans to sell the network, and price estimates ranged upwards of $5 billion.

The Discovery Channel began its initial cable network in June 1985 to offer news and "nonfiction" documentaries and series on a variety of topics, especially popular science, history, and geography. By the mid-2000s, this venture had expanded to 29 channels in 33 languages around the world. One of them was The Travel Channel, which first aired in February 1987, with programming devoted to different aspects of traveling, from its history, to exotic destinations, to local road trips. Some of its largely original programming concerns vicarious travel while some focuses on how to find good travel deals.

The Courtroom Television Network (later simply Court TV) first appeared in July 1991, based on the concept that general viewers would be

interested in seeing real court cases as they happened. Backed by a joint venture of Time Warner, NBC, and Cablevision Systems, the channel made use of legal authorities to comment on ongoing trials. Building on the increased access of cameras into state and local (but almost never federal) courtrooms, as well as the seeming never-ending fascination with high-profile or celebrity trials, the network took awhile to shake out its programming. It combines trial coverage with relevant documentaries and some entertainment series. In January 2008 Court TV was renamed truTv. The channel is available in 86 million homes and airs fiction films, news and editorial content, and simulcasts of real criminal trials, further blurring the lines between fiction and nonfiction.

With considerable advanced fanfare, The History Channel debuted in January 1995, part of the Arts & Entertainment complex of cable offerings. Commercially successful in a short time, it relies on documentary programs, special programs or series on historical events or trends, and other formats such as history quizzes and even game shows, all built around history themes. A related spinoff, the Military Channel, provides both history and current events. It replaced a short-lived aviation service ("Wings") and thus many programs focus upon aerial warfare and related topics. Both of these channels are further evidence that the documentary genre has largely shifted to cable from broadcasting.

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See also Cable Television; Documentaries, Television

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Cables, Undersea

The first successful transatlantic telegraph cable (1866) transformed the global reporting of news, greatly speeding up the pace of transmission between Europe and North America. News that had taken weeks to travel by ship could now be sent in minutes or hours, making (as many noted both at the time and since) the world seem smaller. Development of the first transatlantic telephone cable (1956) added a new, albeit briefly very expensive, means of reporting. Today's fiber-optic cables span the Northern Hemisphere, putting most major cities within seconds of each other for transmission of audio, visual, and data news communication.

The idea of expanding beyond land telegraphy by laying a telegraph cable under water was delayed for years by two technical factors. The first was the search for an efficient means of insulating the cable from seawater, and the second involved determining the correct amount of power to transmit a message over several thousand miles. A successful telegraph cable was laid under the English Channel in the early 1850s, greatly speeding news communication between London and Paris, but the far greater Atlantic distances delayed

attempts there until late in the decade. An 1858 expedition did complete a cable, but it operated for only about a month before fading into silence, providing a fleeting and tantalizing example of what could be accomplished with such a connection. Though never determined for sure, the cable probably failed due to the excessive power used, which probably weakened the cable's insulation. The American Civil War (1861–65) delayed renewed efforts until 1865, when another attempt failed, the cable breaking shortly before completion of the voyage. Finally, in 1866, a cable was successfully deployed, and soon many others followed across the Atlantic and other seas, including the Indian Ocean by 1870 and all the way to Hong Kong a few years later. British and American trans-Pacific cables entered service only in 1903, the long delay after the Atlantic cables owing to the great distances involved and relative lack of intermediate landing points. Political factors also played a part—the British wanted their empire communication routes based in and relying only on colonial posts where London could maintain control.

Each of the trans-oceanic telegraph cables were developed and operated by major telegraph companies, usually aided by a substantial government subsidy. That subsidy came with the requirement that government and military communications always took priority. Since there was no effective competition (surface ship transport could vary from one week to many, depending on distance), cable charges were at first very high ($10 per word—well over 15 times that in early-twenty-first century values). Only with the development of multiple competing cables and slowly improving technology did costs begin to come down. By the late 1860s, the Associated Press (AP) was moving up to 35,000 words a day by cable. The inception of wireless telegraphy in the early twentieth century, however, offered the first real competition to undersea cables. Even so, the AP was still spending upwards of half a million dollars a year on cable charges during World War I. The major powers fighting in that war also censored all messages, news included, that moved by cable.

The high cost of using cables contributed to development of a world news cartel in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Members of the cartel could share the high cost of cable transmission. The world's large news agencies—Reuters, Havas (France), Wolff (Germany), and the AP—largely carved up global regions of news dominance, and their cartel lasted into the 1930s. Shortwave radio offered a further degree of cable competition in the 1930s, though cables offered all-weather service which, owing to atmospheric interference, radio transmission could not then match.

American Telephone & Telegraph's Bell Telephone Laboratories provided most of the research that underlay the first telephone cable (Trans-Atlantic or TAT-1) in 1956. Again, initial costs to use the facility were quite high, dropping only as more cables were laid, and especially after fiber-optic cables appeared in the 1980s, dramatically increasing the number of available circuits. Maps of the routes used by the world's hundreds of modern submarine cables, however, reveal an important limitation in news reporting: there are few cables serving Africa or South America, for example. Most Southern Hemisphere nations (Australia and New Zealand are exceptions) must communicate with the rest of the world by linking to the major Northern Hemisphere cable routes.

With the development of communication satellites in the 1960s and 1970s, undersea cables declined as essential modes of news transmission. Satellites offered greater capacity and could be designed and launched more rapidly than a cable could be constructed. With the arrival of fiber-optic cable in the 1980s, however, the tables slowly turned again, as the new cables now offered greater capacity and lower cost, as well as the option of repair. Increasingly, both modes—satellite and cable—are used to back up the other. News can now be transmitted worldwide in seconds, at a fraction of former costs.

Submarine telegraph cables were the first means of effective and nearly instantaneous global communications, first between Europe and North America, and slowly thereafter including the Middle East and eventually Asia. South America and Africa, however, have always been poorly served by cables, forcing those regions to link with major cable lines in the Northern Hemisphere. The costs to use oceanic cables forced a spare reporting and writing style to place the most information into the fewest possible words. The first six decades of oceanic telegraph cable journalism use were largely controlled by a cartel of the world's

major news agencies. Only with rising competition from wireless, then shortwave radio, and finally communication satellites, did cable rates drop. Fiber-optic cables have dominated the field since the early 1980s, providing huge capacity, and further lowering costs.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Associated Press; Havas; International News Service; Reuters; Shortwave Radio; Telegraph; Telephone; United Press International; Wolff

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Cable Television

Cable Television started the multichannel revolution that, with the introduction of CNN in 1980, transformed television news from a nightly half hour to the perpetually present and highly competitive realm of cable news. However, that was a much later culmination of a history of policy and technological changes. Cable television first arose in the United States in the decade after World War II, as the major broadcast networks and much of the country turned to television. Difficulties (chiefly interstation interference and an underestimation of the demand for licenses) with the FCC's initial channel allocation scheme led to a "Freeze" from 1948 to 1952, during which no new television licenses were awarded. Coverage by those stations on the air was spotty, and many communities found their reception blocked by geographic features, or hindered by distance. With demand for television growing, the gap was filled by the pioneering entrepreneurs who built the first community antenna television (CATV) systems in Pennsylvania, Oregon, and Colorado to bring TV signals to homes and businesses. This nascent, wired, distribution system set the stage for an alternative to terrestrial broadcast television, a system that after several transformations has become the dominant mechanism for video distribution in America.

From the beginning, CATV extended the range of local television broadcasts, and was generally seen as a boon to those stations carried, as it expanded audiences and viewership. After 1952, as more stations went on the air, consumer demand for new channels and programming grew. People generally liked having a choice of what programs to view. Some systems began providing additional signals to their customers, either by importing more distant television stations or, more rarely at first, by providing their own programming. Combinations of coax and microwave distribution networks were developed in several regions to import distant stations. Technology (limited channel capacity) and economics (the cost of programming) limited the scope of these efforts; still, a now worried broadcasting industry convinced the FCC to impose programming limits on prospective cable-only channels and restrictions on the importation of distant stations, in addition to other regulations designed to slow cable's expansion. Despite this, early cable saw a slow, steady growth through the 1960s, although largely confined to smaller towns and rural areas.

Imported distant stations started cable's shift from a limited CATV role to a more expansive role as a Multichannel Video Programming Service (MVPS). Distant stations and local programming offered some additional choice, but by the mid-1970s, satellite distribution of video was becoming economically viable. Partly as a response to that, and partly in reaction to some federal court decisions challenging the FCC's assumptions about the impact of cable on broadcasting, regulations changed, allowing the birth and growth of cable networks. Within a decade, dozens of new cable

networks were available. By 2000, more than 250 nationally distributed cable networks were available to cable systems in the United States.

Among those early cable networks were CNN and ESPN. Each was a prototypical niche network, taking an existing program type offered (in a limited way) by traditional television, and providing a dedicated 24-hour channel for interested viewers. Yet their impact went far beyond an initially minimal audience share. CNN as a full time, around the clock, news channel changed the way that both the industry and audiences thought about television news. It brought the potential for immediacy and depth of coverage, arguably changing the news cycle and feeding the growing consumer interest in news. At the very least it expanded audience choice—not only across a growing number of networks, but in letting audiences have news whenever they wanted. CNN's eventual success encouraged the growth of a number of other cable news networks, both within the domestic U.S. market and in the international arena.

ESPN similarly transformed the nature of sports coverage; expanding coverage, developing audiences, and fostering the growth of broadcast sports journalism. Evolving to arguably the most successful cable network, ESPN provided its viewers access to a diverse range of sports and teams, fostering a still growing demand for sports reporting and news. ESPN and its eventual sister networks and competition arguably transformed the sports world, significantly increasing coverage (and financing) to a wide range of teams and sports. And by growing broadcast news and sports coverage, these channels have also significantly expanded opportunities for broadcast journalists, and the expansion of university journalism programs and schools.

The added channels that shifted cable from its original orientation as CATV to a far more expansive MVPS helped to increase the demand for cable as a service, and allowed cable to expand into urban areas where over-the-air signals were freely available. This expansion required resources, and there were significant economies of scale and scope to be found in larger communities and systems, prompting a shift in scale. From a preponderance of small local entrepreneurs and owners, the cable industry saw the entry of large firms, and the first wave of mergers and acquisitions, leading to the increasing dominance of corporate multi-system operators (MSOs). MSOs were also interested in standardizing regulation, and supported the 1984 Cable Act, which finally gave the FCC official oversight authority over cable, although the act's impacts were largely deregulatory in nature. The FCC at that point saw cable as having adequate competition in the form of traditional broadcast television, particularly the older broadcast networks.

The expansion of cable systems slowed in the early 1990s, as most areas where cable was economically viable had been franchised, and the systems built out. And much like the telephone industry, a mix of federal, state, and some local regulations made it difficult, if not impossible, for new firms to enter local cable markets to compete with existing systems. Cable was also beginning to face challenges from a range of alternative video distribution technologies. Continuing technological developments made satellite signals more readily accessible to consumers (affordable direct-to-home satellite systems became available by the early 1990s), and telephone companies were beginning to explore the possibility of sending video to homes through their upgraded digital networks.

The regulatory environment was changing as well. The rapid growth in the 1980s in both system size and the number of channels delivered, combined with the accompanying dominance of MSOs, brought subscriber price increases to many systems and raised concerns about concentration. These contributed to the 1992 Cable Act, which sought to regulate some service prices and performance more closely. Interestingly, they did this largely by changing the definition of competition for cable systems: rather than the presence of over-the-air broadcasters, competition was redefined in terms of the availability of a competing multichannel video programming service. Cable as MVPS had come of age.

However, cable was also becoming a bit of a victim of its own success. In 1995, more than 125 national programming channels were available. Available channels was outstripping existing cable system capacity, requiring significant investment in system upgrades. For their upgrades, cable embraced the use of fiber-optic cables in their installed networks, which offered not only significant increases in channel capacity, but also enabled cable to create "response" or backchannels for

signals, enabling them to supply interactive services. Expensive upgrades put additional pressure on cable finances, already facing slowed growth, increased competition, and heavy debt loads from expansions and acquisitions. The rise of both competition and price regulation from the 1992 act pushed cable operators to look for new sources of revenue. One solution was to more aggressively seek local advertising, exploiting the increased audiences for cable networks. Another solution was to exploit the interactive service potential of cable's upgraded networks and to become more than a one-way multichannel service.

Thus cable entered its third and present incarnation, as a broadband, interactive, telecommunication network. System upgrades, which improved channel capacity and fostered interactivity and the growth of digital applications, paved the way for a range of added high-value services. Further, the 1996 Telecommunication Act removed entry barriers for most telecommunications services, giving firms (including cable) the flexibility to innovate and develop new products, services, and markets. Cable systems with upgraded networks have been rapidly adding data services (broadband Internet connections), residential telephone services (IP telephony), and increased video-on-demand options. All are high-value, and high-profit, services (once you have a sufficiently upgraded network, which over 90 percent of U.S. homes passed by cable systems do). While the core service remains multichannel video, cable's profits increasingly come from local advertising and a range of advanced services.

In the meantime, however, competition is taking its toll. The number of homes subscribing to basic cable in the United States dropped to around 65 million in 2007, down from a high of almost 67 million in 2001. While more than 90 percent of American homes access television through a MVS, cable's competitors now account for more than a third of that, and their share is likely to grow as newer distribution systems, such as Internet Protocal Television (IPTV), become increasingly viable.

Throughout its more than half century of development, the essence of cable has remained fairly consistent: it is predominantly a wired multichannel television distribution system, a mechanism to deliver multiple television signals to homes and offices for a fee. That multichannel nature led to the growth of niche network programming, including significant opportunities for news, documentaries, and sports. These new niche networks not only offered more of the same type of coverage as traditional broadcast networks, but the nature of a niche network as a focused, full-time, source for news and information also helped transform the profession and nature of journalism. Cable's development as a broadband mass communication system now fosters the Internet's viability for distributing audio and video content. This will not only continue the fragmentation of audiences, but the interactive nature of the Internet poses its own issues for the future of journalism.

Benjamin J. Bates

See also Cable News; Convergence; Digital Television

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Canada

Canada is the world's second-largest country in geographic area but its population, just under 33 million in 2008, is relatively small, only one-tenth that of the United States. A harsh winter climate

and rugged northern terrain have led most Canadians to live near the country's long southern border with the United States, with communities becoming more widely scattered as one travels north. This geographic and cultural proximity to the world's leading communications superpower has profoundly influenced Canadian journalism and media.

Origins

When seeking the origins of Canadian journalism, two seemingly unrelated events begin the investigation. One form of journalistic expression sprang up in an army camp in 1759 commanded by an arrogant British general, James Wolfe, who had been told to drive France out of North America. General George Townshend used his skills as a political commentator to communicate his dislike of Wolfe to those around him. Townshend's messages were relayed in numerous sketches, one of which showed Wolfe probing the depths of camp latrines. Wolfe was less than enamored and threatened to bring his tormentor up on charges when they both returned to England. As it turned out Wolfe died in the campaign.

With Wolfe's victory over the French, British influence extended from the islands of Arctic Canada to the Spanish and French colonies that are now part of the southern United States. Bartholomew Greene (who had been posted to Nova Scotia from Massachusetts) decided to remain in the Atlantic colony to establish some form of journalistic activity in what is now the city of Halifax. He began the *Halifax Gazette,* predecessor of the contemporary *Halifax Chronicle Herald*. The unfortunate Greene died before the first issue appeared under the watchful eye of John Bushell, a friend and confidant. Unfortunately, Bushell was more successful at establishing the role of the journalist as an alcoholic than at practicing the craft. His paper survived in spite of its relationship to death and disease. At the same time magazine publishing began as both Halifax and Quebec City provided homes for early ventures though none survived more than a couple of years.

Canadian journalism did not really become Canadian until the United States severed itself from the British Empire. That separation would prove profitable for those attempting to establish a press in the four colonies that would eventually form the base for Canada. Before the British and the Americans would once again tangle in conflict between 1812 and 1814, no fewer than twenty newspapers emerged, publishing in both English and French. When English troops occupied Quebec following the conquest of 1759, they soon discovered that the only printing press in French Canada was assigned exclusively to the publication of religious documents. The situation amongst English occupants was not much better. Early newspapers regularly reissued information extracted from European papers received in the colonies. Like their French speaking counterparts, English newspapers also concentrated on religious documents. Real news of life in the colonies was transmitted orally.

In keeping with the pronounced Scottish influence on the development of the country, the first Canadian journalist of note was a Scot. With the establishment of his *Colonial Advocate* in 1824, William Lyon Mackenzie was determined to become (and succeeded in being) a thorn in the side of the colonial regime. Mackenzie took great delight in reporting on the sermons of the head of the Church of England in Canada, Bishop John Strachan, who was not amused by Mackenzie's analysis. But Mackenzie was no model of perfection. He often had to go into hiding to avoid angry creditors. He managed to get himself elected to the legislative assembly but his behavior got him expelled on numerous occasions. His final act of defiance came in 1837 when he encouraged disgruntled colonists to attack the governing council with a view to overthrowing its authority. The rebellion failed and Mackenzie made it to New York barely ahead of a hanging posse.

The modern age of Canadian journalism began in 1843 when George Brown was commissioned by his father Peter to journey to Canada to establish a religious journal espousing the cause of reform in the Church of Scotland. Brown quickly sensed that the colonists valued and needed accurate and speedy information in the development of government and industry. Brown's Presbyterian journal *The Banner* evolved into a secular weekly called *The Globe* one year later. By 1853 the journal was publishing on a daily basis and Canada was about to enter its golden age of print journalism. Not only would a flourishing daily press

emerge, one determined to cut the ties of reliance on the political infrastructure, it would be accompanied by a few determined souls who began to venture into magazine publishing one more time. Although most of the mid-century publications lived as precariously as their predecessors, the concept of journalism and magazines as legitimate partners took hold.

Golden Age

There were a number of good reasons why the press matured and in some cases prospered during the nineteenth-century reign of Queen Victoria. Britain's excess population, including soldiers and sailors who had been decommissioned following the Napoleonic Wars, took land grants in Canada. Both agricultural development and the first stages of industrialization began to shape in the new world, and journalism was soon to become part of the ethos of development. From five newspapers at the time of the War of 1812, by 1857 there were 159 newspapers in what is now Ontario, with a further 54 in Quebec.

The emergence of an independent press in Canada was clearly the result of the activities of several powerful and determined personalities. George Brown's liberalism was soon challenged by entrepreneurs such as John Ross Robertson, founder of the Protestant *Toronto Evening Telegram*. In London, Ontario, the Blackburn family, supporters of Prime Minister John A. Macdonald, would buy the *London Free Press* and turn it into the voice of Toryism in Southwestern Ontario. Montreal would have its Hugh Graham, later Lord Athlon of the *Montreal Star*. In French language media, one could find Trefflé Berthiaume of *La Presse* and, later on, Henri Bourassa whose views of the world could be found in *Le Devoir*. Journalistic growth was experienced across the West as well, but major economic growth there came in the early twentieth century.

In most respects, the editorial and news pages of the daily press still represented the views of ruling elites. Alternate voices were shoved aside into the margins of the craft, which ultimately had serious consequences. In the late 1860s, trade unionism became a factor in the industrial heartlands in an area stretching from Windsor, Ontario, to Quebec City. Denied access to the daily press, trade unionists began to develop their own journalism. In the period between Confederation and World War II (1867–1914), no fewer than 133 such newspapers emerged.

There also appeared on the Canadian scene a number of artists and commentators who used the press to both inform and entertain. The first of this ilk was the Montreal-based John Henry Walker. He and his father had landed in Montreal from Ireland. At the tender age of 18, Walker junior founded *Punch In Canada,* which featured illustration and commentary on the major social issues of the day and lasted all of three years. Walker would live to 1899 pursuing a career as an artist and professional engraver for other illustrated journals published in and around Montreal.

The most significant of the illustrated journals were published by the Desbarats family of Montreal. Following models published in London, England, and in Paris, France, the *Canadian Illustrated News* made its debut in October 1869. In the following spring, the French language version, *L'Opinion Publique*, began publication. In 1873, the company launched the *New York Daily Graphic,* which would later make history as the first newspaper to publish half-tone photography. All of these journals in one form or another would continue to publish well into the 1880s, when finally the ability to produce photography efficiently and cost effectively rendered the weekly illustrated press redundant. The artists and engravers who flourished in the days of illustrated journalism took their skills to magazines and books as well as to the Sunday editions of many Canadian newspapers, which discovered new audiences for comic strips.

Development of telegraphy and the success in constructing a transatlantic cable system brought Canadian journalism into the international arena. Only in 1859 did Canadian newspapers create their first news agency, the news cooperative still known today as the Canadian Press. It cooperated with the Associated Press in America in the same fashion as they do today. They shared Canadian and American news along with stories from overseas. However, the alliance was not as smooth as some may have wished. Canadian Press faced competition from western wire services, which argued

that a direct connection to the Associated Press would be less costly than routing stories through central cities such as Toronto. In a pique of nationalist fever, there was a feeling in Canada that the stories being sent over the wire were too American in style and editorial direction.

When the first transatlantic cable opened (for only about a month, as it turned out) in 1858, it provided Canadians with other international sources for news. Now more timely British and French news could be published in Canadian newspapers. In many respects, Canadians had no choice but to retrieve their news from two of the most important nations in the world. By the twentieth century, the infrastructure for Canadian journalism had been established. In 1899, Joseph Atkinson took the reins of the *Toronto Daily Star* and established it as one of the country's premier journals. In Montreal, circulation battles were being fought between Hugh Graham's imperialist and Conservative *Montreal Star* and the long established journal owned and operated by the White family, *The Montreal Gazette*. Across town, the French language *La Presse* was by 1900 the largest newspaper in the country, with a loyal readership built on the same sensationalist ingredients as the Hearst and Pulitzer empires in the United States. When French speaking nationalist Henri Bourassa founded *Le Devoir* in 1910 it was everything *La Presse* was not: a home of sober thought in Canadian journalism. But Bourassa's newspaper was in no position to challenge Trefflé Berthiaume's *La Presse* circulation.

In the national capital of Ottawa, the Southam family operated *The Ottawa Citizen* for close to half a century until 1996. Across town, P. D. Ross outlasted the Southams when his management of *The Ottawa Journal* passed into its sixth decade. He died in 1949. Moving westward, newspapers in the Manitoba capital of Winnipeg included *The Winnipeg Free Press,* owned and operated by the Sifton family, who ventured into various media businesses including the community newspaper company called Osprey. The *Free Press* became the base of one of the country's most famous editors, John W. Dafoe. The *Free Press* faced competition from two sources, the *Winnipeg Tribune* and the *Winnipeg Telegram*. Eventually strife, in particular the Winnipeg general strike of 1919, took its toll and in 1920 the *Telegram* merged with the *Tribune* and Winnipeg, like Ottawa, became a two-newspaper town. Although still relatively small by eastern standards, Vancouver residents could choose, as they still can, between the *Sun* and the *Province,* although both are now owned by Winnipeg-based CanWest Global.

In Hamilton, Ontario, the Southam family operated the monopoly *Hamilton Spectator*. Brantford and Windsor were other one-newspaper towns in Ontario. But in London, Ontario, the long established *London Free Press* of the Blackburn family faced the Camerons' *London Advertiser*. Eventually, the *Free Press* took over the market and London became a one-newspaper city up until World War II. In Ottawa, the French language *Le Droit* was founded to support the cause of Roman Catholic, French language education in Ontario, which was primarily English speaking at the time. Virtually every town or city of any size had at least one newspaper after World War II, publishing from one to six issues per week.

Radio News

Canadians were less than diligent in keeping records of early broadcast adventures. Historians have concluded that Canadian communications company Marconi decided to get into broadcasting during the 1919–20 period but less clear is the exact date of the first broadcast. Over the next few years, business people, including newspaper publishers at journals such as the *Toronto Daily Star,* actively pursued radio broadcasting licenses.

During the 1920s, radio broadcasting was a technology in search of a business and did not become an outlet for journalists until well into the 1930s. During its first decade, radio was no more than a means for entertainment focusing mainly on music and local cultural events. This was soon supplemented by network shows, which first began in the United States in 1926–27 and regularly sold their programming to Canadian stations. By 1929, the most popular radio programming in Canada emanated from the United States. Influences from south of the border started to register some concerns in Canada.

The belief that the United States was about to take over radio was the inspiration behind the

government's initiative to investigate alternatives to private ownership of stations. Banker Sir John Aird headed a three person commission and made recommendations on the future of Canadian broadcasting. The consequence was the Broadcasting Act of 1932, which established the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC), a peculiar mix of public and private initiative. In 1933, the commission began programming a new network, an adventure that would collapse in 1936.

Like many other newspaper operators, the *Toronto Daily Star* entered radio in 1922 when it established CFCA, which continued to broadcast for a dozen years. CFCA's entry into the world of broadcast journalism came when a February 1924 storm in Ontario brought down the lines on which telecommunications depended. When Canadian Press asked the station to broadcast summaries of its wire reports, the station agreed. From then on, news broadcasting offered the short summaries with which listeners are familiar today accompanied by longer and more in-depth programming with coverage of conventions, political party meetings, and deliberations at city hall.

Newspaper-operated radio stations had access to information sources denied to others. The Canadian Press had routinely blocked radio stations' use of its wire services, especially if they were owned by persons not associated with print journalism. But with the founding of the CRBC in 1932, the Canadian Press relented and provided service to the new network broadcaster. However, it still refused to sell the service to private broadcasters, fearing that news-hungry audiences would cancel newspaper subscriptions and listen to radio. However, recognizing that the policy was self-defeating, Canadian Press established a broadcast service late in 1932 called Press News Limited (now Broadcast News) for both public and private stations.

By 1936, the CRBC was in serious trouble, due largely to extremely slanted political broadcasting favoring the ruling Conservative Party in the 1935 federal election. The opposition Liberals campaigned to reform the CRBC and eliminate the private sector's influence at the network. In 1936 they kept the promise, following a successful election campaign, and turned the CRBC into the publicly owned and operated Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and La Société Radio-Canada (SRC). That same year Canadian radio made its mark as a genuine member of the journalistic community when a mine disaster at Moose River, Nova Scotia, drew reporter Frank Willis to the scene, where he proceeded to broadcast for three days as a last shot at legitimizing the CRBC. Willis later became well known as a CBC reporter and commentator.

In 1941 as Canadian contributions to the war in Europe began to increase, the CBC set up its first in-house news room with bureaus in five cities linking the Atlantic Provinces to those on the Pacific corridor. The CBC broadcast a national news edition at noon and at 11 p.m., and many private stations were given permission to carry the service. As a consequence, most private stations produced only local news and the CBC quickly established itself as the most important news voice in the country.

Television News

By the time that television came to Canada in 1952, CBC had established itself solidly as Canada's leading news authority. Although there were numerous privately owned television stations in the country, until 1960, they were required to carry a minimum of CBC-oriented programming, including news and information, even when their signals overlapped with each other. The first station to successfully leave the fold was the Hamilton, Ontario–based CHCH–TV, which successfully argued to regulatory authorities that it had no future as a CBC affiliate when the Toronto affiliate was just 45 minutes up the highway. So, in the early 1960s, the country got its first independent television station. Along with movies and sitcoms other stations did not want, there was a smattering of local news on the channel supplemented by syndication services.

When the Liberal Party finally lost federal power in 1957, the Progressive Conservatives formed a government with a promise to strip the CBC of its regulatory powers. This it did and a new Board of Broadcast Governors announced that it would license eight new privately owned and operated television stations that would have no relationship with the CBC. Quickly, a new network was created as Canadian Television or CTV. Stations in what the authorities deemed as

overlapping jurisdictions were offered the choice of staying with the CBC or joining the new CTV network. CTV moved quickly to establish itself as a reputable partner in Canadian television, particularly in news, information, and sports coverage. In the mid-1960s it launched *W-5*, which continues as a news magazine to this day.

David Spencer

Modern News Media

While Canada's news media are similar to those in the United States in enjoying a constitutional guarantee of free expression and a primarily commercial, profit-driven ownership system, there are important differences.

Canada and America

Canada, for example, has long deemed it necessary to protect its cultural industries from a U.S. influence that is perceived as overwhelming. American cultural products (television, radio, movies, magazines, books, newspapers, and Internet) are widely available and very attractive to Canadian audiences. To guard against this cultural invasion, the Canadian government limits foreign ownership of Canadian cultural industries and, since 1970, has required broadcasters to include a specified minimum percentage of Canadian content (the amount varies depending on the medium, time of day, and other factors). It also provides various forms of financial and regulatory support for Canadian cultural products such as magazines, film and television production, and book publishing. And although Canada participates in a free trade agreement with the United States and Mexico, that agreement includes special protections for Canada's cultural industries.

There are also important differences between the two countries' legal systems. Although free expression is guaranteed in both countries, there are limitations on that freedom to protect individuals and groups from hate speech, libel, and slander, and to protect an accused person's right to a fair trial. While the United States also has limits, Canada's are generally conceded to be more stringent. For example, Canada's courts are more likely to find journalists in contempt if they write or broadcast crime stories that do not presume an accused person's absolute innocence until that person is tried and proven guilty. Canada's hate crimes legislation has been frequently used to protect minorities, and led to the deportation of at least one Holocaust-denier who continued to publish his views in defiance of the law. And Canada's defamation law ensures that individuals whose reputations are damaged by undeserved criticism in the media have a reasonable likelihood of redress through the courts.

Another major difference between the two countries is Canada's mixed public and private broadcasting system, which features commercial radio and television networks but also supports publicly funded broadcasting (in both official languages) by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and Société Radio-Canada (SRC). The CBC and SRC each operate several national television and radio networks (including the Internet-based CBC Radio 3) and contribute programming to CBC North, a network serving remote northern communities with broadcasts in several aboriginal languages as well as English and French. Since 1990 the CBC and SRC have each operated an all-news television network as well.

Canadian News Media in the Twenty-First Century

Canada's mainstream news media include 98 general interest daily newspapers and more than 850 community newspapers (mostly weeklies); five national and three regional television networks (five in English and three in French); and more than 500 radio stations. These traditional news sources do not appear to have lost favor with the Canadian public, as has happened elsewhere. In the United States, for example, skepticism toward journalists and the companies they worked for began to show up in public opinion polls in the 1980s, according to the Pew Center's Project for Excellence in Journalism (2007), which has been monitoring the U.S. media in its annual *State of the Media* reports since that time. The Canadian Senate's Committee on Transport and Communications commissioned a poll that found, in 2005, much higher levels of trust in the mainstream media among Canadians than Americans. A majority of Canadians polled did, however, express the

belief that media do not readily acknowledge their own errors, and even try to cover them up.

The same poll found that 66 percent of Canadians in 2005 got their news from television, 15 percent from newspapers, 9 percent from radio, 9 percent from the Internet, and only 1 percent from magazines. However, there were major differences among age groups. Television, for example, was the news source for 74 percent of people over age 65, but only 1 percent of people in that age group got their news from the Internet. Among respondents age 25 and under, however, 16 percent turned to the Internet for their news. Newspapers were the primary news source for between 13 and 18 percent in all age groups (Senate of Canada 2006, 72–89).

As in the United States, daily newspaper circulation has been declining for several decades in Canada, and television audiences have fragmented into smaller segments with the introduction of hundreds of specialty channels available by cable and satellite. So all is not rosy for Canada's traditional media. A good part of the distress they are feeling is due to new forms of journalism on the Internet.

Geography has contributed in other important ways to journalism in Canada. Vast distances between population centers made it necessary, early in Canada's history, to emphasize strong transportation and communications links. Fortunately, Canada has the resources to build and expand this essential infrastructure and keep pace with rapidly changing communications technology. Indeed, Canadians have often been among the inventors, developers, and pioneer users of technologies such as the telephone, radio, television, satellites, computers, and hand-held electronic devices as well as the Internet.

Largely as a result of this happy coincidence of innovation, resources, and geography, Canada in 2008 ranked twelfth among industrial countries in Gross Domestic Product, with a per capita GDP of $41,600 that ranked sixth. Canada is also among the world's most wired nations, with 73 percent of the population over age 16 reporting that they had access to the Internet in 2007, more than 90 percent of those with access from home. Access at workplaces, schools, public libraries, and a variety of other locations has, since the mid-1990s, made the Internet widely available to Canadians, including those lacking home access. However, there remains a "digital divide" that leaves out many because they lack computer skills or financial resources or live in remote locations. Research in 2007 found a particularly significant gap: among Canadians age 18 to 55, 88 percent are online, but among those over 66, only 61 percent are.

Internet Impact

The ability of so many Canadians, particularly in urban centers, to access the Internet accelerated a transition in Canadian journalism which began in the mid-1990s. News organizations in all media established Internet sites to supplement their publications or broadcasts. It soon became possible to get just about all the news published in newspapers free on the web. Many younger readers, those most comfortable online, never became newspaper subscribers, and newspaper circulations suffered a steep decline. Newspapers also lost revenues from formerly lucrative classified advertising, as Internet sites such as eBay and craigslist, as well as real estate and other online marketing proved more popular. Rise of the Internet has led to predictions of the newspaper's demise. This is particularly worrisome because newspapers have been major generators of news used in all media, initiating many of the stories reported in news broadcasts and on the Internet. If newspapers ultimately go out of business, some wonder, what will become of the news?

Local news, in particular, would suffer greatly from the loss of daily newspapers because Canadian newspapers are based in cities or towns serving their "circulation area," to which print copies can be distributed in a timely manner. Only in the late twentieth century did Canada develop two English-language national newspapers (*The Globe and Mail* and the *National Post*) that use satellite technology to transmit master copies to be printed in cities from coast to coast. A third national newspaper, *Le Devoir*, is distributed primarily in Quebec. The remaining 95 general interest daily newspapers in Canada have local roots, and reporting staffs with expertise in local coverage.

The advent of a widely accessible Internet has given rise to a great many new and alternative media, ranging from all-news websites offering regular "news feeds" to subscribers (who get this service free of charge) to email "listservs" and weblogs or

"blogs." Many report or discuss the news from a particular point of view, making little effort to present opposing views except to criticize them. The early twenty-first century proved an exciting time for Canadian journalists operating in this new environment, though it was difficult to earn a living since much of their online work was unpaid.

Interactivity in the online environment has been reshaping the form and content of Canadian journalism. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), in particular, has taken advantage of the fact that online readers and viewers often want to comment immediately on stories, send feedback to reporters and editors, help to correct errors and omissions, and suggest new ideas and stories. Mainstream media reporters in 2008 were increasingly being expected to write blogs, take pictures, and film video clips to post on the website, in addition to their traditional stories.

Ownership Concentration

Although Canadians do continue, in general, to respect the mainstream media, a great deal of concern at the turn of the twenty-first century was focused on the increased concentration of media ownership. That this is a subject important to Canadians is evident in the three major federal studies since 1970 that have examined the topic at length. Two were conducted by committees of the Senate of Canada: the first in 1970 and the third in 2006. A second, completed in 1981, was conducted by the Royal Commission on Newspapers, established in response to public outrage after two long-lived, respected newspapers—the *Ottawa Journal* and the *Winnipeg Tribune*—were closed on the same day in August 1980, each leaving one newspaper in a monopoly position in that city. It seemed like a suspicious coincidence at the time, though the Royal Commission never did find evidence of collusion. However, the commission's final report, as well as the others, drew significant public attention to the degree of corporate concentration in Canadian media ownership, which is among the highest in the world. Yet the governments that received these reports failed to implement any of their recommendations for reform.

Why is the steady rise in ownership concentration a concern for journalism in Canada? The three studies pointed to a number of problems, such as local monopolies that leave readers without choices and media owners with less motivation to cover all the news. While the first two studies decried a lack of competition between newspapers in a city reduced to only one, other voices could be heard on radio and television. By 2006, however, the situation involved extensive cross-media ownership that reduced or eliminated the diversity of voices across all local media and made it nearly impossible for smaller competitors to thrive, or new ones to start up. The 2006 Senate committee report pointed to three such examples where nearly all media were owned by the same company: Vancouver, on Canada's west coast, where Canwest Global owns both the morning and evening newspapers, two television stations, and a number of community newspapers; the province of New Brunswick, where the Irving family owns all the English daily newspapers and almost all the weekly newspapers, as well as three radio stations and two Internet sites; and Quebec's French-language media, where Quebecor owns the major private television network, is a major player in the newspaper market, and also owns magazines, bookstores, a cable distribution company, and video and music stores.

Yet despite these studies decrying the media ownership situation in Canada, the degree of ownership concentration has continued to increase. Almost all of Canada's news media were, in 2008, owned by a few large conglomerates, most of which had extensive cross-media holdings. The largest of these conglomerates, Canwest Global, in 2008, according to its corporate website, owned two national television networks and 26 specialty television channels as well as one of Canada's largest newspaper chains, with one national newspaper, ten major metropolitan dailies, more than 25 community newspapers, and two commuter newspapers, in addition to a network of newspaper Internet sites. Rivaling Canwest Global in the size of its Canadian media operations was Quebecor Media, whose website in 2008 claimed Canada's largest newspaper chain, with 37 daily newspapers, seven free commuter papers, and more than 180 weeklies, shopping guides, and specialty publications; the cable television company Vidéotron, with 2.5 million viewers in Quebec and a video rental chain; TVA, the largest French television network in North America; as well as French-language magazine and book publishing. A third

major player was CTVglobemedia, which owned the largest commercial television network, CTV; the largest national newspaper, *The Globe and Mail;* and the CHUM Radio division, which operates 34 radio stations across Canada. Torstar Corporation was another fast-growing media empire in 2008. It included the flagship *Toronto Star,* Canada's top-selling newspaper, and a number of Internet sites; Metroland Media, with three daily newspapers and more than 100 community newspapers in Ontario; Harlequin Enterprises, which publishes romances and other "women's fiction"; part ownership in CTVglobemedia and Black Press, which operates 150 newspapers (daily and weekly) in Western Canada and three U.S. states, as well as Transit TV, which runs programming and advertising on public transportation.

Employment

Deep employment cuts occurred while these conglomerates were being formed in the 1990s and 2000s. As media properties exchanged hands there were frequent staff cuts, either to prepare a media property for sale or afterwards to reduce operating costs to offset the burden of debt. Over two decades, these layoffs and buyouts took their toll, and many news organizations were reduced to skeleton staffs. One consequence was that the traditional system, which allowed reporters to develop a level of experience and expertise in covering a certain subject area or "beat," was either eliminated or seriously curtailed. During these years, there was a large-scale move to shift beat reporters to "general assignment," which means they are given new assignments every day, without much chance to develop expertise, or even suggest stories on their own. Catherine McKercher (2002) refers to this process as "deskilling" because it reduces the reporter's level of expertise and thus professionalism. On general assignment, reporters are told what to do by management, reflecting increasing corporate control of the news. Reporters in this situation, particularly if they are called upon to produce several stories per day, are forced to rely on official and institutional sources, often doing these stories by telephone instead of leaving the newsroom. Stories chosen for them by overworked editors tend to come from press releases or, all too often, other media. The task of taking a story written elsewhere and delivered by a wire service, adding a bit of local content along with the local reporter's byline, can be done much more quickly (and therefore cheaply) than the task of ferreting out an original story.

These same journalists suffer from staff reductions, the precarious existence of contract work, freelance journalism, or, when they do get permanent jobs, the threat of being the first to get laid off. Yet Canadian journalists tend to be highly trained. Most hold university degrees and a large number have graduated from one of Canada's eleven undergraduate or six master's-level journalism schools. More than two dozen community colleges in seven of Canada's provinces offer journalism training programs that do not result in a degree.

Multiculturalism

Canada is one of the world's most culturally diverse nations. The 2006 Census found that one in five residents was born elsewhere, a situation attributable to liberal immigration policies dating back to the 1970s. The country was founded as a nation of immigrants, and has worked to maintain its dual French and English heritage. However, it was many years later when Canadians acknowledged the significant cultural contributions of aboriginal Canadians. Canada's multiculturalism policy was designed to support the linguistic and cultural traditions of newcomers. The result of all these influences is policies that encourage and provide financial resources to journalism, particularly public broadcasting, in French and English as well as Canada's aboriginal and immigrant languages. Throughout the country, community newspapers and radio and television programs are produced in a variety of languages that help keep Canada's linguistic and multicultural communities alive. It is a model that could be of interest to a globalizing world.

Carrie Buchanan

See also Comparative Models of Journalism; Internet Impact on Media; Media Ownership

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Cartoonists, Political

Political cartoonists have been a vital part of the nation's dialogue since the colonial period. Combining artistic skill, rhetorical exaggeration, and biting humor, cartoonists have a long tradition of questioning authority, drawing attention to corruption, and highlighting society's ills. In return, political cartoonists occasionally have been offered bribes, threatened with jail time, or faced with other forms of attempted coercion by those in power. Political cartoonists were particularly influential in the years following the Civil War, thanks in large part to the brilliance of cartoonist Thomas Nast, and their prominence continued through the first two decades of the twentieth century. The profession experienced another creative surge in the 1960s and 1970s, reflecting a more adversarial mood in the country as a whole. At the start of the twenty-first century, due to newspaper cutbacks, the number of political cartoonists was in decline, and the profession faced an uncertain future.

Cartoon Elements

A successful political cartoon, argues historian Edward Lordan, requires five elements: a receptive audience, a medium of distribution, an artist with a creative sense of humor, a powerful subject worthy of scorn, and a negative public perception of that subject. Historian Charles Press argues that the artistic quality of the cartoon matters much less than the genuine feeling of indignation and outrage, and adds that cartoons that stand the test of time deal with subjects that have lasting importance.

In terms of subject matter, cartoonists draw from four major sources, as identified by researchers Martin Medhurst and Michael DeSousa: political commonplaces and major recurring subthemes such as national defense and electoral machinery such as campaigning; literary/cultural allusions and references that draw from mythology, literature, or folklore; personal character traits, including morals, truthfulness, and ability to lead; and situational themes, or transient episodes that occur during a campaign and are salient to the audience for a limited period of time, such as when a candidate makes a gaffe during a public speech.

Communication scholars gave increasing attention to political cartooning during the years preceding World War II and continuing after the conflict, suspicious of imagery's role in propaganda. Many of these early studies asserted the power of the cartoon with little if any empirical evidence to support the finding. Later studies revealed the power of the political cartoon was not uniform across populations or media, suggesting that the intensity of preexisting audience attitudes about the subject was very important in caricatures' effectiveness, and that people with preexisting prejudices tended to misinterpret cartoons.

A burst of empirical scholarship beginning in the 1960s cast even more doubt on political cartoons' ability to convey a fixed meaning. A 1968 study in *Journalism Quarterly* by Leroy Carl found that no more than 22 percent of readers extracted the same meaning from the cartoon as the artist intended. Another study of cartoons before and after the Watergate scandal in the 1970s concluded that negative reactions to a caricature were related to topical themes of the cartoon and general popularity of the politician at the time. Our understanding of how cartooning works is limited, and audience interpretations of political cartoons are dependent on many factors. Cartoons are far less likely to change minds than to reinforce preheld conceptions of those viewing the graphic message.

Origins

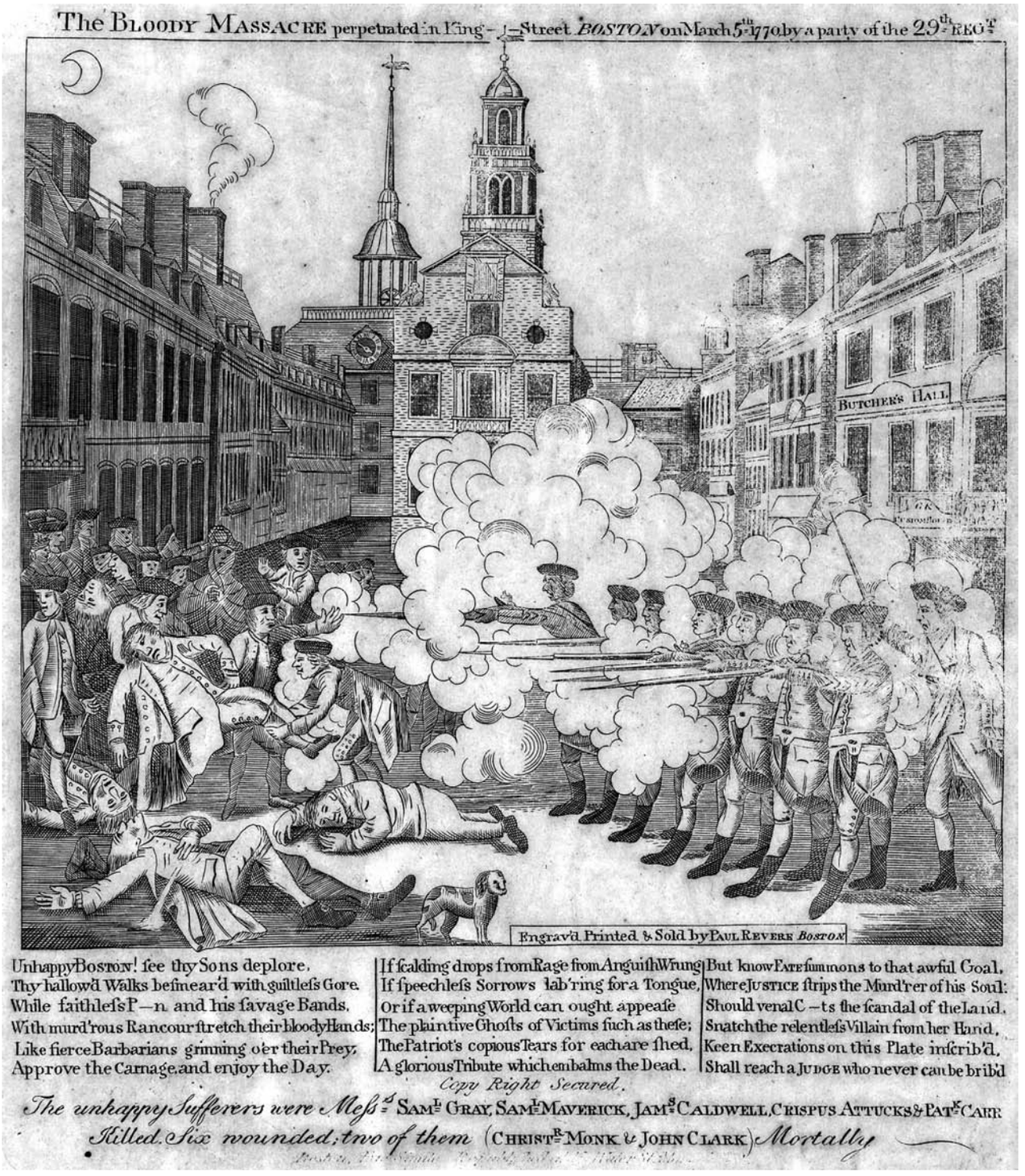
A tradition of political satire through art had been established in England, most notably through prints by William Hogarth in the early and mid-1700s. The first political cartoon in the colonies is credited to Benjamin Franklin (1706–90), who published "Join Or Die" in his *Pennsylvania Gazette*. The image portrayed a segmented snake, each portion representing a colony. Often misinterpreted today as a call to rise up against British tyranny, it actually was published in 1754 to urge colonists to back England in the French and Indian War. "Join Or Die" played off the superstition that if a dismembered snake were put back together before sundown, the snake would live again. The image was appropriated by other publications for various purposes over the next 20-plus years, contributing to modern-day confusion over its original meaning.

While not yet a staple in newspapers because of technological limitations, the political cartoon made its impact on colonists through single broadsheets, such as Paul Revere's depiction of the Boston Massacre in 1770. As political rhetoric, his drawing took liberties with numerous facts of the case—Revere omitted the clubs that some colonists carried, and he portrayed the slain mulatto Crispus Attucks as a white man. While political cartoons were relatively small in number during the Revolution, their impact helped galvanize support against the British.

The political cartoon continued to be a weapon in the early years of the new American nation, the barbs now turned away from England and toward rival political parties who fueled their rancor through a partisan press and savage artistic attacks. Pro-Federalist cartoonists were particularly vicious following the election of Thomas Jefferson to the presidency in 1800, portraying Jefferson as a drunk tearing down the pillars of the nation, and making direct references to reports that Jefferson had fathered a child with one of his slaves. In the 1830s, cartoonists attacked Andrew Jackson's populism, his attempts to concentrate more power in the presidency, and his earthy, simple manner.

The 1830s also brought an increase in the amount of political art available to the public. A more vigorous newspaper business, fueled by cheaper newsprint, faster presses and a new emphasis on advertising, slowly opened more opportunities for cartoonists. In addition, prints by the printmaking company of Currier and Ives became focal points of many home decors. These sold-by-the-individual-copy posters included still-life portraits, holiday scenes, and, in the political realm, presidential candidates, the company making sure to skewer each candidate in order to maximize sales. These and similar prints remained popular throughout the nineteenth century.

The election of Abraham Lincoln and four years of Civil War marked a substantial surge in political cartooning. Lincoln's height and features were easy targets for his political opponents, such as cartoonist Adalbert Volck (1828–1912), who famously portrayed Lincoln signing the Emancipation Proclamation with the Devil's ink while stomping on the Constitution. Lincoln and the Union cause were much more favorably presented by *Harper's Weekly* and its emerging star cartoonist, Thomas



Paul Revere engraved, printed, and sold this 1770 portrayal of the Boston Massacre as a single broadsheet in support of colonists against Britain. The image takes editorial liberties in making its point: the British soldiers firing on the citizens of Boston stand in contrast to the helplessness of the fallen colonists, when in fact many colonists were carrying clubs. It also includes 18 lines of verse (a technique not typically employed in contemporary political cartoons) and a list of those killed and wounded in the incident.

Source: Library of Congress.

Nast (1840–1902), whom Lincoln reportedly called "our best recruiting sergeant." Nast not only produced patriotic cartoons to stir Union support, but also attacked those who would accept anything other than the unconditional surrender of the Confederacy, as in his "Compromise with the South," which pictured a confederate soldier shaking hands with a Union amputee while standing on the grave of another Union solder.

Thomas Nast: Pioneer Cartoonist

While Nast gained notice during the Civil War, it was his work after the conflict for which he is best known. For example, while the donkey had been loosely associated with the Democratic Party since Andrew Jackson ran for President in 1828, it was a Nast cartoon in 1874 that made the reference stick, while also placing the elephant as a symbol of the Republicans. In "The Third Term Panic," Nast responded to Democrats who decried a possible third presidential term by Ulysses S. Grant as an attempt to give the President powers resembling those of an emperor. An elephant labeled "The Republican Vote" stomped dangerously close to a chasm in the chaos. By the 1880s, the Democrats and Republicans had both incorporated the donkey and elephant into their respective campaigns, although the Democrats have never adopted the donkey as their official symbol.

It was Nast's work attacking the Tweed Ring that brought the cartoonist the most acclaim. William "Boss" Tweed became leader of New York City's Tammany Hall political machine in the late 1860s and proceeded to bilk the city out of as much as $20 million through fraudulent contracts, expense claims, and tax loopholes. Nast's caricatures of Boss Tweed emphasized his large nose, scraggly beard, and bloated body and made him seem even more sinister than the charges against him suggested. The series reached a wide audience—*Harper's Weekly* claimed that readership tripled during the series—and Tweed himself reportedly said that the written attacks on him in newspapers were nothing compared to the impact of "those damn pictures." Nast took on Tammany despite intimidation tactics from Tweed associates and an alleged $500,000 offer to stop the caricatures and leave the country. The legend surrounding Nast and Tweed grew in 1875, when Tweed escaped from jail and fled to Europe only to be arrested by Spanish customs officials, who recognized him from Nast's cartoons.

Emergence of the Comic Weekly

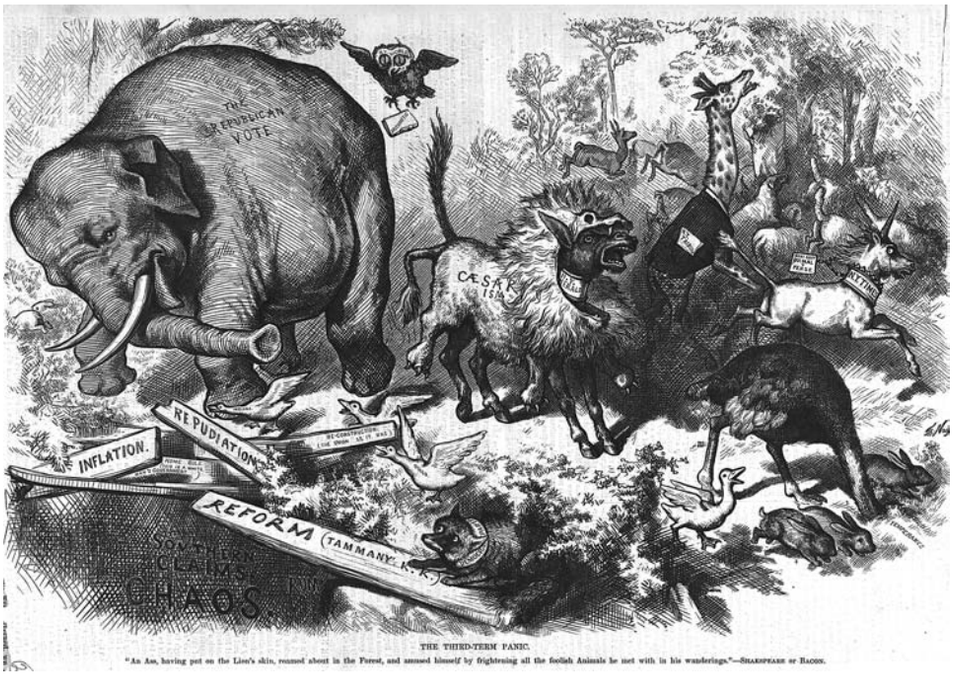
In the late 1800s, a new genre of magazine—the comic weekly—became home to a new style of political cartooning. Most notable of these publications was *Puck*. After a difficult start, *Puck* reported a circulation of 80,000 within five years. *The Judge* and *Life* would later join *Puck* in this new style of cartooning. By 1880, *Puck* was publishing vivid, full-color political cartoons on the cover, centerspread, and back page.

Puck's influence became clear during the election cycle of 1884. Joseph Keppler (1838–94) and fellow cartoonist Bernhard Gillam (1856–96) published a series of 22 cartoons portraying Republican candidate James G. Blaine as a "Tattooed Man," his body covered with tattoos of the various scandals with which he had been associated. The success of the series is indicated, in part, by the fact that numerous other publications began referring to Blaine as "Tattooed" in headlines and text during the campaign. Blaine reportedly considered suing *Puck* for libel, but refrained in order to avoid more attention being brought to his alleged misdeeds.

Newspaper Cartooning

The 1884 presidential campaign also marked the beginning of a more robust period for political cartooning in daily newspapers. Most notable was a front-page cartoon in Joseph Pulitzer's New York *World* by Walt McDougall (1858–1938) just before the election. McDougall's cartoon showed wealthy guests at a Blaine campaign dinner dining on "Lobby Pudding" and "Monopoly Soup" while a poor family begged for crumbs. The public reaction was crystallized as *The World* printed thousands of extras to satisfy the demand, and Democrats made large posters of the cartoon and put them on walls across New York City. Blaine lost the election to Grover Cleveland in one of the closest votes in U.S. history, and the power of the political cartoon was an often-cited reason for the final result.

The newspaper war between Pulitzer's *World* and William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal* provided another spark for the rise of political cartooning in the 1890s and early twentieth century.



It was after this Thomas Nast cartoon—"The Third-Term Panic"—ran in an 1874 issue of Harper's Weekly *that the symbols for the two major political parties—the elephant for the Republican Party and donkey for the Democratic Party—gained wide currency. The donkey in the cartoon sports a collar labeled* New York Herald, *the newspaper known to be a staunch supporter of the Democrats. The caption of the photo reads: "'An ass, having put on the lion's skin, turned about in the forest, and amused himself by frightening all the foolish animals he met in his wanderings' —Shakespeare or Bacon." The cartoon was a response to Democrats concerned that a third presidential term by Ulysses S. Grant might give the President emperor-like powers.*

Source: Library of Congress.

Upon buying the *Journal* in 1895, Hearst raided much of Pulitzer's best talent, including Richard Outcault (1863–1928) and his popular "Yellow Kid" comic strip character. In the realm of political opinion, Hearst brought along Homer Davenport (1867–1912) from his San Francisco *Examiner* to attack Republicans and their wealthy supporters. Davenport's most-noted subject for attack was Ohio senator Mark Hanna, who reportedly cried while showing one of Davenport's cartoons to a Senate colleague. Davenport later drew cartoons in support of Theodore Roosevelt for the *New York Evening Mail*. A colleague of Davenport's at the *Journal*, former Puck cartoonist Frederick Burr Opper (1857–1937), also attacked the power of industrialists, skewering not only Hanna but also President McKinley and "Papa," a character he created to represent the corporate trusts.

Newspapers throughout the country recognized the success of the Hearst cartoonists and responded by hiring more artists for their staffs, driving up demand and salaries for those in the comic arts. By one estimate, 2,000 editorial cartoonists had full-time positions at the beginning of the twentieth century. This "golden age" of political cartooning did not go unnoticed by politicians, who grew weary of being caricatured. Some went as far as trying to outlaw cartooning, with five state legislatures considering measures between 1897 and 1915, and two states passing ill-fated laws. A California anti-cartoon law in 1899 banned cartoons that reflected on a person's character and required consent of the person being caricatured. The law was never enforced—luckily so, as it doubtless would have been overturned on First Amendment grounds. Campaign cartoons against Pennsylvania gubernatorial candidate Samuel Pennypacker and his associates led to a state law against cartoon "libel" being passed after Pennypacker took office in 1903. Newspapers across the country roundly criticized the law, and it was repealed after Pennypacker left office in 1907.

Dissent During World War I

Cartooning drew the ire of government officials during World War I also, this time at the federal level. Most notably affected was the socialist magazine *The Masses,* edited by Max Eastman and featuring the work of cartoonists Art Young (1866–1943), Boardman Robinson (1876–1952), and Robert Minor (1884–1952). *The Masses,* objecting to war no matter what the cause, produced images such as Minor's "At Last A Perfect Soldier!" depicting a military medical examiner's excitement over seeing a huge, muscular recruit with no head. Dissent such as that displayed by *The Masses* was the exception rather than the norm during World War I, as the vast majority of cartoonists produced patriotic, pro-war work, whether in the spirit engendered by the government's Committee for Public Information propaganda arm, or coerced through the intimidation of the 1917 Espionage Act.

The prominence of political cartoonists began to decline in the 1920s and 1930s. Daily newspapers embraced objectivity as an ideal and were less likely to follow party ideology, resulting in cartoons most often being relegated to an editorial page deep within the edition. The increasing influence of newspaper chains, continuing to swallow up newspapers across the country, put less importance on local issues, and corporate owners were more apt to send syndicated cartoons to its member papers than to hire local artists. In addition, the declining influence of progressives and a more conservative political mood in the country made a less conducive atmosphere for scathing political and social commentary.

A few cartoonists stood out in the period between the two world wars. Bucking a national trend, the cartoons of J. N. "Ding" Darling (1876–1962) remained on the front page of the *Des Moines Register* for 50 years and also reached millions of other readers through syndication. The two-time Pulitzer winner was a strong supporter of Woodrow Wilson's call against isolationism after World War I, but Darling's work later became less partisan, its humor gentle and prodding rather than harsh and cutting. John McCutcheon (1870–1949) of the *Chicago Tribune* took a similar tone and generally promoted probusiness, anti–Franklin Roosevelt ideals. A progressive mood remained in a few quarters, including Edmund Duffy's (ca. 1899–1962) attacks on the Ku Klux Klan in H. L. Mencken's *Baltimore Sun,* and Rollin Kirby's (1875–1952) skewering of Prohibition through his character "Mr. Dry" in the New York *World.*

Cartooning in World War II

World War II cartooning, and press coverage in general, featured even less dissent than that during World War I, due in part to the galvanizing influence of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. A notable exception was the black press, which posed uncomfortable questions about why African Americans were being asked to fight abroad when they did not have equal rights at home. In particular, the work of Oliver Harrington (1912–95) at the *Pittsburgh Courier* and republished in other black newspapers drew attention to racism in the military. The criticism did not go unnoticed by J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI, who repeatedly tried to shut down papers such as the *Courier* during the war, and who later would accumulate an extensive investigative file on Harrington.

The most popular cartoonist during World War II was an enlisted soldier. Bill Mauldin (1921–2003) began drawing cartoons for the *45th Division News,* then moved to the military newspaper *Stars and Stripes* in 1943. Mauldin's dirty, tattered, war-weary infantrymen "Willie and Joe" depicted the conditions under which foot soldiers performed, and at the same time used sarcasm to needle those in the officer class. In 1945, Mauldin, at age 23, was awarded the Pulitzer Prize.

Responding to the Red Scare

The onset of the cold war in the 1950s produced a chilling effect on many forms of communication, as fears of communism turned into paranoia over suspected subversives, not only in government but also in media. Sometimes with little proof, and rarely with a chance to face their accusers, numerous television and film actors, writers, and producers with alleged ties to left-leaning organizations were effectively banned from working through "blacklisting." Congressional proceedings, such as those by the House Un-American Activities Committee led by Richard Nixon, sought to expose those who they deemed as being loyal to the Communist cause. At least one political cartoonist, Oliver Harrington, was investigated by HUAC. Harrington left the country for Europe, never to

return. In this climate of fear, cartoonists generally avoided questioning whether constitutional rights were being circumvented in the name of security.

A few cartoonists were bold enough to criticize the tactics of those in the anti-Communist movement. Walt Kelly's (1913–73) *Pogo* strip skewered FBI director Hoover and produced a character, Simple J. Malarky, as a parody of Senator Joseph McCarthy, who was using his Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations as a bully pulpit against alleged Communists. The most notable cartoonist to take on McCarthy was Herbert Block (1909–2001), better known as "Herblock" to readers of *The Washington Post*. It was Herblock who coined the term *McCarthyism*, using the junior senator from Wisconsin as a broader symbol for the Red Scare that had enveloped the country. In perhaps the most memorable Herblock cartoon from the period, he drew a man labeled "Hysteria" carrying a bucket of water up a ladder and yelling "Fire!" as he made his way to the flame at the top of the Statue of Liberty.

A Surge in the 1960s and 1970s

The social turmoil of the 1960s and the Watergate scandal of the 1970s marked a period of resurgence in the vitality of the profession, as cartoonists, and journalism overall, took a more adversarial stance. Perhaps the most influential cartoonist of the period was a native Australian, Pat Oliphant (1935–), whose work always contained biting satire and often included a tiny penguin, Punk, who occupied the bottom corner and punctuated Oliphant's point with a sardonic comment.

Paul Conrad (1924–) spent three decades at the *Los Angeles Times,* winning three Pulitzer Prizes while taking aim at both Ronald Reagan and Richard Nixon. Conrad ended up on Nixon's infamous "enemies list," a document prepared by the Nixon White House identifying perceived political opponents, and Conrad suspected that a series of tax audits were related to his attacks on the President.

Jeff MacNelly's (1947–2000) conservative-leaning work at the *Richmond News-Leader, Chicago Tribune,* and through syndication gained him national acclaim and three Pulitzer Prizes. MacNelly also created the popular comic strip *Shoe*, inspired by a journalism professor who mentored the cartoonist at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

While technically a comic strip, Garry Trudeau's (1948–) *Doonesbury* won the Pulitzer for editorial cartooning in 1975, underscoring Trudeau's influence in American political life. *Doonesbury* remains strong in the twenty-first century, being syndicated to more than 1,300 newspapers worldwide.

Noted Political Cartoonists

Herbert Block (1909–2001)

Block, better known as Herblock to his readers, won three Pulitzer Prizes in a career that spanned seven decades. Herblock spent more than 50 years at *The Washington Post*. He is credited with coining the term *McCarthyism* to symbolize the anti-Communist hysteria fueled by the junior senator from Wisconsin. Herblock was a particular nuisance to Richard Nixon. In the 1950s, Herblock depicted the then–Vice President crawling out of a sewer to campaign for fellow Republicans; Nixon would later remark that he had to "erase the Herblock image" from Americans' minds. In the 1970s the cartoonist punctuated the illegalities and missteps of the Nixon White House during Watergate. In 1994, Herblock was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

Joseph Keppler (1838–94)

Keppler changed the field of political cartooning in terms of both style and technology. An immigrant from Vienna, Keppler teamed with printer Adolph Schwarzmann in 1876 to found the German-language *Puck;* then the following year the pair began publishing an English-language version of the magazine. At first, Keppler was the magazine's lone cartoonist, but Keppler would later guide such influential cartoonists as Bernhard and Victor Gillam, Frederick Burr Opper, and Eugene Zimmerman. In contrast to Nast's single-panel, black-and-white work, *Puck* featured vivid color cartoons on the front, back, and centerspread, and these featured cartoons often included multiple characters. *Puck*'s color printing process had become so famous and successful that the magazine became an attraction at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, with thousands lining up to see the process and the innovator in person.

Bill Mauldin (1921–2003)

Mauldin became famous as a soldier cartoonist in World War II but would also create memorable images as a civilian in the turbulent 1960s. Mauldin's "Willie and Joe" characters for *Stars and Stripes* delighted enlisted men and the public, while raising the ire of military leaders, including General George Patton, who threatened to ban *Stars and Stripes* from his Third Army unless the characters disappeared from its pages. General Dwight Eisenhower rebuffed Patton, saying that Mauldin's work was a useful outlet for soldier frustrations. Thanks in part to a favorable article by famous war correspondent Ernie Pyle, "Willie and Joe" became available to newspapers across the country through United Feature Syndicate, and the cartoons would win a Pulitzer Prize. As a civilian, Mauldin would later win another Pulitzer with the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* and he drew a memorable cartoon for the *Chicago Sun-Times* following the assassination of John F. Kennedy, depicting a crying statue of Abraham Lincoln at the Lincoln Memorial.

Thomas Nast (1840–1902)

Nast is considered by many observers to be the father of the American political cartoon. He is credited with creating many icons, such as the Republican elephant and Democratic donkey that have become part of the language of political life in the United States. While still a teenager, Nast was depicting news events for Frank Leslie's *Illustrated Newspaper* and the *New York Illustrated News*. By 1862, he was working for *Harper's Weekly,* not only depicting Civil War battle scenes, but also creating highly pro-union patriotic images. After the war, Nast became famous for his role in helping root out the corruption of New York City political leader Boss Tweed, as well as his caustic depictions of presidential candidate Horace Greeley in 1872. Nast left *Harper's Weekly* in 1886 and later started an unsuccessful publication, *Nast's Weekly*. Nast died in 1902 while serving as consul general to Ecuador.

Pat Oliphant (1935–)

Oliphant was the most widely syndicated political cartoonist in the world by the 1990s, and *The New York Times* called him "the most influential cartoonist now working." Born in Australia, Oliphant began cartooning at the *Denver Post* in 1964, and by 1967 had won the Pulitzer Prize. Oliphant moved to the *Washington Star* in 1975, and after that paper folded, he worked through Universal Press Syndicate. Oliphant has not shied from controversy, either in his cartoons or public statements. He has criticized the Pulitzer awards for awarding jingoistic work, and he has not submitted an entry since his 1967 victory. Oliphant's work has, on occasion, drawn criticism from Catholic, Asian American, and Arab American groups for what they view as stereotypical images.

Frederick Burr Opper (1857–1937)

Opper had a 58-year career as a political cartoonist, and in the 1930s was selected by a straw poll of fellow cartoonists as the funniest man in newspaper history. After a brief stint at Frank Leslie's *Illustrated Weekly,* Opper was hired in 1880 by *Puck*, where he would continue for nearly 20 years. He was hired by William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal* in 1899, and Hearst papers throughout the country carried Opper's single panel political cartoon "Willie and His Papa," which attacked William McKinley and business interests aligned with the President, as well as his "Happy Hooligan" comic strip, making the artist a household name.

An Uncertain Future

The end of the twentieth century and beginning of a new millennium brought an uncertain period for political cartooning. While political cartoons still appeared on the editorial pages of most American newspapers, many observers felt the profession was in a state of decline. In a post-9/11 world, many editors and publishers were increasingly reluctant to publish cartoons that might be perceived as unpatriotic or critical of the war on terror. Some newspapers chose to not replace cartoonists who left their staffs. By 2004, the number of full-time editorial cartoonists employed by U.S. newspapers had fallen to an estimated 80 artists.

Harlen Makemson

See also Comics; Editorials; Graphics; Layout; News Values; Printing; Satirists, Political; *Stars and Stripes*

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CBS News

In the early days of network radio, news competed for a place in the daily programming schedule with entertainment fare such as *The Lux Radio Theatre* and Major Bowes's *Original Amateur Hour*. In 1929, CBS's founding father, William S. Paley, decided there was sufficient public interest to warrant a regular daily news summary—five minutes of a morning program called *Something for Everyone*. From the humble beginnings of that regular news program, CBS would go on to become a key player in broadcast journalism, home to such luminaries as Edward R. Murrow and Walter Cronkite. CBS News developed into an integral part of what came to be known as "The Tiffany Network" because of the quality of its broadcasts—and the revenue it generated. This entry examines the news division's history and influence.

Origins

On the evening of September 18, 1927, the United Independent Broadcasters (UIB) and the new Columbia Phonograph Broadcasting System presented an American opera titled "The King's Henchmen" on a "network" of 16 radio stations. The broadcast—marred by technical problems caused in part by a huge thunderstorm—failed to excite potential advertisers.

Within two months, the fledgling network was in financial trouble and it struggled for the next year. Then, on September 26, 1928, William S. Paley, a young man working for his father's cigar company in Philadelphia, became president of the network, two days shy of his twenty-seventh birthday. He bought controlling interest with a loan from his father, combined UIB and Columbia into one company, and renamed it the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). Paley would lead CBS to great success in radio and television news and entertainment for the next half century.

Paley spent the first decade of his tenure building a radio network that would be competitive with arch-rival David Sarnoff's industry giant, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). Paley brought aboard solid managers such as former *New York Times* editor Ed Klauber, and Ohio State University graduate Dr. Frank Stanton who would rise to become president and one of the most influential executives in broadcasting. Paley nurtured young entertainers such as singers Kate Smith and Bing Crosby and in 1935 hired an enterprising Director of Talks, Edward R. Murrow. Paley was making progress, but NBC remained the network leader.

Radio

From its beginning, radio news consisted mostly of commentators who selected their material from

newspapers and wire service reports. The two most prominent commentators on radio in the 1930s were Lowell Thomas of NBC and Boake Carter of CBS. It was Klauber who, as the first head of the CBS news department, developed industry standards for fairness and objectivity, factual reporting, and avoidance of editorializing. Moreover, news divisions were made independent of the advertising offices and had direct access to senior management. His news editor (and head of CBS News from 1933 to 1946) was former United Press reporter Paul White.

As Director of Talks, Edward R. Murrow's principal responsibility was to arrange concerts, speeches, and other interesting programs to air on the network. In 1937, the 29-year-old Murrow was dispatched to Europe for the same purpose. There, he hired former *Chicago Tribune* foreign correspondent William L. Shirer. Together they followed German Chancellor Adolf Hitler's aggressive efforts to build a war machine to conquer Europe. However, their efforts to report on the air about these events were routinely rejected, in large part because some CBS officials in New York were unconvinced American listeners wanted to hear a steady stream of stories that suggested war was coming. Once in 1939—when it was apparent to almost everyone in Europe that war was indeed on the horizon—CBS news manager Paul White demanded that Murrow and Shirer put together a program of cabaret acts as a change of pace. This idea was rejected by both journalists.

Finally, at 8 p.m. eastern standard time on Sunday, March 13, 1938, CBS Radio presented a program that would alter the future of radio news and CBS:

> Tonight the world trembles, torn by conflicting forces. The outside world, gravely shaken by the Austrian crisis, moves cautiously through a maze of diplomatic perils. . . . To bring you the picture of Europe tonight, Columbia now presents a special broadcast which will include pickups from London, Paris and other European capitals. . . . This is Bob Trout speaking to you from New York. . . .

With those words, announcer Robert Trout brought listeners first-hand reports of Hitler's annexation of Austria and its consequences around the world. The program included reports from Shirer in London and Murrow in Vienna. It marked the first time in broadcast history that a group of correspondents in the field was linked by a central anchor. The program resonated with the American public. As a result, CBS presented similar special broadcasts on subsequent evenings and eventually made it a nightly fixture. Thus was born the *CBS World News Roundup* and with it, the era of broadcast journalism.

For the next seven years Murrow and his growing team of colleagues—including Shirer, Eric Sevareid, Charles Collingwood, Howard K. Smith, Richard C. Hottelet, Larry LeSueur, Mary Marvin Breckinridge, Winston Burdett, Bill Downs, Thomas Grandin, and Cecil Brown—brought the drama and tragedy of World War II into American living rooms.

After the war, CBS radio news continued its network broadcasts using well-known wartime reporters. Network radio continued to be an important news medium into the 1950s.

Television

The end of World War II in 1945, however, marked the active development of television. Now armed with a galaxy of entertainment stars and the most respected news department in broadcasting, Paley set about to establish what would become known as the "Tiffany network" for the quality of its public affairs and entertainment programming.

In the summer of 1948, the network launched its first nightly television newscast. *The CBS TV News* aired for fifteen minutes per night, Monday through Friday, at 7:30 p.m. EST. Veteran CBS Radio newsman Douglas Edwards became its first "anchor." In the fall of 1950, the name of the program was changed to *Douglas Edwards with the News* and by September 1951 the newscast was reaching viewers from coast to coast. Edwards would remain at the helm of the nightly newscast until 1962.

In 1948 television provided coverage of the national political conventions. Edwards served as principal reporter for CBS News that year with contributions from others including Murrow, by then head of CBS News.

While still devoted to radio, Murrow nonetheless broke significant ground in television. *See It Now,* a half-hour program anchored by Murrow

and produced by Fred Friendly, first aired in November 1951—its opening program highlighting the marvels of television technology by offering live, simultaneous images of the Brooklyn Bridge in New York and the Golden Gate Bridge in San Francisco. The series went on to present substantive and sometimes controversial programs on national and global issues. *See It Now* aired from 1951 to 1957 and was succeeded by the award-winning documentary series *CBS Reports* from 1959 to 1971.

The brainchild of CBS President Frank Stanton, *Face the Nation* debuted on November 7, 1954, as the network's answer to the NBC program *Meet the Press*. The first moderator was CBS News Washington bureau chief Ted Koop. He was succeeded over the years by others, including Howard K. Smith, Paul Niven, Martin Agronsky, Leslie Stahl, and Bob Schieffer. In 1961, the program was expanded to an hour and moved to prime time but it failed to generate larger ratings against entertainment programming and was cancelled several months later. It returned in 1963 and has remained a staple of Sunday morning news programming ever since. Shieffer, a respected, substantive, and congenial correspondent who joined CBS News in 1969, is the longest serving moderator of *Face the Nation,* having assumed the responsibilities in 1991.

By the early 1960s, NBC's evening news program *The Huntley-Brinkley Report* had surpassed CBS in the ratings. In April 1962 Walter Cronkite succeeded Edwards as the anchor of the CBS evening newscast and in September 1963, the program was expanded from 15 to 30 minutes. Cronkite, a former war correspondent for United Press, joined CBS News in 1950 and began a 28-year run as anchorman for the network's political convention and election coverage. But his place would be firmly established during his tenure as anchor and managing editor of the *CBS Evening News* from 1962 to 1981. His reporting of such events as the assassination of President John F. Kennedy (1961–63), the Vietnam War, the first Apollo Moon landing, and the Watergate scandal provided a steadying influence in times of confusion, joy, and sorrow. National surveys showed him to be "the most trusted man in America." The CBS News Washington Bureau's reputation for excellence during this period was second only to that of the Murrow Boys of World War II.

In 1981, Cronkite stepped down, to be succeeded as anchor by veteran correspondent Dan Rather, who went on to hold the position for 24 years. From 1993 to 1995, correspondent Connie Chung joined Rather as co-anchor. Rather stepped down in 2005 after being stung by a backlash to a controversial CBS News investigative report on the National Guard duty of President George W. Bush (2001–09). Chief Washington correspondent Bob Schieffer, while continuing to moderate *Face the Nation,* stepped in as anchor for an 18-month period. In September 2006 to much fanfare (and a huge reputed salary), Katie Couric left her longtime role as co-anchor of the top rated NBC News program *Today* to become the first solo woman anchor of *The CBS Evening News,* though to disappointing ratings.

In 1968, Don Hewitt, a path-breaking CBS producer and director credited with inventing many of the techniques that drove public affairs television in its formative years, created *60 Minutes,* a weekly news magazine featuring investigative reports, interviews, profiles of people in the news, and feature segments. *60 Minutes* would become the longest running and most successful series in television history. From 1977 to 2000, a record 23 consecutive seasons, it finished among the top-ten-highest rated, regularly scheduled programs. The program finished number one in the Nielsen ratings five times and is the only series in television history to reach that height in three different decades (the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s).

In 1979, CBS created *Sunday Morning,* a slower paced, 90-minute news and feature magazine hosted by correspondent Charles Kuralt. Upon his retirement in 1994, Kuralt was succeeded by longtime CBS Radio personality Charles Osgood.

Some of the luster rubbed off "The Tiffany Network" beginning in 1986 when Laurence Tisch became CEO of CBS at a time the network was facing possible hostile takeovers. At first hailed by many employees as a savior, during his tenure, which lasted until 1995, Tisch implemented a series of cost-cutting measures, which included firing veteran journalists, closing some news bureaus, and reducing the time the network allocated for news programming. In some ways, CBS News has never recovered from the changes imposed during the Tisch years. *The CBS Evening News with Katie Couric* finishes consistently in third place among

the major commercial network newscasts. The news division has only a handful of foreign bureaus, many of which rely heavily on material from other broadcasters (e.g., Sky News).

CBS News traditions were remembered on the afternoon of November 12, 1999, when 90-year-old Robert Trout entered the radio network newsroom in New York to participate in *The CBS News 20th Century Roundup,* a three-hour radio retrospective anchored by Dan Rather. Among others, Trout was joined on the broadcast by former correspondents Richard C. Hottelet, Howard K. Smith, Larry LeSueur, and the first woman broadcaster, Mary Marvin Breckenridge Patterson. That afternoon, the remaining Murrow Boys came together one more time, to close the book on the twentieth century.

As the new century dawned, the network was building its Internet presence through its website cbsnews.com. The site offered text, audio, and video of the latest news, as well as blogs and podcasts of entire television programs including *The CBS Evening News, 60 Minutes,* and *Face the Nation.*

Like all broadcast news operations, CBS struggles to retain an audience that increasingly finds its information via the Internet and other new technologies. The days of hour-long, prime-time documentaries (e.g., Murrow's famous "Harvest of Shame" broadcast) are gone, and CBS News executives are under increasing pressure to keep expenses to a minimum while still providing coverage of breaking news from around the world. It is a difficult, perhaps eventually impossible, balancing act between the demands of good journalism and the needs of a corporate entity that must provide sufficient returns for investors. This is the age of consolidation in the news business and there is occasional talk of CBS merging with CNN or some other organization to increase efficiencies and save money. Whether CBS's future will be as bright as its proud past is a question still to be answered.

According to Marvin Kalb, the last correspondent personally hired by Edward R. Murrow (in 1957), CBS News left a lasting mark on journalism. "CBS News meant Ed Murrow and Eric Sevareid, Charles Collingwood and Winston Burdett—it meant reporters of the highest quality, writers and observers, who always wanted to be at the heart of the story," Kalb said in an interview in 2008. "Bill Paley, a boss whom we knew and respected, called us 'the jewels in his crown,' and we all took deep pride in our product and our network—it was called 'the Tiffany network.' From those days, journalism has changed profoundly, but it still has the same mission: to find the truth, to report it clearly and fully, with detachment if possible, and always to reach for the stars."

Michael Freedman and Sam Litzinger

See also ABC News; Commentators, Radio; Electronic News Gathering; Mutual Broadcasting System; National Public Radio; NBC News; Newscasters, Radio; Objectivity; Public Radio Journalism; Reporters, Radio; Reporters, Television; Talk and News Radio; Women in Journalism

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Celebrity and Fan Magazines

Celebrity and fan magazines, also referred to as gossip magazines, feature stories about the personal lives of primarily show business and sports celebrities, often including fashion coverage and especially seeking scandal. They are for-profit magazines intended for the amusement of fans of the popular culture subject matter which they cover. The people who write for these publications often have backgrounds and experience in mainstream journalism.

These magazines differ from industry trade magazines, such as *Entertainment Weekly,* fashion magazines that may feature celebrities on their covers such as *Vogue, Elle,* or *Glamour,* and the broader home design and lifestyle magazines such as *In Style, Vanity Fair,* or *Town & Country* that often feature celebrity homes and interviews, as well as other types of sports, travel, and leisure publications. They are also distinct from supermarket tabloids, such as the *National Enquirer*, which traditionally included stories about aliens, UFOs, and other far-fetched items They can also be distinguished from literary magazines by the target audience of their content, and from amateur fanzines by the professional for-profit nature of their publication. The magazines help to perpetuate a fan subculture that is maintained through familiarity and shared recognition of the details of the celebrities' lives that are reported. Most celebrity magazines have website counterparts.

Celebrity and Fame

Sociologist Leo Lowenthal argued that between 1901 and 1941, biographies in popular magazines underwent a striking change. Whereas earlier biographies of American society's heroes featured "idols of production"—they stemmed from the productive life of business, industry, and natural science—newer magazine heroes being featured were "idols of consumption"—they were directly or indirectly related to the sphere of leisure time, the worlds of entertainment and sports. What Lowenthal was describing was the shift in popular interest to the modern-day celebrity.

Other scholars believe that the development of visual technology was significant in fostering celebrity. As photography lent new importance to the representation of the individual and was increasingly employed in print media, the "dissemination of the face," writes researcher Joshua Gamson, displaced the dissemination of ideas, laying the ground for the "publicizing of people."

Fame is rarely achieved without assistance from partner industries and journalists often play a significant role. The companies and brands for which celebrities work, and not just the celebrities themselves, are responsible for creating and perpetuating the celebrity frenzy. A multifaceted process undertaken by the celebrity industry contributes to fame. As researcher Barbie Zelizer observed, stardom today is largely the result of advances in mass media technology and emerges from publicity activities coupled with repeated and routinized mass media appearances. These technologies and activities have made possible the extension of celebrity status to different kinds of public actors such as heiresses and socialites. This broadening of the term "celebrity" is perpetuated by an elaborate industry for public discourse exemplified not only by magazines, but by television shows such as *Entertainment Tonight, Access Hollywood, Showbiz Tonight,* the entire E! television channel, and websites such as TMZ.com and PerezHilton .com, which regularly engage in commentary and criticism about these figures' professional and nonprofessional activities.

The success of any given celebrity depends on the celebrity and media industries and on audience response. This last factor is vital to creating stars. People's social networks aid the dissemination of celebrity gossip and news. Industry production and distribution networks also circulate newsworthy items in hopes of increasing a celebrity's profile. From the beginning fame has required publicity, but celebrities are usually complicit in building up their own fame. As researcher Leo Braudy wrote in 1986, "societies always generate a number of people willing and eager to live at least part of their lives in the public eye."

Celebrities sacrifice personal privacy as part of the price they pay for their success and fame. While celebrities themselves may not always take action to publicize their personal activities, they rarely shy away from coverage. If personal activity captured on film makes the celebrity look good and more likable to audiences, then the

information that has become public is usually deemed acceptable. But even negative notoriety—wife swaps, babies out of wedlock, and the like—contributes to fame.

The positive notoriety celebrities garner enables them to make endorsement deals for products and events, while negative notoriety can impede celebrities' ability to make these deals and even cause endorsement deals to be withdrawn. These lucrative arrangements make it easier to understand why celebrities are often willing to tolerate the inconvenience of photographers' constant presence in their lives. In this way, celebrity can be seen as a cultural commodity whose economic value is based on potential exchange of fame for sales.

Popular Celebrity Magazines

American celebrity gossip magazines include *Us Weekly,* founded in 1977 by The New York Times Company, and acquired by Wenner Media in 1986. As of 2007, its circulation averaged over 1.9 million. The magazine currently features a different style from its original format when it was a monthly industry news and review magazine. It switched format in 2000 to its current celebrity news focus.

Other American celebrity magazines include *InTouch,* launched in 2002 by Bauer Publishing, and its sister publication, *Life & Style,* launched in 2004. *OK!* and *Hello!* are both British celebrity magazines that became popular in the United States. *OK!* was originally launched as a monthly in 1993 by Northern and Shell, and went weekly in 1996. In 2005, a U.S. version was launched. *Hello!* was launched in 1988 by Spanish publisher Eduardo Sanchez Junco. *Star* magazine is published by American Media, Inc. and was transformed from tabloid to glossy magazine in 2004. The content found in these magazines looks remarkably similar. Oftentimes, a week's issues of competing magazines will contain the same or very similar photographs and feature stories, almost as if these rival magazines' pages were interchangeable. The subjects of these celebrity magazines' stories and photographs are ordinarily stars' budding romances, break-ups, wardrobe choices, scuttles with rivals, outings with their children, multi-million dollar home purchases and sales, vacations, sightings on-location at movie shoots, arrests, and other heart-warming, tragic, and embarrassing moments. Articles in these magazines are usually no longer than two pages, and sometimes as short as a few paragraphs. The focus is as much on the photographs as it is on the text. Examples of these magazine features are *Us Weekly*'s "Just like us," which provides photographs of celebrities captured doing everyday things that the average person might do (such as riding bikes or getting coffee at Starbucks), "Who wore it best?," a side-by-side comparison of celebrities photographed in the same outfit, and "Red carpet style," another comparison of celebrity fashions worn at premiere events.

People magazine, a Time Inc. publication, started in 1974 as a spin-off from the "People" page in *Time* magazine and began as a human interest magazine, but by the 1990s it was largely focused on celebrity content. By 2007, it had an average circulation of over 3.6 million. *People* contains features such as "Star Tracks," brief updates on where celebrities have been seen out and about or en route to an event; "Style Watch," a feature similar to "Who wore it best?" and "Red carpet style"; and "Passages," a section containing brief updates on marriages, divorces, births, deaths, and legal matters of celebrities.

In addition to subscriptions, these half dozen titles are sold at newsstands for between three and five dollars. In a highly competitive marketplace, Bauer Publishing had offered *In Touch* and *Life & Style* to consumers for $1.99, a dollar less than competitor *Us Weekly,* which sold for $2.99 a copy, and two dollars less than *People* which sold for $3.99 a copy, until late 2007, when the price increased to match that of *Us Weekly*. Ninety-eight percent of copies sold each week of *In Touch* and *Life & Style* are purchased at the newsstand.

Through 2007, celebrity magazine titles continued to set the sales standard for the industry. Six titles—*People, Us, In Touch, Star, Life & Style* and *Ok!* (which represent 27 percent of industry sales revenue)—experienced a rise in unit sales and revenue gained. As of 2000, celebrity gossip was one of the fastest-growing sectors of the magazine world, but by 2008, celebrity gossip magazines suffered downturns. Publishers say that in economic downturns, magazines offer cheap luxury, but that conventional wisdom was not greatly evident in 2007–08.

Today's magazines bear some resemblance to the movie and radio fan magazines of the 1930s and 1940s. The rise of the fan magazine phenomenon coincided with the rise of the Hollywood star system but fan magazines were most widely distributed in the heydays of the studio system, that is, from 1920 to 1950. The first issue of the first magazine, *The Motion Picture Story Magazine,* came out in February 1911, and the most popular fan magazine, *Photoplay,* claimed in 1922 that it had about 2 million readers. These publications functioned often as the voice of the studios' public relations people, though they were not published by the studios' PR departments.

Like the celebrity magazines of today, an important part of the content of fan magazines of the 1930s through the 1950s were articles about the lives of the stars outside the studios and various gossip columns containing rumors and details about their private lives. Second, and almost as important, the magazines included extensively illustrated fashion articles, connecting films and filmstars with the female readers. Either the female stars posed in the dresses they had worn or were about to wear in their newest film, or they posed in their "private" wardrobe, thus illustrating the latest fashions. In addition to the glamorous photographs, the readers could obtain information on how to make the clothes themselves or where to buy patterns to sew dresses that looked like the ones worn by the stars—on and off screen.

Just like today's celebrity magazines, fan magazines of the 1930s through 1950s functioned as mediators between Hollywood and the cinema audience. They built up interest in advance for new films to be released and they helped maintain film fandom.

Paparazzi and Celebrity Photos

Celebrity and fan magazines fill their pages with photographs of celebrity subjects. The popular interest in celebrities that these magazines cater to and perpetuate has given rise to paparazzi. Paparazzi are photographers who chase celebrities, public figures, and their families for the opportunity to photograph them in candid moments. The term *paparazzi* was coined in 1961, from the Italian word (actually *paparazzo*), which was the surname of the freelance photographer in Federico Fellini's 1959 film *La Dolce Vita*. As cultures' interest in celebrity photos grows, so do the prices magazines will pay paparazzi for the photos, and the risks paparazzi will take to obtain them. In 2000, paparazzi infamously flew over the backyard wedding of Jennifer Aniston and Brad Pitt in helicopters in attempts to snap aerial photos of the nuptials, while wedding guests had been asked to sign "no photographs" contracts.

Sometimes, celebrities go to great lengths to evade the paparazzi. On occasion, to preempt the paparazzi frenzy that is expected upon a celebrity's major life event, such as a wedding or birth of a child, celebrities will enter into agreements of sale with celebrity magazines to provide them exclusive photographs of their private life events at enormous prices. Many ethical, legal, and privacy issues arise out of this business.

Legal Issues

When violations of exclusive photo or story deals between celebrities and fan magazines occur, or when celebrities believe a fan magazine is guilty of libel, lawsuits often result. Since celebrities are public figures, and magazines are usually able to provide a source for the claims made in their stories, allegations of libel are difficult to prove. In order for a celebrity's claim against a magazine to be successful, it must be proved that the publication acted with actual malice, that is, with knowledge that what it was publishing was false or with reckless disregard to whether it was false or not. The actual-malice standard does not require any ill will on the part of the defendant. Rather, it merely requires the defendant to be aware that the statement is false or very likely false. Reckless disregard is present if the plaintiff can show that the defendant had "serious doubts as to the truth of [the] publication." On occasion, celebrities and paparazzi have filed suits against each other for assault, endangerment, or trespassing.

Legally, in order to take a photo of a celebrity without his or her consent, paparazzi must get the celebrity out in public, away from a private residence or business. If the star is in a private area, the photo must be taken discreetly from a distance and with the photographer standing on public land. In more extreme cases, some paparazzi have taken photographs from rooftops or tree tops

using special camera lenses. They have shot private events from helicopters or boats. In some cases, if the event is in a private building, paparazzi have staged fire alarms or bomb threats to cause its evacuation, forcing their subjects onto the streets. In 2008, members of the paparazzi reported a fake fire at actress Maggie Gyllenhaal's apartment block—just so the new mom would come out into the street with her baby. These tactics are not legal, but with the lucrative nature of the business, legal expenses have become part of operating costs for paparazzi and media organizations that buy their images, and have contributed significantly to the high price tag on such photographs.

Specific anti-paparazzi legislation has been enacted in several countries. France has very strict anti-paparazzi legislation. In the United States, California passed anti-paparazzi legislation after the 1997 death of Princess Diana in a car crash in Paris, which many critics blamed on the extreme tactics used by French paparazzi. That event caused many governments to reexamine their paparazzi laws. The controversy surrounding anti-paparazzi legislation is the question of where to draw the line between legitimate news gathering and invasions of privacy.

Celebrities have used traditional legal protections in response to claims of abuse by the media. For example, in 1999, two photographers were convicted and received fines and jail times for following and blocking a car driven by Arnold Schwarzeneggar in which his wife and at least one of his children were passengers. A freelance journalist who taped a phone call from Nicole Kidman to her husband, actor Tom Cruise, and then sold it to a tabloid newspaper pleaded guilty to a federal wire-tapping charge and was sentenced to six months in a halfway house, fined, and ordered to do community service.

But after the death of Princess Diana in 1997, and as a result of lobbying by a coalition of celebrities, the Screen Actors Guild, and victims' rights groups, four separate anti-paparazzi bills were introduced into Congress in 1998. Although the federal bills died in Congress, the nation's first anti-paparazzi law went into effect in California on January 1, 1999, creating tort liability for "physical" and "constructive" invasions of privacy through photographing, videotaping, or recording a person engaging in a "personal or familial activity." Under the statute, a person may sue for "physical invasion of privacy" when three elements are met: first, a person has knowingly entered the property of another without permission; second, the entry was made with the "intent to capture any type of visual image, sound recording, or other physical impression" of another person engaging in a "personal or familial activity"; and third, the invasion was made "in a manner that is offensive to a reasonable person."

According to communications law attorney Randall Boese, the new legislation may not withstand constitutional scrutiny over time, and could lead to a chilling effect in photojournalism. In the meantime, "substantial litigation should be expected to sort out the hornet's nest of potential legal issues."

Conclusion

Celebrities are easily identifiable at events in their public and private lives, and thus become the targets of paparazzi chases and the subjects of water cooler conversation. The details of their professional and personal lives become the subjects of news. Their pictures and stories appear in the latest issues of celebrity and fan magazines, which in turn helps to perpetuate the larger celebrity culture. Within journalism, celebrity and fan magazines are often considered far less legitimate and prestigious than news and public affairs publications because they are produced for vicarious leisure enjoyment and consumption and employ different standards and tactics for information gathering, but they are a very profitable business. They may also serve to boost, maintain, or undermine the star status of the celebrities they cover.

Kimberly Meltzer

See also Entertainment Journalism; Hard Versus Soft News; Infotainment; Tabloid Newspapers; Tabloid Television

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Censorship

Censorship as defined in the United States refers to the government's prior restriction, limitation, or filtering of information or ideas in speech and various forms of mass media, such as newspapers and broadcasting and other electronic media, most recently including the Internet. Historically, censorship has been a valuable tool for repressive forms of totalitarian government that do not value or allow freedom of speech, expression, or religion, let alone free news media. Under such conditions, draconian censorship often follows a desire to control the public. For example, a government official or agency may have responsibility for reviewing and altering media content prior to publication. In the common law English tradition of making law through judicial decisions, as well as the United States constitutional First Amendment framework, freedom of expression typically begins with the ideal that there shall be no prior restraint on speech or press, but transgressions—such as defamation of character—may be subject to subsequent punishment. English jurist William Blackstone summarized the law in his *Commentaries on the Law of England* (1769), which received wide attention in colonial America.

Basic Concepts

Censorship is traditionally of two types. *Prior restraint*—the prevention of an idea being expressed—is the most typical, but *post-publication punishment* can have the same essential "chilling" effect on the free expression of ideas. Because of the wording of the First Amendment (1791) to the U.S. Constitution ("Congress shall make no law. . ."), in the American legal system censorship nearly always means *government,* not private, actions taken to limit expression.

The classic faith in a marketplace of ideas began with English poet and essayist John Milton's view in *Areopagitica* (1644), which favored a test of competing ideas: "Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and Falsehood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?" In essence, Milton's theory is that an open marketplace of ideas, including false ones, favors a steady movement toward correction over time.

In this vein, Blackstone's *Commentaries* summarized common law precedent through cases of an opposition to prior restraints, which are considered government actions that hinder communication by stopping it before publication: "Every freeman has an undoubted right to lay what sentiments he pleases before the public . . . but if he publishes what is improper, mischievous, or illegal, he must take the consequences for his own temerity." The founding of the United States brought over time a series of legislative tendencies, particularly in time of war, toward enacting restrictions on free expression, mostly subsequent punishments

rather than prior restraints, and this was supported by decisions of various courts. Restriction of free expression also has been rationalized on the basis of morality under the guise of protection of communities from obscenity, which has no legal protection.

Modern First Amendment cases may be guided by any number of legal tests. A common law approach adopted by early-twentieth-century courts was to allow subsequent punishment of any speech that had a bad tendency. *Patterson v. Colorado* (1907), for example, upheld criminal libel laws that limited press attacks on government that might incite public disturbances. A few years later, the U.S. Supreme Court in *Schenck v. United States* (1919) offered what amounted to a "clear and present danger" test—one that suggested restricting only that speech that presented a serious and immediate danger to public safety. The Court also has attempted a "balancing" approach to, for example, weigh the rights of adults to access media against the need to protect children.

For those wishing to truly protect First Amendment rights, a strict scrutiny approach—one in which the burden falls to the government to show a compelling reason for the regulation—works best. Under such a test, "narrowly tailored" restrictions may be upheld, as in *Board of Trustees of State of N.Y. v. Fox* (1989).

The scrutiny approach was perhaps most helpfully defined in what has been labeled intermediate scrutiny in the *O'Brien* (1967) case. Scrutiny would require a court to ask four pivotal questions about any attempt to limit media news coverage:

1. Is the government regulation within its constitutional power?
2. Does the regulation further an important or substantial government interest?
3. Is the interest unrelated to the suppression of free expression?
4. Is the incidental restriction of free expression no greater than is essential to the furtherance of the stated government interest?

Use of this four-part test means that it is very difficult for the government to justify restricting speech. Therefore, a court could only uphold those government restrictions that are not targeted at stopping speech. For example, it would be legal to speak out against a war but not violate laws aimed at preventing obstruction of it. Further, any law under this analysis would need to be limited to its goals and no broader than needed to further them.

Censoring the Movies

For much of the twentieth century, for example, numerous states and communities employed censors to review movies before allowing them to be shown in a theatre. In *Times Film Corp. v. Chicago* (1961), the U.S. Supreme Court refused to overturn a municipal code that required submission of all motion pictures for review before public showing. The Chicago board during the late 1950s would not issue a permit for the film *Don Juan* without prior examination by censors. While motion pictures have long been included "within the free speech and free press guaranty of the First and Fourteenth Amendments," as stated in *Joseph Burstyn, Inc., v. Wilson* in 1952, the *Times Film Corp.* court ruled that "[i]t is not for this Court to limit the State in its selection of the remedy it deems most effective to cope with such a problem, absent, of course, a showing of unreasonable strictures on individual liberty resulting from its application in particular circumstances." The split decision left Chief Justice Earl Warren writing for four dissenters: "To me, this case clearly presents the question of our approval of unlimited censorship of motion pictures before exhibition through a system of administrative licensing." In *Freedman v. Maryland* (1965), the Court struck down state law requiring unconstitutional submission of films to a government review board before showing them. The film board era in many states ended soon after and was replaced in 1968 by a voluntary Motion Picture Association of America rating system. From this point forward, prosecutors used criminal obscenity laws to charge people selling or showing obscene media content.

Despite the First Amendment's stricture that "Congress shall make no law," the Supreme Court has never found freedom of speech to be absolute. The classic expression about prior restraint came in *Near v. Minnesota* (1931), when the Court upheld the common law conclusion of Blackstone that generally there shall be no prior restraints on

publication. However, the Court recognized what it termed "exceptional cases": the need to protect fighting forces when a nation is at war, "the primary requirements of decency" to restrict obscene publications, and "security of the community life" from "acts of violence" all allow for government intervention. Likewise, in *Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire* (1942), a statute was upheld that read, "No person shall address any offensive, derisive or annoying word to any other person who is lawfully in any street or other public place, nor call him by any offensive or derisive name, nor make any noise or exclamation in his presence and hearing with intent to deride, offend or annoy him, or to prevent him from pursuing his lawful business or occupation." The court concluded that "[t]here are certain well-defined and narrowly limited classes of speech, the prevention and punishment of which have never been thought to raise any Constitutional problem: These include the lewd and obscene, the profane, the libelous, and the insulting or 'fighting' words—those which by their very utterance inflict injury or tend to incite an immediate breach of the peace." Thus, near the Rochester City Hall, the case determined that it was unlawful to say the following offending words in the face of another: "You are a God damned racketeer" and "a damned Fascist and the whole government of Rochester are Fascists or agents of Fascists."

Journalism, Access, and Censorship

Censorship frequently is a problem for journalists attempting to aggressively report news. The watchdog model of press coverage may place reporters in an adversarial stance with their sources in government. State public record laws and the federal Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) provide journalists (and others) with mechanisms for seeking and obtaining the records vital to much investigative journalism. Typically, such laws establish a time frame and reasonable costs for copying documents. However, material that is classified for national security reasons, personnel records, and other internal agency working documents are among the several exceptions to public records laws.

News reporters also need access to public meetings in order to be the eyes and ears of the general public. Open meetings laws, sometimes called "sunshine laws," seek to keep public officials from conducting their business in secret. State public meetings laws generally require elected public officials conducting official business to vote and take other action in open meetings available to the public and press.

Reporters sometimes grant people who serve as sources of information a promise of confidentiality because public employees may lose their jobs for leaking information to the press. "Whistleblower" laws may protect those who disclose illegal, immoral, or inefficient government practices. At the same time, reporters in some states are protected by shield laws that grant at least a qualified right to protect news sources from court subpoena. At the federal level, bills in 2007–08 failed to receive approval that would protect reporters refusing to disclose a confidential source. Courts have concluded that reporter privilege, or a right to protect sources, is qualified and not absolute. In *Branzburg v. Hayes* (1972), the Supreme Court ruled that the First Amendment does not protect journalists from appearing before a grand jury to provide secret testimony. Some news reporters have gone to jail when refusing to break a promise of confidentiality to an anonymous source when asked to do so by a judge or grand jury. Judith Miller, as a reporter for *The New York Times,* spent more than 80 days in jail in 2005 for refusing to disclose a source. Law enforcement, too, may seek to compel journalists to provide information during the course of a criminal investigation. In 2006–07, for example, blogger Joshua Wolf spent a record 226 days jailed for refusing to give a federal grand jury in California videotapes he had recorded during a demonstration in 2005 in San Francisco.

Another area of concern is the courtroom. The right of a free press (the First Amendment) must be balanced against the right of a defendant to have a "speedy and public" trial (Sixth Amendment). Judges have sought to close courtrooms or issue gag orders to silence the press during the pretrial phase of a sensational case. However, the Supreme Court spoke plainly in the *Nebraska Press Assn. v. Stuart* (1976) case: "A prior restraint . . . has an immediate and irreversible sanction. If it can be said that a threat of criminal or civil sanctions after publication 'chills' speech, prior restraint 'freezes' it at least for the time."

While most state and local courtrooms in America are now open to both broadcast and print journalists, broadcasters are barred from using audio and video equipment in federal court. Laws vary from state to state, and they frequently allow a trial court judge to decide whether or not broadcasting will be disruptive to the fair administration of justice.

Broadcasting and Scarcity

In broadcasting, stations are licensed by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to serve in what the 1934 Communications Act calls "the public interest, convenience or necessity." To the extent that common law cases eventually shunned the notion of licensing (e.g., printers in England), broadcast regulation was a departure from the principle that licensing can be viewed as a mechanism of censorship and a vehicle for enforcing prior restraints. Section 326 prohibits censorship of broadcasters, but the licensing process may be seen as a restriction.

In *NBC v. United States* (1943), the Supreme Court treated broadcasting as a medium that uses the scarce spectrum resource as having a fiduciary responsibility to serve the public interest:

> The licensee has the duty of determining what programs shall be broadcast over his station's facilities, and cannot lawfully delegate this duty or transfer the control of his station directly to the network or indirectly to an advertising agency. He cannot lawfully bind himself to accept programs in every case . . . The licensee is obliged to reserve to himself the final decision as to what programs will best serve the public interest. We conclude that a licensee is not fulfilling his obligations to operate in the public interest, and is not operating in accordance with the express requirements of the Communications Act, if he agrees to accept programs on any basis other than his own reasonable decision that the programs are satisfactory.

The scarcity rationale persisted. In *Red Lion v. FCC* (1969), the Supreme Court built upon *NBC* and effectively limited broadcast speech to those with a license to serve public interest:

> Because of the scarcity of radio frequencies, the Government is permitted to put restraints on licensees in favor of others whose views should be expressed on this unique medium. But the people as a whole retain their interest in free speech by radio and their collective right to have the medium function consistently with the ends and purposes of the First Amendment. It is the right of the viewers and listeners, not the right of the broadcasters, which is paramount.

Despite the fact that broadcasting became a primary vehicle for otherwise-protected political speech, (1) those broadcasting without a license could be prosecuted as "pirates," and (2) licensees were obligated to follow FCC rules and regulations.

Broadcasters argued in the 1960s that they had been relegated to second-class status with respect to First Amendment protections. The Radio-Television News Directors Association consistently argued that the chilling effect of, for example, requiring program balance through the Fairness Doctrine was in effective prior restraint. The doctrine required broadcasters to (1) air coverage of controversial issues of public importance; and (2) offer significant contrasting viewpoints of these issues. Eventually, the courts concluded that the doctrine had been developed by the FCC in 1949, and even though Congress (though not the president) supported retaining it, the FCC had the legal authority to discontinue it in 1987. Congress twice attempted to reinstate it, but both times President Ronald Reagan and then President George H. W. Bush refused to sign legislation. The change opened radio airwaves to strident political (largely right-wing) advocates, such as Rush Limbaugh. Balance was replaced by advocacy, as the radio marketplace sold swaths of time for those willing to pay to present their views. Despite this, broadcasting remained a licensed medium.

Obscenity and Indecency

While journalism only rarely approaches questions of obscene or indecent content, it does happen. In the *Miller v. California* (1973) case, the Court's decision offered a three-part test to identify obscenity (which is unprotected by the First Amendment) from indecency (which is): (1) whether the average

person, applying contemporary community standards, would find the work, taken as a whole, appeals to prurient interests; (2) whether the work depicts or describes, in a patently offensive way, sexual conduct specifically defined by applicable state law; and (3) whether the work, taken as a whole, lacks serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value. A positive finding on all three points defines the obscene. It falls to juries to decide whether the material appeals to "prurient interests" based upon community standards. Patent offensiveness is a question of specific state law. *Miller* affords protection to sexually oriented material if it has some degree of serious value. Print media have been granted greater freedom to publish sexual content, as they are easiest to keep from children through local zoning regulation.

Within obscenity law, child pornography is a special class. *New York v. Ferber* (1982) provided a compelling government interest in protecting minors from any form of exploitation. Nevertheless, *Ashcroft v. Free Speech Coalition* (2002) rejected the Child Pornography Prevention Act of 1996 as an unconstitutional burden on free speech.

One of the clearest divisions between speech limited on broadcast channels and that allowed on subscription services (such as cable or DBS channels) and the Internet is indecent material, which the FCC and Congress have agreed to restrict to a "safe harbor" defined as the hours of 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. on radio and television stations.

In *FCC v. Pacifica Foundation* (1978), the Supreme Court upheld the FCC's enforcement of 18 U.S.C. 1464, which prohibits indecency over the air. When a New York City radio station aired comedian George Carlin's monologue that included "seven words one could not say on television," the FCC took note of the violation of its rules. The Carlin monologue, which was reproduced in the appendix of the case, expressed the forbidden words multiple times.

On appeal, the Supreme Court agreed with the FCC that censoring indecency from the air did not run afoul of First Amendment guarantees, as such speech was allowed during late night hours when a child was less likely to be listening. Nevertheless, Justice William Brennan, one of four dissenters in the case and a First Amendment purist, found such FCC regulation to have crossed the line into unconstitutional government censorship of speech.

Justice Brennan accurately predicted the battle lines drawn over the next three decades, as the FCC later challenged some broadcast "shock jock" programming, such as that of Howard Stern and "Bubba the Love Sponge," both of whom would be eventually removed from broadcasting and shifted to subscription satellite radio, which is far less regulated. Eventually, the FCC extended its regulatory sweep to punish "fleeting expletives"—profanity blurted during a live broadcast (though a federal appeals court forced a review by the Supreme Court). Much of the FCC attention to such programs, in the view of many analysts, appeared to be driven by socially conservative activist mass letter and email campaigns that put pressure on the agency to "clean up" the airwaves.

The FCC has long restricted indecent speech to a late evening hours "safe harbor" when children are less likely to be present in the audience. Broadcast indecency, which blurs the definition between indecent and obscene, is defined (as upheld in the *Pacifica* case) as sexual or excretory activities or organs in material that panders or titillates without broader social or political value. Whether something is indecent or obscene is determined by context, however, thus making each situation unique.

The FCC applies a national contemporary community standard for the broadcast medium. Generally, cable and satellite services have been held by the courts to be largely free from indecency regulation and thus have more program freedom than their broadcast brethren because people must choose to subscribe to and pay for the service.

As it had before (with film and then video tape), technology intervened. The Internet offered a global distribution, network for media content determined to be obscene under the law to become the first profitable online industry—pornography. In the absence of international obscenity laws, national laws are designed to curb or prohibit the production, distribution, and sale of sexual materials. Current enforcement typically includes attempts to identify sexual predators in the online environment and prosecute them. For example, the U.S. Justice Department in 2006 sought but failed to obtain a judicial order against the search engine Google to turn over records on millions of users' searches as part of a government effort to uphold online obscenity law.

Political Speech

Political speech is at the core meaning of the First Amendment. The theory is that a society needs a free exchange of ideas and an unfettered press in order to make good political decisions elect the best representatives and allow democracy to function. Therefore, political speech has the highest level of protection under American law. In recent years, courts have granted broadening commercial speech (advertising) rights, but these are far less sweeping than judicial deference given to any speech found to have political value. In this context, courts apply a strict scrutiny test to governmental restriction targeted at speech. The burden in these cases falls to government to provide justification for limiting free expression. Even where there is a compelling government interest, such attacks on free speech must be supported as necessary, and they must be narrowly tailored to advance the interest. Even here, government may not exercise unconstitutional actions. However, restrictions that are found to be content neutral (i.e., not targeted at specific political messages) may find sympathy from the courts.

Repeatedly, American courts have protected political speech as central to democratic freedom and self-government. Legal theorist Thomas Emerson (1970) offered the strongest theoretical arguments for defending a robust set of First Amendment rights: free speech allows for discovery of truth needed for democratic decisions by serving as a check on excessive government power; free speech increases political stability by offering a safety valve to relieve pressure that builds in a society; and it promotes slower and less traumatic social change. Emerson's summary concludes that free speech allows for the fulfillment of individual enrichment, encouragement of the human spirit, and a greater understanding of humanity. In practice, government today is less engaged in playing the role of censor than are global media corporations, which do so through self-censorship within the context of program decision-making.

The American Library Association (ALA) links censorship to the degree of intellectual freedom in a society. ALA views censorship of all forms of "expressive materials," such as books, videos, or other art, as taking place when these are "removed or kept from public access." Censorship typically begins with an individual, group, or organization raising public concerns about specific media content. These complaints tend to be made to government officials. Often, the objectionable content has a literary or artistic nature. The National Coalition Against Censorship (NCAC) aligns dozens of groups seeking to "educate our own members and the public at large about the dangers of censorship and how to oppose them."

Libel as Censorship

In *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan* (1964), the court made a landmark decision protecting the media's right to criticize the performance of public officials by requiring any such person to prove "actual malice" on the part of media in the publication of a negative report about that official. Failing this high bar, negative media comment stands and is protected. In the case, the context of a 1960 advertisement protesting the treatment of civil rights activists was found not to libel an Alabama public safety official who had brought a suit for libel:

> Thus, we consider this case against the background of a profound national commitment to the principle that debate on public issues should be uninhibited, robust, and wide-open, and that it may well include vehement, caustic, and sometimes unpleasantly sharp attacks on government and public officials.

The *Sullivan* court went so far as to quote James Madison from *Elliot's Debates on the Federal Constitution 4* (1876): "Some degree of abuse is inseparable from the proper use of every thing, and in no instance is this more true than in that of the press."

In the Internet age, the Telecommunications Act of 1996 and the *Reno v. ACLU* (1997) case have been used to protect Internet service providers (ISPs) as well as websites by treating them as publishers. In *Zeran v. America Online* (1997) a federal court limited liability in a libel case. In *Blumenthal v. Drudge* (1998) America Online was protected against a separate libel suit brought by a former aide of President Bill Clinton (1993–2001) against the online gossip website the Drudge Report.

Censorship of media messages has been a constant ever since the freedom to publish and speak began broadening several hundred years ago with case law in England through common law evolution and was carried to the colonies and ultimately enshrined in the First Amendment. The Internet is perhaps the most revolutionary development since the invention of the printing press to empower people, especially those outside elite centers of political and economic power, to use free speech and press as a challenge to the status quo. Thus, government censorship activities may be predicted to extend beyond the press to average citizens disseminating media content.

Jeremy Harris Lipschultz

See also Federal Communications Commission (FCC); First Amendment; Freedom of Information Act (FOIA); Free Press and Fair Trial; Gag Orders; Indecency and Obscenity; Libel; Privacy; Secrecy and Leaks; Shield Law; Supreme Court and Journalism

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Central America and the Caribbean

The seven countries of Central America and the many more (often tiny) island nations in the Caribbean region demonstrate news media systems that are more alike than different. Most of them rely on commercial advertising (as well as publication of government information) for their financial support. The ownership of many newspapers and some broadcast outlets is closely allied with the moneyed business elites of each country.

Central America

Several of the nations between Mexico on the north and Colombia to the south were the scene of considerable civil war violence in the 1980s and early 1990s. Their media employees suffered accordingly and violence against reporters rose to dangerous levels for years. So did attempts by government to control what news media provided to their audiences.

Media in Central America generally share several characteristics. While most of the countries' constitutions call for freedom of the press, practice in fact varies widely. The defining media factor in all of Central America is politics even though the vast majority of both print and broadcast media outlets are privately owned. Newspapers are often closely allied with one political faction or another. In some countries, the government controls a radio or television station, one that usually operates in parallel with commercial competitors. Virtually all media depend on advertising, including the paid placement of government notices, the latter providing governments with considerable persuasive power over media operations.

Being a journalist in the region can be a dangerous profession, as attacks on and even killing of journalists, while less prevalent than in the 1980s and 1990s, continue. Furthermore, journalists are nearly always poorly paid, which can lead to corruption as they seek income from other sources. Some countries require journalists to be registered with the national journalist's organizations, and sometimes to hold a journalism degree and some years of experience (though these rules are seldom enforced).

Radio is by far the most important news medium in the region as it is readily accessible—especially useful when literacy levels are low—and can be tuned with widely available and inexpensive receivers. Television is on the rise as an important news medium. The Internet is available at least in the capital city of each country and is rarely controlled by the government, partially because penetration rates remain relatively low.

Belize

Once the colony of British Honduras, this small coastal nation of a quarter-million people became independent in 1981. There are no daily English-language newspapers (though there are several weeklies), and eight television and 33 radio stations operating commercially. Much of the press is closely identified with political parties. The largely English-speaking country generally enjoys news media freedom and that extends to the Internet.

Costa Rica

The first press began operating as early as 1641, though the first newspaper did not appear until 1829, eight years after independence. A tradition of small land owners rather than huge plantations is one reason social groups have interacted more peacefully here than elsewhere in the region. Thanks to the resulting political tradition of compromise and discussion, news media freedom has enjoyed a long history here, the first such law dating to 1835.

The country of nearly 4 million people enjoys one of the most open media systems in the region, including a half dozen tabloid-format dailies. The country's oldest newspaper, *La Prensa Libre,* dates to 1889 and has avoided strong party ties or extreme views. The conservative *La Nación* is the most popular paper, with a circulation of better than 110,000. But illiteracy and poverty still limit newspaper development. Six television stations and more than 100 radio outlets share a fairly rich advertising market and radio is the vital news medium for the nation, with television gaining fast. Most modern media are based in the capital of San Jose and their ownership is concentrated—and generally politically conservative.

El Salvador

Coffee exports are the economic basis of this troubled and sometimes violent country. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a tightly knit oligarchy controlled the business, worked with a series of military governments, and did not support a free press that might threaten their dominance. The handful of newspapers were little more than the propagandistic voice of the military regime of the moment or the coffee oligarchs' conservative party. In part to limit government censorship, most news was limited to social or commercial stories. Things began to change in the 1980s during the civil war (1979–91). Newspapers are now generally free to report, though conservative self-censorship still applies to both print and broadcast media.

This nation of 6.3 million now has five newspapers (the major ones still conservative in tone) and eight television stations (two government operated that offer educational programs). Radio is the primary news medium; there are about 170 AM and FM radio outlets (only one is government operated). Indeed, radio is often aggressive in its reporting. This was especially true of the underground radio stations that operated during the civil war and then became licensed operations in the 1990s. Probably 70 percent of the population obtain their news from radio.

Guatemala

The first newspaper appeared here in 1729 (it was only the second newspaper in the Western Hemisphere). It was closely tied to the political and Catholic leadership of the Spanish colonial regime. The country achieved independence in 1821 but the handful of newspapers remained a

service by and for the country's small economic elite. Now the oldest surviving paper in all of Central America, *Diario de America Central* first appeared in 1880. *La Hora* is the oldest one still publishing. More appeared in the relatively open political regime of the 1940s, only to be stifled under repression a decade later.

Now the most populous nation in the region with 13 million, and one whose bitter guerilla war ended in 1996, Guatemala has seven active Spanish-language dailies appealing largely to the commercial and political elites of the nation, though perhaps 40 percent of the population is Mayan and does not speak the official language. *Prensa Libre* has the largest circulation (about 120,000). There are 26 television stations (which are steadily increasing their share of the advertising revenue pie) and no less than 630 radio outlets (many are merely repeater transmitters), though only a few of the latter cater to the large Mayan minority, in part because frequencies were auctioned to the highest bidder. Government control of broadcast media (especially television) is tighter than that of the printed press. Internet use is expanding and the newspapers all have a web presence.

Honduras

For much of the twentieth century, the Honduras's American United Fruit Company was a dominant business and political power, the latter based on providing some 90 percent of all tax revenues in the 1950s. Military juntas came and went.

The country's 6.5 million people are served by nine dailies (with small circulations due to poverty and illiteracy), six television stations, and five radio services (with some 300 stations), one of them government-operated. Most media are centered in Tegucigalpa. As in neighboring nations, media are largely privately owned and conservative, allied closely with business elites and political parties. While there is considerable press freedom on paper—in the constitution and resulting laws–freedom is often curtailed in practice. There is a tradition of bribery in journalism here and the government can punish transgressing media by withholding publication of official information. Investigative reporting is not common though when it appears, it is usually about noncontroversial topics.

Nicaragua

For four decades (1920s to 1960s) the country was dominated by the Somoza family (which took over after two decades of American military occupation), which dominated the National Guard, followed by years of mismanagement under the Sandanista regime. With a population of over 5 million, Nicaragua enjoys the largest geographic area in Central America, but the considerable political unrest and civil war makes it the poorest save for Haiti.

Newspapers, three of them dailies, are heavily political, controlled by largely conservative owners. Their circulations are small given the high degree of illiteracy, but they speak for the cultural and political elites. There are ten television stations (the first aired in 1955), but only two VHF channels are important as the remainder on UHF have only small audiences. All are based in Managua. Given the medium's 70 percent penetration, television is close to becoming the primary news source. The nearly 140 radio outlets, many organized into networks, and some of them religious broadcasters, are more evenly spread about the country. But there are too many for the limited (and shrinking) amount of advertising they must share. Government advertising is a prime source of financial support for all media—and can be withheld to punish media with whom the resident government is not pleased. There has been some debate, primarily within the country's legislature, about a law to require all journalists to register, as well as journalist concern about low rates of pay.

Panama

With American support (because the United States wanted to build a canal across the isthmus), Panama broke away from Colombia in 1902. After years of American effort, the Panama Canal opened on the eve of World War I (1914) operated by the United States, which retained control of the Canal Zone until 1999. English newspapers served the colonial population. The "twenty families," the wealthy oligarchs that control the economic and social—and thus political—life of the country, formed a conservative oligarchy that, though often polarized, controlled the rest of the country through years of military dictatorships, coups, and counter-coups, all reflected to some degree in the country's media.

Today, Panama's nearly 3 million people depend heavily on the busy (and expanding) Canal for national revenues. Six daily papers are based in Panama City. *La Prensa* is the most important and for many years it enjoyed a diversified ownership. The state owns one television station, but the rest (more than 30) are in private hands. This includes all radio outlets, which, due to limited advertising, have dropped by half to something over 100. While radio is the most important news medium here as elsewhere in the region, television penetration exceeds 70 percent and is more important than elsewhere. Despite laws suggesting press freedom, "gag" orders are a common way for government to stifle its critics. Libel laws are another, though prosecutions are often settled with fines rather than imprisonment.

Caribbean Area

Media across the Caribbean area are more varied than those of Central America, in part because of varied colonial heritage. There are countries with strong Spanish, French (in one case Dutch), or English backgrounds, and language and media often reflect that. Economic conditions vary just as widely, with some nations building on a rising tourist or off-shore banking trade, while others remain mired in poverty. Cuba is an exception to most generalizations due to its long dominance by the Castro regime.

Bahamas

A former British colony, this country made up of 700 islands not far off the Florida coast has a population of over 300,000. Tourism (especially from visiting cruise ships) and offshore banking keep the economy humming and help support a vibrant media scene. Two major daily newspapers publish in Nassau and there are several smaller daily or weekly papers. There is but one television station and six radio outlets. The television station is run by the government broadcast service, which also has a radio channel—other media are privately owned. There is some tension between government politicians and the media, but little overt harassment of the latter by the former.

Cuba

Cuba's first newspaper was published in 1782. When the longtime Spanish colony achieved independence in 1902 (aided considerably by the Spanish-American War of 1898, which had been pushed, in turn, by the journalistic sensationalism of American publishers Hearst and Pulitzer), the press began to prosper and Havana was soon home to about a dozen freewheeling dailies. The first radio station aired in October 1922, and the first television station in October 1950 (only the third one in all of Latin America, after stations in Mexico and Brazil). Eventually more than 150 radio stations and nearly 30 television channels—virtually all privately owned—operated under various political regimes that were built on an economy of sugar plantations and American tourism. Cuban media were heavily modeled on those of the United States, and thus were entertainment-based and sought the largest possible audiences to serve their advertiser supporters.

When Fidel Castro's long rebellion proved successful at the start of 1959, however, it marked a dramatic turning point, the beginning of an era of close government control of both press and broadcast news media. Press harassment began within months of the Castro takeover, and within a year or so, all of the once private media had been taken over by the state. For the next several decades, Cuban media operated under tight government control—a situation that extended into the early twenty-first century.

Three dailies serve the entire island, one of them, *Granma,* the official Communist Party paper founded in 1965, with a circulation approaching 700,000. It is by far the largest newspaper in the Central America/Caribbean area and is also available in several languages on the Internet. Government funding underwrites its cost and that of most other Cuban media. Attempts at creating independent newspapers have been either closely controlled or harshly repressed. Control is as tight of the five national radio services and more than 220 regional radio stations, and about a dozen television outlets. There are few specific laws or regulations of media control.

Cuba has also been the target of extensive propaganda efforts from the United States, some sponsored by the large Cuban exile population in

Miami, and others by the American government. Radio Martí and a later television service have since the 1980s sought to penetrate Cuban media control with news and entertainment, American style, with only minimal success due to Cuban jamming of their signals. Partially in response to these unwanted radio interlopers, the Cuban regime raised the power of many of its domestic stations to cause interference with American commercial stations. This "radio war" has now gone on for over 30 years.

Dominican Republic

Sharing the larger part of the island with Haiti, this former Spanish colony has a population of about 8.7 million. Five national dailies circulate from Santo Domingo. There is a government-run radio-television service plus an additional 300 radio and some 40 television stations, many quite small and regional in their appeal. While there are laws ensuring press freedom, violence against journalists took an upswing in the 2000s, limiting their flexibility.

Haiti

One of the poorest nations in the Western Hemisphere, this is a former French colony with a strong African cultural background based on slaves imported in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The country of 7 million has a long tradition of either government control or harassment of print and broadcast journalists, though attacks on reporters seemed to diminish in the latter part of the first decade of the twenty-first century. Six newspapers appear several days a week, all owned privately. There is a government television channel plus several privately owned outlets as well. Nearly 70 radio stations serve the country and with the television stations are the primary news media in a nation with substantial illiteracy.

Jamaica

Another former British colony, and now a nation of just under 3 million people, Jamaica enjoys substantial news media freedom. There are three national daily papers plus several local publications. Radio service began only early in World War II. A private company took over its operation in 1950, operating with revenue from commercial time sales. In 1953, Radio Jamaica became the first British Commonwealth country to broadcast regularly in FM radio. The government's broadcast service (Jamaican Broadcasting Corporation) was sold to private interests in 1997, though another was being formed (largely to present educational and cultural programming) a decade later. There are seven television and some 25 radio stations on the island.

Puerto Rico

The earliest newspaper on the island appeared in 1806 and appeared biweekly under the control of the Spanish governor. Many more appeared during the rest of the century, experiencing various degrees of colonial control. Now a commonwealth that has belonged to the United States for more than a century, the island of 4 million people is home to numerous Spanish- and English-language newspapers, but titles come and go. The first radio station aired in 1922 and television followed in 1954. There are more than 20 stations on the air, all regulated by the American Federal Communications Commission.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Development Journalism; Mexico; South America

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Chat Rooms

Chat rooms are an important means by which news audiences communicate online with journalists and other news producers. Chat rooms have proven to be an important source of information for breaking news and personal accounts related to sensitive topics. However, the use of chat rooms as journalistic sources can raise ethical questions related to privacy and anonymity.

Chat room is a term that generally describes an online discussion between two or more people in real time, which is called a synchronous environment. The discussion can take place via text alone, the most typical form of chat but also by voice. Some chat rooms incorporate video along with audio and text so users can see and hear each other. However, such chat rooms are far less popular than text-based chat and are typically used in specialized situations, such as business teleconferencing. Virtual worlds or immersive environments have elements of chat rooms because they are typically synchronous and text- or voice-based, although these virtual environments are often thought of as separate online experiences.

The synchronous aspect distinguishes chat rooms from many other online outlets for discourse, such as websites, discussion boards, and blogs, all of which are typically asynchronous. This synchronous nature of chat rooms tends to appeal to fewer users than asynchronous uses of the Internet because more people can readily read material in the days and weeks after it is posted. Even in chat rooms where conversations are archived (or "logged"), the number of users is usually smaller than discussion groups or blogs on similar topics. The definition of chat rooms has been expanded to include forms of instant messaging, which is also synchronous and can include more than one person, depending on the messaging software. The use of instant messaging has grown rapidly and is especially popular among teenagers and college students. A distinction can be drawn between instant messaging and chat rooms because of the directed nature of most instant messages, which are addressed to a specific and known receiver, whereas most chat rooms are open to a community of users.

Development

Chat rooms were one of the earlier uses of Internet technology because of the low bandwidth required to transmit text and the simplicity of the necessary software. Chat rooms using text-based interfaces were initially used in the early 1980s. With the introduction of graphical Internet browsers in the early 1990s, chat rooms became more easily available because the browser could open the chat window.

Chat rooms have been established for nearly any group one can imagine, usually people within an identifiable community, such as hobbyists, those within a particular geographical area or with similar political beliefs. Chat rooms have become valuable sources of entertainment and information for people looking for sports, health, or technical information. Users can play a variety of games, and chat rooms that focus on sexual content are very popular.

On some websites, the availability of chat rooms and archived chat room content is a major attraction. Chat rooms have been important to the development and financial survival of Internet service and content providers such as America Online, which rely on the attraction of the user-generated content of chat rooms to attract other users.

The Pew Internet & American Life Project reported that chat room usage as a percentage of adult Internet users peaked about 2000 when just over a quarter of adult Internet users reported they had used a chat room. Since that time the percentage of users has declined. This probably reflects greater usage of other online means of communication, such as instant messaging and blogs. Nonetheless, there remains a regular audience of chat room users within the context of specific websites and communities. The emergence of virtual environments offers a new version of chat rooms in a three-dimensional environment that typically utilizes avatars, which represent and are controlled by users. (An avatar is a graphical representation of a user, such as a three-dimensional cartoon figure.) These environments include online multiplayer games such as Everquest and World of Warcraft and immersive virtual worlds such as Second Life and There.com.

Chat Rooms and the Media

Traditional media outlets were slow to adopt many innovations in new communication technology, including interactive website features, blogs, and chat rooms. Even in the twenty-first century, few traditional media outlets use chat rooms online. Discussion forums and blogs (which are asynchronous) were more popular choices for the websites developed by traditional media. However, several websites operated by traditional media offer regular online chat forums where newsmakers or journalists answer questions from readers. These chats are nearly always moderated with a time limit and have been called "virtual auditoriums" rather than chat rooms. The content varies from the typical chat room because it is almost never a consistent back-and-forth between those engaged in the discussion but a more strictly controlled question-and-answer format. Nonetheless, these online chat forums have proven popular for several news media outlets (e.g., the website of *The Washington Post*).

Chat rooms have been an important outlet for information and discussion in early, breaking coverage of news events, despite the difficulty of positively identifying sources speaking in chat rooms or verifying the truthfulness of their information. Several observers have noted the heavy traffic in chat rooms and on chat room websites in the aftermath of major media events, such as the launching of the first Gulf War in 1990 or the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. Several scholars have pointed to the social reasons for these public discussions during times of stress, and journalists have used such occasions to observe and report on public sentiment.

Chat Rooms and Journalism

Chat rooms have been influential in the routines of news coverage and the relationships between journalists and news sources. Journalists sometimes use the unfiltered conversation of chat rooms as windows into the lives of others. A chat room can offer insights on a community of people and their everyday lives and ideas. Some journalists also use chat room postings as sources for story ideas or as a means to solicit feedback.

Chat rooms have also influenced the relationship between journalists and news consumers. Chat rooms provide a means for media audiences to communicate with news producers via new communication technology (along with blogs, e-mail, and discussion boards). These new means of audience feedback have altered the traditional one-way flow of communication in the mass media from the producer to the consumers. This one-way flow is also sometimes called the broadcast model. Chat rooms promote communication in the reverse direction from the consumer to the producer. For media outlets that have made significant commitments to new communication technology and to promoting its use, the relationship between consumer and producer has become more of a dialogue and less of a one-way broadcast of information and opinion. In some cases, the news consumers have become content providers by offering additional information to supplement news accounts via chat rooms.

Ethics

The use of chat rooms by journalists to gather information for news gathering has prompted ethical concerns, most of which relate to the privacy expectations of chat room participants and the obligations of journalists to identify themselves to others. Journalists continue to wrestle with these questions. Many chat room participants have expectations of nearly complete privacy despite the often anonymous and open nature of the chat room (where anyone is able to log on and enter), and chat room users respond angrily when journalists or researchers observe without identifying themselves.

Despite these new challenges, media gatekeepers maintain that ethical standards remain the same regardless of the medium in which information is gathered or published, although they agree that the immediacy of new communication technology has posed problems. Many argue it has eroded the standards of verification that can be more easily upheld when news gatherers have more time to verify information before publishing.

A journalist who enters a chat room and reports on the tenor of a conversation appears to be working within accepted ethical guidelines, but this behavior is considered less acceptable if the journalist identifies chat room participants or if the chat room topic is sensitive in nature. It is also

typically considered unethical if journalists misrepresent themselves. Despite prohibitions many news media have against using unnamed or unknown sources in published news accounts, numerous examples of unnamed chat room sources can be found in the news media.

Joseph Graf

See also Blogs and Bloggers; Discussion Boards; Electronic News Gathering; Social Network Websites

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Checkbook Journalism

The practice of paying sources for information—known as checkbook journalism—is something that journalists in mainstream news media in the United States generally consider to be unethical. In fact, many news organizations, including *The New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times,* specifically forbid this practice in their ethics codes. On the other hand, many tabloid publications regularly pay for news.

Mainstream media have derided the practice for decades. In 1962, *Time* magazine took the British press to task for its coverage of a case involving James Hanratty, accused of killing two people two decades earlier. In the *Time* story—which cited accounts from a variety of participants and witnesses, the magazine concludes:

> These gaudy journalistic outbursts had one thing in common: all of the stories were bought and paid for by Britain's popular press. Even Hanratty himself optioned his story to the *Express*—which was shrewdly holding off a while, perhaps until Hanratty's date with the gallows. The prices that Fleet Street paid for its stories were not too high; the *Express,* for example, managed to sew up its principals for some $8,000.

The problem, as *Time* argued, is that sources whose information is being bought "face an irresistible impulse to embroider the truth for the sake of tomorrow's headlines." And others who work in the media worry that paying for information puts the credibility of both that information and the news organization at stake.

But as much as it is considered poor practice, checkbook journalism has a long history and it does not appear to be going away. As early as 1912, *The New York Times* paid a wireless operator on the *Titanic* $1,000 for his story, and *Life* magazine paid the seven *Mercury* astronauts for their stories in the early 1960s. Despite the nickname, payment doesn't always take the form of a check. Hearst newspapers paid the legal bills for Bruno Hauptmann, the man found guilty in 1935 of kidnapping Charles Lindbergh Jr. (the "Lindbergh baby"), to get scoops during the trial. More recently, ABC gave pop singer Michael Jackson a series of free ads for his new album, *HIStory,* worth $1 million in 1995 in the same week that the network interviewed Jackson and his wife at the time, Lisa Marie Presley, on *Prime Time Live*.

In notable and more recent cases:

> In 1969, NBC paid $17,500 for an interview with Sirhan Sirhan, the man who killed Robert Kennedy after the 1968 California primary. *Esquire* paid $20,000 to Lt. William Calley for his cooperation in a series of three articles on the My Lai massacre in Vietnam, which took place on March 16, 1968.

CBS News paid $25,000 to former Nixon chief of staff H. R. Haldeman for an interview about the Watergate scandal that aired in 1975.

Nathan Dykeman, a friend of one of the student gunmen who killed 13 people and wounded 23 others at Columbine High School in Colorado, was paid $10,000 by *The National Enquirer* for home videos and other materials about the killers. He was paid another $16,000 by ABC News for access to the materials and for an exclusive interview on *Good Morning America*.

Hustler publisher Larry Flynt took out an ad in *The Washington Post* in 2007 offering people $1 million for evidence of an illicit relationship with high-ranking elected or appointed officials in Washington, D.C. Former House Speaker-Designate Bob Livingston (R-LA) and Georgia Republican Representative Bob Barr were caught up in the fallout.

Even if mainstream news media are not writing checks or paying the bills, they are mining the tabloids for stories. Reporters turned out in full force in January 1992 for a press conference by Gennifer Flowers organized by *The Star,* the tabloid that reportedly paid her $150,000 for the story of her affair with presidential candidate Bill Clinton.

Among those most often in the media spotlight, the idea of being paid for access to their stories seems to be gaining hold. And the publications that make their profits from relating celebrity lives—*People, Us Weekly, OK!*—don't seem to mind. The story of Jamie Lynn Spears' pregnancy was sold to *OK!* for $1 million, according to a story in *The New York Times*. But that's small change compared to the reported $4.1 million that *People* paid to Brad Pitt and Angelina Jolie for family photos with their newborn daughter, Shiloh, in 2006, or the roughly $6 million the same magazine paid to Jennifer Lopez and Marc Anthony for pictures of their twins, which ran on the cover in March 2008.

Checkbook Journalism in Other Countries

The practice of checkbook journalism is common among the British tabloids, and bidding wars over major news stories have also occurred in New Zealand and Israel. The fall of the Soviet Union in 1990 ushered in "pay for play" journalism in Russia, with city officials asking foreign journalists for cash upfront for access to news sources and news sites. Karen Dukess, in a 1991 article in *Columbia Journalism Review,* wrote that the Moscow police department was charging foreign journalists up to $1,000 a day to film any police work and that footage filmed by the department would cost news organizations $200 a minute.

Police officials defended the practice by saying that they were getting a large number of requests from journalists to film and that the money was being used to buy technical equipment for the department.

The Issues

There are several justifications offered by those who practice checkbook journalism. If news is a commodity, then why shouldn't the people who are the sources for information benefit from what others want? As Louise Mengelkoch argues in *Columbia Journalism Review,* "for the powerless in our culture who knowingly open themselves up to very personal stories that should be told—that have a real message for the public—it seems only fair that they should be compensated for their willingness to go public." Practitioners also cite the increasingly competitive media marketplace and say that if publications like the *National Enquirer* and *People* are willing to pay for information and exclusive photos, sources will start to expect payment from other news media organizations.

Critics, on the other hand have a very different perspective on the issue, saying the problem is that sources may be tempted to embellish their stories to please the news organization or to make more money. Paying sources also can lead to problems with how the public perceives the news, media ethics experts have said. Interviews that come as the result of checkbook journalism lead readers and viewers to think that the information is tainted by the payment, so they find the information to be less credible.

Not only is the information tainted, but some critics argue that the credibility of the news organization and the profession suffers when mainstream news organizations pay for news. In other words it is better to walk away from a story than to pay for it. If news organizations do start to pay for stories, then news will go to the highest bidder,

which will hurt smaller news organizations and only further commodify news itself.

Elizabeth A. Skewes

See also Bandwagon Journalism; Credibility; Ethics; Hard Versus Soft News; Infotainment; Objectivity; Professionalism

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Chicago

Chicago has a longstanding reputation for wildly competitive journalism. The city also had a role to play in the early days of radio and television journalism, and has been a launching pad for a number of famous American writers and broadcast personalities.

Chicago's style of aggressive journalism became known nationally through popular culture: Ben Hecht and Charles MacArthur, both early-twentieth-century Chicago reporters who moved to Hollywood and became screenwriters, co-wrote a successful 1928 comic play, *The Front Page*, based on their own experiences in Chicago's cutthroat journalism during the early twentieth century. Its message was that Chicago reporters would do almost anything—including lying and stealing—to get a scoop. The story's manic energy inspired films and television series, thus spreading Chicago journalism's colorful reputation nationwide.

Newspapers

Chicago's first newspaper, the weekly Chicago *Democrat,* began in the same year as the city's 1833 incorporation, when it had only 300 residents. Other newspapers quickly followed. The Chicago *Tribune,* which survives today as a major Midwestern voice, began in 1847, although its ownership has changed several times. So has the city's other surviving major daily, the Chicago *Sun-Times,* which can trace its lineage even earlier (through a merger and a renaming), to 1844, and the Chicago *Evening Journal.*

Chicago's population shot up to nearly 1.1 million by 1890 as its rapidly expanding industrial base offered jobs to immigrants in manufacturing, transportation, smokestack industries, and related service industries. "Chicago journalism, like the city itself, is one of the wonders of the times," *Harper's* magazine noted in 1883. "As newspapers, as gatherers of the details of the world's daily history, and its presentation with fullness and skill, they have no equals on the continent."

Publisher Joseph Medill joined the Chicago *Tribune* in 1855, eight years after its founding, when he was hired from Cleveland to be the *Tribune*'s managing editor. Medill bought into the *Tribune*'s ownership, became one of the founders of the Republican Party, strongly supported Abraham Lincoln for the U.S. presidency, and used the *Tribune*'s voice to oppose slavery. Medill became a civic leader, even serving as mayor for two years, overseeing some of the city's rebuilding after the Great Chicago Fire of 1871—including starting the city's first public library—before returning to his newspaper. Northwestern University's journalism school was named for Medill at its founding in 1921.

Robert R. McCormick, a grandson of Medill, led the *Tribune* as publisher and editor through much of the first half of the twentieth century.

McCormick followed in his grandfather's civic footsteps, serving on the Chicago City Council and Chicago Plan Commission, and as president of the Chicago sanitary district. McCormick reached the rank of colonel during World War I, an honor he carried proudly for the rest of his life. For several years he ran the *Tribune* with his cousin, Joseph Medill Patterson, who was another grandson of Medill.

The *Tribune* was the city's most prominent newspaper for much of the twentieth century, but not just because of McCormick's famously conservative voice: it offered readers broad local and national news coverage, lots of comics (*Dick Tracy* and *Brenda Starr* started here), and it energetically investigated crooked politicians and gangsters. One of its sports editors, Arch Ward, thought up the idea for major league baseball's annual All-Star Game, first played in 1933.

McCormick's isolationist politics before World War II influenced department store heir Marshall Field III in 1941 to start a competing morning newspaper, the Chicago *Sun*. In 1948, Field bought the failing *Times* and merged it with his *Sun,* creating a lively tabloid that more than held its own with the richer but stodgy *Tribune*. A few years after McCormick died in 1955, the *Tribune* edged toward the ideological center, perhaps partially in response to the *Sun-Times'* increasing popularity.

Muckraking reporting had a footing in Chicago as early as 1906, when Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* exposed harsh work conditions and factory filth in the Chicago stockyards. Although fictionalized, the book stirred national anger, resulting in the passage of food safety legislation by Congress.

Investigative reporting remained a strong suit in Chicago journalism for many years. In the mid-1940s, two Chicago *Times* reporters researched and helped free a man wrongfully convicted of murder, a case made nationally famous in the 1948 film *Call Northside 777,* starring Jimmy Stewart as a composite of the two reporters. Wrongful conviction investigations continue to this day, at the *Tribune* and Northwestern University.

Chicago's newspaper battles remained strong into the early 1970s, when all four of its major newspapers (Chicago was the last big city to have four downtown dailies) were giving each other serious competition, winning Pulitzers, and keeping tabs on each other through the groundbreaking *Chicago Journalism Review,* one of the nation's first and best local journalism magazines. One of the most famous projects from that era was that of the Mirage Bar, purchased and briefly operated by the *Sun-Times* in 1977 to entrap corrupt city building inspectors. The Mirage series lost out on a Pulitzer because some on the Pulitzer awards committee expressed concern that the newspaper's tactics were deceptive. That case may have marked the end of Chicago's most aggressive period of news gathering. By the end of the 1970s, the city's two afternoon newspapers had closed—the Chicago *Today,* a descendant of the "Front Page"–era *American,* and the well-regarded *Daily News*. And when *Sun-Times* publisher Marshall Field V (grandson of the *Sun*'s founder) sold his newspaper to Rupert Murdoch in 1982, and Murdoch quickly resold the paper to underfunded owners, many felt that an important era in Chicago journalism was over.

Several regional dailies were created in the 1970s and 1980s in two developing population corridors—one in the suburban northwest (the *Daily Herald*) and one in the southwest (the *Daily Southtown*). They found audiences, but as the century came to a close, both ran into the same problem as their downtown cousins: declining advertising because of pressure from the Internet.

Countless reporters have made their reputations in Chicago for their reporting or writing, before moving on to other cities. Among the first was Finley Peter Dunne, who wrote successfully for several Chicago newspapers in the late nineteenth century before moving to the magazine world in New York. His "voice of the people" writing style was emulated by many who came after him. Pulitzer Prize–winning *Daily News* columnist Mike Royko developed such a strong populist reputation in the 1970s and 1980s that he inspired several fictional characters, including John Belushi's columnist character in the 1981 film *Continental Divide*. Perhaps the area's most internationally famous writer, the Nobel Prize–winning Ernest Hemingway, grew up in Oak Park, near Chicago. He started his writing career as a reporter, but didn't find work in Chicago. He had better luck in Kansas City.

Specialized and Trade Publications

Chicago is the home of the nation's most influential African American newspaper, the Chicago

Defender, founded in 1905. In the early twentieth century, the *Defender* was distributed throughout the East and South by train. It is given credit for encouraging the exodus of millions of Southern blacks to the North as factory jobs became more abundant. The *Defender* became a daily in 1956, but it struggled with declining circulation and advertising along with other print media, and it returned to weekly publication early in the twenty-first century.

Another important voice for African Americans is *Ebony* magazine, founded in Chicago in 1945. Johnson Publishing Co. also publishes the pocket-sized *Jet* magazine. *Ebony* and *Jet* have found national audiences presenting minorities in a positive and mainstream light.

The *Chicago Reader,* founded in 1971, set a national journalism standard for alternative newspapers with its extensive arts and community news coverage, and is one of the few remaining Chicago outlets with regular local media criticism. As with many other Chicago media outlets, it is no longer locally owned.

One of the nation's most successful magazine publishers, Hugh Hefner, founded and published *Playboy* magazine in Chicago for many years.

Perhaps less spectacularly but no less significantly, many top trade publications remain based in Chicago, covering fields ranging from medicine (*Journal of the American Medical Association*) and law (*American Bar Association Journal*) to food service (*Restaurants & Institutions*). Crain Communications is a major Chicago-based publisher that prints several top business niche publications (among them, *Advertising Age, Automotive Week, Television Week,* and *Crain's Chicago Business*).

Chicago remains home to an ethnically diverse community, represented in several dozen ethnic newspapers, including Polish language and Spanish language dailies.

Radio, Television, and the Chicago School

When radio broadcasting began in the early 1920s, Chicago had a natural technical advantage because of its central location, which enabled it to send programming over a huge part of the country. With Robert McCormick's sense of broadcasting's potential, the Tribune Company got into radio at its inception. The *Tribune* supplied news to the city's first radio station, KYW, in 1921.

McCormick's company began its own radio station, WGN-AM, three years later. Among its early broadcasts were live remote coverage of the Indianapolis 500 auto race, the Kentucky Derby, and the World Series—all national firsts that helped establish WGN radio as a leader in sports coverage. WGN's call letters stood for "World's Greatest Newspaper," which adorned the newspaper's masthead for most of its existence, until latter-day editors got more humble. The Tribune Co. was also an early entrant into television. For many years, WGN-TV was Chicago viewers' only source for broadcasts of Cubs and White Sox games until the addition of cable and UHF channels expanded the sports teams' broadcasting options. The Tribune Co. now operates the area's only news and features cable channel, CLTV.

Chicago's early on-air television efforts had a distinct style known as the "Chicago School of Television—relaxed, intimate, friendly, natural, subtle," as *Look* magazine described it in 1951 (quoted in Samuels). The Chicago School approach was perhaps exemplified best in early television by Dave Garroway, who started his career in Chicago before moving on to New York to host NBC's *Today* morning news and features program. This easy, personable style (earlier heard on Chicago radio with such programs as *Don McNeil's Breakfast Club*) evolved into the talk-interview format adapted and refined by Phil Donahue and later Oprah Winfrey, whose programs were Chicago-based, along with the earthier Jerry Springer.

A total of 12 AM radio stations, 31 FM stations, and 17 network and independent television stations (not counting the programming available on cable) now serve the greater Chicago area—the nation's third-largest media market, with a population of roughly 9.5 million.

Changing Landscape

As elsewhere, by the early twenty-first century, Chicago journalism was struggling with decreasing profits as communications advertising continued its migration to the Internet. Television news was on stronger financial footing than print, but with far fewer reporters on the streets. The two main newspapers survived, but faced uncertain fates.

The Tribune Co. had expanded dramatically in the 1990s, buying television stations and newspapers nationwide to become one of the largest media companies in the United States. It was privatized in 2007 and taken through painful newsroom and corporate reorganizing by its new CEO, real estate tycoon Samuel Zell. The *Tribune*'s free niche daily tabloid, *RedEye,* alarmed journalism traditionalists with its successful combination of celebrity news and features. But its profits didn't offset the *Tribune*'s massive debt.

Events happened quickly at the *Tribune* in late 2008. A major redesign of the broadsheet and the impending sale of the company's high-priced Chicago Cubs—a buyer was found in early 2009—failed to stop the *Tribune* from declaring Chapter 11 bankruptcy as 2008 ended. Reorganization continued, including staff cutbacks. Early in 2009, the *Tribune* started a tabloid commuter edition to build on its success with the feature-oriented *RedEye* and compete directly with the *Sun-Times.*

The financially struggling *Sun-Times* was even worse off. Hammered by falling circulation, budget cuts, and some corrupt managers (former president Conrad Black and publisher David Radler were jailed in early 2008 after fraud convictions), the paper was up for sale, but there was little interest in it as American print media outlets struggled to find a workable economic model for the twenty-first century. Early in 2009, the *Sun-Times* also declared bankruptcy, a sad comedown for the city that created the Front Page image of aggressively competing newspapers.

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See also Milwaukee; Minneapolis–St. Paul

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China

As one of the world's oldest civilizations, China has a long, rich history in the use of media to communicate, including the inventions of paper and printing. China was the birthplace of an early version of the newspaper, as government news sheets, known as *tipao,* were disseminated among Han Dynasty court officials in the second and third centuries A.D. and later printed during the Tang Dynasty in the eighth and ninth centuries.

But popular journalism in the form of the modern newspaper, which circulates news to a broader mass audience, came relatively late to China, compared to Europe and elsewhere. In the nineteenth century, European missionaries and other foreigners imported the modern newspaper to several major Chinese cities, where notable examples such as the British-owned *Shen-bao* in Shanghai flourished. This foreign involvement reflected the influence of outsiders on journalism developments in China, a pattern that would repeat itself during the twentieth century. This was especially evident between the two world wars in the tumultuous post–Qing Dynasty period of the 1920s and 1930s, with the advent of more independent commercial newspapers and the founding of journalism schools. After 1949, China adopted the Soviet-style propaganda model of journalism.

Regardless of these occasional external influences, China has often retreated from engagement with the outside world and has consistently maintained a dominant role over its own print media and later electronic media. This approach was seen not only as key to political stability but also as morally superior. As China scholar Stephen MacKinnon noted, an elite consensus in China going back to the Han Dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) has maintained that the written and printed word needed to serve the interests of the Confucian state as a means to instruct and uplift society; it has only been recently that the Chinese term for propaganda, *xuanchuan,* became known in a more pejorative way.

And the state has taken strong and pervasive measures to ensure that control. In the Qing Dynasty of the eighteenth century, for example, persons who spread rumors or produced unofficial newspapers risked beheading. In more modern times, China earned a reputation as the world's leader in imprisoning journalists. Nonetheless, the

country's economic reforms of the late twentieth century spurred a media transformation that in turn demonstrated the crucial role of media in China's national development and society's transformation that continues into the twenty-first century.

Development

The evolution of the modern Chinese press can be divided into four periods. The first period can be characterized predominantly as one of "control," in which China adopted the Stalinist *Pravda* propaganda press model that lasted nearly 30 years from the start of Communist Party rule in 1949 to the onset of economic reforms in 1978. The second was a period of "loosening" press control, triggered by economic expansion and open-door policies, which continued until 1989, when the government crackdown on the Tiananmen Square (Beijing) prodemocracy protest ushered in a new, third, "stifling" period of media restrictions. In 1992, when economic reforms were relaunched, a new fourth era of "change," during which media development and transformation occurred at an accelerated pace, began.

When it took power in 1949, the Communist Party of China (CPC) wanted to build a new China and initially adopted a reasonably tolerant press policy. It established a press structure that consisted of independent commercial newspapers and Communist Party newspapers, notwithstanding that the latter held a principal position. China's Constitution, first promulgated in 1954, included provisions for freedom of speech and freedom of the press. In 1956 reformist leader Liu Shaoqi put forward proposals to promote competition among newspapers and publications and to shift the operation of key party newspapers to organizations other than the party and government. These short-lived attempts to reform the press system, however, ultimately succumbed to political campaigns such as the Anti-Rightist movement and the Cultural Revolution. As a consequence, the press system implemented by the newly founded People's Republic of China (PRC) remained largely the Stalinist *Pravda* model of the Soviet Union, which used the press as a tool for class struggle and for rallying support of party policies. The CPC fully funded all Chinese news organizations and exercised complete control over their decisions.

CPC doctrine set out three main functions for the press. First, media were instruments for agitation and class struggle, a weapon used by the proletarian class to overthrow capitalism and to build up socialism. Second, media were a tool for political organization and mobilization. Third, media were a central instrument of the party to propagandize party policies.

The party press can in some ways trace its roots to journals of the early twentieth century. In the years after the fall of China's last ruling dynasty (Qing) in 1912, the country experienced increasing turmoil and party leaders such as Mao Zedong and Chen Duxiu, a party co-founder, were involved in publishing journals to rally mass opposition to Japanese imperialists and Chinese warlords. Particularly during the Chinese revolutionary wars of the 1920s until the founding of the PRC in 1949, the press was a vital means of leading national resistance to Japanese invasion, articulating messages of support for CPC policies, and exposing then-ruling party Kuomintang (KMT) corruption.

In the 1940s, Mao stressed the press role in learning from the masses and highlighted the propaganda role it should play to articulate a unified voice to solve the masses' problems. The party did this by organizing both party and nonparty journals to target party leadership, government departments, and women, youth, peasant, labor, and social organizations. The diversity of publications aimed at specific audiences remains a key feature of party journalism today. All major news organizations are sponsored and owned either by the CPC or its corresponding government departments or institutions. The levels of the press correspond exactly to those of the territorial-administrative divisions, with complete integration between the news outlet and its corresponding political organization, mass organizations, or public institutions. For example, the CPC's Central Committee publishes *People's Daily,* the party's official mouthpiece, and the Chinese Communist Youth League publishes *China Youth Daily*. Both papers are considered, or ranked, as national publications.

This model is replicated at the provincial and municipal levels. In the southern Guangdong province, for example, the *Southern Daily* newspaper is administered by the Guangdong Province Communist Party Committee, while *Guangzhou*

Daily is sponsored by the Municipal Party Committee of the city of Guangzhou.

Electronic media follow a similar structure. China Central Television (CCTV) is the major national television broadcaster in the country, with more than a billion viewers. CCTV is a statutory agency within the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television and is subordinate to the State Council, the top executive and administrative body, which issues administrative regulations. Shanghai Media Group—a merged group of Shanghai media entities involving multimedia, television, radio, news, and the Internet—is owned and operated by the city government of Shanghai.

In some respects, China's multisectored, multitiered press system, which includes newspapers run by women's federations, trade unions, and other social groups, holds tremendous potential in enabling a multitude of diverse voices to be heard. But disastrous incidents like the Great Leap Forward (1958–61) and the Cultural Revolution (1966–76) have shown that the confines of a monopoly party press structure along with the absence of different forms of ownership all developing and competing within a recognized constitutional and legal framework prevented the Chinese press from reflecting public opinion and serving the public interest.

All news organizations, regardless of market and commercial reform, are considered formal extensions of the party-state, and rely on their official status as central, provincial, county, or municipal government organizations to legitimize their political oversight roles vis-à-vis the party-state. The press is thus not allowed to criticize party institutions of its own rank, but can only criticize individuals and organizations beneath them. Central-government-level news organizations can write critical reports on provincial and local officials, whereas provincial-level papers like *Southern Daily* are only allowed to write critical reports on municipal and lower-level officials.

All news media organizations are also subject to control and regulation by China's Party Propaganda Department. For example, national press institutions like CCTV, *People's Daily*, and Xinhua News Agency, the government's official press agency, are under direct control of the Propaganda Department of the CPC and are headed by a member of the Standing Committee of the CPC Central Committee, which sets media policies, supervises their implementation, and issues directives and regulations. The Provincial Party Committee's Propaganda Department controls the provincial-level press and so on. But all Chinese news media institutions, regardless of commercial reform, are directly under the political supervision of the Propaganda Department.

In the second period beginning in 1978, two years after Mao's death, new party leader Deng Xiaoping announced economic reforms to open the door to foreign technology and investment and to revamp existing institutions, including news media. Two of those reforms had particular impact on the development of Chinese media: the gradual reduction of state funding for all state enterprises, including the state-owned press, and reintroduction of advertising to generate revenue to compensate for the loss of state funding. The subsidy reduction was an outgrowth of the reformist "responsibility systems" in which state-owned enterprises were increasingly held responsible for their own economic survival and performance. With the reduction and eventual elimination of direct subsidies and mandatory subscriptions, news organizations began having to persuade readers to buy their products. To reach these readers and open new markets, the traditional party press created subsidiary publications, such as evening and weekend editions, to provide livelier, more attractive content that sold well. People responded enthusiastically in part because China had just emerged from the Cultural Revolution, Mao's devastating decade-long political campaign to purge rivals that resulted in social and economic chaos. During the Cultural Revolution, many newspapers ceased publication while Red Guard tabloids flourished. Evening papers that featured human interest stories, entertainment, and family-oriented articles were closed down as they did not meet political objectives of the revolution. Three party publications—namely, *People's Daily*, *Liberation Daily*, and *Red Flag Magazine*, which in China were referred to as *liangbao yikan*, or "Two Newspapers and One Journal"—carried the official line in which all other publications had to follow. When deployed by Mao to promote his revolutionary ideas, all articles had to carry the same content, style, and look. In 1978, the country had only 320 newspapers. By 1987, the number had skyrocketed to more than 2,500.

The party saw reintroduction of advertising in news media as part of its program for economic reform, modernization, and social change. And advertising revenue soon became the most important source of income for the newly commercial media. The drive to ensure economic independence gave news organizations increased operational autonomy, particularly for their newly launched evening and weekend editions. This also meant that the power to influence decisions had, to some extent, been transferred from the party-state to advertisers and readers. This was reflected in how the traditional party newspapers moved beyond their usual fare of government announcements and propaganda in their weekend and evening subsidiaries to emphasize news reporting that was informative, short, timely, lively, and in-depth. Popular topics included social news; current affairs; entertainment news about movie stars, writers, and sports stars; human interest stories dealing with family, health, consumer rights, and law and order; profiles of ordinary migrant workers; and trend pieces covering everything from investments and inflation to the problems of an aging population and urban crime.

As news media became responsible for their own economic survival, they were compelled to diversify content to include cultural news, sports, entertainment, social news, and watchdog reporting to meet reader demands. In this way, despite the Chinese Communist Party's continual reinforcement of a key party principle—the press is a "mouthpiece for the party"—news media were often more restricted in theory than in practice. The 1980s brought further commercialization and loosening of restrictions. There were also calls for reforms throughout society, including more democracy, press law protections, and even news media freedom. Many Chinese media workers, including those from *People's Daily,* marched publicly in the streets to support reform during the 1989 pro-democracy movement. That movement ended abruptly on June 4 when troops moved in to stop protests in Beijing's most famous public space, Tiananmen Square.

The Tiananmen crackdown reverberated across society, stalling political and economic reform as well as reforms within the news media. The party now reemphasized that submission by journalists to party leadership and propaganda discipline must always be the basis when speaking on behalf of the people.

Post-1992 Media to the Present

The fourth period of the media's evolution began in the wake of party leader Deng Xiaoping's famed "Southern Tour" in 1992. Deng visited the southern Chinese cities of Guangzhou, Shenzhen, and Zhuhai and spent time in Shanghai, during which he was able to consolidate political support to relaunch stalled economic reforms. As a result, both markets and news media became more liberalized. And the 1990s became known for the emergence of large media groups (as the government began curbing proliferation of media organizations through consolidation) and the rise of watchdog, or investigative, journalism.

Known in China as *yulun jiandu,* or "supervision by public opinion," this type of journalism refers to news reports or commentaries that document, report, and reflect the views of the general Chinese population as a means of monitoring the effectiveness of Communist Party policies. *Yulun jiandu* is used interchangeably with *meiti jiandu,* or "supervision by the media," because the media encompass the mechanism for the Chinese masses to voice opinions and grievances and provide a means for the party to assess public perception of the effectiveness of government policies. These watchdog stories reflected social instability that resulted from accelerated market reforms. These included large-scale worker layoffs in money-losing state enterprises, dislocation of farmers, and unfettered taxation abuses by local governments. China's economic reform policies had created tremendous growth—making the nation among the world's fastest-growing economies—but they also created tremendous opportunities for corrupt politicians and businesses. Inequality increasingly came to characterize the path of Chinese economic development and this created social conditions that led to demands for more critical reporting exposing wanton abuses of official and police power, unscrupulous business practices, tax exploitation, and crime.

Broadcasting in China also underwent similar growth and development, as television and radio news programs multiplied and began competing for news stories, including investigative ones. In

1965 China had a mere dozen television stations and fewer than 100 radio outlets. By 2004, there were 278 radio stations, 315 television stations, and more than 1,300 integrated radio and television stations. CCTV, the official national network which broadcasts news throughout the day on numerous channels, started its popular *Jiaodian Fangtan (Focus)* program in 1994, a daily 13-minute current affairs program that for the first time provided in-depth looks at hot social topics. At its height, the program attracted 300 million viewers daily.

Critical to this development of more complex and demanding news coverage, media outlets began to attract and retain better qualified employees, who now were often expected to have college degrees. Many graduated from one of a growing number of journalism programs at Chinese universities and an increasing number were going overseas to study. The party press also had more flexibility in who they hired and how, including whether workers had to be party members. The media began to hire contract reporters "outside the system" (*tizhiwai*), who had the advantage of not requiring bureaucratic party authorization—with its paper trail of employment history.

Central Party leaders came to see China's press as an effective, comparatively inexpensive tool to reduce official corruption by utilizing public opinion to monitor official power and reflect public debate on China's problems. By doing so, watchdog stories expose government corruption and social ills, vet popular grievances, and create a closer identity between the people and the party. This watchdog function, however, was to be exercised under *yulun daoxiang* or "guidance of public opinion," which meant providing an official framework for controversial topics to "guide" public opinion to fall within the party line. Press exposés of lower-level misdeeds were tolerated and even encouraged by the Central government so long as they abided by the "correct guidance." In reality, however, Chinese journalists, particularly those from the commercial press, frequently found ways to challenge, test, and contravene the party's restrictions. One such example was through *kuadi jiandu,* or "extra-regional media supervision," where the local press aimed their critical reports at officials in other provinces that did not have direct administrative authority over them. Despite these efforts, the Propaganda Department continued to exercise control over Chinese news media through ideological and administrative means such as the replacement of chief editors when the publication attempted to push the envelope too far. More important, though, watchdog reports could not attack core party principles such as socialism or the party's legitimate rule. Thirty years of controlled commercialization of the Chinese press did not necessarily serve to push it toward a Western-style role of being adversarial to the state.

Complicating this relationship, however, has been the rise of Internet journalism and that ordinary people can join journalists in posting articles, videos, photographs, and other materials online outside party media. Since the 1990s, many Chinese citizens have embraced the Internet. By the end of 2008, the number of Internet users in China had reportedly reached 298 million, making it the world's biggest Internet market, although that still represents just 25 percent of the country's population. The number of mainland Chinese bloggers is said to be more than 50 million.

At the same time, however, the party-state developed highly sophisticated monitoring and control mechanisms of the Internet and its users to censor topics considered disruptive to social order. It does this by using the latest technology, additional and existing laws and regulations, and new variations of traditional control tactics. The Ministry of Public Security's "Golden Shield Project," sometimes known as the "Great Firewall," is an extensive communications network and computer information system that operates to block objectionable Internet sites and web feeds and filter unwanted content. The party-state also enlists nongovernment entities and individuals, such as ISPs and content providers, to help it prevent users from posting and accessing sensitive content. And China has stepped up enforcement of its vague criminal laws on state secrets and national security to rein in Internet writers. As of 2008, 100 journalists, cyber dissidents, bloggers, and Internet users were imprisoned in China, according to Reporters Without Borders. Other emerging technologies have even more potential for impact as seen, for example, by the hundreds of millions of Chinese citizens using mobile telephones and text messaging.

Conclusion

Commercialization of the news media has played a significant role in diversifying the media landscape in China. But regardless of three decades of controlled commercialization (starting in the late 1970s) that led to increased editorial autonomy within the newsroom, the Chinese media remain an arm of the party-state, in which the party continues to exercise oversight. At the same time, many scholars warn that news media autonomy gained through commercialization is precarious and paradoxical. They argue that while the freedom that news media are enjoying is chipping away at state control, it is also ushering in a press system increasingly dominated by commercial profits. In this respect, as journalism in China continues to grow, the question as to whether media commercialization in itself will necessarily encourage the development of independent journalism in China remains open.

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See also Asia, Central, South, and East; Chinese Television; Comparative Models of Journalism; Hong Kong; New China (Xinhua) News Agency; Singapore

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Chinese Television

After the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) came into power in 1949, China built its media system on the Soviet Union's model. Instead of being a "watchdog" of the government, news media served as a "mouthpiece" or "transmission belt" of the party to propagate socialist ideals and execute government policies. "Party Principle" (*Dangxing Yuanze*) was regarded as the supreme guideline in running the media. Only positive news about the society and the government that benefits the party's administration was allowed to be covered in the media.

Since the end of the 1970s, Deng Xiaoping's reform and opening-door policy has led to dramatic sociopolitical changes in China. The loosening of direct party control and rapid development of a market economy within a socialist political context stimulated Chinese media to undertake a dramatic transformation. They are no longer regarded as pure political-ideological propaganda tools, but have more freedom and autonomy to provide increasing coverage of business information and entertainment, and even negative stories about government officials and social problems.

Television Reform

As the country's most rapidly growing and advanced medium, television has witnessed the drastic sociopolitical changes that underlay the overall development of Chinese media. Television was first introduced into China in the late 1950s. The first television station, Beijing Television Station (BTS), went on the air experimentally on May 1, 1958. Although the disastrous Cultural

Revolution (1966–76) hindered its development, Chinese television broadcasting made great strides after the implementation of the reform policy. On May 1, 1978, Beijing Television Station was renamed China Central Television (CCTV) and began to provide a national service. The number of television stations rapidly increased from 32 in 1975 to 509 in 1990, and nearly 1,000 by 2000. As for relay stations, there were only about 400 in the early 1980s, 22,000 by the end of that decade, and more than 40,000 nationwide in the mid-1990s.

Before the reforms in the late 1970s, the infrastructure of Chinese television broadcasting was highly centralized, with CCTV in the center and all other TV stations at the periphery. With the continuous increase of regional and local television stations, a centralized mechanism was replaced by a four-level television broadcasting system: CCTV plays the leading role at the top, followed by provincial stations, city stations, and county stations. Within this decentralized model, control over television is exercised on two levels: central state supervision of CCTV, and regional and local management at the grass-roots level.

Before 1978, all TV stations were heavily subsidized by the state. After the economic reforms, the state gradually cut subsidies, and advertising became the major revenue source. Once condemned as a corrupt capitalist practice, advertising reappeared in early 1979, and was promoted by the party and government as a potential tool for economic reform and social change. Advertising revenues for the television industry exploded from 3.25 million yuan in 1979 to 2.05 billion yuan in 1992. By 2007, Chinese television advertising revenues reached 4.5 billion yuan, nearly one fourth of which went to CCTV.

Increased dependence on advertising is the major factor contributing to the transformation of television. No longer mere propaganda tools, TV stations began to be managed as business enterprises. The amount of political coverage in television news has decreased, while more news of business and entertainment is offered. Due to changing professional imperatives, the watchdog role of television has been employed to expose social problems such as corruption scandals of government officials, coal mine accidents, environmental pollution, and food safety.

Commercialization of television programming has also contributed to its internationalization. The dramatic change is reflected in the increase of the proportion of imported television programs since 1980. By the end of 2000, 15 percent of the drama programs shown on Chinese television were foreign imports, more than two-thirds of which came from capitalist countries. Joint ventures and the operation of multinational agencies have also widely expanded to television program production, which has speeded diffusion of foreign media culture and the globalization of Chinese television.

The Case of CCTV

Since its inception in 1978, CCTV has established itself as the most prominent and authoritative station in China. As the only national news network, CCTV has the largest television audience. By 2005, it reached nearly 96 percent of the national population, with the number of viewers exceeding 1.2 billion. As a government-owned media corporation, its news programs have high authoritativeness, defining and presenting national and international realities to the Chinese people. CCTV's News Broadcast (*Xinwen Lianbo*) at 7 p.m., a premium source of news about the latest government policies and party activities, enjoys a regular viewership of more than 500 million. Like other television stations, CCTV has seen its state subsidy decline since the late 1970s. Advertising first appeared in October 1979, and advertising sales on CCTV exploded quickly. Now CCTV operating costs are mainly derived from advertising and other business sources. The commercialization of CCTV has resulted in the depoliticization of its news coverage, with the increase of business, sport, and entertainment news.

Although CCTV currently remains the largest television network penetrating into most corners of the country, the dominant position of CCTV has been threatened since the early 1990s, when provincial television stations started using telecommunication satellites to transmit their signals across regions. To maintain its position in an increasingly competitive media market, CCTV further diversified its content to cater to a broader sense of the needs and wants of potential viewers. By 2008, CCTV had launched 16 national channels and one High Definition channel, offering a

wide range of programs from news to variety shows around the clock.

CCTV-1 is a comprehensive channel with emphasis on news and current affairs. The other CCTV channels have their own foci, such as CCTV-2-economics, CCTV-3-arts and entertainment, CCTV-5-sports, CCTV-6-movies, and so on. In order to become an international player in global communication, CCTV has started several international channels targeting overseas audiences. Known as CCTV international, CCTV-4 produces a variety of programs in Mandarin Chinese for overseas viewers. CCTV-9 is China's only 24-hour English channel providing news and feature programs via six satellites to a global audience of 45 million subscribers outside China. CCTV has also increasingly set up foreign news bureaus and stationed more foreign correspondents in major cities around the world to speed up its internationalization process.

To improve its market competitiveness and journalistic professionalism, CCTV also developed a series of investigative programs aimed at exploring social issues and problems, ranging from official corruption to inequalities in society, all issues of concern to the public. The popular investigative programs produced by CCTV include the daily *Oriental Horizon* (*Dongfang Shikong*), the country's earliest news and current affairs magazine that first aired in May 1993. Its great success in non–prime time morning hours changed many Chinese people's habit of not watching television during the daytime. *Focus* (*Jiaodian Fangtan*) started in April 1994, a 13-minute prime-time program broadcast straight after *Xinwen Lianbo*. Known for exposing social conflicts and injustice through in-depth investigative reporting, *Focus* attracts 300 million viewers nightly. *Tell It Like It Is* (*Shihua Shishuo*), a television talk show modeled on *The Oprah Winfrey Show,* started in March 1996. It has covered a range of moral and public issues once considered too sensitive to discuss publicly. *News Probe* (*Xinwen Diaocha*), compares to CBS's *60 Minutes* or ABC's *Nightline,* offering a 45-minute investigative documentary program aired in CCTV every Friday night since May 1996. Following its slogan "hunting the truth," *News Probe* has revealed social problems and insufficiencies of state policies in a straightforward and sharp-edged critical style. These investigative programs are allowed greater autonomy to choose which topic to cover as well as how to cover it in order to fulfill their watchdog function, although such autonomy is still limited by the government.

Conclusion

The dramatic sociopolitical changes in China have a great impact on Chinese television's practice and content. Like other mass media, Chinese television has undertaken profound reform, evolving from state-controlled propaganda machines to market-driven commercial vehicles. The reduced reliance on state subsidies and increased financial dependence on advertising revenues has helped Chinese television win greater autonomy from tight political control. Under the pressure of commercialization and internationalization, Chinese television news has become more professional and de-politicized, more oriented toward the market and audience. Although news media still adhere to the party line, they have to pay attention to the bottom line as well.

As China's window on the world, CCTV epitomizes the process of Chinese television transformation. Faced with furious market competition, CCTV has had to balance its role, being responsible to both party and public. To maximize its market share, it has created dozens of channels, offering diverse and depolitized programs to attract audiences in China and abroad. The investigative news programs produced by CCTV have not only met audience needs, but have strengthened the watchdog function of television news. Although Chinese television remains under the ideological leadership of the party, the trend of commercialization, depolitization, democratization, and internationalization in the television industry is bound to continue, as economic and political reforms are further deepening in China.

Yunjuan Luo

See also China; New China (Xinhua) News Agency; STAR News (Asia)

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Circulation, Controlled

Controlled circulation refers to providing a periodical—newspaper or magazine—at no cost to readers who meet specific advertiser-attractive criteria. Along with newsstand sales and subscriptions, it is the third major form of distribution. Such newspapers and magazines may be mailed free to those on a list, or made available for pick-up in public locations. Although they provide no direct revenue from readers, controlled-circulation publications are an extremely attractive, relatively low-cost advertising vehicle for individuals or companies seeking narrowly defined, captive audiences.

Among the most common examples of this category of journalism are in-flight airline magazines, and those found in many hotel rooms. American Airlines' *Nexos* and the Radisson Hotel's *Voyager* are made available to their customers free of charge, and contain articles and advertisements selected to appeal to travelers and vacationers. Many of the articles are advertorials, provided by public relations and marketing firms promoting services and products.

Controlled circulation was originally developed as a distribution technique in the specialized business and trade magazine field. Indeed, unlike consumer magazines, more than three-quarters of business magazines and newspapers rely primarily on this method of circulation. For example, *Offshore Engineer* is mailed only to individuals who are involved in buying equipment and services for the offshore oil drilling industry. Fishing boat subscribers of *WorkBoat* magazine pay nothing for the magazine because they are highly sought buyers of commercial boats and related equipment. In 2005, more than 4,000 trade magazines used or relied upon controlled circulation.

Origins

The first controlled circulation magazines were published by Putnam Media, based in Itasca, Illinois, which began in the 1920s as a single title buyer-to-buyer publishing house serving manufacturing facilities under the leadership of "Colonel" Russell L. Putman (died 1973). Putman was an innovator in controlled circulation, reader service cards, and four-color printing processes for front covers. With the launch of *Chemical Processing* magazine in 1938 and *Food Processing* two years later (both provided free to those working in these industries), Putman was quickly positioned as a leading publisher in controlled circulation. Mailed free to those registered with professional organizations in these fields, early issues included a prepaid postcard where readers could recommend others who might be interested in receiving *Chemical Processing* or *Food Processing*. With a rapidly growing list of readers, Putnam was able to generate significant ad sales that surpassed any potential subscription revenue. Controlled circulation magazines sell more than 2 million ad pages yearly to reach their defined readers.

Controlled circulation newspapers trace their history back to the 1940s when Walnut Creek

(California) publisher Dean Lesher (1902–93) began what is widely believed to be the first free daily newspaper, now known as the *Contra Costa Times*. It featured advertising, much like a "free shopper" newspaper, along with some community news items, event calendars, and announcements. In 1962 he converted that newspaper and three others in the county that he owned to paid circulation. However, Lesher's model of free distribution of an advertising-dominated newspaper has been copied by other publishers across the country, many of which also produce a separate traditional newspaper. In 2005 there were 1,370 newspapers in the United States with controlled circulation.

Among these are counted a new form of controlled circulation newspapers, the so-called commuter newspapers. These are usually a simplified version of a larger, parent metro newspaper. They are offered free at subway and bus stops and other mass transit venues, or in some cases placed on the vehicles themselves. Content consists of shorter versions of articles, features, reviews, and entertainment items (comic strips, puzzles, horoscopes, and advice columns) that appear in the parent newspaper, along with extensive advertising. One example of such a newspaper is the *Express,* a 20- to 24-page commuter version of the daily *Washington Post* that was launched in August 2003. It is published only Monday through Friday. By the end of 2007, *Post* management claimed that the 190,000 copies of the *Express* were distributed daily at 1,800 locations in the Washington metro area. Given that the expense of producing such commuter papers by a parent daily newspaper is low—typesetting equipment, presses, delivery trucks, and in most cases staff are already in place—advertising revenue is mostly profit.

Advertising is the primary revenue source for all controlled circulation periodicals. Placing advertisements in such periodicals is appealing to companies seeking to reach a targeted customer base, whether determined by geography or common interests. Distributing a magazine or newspaper by controlled circulation gives advertisers complete market coverage, not just distribution to readers who will pay for a subscription or newsstand copy. Controlled circulation publications spend a great deal of time "qualifying" (i.e., ensuring that they meet the advertisers' criteria for potential customers) readers. Many trade and business magazines have circulations that are mainly or almost entirely "by request," meaning that individuals have verified that they are qualified by employment or location to receive the publication and that they desire to receive it. Direct request is the most desirable type of controlled circulation, from most advertisers' point of view, because potential customers are self-selected.

Studies indicate that commuter and free shopper newspapers appeal to a more youthful, professional population than traditional newspapers. Knight Ridder, which acquired the controlled circulation *Palo Alto Daily News* in 2005, found in a survey that 57 percent of that paper's readers were under 45 years of age. These free newspapers become a part of the lifestyle of commuting to work, maintaining an upscale lifestyle, and seeking out ways to spend increasing amounts of leisure time. Controlled circulation newspapers offer a "fast read" for those with busy lifestyles and disposable income, the latter of primary interest to advertisers.

Pros and Cons

The advantages of publishing controlled circulation trade magazines and commuter/shopper newspapers are numerous. Because the target audience is homogeneous, the publisher knows the reader's likely spending habits. This is priceless to marketers wishing to reach and build awareness and relationships within a niche audience. The publication can build stronger relationships with readers by understanding and addressing personal and business needs in editorial content. Readers with a shared interest have a natural affinity for one another. They share mutual problems, solutions, and goals. This enables a strong relationship to be formed between the publications and readers. It is not uncommon for readers to view a controlled circulation publication as an essential community or career tool. Further, the advertising rate base of a controlled circulation publication does not fluctuate, as opposed to a paid circulation with a newsstand component. Thus, publishers can build longer-term relationships with advertisers. Finally, there is no bad debt from nonpaying subscribers, as with the paid-circulation publication model. This enables publishers to make editorial decisions and financial plans with some certainty that income will be available to cover the costs.

When compared to the risks, the opportunities of a controlled-circulation publication greatly outweigh them, but only if the subscriber base is managed carefully. Mistakes, such as inflating circulation numbers or improper management, can challenge the publication's carefully nurtured and well-guarded credibility and cause readers to turn elsewhere. It also can lead to advertisers seeking new marketing vehicles. The inflating of circulation numbers, since there are no subscribers and no newsstand sales, is the most common mistake in controlled circulation publishing.

There are two nonprofit groups whose primary purpose is to verify the circulation figures of periodicals, including those with controlled circulation; such figures are of extreme interest to advertisers in trade and business magazines, commuter papers and free shoppers. The first and largest, the Audit Bureau of Circulations, is an independent nonprofit auditing organization formed in 1914 whose membership is composed of advertisers, advertising agencies, and publishers of newspapers, magazines, and websites that sell advertising space. Smaller and more specialized is the Business Publications Audit of Circulations, formed in 1931 and headquartered in New York. Its purpose is to audit and provide independent verification of print media circulation claims. The organization publishes regular audit reports and publisher's statements that detail its findings. Whereas the Audit Bureau of Circulations concentrates primarily on auditing consumer publications, the Business Publications Audit of Circulations covers 85 percent of all controlled-circulation business and trade publications.

Controlled circulation, whether of commuter or free shopper newspapers or of trade or business magazines, provides an alternative to traditional methods of distribution. In an age of declining readership and sales for the large daily newspapers and general interest magazines, free publications aimed at niche readerships based on lifestyles or careers are filling the void in growing numbers. Supported solely by advertisers targeting those people or professionals, controlled circulation periodicals may represent the future of printing in an increasingly web-wrapped world.

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See also Advertising; Advertorials; Business Magazines; Free Newspapers

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Citizen Journalism

The phenomenon of citizen journalism arose in the late 1990s, powered by new ways of user participation including the Internet. Initially identified with individual blogging, the term *citizen journalism* soon became an umbrella concept encompassing both personal blogging and institutional practices by news organizations. By the early twenty-first century, citizen journalism utilized the practices and technology of web 2.0 for production and distribution while fulfilling some of the social functions carried out by traditional journalism.

Some definitions of citizen journalism include any form of user-generated content. Here the definition of citizen journalism is more strict and refers to contribution to discussion in the public sphere, whether in the form of simple information, synthesis, reporting, or opinion. The contributions can range from very local to global, entering into the "conversation of democracy" in media critic James Carey's phrase. As long as their contents meet this definition, citizen journalists can be individuals making a single contribution (a fact, correction, photo, etc.), bloggers, or professionals editing citizen content for "professional-amateur" (pro-am) sites which integrates the works of professional staff and citizen contributors.

Citizen Journalism Versus Traditional Journalism

Citizen and traditional journalism can be viewed as operating on a series of at least six continua. One major axis is that of primary synthesis versus "crowdsourcing." Traditional journalism acquires primary sources, whether interviews or documents, and then analyzes and synthesizes them. New forms of contribution-based journalism, such as the website *Assignment Zero,* rely more heavily on the "crowd" to collect sources and analyze and synthesize them in a distributed way.

Second is the axis of distributed versus fully crafted narrative. In a distributed narrative, the story emerges in bits and pieces, from the sum of reader contributions in the form of a hyper-linked story. Even self-contained articles can acquire new meaning and context in the network. Traditional journalism synthesizes primary documents or interviews into a coherent story with little or no audience contribution.

Third is the degree of training of professionals and amateurs. Although some people have a professional background, citizen journalism involves journalistic amateurs by definition. However, there are degrees of training for citizen journalists, ranging from none, to web-based guidelines, to local training courses. In some instances citizen journalists are paid through distributed methods or advertisements, but still most remain unpaid.

Fourth, citizen journalism generally blurs the traditional distinction between fact and opinion. While traditional journalism emphasizes that distinction as a norm, many citizen journalism sites, particularly those identified with individual political bloggers, tend to highlight the presence of opinion.

Fifth, the traditional journalistic norm of fairness is less strictly applied. While some citizen journalism sites strive to build in principles of fairness and balance, many rely on the very personal views of bloggers, and allow almost any form of comment, leaving it to the crowd to self-correct potential abuses.

Lastly, there is the variation in the size of the intended audience. Though any online content can potentially reach a worldwide audience, traditional journalism targets a mass audience. On the other hand, citizen journalism sites can be (and often are) as small as one writer talking to a very small circle. So while traditional journalism resides on the "mass" end of the potential audience continuum, citizen journalism's "audience" is much more variable, ranging from tiny to massive.

Development

Citizen journalism has some affinities with the public or civic journalism movement, which began in the late 1980s and continued into the twenty-first century. Led by newspapers, journalists sought to address a perceived crisis in the way news media covered democracy and civic life. Based on the notion that the voices of the citizen and community interests disappeared from public issues, they applied a range of innovations: citizen polls, use of focus groups, special issues projects, new forms of comparative election coverage, and writing with greater individual, authorial voice. Many of these techniques have been adopted in citizen journalism.

Another foundation was the effort to establish practices of collecting and distributing self-created news through computer networks, which dates back to the creation of *FidoNews* in 1984. *FidoNews* was an open contribution online newsletter by the grassroots dial-up bulletin board system called FidoNet. A decade later, the Usenet newsgroup Internews aimed to provide alternative journalism built upon user contribution.

One of the earliest examples of web-based citizen journalism was the IndyMedia network built by protesters against the World Trade Organization meeting in Seattle in 1999. Although the medium was new, IndyMedia actually was a continuation of a long line of independent alternative media, often exhibiting a liberal point of view, beginning with the community radio and television movements of the 1970s.

By 2000, new forms of citizen media developed alongside Web 2.0. Web 2.0 enhanced use of technologies for collaboration, including web-based communities, new social media and social networking sites, wikis, and blogs. By January 2008 there were more than 100 million blogs worldwide. Collaborative user-created content also grew, with the widely popular Wikipedia hosting more than 2 million user-contributed articles in the English language as of early 2008. Mobile phones became increasingly sophisticated devices including the ability to share text, images, video, and

web content. YouTube (founded in 2005) allowed users to easily share video clips anywhere in the world. CNN's IReport.com, which was founded as a form of pro-am citizen journalism in 2006, has received more than 100,000 clips. CurrentTV, which was founded by Al Gore in 2005, is a cable channel programmed entirely by its users.

Citizen Content

One of the most significant drivers of citizen journalism is the ability to post content about events as they are happening, chronicling the events with numerous and varied personal accounts rather than a single in-depth summary. The terrorist attacks on New York and Washington in 2001 prompted a major leap as thousands of eyewitness cell phone pictures and videos were posted on the web within hours, and major news organizations drew heavily from this content to tell the story. During the Southeast Asian tsunami of 2004, many tourists using digital devices captured images of tidal waves, and mainstream media relied almost exclusively on these sources in the early days of coverage. Other prominent events during which citizen journalism helped drive the story include Hurricane Katrina in August 2005 and the Virginia Tech Massacre of April 2007. Likewise, the first news and images on the Szechuan earthquake in China in May 2008 came from the message-sharing site Twitter.com.

Citizen content can have a significant effect in nations with authoritarian rule or censorship. In 2007 the world learned of widespread protests against the repressive Myanmar (Burma) military regime almost exclusively through citizen content smuggled over the border, which, in turn, generated international support and, arguably, tempered the regime's response. The Tibetan protests against China in early 2008 also relied on citizen content to reach the wider world.

Pro-Am Citizen Media

OhmyNews was founded in South Korea in 2000 by Oh Yeon-ho as the first major pro-am site and is still among the most important and successful. Ohmy built on an existing tradition of civic media in South Korea, combined with a widespread need among the public for both personal and democratic self-expression. Initially, Ohmy's four professional editors (there were 60 by 2008) handled hundreds of citizen contributions that poured in daily, ranging from shopkeepers' accounts of daily life to sophisticated political commentary. Ohmy played a major role in the election of reform President Roh Moo-hyun in 2002, and protecting him in 2004 when conservative parties sought to impeach him. While most traditional media sided with the conservatives, Ohmy created a broad public sphere through live coverage of mass candlelight vigils, editorials, and discussion boards. An analytical article by a philosophy professor criticizing the impeachment movement generated a record $27,000 in income through Ohmy's online "tipping" system. Pro-am cartoonists joined to create anti-impeachment editorials, which spread virally through blogs and online forums.

During and after Hurricane Katrina in 2005, the Internet was widely used by citizens to post pictures, search for lost or missing relatives, and to post news of devastated neighborhoods. But the New Orleans *Times-Picayune* played a major role in taking much of this raw citizen-generated material, sifting through it, fact-checking (where possible), and organizing it in a series of narratives, from small local stories with imperfect information to larger master narratives of the cleanup efforts in neighborhoods, the government response, and the restoration of daily life. This is the most extensive case of pro-am collaboration in the production of local news in the United States. With it, the paper won two Pulitzer Prizes in 2006.

Blogosphere and Citizen Journalism

Blogs and forum sites can also be viewed as citizen journalism when they are essentially public conversations, including collaborative community sites that engage in a comprehensive discussion of specific topics. *Slashdot* blends intense discussion of all things technological through a combination of blogs and discussion boards, user contributions, and links. These are then rated or filtered based on community standards, to produce a consensus.

Political blogs have risen to increasing prominence in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Among the most prominent are *Daily Kos* on the democratic left, and *Instapundit* on the conservative side. *Kos,* like most political blogs, began

This photo taken at the site of the World Trade Center in the immediate aftermath of the September 11, 2001, attack in New York City is typical of the eyewitness pictures and videos that mainstream media relied on early in the coverage of the event.

Source: ShutterStock/Anthony Correia.

with the strong authorial voice of its founder Markos Moulitsis, but it quickly grew into a "site of sites," with links to and from many smaller less prominent blogs on the political left. As it expanded, *Kos* gained prominence and was, in turn, linked to by mainstream websites such as CNN and MSNBC, making it a critical aggregator for a mix of news and opinion on the left, finding material across the blogosphere and filtering it for mainstream media. Other sites, like Josh Micah Marshall's Talkingpointsmemo.com, function in a similar way, but do more original reporting, acting more like small independent web journals blending high-quality reporting and opinion. On the right, similar blogs operate in different media ecology, sharing space with the large amplifying media of conservative talk radio and Fox News. Sites like the *Drudge Report* (started in 1994 as a mailing list and the original model of national voice online) often circulate unsubstantiated rumors or talking points, which become amplified as they are picked up by larger media.

Finally, there are a series of blogs that report on changes in the media, and particularly on citizen journalism itself. The broadest may be Pressthink .org, run by Jay Rosen, a professor who was a founder of the public journalism movement. *Pressthink* regularly points to new developments in citizen journalism and critically thematizes and debates issues. Other important sites on citizen journalism are Dan Gilmor's Center for Citizen Media, Jeff Jarvis's Buzzmachine.com, and the *Online Journalism Review*. *J-Lab,* founded by citizen journalism leader Jan Shaffer, has been a critical incubator for new efforts. Prominent media studies think tanks and some foundations focus a significant part of their efforts on citizen journalism, including the Knight Foundation, Harvard Berkman Center, and the Center for Communication and Democracy.

Trends

Citizen journalism is emergent by its nature, which makes it hard to draw overly sharp lines on specific models. However, some general trends are evident.

Incorporation of Locality

One of the strengths of citizen journalism lies in the ability of local citizens to report on topics that have been considered too narrow by traditional media, creating a comparative advantage in both niche targeting and community building. "Hyperlocal" or "place blogging" specializes in matters at the level of zip code or even neighborhood. One of the most prominent is *Baristanet,* a group blog about three neighborhood areas in New Jersey. To make up for its narrow local audience, the site aims for a loyal readership; it received 7,000 daily visits in 2008.

Citizen-generated local media operates on a more public scale. Local media are created and written by local citizens concerned with local issues. *The Forum* in Deerfield, Ohio, and Northfield.org in Northfield, Minnesota, were founded by local volunteer non-profit organizations to build local media where none had existed. The sites are managed by paid staff, but receive reporting from local citizen journalists, emphasizing the role of the local media in strengthening local community.

Aggregation of hyperlocal news also collects reports of local interest from various sources. Since hyperlocal news is generally covered in local citizen media and place blogs, this model practically functions as an overarching news service for local citizen journalism. The site *Outside.in* uses search engines to collect local news sources and categorizes them into over 11,860 towns and neighborhoods. *Outside.in* accepts direct local citizen reporting as well.

Pro-Am

There is a growing recognition of the need to combine professional and amateur reporting. To maintain journalistic quality while keeping entrance barriers low, mixed approaches are being implemented with prominent success. The pro-am civic reporting model incorporates news reports from both citizen contributors and their own professional staff writers. At the New York–based site *Gotham Gazette,* professional staff writers write major articles on current civic issues, while opening the doors for citizen contributions. *Voiceofsandiegoorg,* based in San Diego, takes the level of professionalism a step further. The site is a nonprofit organization, and its news structure resembles traditional daily newspapers while equally incorporating citizen contributions.

On the other hand, the commons and citizen training model puts emphasis on enhancing the journalistic quality of citizen contributions through news reporting training for aspiring citizen journalists. *MyMissourian* and *Twin Cities Daily Planet* are prominent sites that provide open workshops to citizens. *Madison Commons* in Madison, Wisconsin, has trained more than 100 residents in workshops to report on neighborhood topics in the course of two years with the goal of raising citizen reporting standards.

Convergence and Collectivity

Models built on Web 2.0 more directly are implementing new techniques like crowdsourcing. By issuing open calls for citizens to add new information to a story, each contributor is relieved of having to write a whole piece. The resulting articles have a rich layer of information and viewpoints. In 2006, the Fort Myers, Florida–based newspaper *News-Press* opened up its investigative report on local water and sewer system troubles to citizens. An overwhelming number of responses came in via online forums, email submissions, and phone calls, and the issue was covered in more depth and stirred more public discussion than most conventional investigative reporting.

Citizen-contributed aggregators and news services are also growing rapidly. They combine and categorize citizen-produced articles and traditional journalism, blurring the line between the two. Moving a step beyond editor-managed aggregators such as *Huffington Post,* services like *Newsvine* let the citizen's vote decide what articles are shown as headlines, and social indexing can change the categorical context in which an article is read. NowPublic.com is one of the most successful news crowdsourcing sites to date. Any user can submit articles, contribute additional information ranging from related links to cell phone footage, make an open call for others to contribute, and also recommend articles that should be promoted to the front page.

Citizen journalism will continue as the most rapidly growing segment of online reporting. Increasingly, traditional news organizations online will come to resemble mixtures of citizen and traditional journalism.

Lewis Friedland and Nakho Kim

See also Agenda Setting; Blogs and Bloggers; Civic Journalism; Convergence; Discussion Boards; Freelance Writers and Stringers; Journalism and Social Movements; News Aggregators; News Values; Social Network Websites

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Civic Journalism

The journalistic concept of "civic" (or "public") journalism is multifaceted. It simultaneously represents (1) an argument about the role and responsibility of journalism in a democratic society; (2) a set of practices that have been tried in actual newsroom settings; and (3) a movement of individuals and institutions concerned about strengthening journalism's contribution to public life. Following this tripartite distinction, this entry outlines public journalism's basic argument, describes how public journalism is practiced, and considers the individuals and institutions most responsible for its development as a journalistic reform movement.

Public journalism's broader journalistic significance lies not only in having inspired hundreds of newsroom experiments in the United States and elsewhere, but also in having prompted much debate among scholars and journalists alike about journalism's fundamental mission. Indeed, public journalism's challenges to mainstream journalism continue to reverberate throughout the profession, notably in discussions about the need for a more citizen-oriented form of journalism.

Basic Argument

Central to public journalism is the underlying argument that journalism and democracy are intrinsically linked, if not mutually dependent. While scholars and journalists acknowledge that the practice of journalism depends on certain democratic protections, most notably freedom from government intervention, they maintain that democracy depends upon journalism that is committed to promoting active citizen participation in democratic processes. Mainstream journalism's failure to encourage citizen participation, advocates argue, has contributed to widespread citizen withdrawal from voting as well as declining civic participation in community affairs. It also has contributed to declining public interest in, and perceived relevance of, political journalism, as evidenced by declining newspaper readership. Put differently, advocates perceive contemporary society as being riven by two widening (though not yet irreversible) gaps: between citizens and government and between news organizations and their audiences. To help reduce those gaps, advocates argue that journalists should inspire increased civic commitment to, and active participation in, democratic processes.

To further such democratic ideals, advocates argue that journalists must change the ways in which they have perceived the public and their own role in public life. Instead of seeing the public as passive spectators who only seek news to be entertained, or even as consumers who watch or read news to learn about government officials, experts, and other elite actors, journalists should perceive the public as engaged citizens who are

concerned about active democratic participation. Implicit in this argument is the claim that mainstream journalism's tendency to focus election reporting on campaign-managed events, candidate strategies and image-management techniques, horse race polls, or scandal coverage positions the public as mere spectators to a political spectacle. At best, mainstream journalism's efforts to inform the public about actions by the political elite suggest that the public need not be actively involved.

Second, and equally important, advocates argue that journalists need to reconceptualize their own role in public life. Instead of perceiving themselves as disinterested or neutral observers who occupy a privileged position detached from other citizens, journalists should be political actors or fair-minded participants who care about whether public life goes well. Implicit in this argument is the claim that journalism's virtually exclusive focus on the perspective of elite actors has distanced news people from concerns of ordinary citizens.

While public journalism is a relatively recent notion (scholarly and practical writing on the topic date to the early 1990s), its basic argument has deep historical roots. Beginning with the famous debate about the role and responsibility of journalism in a democratic society between journalist Walter Lippmann and philosopher John Dewey in the 1920s, public journalism's underpinnings can be traced back to the reports of the Hutchins' Commission on Freedom of the Press in the late 1940s as well as to several theoretical and empirical works on deliberative democracy a half century later. Aside from these influences, the most immediate historical "cause" of public journalism was the much-criticized news coverage of the 1988 U.S. presidential election between the senior George Bush and Michael Dukakis. While the news coverage focused overwhelmingly on the candidates' personalities, strategies and tactics, and horse race polls, the candidates themselves used simplistic image-management techniques to appeal to voters, as exemplified by television advertisements featuring Bush visiting flag factories to show his patriotism and Dukakis climbing aboard a tank to show his tough stance on defense policy. Following the election, scholars and journalists alike, many of whom subsequently became advocates of public journalism, called for radical changes to election reporting, notably a move away from candidate strategies and tactics to a focus on substantive policy issues of concern to voters.

Practical Manifestations

Although much has been said in favor of public journalism, the notion is defined more clearly by practice. In contrast to its advocates' rather general pronunciations about what public journalism should be, many journalists have engaged in practices clearly different from those of mainstream journalism.

Public journalism is best understood as a series of experiments that emerged within the mainstream U.S. news media in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Since 1988, when the first public journalism initiative was launched by the Columbus, Georgia, *Ledger-Enquirer,* more than 600 such initiatives have been carried out across the United States and elsewhere. Most initiatives have been conducted by newspapers—more than 300 dailies, or about one-fifth of all daily newspapers in the United States, have been involved with one or more public journalism initiatives. Similarly, while most of these initiatives have been carried out by individual newspapers, more than 160 (about one-quarter of all initiatives) have included partnerships among newspapers, television, and radio stations.

While public journalism initiatives exhibit different characteristics, these initiatives can be grouped into three categories: (1) elections, (2) special reporting projects, and (3) efforts to make public journalism an integral part of routine journalism practices. During local and national elections, news organizations practicing public journalism have made efforts to focus their reporting on problems of concern to voters rather than on candidate agendas. This has included identifying voter concerns through telephone surveys, in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions; elaborating on voters' opinions and where they differ from those of candidates; soliciting voter questions to candidates and publicizing candidates' answers; facilitating social interaction among voters and candidates in the form of town-hall meetings; and reporting the outcomes of those voter–candidate encounters.

Although election initiatives were an early and visible example of public journalism, they account

for only about 10 percent of the effort to date. Most initiatives have focused special reporting on problems of community concern. Since the early 1990s, news organizations practicing public journalism have engaged in a wide variety of reporting on such problems as racism, educational inequality, and poverty. As with election initiatives, news organizations have used various information-gathering methods to identify problems of concern, reported on those problems from the perspective of residents rather than government officials and other elite actors, offered residents opportunities to articulate their opinions, elaborated on what residents can do to address given problems, and helped organize roundtable discussions, community forums, and local civic organizations.

Aside from such project-based initiatives, news organizations have also sought to make public journalism an integral part of their routine practice. Some news organizations have restructured newsrooms from conventional beat systems to focus instead on geographic- or topic-based teams. Other news organizations have met with residents on a regular basis to discuss which problems they would like to see covered, report on those problems, and encourage residents to evaluate their coverage.

Sources of Support

Several individuals and institutions have helped ensure that public journalism has been one of the best organized social movements inside American journalism. Public journalism efforts can be traced to 1987 when James Batten, then-CEO of Knight-Ridder (purchased by McClathy in 2006), instituted a company-wide initiative known as "Community Connectedness," to strengthen the relationship between its newspapers and their local communities. When Batten learned of the Columbus, Georgia, *Ledger-Enquirer*'s efforts to involve local residents more actively in community affairs through its "Columbus Beyond 2000" initiative, he appointed the *Ledger-Enquirer*'s then-editor Jack Swift "Editor-of-the-Year." Many of public journalism's earliest practitioners, including the *Akron Beacon Journal,* the *Charlotte Observer,* the Columbia, South Carolina, *State,* and the *Wichita Eagle,* were owned by Knight-Ridder.

As he was being lauded, Swift contacted the Kettering Foundation, which works to strengthen democracy in the United States and elsewhere. Kettering introduced him to Professor Jay Rosen of New York University. Rosen and the Kettering Foundation played key roles in the development of public journalism as a journalistic reform movement. Aside from influencing the nascent movement with his writing, Rosen helped establish (with a grant from the Knight Foundation) the Project on Public Life and the Press at New York University. Led by Rosen and Lisa Austin, a former journalist from the *Wichita Eagle,* the project operated from 1993 to 1997, documenting early experiments in public journalism. Since the early 1990s, the Kettering Foundation has helped support public journalism by publishing books and awarding fellowships to scholars and journalists from around the world interested in learning more about the movement.

In 1993, the Project on Public Life and the Press was joined by the Pew Center for Civic Journalism (funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts) to strengthen public life in the United States. A decade-long initiative set in motion by Ed Fouhy, a nationally renowned former CBS producer and its first president, and Jan Schaffer, a Pulitzer Prize–winning editor from the *Philadelphia Inquirer* who became president when Ed Fouhy stepped down in 1998, the Pew Center for Civic Journalism emerged as the most important institutional vehicle for the public journalism movement. From 1993 to 2003, the center supported the movement by organizing numerous workshops for editors and reporters, funding more than 120 newsroom experiments in public journalism, publicizing the most innovative of those experiments through its "James K. Batten Awards for Excellence in Civic Journalism," engaging in extensive publication and outreach efforts, notably through its quarterly *Civic Catalyst* newsletter and various publications on the theory and practice of public journalism, sponsoring empirical research on public journalism's performance, and maintaining a comprehensive archive of newsroom experiments in public journalism submitted to it for recognition and/or advice (now housed at the Wisconsin Historical Society).

Moreover, the Pew Center for Civic Journalism complemented the work of the Project on Public Life and the Press by reaching out to commercial broadcasters, including funding numerous

multiple-media partnerships among press and broadcasters, and with workshops for news directors, producers, and reporters at National Public Radio and the Public Broadcasting Service. Finally, the Pew Center for Civic Journalism was an early supporter of the Civic Journalism Interest Group (formed in 1994 and renamed the Civic and Citizen Journalism Interest Group in 2006) of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, the premier scholarly journalism association in the United States. This interest group remains one of the most important sites for journalism scholars, educators, and practicing journalists to assess the theory, practice, and teaching of public journalism.

Since the Pew Center for Civic Journalism closed in 2003, much of its work has been continued by the Public Journalism Network, a global professional association of scholars and journalists committed to public journalism. Led by Professor Leonard Witt of Kennesaw State University in Georgia, who holds an endowed chair in public journalism, the network cosponsors various workshops in collaboration with the Civic and Citizen Journalism Interest Group, produces publications on the theory and practice of public journalism, serves as a forum for the sharing of curricular and instructional innovations in the teaching of public journalism, and maintains a weblog with continuously updated information about public journalism initiatives around the world.

Tanni Haas

See also Access to Media; Blogs and Bloggers; Citizen Journalism; Diversity: Content; Ethics; Polls and Public Opinion; Theories of Journalism

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Civil Unrest, Coverage of

Journalism, like most professions, periodically confronts political and social crises which challenge the fundamental norms and routines of its practitioners. For journalists, such crises pose a particularly acute problem. In times of crisis, or more specifically moments of civil disorder or unrest, journalists must not only come to grips with the reality of a situation as individual citizens; they must also attempt to make sense of such incidents for their readers and viewers. Consequently, as storytellers, journalists are located in a precarious position. They must make the often incredible and sometimes inexplicable accessible to audiences. Doing so requires journalists to reposition themselves vis-à-vis the standards and routines of the profession and to consider what the past may offer as a possible reference point for their coverage.

Communication researchers have examined journalists' coverage of civil unrest from many perspectives, reviewing newspaper articles, television broadcasts, visual images, and magazines as items of study. Across media, such studies have focused on issues including sourcing practices, journalistic routines, news content, narrative forms, and collective memory. Alongside these studies, communication scholars have simultaneously examined what impact coverage of civil unrest has had upon the journalistic profession and its audiences. Taken together, these areas of inquiry reinforce the significance of journalists' coverage of civil unrest in shaping discourse surrounding race, class, and gender, among other topics preoccupying contemporary society.

Origins

History is rife with examples of civil unrest, moments which necessarily demand the attention of journalists due to the often unexpected and sometimes widespread nature of such events. Civil unrest is an example of a "primary or cardinal news value," as cultural theorist Stuart Hall and his colleagues assert. Hall et al. point to the newsworthiness of incidents which are dramatic and personalized, have negative consequences, and concern elite individuals or nations. Stories of civil unrest often exemplify these characteristics. Civil unrest is a particular type of "disorder" story—news which threatens the status quo. As sociologist Herbert Gans argued, disorder news typically falls within one of four categories: natural, technological, social, and moral. While the phrase "civil unrest" may be interpreted in a variety of ways, here it is used as a synonym of civil disorder or civil disturbance meant to signify a display of collective discontent by one or more groups. Using this definition, civil unrest may be in the social or moral disorder categories that Gans outlined, though it may be related to natural or technological disorder. Civil unrest may involve violence, but not necessarily. However, news stories which tend to attract most attention from journalists are those of a more extraordinary nature.

Examples of "civil unrest" include, but are not limited to, demonstrations, protests, and riots. The urban riots which broke out across American cities in the late 1960s and the violence which broke out at the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago are highly visible examples of civil unrest turned deadly. The outbreak of violence following the 1992 verdict acquitting Los Angeles police officers tried for beating African American motorist Rodney King is another example of civil unrest. Coverage of civil unrest, thus, may dovetail with media coverage of crime or disaster. Coverage of civil unrest also tends to incorporate those entrusted with quieting protests or subduing rioters: law enforcement officials.

While examples of civil unrest may differ in scale and scope, they raise questions regarding how journalists narrate moments which challenge traditional journalistic routines, what specific frameworks for storytelling journalists deploy to explain incidents to their audiences, as well as how to maintain ideals upon which news media stand. To explore these questions, one must look at the routines which shape news content, from the day-to-day workings of the newsroom to sourcing practices.

Journalistic Routines and Sourcing Practices

Periods of civil unrest—moments which often disrupt traditional journalistic routines—necessarily place journalists in the position of having to generate news under constraints often different from day-to-day workings of a newsroom. Studies of newsroom practice have been undertaken predominantly by sociologists. Warren Breed's seminal 1955 study mapped newsroom contours by exploring mechanisms of "social control" and the often informal ways in which journalists "learn the ropes," emphasizing structures in place intended to encourage conformity. According to Breed, journalists' conformity to the unwritten codes of the profession can typically be attributed to journalists' desire to move up within the organization, their sense of obligation to their superiors, lack of in-group fighting, the general "pleasure" they derive from their jobs, and concern with institutional authority and the potential repercussions of that power, among other factors. More than two decades later, Gaye Tuchman's and Herbert Gans' respective ethnographic studies emerged, offering insight into the practices of news production. Tuchman uncovered "routinization" which journalists undertake daily and the modes of classification and typification such as hard news, soft news, spot news, continuing news, and developing news which help them order their work. In addition to analyzing news content and underlying values embedded in news, Gans examined practices of story selection and sourcing which determined content of news. According to Gans, news is the product of a "tug of war" which reveals structures of power.

The power wielded by journalists to "create" news is one that is negotiated between editors, publishers, and sources. Sources are fundamental to journalistic practice as they provide not only information but also credibility to the story. Thus, as sociologist Leon Sigal has argued, journalists tend to rely heavily on "routine" channels of information gathering such as official proceedings,

press conferences, and press releases, typically seeking out officials and those in power. Sigal's study of news content between 1949 and 1969 showed that while officials remained the most readily cited sources in news articles, their frequency increased over time. This was a finding later reinforced by Gans, who argued that individuals are most likely to be sources if they have power, are able to supply suitable information, and are geographically and socially proximate to journalists themselves. Hall et al. call those who wield the ability to define the parameters of incidents and frame their meaning "primary definers"—those with power and consequently the easiest access to journalists and, by extension, news organizations. While the existence of primary definers suggests that the power to define news is not solely in the hands of journalists, Hall et al. concurrently theorize news organizations performing a secondary role, still within the institution but constrained by its structure. Challenges to journalists' sourcing practices are particularly acute during moments of civil unrest, for often journalists are confronted with the challenge of covering not only the "official" story as told by those in power but also the often less powerful groups displaying their collective discontent.

Content Analysis and Narratives

Because of the often highly visible nature of civil unrest, journalists are obliged to cover such incidents. How journalists cover civil unrest, however, has preoccupied researchers and news people for decades. How an incident is covered is typically examined using methods such as content analysis and/or textual analysis, methods which closely examine *what* is presented by journalists as well as *how* it is presented—what broader frames are constructed to aid in understanding a story. Thus, scholars examining coverage of civil unrest typically fall into two categories: (1) those who study news content; and (2) those who study frames and narrative. Frames, as sociologist Todd Gitlin defines them, are journalistic modes of organizing written and visual texts into digestible forms which necessarily highlight certain pieces of information and exclude others. While these are not wholly independent categories, for communication scholars often study these threads of inquiry simultaneously, each branch of research asks a different set of questions which carry implications for how news is made and subsequently received.

News coverage of civil unrest is considered by many researchers to have widespread effects upon how individuals perceive the nature of the action as well as the individuals participating in it. Consequently, researchers have focused on uncovering what news coverage of civil unrest looks like in different contexts, using different case studies as exemplars.

News Content

In the 1960s, civil unrest dominated American news coverage due to movements sweeping the country including the civil rights, anti–Vietnam War, and women's and gay rights movements, among others. The visibility news media coverage afforded was not lost on these protesters. Civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr., for instance, encouraged African American protesters to wage their battles before television cameras and reporters for their respective papers, hoping journalists would provide a voice and powerful visuals. Without media coverage, disturbing scenes of protesters being blasted with fire hoses and attacked by police dogs of Birmingham, Alabama, police chief "Bull" Connor in 1963 would not have caused a national outrage over the graphic images.

Gitlin examined the impact of news media coverage on the trajectory of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), a critical element in the New Left movement of the 1960s, exploring how the organization was depicted. He argued that SDS was profoundly impacted by coverage, for it was news media that gave SDS national visibility, covering its anti–Vietnam War demonstrations. An "adverse symbiotic" relationship emerged between news organizations and SDS: the former needed stories, and SDS needed media to provide continued visibility. Tracing this relationship from SDS's relative invisibility in news to virtual omnipresence, Gitlin argues that media coverage, which eventually uncovered internal workings of the movement, ultimately led to its demise by magnifying developing fractures.

The various frames news organizations deployed for covering SDS and its actions changed over time. Initially, Gitlin argues, news organizations

used several devices to cover SDS including trivialization, polarization, emphasis on internal dissension, and marginalization. Each of these devices was intended to undermine the movement, emphasizing the deviance and extremeness of its members. Yet as news media became increasingly preoccupied with SDS, the movement's leaders sought actions that would attract media attention. Decisions made within the movement became dependent upon what members believed would garner the most news coverage. SDS's reliance on and preoccupation with news coverage contributed to its ultimate demise.

Representation of civil unrest was similarly pivotal during the 1968 Democratic National Convention (DNC) in Chicago. While the DNC was covered famously by such "new journalists" as Norman Mailer, the 1968 convention proved a transformative moment for journalists covering the city's police. The 1968 DNC is a pivotal moment in journalism history and coverage of civil unrest. According to Gans, prior to the convention, police action against demonstrators had been covered by news organizations as a requisite effort needed to restore law and order to unruly masses. Although protesters had proclaimed "police brutality" in the past, efforts of police were typically considered lawful. News coverage of the convention changed that, as images of police beating demonstrators were broadcast nationally. The violence at the convention shifted news discourse of police actions from necessary and lawful to unnecessarily brutal.

Television coverage of the anti–Vietnam War movement in the late 1960s also had a profound effect on how people saw the controversial war. During the early years of the war (to about 1965), reporters subscribed predominantly to a form of consensus journalism that did little to challenge the decisions of the Kennedy or Johnson administrations. However, starting in 1966, according to communications researcher Daniel Hallin, consensus was no longer the norm. Rather, journalists began to reveal dissent, presenting opposition to the Vietnam War. This move, according to Hallin, signified a shift in the nature of coverage from the "sphere of consensus" to a "sphere of legitimate controversy," a site for citizens to protest and debate American involvement in the war. As such, coverage of anti-Vietnam protests and dissenting opinions opened up a potential for greater political involvement by members of the news media as well as audiences. However, the manner in which the anti-Vietnam protesters were covered, at least early on, suggested that they were threatening law and order—that they were extremists "provoking" violence. Thus, while protesters helped shift American opinion against the war, their protests were only slowly legitimated by news coverage.

This general trend—the initial marginalization by news organizations of groups engaging in civil unrest—has been dubbed the "protest paradigm." The "protest paradigm" reinforces the idea that news organizations, while potential agents of social change, are more likely to marginalize groups seen as somehow threatening the status quo. However, while studies have shown a general trend toward marginalizing social protesters, researchers have found that the type of protest impacts coverage as well. Boyle et al., for example, found that war protests tend to be more "deviant" than other forms of demonstration (i.e., labor or social protests).

Conducting a study of protest coverage in Wisconsin newspapers between 1960 and 1999, researchers found that papers became increasingly wedded to the status quo over time. What this meant for news coverage was that the types of protests covered by news media were those deemed less threatening and potentially subversive. Researchers posit that such a shift may be attributable to newspapers' need to cater to demands of their readership. Another alternative is that protests themselves have become less deviant.

Narrative

While many researchers are concerned with the nature of civil unrest news content, studies examining its narratives have flourished since World War II. By 1968, with the report of President Lyndon B. Johnson's Kerner Commission (the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence) following the outbreak of riots across the United States in cities including Newark, Detroit, and Los Angeles, the effects of how news media narrated stories to their readers and viewers were already being challenged. The commission cited media as one among several factors at fault in perpetuating an atmosphere of civil

unrest across the country. The commission critiqued media for failing to adequately cover the nation's racial tensions, and ultimately charged news media with failing to narrate the plight of African Americans.

Storytelling, or narrative construction, is a fundamental part of journalistic work. The very existence of narratives suggests that there are various ways that any story can be constructed. Researchers have taken up the topic of journalistic narratives of civil unrest and attempted to make sense of them.

In the wake of the urban riots in Detroit in 1967, one sociologist examined the role of television in communicating information to communities during the riots and the sources of information for the black community. He concluded that television proved an important informational tool for city residents who were exposed to a recent history of uprisings through the medium. The news media, he argues, primed the issue of civil unrest through coverage of other protests and riots.

Sociologist Ronald Jacobs examined coverage of the 1965 Watts riots in Los Angeles and 1992 riots following the verdict in the Rodney King police brutality trial, arguing that such coverage revealed the role of the black press in creating an alternate space which could provide a counter-narrative to that provided by the mainstream media. This study of the riots focused on news content as well as the larger narratives within which news stories are told. According to the research, articles immediately following the outbreak of violence surrounding Rodney King focused predominantly on describing the rioters and primary explanations for the causes of destruction. Noting differences between the city's black press and mainstream dailies, Jacobs argues that while news media constructed narratives surrounding race, the nation, and civil society, the black press provided alternative explanations for the outbreak of violence.

Scholars have built upon this work by examining the 1999 Seattle protests against the World Trade Organization (WTO) and how coverage of the globalization movement transformed over time. In their case study, they uncovered the complexity of the relationships between journalists, protesters, and media events, providing evidence of the "protest paradigm" as well as evolution within coverage, framing protest more positively.

Collective Memory

While the ways journalists narrate events have preoccupied many researchers seeking to understand coverage of civil unrest, others have examined journalists' role in the construction and preservation of collective memory. Collective memory's place in studies of journalism has gained greater currency since the 1990s. Memory, as communication scholars have argued, is a complex entity, subject to transformation across time and space.

According to researcher Jill Edy, journalists use the past in three distinct ways: (1) as something to commemorate, (2) as an analogy, and (3) as a context. Using the 1965 riot in Watts, Los Angeles, as an example, journalists periodically return to the story not only to commemorate anniversaries but also to explain and provide context for present-day events. Researchers have also explored how coverage of civil unrest impacts journalism itself. Journalists form an "interpretive community" which unites them through shared discourse and ways of narrating events. Understanding journalists as an interpretive community affords them a degree of authority as interpreters. During moments of crisis or civil unrest, authority of journalists is placed in stark relief as they attempt to make sense of incidents that often defy simple explanation. As communications researcher Barbie Zelizer and others have argued, during moments of crisis or civil unrest journalists must renegotiate the bounds of their practice.

Moral Panics

While journalists use crisis coverage to repair ruptures within their own institutions and reassert their authority as storytellers at a time when their authority is challenged, journalism researchers have also examined how news organizations develop and in some cases perpetuate cases of moral panic. A situation that emerges when official reaction to a given problem or problems is disproportionate to the actual threat itself, moral panic can be a product of disproportionate attention by news organizations. News organizations, as Hall et al. have argued, were instrumental in bolstering the notion of a mugging epidemic in Great Britain in the 1970s and subsequently advanced an understanding of "mugging" that

combined concerns regarding race, youth, and crime. In this case, coverage of crime contributed to civil unrest, as citizens became increasingly concerned with the security of society.

Researchers continue to assess news coverage of civil unrest. While some studies have shown that coverage of civil unrest has revealed a degree of journalistic routinization, the unpredictable and sometimes extraordinary nature of civil unrest continues to challenge conceptions of how journalists cover and describe events and consequently what effects these stories have upon audiences and journalists themselves.

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See also Crime and the Courts; Natural Disasters, Coverage of; Race and Ethnicity, Coverage of; Terrorism, Coverage of

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Classified Advertising

Since the mid-1990s the term *classified advertising* has expanded from those relatively short messages merely appearing as print ads to more elaborate types of advertising in various periodicals, as well as on the Internet and cable television. As newspaper classifieds have notably declined, those on electronic media continue to expand.

Classified advertisements have proved to be a boon for consumers and newspapers for hundreds of years. They have proved to be a useful resource across demographic and other boundaries. Today, these ads of the people are "classified" into different categories, ranging from different jobs available, apartment rentals, and even matrimonial propositions.

Characteristically, the text of classified advertisements is set in uniform type size and style, usually without illustration. The three major headings are Employment, Real Estate, and Automotive, although there are many additional categories. Classified advertising is usually located in its own separate section of a publication and has its own rate card. It is responsible for a major portion of most publishers' revenue. Rates are based on the amount of space (words or lines of copy) and the length of time the ad will run. The longer the run, the cheaper the per diem rate will be.

Quite simply, print advertising is divided into two basic categories, classified and display advertising.

Development

The term *classified* emerged in the nineteenth-century newspapers because it generally grouped

together small ads within the publication under headings classifying the product or service being offered. Thus, ads were grouped into distinct categories in one section of the newspaper, distinguished from the larger illustrated "display ads." The latter, interspersed with editorial content, were generally placed by businesses or individuals engaged in at least some moderate-sized enterprises.

There were subtle changes in style over the years. While "want ads" became a category by 1835–36, led by the New York *Morning Herald* in 1848, the practice of placing a small illustration cut in the top left corner of ads as a categorizing tool was discarded in favor of classifieds with the first line set in small capital letters. The only difference for the next century was that only the first or index-word was capitalized, for example, "HOUSE for Sale."

Gilbert Gundersen, in *The Story of Classified Ads,* notes that by the 1920s, one could see readers turn to the back pages of a newspaper, preferring to peruse the classified section before reading through the headlines of the day. For the man out of work, the most vital section of the paper was found in the "Help Wanted" classifieds.

During World War II, help-wanted advertising increased dramatically as men left jobs to enter the armed forces. This left a tremendous number of jobs that needed to be filled. During July 1943, for instance, the *Chicago Tribune* noted that such ads had swelled its classified section to the point where 51 percent of the newsprint consumed that month was devoted to classified ads. Because of the war, newsprint was at a premium; yet the Chicago newspaper wished to maintain its dominance as a classified medium. The solution combined switching to a nine-column format and using smaller type. This actually increased the average number of revenue lines per column by 20 percent.

The author of a leading advertising textbook in 1950, Otto Kleppner (*Advertising Procedure*), articulated the vital importance of classifieds in media culture of the day. Classifieds are closely read, he argued, for the person who looks at them is already interested in the product or service they advertise. Classified advertising remained of major importance to newspapers into the early 1960s, though it was only of occasional interest to national advertisers. More interest had developed in classified display ads: more white space, larger typefaces, illustrations, and, by the 1990s, color.

Some national outlets for classifieds appeared, starting in 1982 with *USA Today*, the first nationally produced general daily newspaper. In August 2008, the newspaper's "Marketplace Today" contained such classified categories as Business Opportunities, Investment Property, and Health/Fitness. "Real Estate Marketplace" consisted most of classified display ads in such categories as Pre-Fab Homes, Land, Time-Share, and Condos.

Other prominent newspapers included classifieds in their national editions. In one representative 2008 issue of *The New York Times*, for example, a typical one-half page section was devoted to "National Classified Advertising," most of which were real estate ads, categorized according to state, city, or even county. Most referred to locations in the New York metropolitan region. In the same month, *The Wall Street Journal* included a page of mostly classified display ads fit under the heading of "Waterfront Properties," with subheadings in various states.

Emerging Technologies

Well into the 1990s, most people turned to print ads when looking for a job, apartment rental, or real estate. Yet the Internet classified market had emerged to change that situation by 2000, and more newspapers were beginning to appear on the World Wide Web, either charging readers for the extra service or including it as a bonus to advertisers. Print classifieds offered very limited information while the web could provide enhanced descriptions as well as digital media, including video and audio, as well as the "search and find" feature.

The initial competition for newspaper classified advertising had come from online services that introduced two concepts to the world of classifieds: aggregation and vertical sites. New web competitors offered vertical services—a single category of classified advertising such as jobs—with the added value benefit of compiling classified advertising from numerous markets. Prospective job seekers, particularly those looking to relocate from other areas, now could look at a single site and see employment opportunities anywhere in the country (or internationally) without seeking out-of-town newspapers.

There is a notable blurring between print and broadcast media, as increasingly local newspapers are turning to broadcast quality video reports on their web locations. It may be getting to the point where there may be no such thing as a print media outlet, broadcast media outlet, or a web media outlet. All will become multimedia outlets.

Sam Diaz, staff writer for *The Washington Post*, wrote in the August 31, 2007, issue that before the advent of the Internet, a classified ad for Andrew Davis's 2001 Mitsubishi Montero SUV might have been limited to two lines of descriptive shorthand: A/C, pwr pkg, 6cyl AT, 2wd, $9k firm. Today, in ads on the Internet, Davis can post pictures of his car in an off-road setting and sharing such details as when the timing belt and water pump were last replaced. He can include a link to a feature article about his car's model in *Popular Mechanics*. All this was posted free in classified ads on Craigslist and other networking sites. He also paid for an ad in *The Washington Post*, a bundled deal that also put his listing on Cars.com and other websites. His approach of putting his vehicle in front of as many potential buyers as possible illustrates how dynamic the process of classified advertising has become.

Changing Revenue Streams

Once a steady source of revenue, classified advertising at some larger newspaper chains dropped 14 to 20 percent in 2007 to 2008, notably in once-lucrative segments such as automotive, real estate, and employment ads. This drop eclipsed that experienced even during the Great Depression of the 1930s, and this is largely due to fundamental newspaper challenges. Circulation is declining as readers move online and advertisers chase them, looking for more targeted and measurable ad outlets. There are also cyclical issues: the economic and real estate downturn in 2007 to 2008 hurt advertising badly, particularly the national, retail, and classified ads that newspapers depend on. As one example, a yield of $12.1 million for classified advertising at the venerable *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* (both print and online) represented a decrease of about 22 percent for the first quarter of 2008. This was the eleventh consecutive quarterly decrease in the paper's classified advertising.

Internet advertising presents a contrasting picture. By mid-2007, online traffic to classified ad sites had grown 23 percent, to more than 46 million unique visitors, up from about 37 million a year earlier. Wal-Mart, the world's largest retailer, launched an online classified advertising site, a move to open a broader range of shopping to its Internet customers.

Yet all the print news is not bad. Newspapers serving smaller suburban communities are faring much better than their counterparts in large metropolitan areas. Total ad revenues for community papers experienced a relatively modest decline of 2.4 percent in 2008 from the previous year. Community papers provide hyperlocal news and advertising that no other medium can effectively provide. Their unique local product contrasts with national and international news delivered by bigger papers. Yet the very definition of the local audience is expected to change constantly. Many are as apt to check out ads in *USA Today* (in print and on line) or other websites when looking to change jobs as they are to turn to local publications.

The classified market has become increasingly fragmented as a growing number of companies search for ways to convert offline newspaper ads into a web format. Two primary online approaches are emerging. One is simply to shift traditional classifieds to the web, aggregating ads to a single site. The other involves distributing those aggregated ads over as many websites as possible.

Many in the newspaper industry blame Craigslist, the seventh most popular website in the United States, for the downturn of their classified advertising business. A no-frills, ad-free, user-sensitive site, Craigslist has generated more than 600 million free classified listings. But companies are trying to do things online that lead to offline transactions, and because ultimately transactions resulting from classified advertising will involve offline interaction, local papers say they will remain key players, even as classifieds find more venues online.

The Yellow Pages

The very first time the term *yellow pages* was used was in 1881. It is alleged that a printer working on a regular telephone directory ran

out of white paper and used yellow paper instead. Then in 1886, Reuben H. Donnelly produced the first Yellow Pages directory in Chicago, featuring business names and phone numbers, categorized by the types of products and services provided.

While the term *classified advertising* may not bring the Yellow Pages to mind, they are one of the primary examples of this ad form. The Yellow Pages' history goes back to 1864, when Richard Robert Donnelley established a small printing plant in Chicago. In 1874, his company, R.R. Donnelly and Sons, developed and printed the *Chicago City Directory*, the first listing of companies and their addresses, which has evolved into what today is known as the telephone directory. In early 1886, the Chicago Directory Company began publishing a phone directory three times a year for the Chicago Telephone Company. That event is generally acknowledged as the birth of the classified telephone directory advertising industry—the Yellow Pages. The Yellow Pages continue to be an incredibly efficient advertising medium.

With the explosion in classified advertising activity on the Internet since the late 1990s, the Yellow Pages have suffered the same problems as newspapers. And, like many newspapers, directory publishers are competing by setting up their own online sites. In the future of classified ads newspaper publishers understand that their classified advertising businesses will be fundamentally different in the future. Joint efforts go beyond a newspaper posting local help-wanted ads on its own website. CareerBuilder, for example, is a jointly administered site on which Knight Ridder and Tribune Company combine their recruitment ads; the site has national reach and enough traffic to compete with the two leading job posting sites, Monster.com and HotJobs.com. The CareerBuilder site, in turn, can give employers access to individual markets through participating newspapers' print want ads.

In recent years, as customers migrated to the web, the telephone directory business followed, hoping that the Internet would save it. The strategy has not panned out. The audience for online Yellow Pages remains relatively small, and the glut of online directory services competing for the advertiser dollars of local businesses means that there is no authoritative site that advertisers can approach. Actually, between 2005 and 2008, Yellow Pages publishers made concerted efforts to reinvent themselves, launching numerous digital offerings for advertisers. The 2008 economic downturn compounded the situation. In 2009 print and online ad spending on Yellow Pages is expected to plummet 6.3 percent, more than double the rate of decline projected for broadcast television, noted John Janedis, a Wachovia analyst. It's anticipated that from 2008 to 2012, ad spending will fall 39 percent in print directories alone. This is the steepest projected decline across all local media categories, according to media research firm Borrell Associates. Finally, the publishers have been facing considerable debt, posing the real prospects of extinction.

It is crucial for local newspapers to protect their recruitment-ad turf against the national—in fact, borderless—online sites. Classified advertising has generated up to 40 percent of a daily newspaper's revenue, and job recruitment advertising accounts for 44 percent of total classifieds, or about 18 percent of total ad revenue. Newspapers are fighting back by bundling their want ads into websites with a national reach, which puts them in a better position to compete against the giants of online media.

Even the Newspaper Association of America is linking member newspapers via a site called Bona Fide Classified, which provides access to those papers' online classifieds. It allows users the opportunity to search over 1,100 individual newspapers' classified sections. The *Daily News* in Bowling Green, Kentucky, is one of the first newspapers to chart the "mash-up" concept with classified ads. With a daily circulation of 21,000-plus, the newspaper is combining data from Google Maps and yard-sale ads from its classified section. The result is an online map that pinpoints the exact location of the sales.

While their form changes, classified ads are alive and well and will continue to attract readers. Although still dominated by the daily newspaper, they are extending their reach and function into other media, especially the web. Classified advertising is transitioning from its primary print format and embracing the opportunities offered by the Internet not only to expand the methods of ad presentation—through multimedia tools, user

interactivity, hyperlinks, multiple images, and searchability—but also to adapt to the possibilities of a worldwide marketplace.

Sammy R. Danna

See also Advertising

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Clipping Services

Press clipping services monitor media for content of interest to their clients. They scan through newspapers, magazines, and electronic media, select pertinent items, and then package ("clip") them for easy perusal. The industry's name derives from the traditional practice of clipping items with a pair of scissors from the newspaper for safekeeping. Modern-day services track not only newspapers but nearly every print, broadcast, cable, and web-based information outlet, running the spectrum from network news broadcasts to teenagers' blogs.

Development

Clipping services have their origins in the expanding media environments of late-nineteenth-century cities. As the number of newspaper titles grew, editions multiplied, and issues expanded in length, a handful of entrepreneurs independently hit on the idea of a press monitoring service. Henry Romeike started the earliest clipping (or cutting) service in London in 1881 and quickly expanded its operations to New York, Paris, and Berlin. Romeike relocated to the United States in 1886 to take charge of his New York office, servicing a roster of entertainers, politicians, industrialists, and socialites eager to keep track of their press coverage. Frank Burrelle, an attorney who had represented mining companies and other clients grappling with image problems, started a similar operation with wife, Nellie, after detecting a demand for such a service among businessmen. Robert Luce, a Boston reporter and later U.S. congressman, started his service at roughly the same time. Burrelle's, Romeike, Luce, and National Press Intelligence took the national lead during the first decades of the twentieth century, while dozens of smaller companies carved out local markets.

Clipping services used industrialized reading operations to provide clients with a steady stream of articles snipped from newspapers and magazines across the country. The thousands of daily, weekly, and monthly periodicals the services subscribed to were reviewed by large staffs of mostly female readers. Each reader, guided by thousands of keywords committed to memory, scanned papers page by page, marking articles of interest. Marked papers were then turned over to razor-wielding clippers, usually men, who sliced out the items and glued them onto color-coded slips. A third group of workers sorted, packaged, and mailed off the clipped stories to clients. Services were paid a fixed retainer fee and collected a few cents per clipping.

Expansion

The clipping services have since the 1960s steadily expanded their operations beyond print media monitoring. Burrelle's began offering local media directories, inventorying all of the newspapers, magazines, and broadcast outlets in a state or region in 1960. In the 1970s, the company started monitoring radio and television transcripts. Shortly after, VCR technology made it feasible for services to record, edit, and package broadcast news clips.

Throughout its history, the industry has often been derided as a service for self-absorbed celebrities. Admonitions against "reading your own press clippings" even entered the vernacular as a warning to those in danger of becoming too entranced by their public persona. But this image of a frivolous, vanity service has always been a mischaracterization that overlooks the important social, political, and economic work carried out by the industry. From their start, clipping services sold themselves to politicians, businesses, and other powerful interests as a form of surveillance. Romeike's client list counted leading merchants, manufacturers, and political leaders along with actors and entertainers. Burrelle boasted in a 1905 interview of being able to provide the name of every new amputee in the United States to a client who manufactured artificial limbs. Throughout most of the twentieth century, developers and engineering firms relied on clippings to monitor public budgets, new zoning ordinances, and myriad other concerns to guide their marketing plans. Advertisers used the service to keep an eye on competitor's campaigns. Public relations offices relied heavily on clippings to detect threats to their clients' images and gauge their own success in garnering coverage. The U.S. Department of Defense created its own clipping service to publish a daily journal of cuttings, *The Early Bird,* that became a reading staple among inside-the-beltway power players. In this sense, the press clipping can best be understood as a control technology developed for the purpose of transforming raw information into social power.

The clipping services' fortunes have been tied since the 1970s to three interrelated developments—heightened corporate sensitivity to image issues, a higher premium placed on market data, and advances in information technology. While public relations had for decades been central to business strategy, many industries responded to what they deemed an antibusiness climate in the early 1970s, marked by mobilization among environmental, consumer-rights, and corporate-watchdog groups, by dramatically strengthening their image-control efforts. Media monitoring thus became a more crucial activity as businesses built public relations campaigns to deflect the criticisms mounting before them. At the same time, new communication technologies—satellites, data-transmission links, and computer networks—both accelerated the speed of business transactions and drew regional markets across the globe into closer relations. Media surveillance took on added value in this environment as businesses were faced with the problem of sorting through haystacks of information in search of the needles that could give them a competitive edge.

Technology and the Clipping Industry

Automation and new information technologies enabled the clipping industry to meet and, in turn, stoke this heightened demand. Through the 1960s, press clippers had operated in much the same manner they had six decades prior. But beginning in the 1970s, companies turned to computers to streamline their processes and offer new services. Monitors hooked up to mainframes replaced bulky keyword volumes. Workers coded stories onto computer punch cards to offer more efficient storage, faster retrieval options, and powerful new forms of data analysis. New business machines allowed clippers to drastically cut their delivery times as well. Burrelle's, for example, trimmed weeks off the industry standard by offering overnight turnaround via fax machine by the mid-1980s. By the early 1990s, services were developing search programs to crawl databases and World Wide Web pages for items of interest.

The press clipping industry has undergone dramatic changes since the early 1990s. The industry's leading firms merged to form Burrelles*Luce* in 2003. At the same time, many new companies sprang up to capitalize on sophisticated search technologies and the explosion of web content. Automated searches offer clients access to rumors

and breaking news by continuously crawling through webpages, online transcripts, blogs, chat rooms, social-networking sites, and video clips. Along with expanding their reach, web technologies have dramatically changed the way clipping services package and deliver their findings. Rather than mailing or faxing clips, companies offer online portals through which clients can retrieve, organize, and analyze them. And web applications offer near real-time alert services. Critical Mention, a company with a niche specialty in television news, boasts the ability to alert clients within a minute of a clip's airing. In terms of print media, the services have supplanted many of their readers and clippers with electronic scanners as both a labor-saving device and means of building larger, more searchable archives. Burrelles*Luce,* for instance, still produces paper slips, but these are now printed versions of scans rather than physical cuttings from publications. And in addition to the publication and date included on the slips of old, the scans include information ranging from copyright notices to thumbnail-sized images of the source page.

These innovations that have allowed clipping services to exponentially expand their reach and cut their delivery time have had a paradoxical impact on the industry. The same technologies have largely democratized, in the form of popular search engines, the industry's basic service—surveillance of a media universe too big for any one person to keep track of. Influenced by the fortunes the magazine and cable television industries found in audience fragmentation, media research labs experimented with ways of creating electronic newspapers that were narrowly tailored to reflect the interests of individual readers. Knight-Ridder fittingly called its early 1990s prototype—a mobile, tablet-sized computer—the *Daily Me*. While the *Daily Me* never made it to the mass market, Yahoo and Google popularized the basic concept through their news crawling capabilities. Both portals offer individualized news pages gleaned from thousands of international media outlets according to the interests indicated in the user's profile. A hypothetical reader in Seattle interested in Pennsylvania politics, deforestation in the Amazon, and the British soccer club Arsenal can open her web browser every morning to a page made up entirely of clippings on those topics. RSS feeds piped in through Google's ready-made templates can feed readers the news that most interests them as it's posted.

As the lines between clipping services and popular technologies have blurred, the former have looked to value-added services as a means of distinguishing themselves. Burrelles*Luce* bills its web portal as a comprehensive public relations tool offering everything from planning calendars to press release templates. The company also provides copyright policing services. Others look to social science as a means of setting themselves apart. Dow Jones, for example, promotes its subtle understanding of how new ideas diffuse through media networks. And just as its antecedents offered to read through the mountains of metropolitan dailies a century ago, Burrelles*Luce* now offers "editors" that comb through the thousands of hits returned by search engines. The clipping services thus continue to rely on the strategy that has been at their core since the industry's inception—the willingness to read the news in its entirety, no matter how tedious a chore that may be.

Richard K. Popp

See also Advertising; Automation; History of Journalism: 1861–1930; History of Journalism: 1995–Present; Marketing; News Aggregator; New York; Spin

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CNN

See Cable News

Columns and Columnists

Columnists have an enviable job. Journalists given a column are usually chosen for their writing skill, discerning mind, and ability to interest readers. Beyond that, one might say personality is the main characteristic that distinguishes the work of the columnist from that of the reporter and the editorial writer. The reporter's job is to provide readers with an accurate description of news events, written as objectively as possible while keeping the writer and his or her personal opinions out of the story. The editorialist must offer readers the newspaper's positions (not necessarily his or her own) on various public issues, also refraining from writing himself or herself into the editorial. The columnist, on the other hand, filters public issues through his or her own personality and worldview and onto the printed page. A columnist is less directly tied to the news cycle, can take sides, and is free to employ a wider range of approaches and writing devices than may be used by other journalists.

Development

In the early 1800s, newspaper owners and employees began functioning as editorial writers and reporters, thereby improving the content of newspapers, which in the 1700s came largely from letter-writers and exchanges of copy with other newspapers and other publications. Whereas American writers from the pre-1800 days of Benjamin Franklin wrote more or less column-like newspaper and pamphlet copy prior to 1800, writers specifically referred to as columnists emerged later, in the mid-nineteenth century.

A column is an informal essay, or commentary, usually averaging somewhere between 700 and 800 words, is usually signed by its writer, usually addresses a single topic, appears on a regular schedule in the same position in the newspaper or periodical's pages, and is used more for its interest value than for its news value. At base, being interesting to readers is the columnist's *raison d'etre*. The columnist's insight, wit, engaging personality, and pizzazz stand out from the more cautiously crafted editorials with which some columns share space in a newspaper's commentary (often an op-ed page) section. The words of a good columnist also have extra sparkle and resonance compared to the work of news reporters; although reporting is a newspaper's most vital product, it has a way of becoming dry, especially in the present-day climate of corporate service journalism that marks both newspapers and magazines.

Media historians remain somewhat unclear as to exactly when the columnist emerged as a journalistic specialist. Some of the earliest practitioners of this craft were literary figures such as Benjamin Perley Poore, who began his column "Waifs from Washington" in 1854; Ambrose Bierce, in San Francisco in 1868; and Joel Chandler Harris in Georgia in the 1870s. Other pioneering columnists were women, hired as columnists in part to attract more women readers. Sara Parton launched a column in New York in 1855, writing in the guise of "Fanny Fern." Author and journalist Jane Cunningham Croly wrote as "Jennie June" in New York at the same time; Emily Briggs was Philadelphia's "Olivia" beginning in 1866; Mary Clemmer Ames wrote in the nation's capital after the Civil War; and Sallie Joy opined as "Penelope Penfeather," a Boston columnist in 1875.

Later in the 1800s, the popularity of columnists in general was cemented by the enthusiastic reception of humorists such as Henry Wheeler Shaw, who in 1867 began writing a New York City–based column featuring the fictitious rustic character "Josh Billings." Other such writers of humorous, distinctively American sketches who regularized their frequency of publication by becoming humor columnists include Finley Peter Dunne, creator, in 1893, of the fictitious Irish American bartender "Mr. Dooley," deflator of the pompous; and George Ade, a small-town Hoosier turned satirical Chicago dialect humorist whose column was titled "Stories of the Streets and of the Town" (1893). Although African American columnists in the 1800s were very few, Gertrude Mossell began a column in the *New York Age* in 1885, and Lillian Lewis introduced her "They Say" in the *Boston Advocate* in 1889. Noted civil and women's rights activist Ida Wells-Barnett launched her *New York*

Age column in 1892 and a second column in the *Chicago Inter Ocean* in 1894.

If any city deserves to be remembered as "the capital city of columnists," it is Chicago. In the period of its great growth, Chicago produced in 1883 one of the nation's most emulated columnists of them all, Eugene Field. His first column was published in Denver beginning in 1880, but it is with Chicago that he is most identified. As was the custom in those days, he gave his *Chicago Morning News* column a standing title, "Sharps and Flats." In it, the well-read Field, employing both prose and verse, was at times serious, at other times humorous, yet was always personable and popular. In 1900, Baltimore's H. L. Mencken began skewering "Boobus Americanus," and in 1901, Bert Leston Taylor began conducting a well-loved Chicago column titled "A Line o'Type or Two." Although the idea for this column was the brainchild of *Tribune* editor James Keeley, it was Taylor who made it a hit, using, in addition to his own work, items submitted by fellow journalists and readers. He called himself a "colyumnist," jesting about the slang pronunciation used by some Chicagoans. So well liked was his work that the column lived on after Taylor's death. One of Taylor's admiring contributors was Franklin Pierce Adams, who began as a columnist in Chicago, then in 1904 moved to New York, where, as "F.P.A.," he wrote the column "The Conning Tower" and was a member of the celebrated Algonquin Roundtable group of New York wits. Wit was also the commodity of Irvin S. Cobb in his humor column "New York Through Funny Glasses," launched in 1905.

In 1912 appeared a true comic genius, Don Marquis, and his New York "Sun Dial" column, wherein appeared his unforgettable comments on the Roaring Twenties accomplished through two unlikely characters, written lower-case as archie the cockroach and mehitabel the cat. Others in the Marquis cast of fictitious characters were Hermione and her little group of serious thinkers, who were Marquis' way of satirizing overprivileged dilettantes, and Clem Hawley (the Old Soak), the columnist's foil for poking fun at Prohibition.

An early example of the sports writer who broadens his scope past athletics is Ring Lardner, whose witty "In the Wake of the News" ran in Chicago starting in 1913. Poet Carl Sandburg launched a column in 1918 in Chicago.

By 1920, the columnist had become an expected part of the American newspaper, but the popularity of this journalistic specialty went into overdrive in 1921 when the op-ed page appeared, an innovation of *New York Evening World* editor Herbert Bayard Swope. Swope hired Heywood Broun, like Marquis a sports writer, to write a general-interest column, "It Seems to Me," and thereafter built an unprecedented stable of columnists. Other notables of that era were Christopher Morley, who began writing "The Bowling Green" column for the *New York Evening Post* in 1920; Oscar Odd McIntyre, whose "New York Day by Day" column began in 1922; and syndicated cowboy philosopher/humor columnist Will Rogers, who wrote "Slipping the Lariat Over" starting in 1922.

The Syndicated Columnist

Thanks to syndication, local papers could, for a reasonable price, avail themselves of the writing talent of individuals who were well connected to non-local news sources. Two of the earliest columnists to be syndicated to other newspapers across the nation were conservative political columnist David Lawrence, in 1919, and O. O. McIntyre in 1922. Other early syndicated columnists debuting during this early period include Baltimore's Frank Kent in 1922; the regal, stentorian political pundit Walter Lippmann in 1931; the oft-acerbic critic of politicians Doris Fleeson in 1933; the even more outspoken Westbrook Pegler in 1933; moderate political columnist Raymond Clapper in 1934; *The New York Times'* James "Scotty" Reston in 1934; and the gutsy and well-connected Dorothy Thompson in 1936. Two well-known *New York Times* column voices were Arthur Krock, whose "In the Nation" was launched in 1932, and foreign-affairs columnist Anne O'Hair McCormick, who wrote "In Europe" and "Abroad," starting in 1937. A journalist who was syndicated in 1939 and who became America's most admired columnist during World War II was modest, hard-working Ernie Pyle.

Achieving even wider distribution via syndication were such "soft-news columnists" as Hollywood gossip queens Louella Parsons in 1922 and her arch-rival, Hedda Hopper, in 1936, and saucy Broadway columnists Walter Winchell in

1925 and Earl Wilson in 1942. Twin sisters, Esther Lederer, who wrote as "Ann Landers," and Pauline Phillips, as "Dear Abby," became remarkably successful personal advice columnists, starting in 1955 and 1956, respectively; both columns appeared in as many as 1,000 newspapers.

Among the standout political columnists who entered syndication during the second half of the twentieth century were liberals such as Marquis Childs in 1944; the wide-ranging, antiwar Murray Kempton in 1947; Nixon critic Mary McGrory in 1954; advocate for the underdog Nat Hentoff in 1957; Joseph Kraft, a writer mainly associated with the Kennedy administration, in 1963; political/social feminist Ellen Goodman of Boston in 1976; sharp-tongued Texan Molly Ivins in 1980; and *New York Times*–based Anna Quindlen in 1990. Quindlen now writes a column for *Newsweek* magazine.

Syndicated conservatives of the same period include the Jovian, formidable Joseph Alsop and his brother Stewart Alsop in 1958; the theatrical yet patrician William F. Buckley Jr. in 1962; Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, writers of the "Inside Report" in 1963; Nixon intimate William Safire in 1970; button-down intellectual George Will in 1973; perennial presidential candidate Patrick Buchanan in 1975; Cal Thomas, darling of the religious right, in 1984; and A. M. Rosenthal, editor of *The New York Times,* in 1986.

Among that period's moderate columnists were another *New York Times* writer, Tom Wicker, in 1966; intellectual and historically minded Garry Wills in 1970; and well-respected, reportorial David Broder in 1975. The columnist who was probably most often sued for defamation was Drew Pearson, whose investigative column "Washington Merry-Go-Round" (1931) was carried on by Jack Anderson.

Two of the brightest recent stars in the syndicate firmament both write out of *The New York Times,* and both began a column in 1995. These writers are Maureen Dowd, who won the 1999 Pulitzer Prize for Commentary for her coverage of President Bill Clinton's unusual intern policy, then went on to become the scold of the George W. Bush administration (2001–09); and Thomas Friedman, winner of that same prize in 2002 and a writer whose foreign-affairs column does its best to make sense of events in the Middle East.

The Humor Columnist

Best of the modest number of U.S. humor columnists to gain fame since World War II have been the prince of hyperbole, Art Buchwald, whose column began in 1951 and who for decades needled the inside-the-Washington Beltway mighty; Russell Baker of New York, the most cerebral of newspaper humorists; Erma Bombeck, whose "At Wit's End" was the pinnacle of around-the-house humor (1965); down-home Georgia humorist Lewis Grizzard in 1979; and, zaniest of them all, Miami-based Dave Barry in 1983.

The Local Columnist

America's newspapers both great and small have been graced with the work of an army of local columnists, a few of whom have been so popular as to become the unofficial voices of their cities or towns. A few of the best of these writers who have worked in our cities include the witty, chatty Herb Caen of San Francisco (1938); Chicago's gossipy Irv Kupcinet in 1943; Los Angeles verbal stylist Jack Smith in 1958; the almost universally admired Mike Royko, voice of the tough streets of Chicago (1959); Norfolk, Virginia's gentlemanly Guy Friddell in 1963; gruff, streetwise Irish-American Jimmy Breslin of New York City (1968); and national security and foreign affairs specialist Jim Hoagland, who began his column at *The Washington Post* in 1986. Local columnists who came into their own during the 1990s or the opening years of the new century include Jim Dwyer, who won the 1995 Pulitzer for Commentary while at *Newsday,* then moved his column to *The New York Times;* 1997 Pulitzer recipient Eileen McNamara of *The Boston Globe,* a social issues specialist; Mike McAlary of the *New York Daily News,* whose work on police brutality won him the 1998 Pulitzer; and social justice columnist Connie Schultz of *The Plain Dealer* in Cleveland, winner of the 2005 Pulitzer.

The Celebrity Columnist

Occupying an infrequently mentioned corner of column writing are celebrity columnists—individuals who became well known for something quite apart from journalism and are subsequently given

columns. In an America so thoroughly saturated in celebrity worship, it is little wonder that papers and syndicates have approached the great and the near great to offer them columns of their own. Some such columns are the actual work of their famous namesakes; others bear the celebrity's name but are mainly or even entirely written by the great one's minions. The difficulty lies in telling one from the other. Even some of the U.S. Presidents—the most recognized public figures of all—have had columns, including Theodore Roosevelt, Calvin Coolidge, Franklin Roosevelt, Jimmy Carter, and Ronald Reagan. Many other high-ranking political figures have done likewise, such as Fiorello LaGuardia, Eleanor Roosevelt, Barry Goldwater, Eugene McCarthy, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Jack Kemp, and Hillary Clinton, to name a few. Prominent foreign nationals with U.S. columns have included the Soviet Union's Mikhail Gorbachev, Israel's Shimon Peres, South Africa's Desmond Tutu, Pakistan's Benazir Bhutto, and Burma's Aung San Suu Kyi. Members of America's financial elite to have columns include H. L. Hunt, Lee Iacocca, Ross Perot, and Steve Forbes. To these accomplished and colorful individuals may be added such nonpolitical and diverse celebrities as operetta singer and actress Lillian Russell (born Helen Leonard), Wild West figure William Barclay "Bat" Masterson, African American singing and acting great Paul Robeson, show business impresario Billy Rose (born William Rosenberg), comic strip writer Al Capp (born Alfred Caplin), the Grand Ole Opry's "Minnie Pearl" (born Sarah Cannon), and television evangelist Jimmy Swaggart.

The Minority Columnist

In a racially segregated America, minority columnists were slow to appear, other than in the historically black press. Perhaps the earliest black woman to write a column for a mainstream newspaper was Ida Wells-Barnett in 1894 for the Chicago *Inter Ocean*. Most African Americans, however, even the brilliant Langston Hughes, could work only for the historically black press in the United States. Hughes' satirical yet touching "Jesse B. Semple" columns appeared in the *Chicago Defender* from 1942 until 1965. Another early black columnist in a mainstream paper was Delilah Leontium Beasley, appearing in 1923 in the *Oakland Tribune* in California. The earliest black columnist to be syndicated widely was George Schuyler, whose "For the Record" first appeared in 1923. The multi-accomplished Carl Rowan was syndicated in 1965, as was the gentlemanly William Raspberry a year thereafter. Economist Walter Williams began his widely distributed column in 1970; columns by Chuck Stone had an electric effect during the Civil Rights era in Philadelphia; and 1980 saw two new columns, by NAACP executive director Roy Wilkins and Les Payne in New York. In 1984 appeared the most erudite of all these columnists, conservative Thomas Sowell, and stylish writer Clarence Page of Chicago. DeWayne Wickham of the Gannett Group began a column in 1985, and Miami's talented Leonard Pitts was syndicated in 1995.

Likewise, many a talented African American local columnist has been published in the U.S. mainstream press, most of them since around 1970. In 1969, Claude Lewis became a Philadelphia columnist, and in 1970, the Vernon Jarrett column appeared in Chicago. Dorothy Gilliam became the first black woman to have a *Washington Post* column, in 1979; Acel Moore launched his Philadelphia column in 1980; and in 1981, Brenda Payton began her column in Oakland, California. Later appeared such local columnists as Elmer Smith in Philadelphia in 1988, wickedly witty Barry Saunders in Raleigh, North Carolina, in 1994, and Tony Norman in Pittsburgh in 1996.

Among the now-considerable number of Hispanic and Latino columnists, one of the earliest was Ruben Salazar of Los Angeles (1969). Others have included such notables as Andy Porras of Del Rio, Texas, in 1976; Roberto Fabricio of Miami in 1979; Juan Gonzales of New York City in 1988; Ana Veciana-Suarez of Miami in 1989; and Liz Balmaseda, also of Miami, in 1991. Two early Asian American columnists, both based in California, were T. T. Nhu in San Jose and William Wong in Oakland. Among the small number of Native American columnists have been Howard Rock of the *Tundra Times* of Point Hope Village, Alaska, in 1962; Tim Giago of the *Lakota Times* in 1980; and John Christian Hopkins of the Narragansett Indians, in Fall River, Massachusetts, in 1988.

A Trade Organization and a Prize

The principal trade organization for U.S. columnists is the National Society of Newspaper Columnists, and the most coveted award for their work is the Pulitzer Prize. The Pulitzer for Commentary has been awarded since 1970. Given the all-American assumption that bigger equals better, columnists for smaller papers have little hope of winning this award. Since 1970, *The New York Times* leads the field, with eight awards in this category. *The Washington Post* is second, with six; and with three each are the *Miami Herald, Wall Street Journal,* and New York *Daily News.* Having won two each are *The Boston Globe,* Long Island *Newsday,* and *Los Angeles Times.* Winners of one each are the *Chicago Tribune, Chicago Daily News,* Raleigh *News & Observer, Washington Star, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Hackensack Record,* and the now-defunct *National Observer,* which was a Dow Jones paper.

Non-U.S. Columnists Writing in English

Columnists are, of course, not at all exclusive to the United States. Among such writers in Canada are feminist and social activist Michele Landsberg, whose *Toronto Star* column began in 1978 and ended in 2003; the Toronto *National Post*'s Robert Fulford in 1959; the *Globe and Mail*'s national affairs columnist Jeffrey Simpson in 1984; social issues columnist Margaret Wente in 1992; and political columnist John Ibbitson in 2002. Writing both general (1991) and sports (1997) columns for the *Globe* is William Houston, and doing an unusual column that addresses world politics and intellectual issues since the 1990s is that paper's Doug Saunders.

Of Great Britain's many columnists, one of the most unusual was Lady Diana Cooper, whose column appeared in the Beaverbrook newspapers after World War I; she was said to be England's most beautiful woman of her time. Having a marvelous touch at producing quotable humorous lines was Katharine Elizabeth Whitehorn of *The Observer* in London, whose column appeared from 1960 to 1996. More somber was the column of Auberon Waugh of the *Sunday Telegraph* (1981) and other newspapers and periodicals. Working in both Canada and England has been Barbara Amiel, whose gossipy column appeared in *The Times* of London in 1985 and who has since written columns for the *Daily Telegraph* (1994) and *Maclean's* magazine (2005). Among Great Britain's conservative voices are Mark Steyn of the *Daily Telegraph*; former foreign correspondent Max Hastings, now with the *Daily Mail*; Simon Jenkins, recently of *The Guardian*; and Iraq war supporter Simon Heffer, formerly with the *Daily Mail,* now with the *Daily Telegraph.*

A commentator in British television, radio, and newspapers is Richard Littlejohn, now a columnist for the *Daily Mail.* An opponent of the Iraq war is David Aaronovitch, who writes columns for both *The Times* and *The Guardian.* The *Guardian*'s social democratic voice is Polly Toynbee; and writer of that paper's "Bad Science" column, which pokes fun at pseudoscience, is physician Ben Goldacre. Columnist (*The Independent,* 2000) and comedian Mark Steel lambastes social injustice; *The Guardian*'s Catherine Bennett writes on politics and culture; and investigative leftist George Monbiot of that same paper writes on politics from the left, as does Jonathan Freedland.

A sample of Australian columnists includes political satirist Alan Fitzgerald of the *Canberra Times*; Robert Duffield of *The Australian;* Sam Lipski, who did columns with four papers; *The Advertiser*'s political columnist Dean Jaensch; controversialist Terry Lane of Melbourne's *Sunday Age*; and Padraic "Paddy" McGuiness, late of the *Sydney Morning Herald.*

Bloggers, the New Competitor

Some observers predict that the Internet will spell the end not only of the columnist, but of newspapers themselves. More likely, newspapers will simply adapt, and the skills of columnists will remain in demand, whether their work is read on paper or online. In any case, the columnist's new competitor is the blogger, who is a writer and usually the creator of a blog, or weblog, done in journal or diary format, which informs and entertains, sometimes using images and embedded video in addition to text and directing users to other Internet venues. By 2007, millions of blogs exist, some apparently done by crackpots, others written with considerable skill and talent. Known media figures and other writers such as columnist Andrew Sullivan of

AndrewSullivan.com and lawyer and communications consultant Ron Gunzburger of Politics.com are influential bloggers. Former Vermont congressman and governor Howard Dean popularized the use of blogs by political candidates, and a whole new subset of blogs, warblogs, have sprung up in Iraq and Afghanistan, written by the troops. The advantages of the blog are personal freedom and immediacy; their downside is that they usually lack the benefit of good editing.

Conclusion

During their roughly 140-year history, columnists have brought a kaleidoscope of colorful personalities to newspapers and to many magazines, as well. Some of these writers have been serious-minded political pundits. Others have been of a merrier disposition, not making frontal assaults on the day's issues, but slyly slipping up on them from the side. As to liberalism, conservatism, and any other "ism" one can name, columnists have covered the spectrum from one end to the other. Columnists' chief virtue continues to be the personal touch with which they report and examine their topics. Some scholars regard the early to mid-1900s as the "Golden Age" of the columnist—a time of less competition from newer media. Since that time, however, columnists have continued to multiply like jackrabbits—both the types of columnists discussed here and another multitude of columnists who specialize by topic in such fields as sports, entertainment, gardening, personal finance, bridge and chess, pet care, and the like. The most successful columnists have adapted in an evolutionary manner to the needs of competing media, chiefly television, where they have achieved wider fame and extra income as panelists or pundits. For some columnists, at least, *this* is the Golden Age. Column writing is an old, tried-and-true craft, and in the words of Don Marquis' character mehitabel the alley cat, "There's life in the old dame yet."

Sam G. Riley

See also Blogs and Bloggers; Columns and Columnists; Commentators, Radio; Commentators, Television; Human Interest Journalism; Literary Journalism; Satirists, Political

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Comics

Comics, also known as comic strips, funnies, printed cartoon art, or comic(s) art, have been a key element of the newspaper business since the end of the nineteenth century. They are an important reason for the economic success of many newspapers entering the modern age, a socialization device for both newspaper reading and social mores, an economic and cultural force outside of the newspaper industry, and currently viewed as a way to attract and maintain a youth readership. The future of the comics, similar to the future of the newspaper medium, is unclear.

Comics have long been part of the fabric of American culture and everyday life. Newspaper editors face a serious dilemma when dropping or adding a strip, given the loyalty readers may feel—and express—toward particular comics. Many Sunday family rituals involve reading the color comics section, and the continuing exposure to daily comics characters have touched successive generations of fans to a more enduring degree than virtually any other medium. Major character and plot developments, including character deaths

(Mary Gold in *The Gumps* or the family dog Farley in *For Better or For Worse*), weddings (Dick Tracy to Tess Trueheart), or trauma (B.D.'s loss of a leg in the Iraq war in *Doonesbury*) often spark deep emotional reactions in readers. Comic-strip characters and phrases have transcended the medium to the point where their comic-strip origin is not universally known. Characters such as Buster Brown, Little Orphan Annie, and Popeye, although beginning as comic strips, are perhaps better known for their cultural presence in other forms (in the above cases, as a shoe brand, Broadway musical, and film/TV character, respectively). Moreover, comic strips have popularized, if not wholly created, familiar words and phrases in the American lexicon such as "keeping up with the Joneses," jeep, Sadie Hawkins Day, security blanket, hot dog, and baloney.

Origins

No single creator invented the newspaper comic strip. The use of illustrations combined with words, sequential panels, color, and regularly appearing characters appeared in European and U.S. publications through much of the 1800s. Nevertheless, many attribute at least the popularization and commercial viability of such trends to *Hogan's Alley* (later featuring and known as *The Yellow Kid*), created by Richard F. Outcault and first appearing in Joseph Pulitzer's New York *World* in 1895. Later also published in William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal,* the character became a national sensation through heavy licensing activity (including appearances in advertising and on Broadway) and through the national distribution of Hearst's Sunday humor section. Other developments soon followed as comics grew, including daily publication and national syndication. The latter allowed newspapers that could not afford their own printing technology or artistic talent to offer comics to their readers as well as give comics characters and trademarks national exposure.

The Yellow Kid and other early examples of ground-breaking comics (*The Katzenjammer Kids, Happy Hooligan, Mutt and Jeff, The Gumps*) developed and illustrated the symbiotic relationship between comics and newspapers. As a part of the newspaper that overtly emphasized entertainment rather than hard-news journalism, comic strips became an important booster of newspaper circulation and one way that children were first exposed to the medium. On the other hand, newspapers served not only as the primary revenue source for comics, at least at first, but also as a popularizer and promoter for character licensing and merchandising, a trend that would become dominant in modern times.

Genres and Styles

There are several different types of comics found in newspapers, although some genres have been more visible during different eras. Gag strips focus on a punch line or humorous situation each day, with characters changing little over the years. Continuity strips often follow plotlines or evolving character developments over weeks, months, or even longer. In some cases, characters age in real time, like the early example of *Gasoline Alley* or later in *For Better or For Worse*. Although continuity strips tend to involve more serious topics (adventure or soap-opera oriented, for example), hybrid strips like *Funky Winkerbean* include characteristics of both. Within each of these two major genres, there are several subgenres, including family, adventure, sports, workplace, kid, and talking-animal strips. Likewise, drawing style can vary from the detailed (*Little Nemo in Slumberland*) to the simple (*The Far Side*) and the realistic (*Prince Valiant*) to the cartoony/stylized (*Dilbert*). Some strips, like *Liberty Meadows* with its mix of realistic humans and funny animals, blended different styles.

Historical trends are shifting away from adventure and serious continuity-oriented strips and toward gag strips, perhaps the result of television's quicker pace, which the syndicates may believe have shortened the patience of readers. Similarly, simplified drawing style, as exemplified by Charles Schulz's *Peanuts,* is much more dominant than the previous illustrator styles of such strips as *Buck Rogers* or *Tarzan,* a result of the shrinking newspaper space devoted to comics and increased emphasis on licensing activity that rewards characters easily transformed into toys or other media.

Syndication and Licensing

The linkage of comic strips to syndication companies has affected the reach and the form of comic

strips. Although syndicates allow for national exposure and can greatly enhance the income of comic strip creators, the gatekeeping power of syndicates may also have encouraged a "mainstreaming" of issues and perspectives to create a "lowest common denominator" appeal and avoid offending publishers, editors, readers, and advertisers. To allow himself to address more political issues in such an environment, Walt Kelly, creator of the often satirical *Pogo,* was known to provide apolitical gag strips that nervous editors could substitute for especially controversial installments. However, in 2001, Frank Cho, creator of *Liberty Meadows,* purportedly stopped creating comic strips for newspapers because he was frustrated with the lack of creative freedom. The influence of individual syndicates over newspapers, although still significant, has perhaps been lessened over the years as one-newspaper towns became the norm and large chains consolidated newspaper control (similar concentration has been a trend in syndication organizations). Copyright and license ownership is also important in the history of comic strip production, with syndicates often controlling licensing activities and creators serving as "work-for-hire" employees for the syndicates, although very-well-paid ones in some cases. In the 1980s, many high-profile creators worked to retain ownership of their creations. In the modern era, major comic-strip syndicates include Hearst's King Features Syndicate (*Blondie, Dennis the Menace*), Andrews McMeel Universal's Universal Press Syndicate (*Doonesbury, Garfield, Cathy*), Scripps' United Media (*Peanuts, Dilbert*), and Creators Syndicate (*B.C., Wizard of Id*).

Comic strip characters since the 1890s have been ripe for merchandising activity through toys, games, and clothes, as endorsers for products in advertisements, and through the licensing of characters into other media such as film, television, and comic books. Buster Brown is an early example in which licensing was used to promote and commercialize a comics character from its inception. With the dominance of television and the success of comic-strip compilations in book form—both trends especially visible in the success of Charles Schulz' *Peanuts*—licensing and merchandising is now an assumed, permanent, and institutionalized part of comics. Many radio and television programs have been based on comic strips, such as *The Boondocks, Baby Blues, Dilbert,* and *Garfield.* The integration of comic strips and licenses also works the other way: many comic strips have been developed to exploit a successful license from another medium. This trend began in the early years of comics with strips featuring Charlie Chaplin's tramp character and later *Mickey Mouse* and *Tarzan,* but it accelerated with television and licensing-oriented multimedia conglomerates. Strips have been created, for example, from such film and television characters as *Spider-Man, The Flintstones, Star Wars*, and *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles*.

Politics and Ideology

Comics are also political and ideological artifacts. Several scholars have suggested that comic strips, given their popularity and combination of verbal and visual elements, are particularly appropriate for study as forms of culture that can either uphold or critique the sociopolitical status quo.

Comic strips have long dealt with social issues in both the more serious continuity strips (such as in *Judge Parker* or *Rex Morgan M.D.*), and in hybrid gag/continuity strips like *Funky Winkerbean, Mutts,* and *For Better or For Worse,* focusing discussion on such topics as alcoholism, animal rights, mental illness, and literacy. Taking their cue from editorial cartoons, strips have also commented on the contemporary political scene, either allegorically (*Little Orphan Annie* from the right; *Pogo* from the left, and the more mixed case of *Li'l Abner*), or explicitly, such as the modern examples of *Doonesbury, Bloom County/Outland/Opus,* and the right-leaning *Mallard Fillmore*, which often feature real political figures as characters or as topics for commentary. *Doonesbury,* in fact, appears on the editorial page in some newspapers rather than the comics page, which may protect the strip from angry reactions from readers of those papers but also perhaps has less readership.

Comics may also be politically relevant in a broader sense by highlighting and legitimizing certain social groups and social practices over others, including representations of gender, race, sexual orientation, class, and consumption. Family and domestic comics have been found to reproduce images of traditional patriarchal family structures, presenting sex role stereotypes and perpetuating

gender inequality. Many comics present women as main characters (*Mary Worth* and *Cathy* to name but two), but female characters tend to be underrepresented overall though overrepresented in the home and in child care activities.

Throughout much of the twentieth century, characters who were racial minorities were either underrepresented in comics, or were presented in negative stereotypes. Prior to World War II, African Americans and Asians appeared infrequently in comics and when they did they were depicted as almost subhuman, unable to participate in the social system, and in service roles. The appearance of minorities in comic strips diminished after World War II, perhaps because of an unwillingness to be reminded of societal inequalities after a war fought for freedom and equality and in a booming postwar economy. Gay characters have been largely absent from mainstream newspaper comics, but when they appear they are male and depicted as assimilated into heterosexual culture.

In response to negative or missing portrayals, minority newspapers often featured strips about situations more central and realistic to a particular group's everyday life. African American newspapers such as the *Chicago Defender* offered comic strips drawn by minority creators throughout the middle of the twentieth century. In response to the dearth of gay characters, publications such as *The Advocate* featured gay-themed comics, dealing much more fundamentally and frankly with issues of gay life, such as Howard Cruse's *Wendel.* Today, people of color remain underrepresented in comics but characters are included in a broader array of settings and occupations. Starting with Morrie Turner's *Wee Pals* in the 1960s, other comics including *Luther, Quincy, Curtis, The Boondocks, Secret Asian Man*, and *Cafe Con Leche* feature people of color as main characters.

Although the history of comics offers significant exceptions like the early portrayal of class differences and slum life in *The Yellow Kid,* mainstream comics remain focused largely on the white middle class, typical examples being *Blondie, Hi and Lois,* and *Family Circus.* Capitalist values are commonly found in comics. For instance, comic strips were important in helping shift American culture from a producer to a consumer orientation during the first half of the twentieth century. Comics such as *Gasoline Alley* and *Winnie Winkle* commented on and taught middle- and working-class readers the appropriate way to consume while constructing reader identities around the purchase and consumption of goods and services. *Dilbert* perhaps offers a more critical view of the capitalist workplace by focusing on the dehumanizing experience of a white-collar worker. Some suggest that *Dilbert* helps workers cope with the absurdities of the workplace while also providing an ideological critique, while others suggest that *Dilbert* offers an emotional salve that discourages action and social change.

Scholarship

The serious study of comics has grown from the occasional early work in the mid-twentieth century to a steady interdisciplinary and international output in recent decades. Coulton Waugh's 1947 book *The Comics,* although seen by many contemporary researchers as making the occasional dubious historical claim, nevertheless is the first serious attempt to bring scholarly coherence to the form. Scholars in the 1970s studied comics as part of the growth of popular culture studies, including Russel Nye, Arthur Asa Berger, M. Thomas Inge, and John Lent. In 1999 Lent established an important outlet for scholarship about comic books, comic strips, and editorial cartoons around the world, *The International Journal of Comic Art,* which continued the work of other, more short-lived academic publications about comic art such as *Inks: Cartoon and Comic Art Studies* (1994–97). Several academic libraries have extensive comic art collections, including the Comic Art Collection at Michigan State University and the Cartoon Research Library at Ohio State University. Researchers in the 1990s, also influenced by the cultural importance of comic books, discuss comic art scholarship at such forums as the Comic Art & Comics Division of the Popular Culture Association, the International Comics Art Forum, and the Comics Art Conference held during the Comic-Con International annually in San Diego.

Future Challenges

Comics are still a key part of most newspapers and regularly read by many newspaper readers.

Newspaper personnel see the comics section as a way to attract young readers, a factor of key importance in terms of both newspapers' future longevity and the medium's attractiveness to advertisers. Yet the space for comics in newspapers has shrunk over the decades, as have the number of newspapers. In addition, certain strips, which have existed for decades as new artists/writers have replaced earlier generations (such as with *Blondie*) or are rerun with a "Classic" label (such as *Peanuts*), limit the space for new strips.

Unclear is the extent to which the future of comics is inretractably linked to the future of newspapers. Digital technology allows for the creation, promotion, and distribution of new "webcomics," and the enhanced fidelity and interactive component of digital media may open up new creative possibilities. Distributors and some syndicates have worked to commercialize the Internet and other digital outlets for the strips they control. If comic strips become separated from journalism as the newspaper medium declines in sales, it may mean that comic strips, as a lucrative form of visual entertainment, will become further housed in larger synergistically oriented media conglomerates looking to exploit valuable character licenses. How these factors will affect the creation, commercialization, and fan use of comics is yet to be determined.

Matthew P. McAllister and Shannon Kahle

See also Cartoonists, Political; Feature Syndicates; Graphics

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Commentators, Radio

The American radio news commentator or analyst role came into being in the late 1930s at a time of rising world tensions that would soon lead to World War II. Commentators provide their opinions about and analysis of domestic and international affairs in news segments or programs clearly identified as comment, as distinct from reportage. They are thus the aural equivalent of newspaper columnists—and of what we would term today "op-ed" contributors. While some large-market radio stations had their own commentators in the period from 1935 to 1950, the best known were network figures. Although only a few were active in radio at any given time, at their peak around 1945 several hundred commentators could be heard on the air across the country. Within a decade, however, the majority of those who remained active had moved to television. By the 1990s, radio talk-show hosts had largely subsumed the commentary role. While traditional commentary had always been by definition subjective even as it attempted balanced judgment on domestic or international events, the new radio talk-show formats have tended to be far more biased and politically polarized in their "commentary."

Development

Commentary on radio is almost as old as the medium itself. In their search for programming to fill air time, many stations welcomed those who appeared informed, could speak clearly and in an interesting fashion, to comment on current events. Indeed, commentators were heard on radio before regular news broadcasts in many cases. Newspaper attempts to quash radio newscasts in the early 1930s

did not target commentary (which was not seen as competitive with newspaper columnists), thus further helping to promote on-air comment. Programs of commentary also lent themselves to commercial sponsorship much better than newscasts at that time. Commentary on radio attracted listeners who could identify with a voice and personality more readily than with mere words on a newspaper page. And commentary attracted an upper socioeconomic class audience—exactly the listeners many upscale advertisers sought. Commentators were respected and widely listened to, their views often quoted elsewhere. Most had extensive professional grounding in newspapers and magazines, and many benefited from both foreign experience and language ability, further distinguishing them from their radio talk-show counterparts of today.

Commentary by its very nature usually deals with matters of controversy. Most commentators made clear that they expressed their own views, not necessarily the ideas of network or station management (and thus should not be confused with occasional broadcaster editorials which *do* speak for management). CBS and NBC developed policies by the late 1930s that appeared to promote news analysis more than commentary, while the newer Mutual (1934) and ABC (1945) networks generally allowed their speakers greater freedom of action. Numerous commentators who began on one of the legacy networks thus ended up on the newer chains. The stated aim to maintain overall objectivity and neutrality on issues—an express goal of most broadcasters who feared offending listeners or advertisers—was a constant countervailing pressure against commentary. So were shifting sponsors, for by the 1940s, advertisers controlled most radio air time. To displease or lose a sponsor often meant losing a given time slot or even leaving the air.

Alongside the rise of television, fear of domestic communism early in the cold war helped end many radio commentator careers as radio sought to survive by airing popular music and generally avoiding controversy. A few major stations continued offering commentary, but by the 1960s most such programs had disappeared from the air. Some commentators (such as Eric Sevareid, often heard on Walter Cronkite's evening television newscast over CBS) shifted from radio to network television. Edward P. Morgan, sponsored by the AFL-CIO labor alliance, was one of the last national radio commentators, his nightly program into the 1960s combining seven minutes of news followed by as much commentary (presented as "the shape of one man's opinion"). Documentaries—often with a point of view—fled to television, only to disappear in their turn to such cable networks as the Discovery or History channels.

Some Noted American Radio Commentators

Hilmar Baukhage (1889–1976)

Baukhage used only his last name on the air, beginning his commentaries simply as "Baukhage Talking." Of German background, he studied there and in France, becoming fluent in both languages as well as English. He worked for a number of newspapers, the Associated Press, and some magazines before being heard on the NBC-Blue network starting in 1932. As World War II began, he broadcast first from Berlin, then from Washington. He continued with a 15-minute daily commentary when NBC-Blue became ABC in 1945, sometimes covering one topic per broadcast, sometimes several. While most concerned with news events, Baukhage would sometimes comment on lighter aspects of life. He began offering commentary on the Mutual network in 1948, moving there full time in 1951. He retired two years later, after the network declined to renew his contract, arguing he was paid too much and spoke too long for modern listeners.

Harold Thomas "Boake" Carter (1903–44)

Carter was born in Russia and grew up in England, arriving in the United States in the early 1920s. He worked for Philadelphia newspapers and was first heard on radio in that city when he broadcast a rugby match in 1930. His early attempts at radio commentary failed (listeners claimed they could not understand his English accent, which he soon modified to sound more American), but he was soon heard on a Philadelphia radio station offering news and brief commentary. His reporting of the Lindbergh baby kidnapping in 1932 propelled him to the CBS network. For five years Carter was a highly popular figure on CBS, offering both news and commentary. The tone of his broadcasts became sharper and more right-wing (and isolationist), however, and the network terminated him in mid-1938 when his sponsor contract ended. Carter broadcast twice a week over the Mutual network until his premature death at age 42.

Upton Close (1894–1960)

Close was born Joseph Washington Hall, but gained his press and radio name from his early articles from and about China (he was a fluent Chinese speaker), which ended with the words "up close." He became a right-wing radio commentator who began his career with fairly liberal views. Close authored seven books and a host of articles about Asia. After a period as a lecturer in the early 1920s, he first broadcast in 1924. He provided occasional broadcasts over NBC from 1934 to 1941, often speaking on Asian affairs. These appearances became weekly by the fall of 1942—and increasingly right-wing in tone, compared to his incisive and balanced Asian reporting. When his commentaries became increasingly focused on perceived conspiracies, NBC removed him from the air in December 1944. He broadcast briefly (1945–46) over the Mutual network and then retired to Mexico.

Elmer Davis (1890–1958)

Davis is perhaps best remembered today for heading the Office of War Information (OWI) during World War II. A Rhodes Scholar (1910), he became a *New York Times* reporter in 1914, and wrote novels and short stories as well. Failing to get the foreign correspondent berth he sought, Davis served as an editorial page writer and editor until leaving the *Times* in 1924 and turning to free-lance writing. His liberal views became clearer as war approached, and he began commentary over CBS radio in September 1939, just after war broke out in Europe. His reasoned, conversational delivery quickly gained him a loyal audience, and his audience ratings were lower than those only of commentator H. V. Kaltenborn and newscaster Lowell Thomas. He employed calm, unemotional words with a dry wit. Early in 1942, after a period of months broadcasting from England, Davis was tapped to head OWI. After the war, in 1945 he shifted to the new ABC network and broadcast news and analysis three evenings a week, alternating with Raymond Swing until 1947, when Davis took over the whole schedule. He retired in 1953, doing occasional television commentary.

H. V. Kaltenborn (1878–1965)

Kaltenborn began his journalism career in newspapers, rising to become editor of the *Brooklyn Eagle* in the 1920s. He may have been the first radio commentator when he appeared over a New York station in 1922, and remained the dean of the field for three decades. His clipped Germanic, rather formal delivery style and his ability to speak without notes—and to translate from several languages—made him widely recognized and respected. He began reporting stories while serving as an American volunteer during the Spanish-American war. Serving as a reporter for the *Brooklyn Eagle,* he rose to become associate editor. He had a regular program on radio by the mid-1920s, and left the *Eagle* for full-time radio work in 1930. Kaltenborn's supreme moment came with the September 1938 Munich crisis, where he stayed at his CBS studio in New York for a month, catching sleep in a nearby room so he could go on the air anytime an important event or speech needed translation and analysis—all of which he did extemporaneously. He shifted to NBC a year or so later, often broadcasting from distant battlefronts. He stopped regular broadcasting in 1953 out of disgust over how television was reducing broadcast journalism by diminishing the spoken word.

Fulton Lewis Jr. (1903–66)

Lewis grew up in and began his newspaper reporting from Washington, D.C. He served for nearly a decade as the Washington bureau chief for the Hearst-owned International News Service. He became especially known for exposing scandal in the nation's capital beginning with the awarding of air mail contracts in the early 1930s that led to a Senate investigation and substantial change in the air transport business. At the same time, Lewis began his broadcasting career with Washington station appearances as one of many newspaper reporters. By 1936, he was featured on the new Mutual network in *The Top of the News* with a host of local sponsors, thus reducing his dependence on any one firm. Lewis's broadcast views were conservative, generally paralleling those of the Republican Party. In 1939, by then one of the country's most popular radio commentators, Lewis led the effort to secure for radio journalists equal seating rights in Congress and the White House as their colleagues in the press. As a result of his efforts, what had been *press* conferences became *news* conferences. He backed isolationists before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and continued

with highly critical commentary on government and military decisions during the war. He remained on the air, ever more conservative, into the 1960s, though with declining audiences.

Edward R. Murrow (1908–65)

Murrow became the most popular radio commentator during and after World War II. Building on his reputation gained from insightful reporting from Europe during the war, he broadcast *Edward R. Murrow with the News* nightly at 7:45 p.m. on the CBS radio network from 1947 to 1959. It was the 15-minute radio showcase for CBS News that concluded with a few moments of Murrow's commentary, called "tailpiece," on people and events in the news. His reassuring voice, combined with his by then extensive experience, made him a widely trusted figure in the 1950s, though also often a target for right-wing attacks on his perceived liberal viewpoint. Because he was using radio, then seen as a media backwater, he had more freedom of commentary than was allowed on his television documentaries.

Dorothy Thompson (1894–1961)

Thompson was a rarity—a woman in the largely male world of radio journalism. An early feminist and speaker for women's suffrage, Thompson became a foreign correspondent (one of the earliest women in that role, too) in Europe for newspapers and news agencies, and then wrote popular columns for, among other publications, the New York *Herald Tribune* and *The Ladies Home Journal*. Her appeal was substantial, as was her audience. She began her radio work in 1936, two years after being expelled from Hitler's Germany, where NBC had sent her to report on the political conventions there. She began a weekly 15-minute radio commentary program a year later, first on NBC and then over Mutual, which lasted until early 1945. She continued writing until the late 1950s. Thompson generally took a strongly internationalist tone on world affairs and an independent approach to domestic issues.

Conclusion

Radio by the 1970s and 1980s no longer had time for or interest in commentary. In an era of "rip-and-read" five-minute newscasts and sound-bite journalism, sustained, thoughtful analysis simply did not fit. The few remaining news commentators—such as the syndicated Paul Harvey or even Charles Osgood on CBS—began reading commercials for their sponsors, something almost no commentator in the medium's golden years had ever done. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, only on public radio did commentary survive in the United States. Daniel Schorr, for example, after years at CBS, joined National Public Radio in 1985 and commented on domestic and international affairs for more than two decades.

By the turn of the twenty-first century, there was virtually no commentary left on broadcast radio, and precious little on television. Instead listeners were inundated with talk-show hosts, most of them conservative in their views, who aggressively presented opinion rather than analytic commentary on local, national, or world affairs. Journalistic commentary had given way to better paying political and social verbal face-offs.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Cable Television; Commentators, Television; Documentaries, Motion Picture; Documentaries, Television; Editorials; Newscasters, Radio; Public Radio Journalism; Public Television Journalism; Reporters, Radio; Talk and News Radio

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Commentators, Television

Television news commentators populate a historically narrow but sometimes powerful dimension of broadcast journalism that goes beyond reporting.

Commentators peer beneath the surface of news developments in an effort to expose, explain, or illustrate to viewers what the news really means to them. If this step fails to occur, some stories are at risk of being whisked across the television screen too quickly for viewers to understand them well, let alone to benefit from how a commentator can illuminate the issues that stories raise.

Each of television's analytical reports, news-based essays, and opinion pieces—often lumped together as "commentary"—not only is delivered by a human voice, as in radio, but also comes with a human face. Combined, these factors can heighten viewer attention to important news issues. Even traditional journalists often put aside strict journalistic neutrality, most dramatically in moments of crisis, to present their interpretations of events.

Some research suggests that television commentators on political or other topics can have an impact on how viewers think. At a minimum, commentators contribute to an important function of agenda setting: persuading viewers not how to think but what to think *about* as they consider the world around them.

History

In broadcasting, analysis or opinion presented by identifiable people has always had audience appeal. Early radio producers discovered that a thought-provoking commentator could draw an audience to almost any important news topic. By the 1930s, leading commentators such as H. V. Kaltenborn were building their radio reputations. By the 1950s, commentary played a respected role at the legacy networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC), one that would last into the 1970s and occasionally later.

Evening network newscasts in their 1960s to 1980s heyday, thanks to the dependably massive audiences they reached, were the most powerful broadcast news platforms (and revenue producers) available. This made them the logical sites to offer commentary as an added public service. A few specialists in news analysis and comment held regular slots in newscasts, though in some cases the higher-profile anchors of such programs delivered commentaries of their own (notably Walter Cronkite speaking about the Vietnam War in 1968). In addition to the dinner-hour limelight, some commentators thrived in dedicated news and interview hours elsewhere in the weekly schedule.

While network policies sought to draw a clear line between straight reporting and opinion, the divide was at best a fuzzy one. To some viewers, reporters often revealed the speakers' biases or at least their unconscious framing of stories. An interview program or segment positioning veteran reporters near outspoken experts in a field could combine fact, insight, and opinion that would both inform viewers and stimulate further thought. Additional programs such as *CBS Reports* and *NBS White Paper* unfolded in documentary style, using strong visuals to illustrate and frame reporting and analysis.

Selected Network Commentators

Edward R. Murrow (1908–65)

Early CBS documentaries showcased a man who set a standard for reporters, commentators, and journalists in general. Murrow had built a national reputation in 1940 with searing eyewitness radio reports from London about the Battle of Britain. In an often oblique form of commentary, those dramatic reports nevertheless made clear his political-journalistic stance—that the free world had to win the war, which first meant seeing and feeling it intimately. More than a decade later, in the historic CBS *See It Now* television series, Murrow visited soldiers in Korea, and sent back poignant vignettes, often projecting his own empathy with the fighting men in ways that touched the hearts of viewers back home.

Most explicit among Murrow's commentary was his March 1954 *See It Now* episode recounting and ridiculing the actions of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (R-WI). Murrow called for public rejection of McCarthy's anti-Communist "witch hunt," which had ruined many careers unjustly. Murrow concluded that if McCarthy was allowed to continue, a Shakespeare quote would apply: "The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars but in ourselves." He combined a poetic touch and a moral conception of journalism in his work.

Walter Cronkite (1916–2009)

Cronkite, anchor of the *CBS Evening News* from 1962 to 1981, is remembered most for his reassuring presence. Pollster Oliver Quayle in 1972 asked voters what public figure they trusted most, and Cronkite beat out then-President Richard Nixon. That led CBS to brand the anchor "the

most trusted man in America." Cronkite occasionally showed his feelings or took strong positions on the air despite his commitment to public neutrality as an anchor. He was taken beyond the limit of his composure by the 1963 assassination of John F. Kennedy, showing stress and an element of grief while announcing the President's death. Five years later he announced after a combat-zone tour that "the bloody experience of Vietnam is a stalemate" and pushed for negotiation to end the war. President Lyndon Johnson later told an aide, "if I've lost Walter, I've lost Middle America." Cronkite also shed objectivity regarding the U.S. space program; he supported it with a boyish enthusiasm.

John Chancellor (1927–)

Chancellor joined NBC in 1950, when only a fraction of American homes owned television sets. He stayed for more than four decades that would take him from reporting to anchoring to a specialty in commentary. As a correspondent, Chancellor was an astute and aggressive observer and chronicler of everything from civil rights marches to the Vietnam War to Communist takeovers in Europe. Amid hot debate at the 1964 Republican National Convention, cameras caught Chancellor being physically ejected by guards ("This is John Chancellor, somewhere in custody," he signed off), at least ostensibly for blocking an aisle. As anchor or coanchor of *NBC Nightly News* from 1970 to 1982, he presented not just news but sharp, almost scholarly commentaries, spending another 11 years as the network's senior commentator. In something of a signoff, his 1990 book was titled *Promise and Peril: A Commentary on America*.

David Brinkley (1920–2003)

Also at NBC, former wire-service reporter Brinkley first won national notice in 1956, when he and Chet Huntley (1911–74) were paired anchoring *The Huntley-Brinkley Report*. The two-person format, a novelty at the time and a powerful audience draw, followed closely their collaboration in anchoring that year's political conventions. Strong opinions rippled just under the surface of their newscasts. Producer Reuven Frank later said he had put the acerbic (and liberal) Brinkley with the stolid (and conservative) Huntley to achieve a sort of tension that would interest audiences. It did, and soon both were presenting not just news but also commentaries on news topics. After leaving NBC in 1981, Brinkley moved to ABC, where for a decade and a half he headed the Sunday morning *This Week with David Brinkley,* a hybrid weekly political roundup always rich in commentary.

Howard K. Smith (1914–2002)

Prominent anchor-commentator Smith was one of "Murrow's Boys," hired by the CBS standout to help cover World War II. He did so with distinction and later proved he could wage wars of principle on his own. Writing a commentary for CBS on whites' abuses of African Americans during the 1960s civil rights revolution, Smith closed by quoting philosopher Edmund Burke: "All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing." The head of CBS cut that line and Smith left the network in protest. He moved to ABC, launched a weekly program highlighting his interpretative skills, *Howard K. Smith—News and Comment,* and later, as anchor for *The ABC Evening News,* delivered hawkish analyses favoring President Nixon's Vietnam War policy. When Vice President Spiro Agnew accused television journalists of open bias against Nixon policies, Smith agreed while most others denounced the Vice President for his attack on the press. Whether standing up against the White House or his own peers, Smith brought conviction and sometimes courage to his commentaries.

Eric Sevareid (1912–92)

Sevareid was one of the most gifted specialists in news analysis and the art of the television essay. A midwesterner of Norwegian stock who gained deep reporting and analytical experience as another of the "Murrow Boys" Sevareid began delivering radio commentaries in 1947, and by the mid-1950s television boom had his own news-analysis shows on camera appearing on CBS. During the 1960s he appeared regularly as a commentator on the *CBS Evening News*. His political pieces, aimed, he said, at "elucidation" of the news, could run to several minutes—an eternity to later generations of news producers. Some of Sevareid's work was designed to inspire contemplation followed by action, but it usually stopped short of advocacy. His fine writing, soothing voice, measured delivery, and on-air *gravitas* secured his place in television history.

Television commentators John Chancellor and David Brinkley joined up to bring live coverage of the 1977 presidential inauguration of Jimmy Carter to NBC Network.

Source: Associated Press.

Bill Moyers (1934–)

Public television has always provided more editorial freedom than commercial network news. Moyers, a one-time Johnson White House aide and later public-television commentator, spent some productive years in network journalism, bringing to it a Texas-inflected down-to-earth directness. After five years as a news host on PBS (Public Broadcasting Service) stations, he joined CBS in 1976 as an editor and correspondent of the documentary series *CBS Reports* and then became senior analyst/commentator of the *CBS Evening News with Dan Rather*. The enforced brevity of his appearances was confining for Moyers, and he eventually returned to life as an author, documentarian, and an esteemed public-affairs interlocutor on public television.

Cokie Roberts (1943–)

Also splitting a career between public and commercial broadcasting, Roberts became one of the few women to achieve network-commentator status. This daughter of Washington lawmakers brought sharp insider analysis to her newspaper columns and op-ed pieces and for six years co-anchored ABC's *This Week with Sam Donaldson & Cokie Roberts,* a Sunday talk program that served as a showcase for her political knowledge. Roberts continued as a news analyst with ABC and also with National Public Radio (NPR), continuously exploring the mechanics of hardball politics and government. NPR anchors frequently interviewed (or "debriefed") her about events and their meaning, eliciting tough political reporting and occasional commentary in return.

Ted Koppel (1940–)

Longtime ABC correspondent Koppel anchored nightly reports on the 1979–81 Iran hostage crisis and parlayed that reporting into a unique nightly late-night news program, *Nightline.* Every evening for a quarter-century, Koppel and his reporting staff presented stories and interviews that sometimes brought criticism framing him as unpatriotic, self-aggrandizing, or inclined to use news as commentary. Never formally a commentator, and rich both in Emmy awards and opinions, Koppel was most popular with an urban, educated audience too small to sustain him as network news budgets grew tighter. A 2004 *Nightline* episode called "The Fallen," showing faces of U.S. Iraq war casualties one by one without comment, upset prowar conservatives. The following year, reportedly forced out, Koppel left ABC after 42 years, becoming an NPR news analyst.

Carl Rowan (1925–2000)

The commentaries of Rowan drew power from his climb out of Tennessee poverty to an advanced education, prominence in print journalism, and diplomatic posts under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. For half of his adult life, from 1967 to 1996, Rowan was a regular on *Inside Washington,* a political analysis round table seen on television outlets nationally. His appearances soon justified the *Washington Post*'s reference to him as "the most visible black journalist in America." Rowan's contributions to television dialogues often centered on race-related issues, with the stated objective, as his Associated Press obituary quoted him, of countering "the racial mindset of most of the media." Whether in print or on camera, his commentaries were clear, firm, and often eloquent. His views of his country's advantages and shortcomings provided grist for his several books and years of newspaper columns, which won him many honors.

William F. Buckley (1925–2008)

Sometimes commentators with the most tenuous ties to mainstream news have been among the most outspoken while engaged in it. Buckley was one such commentator, Buckley was witty, colorful, and literate, an editor, writer, and publisher bursting with ideas and opinions, and probably the best-known political conservative in the United States for the last half of the twentieth century. Buckley poured forceful commentary into television as host of his own long-running PBS talk program series, *Firing Line,* and also made occasional network appearances as a news analyst. While doing commentary for ABC at the 1968 political conventions, he got into an expletive-spitting squabble with liberal writer Gore Vidal; Buckley said he regretted the episode, but he had rarely been known to muffle his opinions. No other broadcast commentator could match his combination of erudition, pugnacity, and verve.

Commentary's Future

Network television news grew thinner starting in the mid-1980s as new owners stripped down news budgets and new competitors for public attention and advertising revenues began to squeeze news turf. The cost-conscious networks, seeking formulas that would make their news programs attractive to potential new viewers, stopped routinely employing news commentators (few local stations offered commentators). In a 2008 interview, former NBC News executive William Wheatley said he thought network commentary had always contained more analysis than opinion, and still believed that "with the right person doing it, a person of experience and insight, commentary was always valuable to viewers." Now, with paths for political communication proliferating via cable television and the Internet, he acknowledged that the newer outlets were dwarfing the old networks in total daily news volume and openly worried about the trend toward more partisan commentary coming from these new media.

There was reason to worry. Far more people who wished to comment on public affairs, frequently from partisan perspectives, now had cable and web venues in which to do so. The seeming democratization of media contributed to what some called a cacophonous multichannel "argument culture," but it also gave viewers greater access to serious commentary of every stripe. Much of it emerged on cable television, where audiences were relatively small but so was the investment needed to keep commentary and debates over news filling the air for hours a day.

On cable's many channels news analysis (except in national election years, at least) could be muffled under the weight of other content. With commentary dispersed so widely over so many sources, it seemed unlikely that a single media speaker could ever again swing the weight that network television commentators had enjoyed with their huge audiences. This dispersal of commentators' influence was in the nature of the transition at hand, diffusing but not eliminating that "elucidation" of news on which Eric Sevareid once labored.

What will happen to commentators in the early twenty-first century is hard to determine. The mantra of this new age of electronic journalism seems to be *choices*. Utterly unclear is what consequences for helping citizens better understand news these choices might bring.

James R. Upshaw

See also Agenda Setting; Anchors, Television; Commentators, Radio; Evening News, Television

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Community Radio

The history of American community radio is a story of social struggle over media technology. From the earliest radio broadcasters to the present, questions of who can own a radio station and whether or not that station should be based on commercial support continue to be a source of public debate and government policy decisions. Community radio emerged in response to commercial radio, attempting to offer diverse political viewpoints as well as a wide range of musical and cultural products. News and information on community radio often challenges mainstream journalism and politics while providing an outlet for local public affairs programming.

Development

Community radio is a product of the media system established through the combination of government policy and private enterprise. From the Radio Act of 1927, which established the Federal Radio Commission (FRC), to the Communications Act of 1934, establishing the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), to the 1996 Telecommunications Act, tensions between commercial and nonprofit broadcasters have been central to the policy debate around media regulation in the United States.

The debates around media regulation are in large part based on the concept of spectrum scarcity. The limited broadcast spectrum restricts the number of radio stations that can operate in any one location. The radio spectrum has historically been seen as part of the public domain, and any station granted access to this spectrum was using a public resource and, therefore, in the words of the Communications Act of 1934, had an obligation to operate in the "public interest." How this interest is best served—through the market forces of commercially driven radio or through nonprofit, listener-sponsored radio—remains an active area of debate.

During the late 1920s and early 1930s, other countries were working to reconcile the debate between commercial versus noncommercial radio. For example, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) became a state owned but independently operated entity in 1927. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) was established in 1932 as a publicly owned and operated radio network that would later expand to television. These models inspired a media reform movement in the United States, composed of educational broadcasters, organized labor, farmers, religious groups, and others who were dissatisfied with radio's domination by commercial interests like the NBC and CBS networks. The noncommercial broadcast advocates largely lost the debate in the United States, resulting in the current system of commercially dominated radio punctuated by a small number of public and community radio stations.

Pacifica and the Rise of Community Radio

Lewis Hill is considered the father of community radio. As a pacifist and conscientious objector to World War II, Hill had firsthand experience with minority viewpoints that were shut out of the mainstream commercial media system. In 1946, Hill founded the Pacifica Foundation with the goal of promoting pacifism through education. In 1949, the foundation launched KPFA, the United States' first listener-supported community radio station. It rejected funding from both corporations and the government, relying instead on listener donations. KPFA's programming was politically and aesthetically diverse, creating a model that other stations followed.

With the help and coordination of the Pacifica Foundation, the KPFA model was extended to a second San Francisco Bay station, then replicated in 1959 with the introduction of KPFK in Los Angeles and in 1960, the network expanded across the country to include WBAI in New York. KPFT Houston was added in 1970 and WPFW in Washington, D.C., was added in 1977. These five stations form the Pacifica network, along with a series of affiliate stations that rebroadcast syndicated programming.

Drawing on the Pacifica model, Lorenzo Milam created KRAB in Seattle, Washington, in 1962. Hoping to avoid the constraints and left leaning politics of the Pacifica network, KRAB strived to maintain an open forum for the local community. Milam assisted other groups across the country as they attempted to launch community radio stations, including KBOO in Portland, Oregon, in 1968 and KUSP in Santa Cruz, California, in 1972. Milam is also credited with pioneering the fundraising marathon concept, a model now replicated by most every noncommercial radio station, including affiliates of National Public Radio.

The political viewpoints expressed on community radio stations often elicited strong reactions, both positive and negative. KPFA and the Pacifica Foundation were repeatedly charged with being communists and in 1962, the foundation board appeared before a U.S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, which was investigating so-called communist infiltration. The diversity of programming on KRAB earned praise from the American Civil Liberties Union and *The New York Times,* as well as local Seattle news media outlets. Other stations were not as readily accepted, such as KPFT Houston, whose studios were bombed off the air twice by the Ku Klux Klan in its first 12 months of operation.

Independence was the hallmark of community radio throughout the politically charged eras of the cold war, McCarthyism, the Vietnam War, and the cultural upheaval of the 1960s and 1970s. These stations provided airtime for the expression of dissenting and minority viewpoints, uninhibited from the commercially driven radio stations that dominated the airwaves.

Low Power FM and Radio Activism

The Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 established the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), which in turn formed National Public Radio (NPR) but also created some new obstacles for noncommercial community radio. The 1967 act required a station to have five full-time staff members and a transmitter with a minimum of 3,000 watts of power to be eligible for federal financial assistance. At the time more than 80 percent of noncommercial stations did not meet these requirements, and most of these stations relied on a combination of listener support and government grants. Many of these outlets included small, low-power class D (less than 100 watts) FM stations run by

schools, churches, and community organizations. In 1978, the FCC stopped accepting class D applications and made existing class D stations subject to displacement by full-power outlets.

These changes in FCC radio policy set the stage for the struggle over low power FM radio (LPFM) in the late 1980s and 1990s. Like the pioneers of listener sponsored community radio, LPFM activists sought to challenge the form and content of commercial media while communicating with a very local audience. Before LPFM licenses became available, activists challenged the FCC and the way the radio spectrum was being regulated. Using direct action techniques, activists began creating small illegal radio stations and using these stations as models for community radio.

In 1986, Mbanna Kantako began operating WTRA, Black Liberation Radio, in Springfield, Illinois. WTRA was a small radio station operated from Kantako's apartment in a public housing project. When the FCC tried to shut the station down, the National Lawyers Guild Committee on Democratic Communication took on the case to defend Kantako's right to broadcast. The legal defense developed during this case became the basis for the legal challenge that would eventually lead to the authorization of LPFM service in 2001.

In 1993, Stephen Dunifer started Free Radio Berkeley, an unlicensed LPFM radio station in California. Through a series of court cases over the next seven years and building on the arguments developed in the Kantako case, Dunifer argued that the FCC ban on LPFM stations was in violation of the Communications Act of 1934, which required broadcasters to use the "minimum amount of power necessary to carry out the communication desired." Dunifer also demonstrated the feasibility of LPFM, proving that spectrum space existed even in a place as congested as the San Francisco Bay Area. The National Lawyers Guild also assisted Dunifer with his defense and their arguments proved to be persuasive. California District Judge Wilken asked if a "total ban on new licensing of micro radio broadcasting the least restrictive means available to protect against chaos in the airwaves?" (Opel 2004, 9). The court's acceptance of Dunifer's arguments became a significant challenge to the FCC.

The struggle over LPFM gained strength with the emergence of the Internet. Activists shared information about how to start small radio stations as well as what to do when the FCC came knocking. The Prometheus Radio Project in Philadelphia began a "barn raising" process where volunteers traveled around the country helping community groups get LPFM stations up and running over the course of a weekend. The combination of direct action, legal challenges, and local and national media coverage led to an FCC decision in 2000 to authorize LPFM stations for the first time in 20 years. This rule allowed for stations to broadcast with up to 1,000 watts of power, required that the station be operated by a nonprofit organization, limited ownership to one station, and the organization operating the radio station had to be located in the community where the station broadcast.

The National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) opposed the licensing of LPFM stations, arguing that the new stations would cause interference with existing broadcasters. NPR also opposed the LPFM initiative, arguing in part that the limited spectrum space would be better used for translators that would rebroadcast existing public radio signals to outlying areas. In response to pressure from the NAB and NPR, the U.S. Congress amended the FCC's LPFM initiative with the Radio Broadcasting Preservation Act of 2000. This act set a more restrictive standard for separation of stations on the radio dial, revising the FCC's proposal and limiting the number of potential LPFM to a small fraction of the potential number in the original proposal. The stations that have been licensed under the more restrictive policy are in small cities and rural areas. Examples of existing LPFM stations include WRFU-LP, The Socialist Forum in Urbana, Illinois; WEHB-LP, First United Methodist Church in Wadesboro, North Carolina; and KUVC-LP, Ukiah Community Radio in Ukiah, California.

By 2007, the FCC had issued over 1,000 licenses and LPFM stations were operating in all 50 states in the United States, offering everything from diverse music, languages, and political and religious programming. The creation of LPFM is the largest growth of community radio since the pioneering efforts of Lewis Hill and Lorenzo Milam.

International Community Radio

Often cited as a small part of U.S. radio history, community radio has had a significant impact on

developing countries around the world. Community radio has been credited with playing significant roles in political and social struggles across the globe. From Colombia to the Philippines, Tanzania to Korea, small, locally owned and operated community radio stations have played a major role in what scholars have referred to as "participatory communication for social change" (Dargon 2001, 18).

According to a 2001 Rockefeller Foundation Report, the power and influence of community radio in developing countries is a result of five factors. First, the technology is affordable for both the broadcaster and the listener. Second, the listening format is valuable for illiterate populations in rural areas. Third, local traditions and cultures can be shared through local radio. Fourth, the equipment requires little maintenance and programming is dependent on community involvement. Finally, the convergence between radio and the Internet is creating powerful new networking opportunities.

Radio Izcanal in Nueva Granada, El Salvador, is an example of international community radio. Started in 1992 by civil war refugees, Radio Izcanal is an example of participatory media that is owned and operated by the community. This station serves the local indigenous populations with programming geared to the Nahua and Mayan cultures.

Radio Gune Yi in Dakar, Senegal, is run by children for children, funded by PLAN International, a nonprofit children's relief organization. Because children make up more than half the total population in Senegal, Radio Gune Yi was established to empower children and offer them an opportunity to speak directly to their community about issues that concern them. Both these examples face pressures similar to those felt by community broadcasters in the United States—lack of funding, commercial pressures for frequency space, and continued training of volunteer staff.

The World Bank Institute began the Grassroots Media Program in 2000, designed to strengthen community radio in developing countries. This program has projects in South America, Africa, and Southeast Asia. Similarly, the United Nations has actively supported the development and maintenance of community radio stations through the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

The power and potential of international community radio are detailed in the documentary film, *The Agronomist* (2004), in which Radio Haiti and the work of Jean Dominique are portrayed in the context of the economic and political struggles of Haiti during the 1980s and 1990s.

Conclusion

Community radio plays a significant role in the marketplace of ideas both in the United States and around the world. Community radio broadcasters pioneered the concept of listener supported media, as well as the fundraising marathon. By avoiding the commercial influences of advertising, community broadcasters offer diverse programming that is often left out of most commercial radio. At the same time, the lack of advertising dollars makes funding an ongoing problem for most every community radio station, resulting in a reliance on volunteers, low-paid staff, and constrained programming possibilities. Combining eclectic music with diverse and sometimes offensive political viewpoints, these stations offer local citizens the opportunity to speak to their local communities. Community stations have expanded the range of debate on critical social issues—war and peace, the environment, health care, the public education system, and more. In an environment of consolidated media dominated by a few large corporations, these stations are the few remaining outlets for the expression of minority viewpoints and lesser known cultural material.

Andy Opel

See also Advertising; Alternative and Underground Newspapers; Bias; Censorship; Citizen Journalism; Equal Time; Free Expression, History of; National Public Radio; Pacifica Radio; Public Broadcasting Service

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Comparative Law

See International and Comparative Journalism Law

Comparative Models of Journalism

The study of comparative models of journalism endeavors to describe, compare, classify, analyze, and explain news systems in diverse countries, cultures, and political systems, and across time periods. This area of research has evolved from largely descriptive and value-laden efforts of U.S. scholars during the 1950s to differentiate media by systems of political control into an important and increasingly sophisticated subfield of international and comparative communication characterized by an array of different approaches.

In the past, models of journalism have tended to be "normative" or prescriptive in nature, hinging on implicit if not explicit moral judgments about what structures, practices, and outcomes are "best" for a society. Comparative models of journalism also are typically descriptive rather than analytical, concerned with similarities and differences in the features of media systems than with explanations of what accounts for such similarity and difference.

Such comparisons across cultures also have tended to rest on the assumption that Western, and particularly Anglo-American, ways of organizing and doing journalism constituted the desirable norm. Part of this is due simply to the fact that many of the relevant researchers come from North America and Britain. From this perspective, government constraints are seen as the greatest danger to freedom of expression, while private ownership of media is the most important bulwark against government interference.

Although this view has fallen out of favor among academics, partly due to a broader movement to "de-Westernize" media studies, it still prevails in policy studies and advocacy carried out by international media watchdog organizations such as the New York–based Freedom House and the Paris-based Reporters Without Borders, which issue annual rankings of the world's press freedom on a country-by-country basis.

The "Four Theories" Formulation

The roots of such studies go back to the 1956 publication of Siebert et al.'s *Four Theories of the Press,* whose authors sought to explain why mass media (with an emphasis on newspapers) took different forms and served different purposes in different countries. Surmising that variations in financing, technology, resources, urbanization, and national experience were all factors, they identified the most important reason for differences in philosophical and political rationale. They classified press systems as authoritarian, libertarian, Soviet communist, and social responsibility, with each category resting on a particular political philosophy and mode of state organization.

Over the next several decades, the "four theories" formulation was among the most influential approaches to U.S. study and teaching of international and comparative communication. It began to come under more critical scrutiny in the 1970s

and 1980s, as scholars found weaknesses and omissions in the categories, and drew increasing criticism in the 1990s for its underlying cold war premises. Nevertheless, Siebert et al.'s work retains both historical and residual importance in the field, and remains an important starting point for reviewing literature in this area.

In this approach, the *authoritarian* system entails direct government control of mass media, and is characteristic of predemocratic societies in which governing power is concentrated in the hands of small ruling elites, typically monarchies. Media organizations and individuals working for them have no independence under such a system, in which the government is likely to mete out drastic punishment for any expression of difference with established authority.

The *libertarian* system hinges on the political philosophy of European Enlightenment thinkers, and their insistence that human beings have an inherent right to expression. Underlying this system is the conviction that, given exposure to freely circulated information and ideas, a society will go with the best choices, and that freedom from government control is the best way to ensure such an environment. This system rejects state limitations on media and assigns media organizations and workers autonomy from government.

The *Soviet communist* system is a modern variant of the authoritarian category. As the name implies, this system is closely tied to a particular ideology—the communist vision of Marx and Engels that inspired the Russian Revolution—as well as structures and practices that emerged in the Soviet Union, in which all media organizations were owned by the state and ostensibly subordinate to the interests of the working class.

The *social responsibility* system, offered as an improvement on libertarianism, takes its vocabulary from the so-called Hutchins Commission (Commission on the Freedom of the Press, 1947), which emphasized the news media's obligations to provide the public with accurate, balanced, and true information, and warned that increasing concentration of private ownership of news outlets was undermining the media's ability to fulfill these duties. In line with the Hutchins study, Siebert et al. saw the concept of responsibility as key to effective self-regulation by media organizations and practitioners. They did not question or posit alternatives to commercial ownership, nor did they advocate government regulation of media.

Elaboration, Qualification, and Critique of the "Four Theories"

Amidst growing attention to international development after World War II as well as increasing U.S. involvement in development projects abroad, scholars concerned with the role of communication in developing countries offered their own typologies of media systems incorporating this concern. These efforts mainly involved renaming and adding categories.

Longtime journalism educators and collaborators John Merrill and Ralph Lowenstein, in *Media, Messages, and Men* (1979), emphasized mode of ownership, and added a fifth category, social centrist, referring to government or public ownership of a libertarian-oriented press. They also renamed the Soviet communist category social-authoritarian, to suggest that this model also had social responsibility attributes. International communication specialist William Hachten, in the original 1981 edition of his best-known work, *World News Prism* (subsequently revised with James Scotton, 2006) used five categories: authoritarian, Western (incorporating both libertarian and social responsibility), Communist, revolutionary (subversive, devoted to the overthrow of a government), and developmental.

Media researcher Herbert Altschull (1984/1995) found flaws in defining systems by what they purported to do, noting that most every country claims a system providing for the needs and interests of its people. He initially divided the map of media systems into the First World, roughly corresponding with Siebert et al.'s libertarian model; the Second World, or Soviet; and the Third World, or developmental model; but in later efforts to strip his typology of value judgments, he revised his categories as market, communitarian, and advancing. Altschull acknowledged that these were idealized categories, neither mutually exclusive nor exhaustive, and likely to appear in hybrids rather than as pure forms.

Some scholars proposed adding or substituting categories such as development, democratic-participant, democratic-socialist, liberal-pluralist, paternalist, or professional—all with slightly varied

definitions depending on author and time. Others noted that, in stressing political philosophy and the nature of the state as the foundation of the mass media system, Siebert et al. neglected to consider the formative role of mass media on society, including politics, as well as the interdependent and interactive relationships between media and society. In addition, the focus on national-level politics and economics excluded scrutiny of factors operating at occupational, organizational, and individual levels, such as professionalism, socialization, or autonomy, that might have important bearing on media production and products.

In a concerted reassessment of Siebert et al. nearly four decades later, titled *Last Rights: Revisiting Four Theories of the Press* (1995), journalism historian John Nerone and colleagues, building on a series of discussions at the University of Illinois Institute of Communications, provided the most extensive critique to that point, offering sharp conclusions and also raising continuing questions about what they deemed one of the most influential works of communication scholarship to emerge in postwar America and endure through the cold war.

Among their general reservations was the observation that a set of ideas that purported to be applicable across time in fact arose from and remained tied to a particular historical moment just a decade following World War II, characterized by ideological commitments to a free-market media system combined with a neoliberal concern for social welfare and institutional responsibility. Moreover, these critics noted, the formulation put forth as four distinct theories was actually "one theory with four examples"—the underlying proposition being that a communication system reflects the society in which it operates.

The Nerone group found uneven degrees of specificity in the four theories, as well as considerable conceptual confusion; in their view, Siebert et al. failed to distinguish between abstractions and realities in establishing their categories, with the result that the explication of authoritarianism really described a purported set of practices, whereas the discussion of libertarianism rested on ideas of specific thinkers, and the social responsibility and Soviet communist models were grounded in historical experience.

All four categories, according to Nerone et al., are vast oversimplifications. They conclude that authoritarianism is more invention than reality, libertarianism a reduction of a vast amount of diverse liberal political thought into a simple formula, and social responsibility a vague notion that means different things to different people—from calls for limited adjustment in a media system that remains primarily driven by markets and profits to a modern model seeking curtailment of the profit motive in the arena of news and opinion, and a radical approach calling for broader social transformation in which media serve as creators of authentic community.

Finally, Nerone et al. identified the central conceptual problem of the scheme is its ideological grounding in one of the four models—libertarianism—and, in particular, the assumption of a basic dichotomy between the state and private interest as the key to media "freedom." This perspective, they say, generates the thinking and vocabulary behind the entire taxonomy. Furthermore, these ideological underpinnings are never made explicit. They are evident, however, in the absence of consideration of any forms of media controlled by entities other than the state or private capital.

While Nerone et al. cast considerable doubt on the entire enterprise of attempting to map press systems, they do not advocate abandoning the effort. They do suggest, however, that such endeavors may be more useful as history than theory; and that at the very least, scholars attempting such mapping must be cognizant of their own ideological assumptions as well as the context of their times.

Complicating Factors

From the late twentieth century on, historical upheavals, geopolitical realignments, new technologies, and many other factors greatly complicated attempts to identify and characterize journalism models. The collapse of the Soviet Union, the reorientation of development policy in the People's Republic of China from a controlled economy to market-driven reforms, the privatization of national broadcasting systems and emergence of new commercial media outlets in many parts of the world, and other developments made sweeping generalizations about countries, regions, and media systems increasingly untenable.

Meanwhile, the expansion of the Internet and the acceleration of global flows of people, goods,

money, and media blurred boundaries beyond containment, so the conventional unit of analysis for systemic analysis, the nation, often seemed inadequate. At the same time, geopolitical change and globalization made international and comparative communication issues, including the workings of journalism in different societies, of increasing interest to researchers. Nerone et al. identified the changing information environment in both national and global arenas as key to recasting studies of news media. Writing in the 1990s, they noted that journalism's subject matter, constituencies, institutions, and procedures, along with information infrastructure and regulatory regimens, increasingly operated on a global scale.

For twenty-first-century scholarship, the response to the vast changes across the globe has been both greater sophistication and lesser ambitions. Rather than seeking a universal scheme to supplant the once-dominant "four theories," scholars have attempted to distinguish journalism models along clearly defined dimensions—emphasizing, for instance, the role of political economy, the weight of cultural traditions, the influence of occupational or individual values, or, more commonly, interactions among these and other diverse factors. Another response is to attempt to identify models or variations found among a selection of countries defined by region, shared historical experiences or cultural values, and/or other presumably common features—for example, East Asia, Scandinavia, or postsocialist countries.

Scholars attempting to develop a framework that incorporates Asian press systems, for instance, have called for much greater attention to endogenous cultural values shaping journalism philosophy and practice, as well as many Asian countries' diverse experiences with socialism and government intervention.

U.S. media researcher Daniel Hallin and Italian media researcher Paolo Mancini (2004), in their co-authored study of media systems in Western Europe, the United States, and Canada, explicate three models in terms of political and economic arrangements, legal and regulatory frameworks, and professionalization. They identify what they call a Liberal Model (Britain, Ireland, and North America), a Democratic Corporatist Model (continental Europe), and a Polarized Pluralist Model (the Mediterranean), presenting these conclusions as empirical rather than normative models as part of an explicit break with prior approaches. They find that differences among the models are diminishing as journalism's role becomes less political and more commercial.

Overall, empirically based propositions offering fundamental insights into cross-cultural variations in journalism institutions, processes, and products have proved elusive, leading some scholars to believe that large questions about why journalism in any given time and place operates the way it does are not amenable to theorizing at all. In addition, national, regional, and global communications have become moving targets, hard to characterize in any enduring sense. From this perspective, idiosyncratic aspects of journalism in a given setting—arising, for instance, from social movements, elite factionalism, economic stress, or other culturally and/or historically contingent influences and interests, as well as the ways specific social actors behave and respond—may be more significant than aspects common to other settings, while circumstance and even happenstance may be more important explanatory factors than identifiable patterns among key variables.

Judy Polumbaum

See also Development Journalism; Free Flow of Information; International Journalism; Newsroom Culture; News Values; Professionalism; Theories of Journalism

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Computers in Journalism

Computers and computing technologies have fundamentally shaped the practice and nature of journalism both in the United States and around the world. Aside from some scattered pioneers, news media have employed computers as a tool in news reporting and storytelling since the 1970s, and especially since the introduction of the personal computer around 1980. In covering the 1952 U.S. presidential election, CBS News used an early UNIVAC mainframe computer to process election night returns and make predictions on their outcome. In the decades since, computers and computing technology have altered the media landscape in many ways, from the advent of precision journalism to the Internet and online journalism. Digital or computer-based technologies have exerted subtle and not-so-subtle influences on the craft of journalism, for both better and worse. This is not to argue a technologically deterministic viewpoint regarding the role of computers in journalism. Rather, computers and computing technology have enabled a variety of changes to occur, subject to economics, people, and policies.

This entry examines the use and impact of computers and computing technologies in journalism in four broad areas: (1) doing journalistic work; (2) the content of journalism or the news; (3) the structure, management, and culture of news media organizations and the news industry; and (4) the relationships among journalists, news media, audiences, regulators, competitors, and financers.

Doing Journalistic Work

Journalists' tasks include reporting, or gathering the news, writing and other forms of storytelling, and editing. For each of these tasks, computers and what this entry will call generally "digital" technology have had a profound impact. In many cases, this has been positive and planned for. For example, large volumes of data are now processed in short time frames and with much greater efficiency than humans acting without computers could do. This is perhaps best exemplified in precision journalism. Pioneered by Pulitzer Prize winner Philip Meyer, precision journalism applies scientific methods of systematic empirical inquiry to journalism. This might take the form of surveys and public opinion polls or other methods, including the analysis of large databases of public or governmental records (typically records of transactions, such as tax data). Often times the data are obtained in digital form from governmental agencies, although in some cases the data are generated directly by the news organization, sometimes in partnership with a polling organization, for example. Such large data sets could not be analyzed without the use of computers. Landmark studies of this type include Meyer's pioneering 1967 study of the civil rights protests in Detroit, MI, which led to his winning the Pulitzer Prize with the *Detroit Free Press* for the series "The People Beyond 12th Street." David Burnham, the former *New York Times* reporter, who achieved fame for his reporting work with Frank Serpico (as depicted in the motion picture *Serpico*) and the Knapp Commission on police corruption in the 1960s and early 1970s in New York city, was the first journalist to use a computer to analyze crime data by precinct in New York, and with the results write a major series in the early 1970s showing crime rates in different areas of the city. Since these early pioneering efforts, the computer has become a standard part of virtually every investigative reporter's tool kit.

But computers and digital technologies, including the Internet and World Wide Web, had become by 2007 standard equipment for all journalists. Research by Middleberg and Ross shows that most journalists routinely use various computing technologies in gathering and reporting the news. Whether journalists use email to follow up on interviews with sources, the World Wide Web to obtain public records, or Google for preliminary research, digital technologies are ubiquitous in news gathering. Digital cameras and digital satellite imaging are also widely used on a wide variety of stories. Increasingly common are digital audio recorders to

store sound bites from interviews. Storytelling, editing, and communicating with editors, sources, and fellow reporters also depend on heavy use of digital technologies. Reporters routinely use notebook or laptop computers to write copy, crop photographs, edit audio and video, and with wireless Internet connectivity, file multimedia reports with editors for review and publication. In growing numbers, reporters also use such mobile digital technologies as smart-phones capable of not only voice communications but also photography and web access, global positioning satellite (GPS) receivers, or other personal digital appliance (PDA) technologies. Such devices enable reporters to gather, produce, and distribute the news more efficiently and quickly. Sometimes the increasing speed can be an advantage against competitors, but it can also be a problem as journalists may have less time to thoughtfully reflect on a story, source, or lead.

Sometimes digital technology has presented problems in how journalists work, including ethical challenges. Problems with plagiarism have grown in scope as online technologies and computer-based word processing have made it easier and perhaps more tempting for reporters to steal from others' writings. Digital imaging has similarly made it easier for a photojournalist or editor to alter a photo to make it more dramatic or otherwise publishable. An important example occurred during the early 2000s' Iraq war. *Los Angeles Times* photographer Brian Walski took two photos of a British soldier directing Iraqi civilians to take cover from Iraqi fire. Walski used his computer to merge the two photos into one, apparently believing that the merged photo was better than either of the two real versions. The alteration was detected but not until after publication and Walski was fired for violating *Times*' policy.

News Content

The computer has fundamentally influenced news content. Most clearly the Internet and World Wide Web have ushered in a whole new era of interactive, on-demand news content. Although some of this is not much different than more traditional media, much is quite different, and growing more so.

Blogs, podcasts, and interactive graphics are just a few examples of the new forms of storytelling that journalists routinely produce based on the use of digital technologies. Other more experimental forms exist as well, some of them not developed by traditional news organizations. For example, the Columbia Newsblaster (http://www1.cs.columbia.edu/nlp/projects.cgi) is a computer-based tool that uses artificial intelligence natural language processing to obtain, synthesize, and publish in summary form hundreds of news reports produced and distributed online every day. The Newsblaster is a research project of computer science researchers at Columbia University, including at least one former *New York Times* journalist.

The Situated Documentary (http://www1.cs.columbia.edu/graphics/projects/mars/mjwSd.html) is another example. Developed collaboratively by John Pavlik and his Columbia computer science colleague Professor Steven Feiner, it is based on the application of wearable computer technologies known as mobile augmented reality. A cousin of virtual reality, the Situated Documentary permits the news consumer to go to the venue of a previous news event and relive it virtually through a see-through head-worn display and other wireless technologies.

Chicagocrime.org is yet another example. As a form of "mash-up" media, it is a freely searchable database of crime in Chicago. Data are merged, or mashed up, from the crime data reported by the Chicago Police Department, the Citizen Information Collection for Automated Mapping (ICAM), and mapping and satellite data provided by Google. ICAM was developed by the Chicago Police Department. By merging, or mashing up, these data, ChicagoCrime provides users a highly detailed, interactive, and useful look at where crimes have been reported in Chicago. Users can browse the data in a variety of ways, including by type of crime including arson, homicide, and gambling; by street all the way down to the block level, and map nearby crimes. Some established news organizations, such as *The New York Times,* have begun using this same approach, providing interactive, map-based coverage of selected tourist destinations in North America.

Newsroom Structure

Digital technology has enabled news organizations to rethink how they operate. Among the important

changes taking place at many news media is the creation of converged news-gathering and -production facilities. From *The New York Times* to the Gannett company, many news organizations have created converged news rooms where print, online, and audio and video news-gathering and -production operations work together to cover the news. Editors and reporters work face to face but also via online communications, with stories being filed digitally. Gradually taking shape is "the virtual newsroom" that does not depend on a physical location. Rather, it utilizes digital technologies, especially mobile and wireless computing and communication. This permits reporters to stay in the field longer doing reporting and spending less time traveling back and forth to a physical news room. It can also reduce overhead costs for news organizations, whose business models are increasingly challenged by growing competition.

Journalists' Relationships

Digital technology is dramatically altering relationships among journalists, news organizations, and their many publics. The rise of citizen journalism, bloggers, and the like has created a global publishing environment where virtually anyone can report on the news. At least some audiences have been transformed from passive news receivers to active media reporters and publishers. The unprecedented diversity of voices on the Internet has let freedom of expression bloom. Yet, many of these voices do not subscribe to the traditional values of accuracy, objectivity, and fairness that have been the hallmarks of great journalism. As a result, while anyone can go online and access (or even "publish") a wide variety of reports and viewpoints, the reliability or credibility of what is found there is often hard to determine. Youtube might provide millions of endlessly entertaining video clips, but it is not always clear how trustworthy many of these clips may be. Wikipedia is open to almost anyone to contribute or edit, and thus must be used with care, no matter how "democratic" it may appear. Yet, the public is spending increasing amounts of time with these and other alternative sources of news, and as a result more advertisers are shifting their dollars from traditional news media to online venues. This is forcing traditional news media to reinvent themselves with business models that can sustain quality journalism amidst digital competition. Finding ways to attract young people to the news is a primary challenge. Digital television and radio, whether via cable, optical fiber, or satellite, are drawing increasing numbers of audience members and advertisers, and the place for local news in these largely national and international digital media is uncertain.

Relationships with sources of news are also changing amidst the digital environment. The Middleberg/Ross Survey shows that journalists are increasingly using the web as a news-gathering resource and employing email to conduct interviews or follow-up with sources. Reporters are finding sources and leads online through various online forums. Sources are also sometimes publishing their own versions of the news, even contradicting reports published in traditional news media.

Digital technologies are also influencing the relationship between news media and regulatory and legal bodies. Because the Internet can carry news worldwide, news organizations are often confronted by legal requirements in other countries. Chinese authorities, for example, have routinely blocked U.S.-based news websites. Journalists have been charged with criminal activities in India for publishing reports that raise no legal concerns in America. Legal problems for journalists are not limited to international venues. Online journalists, or at least citizen bloggers, have been charged with contempt of court in the United States for not revealing their sources.

Perhaps most vexing for the news media is seeking viable business models amidst digital change. Although some news media (notably *The Wall Street Journal*) have found profitable strategies for publishing online or producing video and audio journalism delivered digitally and on demand, most have not. Layoffs and retrenchment have been widespread in traditional news media. Newspaper chains and other news properties have been sold to private equity firms. How to compete in an online media environment where anyone can publish has presented a crisis many in the news business struggle to meet. At the same time, job prospects for new graduates of journalism and media studies programs at American universities are the brightest they have been in years, largely because of job growth in the digital media sector.

Conclusion

Computing technology has dramatically altered the landscape and practice of journalism. From precision journalism to the Internet and hand-held computing devices, digital technologies have redefined how journalists gather and report the news. News storytelling has changed as blogging, podcasting, and other interactive forms of journalism have empowered online users. Although many of the changes brought about or at least enabled by computers have been for the good, some have fostered new problems. Image manipulation and plagiarism are two of them. Legal and business problems have grown in parallel to the explosion of news sources available online. Though journalism remains essential, it is not clear which news media will survive and thrive in the digital age.

John Pavlik

See also Automation; Blogs and Bloggers; Chat Rooms; Convergence; Digital Journalism Tools; Digital Media Europe; Digital Photography; Digital Sound; Digital Television; Discussion Boards; Electronic News Gathering; Internet Impact on Media; Podcasting; Reporters, Online; Satellite News Gathering; Science and Technology Journalism; Streaming Media; Videotex and Teletext

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Conflicts of Interest

Conflicts of interest in journalism can exist on both the individual and institutional level. Codes of ethics or outright rules traditionally seek to maintain professional distance between reporters and their sources, while keeping news organizations free from financial or other pressures that could potentially bias their news products. It is the latter conflicts that can constitute corruption. Journalists have long prized their independence and ability to report the truth fairly and accurately, which is why, as a profession, journalism has developed boundaries to protect individuals and institutions from both conflicts of interest and conflicts of commitment. However, as in other professions at the turn of the twenty-first century, these traditional views risk being undermined by changes in the structure and funding of journalism.

This entry describes the scope of conflicts that impede (or can be perceived as impeding) journalists from doing their jobs and explains why the mere appearance of a conflict of interest matters to journalists and their employers. Representative lists of individual and organizational conflicts are provided, along with an explanation of why they are of concern and what is being done to address them.

The Journalist's Job

In a web-centric information era, journalists compete for public notice amid a cacophony of messages. For citizens to appropriately process news

content, it must be distinguished from entertainment, public relations, advertising, and input from bloggers and from the newly dubbed citizen-journalists as well. Traditionally, the role of journalist was first that of gatekeeper. What counted as "news" were those issues and events chosen by editors and reporters. By the start of the twenty-first century, anyone with access to a computer or a cell phone could be a news producer. Members of the public can access information without relying on journalists.

While the journalist's traditional roles as gatekeeper and primary channel of information to citizens have become outdated by technology, the social function of journalism remains vital to democracy. Its role-related responsibility is to provide citizens with information needed for self-governance. The essential shared value that distinguishes journalism from other media and journalists from other information providers is that of timely truth telling. In the virtual world, journalists must ensure that audiences recognize them as credible sources that provide reliable information.

In contrast to how the profession is perceived by working journalists, concentrated ownership of news outlets has increased over the last half century, resulting in a business model that seeks to produce the news "product" at the least cost and greatest profit. The potential conflict between making news and making money is ubiquitous. Traditionally, this issue was managed by the maintenance of a strict "wall" between the editorial function (news gathering, reporting, and placement) and the business function (advertising and circulation). That wall has eroded throughout the industry. For example, two years after Disney acquired the American Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), ABC pulled an investigative television news report regarding pedophiles working at Disney theme parks. While it is not clear why the story did not run, the appearance of conflict of interest with the parent company is inescapable.

Dispassionate Journalism

The idea of the professional journalist who strives to serve the public interest in his or her reporting is a relatively new concept. Until 1850, journalists alternated between political work and reporting for partisan newspapers. Two forces gave rise to more balanced, accurate, relevant, and complete (BARC) accounts.

New techniques such as the cylinder press allowed for cheaper printing in the 1830s, which placed newspapers within the budget of all citizens. Newspapers moved from filling the needs of political parties to an information or news role. The editors who ran these cheap newspapers, dubbed the "penny press," viewed their role as fulfilling a duty to provide a realistic view of contemporary life, to expose abuses, and to report items of human interest. The development of the telegraph prompted formation of news agencies to share the cost of news gathering. This collaborative reporting required a product suitable for a "mass" audience, in which journalists could make no assumptions about the political leanings of their readers. The goal of producing an "objective" news account was based on providing information that could be filtered through any user's political or personal biases.

While accurate reporting is touted as an important ethical principle today, it rests on technological and marketing values of the past. Through that notion of serving no special interest, the concern about conflicts of interests for journalists was born. One author lists common conflicts of interests for journalists as follows:

> *Junkets:* expenses-paid trips that make it attractive for journalists to cover events. . . .
> *Freebies:* gifts like free meals or tickets, to befriend or influence a media professional. . . .
> *Bribes:* outright payments or promises to buy services or goods from a media outlet in return for some favor. For instance, a lawyer can promise to purchase advertising from a TV station if the station's general manager cancels an investigative consumer segment about a product manufactured by the lawyer's client. (Bugeja 2008, 198)

Bugeja goes on to identify nonmonetary conflicts as follows:

> *Personal vs. personal value*: conflicts that occur when your personal value clashes with a personal value of a relative or other person outside your place of employment. . . .
> *Professional vs. professional value*: conflicts that occur when one of your professional values

directly conflicts with another of your professional values or when one of your professional values conflicts with a value of your co-worker, superior, client, source or employer.
Personal vs. professional value: conflicts that occur when one of your personal values directly conflicts with one of your professional values or when one of your personal values conflicts with a professional value of your co-worker, superior, client, source or employer. (200)

Operational Definitions

Individuals and institutions can both have conflicts with external obligations and interests or within internal roles and expectations. Some of these are conflicts of interests; others are conflicts of commitment.

Conflicts of interests are those "between professional interests and personal or financial interests. What distinguishes conflict of interest situations is that the conflict is between what one is trusted or expected to do in one's role . . . and financial or personal influences or interests that will or could compromise one's professional judgment and behavior in that role" (Werhane and Doering 1996, 51).

Conflicts of commitment are those "that entail a conflict between two or more sets of professional commitments that will affect one's focus of time, attention, and responsibility" (Werhane and Doering 1996, 51). Conflicts of commitment can also occur between one's personal and professional roles and between one's own professional commitment and a commitment to a higher principle or external obligation.

All individuals and institutions face potentially conflicting situations. However, while conflicts of *interest* can be ethically managed through avoidance, recusal, or disclosure, conflicts of *commitment* may only sometimes be addressed in these ways. Journalists are appropriately loyal to their professional peers and their employers, in addition to their primary loyalty to their audience. They usually have too many stories to produce in too little time and may need to compromise completeness in pursuit of a timely story.

Journalism may be different from other professions in that nonmonetary issues may be as troubling as financial conflicts. It is easy to recognize the ethical problem inherent in someone offering a bribe to kill a story. Yet failing to report material at the request of a friend or a loved one is just as much an ethical violation. Conflict of interest and commitment expectations are based on the principle that any interest—financial or otherwise—that could deter a journalist from providing citizens with information they need requires attention.

Individual Conflicts of Interest

Conflicts of interests for individuals can be obvious, such as a reporter having romantic or sexual interest in a source or a story subject or accepting a bribe to keep particular information out of a news story. These types of conflicts could (and do) easily compromise an individual's ability to meet his or her professional obligations. Other common types of conflicts of interest include outside employment, such as invitations to produce freelance work for a source or for a competing news organization.

Most professional news-gathering organizations provide guidelines regarding the need for journalists to avoid individual conflicts of interests. For example, the Society of Professional Journalists says in its Code of Ethics, "Journalists should be free of obligation to any interest other than the public's right to know." Along with "avoiding conflicts of interest, real or perceived," and disclosing "unavoidable conflicts," members are counseled to "remain free of associations and activities that may compromise integrity or damage credibility," "refuse gifts, favors, fees, free travel and special treatment, and shun secondary employment, political involvement, public office and service in community organizations if they compromise journalistic integrity," and to "deny favored treatment to advertisers and special interests and resist their pressure to influence news coverage" (Society of Professional Journalists 1996).

After eschewing such codes for years, the venerable *New York Times* developed its own "policy" on ethics, prompted by a series of scandals in the early 2000s. This policy notes that "at a time when two-career families are the norm, the civic and professional activities of spouses, household members and other relatives can create conflicts or the appearance of them." The 14-page document covers a variety of potentially conflicting situations and makes clear that the company will not tolerate

behavior that might interfere with a journalist's neutrality or give the perception of interference, on or off the job.

Journalists who gather and produce images and sound are held to the same standard as their print counterparts. For example, the National Press Photographers Association Code of Ethics says, "Do not accept gifts, favors, or compensation from those who might seek to influence coverage," and "Avoid political, civic and business involvements or other employment that compromise or give the appearance of compromising one's own journalistic independence" (National Press Photographers 2006). The Radio-Television News Directors Association counsels its members to "[u]nderstand that any commitment other than service to the public undermines trust and credibility," not to "accept gifts, favors, or compensation from those who might seek to influence coverage," or "engage in activities that may compromise their integrity or independence." In addition, in a section labeled "Independence," members are reminded, "Professional electronic journalists should: Gather and report news without fear or favor, and vigorously resist undue influence from any outside forces, including advertisers, sources, story subjects, powerful individuals, and special interest groups; Resist those who seek to buy or politically influence news content or who would seek to intimidate those who gather and disseminate the news; Determine news content solely through editorial judgment and not as the result of outside influence; Resist any self-interest or peer pressure that might erode journalistic duty and service to the public; Recognize that sponsorship of the news will not be used in any way to determine, restrict, or manipulate content; and Refuse to allow the interests of ownership or management to influence news judgment and content inappropriately" (Radio-Television News Directors Association & Foundation 2000).

Institutional Conflicts of Interest

According to one study,

> more than 40% of journalists and news executives surveyed admitted that they had engaged in self-censorship by purposely avoiding newsworthy stories or softening the tone of stories. With media organizations trying to attract more readers and larger audiences, market pressures were most often cited as the reason for such self-censorship. . . . More than a third of all respondents said news that might hurt the financial interests of a news organization is sometimes or often ignored. More than one-third said they censored themselves because of personal career concerns. (Croteau and Hoynes 2006, 179)

News organizations have always had to make money. But the late twentieth century saw a shift from news organizations owned by an entity that produced only news to ownership by conglomerates with a variety of interests. With corporate values came news managers hired precisely because they shared those values. "By the 1980s, the consolidation of media ownership put businesspeople, rather than journalists, in ultimate charge of news divisions" (Croteau and Hoynes 2006, 167).

Market pressures are discussed within the journalism ethics literature, but are rarely labeled as the conflicts of interest that they are. For example, a story on the front page of the Arts section of December 4, 2007's *New York Times* says, "Morning programs like *Today* on NBC and *The View* on ABC are the modern equivalents of the old Barbizon Hotel for Women, a frilly haven where men were not allowed above the first floor—or here, after the first hour—and viewers are treated to diet tips, ambush makeovers, cancer health scares, relationship counseling and, of course, shopping." These shows "have blurred the distinction between consumer news and product promotion." Despite noting that "[i]t used to be that hosts who are part of the network's news division maintained an air of neutrality during consumer segments; now they are in on the pitch," the blurring is treated as an extension of the status quo: "Product placement is hardly a new phenomenon, and the morning shows long ago mastered the quid pro quo of daily television: Actors give interviews timed to their latest projects; authors are recruited as experts just as their books hit the stores" (Stanley 2007).

Most observers, along with news organization owners and managers, simply note how economic values are replacing news values. To call these organizational conflicts of interests by name would imply that the organizations have

an obligation to address the ethical implications of failing to meet their responsibilities to citizens. Yet the conflict is clear.

> The responsibility of journalism to report fully and fairly on events of the day has the potential to clash with the interests of corporate parents to promote their businesses and minimize any negative news about their operations. In addition, because their business interests are so broad and far-reaching, there are very few economic or legislative initiatives that do not affect some part of a media conglomerate. (Croteau and Hoynes 2006, 185)

News media credibility rests on citizens' assumptions that their news source is choosing material based on the public interest and is presenting information that is balanced, accurate, relevant, and complete (the "BARC" formula). Anything that challenges this assumption weakens the credibility that separates journalism from other sources of information. But individual journalists are dependent on the news organization to provide the conflict-free latitude for them to do their own best work.

Conflict Examples

Conflicts of interests may arise anytime that the product of news judgment may conflict with the individual's self-interest. Generally, conflicts of interests are construed to be financial conflicts, and certainly those are many and varied. Most news organizations, as is the case with *The New York Times,* prohibit newsroom employees from buying stock or engaging in financial transactions if there is a possibility that they had inside knowledge due to their journalistic status. Journalists are almost always prohibited from accepting compensation from any potential news source or story subject. Generally, they are not allowed to accept anything of value from anyone other than their employer unless it is something also offered to the public. For example, journalists are generally allowed to accept frequent flyer miles for their personal or business-related trips but are generally not allowed to accept free flights.

Managing conflicts of interest when journalists do work on their own behalf, like writing books or maintaining websites, is trickier. The material contained in a news story or production is usually a very small portion of the information that the journalist has collected. It is not unusual, therefore, for a journalist who has been involved in a long investigation or ongoing news story to be approached by an agent or publisher wishing to turn that journalist's observations and expertise into a book-length manuscript. Few news organizations have worked out, in advance, how to negotiate such interests. *The New York Times* bans journalists from using such experience "until the news has played out." *New York Times* staffers who host their own personal webpages or blogs are counseled that they cannot completely separate themselves from their professional connection with the *Times.* They are told that they "must avoid taking stands on divisive public issues." However separate the journalist believes the blog or website to be, he or she "must nevertheless be temperate in tone, reflecting taste, decency and respect for the dignity and privacy of others" (New York Times Company 2005, 13). In a world in which journalists have varied opportunities to contribute to the public discussion, news organizations have an affirmative duty to publish clear guidelines for employees that are available to audience members as well.

Developing an intimate relationship with a source is also considered to be a conflict of interest. While there may not be a financial component, sustaining the relationship may take precedence over following one's news judgment. Similarly, the desire to produce an award-winning story or picture may interfere with news judgment. But, while it is possible for news organizations to disallow close relationships with sources or require disclosure of relationships with potential newsmakers, it is more difficult to control an individual's drive for reward. But through initial training and appropriate prioritizing of values in the newsroom, journalists learn and are reminded that the goal is to produce great news, with the understanding that great news may be rewarded, rather than simply to produce the kind of stories that they hope will be rewarded. This kind of conflict is often more of an issue for visual journalists. Something that everyone in the newsroom agrees is "ahellova picture" may be used for its sensational value rather than its newsworthiness.

News organizations have a combination of interests in making news and making money. Whether

they are complementary or competing depends on management. A classic example of an institutional conflict of interests is the *L.A.Times*/Staples Center case. The *Los Angeles Times* devoted its complete Sunday magazine in October 1999 to coverage of the newly opened Staples Center arena. The journalists who worked on that section did not know that news and business managers had secretly entered into an agreement with Staples Center owners to split the advertising profits from the magazine. Readers and reporters were appalled and top managers lost their jobs. But this was no accidental slip-up or surprising error in judgment. Instead, it was the culmination of the two-year reign of publisher Mark Willes who "announced that he was dismantling the wall between the paper's business and editorial departments, saying he'd blow it up with a 'bazooka' if necessary. Willes contended that the two could work together to help the paper, without allowing advertisers to influence news decisions" (Croteau and Hoynes 2006, 171).

Some forms of "ad-formation" are commonplace. For example, most newspapers feature "special" topical sections each day of the week, on subjects such as science, computers, food, cars, and homes. The reader must look carefully to determine if the section is written by editorial staff or if it is written, and thus financed, through the advertising department. According to Croteau and Hoynes, "At the *Oregonian,* the advertiser-friendly home and auto sections are simply written by the ad department. The *Denver Post* turns over the production of its skiing, gardening, casino gambling, and other sections to its advertising department" (2006, 175). In the absence of disclosure, few readers know if the food section is sponsored by advertisers or is produced by reporters. It is not unusual for local weather pieces to have local sponsors. It is seldom known outside the newsroom if the piece on the local hospital's latest diagnostic tool was really produced as news or if the station is running a video news release produced by the hospital's public relations department in the hopes of generating business for the expensive machine. The lack of transparency by news organizations in this regard creates the appearance of a conflict of interest. As even the appearance of a conflict erodes journalistic credibility, ideally, news organizations have an obligation to separate advertising and sponsorship from all news production.

However, conflicts of interest can develop simply because it is cheaper for news organizations to accept what sources provide—press releases, video news releases, and photo opportunities—rather than to conduct independent and time-consuming news gathering. As the least powerful elements of the community have the least access to marketing techniques and knowledge, they are the least likely to be represented in the pursuit of cheap news production. When news organizations ignore the need of the powerless, the whole community suffers.

Another potential conflict is "transaction journalism," where news accounts are tied to the promotion of products. For example, some online newspapers review sections have links to booksellers. Whether the newspaper gets a percentage of resulting book sales is not visible to the reader. When newspapers do receive a kickback, there is the potential for conflicts of interest. Positive reviews are more likely to result in sales than negative reviews.

There is also reason for concern about the subtle trend toward making news more entertaining. "Sex, violence, spectacle: these sorts of programs are the logical end products of the corporate pursuit of profits. They are relatively cheap to produce and, like an accident on the highway, they predictably draw a regular audience. What these programs lack, however, is any sense of serving a larger public interest by providing substantive content" (Croteau and Hoynes 2006, 164). In the conventional vernacular of local television news, "If it bleeds, it leads." The most visually dramatic or sensational (e.g., crime) story is far more likely to appear at the top of a program than the story that may be more relevant to self-governance, but also predictably less dramatic.

It is not enough to note the drift in the industry from news values to commercial values. Just as for-profit hospitals have a responsibility to provide high quality patient care despite the interests of the stockholders, so too do news organizations have a responsibility to provide information that citizens need for self-governance, regardless of economic interest.

Conflicts of Commitment Examples

Individual journalists' conflicts of commitment most often arise in the social activism arena. It is

natural that journalists should be passionate about political issues and social justice. *Caring* about the news is certainly an essential element to gathering and reporting the news. However, many news organizations and individual journalists have a hard time determining where to draw the line regarding civic participation. Marching in a prochoice or prolife rally is generally not allowed, while contributing to a cause, particularly if the contribution is anonymous, often is. Having campaign signs in one's front yard is generally not allowed, but voting usually is.

The closer one's personal connection is to a newsworthy matter, the more difficult it becomes to justify covering the story. For example, a *San Francisco Chronicle* city hall reporter and photographer were taken off coverage of "marriage for gays and lesbians, because they were among the thousands of same-sex couples who received marriage licenses through the city." The determination was made on the basis "that *Chronicle* journalists directly and personally involved in a major news story—one in whose outcome they also have a personal stake—should not also cover that story" (McBride 2004, 1–2).

Personal involvement in a story damages the journalist's ability to be unbiased, or to be perceived by the audience as unbiased. But so does public political and civic involvement. The question is not *whether* journalists are allowed to participate in matters of social importance. It is rather whether journalists should be allowed *additional* participation in matters of social importance. Journalists are active in the community by nature of doing their jobs. Additional participation provides them additional power to that which they already enjoy. Journalists, through their professional choices of what to cover and how, have more power to influence community interest than any other business. As the power of the personal rides on the coattails of the news organization, it is impossible to effectively separate the two.

Institutional conflicts of commitment arise over the role of the news organization as good corporate citizen. News media, for example, are often involved in local philanthropy from having their own "People in Need" or "Send a Kid to Camp" fund and accompanying stories to involvement in the local United Way campaign. While certainly not wrong, news media organizations run the risk of interfering with their journalists' ability to do independent reporting when they do. Nothing in the community should be above scrutiny. Social service agencies can fail to meet the needs of their clients. Philanthropic organizations can be the site of scandal and misuse of funds. But careful journalistic scrutiny of a cultural, philanthropic, or social service organization is less likely if a manager serves on the board.

Most troublesome is the role that the charity United Way plays in most newsrooms. "Of all the charities and non-profits that exist within a community, only United Way gets the benefit of widespread payroll deductions. Few fund drives involve reporters receiving pledge cards with their paychecks. Even fewer can boast of newsroom 'volunteers' who follow up with colleagues, checking to ensure that everyone has 'had the opportunity to give'" (Elliott 1991). United Way implicitly gets managerial approval that results in newspapers and programs that keep track of the success of the fund-raising drives with plenty of stories to encourage citizens to give. United Way, and the agencies under its wing, do not get much journalistic scrutiny. It is reasonable to expect news media to refrain from involvement with outside organizations that then come to be viewed in the newsroom as exempt from scrutiny.

Attachment to government can also be a problem. It is conventionally understood that journalism serves as the "watchdog" on government. Part of what citizens need to know is what government is doing and any controversies regarding those actions. Participating in the military's "embedded journalism" program may be the only way to cover war in real time, but when news anchors wear American flag lapel pins and newspapers print full-color, full-page flags to display in one's window, news organizations fail the public interest. In a time of national crisis, citizens need news that critically reports our governmental actions and how they are being perceived in a global context. Citizens do not need journalism that simply repeats officials' perspectives or panders to the latest public opinion poll.

Equally troublesome, but conventionally accepted, is the role of news organizations in endorsing candidates or voter initiatives, or weighing in on controversial civic matters through editorials. Along with offering a public forum for citizen and external

commentator opinion, news media present their own well-reasoned arguments in favor of or against a variety of public issues. While most media erect a "wall" between those who write for the news-side and those who write editorials, the separation is rarely apparent to audiences.

Deni Elliott

See also Bias; Checkbook Journalism; Credibility; Deception; Ethics; Media Accountability Systems; News Councils; News Values; Plagiarism; Professionalism; Self-Regulation; Spin; Video News Releases

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Congress and Journalism

As the "People's Branch," and primary policy-making body for the United States, Congress plays a central role in the American political system, and thus congressional journalism plays a vital role in informing the people about politics and policy so they in turn can better perform their jobs as citizens. Yet Congress is a paradoxical institution, and in many ways congressional journalism—indeed, the relationship between Congress and the media generally—is also paradoxical.

Congress is the most accessible, decentralized, and dynamic branch of government, and likewise the most democratic. These features make it relatively easy for reporters to get information, build stories, and document and comment on the activities that make up the legislative process. Members of Congress are usually eager to speak to reporters so as to gain coverage and get their message, name, and image before the public.

But Congress is also the most fractious, complicated, rule-bound, and incomprehensible of the branches, making it hard to convey "what's going on" in a simple, clear fashion; keep track of the actors and the action; and accurately portray its role to a mass audience. So much is happening in different venues, and with procedural variations that only experts can understand, that telling any congressional story can be challenging.

Furthermore, though Congress is the most democratic branch, it is also the least efficient and most internally conflicted. Its openness also reveals the messiness and ugliness of the democratic process. As German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck famously remarked long ago, "No one should see sausages or laws being made." Also as a result, the

media tend to portray Congress in a negative light, and to focus more on the personalities, foibles, scandals, and battles that are part of its functions, arguably helping to fuel public disdain for and cynicism about Congress.

Development

During the first decades of its existence (1790–1850) congressmen generally had the upper hand in dealing with the press. They tightly controlled access to congressional proceedings, as most committee meetings were off-limits to members of the press. The Senate did not even open its floor proceedings until 1795, and continued to keep nomination and treaty debates secret until the twentieth century.

The line between reporter and propagandist was not always clear, as members generally had close relationships with the journalists who covered them, sometimes hiring them in the periods between congressional sessions as clerks and secretaries and giving them other patronage duties. Government printing contracts were also doled out to supportive papers. A prime example of this was the *National Intelligencer,* which was the dominant newspaper of the capitol in this period. For years, its two publishers, William Seaton and Joseph Gales, were the sole reporters for the House and Senate, respectively, and had close ties to Jefferson's Democratic-Republican Party then in control of Congress. They were also the official printers of Congress from 1819 to 1829, and began compiling official reports of the activities of Congress, the precursor to the *Congressional Record*.

Because the locus of national power in the nineteenth century was centered firmly in Congress rather than the presidency, the congressional beat grew in importance and stature. Given the growth of the partisan press into the mid-nineteenth century, the trend of favorable coverage for many members continued, since often their partisan patronage or political connections back home included that of allied newspaper owners and editors—with the exception of those aligned with the opposition party.

More "objective" journalism became the norm in the latter nineteenth century, leading to more documentary and descriptive coverage of Congress's members and legislative activities. By the start of the twentieth century, the rise of muckraking and investigative journalism that exposed numerous scandals of industrialization brought about a more adversarial posture. Phillips's 1906 book *The Treason of the Senate*, about illegal campaign contributions, was one extreme example.

However, with the rise of radio and then television, coupled with the increasing power of the presidency (due to the increasing power of the federal government in domestic and world affairs), Congress ceased to be the main engine of political power. Congressional coverage decreased and became more specialized. Stephen Hess, in *The Washington Reporters,* classifies Congress today as a second-tier news beat in terms of prestige, behind others such as diplomacy, general national news, the military, and the White House.

By the early twenty-first century, there were some 7,000 journalists in the congressional press corps, making it one of the largest in Washington. Using the rules in each of its chambers (the House and Senate), Congress issues credentials for journalists to cover it through official galleries—with separate ones for newspapers, magazines, and broadcast media outlets. In practice, however, Congress allows the reporting fraternity itself to decide who may be part of its galleries. The primary criterion is whether the individual seeking a press pass earns his or her living through journalism or related activities, as lobbyists or paid political consultants are prohibited. Since the late 1990s, there have been attempts to broaden access by members of the online media, opening new issues about who is a "journalist."

One thing that has not changed over time is the need for journalists to regularly cultivate congressional sources. Indeed, in covering the institution, journalists, along with members and their staffs, must come together in order to make news. Cook calls this a "negotiation of newsworthiness" and likens it to an elaborate dance. Both have something the other wants: journalists want information and need sources around which to craft their stories, and politicians want media coverage to help get their message and issues out to constituents and gain favorable attention. Yet each is also independent of the other, as members and their staffs try to manipulate or stage news to their advantage, and choose whether and what kind of information they give out, while reporters try to resist being mere dupes for congressional news management and choose what information they will use and how it will be presented or framed. It

is this interaction that creates the nature and content of congressional news.

Current Coverage

What does that coverage look like? In terms of generalizations about media coverage of Congress overall, the consensus of research has not been good news for either institution.

Decline and Negativity

Coverage has been decreasing—especially when compared with the executive branch—and also has become more negative and combative. Studies have shown the congressional share of the "news hole" in major newspapers (such as *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*) and television networks (*CBS Evening News*, etc.) has been declining since the late 1970s. One key factor was the role of television that made the President more important, visible, and appealing. Another was a declining interest in politics and government among the public, leading media to focus more on "lifestyle" issues and "infotainment" (soft news about entertainment celebrities, popular culture, and the like). As Farnsworth and Lichter (2005, 95) put it, "Congressional coverage therefore has been shown to have lost twice during recent years: both as a part of the declining amount of news coverage of government overall and as a result of the increasing media attention paid to the White House and other branches."

Congress arguably suffers in comparison to the President for several reasons. As a single figure elected by the entire nation, a President is an interesting individual known by all that is easy to depict to a national audience, whereas Congress contains a diverse group of 435 representatives and 100 senators that rarely speak with one voice. Likewise, the legislative process is a complex one that is hard to explain, and has many avenues of action and players in the game, as opposed to the simpler, often more exciting actions of a chief executive.

What coverage there is of Congress, beyond mere description of its actions or inactions, is also increasingly negative. Arguably, Congress has never been revered within our political system, since senators and representatives, along with their legislative wheeling and dealing, reflect the worst tendencies of politics in the public mind. However, scholars now document that the amount of generally descriptive, even neutral-toned congressional coverage has shrunk dramatically.

The more analytical, critical, and interpretive genre of reporting that grew out of the Watergate scandal of the Nixon administration in the early 1970s also impacted Congress, leading to more critical, penetrating "gotcha" journalism that painted an unflattering picture. This trend was coupled with a more sensationalist, or at least "infotainment" news genre driven in part by increased competition among media outlets. The result has been a focus on the dark side of Congressional behavior at the expense of a more balanced view presenting the larger number of members who do their jobs honestly and well. Coverage now emphasizes scandals and malfeasance; bickering partisanship (the fight over the confirmation of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court in 1991, the impeachment of President Clinton by the Republican-controlled House in 1998); or members' capture by unsavory lobbyists such as the Jack Abramoff affair in 2005–06). The point is not that these events shouldn't be covered, just that they drown out other news from Capitol Hill. One study of postwar (1946–92) coverage argued, "Over the years, press coverage of Congress has moved from healthy skepticism to outright cynicism. . . . The press portrays the nation's legislators as self-interested, self-indulgent politicians who exploit the legislative process for personal gain" (Rozell, in Mann and Ornstein 1994, 108–09). Subsequent studies suggested that this pattern has largely continued.

Inequalities and Biases in Coverage

Other notable patterns have emerged in terms of what and who gets covered. Given the media's inherent content limitations, journalists and their editors/producers must make sometimes difficult choices as to what issues and actors will be emphasized in their stories.

Senators attract greater attention than House members. This is largely because there are fewer of them, they are more likely to have some issue expertise or leadership position, and are more likely to be presidential contenders. More importantly, however, party leaders (such as the Speaker

of the House, Senate Majority Leader, or committee chairs) are far more likely to get coverage than are regular "backbenchers" who hold no formal position within the congressional power structure.

Other qualities that lend certain members greater attention, and hence newsworthiness, include taking extreme or controversial issue positions; being a "maverick" or taking stances that go against the mainstream of one's own party; being from a large state or city; or being implicated in a scandal. Local media naturally cover their own delegation in Congress far more than others, even the leadership.

Further biases in coverage have also been identified. Female and ethnic minority members have been found to receive less, and more stereotypical, coverage than white males. African American members not only receive less coverage, they are often portrayed negatively, as solely concerned with civil rights issues, and more with the needs of their own district or ethnic group than the country as a whole. Female members likewise are covered as anomalies, overly concerned with such "women's issues" as child care, education, or abortion. Their roles as wives and mothers in competition with their professional responsibilities are often emphasized, whereas male politicians' "home lives" are rarely profiled. Whether the election of Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) as the first woman Speaker of the House in 2007, coupled with the prominent role of Senators Hillary Clinton (D-NY) and Barack Obama (D-IL) in the Democratic Party nomination race for President in 2008, will substantially alter the depiction of historically under-represented groups in Congress remains to be seen.

Naturally, subjects or pending bills that are the most newsworthy receive more press coverage than others. In practice, this means that major legislation—such as the top priorities of the President or party leadership, including major spending bills, are covered more heavily than are minor or technical issues thought to be of interest only to a few. Legislation or debate on "hot button" controversial topics, such as abortion or gun control, is similarly more likely to merit media attention. Such coverage is important because controversy and conflict attracts readers and viewers.

Legislation and the Legislative Process

Studies of how the legislative process is covered make clear that much congressional activity is not captured by the media. Bills and other legislation are covered as a political process, but tend to be framed more in the context of a political "game" that emphasizes strategy and winning and losing rather than substance—a form of "horse race" journalism also seen in campaign coverage. Bills are usually covered only in their final stages, when they are nearing a vote. Committees, the so-called workshops of Congress, are generally ignored—sometimes because their deliberations are closed, but more often because they are deemed boring and hard to summarize. The exception is when they happen to hold public hearings thought to be exciting or controversial, such as juicy scandal investigations or Senate confirmations of judicial or executive officials. Indeed, committee chairs sometimes intentionally stage hearings for maximum media effect—such as when Judiciary Committee Chair Senator Arlen Specter called adult film star Linda Lovelace to testify in a hearing about child abuse legislation (because she had once been a victim), or then-Senator Al Gore's 1985 committee investigation into obscenity in rock music lyrics that featured the testimony of various performers. Nevertheless, most studies conclude that journalists do a decent, if somewhat cynical, job in conveying the messiness of the legislative process and providing the basics of legislation.

Variations by Media Type

Differences among the media also lead to coverage differences. Print media have fewer time and space constraints than does television, for example, and can better encapsulate congressional work. The visuals and sound bites required for broadcast media often limit the effectiveness and breadth of congressional coverage. Indeed, Congress makes for more difficult television reporting, since it appears made up of people standing or sitting around talking.

There are also differences between local and national coverage. Local coverage tends to focus on members and their activities, and is generally seen as more positive and deferential than national media. Reporters for smaller local newspapers and

radio and TV stations have less time and space for, and professional expertise in, covering Congress. Indeed, most local media rely on news agency reports. Smaller media tend to rely more upon the press secretaries of their local representatives. But Vinson (2003) found that local media coverage of Congress mirrors many aspects of national coverage discussed above, and also appears to have become more negative in the process. Nevertheless, members spend considerable time and effort cultivating journalists from "back home," in their attempts to positively impact voters.

Congress is viewed differently by outlets that specialize in the legislative branch. Publications such as *CQ Weekly, The Hill, National Journal,* and *Roll Call* provide coverage for professional D.C. insiders (staffers, lobbyists, administration officials, and other professional Congress-watchers) who are an especially interested and informed audience. Their coverage is far more in-depth and analytical than the mainstream media, and may include coverage of players and processes not deemed worthy of attention by mass outlets. Reporters who specifically cover the congressional beat (regardless of type of media) generally have a greater respect for and appreciation of both the institution and its members.

Congress and Newer Media

Newer media services developed since the 1980s have also impacted the congressional-media relationship. C-SPAN (Cable-Satellite Public Affairs Network), "the Congress channel," has in some ways fundamentally altered congressional operations. C-SPAN brought live, unedited coverage of the House to American homes with cable or satellite access starting in 1979. Live coverage of the Senate followed in 1986, broadcast on C-SPAN 2, and a newer third channel now focuses on press conferences and other events. For the most part, C-SPAN allows for direct communication from members to voters by broadcasting their floor speeches or press conferences. In addition, they may appear on call-in or interview shows. While the C-SPAN audience is small, it is a well-educated and politically active population, making it more important than mere numbers would suggest. Members use it not only to strategically communicate, but also as a surveillance mechanism to keep track of what else is going on in Congress, in committee hearings, or on the House or Senate floor.

The development of the Internet, e-mail, blogs and the like has similarly altered the media environment. Congressmen now use online media to communicate directly with their constituents and other parties through two-way, even interactive formats. Early studies of congressional websites have found they do provide useful information, though they also offer a platform for credit-claiming and grandstanding and are not as user-friendly or informative as they could be. Another found that one primary purpose of congressional websites is actually to provide press releases and attract the interests of journalists for mainstream media outlets.

The emergence of online journalism has created new outlets for coverage, commentary, and criticism of Congress. This was most clearly illustrated by the withdrawal of Senator Trent Lott (R-MS) as a candidate to be Senate Majority Leader in 2002. Lott appeared to be the heir apparent to the position until he uttered what were seen as anti–civil rights and racially charged remarks. Though these comments were largely ignored by the reporters on the scene, liberal "bloggers" and online political activists who saw the comments on C-SPAN began an Internet firestorm of protest, which was eventually picked up by major newspapers and television stations. Lott was then persuaded to quit the leadership race. Thus, online journalism now plays a significant if unpredictable role in congressional media politics.

Conclusion

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the relationship between Congress and journalism remains uneasy. Major changes in the media and political environments have led to shrinking coverage and a generally more cynical, adversarial tone since the 1970s. Certainly one reason the public has a low opinion of Congress is due to the nature of media coverage and how journalists frame their reporting of the institution's work. On the bright side, news media do present some of the crucial actions. Good information and sympathetic as well as critical portrayals can be found on the Internet and through specialized media outlets. And finally, the state of congressional news reporting is to some

extent perpetuated by the subjects themselves, as well as a political culture that mistrusts and ridicules politicians.

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See also Election Coverage; Government, Federal, Coverage of; Investigative Journalism; News Conferences; Political Action Committees; Political Reporters; Talk and News Radio; Washington, D.C.

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Consultants, News

Local television stations develop their news staffs and their newscast formats based on a wide variety of considerations. These typically include the resources available, the size and experience of the staff, the overall image the station tries to project in the market, and the journalistic practices advocated by station management and the news director. Many of these decisions are based on the station's own knowledge and experience, but the use of outside consultants to make some of these decisions has proven to be a challenging, and often controversial, practice in local television.

Background

By at least the late 1930s, radio station managers considered local news programming essential to maintaining their license. This philosophy was certainly true for radio in the years prior to the emergence of television and for television during the 1950s and 1960s. During this time managers and owners saw local news as an obligation under the Communications Act of 1934. Local news and public affairs programming provided evidence, come license renewal time, that the stations were properly serving the "public interest, convenience, and necessity."

Accordingly, local television newsrooms generally operated on modest budgets and produced newscasts using unadorned formats of talking heads and film. Most stations did not appear to be overtly attempting to draw large audiences. After all, local news was not seen as a profit center, it was what the stations did to keep peace with the FCC. General managers didn't expect their newscasts to earn much money, but they also didn't want them to lose much either. And, especially, they didn't want their news reporters or anchors to get them into potentially expensive legal battles.

The formats varied little into the 1970s. A 30-minute local news block typically included a 15-minute newscast, a 5-minute weather report and forecast, and a 10-minute sportscast. All times, of course, were reduced by the obligatory commercial interruptions.

Television stations had often used outside consultants for research and advice on a wide range of

issues over the years. Many of the consultants evaluated audience reactions to entertainment programs and commercials. But in the late 1960s, consultants were poised to take on a new, expanded, and often controversial role.

Inception of News Consultants

Former ad executives and market researchers Phillip McHugh and Peter Hoffman formed a partnership in Michigan in 1962 to advise local television stations on their local programming, which at the time included music, variety, and children's programs. During the 1960s, fewer local stations originated programming other than news. As a result, McHugh and Hoffman—as their company came to be known—began to focus their consulting primarily on local newscasts. The "news consultant" or "news doctor" was born.

In 1969 their first major market client, WABC-TV in New York, was where Al Primo had recently created the "Eyewitness News" format. A year later Frank Magid entered the news consultant field. A former social psychology professor at the University of Iowa, Magid had been providing market research data to broadcasters for 12 years. Now he, too, refocused his attention on the newsrooms and newscasts of his client stations.

Unseen by many at the time, a major change was taking place in local television news. These first consultants carried a message to station management that has been magnified and conveyed by many additional consultants since then. The message was clear: If managed correctly, local TV news can make money. Indeed, news could become a major profit center.

This was music to the ears of general managers. A potential new revenue stream is hard to ignore. The consultants had created their niche and were prepared to take full advantage of it. In market after market—beginning in the larger cities—consultants convinced managers that if their stations followed their research and recommendations, they could increase their news viewership, advertising, and station revenues.

Consultant Strategies

The formula consultants used was straightforward. Once they had signed a contract with a local station, they would administer an audience survey, asking viewers to evaluate the competing stations, their strengths and weaknesses, their newscasts, and—importantly—their news, weather, and sports on-air personalities. The presumption was that if stations delivered a news product the audience wanted, more people would watch and ratings would quickly reflect the increased viewership.

The consultants' research reports provided data of value both to station management and to news directors. Together, they could better understand their market position in the eyes of the viewers and could identify things or people that needed changing. As a data source, the audience analyses were generally helpful to the client stations.

But, in addition to the research, the consultants offered—and most client stations purchased—added services that included recommendations for the news product. Many of these recommendations, which often involved new equipment, technology, and facilities, were pricy, but when faced with the potential additional revenue from expanded viewership, station management was generally in a mood to spend more to make more—and lots of it.

In a fairly short time in the early 1970s, consultant recommendations were adopted by stations in most large and medium-sized markets. These stations were invested in news technology—remote trucks, satellite services, helicopters, and weather radar—and in their news, weather, and sports personnel. Consultants offered advice on the "look" of the newscasts, and assisted stations in developing more exciting sets, graphics packages, and newscast formats—all with an eye toward attracting more viewers.

News directors who felt uncomfortable with the increased emphasis on news promotion and marketing often resigned. Yet those who remained found their newsrooms energized by all the new technology and personnel, as well as their higher profile within the station, and their larger news staffs.

Controversy

Controversy soon engulfed the growing role of "news doctors." In conducting their audience analyses, consultants often asked questions about the types of stories viewers preferred on local

newscasts, as well as whether they would like to see "more news." Not surprisingly, many viewers replied that they preferred softer stories, often with a human interest touch—stories about their communities, their friends, and other topics close to their homes and their lives. In response to sometimes leading questions, survey respondents often said they would prefer more such news in their newscasts rather than stories about local government and politics.

Such research results frequently led to consultant recommendations that station newscasts should include shorter stories (i.e., how else can you provide "more news" in the same amount of time?) and more human interest or "friends and neighbors" stories, with less time spent covering local government and related issues. At this point, of course, the consultants had entered the realm of the journalist and were making recommendations regarding newscast content. As a result, at many stations the "give the audience what it wants" mantra replaced the long-standing "give the audience what it needs to know."

Critics—often from within newsrooms—countered that the main reason audiences didn't like local government stories, for example, was because stations didn't do a very good job of covering those stories. Newscasts tended to concentrate on boring governmental meetings, they would contend, rather than on issues being debated. To these critics, the solution to the problem, rather than to downplay or eliminate local government coverage, was to increase—and improve—that coverage so stories were more compelling to viewers.

A handful of the most outraged critics went so far as to file license renewal challenges against stations that had been most overt in their adoption of consultant recommendations. These challenges were based on the contention that such station owners were abdicating responsibility for their news to outsiders. If proven, this would be a violation of the terms of their station licenses. None of these challenges were ultimately successful, but the existence of the threat no doubt caused stations to make their consultant-based changes less conspicuous to viewers than they had been.

Al Primo, the news director at WABC-TV in New York in the 1970s, created the "Eyewitness News" format that consultants began to mimic in their recommendations to other local stations. The format was soon ridiculed by critics, starting at WLS-TV in Chicago, where *Variety* correspondent Morry Roth in 1970 first disparagingly dubbed the station's newscasts "Happy Talk." The Happy Talk label came about because of the nature of the types of stories on the newscasts, but also because of the frequent banter the format required between anchors delivering the newscasts, making them seem like television friends rather than journalists.

Consultants and News Personalities

Also controversial were consultants' recommendations concerning on-air personalities. Consultants' audience research provided a mother lode of data regarding how audiences perceived virtually every aspect of every on-air news, weather, and sports anchor. The goal, of course, was to assemble an anchor "team" that the audience liked, enjoyed, and would make a point of watching.

Research questionnaires often asked questions about anchors such as "Would you like to have this person in your home for a visit?"; "Would you enjoy meeting this person?" and others in a similar vein. In this arena the conflict between journalism and show business came to a head. News, weather, and sports anchors who didn't resonate with the audience were often replaced by others who had been pre-tested by the consultants in other markets for the positive reactions they elicited from audiences. The concept of an anchor "team" was advanced. Anchors were told to smile more, to tell little stories or jokes between themselves during and at the end of the newscast, and to appear more relaxed and informal. Journalistic ability took a back seat to on-air appearance and personality. Some consultants went so far as to provide their client stations with regularly updated lists of suggested banter to be used by the anchors while on the air.

Consultants quickly seized the opportunity not only to screen and identify potential anchors for their client stations, but also to provide advice on appearance, hairstyles, clothing, and numerous other areas that had previously been the exclusive province of show business.

Impact of Consultants

Consultants usually began working with stations in last place in the local news ratings, or at least

those far behind market leaders. These were the stations that had the most to gain and the least to lose. In many markets the impact of the consultant was dramatic. Consultant-driven stations began to show significant local news rating advances—in many cases quickly surpassing their long time and more traditional competitors. And in many markets, this trend to expand viewership of the consultant stations did not necessarily come at the expense of the competition—those stations' ratings often remained relatively unchanged. The increased rating, instead, came from households that had previously not watched local news at all.

Based in part on this success, the impact of consultants quickly moved far beyond changes made at their client stations. As their stations began to show increased ratings, other stations in the market—fearful of their lost market dominance—often would mimic changes at competing outlets. Without using consultant-driven research data, they would try to match, or even surpass, changes implemented by the consultants. In this way, the effect of the consultants on local television news far outpaced just those stations that were their clients.

At the same time, however, in many markets at least one station developed a niche as being the one that did not follow these types of recommendations. These stations retained a largely traditional look and held on to audiences that appreciated the somewhat slower paced and more in-depth approach they offered. Of course, these audiences, although perhaps impressive in numbers, generally didn't provide the youthful demographics so much in demand by today's advertisers.

Consultants in the Twenty-First Century

In recent years news consultants have morphed into a few market leaders—Frank Magid and Associates is still a significant presence, joined by Audience Research and Development (AR&D)—and a number of smaller companies that often work within a geographical region or a station group. Group owners often perform similar services in-house for their own outlets.

Likewise, the services consultants provide have also evolved. Many maintain talent banks of anchors and reporters—often including recent college graduates—who are available for client stations to hire. They also provide coaching services, working with on-air anchors on their presentations. Audience research continues to be a staple of the consultants' efforts. But they also help to design news sets to update the overall look of the newscasts (especially with the development of high definition transmission), including graphics, and the use of music and other transitions.

Some news directors have grown adept at implementing consultant recommendations and have moved among stations based on recommendations of consultants they have worked with. Clearly, some news directors are more comfortable working with such outside advice than others.

Consultants continue to sell their expertise to assist stations with their weather and sports anchors, story presentation and marketing, and facilities. They were among the first news "outsiders" to make systematic recommendations for enhancing weather graphics—including radar—and relying more heavily on graphics for sports scores and statistics. The trend toward hiring bona fide meteorologists as weather anchors and former athletes as sports anchors has been fueled by consultant recommendations.

In the early twenty-first century, consultants have expanded their reach by incorporating more new media recommendations for stations. At a time when local television news is expanding its outlets—to the Internet, cell phones, and other newer technologies—news consultants continue to offer advice on how to maximize applications of these delivery systems.

What began as a series of outside companies appearing to hijack local newsrooms and impose their news formulas on them has evolved into a largely complementary enterprise, working more as a component of station news management. And many stations, after years of relying on consultants' research and advice, are feeling more comfortable performing many of these functions on their own, using consultants less frequently.

James L. Hoyt

See also Audience Research; Convergence; Criticism of Journalism; Hard Versus Soft News; Infotainment; Marketing; News Audiences, Decline of; News Values; Professionalism

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Convergence

Convergence is the merging or melding of media, for example, the merging of newspapers, radio, and television on the web, and the creation of multiple versions of a story for different media. There are many dimensions to convergence, including business consolidation, technology integration, functional convergence of news services, audience fragmentation, geographic convergence and changes in government regulations that make convergence possible. *Convergence* is a once popular buzzword that has fallen out of favor, and returned to popularity again because, while the term may have been overused, it captures a process that has been underway for some time, with significant implications for journalism. It is a response to both rapid changes in technology and shifting consumer behavior. Some scholars view convergence as inevitable (a result of the changing media environment); others view it with alarm, arguing that it is driven primarily by the profit motivations of large media conglomerates. For students of journalism, convergence has implications for the training they need, how they will produce news in the future and how they perceive news distribution in a multiplatform media landscape.

A Timeline for Convergence

Media convergence has been underway for decades. Some trace its origins to the convergence of computers and telecommunications in the 1970s. Satellite technology in the 1970s and 1980s also fostered convergence. One example is cable news channels such as CNN that merged television news with a dedicated cable channel and satellite distribution. Starting in 1982, *USA Today* began merging a newspaper with a television news style of colorful, graphically intense, concise stories and distributing the paper via satellite to local printing plants. By the early 1990s, many in the newspaper industry recognized a need to redesign content for multiple media to satisfy different customer needs (Tewlow 1993).

Everette Dennis (2003) identifies four stages of convergence. The first was an awakening of recognition in the 1980s that computing was becoming a core component for many media industries. Second, the Internet became a practical tool for millions of households starting in the mid-1990s. The third stage, in the late 1990s, was an uncritical acceptance of the web as a dominant new medium that was predicted to take over traditional media industries. A fourth stage, in the early 2000s, was the seeming failure of that model and a renewed confidence in older business models for media. Convergence as a concept made a comeback a few years later, admittedly with a more conservative and realistic perspective about future media trends. Journalism research centers such as the Poynter Institute and the Media Center at the American Press Institute began to track convergence and provide analysis of its impacts.

The Many Dimensions of Convergence

Business consolidation is one cornerstone of convergence that has been underway for some time. Consolidation of media properties began with the formation of large chains of newspapers and groups of TV and radio stations under the ownership of a single company during the second half of the twentieth century. It picked up speed in the 1990s and the first decade of the twenty-first century as very large media conglomerates were formed, as with the merger of Time Inc. and Warner Communications into Time Warner. Media conglomerates typically control a number of subdivisions operating across multiple media platforms, such as newspapers, television stations, magazines, and websites. Business consolidation has required

that companies seek efficiencies across their media properties. At one extreme, this usually means personnel layoffs. But it can also involve newspaper reporters writing stories for the company's websites and television news operations. A variation of this process is when a story written specifically for one medium is adapted or "repurposed" for another medium, perhaps by others. On the business side, a sales person may sell advertising for all of the company's media holdings. Facilities may be consolidated, so newspaper personnel may work side by side with those of a television station and website. With modern telecommunication links such as fiber optics, companies can create virtual staff consolidation where people at different locations can share resources as if they were in the same space.

Business consolidation can occur through the acquisition of other media companies, as when News Corporation purchased Dow Jones in 2007, or through partnerships, like the one forged between the New York Times Company and CNBC. As a result of this relationship, *New York Times'* print stories are carried on CNBC's website and CNBC video stories are carried on *The New York Times'* website. An important goal in these acquisitions or partnerships—and one often unreached—is to create synergy among the organizations, so each benefits in ways that would not occur if they continued operating independently.

Technological integration of media, for example, a cell phone that provides text messaging, music, access to the web, and videos as well as voice communication, is another cornerstone of convergence. Technological integration has been made possible by the digitization of media transmission and storage. In a digital world, text, audio, and video are all the same—a string of numbers—making it easier for one device to provide different forms of content. It was once thought that the computer would eliminate the need for other devices such as television receivers. Some observers still believe this may happen. However, the reality has been that most media have taken on additional features: computers can play videos as well as display text and graphics; digital TV sets have many computer-like features and are capable of displaying web content.

Convergence usually involves the functional merger of services. This is most notable on the web, where a news site may carry stories in multiple formats, along with reader forums, blogs, polling, interactive maps, and direct links to shopping sites. Many interesting new reporting formats have emerged, such as slide shows of photos with commentary by a journalist or photographer. Some mergers of content are more controversial such as the merging of information and entertainment into "infotainment." Critics see this as a degradation of professional journalism. Others argue that some infotainment services such as *The Daily Show* on cable or *The Onion* on the web are legitimate and useful forms of satire.

There is a seeming contradiction between the convergence process (the coming together of media) and the proliferation of media devices. We use more media devices than in the past, but each one has more features and services. One consequence of the proliferation of media devices is the fragmentation of audiences. Today, few read the same morning newspaper and watch one of three network newscasts in the evening, as millions did decades ago. Instead, news consumption is today scattered across multiple media services. Convergence, in the sense of publishing news on multiple platforms, is one means of attracting fragmented audiences. A second consequence of the changing media environment is that many people now consume news on the web in bite-size chunks rather than a dedicated session of watching or reading a full menu of news content in a newspaper or on television. The design of news content in a web environment must take into account that many readers will read only one story at a news site, then jump to other pages and possibly return several times for other stories or updates of those they read earlier.

Geographic convergence is apparent most clearly on the web, where news providers are both everywhere and nowhere. Anyone can compete for audiences, no matter where they are located. *The New York Times Online* has a large readership outside the United States; Clarín, a major news service based in Argentina, competes directly with American news services on the web for Hispanic readers in the United States. Satellite distribution of newspapers, printed and distributed in local communities, allows *The Wall Street Journal, USA Today,* and *The New York Times* to compete with local newspapers. Similarly, cable news services such as MSNBC (distributed by satellite to local

cable systems) are location-free, unlike local over-the-air broadcast news.

The convergence process, and especially business consolidation, has been made possible by the easing of government regulation. The Telecommunications Act of 1996 weakened restrictions on conglomerate ownership of media properties in the United States. FCC policies in the decade that followed also weakened restrictions on ownership of multiple media in a single market. In television, this led to the disappearance of many independent stations; in radio, it led to the elimination of news operations at many stations owned by conglomerates in other markets. Government regulations of media convergence in other countries vary widely. In Britain, for example, there are stricter rules about cross-ownership of media in the same market and therefore less media convergence.

Practical Implications of Convergence

Many news organizations have, under different names, a news center where stories for multiple platforms originate. Frequently, reporters in such centers are distinguished not by the medium for which they create a story but by their beat. So a crime reporter may create stories for the organization's newspaper, website, and television news programming. One example of a news center is the *Tampa Tribune,* which locates in one facility the reporting staff for the newspaper and its affiliates—WFLA TV and *Tampa Bay Online*. Another example of convergence is *The Topeka Capital-Journal,* which shares stories among its affiliated newspaper, radio stations, and website along with a partner television station owned by another organization. The group promotes itself as "Topeka's Total Convergence Team" and uses each media platform to cross-promote the others. For example, a reporter will appear on a television report and promote a more comprehensive article in the newspaper the next day.

There are many practical implications of convergence and operating decisions that news organizations must consider. At the height of the web bubble, circa 2000, many newspapers had separate web staffs. Several years later, it was more common for the newspaper and website to be served by the same reporters and editors, or have a few dedicated web producers in addition to the centralized reporting staff. Though the concept of producing and distributing news stories to multiple platforms seems straightforward, it is fairly complex. A news organization needs software to manage and distribute stories in different formats, hardware to store files, and budgets that cut across departments and organizations. The assignment editor in a news organization must decide not only what stories to cover but in what formats when, and how to cover a story for multiple media.

Convergence requires a new mindset for journalists. They must consider the multimedia path a story will take and plan ahead for reusing content across different platforms. Many old journalistic instincts don't work in the newer media environment. For example, in a newspaper or television news context, the goal has always been to attract and keep the reader or viewer. In the web environment, readers jump around and expect the reporter to be an expert who will not only convey valuable information but will provide links that send the reader to additional sources. News consumers are much more active in the converged media environment. They comment about stories and sometimes provide news in the form of photos or tips. But all this comes with its own problems. How does a news organization maintain quality, fact check, and avoid outright deception in an era of citizen journalism?

Obstacles and Negative Effects

There are many obstacles to convergence and potentially negative effects. Some labor unions have resisted converged newsrooms and multimedia reporting by "print journalists." Company culture can create barriers to inter- and intra-organizational cooperation. Economic factors are often a barrier. Many newspapers have been under financial pressure for years, forced to maintain or increase profits with fewer resources in the form of reporters and technology. Convergence requires new investment and, often, less profit, at least in the short term.

Reporters have mixed attitudes about convergence. Some view themselves as print or broadcast journalists and do not want to create stories for multiple platforms. Others lack the skills to create for a medium such as television. Still others are cynical and view convergence as a marketing

gimmick. Some reporters say that convergence is a management ploy to get fewer journalists to do more work and promote the news as a "product" not journalism (Kolodzy 2006). There are editors and publishers who resist convergence, viewing it as a jargon term with more hype than reality or a code word for technology taking over the newsroom.

Consumer behavior can be another barrier. We know that consumers have taken to the web for news in very large numbers, but they do not want to pay for content, forcing news organizations into a business model with only one source of revenue—advertising. Consumers have widely adopted cell phones but do they want to get news on a cell phone? There are also generational differences, where younger people will readily accept the cell phone as a multi-application device while older people just want the device to make telephone calls.

Critics of convergence note that it does not always work, can take a long time to recoup investment costs, and is a reaction to technology change rather than a conscious step forward for journalism. AOL's purchase of Time Warner in 2000 is often cited as the prime example of convergence that failed. That merger was a clash of organizational cultures, and few of the promised synergies across media groups materialized. It has also been argued that large conglomerates provide less diversity of opinions due to the concentration of ownership and a need to convey a consistent brand image across media divisions.

Other critics believe that convergence is about the automation of the news production process, leading to fewer reporters and the temptation to lower standards, for example, turning press releases into editorial content because it fills holes in news production, and mixing advertising with content because it increases revenue. It can also lead to the elimination of news programming. Many have noted that consolidation of radio stations in the 1990s and early 2000s led to a sharp cutback in news coverage—as journalism was deemed too expensive.

Conclusion

Convergence in the production and distribution of news content is well underway. In the changing media environment, journalists require a broader set of skills. Writing is no less important than in the past, but writing for multiple media is now a prerequisite for the professional journalist. Convergence has led to more competition as the location of a news organization becomes less important and media that were separated in the past by their means of distribution (e.g., print and broadcast) now occupy the same space on the web. CNN, *The Washington Post,* ABC Radio, the BBC, and *Time* magazine are direct competitors in the web environment.

If there is a threat to journalism from the convergence process, it may be in the commoditization of news. News organizations are under significant financial pressure to create more news, for more media, with fewer resources. Technology and repurposing stories help them do this but will professional reporting be squeezed out in the process and news quality be reduced to the point where it is just a commodity like water or soap? The answer is probably no, but the danger exists. If groups such as Google can create news services with no reporters, simply by aggregating content from other sources, how can news organizations with costly staffs of reporters compete?

John Carey

See also Blogs and Bloggers; Citizen Journalism; Computers in Journalism; Hard Versus Soft News; Infotainment; Internet Impact on Media; Mass Media, Decline of Media; Ownership; Newsroom Culture; News Values; Podcasting

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Copyright

Copyright is a legal protection of expressions that are fixed in tangible media. Copyright describes, for example, an author's right to reproduce a book manuscript, an artist's right to duplicate his painting, or a musician's right to perform an original score. Copyright is part of a family of legal interests loosely termed *intellectual property*, which also includes trademarks, patents, and trade secrets.

Origins

Civilizations dating to ancient Egypt have inscribed unique marks on physical objects, such as bricks, to indicate ownership or craftsmanship. Greeks first used marks to indicate a creator's association with more cerebral products, such as art and literature. Romans further distinguished an author's right of ownership from an alienable right to reproduce a work. Chinese as early as the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 200) recognized an exclusive legal right to reproduce written works. But intellectual property notions in ancient Eastern cultures developed less fully than in the West because Eastern philosophical traditions tended to be more communal than individual notions of knowledge ownership.

In the West, the prominence of medieval guilds led to increased legal recognition and protection for marks that identified goods and services. These marks correlate closely with marks recognized in modern intellectual property law: trademarks, service marks, and certificate marks. Guilds also maintained trade secrets that correlate closely with modern trade secrets, protected by law against theft as long as the owner takes steps to maintain secrecy. The concept of the patent also dawned at this time, as governments sought to attract new scientific methods in the development of public works by offering creators exclusive legal rights in their designs.

With the introduction of moveable type in Europe in the mid-fifteenth century, authors and printers joined engineers and the traditional guilds in seeking enhanced legal protection for intellectual property. The Republic of Venice became renowned for obliging and accordingly attracting intellectual talent. Venice is credited with adoption of the first patent statute in 1474. The British Crown in 1557 provided a royal charter to the Stationers' Company, a powerful printers' guild, granting its members exclusive rights to reproduce written works, thus essentially to oversee a system of copyright. Governments thus protected intellectual property against piracy and awarded exclusive rights, or privileges, to intellectual property owners to profit from their graphic or mechanical designs and publications.

More definite statutory precursors to modern intellectual property law developed in Britain in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The 1623 Statute of Monopolies generally proscribed the monopolization of inventions, but operated as a patent law by protecting a creator's interest in an invention for the first 14 years. The 1710 statute of [Queen] Anne formalized copyright law, superseding the monopoly of the Stationers' Company. The statute established depository libraries for copyrighted works, gave authors a right of reproduction, and allowed them a 14-year term of copyright, renewable by still-living authors for 14 further years.

Following the lead of such eighteenth-century political philosophers as John Locke (1632–1704), postrevolution governments in the United States and France re-envisioned intellectual property as a natural right, rather than as a privilege awarded by government authority. Still, these new governments limited intellectual property rights with statutory terms. The U.S. Constitution of 1787 (Article I, section 8, clause 8) empowered Congress "[to] promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries." Congress enacted copyright and patent laws in 1790, the former modeled on the Statute of Anne.

Modern American copyright law was inaugurated by the 1909 Copyright Act. It remained in effect, with amendments, until it was superseded by the Copyright Act of 1976, though the older act remained in effect for works copyrighted up to 1978. The 1909 act doubled the terms of initial and renewed copyright to 28 years each and required that copyrighted works bear copyright notice—for example, the typographical symbol, "©"—and be registered at the federal Copyright Office. The 1909 act did not preempt state common law copyright, which provided some protection for unpublished works.

The 1976 law did substantially supersede state common law copyright, but extended the federal system to protect works from the time they are "fixed in a tangible medium of expression," thus encompassing unpublished works. The 1976 act further extended the term of protection to the life of the author plus 50 years. The 1976 act still required notice and registration of a copyright before the owner could employ the enforcement provisions of the law, but defects of process were no longer necessarily fatal to later copyright claims.

U.S. copyright law was amended in 1988 to allow U.S. agreement to the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works, a multilateral agreement dating to 1886 that requires nations to recognize one another's copyrights. The 1988 amendments also relaxed procedural formalities of U.S. copyright, notably the requirements of notice and registration as conditions of enforcement. In 1998, Congress again extended the term of U.S. copyright to life of the author plus 70 years, and corporate copyright to the lesser of 95 years from publication or 120 years from creation. Congress implemented other international agreements on copyright by enacting the Digital Millennium Copyright Act of 1998 (DMCA), which in part prohibited the circumvention of technology designed to thwart the piracy of copyrighted electronic content, such as motion pictures on compact discs.

Copyright law in the United States and around the world has subsequently been amended to conform to the international Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights, or TRIPS Agreement, which built on the Berne Convention and established the World Trade Organization in 1995. Significantly, TRIPS provides copyright protection to computer software and limited protection to data compilations.

Theory and Criticism

Like other intellectual property interests, copyright reflects a fundamental tension between the public's interest in shared knowledge and free-market trade, on the one hand, and private property rights and the public's interest in encouraging innovation, on the other. On the former score, society has an interest in the exchange of information free of legal restriction so as to facilitate the collective attainment of desirable norms such as truth and equality. The free market also depends in part on a free exchange of information, as actors in a marketplace who are better informed are more likely to make rational decisions that maximize productivity and efficiency.

Critics of these justifications for copyright argue, for example, that excessively long copyright terms unjustly enrich content creators and stifle creative expression that might otherwise emerge. Critics charge that affording creators too broad a spectrum of copyright protection contorts free market dynamics; for example, the anti-circumvention provision of the DMCA arguably inhibits development of content-delivery technologies more efficient than what the market offers.

Copyright is understood as an expression of natural rights, which posits that a creator of intellectual property enjoys a unique relationship with the creation; accordingly, respect for the creator demands that he or she be afforded control over the disposition of the creation. The creation is therefore given the legal status of private property with rights of ownership vested in the creator. This arrangement serves the public interest both because it protects natural rights and because it fosters creation of new intellectual property. Authors and artists who know that they will be permitted to profit from their creations are more likely to create again. Historically, this latter concept, termed "incentive theory," has been important in U.S. law, while the natural rights approach has been of complementary importance in European law.

Because the Internet is an unprecedented medium for the global and nearly instantaneous exchange of content, and by its nature the Internet tends to

defy the legal constraints of national laws, it has become a battleground for government regulators, content owners, open-knowledge advocates, and intellectual-property pirates.

Contemporary Law

U.S. copyright law protects "original works of authorship fixed in any tangible medium of expression . . . from which they can be perceived, reproduced, or otherwise communicated, either directly or with the aid of a machine or device." Original works include the literary (which simply means written or printed—this is not a term denoting any minimal level of quality), musical, dramatic, choreographic, pictorial, graphic, sculptural, audiovisual, and architectural. While copyright protects the expression of ideas, it does not protect ideas themselves. Thus for example, a description of a new accounting method may be copyrighted, but the method itself may not be, and may be described in other words by someone else. Short names, representative symbols, processes, and inventions are not copyrighted, but may be eligible for trademark or patent protection.

A constitutionally required element of a copyrightable work is originality. That means that the work must have been created independently by the copyright holder, and that the work must embody some minimum of creativity. For example, an author who writes a sequel to a classic literary work may copyright the new, independent creation, but not the pre-existing classic. A publisher of calendars may copyright an arrangement of photographs, but may not copyright the ordinary arrangement of dates in a seven-column table.

Generally, a copyright owner enjoys the exclusive legal right to reproduce a work; to prepare work that is derivative of an original; to distribute copies; to perform or display a work; to broadcast a sound recording; or to authorize another to exercise the owner's rights.

Copyright is subject to many limitations. For example, a public library may duplicate the contents of a book threatened by physical decay. A system of compulsory licensing authorizes musical groups to "cover" popular songs. Some statutory limitations on copyright are so complex in their interpretation and application, and the demand to use copyrighted content so high, that industries have developed de facto licensing authorities. For example, the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP), founded in 1914, is one of three organizations that oversees the licensing of music for performance and radio broadcast. The Copyright Clearance Center, founded in 1978, handles reproduction licensing for many written works in the United States and has sister organizations around the world.

Fair Use Doctrine

An important limitation on copyright is the fair use doctrine. The doctrine was developed by the courts and expressly incorporated into law with the 1976 Copyright Act. A problem of copyright is that an exclusive right vested in one copyright owner is at odds with the freedom of expression enjoyed by all other persons. Indeed, copyright is at some point at odds with itself, as an excessively repressive regime would choke off the very creative expression that copyright is designed to foster. Fair use means to balance these competing interests by allowing limited though unauthorized use of copyrighted works.

Fair use is generally noncommercial in nature, such as an educator using copyrighted material in a class or a journalist using copyrighted material in a news report. A second fair use factor concerns the nature of the copyrighted work. Works with more original creative content, such as a wholly original fantasy novel, are entitled to greater protection than works of less originality, such as the fact-intensive contents of an almanac. The third fair use factor is the amount and substantiality of the use relative to the whole of the copyrighted work. A reproduced page of a medical treatise is less likely infringing than a reproduced chapter. The last fair use factor concerns the effect of the use on the market value of the original. Reproduction of the climactic scene of a suspense film may well infringe copyright if it depresses consumer demand to see the film.

Application of fair use doctrine is often at the heart of legal disputes over copyright. Flexibility of the four factors means that case outcomes are difficult to predict, and unpredictability breeds more litigation. At the same time, a vigorous fair use doctrine offers essential breathing room for free expression.

Issues

Copyright law has given rise to myriad legal issues and a whole subspecialty of legal practice. Moreover, contention has compounded since the advent of the Internet. Key issues include the copyright worthiness of data compilations, copyright protection against parody, the constitutional limits of copyright duration, and the problem of digital downloading.

A first issue in copyright law is the copyright worthiness of data compilations. A landmark copyright dispute over telephone books reinforced the originality prerequisite of copyright and disallowed copyright protection in mere data. In *Feist Publications, Inc. v. Rural Telephone Service Co.* (1991), a telephone cooperative sued a telephone book publisher for copyright infringement in the unauthorized extraction of compiled listings. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that no infringement had occurred because a data compilation, while generated by "the sweat of the brow" of the compiler, lacks the minimal originality required for copyright protection. Creative choices, such as the arrangement of data in presentation, or the selection of data for inclusion, may merit copyright protection, but the data themselves do not.

Rejection of the "sweat of the brow" doctrine in the United States differs from its acceptance in Europe. In 1996, the European Community protected database content as well as arrangement and selection. International application turns on reciprocity, so that only databases from participating countries are protected. The desirability of database protection and the market consequences of its absence have spurred heavy lobbying by the U.S. information industry to accept the European regime. Accordingly, industry advocates have litigated in the lower courts to erode *Feist,* while researchers, librarians, and information freedom advocates have defended *Feist.* Responding to industry pressure, the TRIPS Agreement explicitly protects the selection and arrangement of data, but the agreement does not extend protection to underlying data.

A second copyright issue is protection for parody. Parody depends for its humor on the resemblance of the parody to the original, so a vital parody market depends on a tolerant copyright regime. Recognizing this problem and the importance of parody as a form of social criticism, the U.S. Supreme Court built protection for parody into the fair use regime in *Campbell v. Acuff-Rose Music, Inc.* (1994). In *Campbell,* the rap music group 2 Live Crew had produced an unauthorized and commercially lucrative parody of the copyrighted Roy Orbison rock song "Oh, Pretty Woman," borrowing an opening riff and lyrics, but little more. The Court found that 2 Live Crew's taking from the original was not excessive in light of the nature of parody, which must contain enough of the original to conjure it in the mind of the listener. The Court's fair use analysis cut a wide path for parody, recognizing, for example, that a parody's commercial success does not necessarily degrade the market for the original, and might even enhance it.

A third issue has been the duration of copyright protection, specifically, whether the U.S. Constitution places a limit on its duration. The Constitution authorizes copyright protection "for limited Times," but says nothing more. Intellectual freedom advocates cried foul in 1998 when the Copyright Term Extension Act boosted copyright terms and was made retroactive, extending copyright protection for works soon to slip into the public domain. Retroactivity affected many early Hollywood products, including the Walt Disney Company's earliest Mickey Mouse films. Supporters argued that longer life expectancy and the new markets for derivative works warranted longer protection; opponents claimed that the longer terms defied the "limited" command of the Constitution and stifled creative production. The Supreme Court in *Eldred v. Ashcroft* (2003) sided with the supporters, declaring that short of protection in perpetuity, the limits are left to Congress to determine.

Digital downloading makes it possible, with only a home computer, to make a copy of a work of music, video, or art of such high quality that it is indistinguishable from the original. And the Internet makes it possible for copies to be widely shared. "Peer to peer file sharing" (P2P) systems exploit this technology by making it possible for one person to copy a musical composition, for example, from the computer of another. P2P operates without regard for authorization by the copyright owner, so P2P creators and providers initially contested liability on grounds that offended copyright holders must pursue system users instead. But in *MGM Studios,*

Inc. v. Grokster, Ltd. (2005), the Supreme Court unanimously held that defendant P2P software distributors could be held liable for encouraging copyright-infringing uses of their products. Since *Grokster,* the recording and motion picture industries have been aggressive plaintiffs in combating content downloading, though personal identification of online users and jurisdiction over foreign P2P providers have been persistent impediments.

Journalism and Copyright

Copyright is essential to journalism, as the journalist trades on proprietary expression. A journalist's work is copyrighted when it is fixed in an article or a broadcast story. Disputes involving journalists have concerned copyright ownership, copyright in news reports and in news itself, and government copyright.

Under U.S. copyright law, when a work is made "for hire," that is, by an employee, copyright ownership vests in the employer, unless the parties agree otherwise. Thus copyright in a print journalist's news story vests in the newspaper, notwithstanding the byline. This "work for hire" doctrine may apply as well to commissioned works, such as a freelance article. However, in *New York Times Co. v. Tasini* (2001), freelancers objected to the republication of their work in electronic databases without additional compensation. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled for the writers, holding that the electronic databases were new works, distinct from the printed "collective works" to which the freelancers had contributed. Thus the *Times* would have to negotiate new contracts with the freelancers to republish their work.

Copyright also impacts short but critical components such as headlines and hard news leads. Copyright may apply to news reports, but cannot apply to the underlying *facts* of the news. Thus, news may be repackaged and republished in new stories without violating copyright. Arguably, though, there are only so many ways to write a headline or lead with minimal words. Repetition is inevitable, prompting a difficult question as to when a headline or lead is sufficiently imbued with a minimum of originality as to warrant copyright protection. This has been complicated with the Internet, as news aggregators clip headlines to serve as links to news providers' content. In a pioneering case that settled before trial, a Scottish court in *Shetland Times Ltd. v. Wills* (1996) preliminarily enjoined headline links. Courts in Japan and Belgium subsequently found sufficient originality in headlines to compensate news providers for infringement. In contrast, in *Perfect10, Inc. v. Amazon.com, Inc.* (2007), a U.S. court ruled that informational and retail websites' use of thumbnail-image links did not infringe publishers' rights to display the original, full-size images.

A related issue arises from the inability to copyright news facts. In *International News Service v. Associated Press* (1918), the Supreme Court decided that an action may lie in state misappropriation law when one news service pirates the scoops of a competitor. The viability of this "hot news doctrine" has been questioned since the preemption of state common law by the 1976 Copyright Act. Nevertheless, a federal court in *National Basketball Association v. Motorola, Inc.* (1997) maintained the viability of the hot news doctrine. The NBA challenged the practice of a Motorola pager service in transmitting real-time scores and information about games. The court found no misappropriation because, applying the court's test for the hot news doctrine, Motorola expended its own resources to ascertain and convey the information and did not exploit a "free ride" on the NBA.

A final issue concerns the ability of government to claim copyright over public records. While the federal government may not copyright its own work, it may have copyright assigned to it, as by an artist whose work is used on a postage stamp. State and local governments are not precluded from copyright ownership; in that event, copyright law can collide with state laws compelling disclosure of public records. Courts facing this problem have sought refuge in the fair use doctrine. For example, in *County of Suffolk v. First American Real Estate Solutions* (2001), a federal court ruled that copyright law did not preclude disclosure of copyrighted county tax maps under the New York sunshine law, but the sunshine law also would not preclude county action to enforce its copyright if subsequent dissemination of the maps exceeded fair use.

Conclusion

Copyright is a double-edged sword in the law, as it simultaneously fosters and inhibits freedom of

expression. As such, copyright is both friend and foe to the journalist. Courts and policymakers will continue to struggle to define the scope of copyright to preserve this delicate balance.

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See also Associated Press; Clipping Services; Distribution; Distribution, Online; First Amendment; Freelance Writers and Stringers; Images, Ownership of; International News Service; Internet Impact on Media; News Aggregators; Sunshine Law

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U.S. Constitution art. I, § 8, cl. 8.

U.S. Copyright Act, 17 U.S.C. §§ 101-1332.

CREDIBILITY

Questions of credibility of the news media have been a perennially favorite topic for inquiry. Credibility emerged as an important conditional variable in the emerging psychological science of persuasion after World War II. For many decades, journalism researchers have examined various dimensions of credibility of news reports. The Gallup survey, for example, has for many years asked a question about how much "trust and confidence" people have in the mass media—defined as newspapers, television, and radio—"when it comes to reporting the news fully, accurately and fairly" (Gillespie 2004). The proportion of the public having a "great deal" or "fair amount" of confidence in the mass media was 44 percent in 2004, down sharply from the 54 percent measured the previous year, and quite a bit lower than the 68 percent in 1972 when the series began. It is likely that the 2004 dip resulted from negative public reaction to several well-publicized media scandals involving reporters Jayson Blair of *The New York Times* (2003) and Jack Kelley of *USA Today* (2004). In both cases the newspapers were embarrassed by revelations that the reporters had fabricated portions of major stories that received widespread public attention.

Questions about the media's overall credibility were the focus of a number of systematic studies in the 1980s that created the impression there was a "credibility crisis" in the mass media. Examining credibility, several organizations gathered national survey data on the topic, the results of which were widely reported. This perceived credibility crisis in the news media led researchers to pose questions

to link public judgments of credibility to controversies involving journalists and their work practices. The Pew Center for the People & the Press concluded that the public found the press credible but were worried about the ethics of some press practices. For example, journalists were often seen by the public as not being concerned that their stories might hurt people, or that they took advantage of victims of crime or disaster. The public also felt that journalists do not always correct their mistakes and too often violate people's privacy.

Media credibility has been tested by public perceptions of such controversial news practices as using unnamed sources, checking into the background of candidates for office, requesting detailed medical information about public office holders and candidates, and investigations (including stakeouts) into private lives of public officials. Some people feel that the news media are out to "get" officials when controversial investigative methods are trained on their favorite candidate. This appears particularly true when people have not previously paid attention to how news is gathered. Such perceptions call into question the credibility of news reports.

In recent years new diversity in media programming has focused renewed attention on political values and ideology as the basis of judgments of news credibility. Some news sources with explicit ideological slants have become popular with conservatives (e.g., Fox News, Drudge Report) and liberals (e.g., Air America, Huffington Post). This polarization of news exerts pressure on mainstream news organizations and may influence audience judgments about the framing, emphasis, balance, and thus credibility of their reporting.

Credibility has many synonyms. Writers over the years have looked at such elements as trust, integrity, reliability, and honesty. Others have focused on how differences among contesting parties are covered, focusing on the extent to which news is considered balanced, fair, and even-handed. Others have focused on skepticism about media reports, particularly when readers' personal experiences appear to contradict media accounts.

Why Credibility Matters

Most people regularly use news media of many kinds. People have implicit understanding about the purposes of news media, how useful they are in everyday life, and their limitations. Such widely shared beliefs help guide public interaction with media and help users determine the relevance of each, as well as inform judgments about how much time to spend with different media.

Media scholars Gerald Kosicki and Jack McLeod (1990) conducted a series of population surveys asking about people's perceptions of media, how they fit into everyday life, and how they were used. They found that public understanding of media is multidimensional. One of the more important perceptions was related to traditional notions of credibility. Kosicki and McLeod labeled this "news information quality." Other perceptions they found were also quite important, however, and are not usually discussed by journalists or scholars. These included "patterning of news," or its ability to add up to a comprehensive picture of reality over time; and "negative aspects of content," or criticisms that media reports are sensationalistic, biased, and dominated by bad news. "Dependency and control" referred to the perception that media institutions were too much alike and too powerful. "Special interests" reflected a belief that media either were special interests themselves or were largely mouthpieces for special interests.

Media organizations spend money to study credibility because they assume it is important to their circulations, readership, ratings, viewership, page clicks, and other measures of media use and attention. However, credibility (and its many synonyms) may be just the tip of the iceberg. More research could help to tie perceptions of quality to actual consumer decisions to read and view media reports.

Hostile Media Hypothesis

Partisans tend to see news coverage of their favorite topics as being biased against their point of view. This inclination has been explained in two ways. The first is that partisans evaluate fairness differently: they are likely to offer strong critiques of the media's choice of topics and how they are framed. A second explanation is that partisans often recall different aspects of the content, even when they have seen the exact same thing in an experiment. In 1985, researchers Robert Vallone, Lee Ross, and Mark Lepper found that pro-Arab

and pro-Israeli partisans reported more negative references to their preferred side of an issue—in this case, the 1982 massacre of Palestinian refugees in Beirut—and believed this might sway uncommitted persons against their point of view.

The "hostile media hypothesis" has been tested by many investigators in different media contexts. These have included topics such as abortion, genetically modified foods, and the Israel-Palestinian conflict among others. Recent research has attempted to conceptualize and document the psychological mechanisms that account for the effect. These included selective recall—-that people remember different aspects of media reports hostile to their point of view—and selective categorization, where partisans see the same content but assign differential valences to it. A third mechanism is called different standards, suggesting that opposing partisans agree on content of media but see evidence employed by their opponents as irrelevant. Some research argues that selective categorization is the only mechanism that adequately explains the hostile media effect. This suggests that partisans see information as more disagreeable when they encounter it in a media channel as compared to some interpersonal communication. It can be inferred, therefore, that people see news media as a type of communication for which they have particular quality expectations and to which they attribute powerful effects.

Impressions of public issues, candidates for office, and other controversial subjects are not easily changed by new disconfirming information. There are many examples of strongly held beliefs being readily maintained in the face of even massively discrediting information. This is part of a larger pattern in which those strongly committed to particular ideas tend to evaluate evidence to support their existing thinking. Media credibility, in other words, may seem at first glance to be nominally about characteristics of media content, but ultimately it is more about people, their values and commitments, and how they use and perceive media to form judgments about issues.

Credibility and New Media

Although a notable characteristic of newer media (such as blogs) is that they are highly opinionated and upfront about their assumptions and ideology, credibility is also emerging as a key issue relating to them. The Credibility Commons, for example, is a website that studies the credibility of the Internet. The project creates and releases open-source software to facilitate the study of credibility by obtaining user ratings of the quality of Internet sites and displaying them to others who visit a given site.

Evaluating the credibility of information on websites involves considering their ownership, information quality, credentials, ideological commitments, and commercial interests, among other things. To take one example, many assume that all search engines provide similar results. However, advertising and other commercial pressures, such as payments to the firms operating search engines, can affect what turns up across different search engines and in what order the results are displayed. Searches are also affected by the algorithms employed and Google also applies a factor that includes the rating of similar searches by Internet users and which of the many results selected in the search is the final one users tend to look at most often. A number of firms specialize in providing so-called web optimization, which amounts to trying to discern what factors influence the ranking of search results on a given search engine and then attempting to use that information to game the results in favor of their clients' sites. Such practices make some websites more prominent on search results than they would otherwise be.

Although it is difficult to generalize, the online world is generally not more credible than traditional media with the vast majority of people. Pew's polling in 2008 indicated that online news outlets are less credible than traditional news outlets such as newspapers, magazines, and television news. Pew also found that online news sources that mainly display the content of traditional news media, such as Yahoo and Google News, were more credible than other online sources such as Slate, Salon, the Drudge Report and The Huffington Post.

The credibility of information and its sources has remained a critical component in considering the quality and significance of messages and their possible effects. Decades of careful research show that credibility is a complex construct with many considerations. Most importantly, perhaps, credibility is a judgment made by people and one rooted in their experiences with media but also their own life

experiences, political and social views, and expectations from a given communication situation.

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See also Bias; Deception; Ethics; Objectivity; News Councils; Newsroom Culture; Professionalism; Self-Regulation; Spin

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Crime and the Courts

News media coverage of crime and the courts highlights, among other things, the clear tension between First and Sixth Amendment rights in the Constitution, those of a free press versus a defendant's right to a fair trial. But such coverage also demonstrates the power of media to contribute to a false view of reality, as when heavy viewers of television feel threatened by a world they perceive as filled with more crime than is the case.

Crime as News

Crime stories dominate most American news media. Numerous content analyses of newspapers and television stations have shown that local media are saturated with accounts of crime, hence the local television newsroom adage, "If it bleeds it leads." Public interest in crime news is generally high, providing a commercial incentive for newspapers and broadcasters to cover more crime news. Furthermore, crimes usually make good news stories in that they provide crucial drama and human interest (and pictures for the electronic media) even though they may not always provide substantial news value. Because of the ways that journalists cultivate relationships on their beats, crime news can be fairly easy to report, often with willing sources (victims, police) who want to tell their stories. However, research has shown that not all violent crime is covered with the same prominence in the media; journalists typically weigh how much a given crime deviates from the norm in deciding how much coverage it gets. So, statistically speaking, unlikely victims or perpetrators, unusual methods, or sympathetic victims receive more coverage than "status quo" criminal events. Intense media coverage has even been correlated with a decrease in plea bargaining in the prosecutor's office.

While crime news coverage can have a direct impact on the actual criminal proceedings, research also shows that the level and types of crime stories are not indicative of actual criminal statistics. Television news, for example, overemphasizes crime and is disproportionately focused on bizarre crimes. Newspaper coverage has shown biases of gender, age, race, and socioeconomic status, and studies suggest that such biases influence public perception of both perpetrators and victims. Repeated exposure to this unbalanced information in the press appears to lead readers and viewers to feel more threatened and afraid of becoming a victim of a violent crime.

Crime news not only dominates local media but also figures prominently on cable news networks with national coverage. Court TV is the obvious example. It came about as one response to the public's seemingly insatiable appetite for crime and court stories. In 1995, Court TV saw a huge boost in viewership during its coverage of the O. J. Simpson murder trial and the increased interest in all courtroom drama. Later, the channel started airing fiction crime and court shows such as *Homicide: Life on the Street* and *Forensic Files*.

Effects of Coverage

This blurring between real and fictional events is significant because polls show that the public forms opinions about crime more from what they see or read in the news media rather than personal experience. Scholars have examined the effect of this crime coverage to show that people who are heavy viewers of television tend to replace actual reality with a television version of that reality. George Gerbner first wrote about this idea, which he dubbed "cultivation," when he argued that people who watch a lot of television base their reality far more on impressions left by television viewing rather than their own experience or knowledge. These television viewers think the world is a scarier place than it really is because television news and drama focus so much on crime. Polls confirm this, showing that a majority of respondents say that media coverage of violent crime increases their own fear of being a victim.

People who are accused of committing crimes are often portrayed as being held by police, sometimes handcuffed or in prison clothes. Such images are significant because initial crime coverage influences the first impressions the public develops of people later accused of crimes and facing juries. This is a serious problem because of two constitutional protections in conflict: the First Amendment rights of the press to report such stories and the Sixth Amendment rights of the eventual defendant. Jury verdicts can be influenced by pretrial publicity, disclosure of a prior record, incriminating testimony (despite being ruled inadmissible by a judge), and disturbing crime scene images. The strong effect of pretrial publicity has been evident in all stages of trial, pretrial, and pre- and post-deliberations.

A host of studies have shown that subjects exposed to pretrial publicity were significantly more likely to presume the defendant's guilt than those who did not see the media coverage. The majority of studies show that the bias remains even after the final verdict. Indeed, they found that this bias was strongest when subjects were tested before the trial even begins, dismal testimony to the premise of "innocent until proven guilty." It is just such concerns that lead judges to seek "gag" orders or other means of limiting media access to, or reporting of, pretrial proceedings.

Media portrayals of defendants can have unintended consequences. Jury research offers numerous examples of how physical characteristics can affect people's judgments. Such research looks at "extralegal bias"—those factors that are not supposed to be considered during a trial. The two most significant are a person's physical attractiveness and his or her race. Several studies have shown that mock jurors treat attractive defendants more leniently than unattractive ones, though this was only a factor in the last stage, sentencing. Whites tend to rate black defendants guilty more often than white ones in murder cases. Black defendants are found guilty more often when their victim is white. Studies have shown that white jurors are more likely to think that a defendant of color is guilty of rape than if the defendant is white. Minority defendants convicted for the rape and murder of white victims are more likely to receive the death penalty than white or black perpetrators who have harmed black victims. This prejudice exists regardless of the type of crime.

Conclusion

Crime news coverage dominates local print and broadcast news and forms an often significant portion of national news as well. Coverage of court trials has become a significant part of the news media, with one cable channel largely devoted to such coverage. Because most people lack direct contact with the legal system, mass mediated forms of information either through fiction programs or the news are the main source of information about crime and the courts. Because First and Sixth Amendment rights are often in direct conflict, a balance is constantly being negotiated to

ensure protection of both rights to the best extent possible.

Brooke Barnett

See also Bias; Checkbook Journalism; First Amendment; Free Press and Fair Trial; Gag Orders; Supreme Court and Journalism

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Criticism and Critics

Although traditions of American journalism typically command impartiality, some journalists are specifically read and valued for the subjective judgments they offer. These are the critics or interpreters of the American cultural landscape. Criticism comes from the Greek root *kritikos* or the Latin *criticus,* terms referring to a person able to make a sound judgment. In journalism particularly, the term refers to the discussion, usually in print, characterizing and appraising a cultural or artistic work. As they describe and analyze the object, critics provide their readers with information, opinion, guidance, and entertainment. They are full- or part-time employees who make a living out of their informed judgment.

Critics specialize in the fields they write about. These mainly include art, theater (drama), literature (or books more generally), music, film, media, and food (restaurants). With the rise of computers and graphic software, the critics' repertoire has also come to comprise digital art. Academics often refer to critics as "arts journalists."

Roland Wolseley, author of an early text on journalistic literary criticism, distinguished critical pieces from feature stories about arts or artists, news reports of arts shows, star gossip, and mere discussions of the book world. He explained that critical writing specifically focuses on the artistic work and is intended to serve as a judicious guide and shape public taste. Other journalistic forms on the arts merely inform or entertain. Critics bring authoritative experience and knowledge into the criticism they write. A 2007 study on the self-image of critics suggests that they view their passion about their field—usually undesirable in journalism—as one of their most distinctive characteristics.

Although people usually refer to criticism and opinion review interchangeably, veteran reviewer Campbell Titchener distinguishes between the two. He explains that both parties usually work in a print medium but reviewers do not focus on a specific art form and commonly offer an overnight reaction to a cultural performance. Critics, on the other hand, specialize in a specific field and offer a studied and contextual evaluation of their topic of concern over time. Their work sometimes appears days or weeks after the concert, exhibit, or play in

question. In brief, reviewing is only one aspect of a critic's occupation.

Finally, arts journalists also differ from academic critics who appraise cultural objects in a journal or book. As Wolseley explains, the latter do not write for a mass public and hence may use technical language that general audiences likely do not understand. Their judgment is rarely concerned with a specific object or event, concentrating on literary, artistic, or cultural tendencies in general. Critics, on the other hand, write for a mass audience and usually address individual cultural events or performances.

Critics and scholars of criticism share a common understanding of how to write a sound critical text. They explain that high-quality criticism deconstructs the art works or performances, revealing their various layers to readers. Such criticism is intended to provide an informed and disciplined opinion that remains respectful, even when negative. Criticism also features astute comparisons that place the object or performance in context and demonstrate a thorough knowledge of the object, its creator, and the general field. Criticism creates a dialogue that assigns art or performance a historical context. Through theoretical knowledge and considerable experience in critical appraisals, critical writing exhibits its author's (and the reader's) acquaintance with, and appreciation of, arts in general. Finally, criticism takes into consideration its target audience, the extent of its exposure, and the boundaries of its sensitivities.

Role and Importance

The rise of blogs and ensuing democratization of opinion have forced critics and students of criticism to explain the importance and defend the role of professional criticism. In a sense, critics are opinion leaders who provide consumers with a sneak peek into the event in question. Consumers read critical writings to reduce their uncertainty about products before consumption. Philip Lopate, author of *American Movie Critics,* says that critics become old friends to whom readers turn for advice. They acknowledge their authority and respect their choices. Famous critic Northrop Frye takes the point a step further. He argues that criticism educates readers as it shapes public opinion. It acquaints many people with prime examples of cultural artifacts and improves public appreciation of the arts. Film critic Richard Schickel writes that criticism provides context and guides readers to new ways of looking at culture and art. The process begins a discussion that may sometimes continue for years.

In *The Death of the Critic,* researcher Rónán McDonald argues that criticism ensures survival of and respect for the superior literary and artistic performance. Addressing literary criticism in particular, he explains that critics act as cultural gatekeepers, motivating writers toward greater achievement. He notes that popular mediocre hits have historically accompanied the decline of professional criticism while some of the most creative works have surfaced during glorious periods of criticism. The financial role of criticism for book authors is central—-awareness and word-of-mouth effects are tantamount to the success of books. Extreme judgments, even if negative, can boost book sales.

Types of Criticism and Famous Critics

As noted, criticism in newspapers and magazines spans many creative fields, usually including art, drama, literature, music, film, media, and food.

Art

The term usually implies the characterization and appraisal of all kinds of artistic, dramatic, media, and literary works. In its narrower sense, however, art criticism refers to published articles describing, analyzing, interpreting, and appraising visual art works. Subjects of the critical text usually include painting, sculpture, photography, and printmaking as well as architecture and dance. Only in the eighteenth century did art criticism become an independent genre. In the United States, art criticism emerged a century later, with development of both popular newspapers and commercial art galleries.

Many art critics have written for U.S. newspapers and magazines but Clement Greenberg and Harold Rosenberg remain among the prime examples. Born into a modest family in New York, Greenberg assumed several random jobs before he began to write on painting, eventually becoming one of the most influential critics on the American

art scene. A formalist who distinguished between "true culture" and kitsch, a term he coined to describe popular art, Greenberg (1909–94) championed the New York school of abstract artists like Jackson Pollock. He preached an avant-garde approach where artists raised their art into an "expression of the absolute." Greenberg worked as editor of the *Partisan Review* between 1940 and 1942 and, from 1942 to 1949, he wrote art critiques for *The Nation*. Between 1944 and 1957, he worked as managing editor then associate editor of the *Contemporary Jewish Record,* later known as *Commentary*.

Born and raised in New York City, Harold Rosenberg (1906–78) was a highly influential philosopher, writer, educator, and art critic. A champion of Abstract Expressionism, he authored numerous books and wrote for *The New Yorker* magazine from 1967 until his death. One of his main contentions posits that the United States is the cultural epicenter of the world and action painting, a style where paint is splashed rather than carefully applied, its most developed cultural form. Rosenberg's provocative and educational analyses helped set up and clarify the various components of abstract painting.

Drama

Theater criticism is as old as the subject it covers. It involves a discussion and evaluation of performing arts such as theatrical shows and operas. Famous drama critic George Nathan explained that, of all criticism, that of the theater is the most personal. It is also essentially self-reflective: As the critics appraise performances, they examine themselves through the theatrical work.

Dramatic criticism in the United States features a number of prominent names, two of whom are George Nathan and Clive Barnes. Born in Indiana and educated at Cornell University, Nathan (1882–1958) began his career as a journalist for the *New York Herald*. In 1908, he joined *The Smart Set* as drama critic and later became its co-editor with H. L. Mencken. In 1924, the two longtime friends founded *The American Mercury*. Nathan authored 34 books on the theater and was the main subject of several others. A notorious bachelor, he inspired the Addison De Witt character in the film *All About Eve*. Renowned for his wit and sarcasm, Nathan was the most important drama critic of his times. His highly influential writings shaped the standards of drama and theater criticism in the United States.

Born in London in 1927 and educated in Oxford, Clive Barnes (1927–) is a powerful dance, drama, and opera critic whose writing can make or break a Broadway show. He worked for *The New York Times* between 1965 and 1977, later moving to the *New York Post*. Barnes wrote a number of books, chiefly on dance.

Literary

Literary criticism is the theory-based analysis and assessment of literary works including poetry and prose. As a *Chicago Evening Post* critic once noted, literary criticism is as old as the study of language. Criticism appeared in the journalistic format in the pamphlets of eighteenth-century Britain and later in its more formal newspapers. But it wasn't until the 1800s that literary criticism flourished in American newspapers and magazines. Although the genre expands beyond the realms of journalism and into the academic domain, press critics have played a prominent role in theoretical literary discourse as well as in the evaluation and promotion of literary works, authors, and trends.

Important publications featuring influential literary criticism include the *Times Literary Supplement, The New York Times Book Review, The Nation,* and *The New Yorker*. Among the most important literary artists who have written for these and other publications are Edmund Wilson and John Leonard. A New Jersey lawyer and general attorney, Wilson (1895–1972) became one of the most preeminent literary critics of twentieth-century America. He served, successively, as managing editor of *Vanity Fair* (1920–21), associate editor of the *New Republic* (1926–31), and book reviewer for *The New Yorker* (1944–48). His writings spanned an array of subjects, including history, poetry, art, politics, society, linguistics, and philosophy. His critical essays often focused on the intersection of literature and society.

A leading critic on the New York scene, John Leonard (1921–2008) was known for his activism and breadth of knowledge. Staunchly liberal and ahead of his time, he championed authors like Toni Morrison and Gabriel Garcia Marquez before

they became known to the American public. Leonard was born in Washington, D.C. He began his career at *The National Review* in the 1960s and later published his literary critiques in an array of publications including *The New York Times* (1970s), *The Nation* (1995–2008), *The New Republic, Harper's,* and *The Atlantic Monthly*. Leonard also worked as television critic for *New York* magazine, columnist for *Newsday,* and cultural commentator for *CBS Sunday Morning*.

Music

Music criticism refers to the publication of articles assessing a musical composition or performance. Although criticism of music as a formal profession emerged during the seventeenth century in Europe, it only acquired a place in American newspapers during the middle of the nineteenth century with the rise of the penny press. Music criticism has since played a fundamental role in the emergence and popularity of musical trends such as jazz and rock. Harold Schonberg, one of the most influential music critics of the twentieth century, explains that premium music critics rely on their imagination and musical experience, more than anything else, to appreciate and assess a musical work. Two of the most influential critics who have followed this approach are Schonberg himself and Lester Bangs (1948–82).

The first music critic to win the Pulitzer Prize for criticism in 1971, Schonberg (1915–2003) was a powerful critic and journalist for *The New York Times*. Born and raised in New York, Schonberg became a record critic for *The American Music Lover* magazine, later known as *The American Record Guide,* in 1939. He joined the *Times* in 1950 and became senior critic in the 1960s. Specializing in the critique of piano, operas, and classical music, he helped develop the newspaper's music staff and significantly affected the national music scene.

Lester Bangs (1948–2002) was the preeminent American critic of rock and roll music and a musician himself. Born in California, he started his writing career in 1969 with *Rolling Stone* magazine. In 1973, the magazine fired him over a negative review. Bangs moved to Detroit to edit and write for *Creem* where he soon acquired national recognition. His articles helped promote (or demote) artists, set trends, and influence public taste. Later in his life, Bangs freelanced for a number of publications including *The Village Voice* and the *New Musical Express*.

Film

Film criticism is the published analysis and evaluation of theatrical motion pictures. Film criticism burgeoned with the rise of cinema at the beginning of the twentieth century. Early critics fought to claim film production as a democratic art—a notion that seemed paradoxical at the time. Indeed, it wasn't until the 1960s that film was finally acknowledged as an art, and film criticism as a kind of art journalism. Unlike film criticism in France, where famous thinkers use poststructuralist, Marxist, or psychoanalytical theories to deconstruct films, criticism in the United States remains primarily review-oriented and practical. Still, a number of American film critics did enchant readers and play a role in the establishment of cinema as a legitimate art. They include James Rufus Agee and Pauline Kael.

Also a distinguished poet, journalist, screenwriter, and activist, Agee (1909–55) became one of America's prime novelists and film critics. He established film criticism as a key feature of the daily paper, earned an Academy Award nomination for his film classic, *The African Queen* (1951), and left a series of memorable books. Born in Tennessee, Agee started his career as a journalist for *Fortune* in 1932 and wrote political and cultural articles for *Time*. He soon became *Time*'s and *The Nation*'s film critic, a role he continued until 1948. Agee's film reviews were rich, fervent, and witty. Pauline Kael (1919–2001), perhaps the most influential film critic in American journalism, started her career as an avant-garde artist—writing plays, working on experimental films, and supporting herself through a myriad of minor jobs. The California-born liberal also wrote film critiques as a freelancer. In 1967, she found her break when she wrote a rave review of the film *Bonnie and Clyde* for *The New Yorker*. The magazine hired her as movie critic, a position she kept for over twenty years. Her articles, distinguished through a conversational writing style, the use of slang, and an improvisational, emotional quality, were as awaited as the movies they appraised.

Kael influenced a generation of filmmakers and critics alike and published more than a dozen books, most of them collections of her reviews and essays.

Media

Media criticism is the public evaluation of print and broadcast media performance. Often focusing particularly on journalism, media criticism contributes to the civic and professional improvement of the profession. Mass communications researcher David Rubin speaks of seven concerns that critics have historically voiced: Sensationalism, triviality and the personality cult, invasion of privacy, the monopolistic industry structure, the influence of advertisers, owner–employee tensions, and the ubiquity of agency-produced material in news. Media criticism has historically appeared in mainstream newspapers and magazines as well as more specialized periodicals like the *Columbia Journalism Review*.

Many American journalists self-reflected on the performance of their profession but William "Will" Irwin and A. J. Liebling were among the most famous. Born in New York, Irwin (1873–1948) was one of the most renowned journalists and media critics of his time. Early in his career, he wrote for *The San Francisco Chronicle* (1901–04), *The New York Sun* (1904–06), and *McClure's* magazine (1906–07) before joining *Collier's* in 1907. Between January and July 1911, Irwin published in *Collier's* a 15-article series on the practices of the press. His most important contribution to media criticism, the articles did for the press what muckrakers had done in other realms of U.S. society.

A. J. Liebling (1904–63), prominent press critic of the 1940s, wrote a weekly column in *The New Yorker* under the title "The Wayward Press." Born in New York, Liebling started his career, in the early 1930s, with the New York *World* and *The World-Telegram*. He joined *The New Yorker* as a reporter and columnist in 1935. Liebling covered World War II and a span of subjects from New York to boxing, French culture, and food. Soon after the war, Liebling began writing "The Wayward Press" column, with a biting humor and a sharp appraisal of editors, publishers, politicians, audiences, and reporters alike. Most of Liebling's books are collections of articles and sketches that originally appeared in *The New Yorker*.

Food/Restaurants

Food criticism includes discussion of food-related topics and/or appraisal of restaurants. Although the two subjects relate, critics do not necessarily cover both. Food criticism is common in newspapers, food magazines, and, to a lesser extent, on television. It is also the focal point of specialized publications such as *Gourmet*. Among the most famous critics who have discussed food and restaurants in the American media are Patricia Wells and Ruth Reichl.

Born in Wisconsin in 1946, Wells is one of the most important food journalists in the United States. She has been, since 1980, a restaurant critic for *The International Herald Tribune* in Paris and a contributor to *The New York Times*' Paris bureau. Specializing in French cuisine, she is known to simplify the intricacies of France's complicated recipes to her American audiences. Wells started her journalistic career as copy editor and reporter for *The Milwaukee Journal* in 1966. She became the food critic for *The Washington Post* in 1972 and *The New York Times* in 1976.

Ruth Reichl, a New York native born in 1948, is a highly acclaimed food critic, writer, coproducer of a PBS culinary show and—as of 1999—editor-in-chief of *Gourmet* magazine. Able to make or break a restaurant, she is known for her honest and unpretentious criticism. Reichl started her career as restaurant chef and co-owner in the 1970s before joining *New West* magazine as food critic in 1973. Reichl assumed the same position at the *Los Angeles Times* between 1984 and 1993 and at *The New York Times* between 1993 and 1999.

Crisis of Criticism

Despite many contributions to society, criticism as a profession has come under considerable attack during the beginning of the twenty-first century. With the rise of the Internet and the proliferation of blogs evaluating all forms of art, channels of amateur criticism have largely replaced the distinctive voices of individual critics. People do not listen to critics anymore, one

critic complains. They trust the communal voices of ordinary reviewers of all ages and backgrounds. Many newspaper articles speak of the death of the critic.

The crisis is real. Many U.S. newspapers and magazines have dismissed or reassigned their critics. Sean P. Means, the *Salt Lake Tribune*'s film critic, posted a list of U.S. film critics who lost their jobs between January 2006 and October 2008. Titled "The Departed," it includes the names of 40 people from an array of publications.

Evidently concerned about the trend, several critics and students of criticism have attempted to diagnose the factors behind the crisis. They noted the range of websites, like rottentomatoes.com and metacritic.com, which provide criticism from an array of opinions from trusted as well as unfamiliar voices. Such sites are so popular they are swarmed by the film studios' public relations machines. Their popularity eclipses the individual opinions of famous newspaper critics. Conscious of this phenomenon, newspaper and magazine managers are reconsidering the value of their arts journalists. In fact, the problem of newspaper criticism is strongly related to the troubling decline of readership.

The crisis is also related to the quality of the critical text in general. Patrick Goldstein, film critic for the *Los Angeles Times,* accuses film critics of expressly writing positive reviews to have their names on movie advertisements and DVD covers. "Awesome!" they would say, regardless of the product's quality. Similarly, Goldstein writes, music critics have a tendency to favor leading artists, as audiences do not appreciate negative appraisals of their favorite stars.

But the problem of criticism involves a more profound battle, mostly taking place on the World Wide Web, over the right to claim expertise. Critics are often accused of being a closed circle of condescending elites who do not necessarily answer the simple questions consumers look for. With the rise of the Internet, unhappy readers, viewers, and art lovers established their own blogs, hijacking the right to provide feedback on the arts. Critics attack this democratization of opinion, arguing that criticism entails expertise and is therefore necessarily elitist. They dismiss blogs and other popular reviews as mere form of speech, not writing.

Conclusion

Criticism or arts journalism provides an added value to newspapers and magazines and constitutes a friendly voice, providing readers with guidance about arts performances and events. Criticism also affects the society around it, appraising—and therefore automatically improving—the cultural and artistic environment and taste. And yet, arts journalism seems to be facing an existential crisis, with people increasingly talking about the decline and even disappearance of the critic. The future of arts journalists ultimately relates to the future of print media and how they adapt to the Internet.

Yasmine T. Dabbous

See also Criticism of Journalism; Entertainment Journalism; Food Journalism; Internet Impact on Media; Literary Journalism

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Criticism of Journalism

That journalism is important in American life is evident in the large amount of criticism that news media have always received. The country's early newspapers were hotly criticized for the stories they included or ignored, perceived political bias, cronyism with advertisers, and paying too much attention to the social and political elites rather than common people. And those were merely the highlights. Critics have varied from those who feel themselves mistreated (or their views given little attention) to organizations focused on trying to improve journalism. Some criticism has come from within—-as with the relatively recent appointment of newspaper ombudsmen at a handful of major newspapers—-but most comes from outside the journalistic fraternity. The complaints have probably politically balanced out over time—with sharp attacks coming from both the right and the left.

Journalism Standards

By definition, to critique is to speak of mistakes, flawed processes, or unmet expectations. In so doing, one is applying (if only implicitly) specific standards and norms. While American news media (let alone those elsewhere) are not a monolith, they do tend to operate with shared presumptions of purpose and quality. Perhaps as a result of rapid globalization, more journalists throughout the world are adopting a Western conception of the media as a country's "Fourth Estate." The term is said to have originated with Irish philosopher Edmund Burke when considering journalists of late-eighteenth-century Western Europe to be as important as the nobles, clergy, and commoners (the other three "estates") that made up a country's parliament. The reason for such privileging of unelected individuals has to do with Burke's recognition that, in all human societies, those who possess "knowledge" have power. Since in a representative political system such as the United States, power is supposed to lie with "the people," it follows that those people need access to truthful information. Enter the journalists, whose central role is to provide precisely such information (ideally complete, objective, and carefully researched) to all citizens.

In identifying the fundamental freedoms of all Americans, the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution explicitly safeguards press freedom. In addition to striving to fulfill the central role of informing the citizenry, contemporary American journalists also hold that those who wield political and economic power should be accountable for their actions. This function of news media, often called the "watchdog role," is accomplished, with various degrees of efficacy, largely by investigative journalists. Many critiques of journalism, therefore, speak either of the journalists' failure to provide quality information, or of their failure to keep a check on those in power—or both.

Selective Coverage

Most journalists in the Western world consider the providing of quality information to be their most important responsibility. This agreement, however, does not extend to the question of exactly what constitutes "quality" information, as media practitioners have different journalistic standards and procedures. Predictably this diversity has led to ideological conflict in the media, one issue being the tension between the so-called elitists and populists. The former expect journalists to be highly educated people able to decide which of the plethora of daily events are worth reporting. Furthermore, since issues that have the most impact are often complicated, difficult-to-explain affairs, journalists can't expect their relevant products (such as in-depth newspaper feature stories or television documentaries) to be very popular with average citizens. Indeed, the elitists argue, journalists should not seek popularity to the detriment of providing important information. "Populists," on the other hand, perceive journalists to be the servants of the people in a more literal sense: whatever information people ask for (or seem to enjoy the most) is what should be provided. And, if that means journalists should spend more time reporting "soft" rather than "hard" news, then so be it. Those agreeing with the elitists bemoan the media's lapse into sensationalism and "infotainment." Conversely, populist sympathizers might argue that journalists are "losing touch" with common folk, as they become closer to political and business elites.

The elitism versus populism debate often shows up when critics focus upon the exclusion of groups

of people from media coverage. Journalists act as "gatekeepers," making judgments about which people and events are worth covering on any given day. Predictably, critics often fault journalists with failing to undertake that gatekeeping obligation in a fair manner. Researchers point out that there are several groups that are rarely granted any positive coverage, if they are covered at all. Arguably the most prominent among these excluded groups are labor organizations and nongovernmental organizations concerned with poverty. These groups are largely ignored because their interests conflict with those of the business conglomerates that own most American news media. Indeed, while labor receives too little media coverage, business interests may be overcovered. The typical American daily newspaper devotes space to the price of stocks (an institution that directly concerns only a small minority of American citizens) but rarely addresses other issues more relevant to working men and women.

Murrow's Indictment

One influential critique of the media was delivered in 1958 by prominent broadcast journalist Edward R. Murrow. Speaking to an audience of broadcast news directors, Murrow offered a stinging indictment of broadcast journalism, accusing it of utterly failing to serve the public interest, focusing, instead, simply on making money. While arguing in favor of the competitive American commercial broadcasting system (which he called "the best and the freest yet devised"), Murrow faulted television news directors for submitting to corporate interests (by modifying their newscasts at the request of high-powered politicians and business people), drastically limiting the amount of news on primetime television and on the radio (while giving priority to such programming as quiz shows), and "sheltering" their audiences from complex and controversial stories. Much like contemporary media critics, Murrow believed that television news should pay more attention to international affairs that have real, albeit oftentimes subtle, repercussions for the United States. Although he argued that television is a "most powerful instrument of communication" and could serve as a "weapon" against ignorance and narrow-mindedness, Murrow concluded it was being used to "distract, delude, amuse and insulate" its viewers. He suggested that news directors might find it morally and civically satisfying—as well as economically profitable—to devote some of their advertising profits to creating public affairs programming that educated the public about complex issues. Although broadcast journalism has changed significantly in the half century since, the objections that Murrow raised continue to be leveled by news media critics.

Bias

America's journalism schools teach that good journalists observe the standard of objectivity when reporting the news. As with "equality" and "democracy," the desirability of having such an ideal is almost never in question—what is always bitterly disputed, however, is how the ideal should be put into practice. What exactly does being fair to all sides of a story really mean? How, and according to which criteria, does one distinguish between competing sides? Does fairness require that the points of view of each party receive equal coverage, regardless of differing degrees of prominence and popularity that the parties enjoy in real life? Media critics have long looked for evidence of bias (privileging one side to the detriment of others) at all levels of the journalistic process. More often than not, the most scrutinized aspect of news reports is the journalist's word choice, as critics look for loaded language—specific words whose cultural connotations subtly promote a positive or negative attitude (bias) toward one of the subjects of the news story. Labels that identify individuals and groups of people are the most sensitive examples. To suggest just one example, to an American audience, the word *terrorism* bears a strongly negative connotation. Its use in a news story is bound to signal that the people identified as such are the "bad guys." Media critics have long argued that a loaded label that is repeated incessantly in the public sphere tends to be internalized by people over time, and its negative or positive connotations become taken-for-granted characteristics of the people it was initially just meant to identify. Because of this chain of consequences, the use of loaded language is perceived by many as an offense against journalistic objectivity.

"Gang" Journalism

Just as few news stories are safe from criticism, few journalistic techniques can claim to be untouchable. The process by which journalists collect information is often critiqued. Questions of privacy (are journalists prying into people's private lives without a legitimate reason?), full disclosure (are reporters identifying themselves as journalists when soliciting information?), the nature of journalist-source relationship (is a source being bribed or forced to collaborate with the journalist, or the other way around?), and conflicts of interest (are reporters involved in the story being researched in any other capacity than that of a journalist?) are frequently leveled.

The frequent campaigns that news media outlets embark upon (e.g., those to find a missing child, to elect a politician, or adopt legislation) are often criticized as mere marketing gimmicks meant to increase audience by artificially creating a story (or by "hyping" an already existing story), and then unleashing a steady diet of sensational scoops. Partly out of fear of losing audience to the competition and partly out of intellectual laziness, mainstream news media outlets often join one another in devoting immense resources to stories that would not normally (that is, according to the standards taught in journalism schools) receive much attention. This phenomenon is often described as "gang" or bandwagon journalism, and is faulted for compromising the ideal of objectivity because it limits stories in terms of quantity and quality. When most media are chasing after the same story at the same time, the manner in which that story gets covered tends to be the same across most channels leading to what is derisively called assembly-line journalism.

Limited International News

American television news differs most from that in other developed countries by its comparative lack of news about foreign countries. Study after study reveals that American television audiences receive steadily decreasing amounts of international news, and what little foreign content does exist is drastically skewed in favor of a limited number of countries deemed to be particularly newsworthy. A 2008 study of African coverage by U.S. television networks, for example, found that the African countries that received the most attention were not those with such serious problems as civil wars, famine, and the AIDS epidemic, but rather those that conduct the most business with the United States and are, overall, the richest countries on the continent. Since Africa receives little news coverage to start with, those African countries that are most afflicted by natural and man-made disasters stand little chance of making their case to Americans.

Most Americans, studies have repeatedly shown, obtain most of their information about international affairs from television. Their attitudes toward other nations are very likely to be influenced by the type of television coverage that these places receive: negative coverage of Zimbabwe, for example, may lead viewers to form a negative opinion of that country. When it comes to international events, therefore, television has a crucial role in the formation of American public opinion, which, in turn, may end up influencing American foreign policies.

Media Representations

The concern with negative images in the news may also impact domestic issues, and even entertainment content. Images presented in the media (especially television and the Internet) exert a considerable influence. Youth are particularly susceptible to such influence, since they lack experience that could act as a reality check to media images. Even when journalism is realistic (as with straightforward news reports), it is too rarely properly contextualized and explained. One commonly discussed phenomenon is the so-called mean world syndrome: people who watch a lot of violence-saturated American TV programming (such as crime dramas or news with violent crime reports) often assume their communities are more violent than statistics actually show them to be.

Media watch groups have long argued that most people referenced in news stories are white males. Dominant groups—whites, males, the middle-aged, heterosexuals, thin rather than fat people, and middle-class or rich people—appear in the news more than their demographic percentages would warrant. Such news reports can be seen as biased by their exclusions as well as their emphases on ethnic minorities and crime.

Concentration of Ownership

Among charges brought against American news media is that of ownership concentration. According to the left-wing magazine *Mother Jones,* as of 2007, upwards of four fifths of America's 1,500 daily newspapers are owned by corporations, while the number of different companies owning TV stations has dropped by 40 percent since 1995. As a result of continued mergers and buyouts, six corporations (among them Disney, Time Warner, Viacom, NBC Universal, and News Corporation) exert dominance over national media, owning thousands of newspapers, magazines, radio and TV channels, publishing houses, movie studios, music labels, and Internet hubs.

Critics of ownership concentration point to a growing homogenization of media messages, which may deprive media audiences from much exposure to minority viewpoints. Since those who control large corporations are often close (demographically, politically, economically, and personally) to the political elite, the journalists they employ may be pressured to go easy on those who provide their paychecks and on their friends in business and government.

Dangerous Relationships

In his 1958 speech, journalist Edward R. Murrow identified the coziness between journalists, advertisers, and corporate managers as one of the biggest threats to effective journalism. One specific problem is the revolving door phenomenon, whereby former politicians often sit on editorial boards and former journalists may become spokespersons for politicians, government agencies, or businesses. If people cannot clearly distinguish between a journalist and a spokesperson, media critics contend, they will cease to trust the former as much as the latter.

The beats structure of news gathering raises another concern. Just as police officers are assigned specific areas or beats to patrol, reporters are often assigned specific domains (e.g., police and the courts; hospitals; political parties; technology; local, state, or federal administration; business). Many of those who deal with such beat reporters (in particular political and business leaders) do their best to befriend them, in the hopes that the journalist will then think twice about publishing information that is potentially damaging to a friend. In order to prevent such potential conflicts of interest from forming, some news media rotate their journalists among various beats.

Finally, the relationships among journalists and their sources are vulnerable to suspicions of impropriety. The use of anonymous sources is particularly relevant, as critics have denounced the increasing trend of citing "a government official" and "a source close to the investigation" to describe those who provide crucial information. Critics are concerned about the public losing confidence in a news media that relies too heavily on such obscure sources. Another point of contention regarding journalistic sources is the practice, on the part of government institutions, of surreptitiously paying individuals to present themselves as independent authorities to news media. In April 2008, *The New York Times* revealed that many of the military analysts employed by American broadcast and cable channels to provide objective analysis of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan were given preferential access to defense officials, and had close ties to military companies that stood to gain from continued fighting.

Influential American journalist H. L. Mencken often wrote opinion pieces ridiculing American hyperpatriotism in the 1920s and the increasing powers that the government acquired over citizens' daily lives. This concern continues today, most notably by critics who denounce mainstream news media's willingness to buy into the sometimes jingoistic discourse used by the government to justify its military efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq by placing them in a context of fighting terrorism. Critics argue that such flag-waving, especially on cable news channels, gets in the way of effective and balanced news reporting.

Government Regulation and Influence

Critics of American news media are especially concerned with the relationships among government and media, particularly with regard to government regulation of media (principally within broadcast licensing), and the selective granting of media access to government information. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) licenses radio and television stations and (though to a declining

degree) regulates ownership of electronic media outlets. The power to license includes the right to deny licenses, though there is little evidence of political bias in this process. Still, critics decry the FCC's tendency in its spectrum auctions to favor well-heeled big media companies at the expense of small, independent media.

As for selective access to government information, the danger here is more straightforward: journalists need that information (in order to fulfill their watchdog role) yet government can and often does delay or deny access to information. There is a danger that journalists will become discouraged and report on government officials in a negative or accusatory manner, or simply rely upon press release handouts. For example, journalists who wanted to report on the 2003 invasion of Iraq could only do so by being "embedded" in U.S. military units after agreeing to various conditions restricting the content of their reporting. As a result of that arrangement, numerous instances of self-censorship occurred, resulting in some compromising of journalistic independence and thus credibility.

The Propaganda Model

Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky in their 1988 book, *Manufacturing Consent,* suggest an explanatory model to help understand how the media are organized and function—and why. Their propaganda model is highly critical of the state of journalism, essentially accusing news media of catering to the interests of big business and politicians, to the detriment of broader needs. Most American media are commercial. As with any business, their primary role is to make a profit. As such, Herman and Chomsky argue, the media often take the path of least resistance toward advertiser acceptance of content and thus try to avoid controversy. News is often purged (by reporters, editors, or managers) of anything detrimental to advertisers' interests. The same often happens when journalists must depend on government agencies for crucial information. In all such cases, audiences may be deprived of important revelations of abuses of power on the part of those at the top.

Even when information damaging to those in power makes it into the news, media watchdogs cannot claim victory, since the establishment has a highly efficient way of guaranteeing that such information does not get far. This is called "flak" by Herman and Chomsky, and includes coordinating complaints against undesirable journalists that reach these journalists' employers. Such complaints are meant to intimidate the journalists and prevent them from pursuing a line of investigation that might reveal wrongdoing or bad policy. Finally, Herman and Chomsky also note a tendency by news media to reproduce the dominant ideology (whether political or economic, anti-Communist or anti-"terrorist"), espoused by those in power who thus have every interest in maintaining the status quo. Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model has been criticized for its conspiracy-theory flavor, as well as for dismissing the cases where journalists can and do fight against political and economic pressures.

Mechanisms of Accountability

Many organizations, such as Reporters Without Frontiers, have been formed to protect journalists from being silenced (or worse) by those in power. Other organizations have acquired prominence by acting as "watchdogs to the watchdog." Believing that the most sacred cow of the press is the press itself, these groups scrutinize the material being produced daily by news media institutions and release reports on the state of the media. Organizations such as the right-leaning Accuracy In Media (AIM) and the left-leaning Fairness & Accuracy In Reporting (FAIR) wield some influence on American news media, publishing periodic analyses of current media stories, and exposing what they perceive to be bias in the way the news is reported. Journalists can turn to the *The Columbia Journalism Review* and *American Journalism Review* magazines for insightful coverage of such issues as the changing practices of reporting, ethical dilemmas, and the influence of technology on journalism.

The Project for Excellence in Journalism evaluates both journalistic content and trends in the media industry on a regular basis. Besides benefiting from the ever-wider availability of such sources (thanks to the Internet), news media audiences can, in some places in the United States, file complaints about unsatisfactory coverage with

news councils—organizations set up by local media institutions, universities, and various nongovernmental organizations whose role is to bring citizen concerns to the attention of journalists and editors and mediate dialogue between the parties.

In addition, several American media institutions have instituted the position of "ombudsman" to give their audiences a means of communicating with the newsroom. The ombudsman's premier role is to ensure that every story conforms to professional standards. Ombudsmen also play the role of "readers' advocates," receiving complaints about media content and taking these complaints to the proper decision-makers. The first news ombudsman positions were created by Japanese newspapers in the early 1920s. In the United States, major newspapers have employed ombudsmen since 1967, though fewer than 5 percent of American newspapers have such a post. Notable media institutions that have instituted such a position include the *Los Angeles Times,* PBS and NPR, *The Washington Post, Chicago Tribune, The New York Times,* and *USA Today*. The institution of ombudsman is praised by many media critics for its perceived role in keeping the press accountable to its audience. Because most American news ombudsmen are longtime employees of their media companies (oftentimes having served as editors for the newspapers that now employ them as ombudsmen), however, other critics denounce them as a sham.

The unofficial accountability system in the American media industry, however, does not only include punitive mechanisms. Various prestigious institutions also reward what they consider to be exceptional journalistic accomplishment, in the hope that the journalists so recognized will become role models for aspiring journalists. The best-known such award is the Pulitzer Prize, administered by Columbia University and originally funded by publisher Joseph Pulitzer. The prize is awarded annually to writers excelling in each one of 21 categories, including "public service," "investigative reporting," and "local reporting."

Conclusion

Media criticism and its practitioners are certainly here to stay: the immense transformations that the American and global media are currently undergoing are bound to spawn ever more journalism pundits and crusaders. The universal trend toward ownership concentration in the media industry and the continuing convergence of media platforms are accentuating many of the problems mentioned above. In response, more and more school boards in America and elsewhere are introducing media literacy courses designed to provided the "wired generation" with the necessary antidotes against perceived media manipulation.

Razvan Sibii

See also Agenda Setting; Bandwagon Journalism; Bias; Censorship; Checkbook Journalism; Credibility; Ethics; Framing; Hard Versus Soft News; Infotainment; Mass Media, Decline of; Media Accountability Systems; Media Literacy; Media Ownership; News Councils; Newsroom Culture; News Values; Objectivity; Professionalism; Theories of Journalism

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D

Dallas–Fort Worth

The Dallas–Fort Worth metropolitan area, with a population of more than 6.8 million, ranks sixth among the top-ten media markets in the United States and is distinctive for its growing Spanish-language community. The region is a business and technology center, home to several corporate headquarters including global oil titan Exxon Mobil Corporation.

Dallas began as a Trinity River trading post founded in 1841 by John Neely Bryan. Other than its affluent "Big D" image and the stereotypes generated by the late-twentieth-century television show *Dallas,* the city is perhaps most famous for being the site of the 1963 assassination of President John F. Kennedy. Thirty miles to the west, Fort Worth grew from its 1849 founding as a U.S. Army fort into "Cowtown," so named for its once-huge cattle stockyards. Today, Fort Worth is an urban center with a vibrant downtown entertainment district and renowned art museums. It is home to AMR Corporation, the parent company of American Airlines, and RadioShack Corporation, among other companies.

Two large newspapers publish in the area: *The Dallas Morning News,* ranked as either the eleventh- or twelfth-largest U.S. daily in 2007 with a daily circulation of more than 373,000, and the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* which ranked among the top-45 2007 daily newspapers, with more than 210,000 in daily circulation.

The Dallas–Fort Worth area is home to four major professional sports teams. Newspaper, television, radio, and Internet sports coverage focuses largely on these four. Big 12 Conference college sports also garner coverage, including the annual University of Texas–University of Oklahoma football rivalry at Dallas's Cotton Bowl.

There are many colleges and universities in the region.

Print Media and Websites

On October 1, 1885, *The Dallas Morning News* published its first edition with George Bannerman Dealey as editor. Dealey began his career as an office boy at age 15 for the *Daily News* in Galveston, the paper from which the *Morning News* evolved. Now a subsidiary of Belo, a Dallas-based media company, the newspaper is the largest in north Texas. *The Dallas Morning News* staff members have won eight Pulitzer Prizes since 1986. Belo spun off the *Morning News* and its three other newspapers into a separate company, A. H. Belo Corporation, in early 2008. (This actually happened in early February 2008.)

The company derived its name from Alfred Horatio Belo, a partner in the Galveston *Daily News* who began there in 1865 as a bookkeeper. Belo is able to own a television station and major newspaper in the same city because of a grandfather clause granted by the Federal Communications Commission, as Belo owned both outlets before a 1975 FCC ban on newspaper and television station cross-ownership in the same market.

The Dallas Morning News' primary competitor for more than a century was the *Dallas Times-Herald,* founded in 1888. After a 1970s and 1980s newspaper circulation war between the two, the *Morning News* bought out its rival for $55 million and closed it in 1991. In 2003, *The Dallas Morning News* began distributing *Quick,* a free newspaper aimed toward young people ages 18 to 34. The 150,000-circulation weekday tabloid focuses on short news stories, entertainment, and sports.

The *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* afternoon newspaper began publishing in 1909 after a merger of the Fort Worth *Star* and the *Telegram.* In 1923, Amon G. Carter, who began his career in the newspaper's advertising department, became president and publisher. In 1925, the paper bought the Fort Worth *Record,* a morning newspaper, from William Randolph Hearst, who previously had tried to take over the *Star-Telegram.* Carter later founded Carter Publications, Inc., which owned Fort Worth's first radio station, WBAP, and the NBC television affiliate in Fort Worth, WBAP-TV. After Carter died in 1955, his son, Amon G. Carter Jr., took over the company. In 1974, Carter Jr. sold it to Capital Cities Communications, Inc. The *Star-Telegram* won two Pulitzer Prizes: in 1981 for spot news photography and in 1985 for meritorious public service. In 2006, the McClatchy Company took over ownership of the paper when McClatchy acquired Knight Ridder, which had owned the *Star-Telegram* after Capital Cities.

Other print media in Dallas–Fort Worth include two alternative weekly newspapers: the *Dallas Observer,* published by Village Voice Media, and the *Fort Worth Weekly,* publisher Lee Newquist.

Several local blogs report daily news about the area and suburbs, including Pegasus News, owned by Fisher Communications, Inc., a Seattle-based media company; and Dallas Blog, http://www.dallasblog.com, which calls itself "the independent voice of Dallas."

D magazine, which bills itself as *the* Dallas magazine, has been publishing since 1974. It was founded by Jim Atkinson and Wick Allison. Atkinson is no longer involved, and now Allison is the sole owner and publisher. The magazine publishes several sister publications and operates a website.

Electronic and Spanish-Language Media

In 1920, Dallas launched the first radio station in Texas, WRR, a city-owned station. It continues to broadcast classical music and Dallas City Council meetings on the FM band. Two years later, Dallas's WFAA radio station, first broadcast on June 26, 1922, became the state's first commercial station. On September 27, 1948, Texas's first television station, WBAP-TV, began broadcasting from Fort Worth.

The major television network affiliates in the Dallas–Fort Worth area are ABC station WFAA-TV (Channel 8), CBS station KTVT-TV (Channel 11), NBC station KXAS-TV (Channel 5) and Fox station KDFW-TV (Channel 4). All four broadcast local newscasts. In addition, two other TV stations produce local newscasts: CW affiliate KDAF-TV (Channel 33) and independent KXTA-TV (Channel 21), which airs a KTVT-produced newscast.

Amid a general nationwide trend of declining newspaper readership and television newscast viewership, Spanish-language media is one area marked by growth during the first decade of the twenty-first century. Census figures in 2000 showed 1.2 million Hispanics in the Dallas–Fort Worth market, and 2.1 million are expected to live in the area by 2012. Univision Communication Inc. and Telemundo both operate television stations in the market: KUVN-TV (Channel 23) and KXTX-TV (Channel 39), respectively. Each station broadcasts local Spanish-language newscasts.

Dallas also is home to Univision's radio unit. In 2006, three Spanish-language radio stations were among the top-ten Arbitron-ranked stations in the Dallas–Fort Worth market. Spanish-language newspapers in the area include *Al Dia,* a daily distributed by *The Dallas Morning News,* and *Diario La Estrella,* distributed weekly by the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram.* The websites are http://www.aldiatx.com and http://www.diariolaestrella.com.

With a growing population, the Dallas–Fort Worth area is poised to continue as one of the leading U.S. media markets. By 2030, the region is expected to be home to 9.1 million people.

Tracy Everbach

See also Houston

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Deception

Deception has been an effective tool for investigative reporting for more than 100 years. When used in the pursuit of material that is in the public interest, it has been invaluable in helping the press meet its watchdog function. In those instances, it has been used with audience approval. Deception used by news organizations to tease a potential audience, however, or to unnecessarily add drama to a report results in a loss of credibility. Deception also occurs when news organizations fail to disclose important information in their stories. This also interferes with the trust that is essential for journalists to have with audiences and with story subjects.

Definition and Conditions

Deception occurs when someone intentionally acts, or refrains from acting, with the intention to lead one or more persons to form or maintain a false belief. Deception is an ethically questionable act, which means that if there is not adequate justification, the act is ethically prohibited.

The first step to analyzing deception is conceptualization. It is necessary to determine if an act counts as deception before determining if the deception is justified or not.

Necessary Condition No. 1: Intent. Intention is required for any act to be deceptive. When one has uttered a false statement without intention, the normative judgment is that the person is mistaken. On the other hand, to say that a badly placed sign "deceived me" is to speak metaphorically. I was led to a false conclusion, but it is likely that no one has acted with an intention to deceive. As intention is required, journalists act deceptively even if they are unsuccessful in their attempts. For example, when a reporter lets others assume that he is a police investigator at a crime scene to get access to a meeting that is open only to law enforcement, he has acted deceptively even if someone recognizes him as a journalist and escorts him out of the room.

Sufficient Condition No. 1: Uttered falsehood or the nonverbal equivalent. When someone makes a false statement with the intention of leading one or more other persons to form or maintain a false belief, she has acted deceptively. When a journalist tells a real estate agent that she wants to buy a home when the intent is really to see if a neighborhood is redlined to limit racial integration, the journalist has acted deceptively. There are also nonverbal equivalents of lying. For example, when the journalist presents herself through dress or circumstance in a way to make others believe that she is a doctor or a law enforcement officer instead of a journalist working on a story, she has acted deceptively.

Sufficient Condition No. 2: Withholding information under certain conditions. When a person withholds information with the intention of leading one or more persons to form or maintain a false belief and, in the process of withholding, breaks a law, breaks a promise, cheats, or neglects a duty, the withholding of information is deceptive. If a reporter who has been subpoenaed fails to disclose

all that he knows under oath, he has acted deceptively by breaking a law. If a reporter promises to tell a source if she will reveal the source's name, and then fails to tell the source when she has, the reporter has acted deceptively by breaking a promise. If a columnist goes to a party with the intention of developing information for a story and does not tell those from whom he is gathering quotes that they are on the record, the columnist has deceived by cheating. In this case, the journalist has failed to meet reasonable expectations that people have at a party, that is, that those attending are "off duty" and not collecting information for a column. Journalists can also act deceptively by withholding information that they have a duty to tell. The duty, or role-related responsibility of journalists, is to tell citizens information that is needed for self-governance. Citizens need to trust that news reflects journalists' independent determination that the material serves the public interest rather than special interest. When, instead, news organizations present material to serve a politician's or advertiser's agenda, they have acted deceptively toward their audience members. The news organization, in this case, has acted deceptively by failing to do their duty.

Sufficient Condition No. 3: Truth telling with the intent to mislead. It is possible to be entirely truthful, but to tell that truth with the intent of misleading. Journalists may act deceptively by truth telling when they tell sources that a story will run whether or not the source comments or responds to charges. While true, unsophisticated sources may falsely interpret this statement as indicating that the story will be less incriminating with their response. The reporter often knows that quotes from the source will make the source look worse rather than better. In this case, journalists tell the truth with the hope of misleading the source into believing that he should (or must) comment. But journalists may also be deceived by truth telling. Responses to a news organization's request for documents under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) have been known to include not only information requested, as required by law, but to also include an extraordinary amount of unnecessary data. This "needle in the haystack" approach amounts to deception because the intent of providing the unnecessary data is to mislead a reporter into missing incriminating information.

The Ethical Problem of Deception

Deception is an ethical problem because of the potential harms to those deceived (and others observing the deception); the manner by which one deceives is immaterial. There is a conventional belief that lying—asserting intentional false statements—is ethically problematic, but that withholding the truth is not, or is less ethically problematic than outright lying. The problem with the conventional belief is that it does not account for potential harm in weighing the significance of the two acts. Consider, for example, a reporter who lies to a relatively unimportant source in saying that he doesn't know where the story is headed when the reporter, indeed does know. This reporter does less harm than another reporter who fails to notify or ask comment from a candidate who is about to be the subject of a story in which an opponent makes significant charges against her.

To say that deception is ethically questionable implies that the act, if lacking adequate justification, is ethically prohibited. Unjustified deception causes harm to the individual deceived, to the larger community, to the practice of journalism, and to the deceiver him or herself. The individual deceived is harmed by being deprived of the freedom to make truly educated decisions. This is true even if the individual does not realize that he has been deceived. Lies disable. The larger community is harmed because communities work on social trust. If a stranger asks for time or directions, it is with the assumption that he will be told the truth to the best of the ability of the person he has stopped. It would not be possible to live in a community if the general expectation was that people deceive without reason. Deception is successful because people assume that others are generally truthful.

Journalism is harmed by unjustified deception because any story based on deception alerts potential sources or subjects that journalists are not to be trusted. Reporters depend on the trust of their sources and subjects to develop information for news stories. Audience members, when faced with unnecessary or unjustified journalistic deception,

rightly wonder how news organizations determine when to be truthful and when not. Deceptive process leads to concerns that the products may be deceptive as well.

Last of all, many philosophers have suggested that the deceiver is harmed as well. Just as a person of integrity knows herself to be the kind of person who can overcome temptation to do what is ethical, the person who deceives knows herself to be a liar. One's own moral progression is stopped by unwillingness to grow beyond limitations.

Justification of Deception

To say that some act is deceptive is not to say that it is necessarily wrong. In some cases, people want to be deceived. Many like to be surprised by parties or gifts. Magicians would not hold on to an audience if they disclosed all of the secrets of their tricks. In addition, citizens implicitly agree to be deceived when they allow undercover law enforcement techniques such as unmarked police cars, speed-checking by radar, and sting operations. But while legislatures and courts determine legal limitations, review, and accountability for deception by law enforcement, journalists have no analogous boundaries. News organizations are on their own in determining if deception is justified.

Four criteria need to be considered for justification of journalistic deception:

1. *All usual means of gathering important information have been attempted and exhausted.* It is not enough for journalists to decide that it would be easier to get information through deception as compared to pursuing the information through honest means.
2. *Regulatory agencies that have the responsibility of overseeing the problem have been approached.* The story that is more important for citizens is often that government is not working rather than journalistic exposure of the initial problem.
3. *No innocent person is deceived.* If the story is important enough to warrant journalistic deception, the problem is broad enough that only persons involved in the wrongdoing should be taken in by the journalistic ruse.
4. *The news organization must publicly discuss its use of questionable tactics, regardless of the outcome of the deception.* Transparency lets the subjects, sources, and audience members know that the news organization is confident enough of the necessity of deception that they will present it even if the story turns out to be different from how they expected.

Some Examples of Journalistic Deception

1. In 1994 producers of the NBC news magazine *Dateline* gained access and cooperation from a trucking firm by telling the firm managers that this was to be a positive segment on the life of long-distance truckers. The firm found itself instead the subject of a story on the dangers truckers pose by using drugs and driving when tired.
2. A 1993 ABC *Primetime Live* story had reporters going undercover with faked resumes and hidden cameras to illustrate how store employees relabeled outdated, spoiled food and placed it back out on the shelves to sell.
3. In 1984, Wilmington, North Carolina, *Morning Star* reporters infiltrated a military base in a mock-terrorist raid.

Of these three examples, the last is the most justified. The newspaper had asked and been told by official sources that the base was secure. All people working on the base should have been security-conscious and in a position to notice and question the journalistic "infiltrators." And, while it turned out that the journalists could have, indeed, carried out a terrorist raid, the newspaper was prepared to write the story in a way that noted base security if the journalists had been caught. For the *Dateline* segment, it would have been possible to make honest and forthright pitches to truckers, by disclosing the real nature of the envisioned story, and then develop the stories through testimonials given by the truckers, many of whom feel exploited by the firms that set unattainable schedules and are available for interview, with or without identification. The *Primetime Live* segment could not have been produced without the undercover journalistic work. It is not clear, however, whether a regulatory agency had been approached and had failed to investigate the concerns.

Each of these examples raised public concern about the journalists' use of deception, with the first two resulting in lawsuits. All were seen, by a significant portion of the audiences, as unnecessary journalistic grandstanding. But, while public perception matters in maintaining subscribers and goodwill, the special responsibility of journalism is to provide citizens with the information that they need for self-governance and to do so without causing unjustified harm.

What citizens need may not always be what they like. What is important is that the journalistic technique be justified on the basis of providing citizens information vital to self-governance.

Journalistic deception is an important tool in the investigative reporting arsenal, but it works best if rarely used.

Deni Elliott

See also Bias; Credibility; Ethics; Freedom of Information Act; Media Hoaxes; Secrecy and Leaks; Spin

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Denver

Newspapers historically constituted the backbone of news in Denver, which, until the March 2009 closing of the *Rocky Mountain News*, was one of the few American cities served by two weekday daily newspapers, albeit publishing under a joint operating agreement since 2001. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, two trends began reshaping Denver's media landscape. First, the merging of technology and the 24-hour news cycle radically transformed local newsgathering and presentation. Second, the city's growing Hispanic population reconfigured local media, adding more local Spanish-language programming.

Geography and journalism figured prominently in Denver's early development. The city straddles a prime position on the 105th meridian, where the Great Plains end and the Rocky Mountains begin, and newspapers became the primary vehicle for promoting its mineral riches after gold was discovered in 1858. More recently, its strategic location, halfway between Tokyo and Munich, made Denver the natural "bounce" point for satellite signals and the center of the cable and satellite television industries prior to 2000. Both EchoStar and DirecTV, the remaining direct-broadcast satellite operators, maintain uplink facilities in the area to take advantage of the bounce, but the city's dominant role in cable disappeared with the industry consolidation following the 1996 Telecommunications Act.

Newspaper History

Gold, guns, and gamblers dominated Denver's newspaper history. The first issue of the *Rocky Mountain News* rolled off the press on the snowy morning of April 23, 1859, in a room over Wootton's saloon, where local prospectors placed bets on whether it would beat rival *Cherry Creek Pioneer* to be first in print. The *News* won by 20 minutes. Its publisher, William N. Byers, a surveyor and author of a guidebook for prospectors rushing to the newly discovered Colorado goldfields, became the fledging city's biggest booster. He occasionally veered toward the fantastic, as when printing sailing schedules between Denver and New York, but mostly he stuck to the paper's pledge to publish "reliable information" about the gold fields and "to dissuade from disorder [and] assist to organize with dignity and order" a great community (Perkin 1959, 54–55).

By the time a group of disgruntled Democrats launched the *Denver Post* in 1892, the city already boasted five dailies, 37 weeklies, and 22 monthly publications, including three published in German,

three in Italian and two in Swedish. In 1895, Frederick Gilmer Bonfils, a transplant from Kansas City and reputed lottery con man, and Harry Heye Tammen, a former bartender and owner of a curio shop, bought the floundering paper for $12,500, publishing their first edition on October 28, 1895. They inaugurated a new kind of journalism, fueled by sensationalism, entertainment, stunts, and giveaways. Among the *Post*'s outlandish exploits was an incident during which reporters loosed a barrel of monkeys in the State Capitol that "climbed inside the dome, unscrewed light bulbs and peppered onlookers five floors below" (Perkin 464). Such stunts were profitable, and circulation soared, surpassing the *News* in the early 1900s. But its publishers also employed questionable tactics, including threatening merchants with exposes if they did not advertise with the *Post*.

Times Mirror Corporation, publisher of the *Los Angeles Times,* bought the *Denver Post* for $95 million in 1980. Its ownership coincided with one of Colorado's periodic boom-bust economic cycles as oil exploration firms pulled out and savings-and-loan firms collapsed. As the economy weakened, advertising revenue also dipped. Times Mirror began a major restructuring and put the *Post* on the block. Privately held MediaNews Group took control on January 1, 1987. MediaNews, owned by Dean Singleton and Richard B. Scudder, whose family founded the *Newark Evening News* in 1882, entered the Denver market during the worst recession since the 1930s. Still, the *Post* turned a profit within three years, after investing $10 million in new presses and state-of-the-art computerized business, editorial, and printing technology.

Meanwhile, the *News,* backed by Scripps Howard, had become the dominant morning newspaper, which by the 1970s had overtaken afternoon publications in reader preference. The *Post,* which began morning publication in 1981, and the *News* became locked in a cycle of price wars in an effort to boost circulation and remain competitive with advertisers. The final straw was a subscription price war, launched in 1997, which lowered the price of each paper to as little as a penny, a move that eroded circulation revenues by as much as two-thirds. The low prices pumped up the circulation numbers: by 2000, the *Post* reported daily circulation of 416,720, and the *News* 446,465. Even with a 25 percent increase in subscribers, however, the *News* could not translate its gains into profits. On May 12, 2000, after spending $123 million over the preceding decade, the *Rocky Mountain News* capitulated, agreeing to combine its business operations with the *Denver Post* in a joint operating agreement.

The Joint Operating Agreement (JOA)

Under the JOA, the papers merged their advertising, circulation, marketing, production, and distribution operations into a new entity, the Denver Newspaper Agency (DNA), owned equally by E. W. Scripps Company, parent of the *News,* and MediaNews Group Inc., publisher of the *Post.* The 50-year agreement required each paper to publish separate weekday morning editions and a joint weekend edition, the *News* on Saturday and the *Post* on Sunday, under combined mastheads. The editorial staffs and content remained independent, although the two newspapers share space in a new building owned by the DNA. The merger created an advertising giant that produced a combined classified advertising section. Two of DNA's first moves were to double newsstand prices for both weekday and weekend editions and raise advertising rates, in some cases by double or triple, prompting a short-lived court challenge by local advertisers.

Despite the merger, both newspapers lost circulation as readers turned to alternative products that satisfied the needs of a mobile audience for access to continuous information and entertainment. The newspapers turned to online and niche publication to deliver hyper-local content. They also experimented with various forms of customized newspapers that allowed online readers to individualize information, and both launched zoned publications addressed to specific urban and suburban audiences, much of it written by citizen-journalists. The closure of the *Rocky Mountain News* in March of 2009, while a traumatic development to many in the city, was but one indicator of what was happening to many urban papers across the country.

Other newspapers serve the metro Denver area. *Westword,* one of the nation's largest alternative weeklies, has published since 1977. Purchased in 1983 by New Times, it continues to provide respected, often controversial views on everything from politics to baseball. The *Boulder Daily*

Camera began publishing in 1890. Its founders, nephews of Thomas Patterson, an owner of the *Rocky Mountain News,* chose the name because they intended to publish more illustrations, mainly engravings, than most newspapers of the day. L. C. Paddock purchased the *Camera* in 1892, and it remained under family control until Knight Ridder bought it in 1988. In 1997, an ownership swap brought it into the Scripps-Howard stable. The *Aurora Sentinel* has served the state's third-largest city since 1910. In addition to a weekday edition, it also publishes the weekly *Mile High Guardian,* distributed to area military personnel under a Department of Defense contract with Buckley Air Force Base.

Broadcasting

Radio came to Denver early. KLZ received one of the first 10 commercial licenses issued in 1922, but its founder, W. D. Doc Reynolds had begun broadcasting from a 100-watt transmitter on the roof of his home as 9ZAF in 1921. Other stations went on the air in quick succession: KFEL launched in 1923, followed by KOA, owned by General Electric, in 1924, and KPOF in 1928. KLZ began newscasts in 1935, and it aired the first play-by-play football game in 1924 and a year later leased a telephone line to carry live Calvin Coolidge's inauguration. In 1929, KLZ became one of the CBS network's earliest affiliates, and KOA signed with NBC.

Hampered by geography and distance, television took longer to reach the area, and its arrival signaled a shift from local to national ownership for most of the stations. TV debuted in 1948, but it was an experiment seen by a handful of people in the studio, not actually broadcast. KFEL-TV, affiliated with the DuMont Network, signed on in July 1952 and aired the first newscast later that year. Over the years, innovations in cable and satellite television technology pushed Denver to the forefront. By the turn of the century, technological advancements signaled another change.

Portability of video content prodded television news in new directions. New distribution platforms, such as video-ready small-screen wireless devices, fed the demand for "i-news"—content, genres, and topics specifically directed to the individual. Local stations began using text messaging to send news updates to mobile viewers. Websites also became increasingly important sources of information for both viewers and stations, as broadcasters followed up on citizen-generated news tips.

The mandated conversion to high-definition television early in 2009 created demand for more lifelike, enhanced images, especially for local sporting events. To fulfill the Federal Communications Commission's order to transmit digital-only signals, Denver television station operators formed the Lake Cedar Group in 1997 to replace three existing towers with a single supertower on Lookout Mountain in the foothills of Golden, a western suburb. The local community resisted construction, objecting to the height and location of the 730-foot tower. However, the U.S. Congress overrode the community's concerns, enacting legislation in 2007 ordering construction of the tower.

Demographic shifts by the beginning of the twenty-first century also affected Denver media. Entravision Communications' Univision launched a Spanish-language evening television news program on weeknights in 2006, and NBC Universal became the first full-power Telemundo affiliate in the market that year. McGraw-Hill Broadcasting converted three low-power outlets into the local Azteca America Colorado affiliate in 2007, which offered a local Spanish headline-news format. Print publications published in two formats, one Spanish only, the other Spanish and English side by side. The weekly *La Voz Nueva* (The New Voice) distributed to eight metropolitan counties with articles in both English and Spanish. *El Semanario* (The Weekly Magazine) followed a similar format. The *Post* inaugurated *Denver Post al Dia* (Denver Post Today), a daily online source of local news in Spanish, and published a free weekly Spanish-language tabloid, *Viva! Colorado.*

The seismic shift to wireless distribution and 24/7 news transformed Denver media's news gathering and distribution. By the early 2000s, web-based local news sites incorporated multimedia, with little distinction among text, sound, pictures, and video, while the rise of user-generated content and citizen journalism provoked a different issue: how to pay for the content and how to ensure its trustworthiness.

Dinah L. Zeiger

See also Citizen Journalism; Internet Impact on Media; Joint Operating Agreements, News Audiences, Decline of

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Design

See Layout; Magazine Design; Newspaper Design

Desktop Publishing

Desktop publishing (DTP) is the process of using computer hardware and software productivity tools to create high-quality, printed documents. Innovations and price reductions in computer hardware and software have dramatically influenced the communication environment, affecting every aspect of the production processes in the newspaper, magazine, advertising, and public relations businesses.

A desktop publishing system includes a computer, layout software, and a printer, but can also be supplemented by scanners, digital cameras, and image and graphic creation software. Documents are created digitally on a computer and either printed on a home computer or saved to a file that can be printed and duplicated at a professional print shop. The widespread availability of desktop publishing tools has greatly increased the ability to develop and publish professional-looking brochures, advertisements, newsletters, and even books. Additionally, desktop publishing systems can create signage, package designs, promotional items, newspapers and magazines, and other printed materials. Companies that once outsourced these activities to professional design or branding firms can now perform these functions in-house.

The phrase "desktop publishing" is most often used to describe the type of software used in a personal publishing system, but is also referred to as "personal publishing," "computer-aided publishing," "electronic page assembly," or "electronic publishing." Contemporary desktop publishing software uses the WYSIWYG (pronounced whizzy-wig)—or What You See Is What You Get—concept that allows the user to see on the computer screen how the output will appear on the printed page. DTP systems allow the user to control layout, typography, color, design, illustrations, photos, and graphics that appear on the page. In addition, professional typesetting functions such as kerning (placing space between text), leading (establishing line spacing), curved and wrapped text, and ligatures (joining two or more letter forms) can now be accomplished with a personal desktop publishing system.

Development

Desktop publishing prior to widespread computer use consisted of documents created on a typewriter and duplicated by a mimeograph machine. Design and layout options were limited, and the documents created rarely looked professional. Professional publishing options were expensive and required commercial-grade typesetting equipment, thus limiting their availability to large organizations, such as newspaper and magazine publishers and other firms.

The origins of modern desktop publishing can be traced to innovations spawned by the Advanced Research Projects Agency of the Department of Defense during the 1960s. Significant funding was made available for military and academic research studies of human and computer interaction that would lead to both desktop publishing and the Internet. During the 1970s, these projects moved to the private sector in the form of major computer hardware and software companies.

The mid-1980s was a time of rapid development of desktop publishing. Innovations by several

companies, when combined, formed the genesis of desktop publishing. The Apple Macintosh debuted in 1984, thus putting the power of computing onto the desktops of countless individuals. The Macintosh used a graphical user interface (GUI) that allowed the non–computer literate to simulate their design processes, just as they would on their physical desktops with scissors and paste, thus the "desktop" metaphor was established. The term "desktop publishing" is originally attributed to Aldus Corporation founder Paul Brainerd, who sought a catchphrase that his company could use to market systems characterized by the small size and relative affordability of such products in contrast to the expensive commercial phototypesetting equipment of the day.

The first laser printers were built by Canon in 1983. A year later, the Xerox Palo Alto Research Center introduced the LaserJet (later licensed to Hewlett Packard), the first desktop printer to produce crisp, 300-dpi (dots per inch) quality prints. In 1985, Adobe introduced PostScript, which became the industry standard Page Description Language (PDL) and Aldus developed PageMaker, the first "desktop publishing" application for the Mac. In 1987, PageMaker for Windows was introduced, but the overriding preference among graphic designers for the Mac platform (that continues to this day), is driven primarily by Apple's early entry into the field.

These innovations marked the beginning of the end for many professional typesetters. Professional typographers had been using similar technologies for years, but significant investment ($80,000–$200,000) in equipment was necessary, making them impractical for most small businesses and home users. Reduced prices for home computers and printers allowed anyone to publish their own documents. By the late 1980s, printers were able to print at resolutions of 600 to 1,200 dpi, virtually indistinguishable from typeset quality.

The Macintosh II, introduced in 1987, featured a larger color screen and mouse, and was considered more user-friendly and suited to DTP applications. Other early improvements in DTP included the introduction by Ventura Publishing of the first PC-based layout package. Ventura improved on PageMaker's pasteboard metaphor by automating stylesheets and pagination processes, making it more suitable for longer documents. QuarkXpress, also released in 1987, became the industry standard for professional publishing during much of the 1990s. Adobe Systems purchased Aldus and PageMaker in 1994, and then introduced a stronger competitor for Quark with its InDesign application in 1999. QuarkXpress and Adobe InDesign were the dominant products in the desktop publishing space in the early 2000s. Many design and publication organizations that were strongly wed to QuarkXpress began switching to InDesign in 2003. Quark's slowness to develop a version that ran on the Macintosh OSX platform and customer complaints of poor service, combined with Adobe's broad line of other design products (Photoshop, Illustrator) and their ability to offer studio packages incorporating multiple titles, provided a strong platform for encouraging users to switch, thus eroding some of Quark's stronghold on DTP.

Many word-processing applications contain basic layout and design functionality that can be used effectively for smaller scale or personal projects, like letters or internal brochures. Spreadsheet programs also offer design capabilities in creating tables, charts, and graphs, which can be printed at a high quality or integrated with other desktop publishing software. Other software can also perform layout and design functionality, although they are best used for photo and image manipulation of files that are later imported into a DTP program. Open-source or free desktop publishing options are available across these offerings.

Although considered a primary skill in various communication careers, DTP is a secondary skill for many in art direction, graphic design, multimedia development, marketing communications, and many administrative roles. Layout and design skills are important to those in the fields of newspaper and magazine publishing, as well as a host of other communication and business careers.

Advantages and Disadvantages

Since the mid-1980s, the use of desktop publishing systems has markedly improved the overall appearance of corporate and personal communications. Neater documents are easier to read and are considered more credible by readers. The presence of these systems quickly spread as the more appealing products gained positive attention. A neater looking document was assumed to be more serious

because of the implied time and professional effort it would take to produce it, and competitors could not afford to appear less competent. A typeset appearance soon became the standard for a majority of professional and personal communications. From church newsletters to band flyers to the annual family Christmas update, the influence of DTP software became ubiquitous.

Advantages of control and cost effectiveness are experienced with a DTP system. Time-consuming and thus expensive changes that used to go through several iterations between client and printer can now be handled cheaply in-house. The ease of training and use of DTP software allows its implementation at a variety of levels within an organization, thus eliminating the need for expensive outside contractors or consultants. Further, color printing has become more cost-effective with the introduction of inexpensive laser printers using four-color processes.

An additional benefit of internally controlling the DTP process is that of security. Sensitive documents regarding corporate secrets, product announcements, or strategic plans can be produced in-house without fear that an external party might leak the information or share with competitors. For individuals, DTP offers a broader range of opportunity to explore creative outlets in developing their own communications. Many home users of DTP have parlayed their skills into gainful careers in graphic design. An entire industry of freelance designers has sprung up around the availability and ease of use of desktop publishing software.

While its advantages are numerous, DTP suffers from some disadvantages. The DTP environment allows the merging of layout, design, and content functions, thus combining functions that were once highly specialized. Critics argue that this lack of specialization can lead to weaknesses in the process. A beautiful document that is not carefully proofread or is littered with factual inaccuracies can cost much in terms of credibility and reputation. In the same vein, a well-written and -researched document that uses poor design and layout, multiple and incompatible typefaces, and uncomplementary colors can be perceived poorly by readers.

From the early years of desktop publishing through to the present, criticisms of the quality of materials produced in a DTP environment have been levied. Critics argue that the widespread availability of hardware and software and the lack of training for many DTP users has lowered design standards and has lead to many print projects lacking in design aesthetic and professionalism.

Future

DTP software continues to improve productivity by adding features and functionality for the management of large-scale projects. Hardware costs of computer equipment and printers continue to decrease while computing power grows. And the popularity of digital photography has improved the ability for users to create and import images into documents. College programs in journalism and mass communication have standard offerings in publication and graphic design that are relevant in the industries of news, advertising, and public relations, and are an important skill that is actively sought by recruiters in these fields.

DTP applications have had a strong influence on the new generation of web design and publishing programs. Many graphical HTML editors (such as Microsoft FrontPage and Adobe Dreamweaver and Flash) use layout features and menu options that are similar to a DTP program. Web design offerings are also being added to many college curricula and are increasingly being seen as essential skills for those entering communication careers.

While many designers remain loyal to the Apple platform based on their early entry in the field and the continued improvement of user interface and software design and integration, the Microsoft Windows environment allows users to run most all DTP applications. A running debate between Apple and Windows users continues, although once-clear advantages for Apple are now generally seen as personal preference. Apple is generally seen as having an eye toward aesthetics and the user environment, while Microsoft is seen as the leader in office productivity applications.

Expect change to be a regular part of the DTP environment. Company mergers and acquisitions, new product releases, advanced functionality, process and workflow improvements, and advances in computer and printing hardware have long characterized the field of desktop publishing. Those in the field of journalism and mass communication

should become familiar with current technologies and processes associated with DTP. But they should also be flexible in responding to the inevitable changes in the environment.

Cindy Royal

See also Computers in Journalism; Digital Journalism Tools; Digital Photography; Magazine Design; Newspaper Design; Printing; Type and Typography

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Deutsche Welle

Deutsche Welle (DW) is Germany's international news broadcaster. Through its network of globally accessible radio, television, and Internet services, DW offers news and information about political, cultural, and economic life in Germany and Europe in 30 languages. DW, based in both Bonn and Berlin, consists of DW-RADIO, DW-TV, and the Internet service DW-WORLD.DE. In addition, the DW-AKADEMIE offers training programs for electronic media professionals from the developing world and Eastern Europe. It offers courses in journalism, broadcast technology, and administration both in Germany and abroad.

Origins

DW was inaugurated on May 3, 1953, with an address by German President Theodor Heuss as its first shortwave broadcast. The declared goal of DW was to improve Germany's strained relationship with other nations after the end of the World War II and to present a new, democratic Germany to the rest of the world. In 1954, DW began radio transmission in English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese with broadcasts lasting five minutes each. In the following years, DW rapidly expanded its broadcast services aimed at the then-communist nations of Eastern Europe and added languages such as Russian, Polish, Czech, Slovakian, Hungarian, Serbian, and Croatian. In addition, the English-language service, previously broadcast only to North America, was expanded and could be heard in Australia, East Asia, the Pacific, and Africa. Similarly, the French-language service started broadcasting to Africa.

As the political voice of a free and democratic Germany, DW quickly grew into a major international broadcaster of "unbiased" news and competed successfully with the development of similar foreign radio services in Eastern Europe. In addition to its role as the voice of a Western democracy during the cold war, DW's main functions were to improve the negative image of Germany after World War II and to maintain the political quest for a German reunification among an international audience. DW's international broadcasts were designed specifically to counteract the censored messages of the communist media in Eastern Europe and to help people get a more balanced view of international affairs.

In 1960, DW became an independent public broadcasting service, which allowed the broadcaster to govern itself and operate free of governmental influence. Two years later, on June 7, 1962,

DW formally joined the public broadcasting organization ARD (Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland—a joint organization of Germany's regional public broadcasters) as an independent, national broadcasting station. In 1963, DW also started its first television activities by sending abroad dubbed versions of German films and television broadcasts. During the next three decades, DW's television offerings were limited to the international distribution of these dubbed German programs and consequently did not reach large foreign audiences. In 1992, however, DW-TV was launched and began broadcasting six hours of German and English television programs globally via satellite. DW-TV began as RIAS-TV, a television station launched by the West Berlin broadcaster RIAS (Radio in the American Sector) in 1988 to broadcast Western views into East Germany. After German reunification in 1990, RIAS-TV was closed down and DW inherited its broadcast facilities, which were used to broadcast DW-TV's German and English television programs internationally. In July 1993, the programs were expanded to 16 hours, and Spanish was added as a third language. Since 1995, DW-TV has been broadcasting around the clock.

Programming and Funding

DW has about 1,500 full-time employees and hundreds of independent correspondents from more than 60 countries. It maintains foreign bureaus in Washington, D.C.; Moscow; and Brussels. According to its own estimates, DW reaches more than 65 million listeners and 28 million viewers every week around the globe. In addition, the DW-WORLD.DE website, launched in 1994, was accessed about 33 million times in 2006.

Publicly funded, DW is modeled after international broadcasters such as the BBC World Service or Radio Free Europe. However, DW is designed to remain editorially independent and is therefore institutionalized as a public broadcasting organization similar to the BBC—and not as a government agency such as the Voice of America. Unlike other public broadcasters in Germany, DW is mostly financed with funds allocated by the federal government and receives no subscription fees. Its annual budget for 2008 totaled approximately 271 million euros, which continued the declining trend in government funding for DW (302 million euros in 2004).

DW-RADIO is available around the clock via analog and digital shortwave broadcasts and worldwide satellite transmission. In some regions and metropolitan areas, DW-RADIO also offers FM and medium wave broadcasts. The broadcasts are scheduled around two-hour program blocks that present news updates every 30 minutes and are available in 30 languages. All DW-RADIO programs are produced in Bonn.

DW-TV features mainly news, documentaries, and exposes that depict life in contemporary Germany. Half-hour magazines dedicated to specific subjects such as business, politics, sports, and culture in Germany are available every day. DW-TV programs are broadcast globally via satellite 24 hours a day and alternate from German to English every hour, with additional broadcasts in Spanish and Arabic throughout the day. Viewers in the United States, Canada, and Latin America also have access to current German-language television shows and children's programs during prime time. Unlike other international broadcasters, DW-TV does not charge foreign media organizations for the use of its programming. As a result, its television programs, which are produced in Berlin, are rebroadcast on public broadcasting stations in several countries including the United States, Australia, and New Zealand.

DW Today

Since 2004, DW has been officially a three-media organization that offers news and information programs through radio, television, and the Internet. DW's online service DW-WORD.DE is produced in Bonn and Berlin and presents a daily mixture of news and information about Germany and Europe in seven core languages (Arabic, Chinese, English, German, Spanish, Portuguese for Brazilians, and Russian) and 23 other languages that correspond to DW's radio offerings. The site also offers information for tourists interested in visiting Germany and provides the opportunity to learn German through a variety of interactive lessons and games. While DW-WORLD.DE relies on material from DW's central news desk, the material produced for DW's online service is

often original and different from the news and information broadcast by DW-TV or DW-RADIO. To ensure comprehensive news coverage, DW-WORLD.DE also relies on information from several news agencies, including Agence France-Presse (AFP), Deutsche Presse-Agentur (dpa), Associated Press (AP) and Reuters. In addition to the regular news and information offerings, DW-WORLD.DE provides online access to the programs of DW-TV and DW-RADIO in the form of podcasts, live-streams, and video on demand. Since 2007, DW's Internet offerings also are available through mobile phones and a dedicated channel on the video-sharing platform YouTube.

Given the task to represent Germany internationally, DW primarily targets foreign decision makers, opinion leaders and information elites who might be able to influence others with their perceptions of Germany. Consequently, the offerings of DW are clearly defined as part of Germany's public diplomacy efforts by the federal government. According to the official Deutsche Welle Act, the programs "are intended to convey the image of Germany as a cultural state in the European tradition and as a free and democratic constitutional state. They should provide a forum in Europe and on other continents for German (and other) points of view on important topics, primarily in the areas of politics, culture, and economics, with the aim of promoting understanding and the exchange of ideas among different cultures and peoples."

While the Act notes that "reporting shall be comprehensive, truthful and factual," DW journalists are asked to be aware that their work can "affect the relationship of the Federal Republic of Germany with other countries." Since DW is a public service broadcaster and not a government agency, this section of the Deutsche Welle Act is in conflict with press freedom rights that are enshrined in Article 5 of Germany's Basic Law. As a consequence of these obvious tensions between a free press and Germany's public diplomacy efforts, the declared goals of DW mostly reflect the government's desire to promote "German points of view" worldwide. At the same time, DW sees itself primarily as a global advocate of "intercultural dialogue" and "international understanding and tolerance." DW tries to achieve these goals by providing "comprehensive and uncensored information to countries that lack free media, particularly crisis regions and war zones."

The end of the cold war brought significant changes to DW's international programming focus, which was dominated by Eastern Europe until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. The 1990s, for example, saw an expansion of DW programs that targeted politically unstable countries in Southeastern Europe. More recently, Latin America, Asia, and the Arabic world have become primary target markets for DW programs. This trend is a reflection of the fact that these world regions have become important international markets for the export-dependent Germany. It is also clear that DW has paid more emphasis in recent years on achieving mutual understanding and tolerance with countries in the Middle East.

In 2002, for example, DW-TV launched a three-hour Arabic-language program on the NILESAT satellite featuring a DW news program with Arabic subtitles, along with documentaries and features dubbed into Arabic. A year later, DW started Qantara.de (Arabic for "Bridge"), a multilanguage Internet portal that aims to "promote dialogue with the Islamic world." The site, which is produced by DW and various German cultural and political organizations, is available in English, Arabic, Turkish, and German. In 2007, DW made Persian another core language for its main online news service DW-WORLD.DE and created a new Internet site specifically for audiences in Iran.

Lars Willnat

See also Germany

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Development Journalism

Development journalism is a type of reporting and writing on topics related to the process of economic development. Its supporters define it as independent journalism that highlights news of development projects, provides critical coverage of development planning and programs, and informs readers of how the development process is affecting them. Although the concept of development journalism sounds simple, it has been highly politicized since it was first created in the 1960s. Much of the debate over development journalism has focused on the issue of press freedom, and whether or not a commitment to covering economic development from a positive and even "emancipatory" perspective is fundamentally at odds with freedom of the press.

In its early days, development journalism was linked to theories of communication and development and was thus affected by the politics of the cold war. In an era of heightened rhetoric over modernization and the best way to attain it, the United States and the Soviet Union put forth competing visions of the role of the press. During the 1980s, when many developing countries argued that the structure of the world news system left them at a disadvantage, development journalism also played a role in the struggle for a "New World Information and Communication Order" (NWICO). Although American opponents of NWICO lost interest in development journalism after the collapse of Communism, it has continued to survive as a concept in the style of "Asian values" journalism advocated by Singapore and Malaysia. There are also echoes of development journalism in some of the "community radio" projects funded by international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) working in less-developed countries today.

Origins

The roots of development journalism extend deep into the 1950s, and to the theories of modernization espoused by W. W. Rostow, Daniel Lerner, and Samuel Huntington. In the years after World War II, these theorists described a one-directional means of propelling traditional societies along the road to modernization and economic development, while simultaneously helping them avoid the pitfalls of Communism. Communication was seen as a powerful tool for modernization, and mass media were understood to assist not only in the development of modern personality traits such as "empathy," but also in the expansion of democracy and economic and political participation. Communication theorists such as Wilbur Schramm posited a model of press development that likewise utilized stages and suggested a trajectory in which journalism passed through "authoritarian," "libertarian," and "social responsibility" phases.

One of the first organizations to promote development journalism was the Press Foundation of Asia (PFA). Established in Manila in 1967, the PFA took a practical approach to implementing the modernizers' notion that informing readers about the development processes that were affecting their lives was one way of bringing about social and economic change. The PFA was founded by a group of prominent Asian journalists, and included many champions of press freedom who had previously been jailed by authoritarian regimes. Committed to focusing on development news while steering clear of government interference, the Press Foundation of Asia received little government funding and instead relied on regional newspapers and agencies, international foundations, and the UN to support its programs. These programs included training for journalists, a center for press freedom, and a development news service called Depthnews that served clients throughout the region.

Depthnews was launched in 1969. Its goal was to provide an outlet for graduates of its training programs, and to offer subscriber papers and radio stations a weekly package of articles focusing on development news that they would pay for on a sliding scale. An acronym for "Development, Economics, and Population Themes," Depthnews was distinct from Western news services in that it

aimed to report on the process of development in member countries rather than focusing on specific events. More controversial, it also departed from conventional Western notions of objectivity, and allowed journalists an active role in alerting readers to social problems and promoting change. According to media researcher Floyd McKay, when Depthnews was awarded the prestigious Magsaysay award in 1992, it claimed to have reached a potential audience of 2.3 million readers and 56.5 million radio listeners via 300 regional newspapers and 700 radio stations.

Development News and Authoritarian Regimes

It was not only modernization theorists who saw in journalism a powerful tool for development. Almost as soon as the concept of development journalism was established, it was appropriated by government leaders such as the Philippines' Ferdinand Marcos, Indonesia's Soeharto, Malaysia's Mahathir Mohamad, and Singapore's Lee Kwan Yew. These authoritarian leaders began to espouse policies that drew upon parts of the development journalism agenda while conveniently ignoring others. In many cases, development journalism was used by repressive regimes to justify government control of the press. In Indonesia, for example, the press was expected to serve the interests of the nation as defined by the Soeharto regime. Newspapers were encouraged to showcase economic and social development, and discouraged from reporting on anything that would undermine this positive view.

The politicization of the debate over development journalism was thus based partly on the way in which authoritarian regimes used the notion of development to justify repressive measures taken against journalists. Yet this politicization was minor compared to the role that development journalism played in the cold war debate between the United States and the Soviet Union over the proper role of the press in society. The debate polarized journalists and forced them into two camps: those who supported a "free" and commercial press system versus those who supported a "controlled" one. Development journalism was seen by many Western commentators as being stuck somewhere in the middle.

Developing Nations and the Global News Flow

At the same time that journalists in some less developed countries were arguing that there needed to be a new kind of journalism that informed readers about the development process while simultaneously empowering them toward more democratic participation, others were pointing out that there were sharp inequalities in global news flows. The controversy over the global flow of information—as well as the call for a "New World Information and Communication Order" (NWICO) began with the Non-Aligned Movement of Third-World countries in the 1970s, and climaxed in the 1978 Mass Media Declaration at the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) general conference. Both of these events were related to development journalism. Proponents of the NWICO argued that most of the world's international news agencies were based in the United States and Europe, and that these companies depicted the developing world in ways that were ethnocentric, shallow, negative, and distorted. They further argued that news flowed in one direction, from North to South, and that developing countries were powerless to counter the largely negative images that emerged from these commercial news agencies. In many cases, developing countries were forced to rely on Western reporting for news of their own regions. Particular targets for criticism were the "big four": Associated Press (AP), United Press International (UPI), Reuters, and Agence France-Presse (AFP). Although TASS (the Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union) was sometimes mentioned as the fifth international news agency, it received less criticism because, as an instrument of the Soviet Union, it tended to ally itself with Non-Aligned nations in calling for greater state involvement in the media in order to insure a more "responsible" press.

Although the Soviet Union's dispute with the West over government control of the flow of information was ideological, most Third World countries had more practical concerns. The call for a New World Information and Communication Order (sometimes referred to as New World Information Order, or NWIO) led to the formation of the MacBride Commission. This UNESCO

commission, which was tasked with analyzing global structures of news and offering solutions to inequalities in the flow of information to, from, and between developing countries, provoked controversy from the start. Its final report, *Many Voices, One World,* issued in 1980, called for limits to transnational monopolies and concentration, and regulation of international advertising. The MacBride Commission report led to an uproar at UNESCO in part because "distributive justice" in the flow of information and fundamental questions of who owned the means of communication were not seen by the developed countries that funded UNESCO as being part of the international agency's mandate.

The MacBride Commission Report was almost immediately interpreted as being hostile to a free press. Organizations such as the International Press Institute, Freedom House, and the World Press Freedom Committee stated their objections to what they interpreted as calls for state-controlled media, and in doing so used language and rhetoric that dovetailed with preexisting criticisms of development journalism. They argued that there was no conscious effort by the "Big Four" to distort news from the Third World, and that, to the contrary, wire services and other international news organizations made decisions in accordance with standard conventions of newsworthiness. Thus the actions of powerful nations like the United States and the Soviet Union are more newsworthy than those of developing countries because they are more likely to affect the fortunes of the rest of the world. Other supporters of the "Free Flow of Information" pointed out that even in developing countries the national media tend to focus on disasters such as floods and famine, and violent political activities like strikes or coups. Moreover, they argued that the Third World countries demanding a New World Information and Communication Order were actually more interested in halting negative reporting about their own un-democratic regimes than they were about seeking to resolve inequalities in the flow of information.

The discourse over the NWICO was thus quite similar to many of the concerns that had led to the creation development journalism, especially with regard to the feeling that developing countries were not being reported upon fairly in the international media. Proponents of NWICO pointed out that by focusing exclusively on negative events rather than the everyday successes of development projects such as family planning, food distribution, and health care, Western news organizations were not only distorting the realities of life in developing countries, but were also contributing to feelings of frustration and hopelessness. The most frequently proposed NWICO solution was a kind of national communications policy, in which developing nations would encourage the press to cover domestic concerns, especially those related to economic development. The idea was that these policies would assist in advancing the national development agenda, while also helping to foster a sense of cultural identity, something that was at risk of being lost in a media system dominated by transnational corporations. These NWICO proposals further resembled development journalism in that they were premised on the assumption that journalists in developing countries should abandon the value-neutral posture of "objectivity," and instead speak out for values that were consistent with anti-colonialism, democracy, peace, and universal human rights.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s not only took the wind out of the sails of those who advocated government-owned and controlled mass media, but also ended the struggle for the allegiance of the nonaligned nations that was at the heart of the call for distributive justice in global news flows. In 1984, under President Ronald Reagan (1981–89), the United States pulled out of UNESCO for reasons that were related to the agency's continued championing of the NWICO. At this point, the most vocal advocates for government-directed national communication policies were political leaders in developing countries who began to shift the rhetoric to something called "Asian values."

Asian Values

For years, political leaders in Asia have argued that development journalism is uniquely suited to Asian countries. Two noted proponents of development journalism are Singapore's Senior Minister (and former Prime Minister) Lee Kwan Yew and Malaysia's former Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad. They have argued that in Asia, unlike in liberal Western democracies, a government/media

partnership makes sense for both historical and cultural reasons. Although it is difficult to generalize about "values" in a region as diverse as Asia, both Mahathir and Lee have argued that Asian values include a preference for family over self, community over the individual, and consensus over confrontation. Mahathir and Lee deny that their countries are any less "democratic" than their Western counterparts and contend that whereas the West emphasizes the rights of the individual, the Asian approach promotes the rights of the community, the collective good, and the prosperity of the whole.

Critics of the Asian values approach point out that while controlled media may or may not protect economic development, they clearly protect those who are holding power. Others have suggested that the speedy restoration of press freedom in the Philippines and Indonesia after the toppling of authoritarian regimes suggests that not all "Asians" share the values advocated by Mahathir and Lee.

Conclusion

There is much in the idea of the press as a means of empowering ordinary people to deal with rapid social and economic change that strikes a responsive chord in developing countries. Despite the efforts of political leaders who have tried to use it as a means of staying in power, there is nevertheless something immensely attractive about an emancipatory style of journalism that aims to empower citizens to better understand the forces that affect their lives.

Despite the controversy that continues to stick to development journalism, many international NGOs and USAID contractors practice some if not all of its tenets. Community radio, for example, takes as a given the principle that people in developing countries need information about family planning, health, and agricultural developments in order to lead better lives. In its emphasis on a bottom-up flow of communication, as well as its call for news that gives voice to ordinary citizens, development journalism also resembles the civic journalism movement that became popular in the United States in the 1990s. Development journalism's supporters contend that this style of news reporting and writing is in keeping with one of the most fundamental goals of journalism: to provide citizens with the information they need in order to take control of their lives.

Janet Steele

See also Africa, North; Africa, Sub-Saharan; Arab Countries; Asia; China; Civic Journalism; Community Radio; Comparative Models of Journalism; Free Flow of Information; Globalization, Coverage of; New World Information Communication Order (NWICO); Pacific Area; South America

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DIFFUSION

News diffusion is the process by which information about people, events, and trends flows through society. The systematic study of news diffusion began in 1945 when Delbert Miller investigated news flow about President Franklin Roosevelt's death. His findings were published in a brief article

in the *American Sociological Review,* launching the theoretical study of news diffusion. Miller found that after initial exposure to the information via the radio, word of mouth was the primary means in which the information spread; thus, the majority of people found out about Roosevelt's death via personal contact. Over the last 65 years, the study of news diffusion has enjoyed periodic enthusiasm in the research community, typically during periods marked by significant news stories. For example, a 2003 study found that 97 percent of Americans knew about the destruction of the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001, within three hours of the attack.

Several academic disciplines study news and information diffusion. While a majority of the research is found in mass communication literature, sociologists and scholars specializing in public opinion have also paid a good deal of attention to news flow. News diffusion theory naturally lends itself to strategically thinking about how to diffuse messages and create information salience within social circles. As a result, news diffusion theories are important not just to journalists, but to other information managers such as advertisers, political consultants, and educators.

Patterns of News Diffusion

Typically, patterns of news diffusion are represented using schematic drawings. An S-curve is most often associated with diffusion and represents an initial small spike that dips then surges again as information about a news event spreads. For example, when President Ronald Reagan was shot, news reporters covering his appearance that day would be the first to know of the event, and they would then share it with their news directors. As the newsroom decided how to manage the flow of information, a brief lull would occur. Scholars have also tried to identify other news diffusion patterns. For example, the J-curve suggests that when an event is of high interest (such as the death of Princess Diana in 1997), the news reaches a few individuals who then diffuse it rapidly through interpersonal channels.

Other patterns of news diffusion have been introduced over the years. Communications researcher Stephen Chaffee suggested in 1975 that news information diffusion had three distinct patterns or types. One is incomplete diffusion, when a story fails to work its way across the audience. The two other patterns are fast-moving news and very slow-moving diffusion. Scholars have found that each of the patterns is related to not only media consumption patterns but also interpersonal communication and what prompts people to tell others about news events. For example, news that impacts everyone, like the explosion of the *Challenger* space shuttle, engages conversation and propels the news diffusion process faster, while news that only impacts a qualified smaller section of people, like a new discovery in the treatment of arthritis, would diffuse more slowly.

The importance of interpersonal communication in news diffusion theory has allied the study of news flow to the work of sociologists Paul Lazarsfeld and Elihu Katz in 1955. Their two-step flow model of communication speculated that mass media's reach is extended by opinion leaders typically people who have the most access to media and who have a strong understanding of media content. The *New York Times* best-seller by Malcolm Gladwell, *The Tipping Point* (2002), called these opinion leaders *mavens,* people who are sought after by others because they have extensive general knowledge about topics important to society. Gladwell writes about the local Jewish maven who can tell you the best place to buy pork sausage simply because he is a person in the know. In practice, news analysts and talk show hosts like CNN's Anderson Cooper are frequently thought of as mavens in that their reporting covers a broad range of topics of the day.

Development of Diffusion Theories

The 1960s saw a number of news diffusion research studies surrounding major news events, such as the assassinations of President John F. Kennedy in 1963 and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. five years later. These studies affirmed that the more human interest in the event, the more likely it was that interpersonal communication would assist the media and cause the rapid diffusion of news. Communications researcher Bradley Greenberg found in 1964 that within an hour of Kennedy's assassination, 92 percent of Americans knew of the event. Furthermore, he found that how that information was diffused was most often impacted

by whether a person worked and when the event happened. If the event happened during the work week (Kennedy was shot at midday on a Friday), employed people were most likely to find out about the story from a colleague. If the event happened over the weekend, the mass media was primarily responsible for diffusing the story.

During the 1980s, scholars furthered news diffusion research by examining how demographics and political affiliations related to the process. Researchers examining the attempted assassination of President Ronald Reagan in early 1981 once again found that interpersonal communication was the primary means most of those studied had found out about the shooting. Further examination found that demographics did not impact the first awareness of the news event, but did impact how an aware person would *diffuse* the information. Younger persons were more likely to tell someone else what had happened and men and young people were more likely to turn on the television to learn than were women or older people.

Another study of news diffusion about the *Challenger* space shuttle explosion in 1986 found that the more emotionally impacted by the news event, the more likely a person was to diffuse the information to others. For example, aboard the space shuttle was the first teacher in space, Christa McAuliffe, and her death was felt across the academic community. Talking about the event furthered the diffusion of the news and the human contact aided the processing of the emotionally charged information.

Communications researcher Melvin DeFleur (1987) conducted a meta-analysis of news diffusion research and found a lack of systematic study on the news flow process and as a result very little research aimed at theory building. DeFleur also found that frequently studies of news diffusion relied on accidental rather than random sampling, which limited reported results to having little more than anecdotal value. He also argued that one could not apply the principles of technological diffusion (the study of how and why people adopt new technologies, and the focus of much research attention in the 1980s and since) to the study of that news and information diffusion. DeFleur argued that news diffusion was a less rational process than deciding to adopt a new gadget and therefore the same driving concepts were not always at play.

Nevertheless, there is redundancy in the findings of early news diffusion studies that does contribute to theory building. These redundancies include the following trends:

- news of important events quickly diffuses through society by word of mouth, while less important events are learned of from news media;
- if the event occurs over the weekend people are more likely to hear about it from the media; people at work tend to hear from their coworkers about major news events;
- the length of time between when the event occurred and when it is learned of by people is related to how they hear about the event; and
- demographic variables such as education and gender are related to how quickly news diffuses.

A handful of studies have explored why people tell others of news events. Telecommunications researcher Walter Gantz and his colleagues found in 1976 that people are compelled to insert themselves in the news diffusion process based on four needs: to establish social status, to satisfy informational and interest needs, to express one's emotions, and to initiate social contact with others. Their study did not focus on a particular news event, but rather on news in general. One can assume that more newsworthy events might lead to more individuals taking on the opinion leader role of the two-step flow model and diffusing news and information to others. A study of the spread of news about Magic Johnson's 1991 HIV diagnosis found that fans of the basketball player were more likely than nonfans to tell others about the event.

Trends

News events, such as the September 11 attacks (2001) and Hurricane Katrina (2005), have promoted a renewed interest in news diffusion research. Even with the ubiquitous nature of media today, a majority of Americans interviewed on September 12, just a day following the attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, reported first hearing about the event from someone else (50 percent) rather than the mass media (39 percent). The Internet's momentum as a news delivery source also led researchers to wonder

what role the web played in disseminating news about the 9/11 attacks. Researchers found that most people went to the web in search of additional information *after* hearing about the event from traditional news media (primarily television) or another person. This finding, coupled with the fact that forty years earlier news of the death of John F. Kennedy diffused at the same rate as the events of 9/11, confirms the pivotal role of interpersonal communication as the primary driver of news diffusion.

A study of Hurricane Katrina evacuees relocated to other areas of the country after a harrowing week in the New Orleans Superdome found that news did not diffuse to them in an accurate way. These evacuees, who included people from low-income households, non-English-speaking households, and nonwhite households, were described by researchers as being at "high risk" of being left out of the news diffusion process. Researchers found that mainstream media failed to adequately provide these displaced residents with meaningful information about how they could best prepare for the crisis and suggested that crisis communication plans need to consider how to reach populations that are not regular users of the mass media.

Critics of the way news diffusion is studied point out that the bulk of the research has focused on major news events, and as a result we have little understanding of lesser or regular news and how it is diffused. Researchers also point to a growing need for the academic community to understand the role of newer technologies on the news diffusion process. The advent of the Internet, text messaging, and social networking websites (to cite but three examples) all raise interesting questions as to how information is diffused. For example, diffusion studies examining the April 2007 shooting of more than 30 people at Virginia Tech University suggest that as the sniper worked his way through campus, students were text messaging and using Facebook to provide each other information about the events and shootings in real time. These messages were invaluable in the absence of accessible news media and provided an important means of allowing students to secure themselves. This suggests that in the absence of mainstream media coverage, and when interpersonal communication is not possible, individuals will use alternative communication devices to establish news flow as needed.

Connie Ledoux Book

See also Agenda Setting; Framing; News Syndication

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Digital Journalism Tools

While newspaper readership had been steadily declining since the early 1980s, the decline accelerated with the advent of the commercial Internet into mainstream American in 1995. Journalism organizations noted that a growing segment of their audience turned to the web for news and information. By 2005, both established news organizations and independent journalists began using new digital techniques to create multimedia and interactive storytelling in an attempt to draw and engage audiences.

The earliest form of journalism on the Internet, beginning around 1994, simply took newspaper text and posted it to an Internet page. Many web producers at news organizations derided this early form of Internet journalism as "shovelware" in reference to the act of shoveling the content from

one medium to another. Two major parallel developments in consumer electronics and software programming spurred new forms of reporting and displaying news online. Until 1999, what could be presented online was dictated by slow connection speeds, commonly known as dial-up, at which most people accessed the web. As connection speeds increased with the advent of cable and digital subscriber line (DSL) broadband modems, news on the Internet moved from text-based display to incorporate photographs, and eventually audio and video.

Also prompting change was the rapid decline in the price and size of digital tools, like video and still cameras, recorders, and computers. This put tools that were formerly the purview of professionals into the hands of what Jay Rosen, a journalism professor at New York University, called "the people formerly known as the audience." By around 2000, development of web-based applications (software that runs over the Internet rather on a hard drive of a computer), made it easier for nontechnologists to publish online. These new digital tools and the ability to create publications online at little cost, led to a paradigm shift in journalism.

Web Publishing: Blogs and Wikis

While anyone with an understanding of HTML (Hypertext Markup Language) could design and create webpages, the process was laborious and complex, and any changes had to be made manually. Many could not afford to purchase or develop the expensive content management systems that large news organizations used to update their webpages. By 2002, however, several applications emerged that allowed people to manage webpages easily and at little or no cost. Their original use was to allow people to write journal entries on webpages—sites that soon were called weblogs, or blogs. By 2007, there were more than 80 million active blogs worldwide. The variety of content on blogs continues to proliferate, with people writing about their daily lives, their favorite books or about their political views. Blogging's biggest impact, however, is that it provides a simple, yet powerful publishing platform that allows readers to post comments, thereby generating a conversation.

Since 2004, an increasing number of newspapers and television station websites and Internet-only news organizations have created blogs to supplement their online content and allow their audience to comment on the news and features published on the site. This form of discussion is considered by journalism organization as a critical element in engaging and holding an audience on a site. It also creates a sense of community, bringing readers back repeatedly through the day to view what other readers are writing about particular news stories. In other words, it creates "stickiness," with readers staying on a particular news site for longer periods or returning often.

Blogging applications also allow journalists to focus on covering very small communities, a practice known as hyperlocal reporting.

Another important development was the wiki page, which allows anyone to contribute to a webpage, as well as to edit or delete content on that page. Ward Cunningham developed the first wiki page, wikiwikiweb.com, in 1994; the term *wiki* is Hawaiian for "quick." The use of wiki technology picked up in the mainstream around 2005 as a growing number of people realized its potential for creating collaborative work on the web. By 2007, traditional news organizations had still not implemented the use of Wiki, fearing they could not trust the reliability of those who were adding or editing the wiki page. However, some organizations have harnessed the collaborative powers of wiki technology to cover some major news events. For example, Wikinews users created a page that covered the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami. They used material reported in traditional news accounts, linking back to the original source. The goal was to take scattered news coverage to create a comprehensive page. There was also some original reporting, as people posted video and photographs from the scene. The pattern was repeated during other news events including the 2005 London subway bombings and the 2007 Virginia Tech University shootings.

Collaborative Reporting Tools

Wiki pages were a first step toward collaborative reporting and writing. By 2007, Gannett, the

Log in / create account

article | collaboration | view source | history

WIKINEWS

navigation
- Main Page
- Archives
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- Recent changes
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- Français
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- Italiano
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Man arrested in India after mid-air hijack threat on domestic flight

An Indian man has been arrested after threatening to hijack the domestic flight on which he was traveling on February 1. The flight was traveling between New Delhi and Goa in India. The IndiGo Airlines Airbus A320 was coming in to land at the time.

» Full story [edit lead] - Image credit

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- Shoe thrown at Chinese PM during speech at Cambridge University in the UK
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February 2

- Supercross: Stewart wins 4th consecutive Monster Energy event in San Francisco, California
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- Nuclear sites close as more UK workers walkout

Shoe thrown at Chinese PM during speech at Cambridge University in the UK

An unnamed 27-year-old man has been arrested and charged with "public order offenses" after he threw a shoe at the Chinese prime minister, Wen Jiabao while he was giving a speech at Cambridge University in the United Kingdom on Monday February 2. The speech was related to China's and the world economy titled See China in the Light of Her Development.

» Full story [edit lead] - Image credit

Automobile sales in the United States down sharply

Sales of automobiles in the United States fell as much as 35% in January, compared to the same month a year ago, as manufacturers reported their January sales. Chrysler was hardest hit among the domestically owned manufacturers with a plunge of 55%, while General Motors reported a 49% drop in sales.

» Full story [edit lead] - Image credit

Original reporting

First-hand journalism by Wikinews reporters (More...)

- Supercross: Stewart wins 4th consecutive Monster Energy event in San Francisco, California
- Sumo: Asashoryu wins New Year Grand Tournament
- Explosion in Bay Area, California suburb damages cigarette store

Recent interviews (More...)

- Eurovision '82 winner Nicole talks about 'Ein bißchen Frieden', her success and the Contest today
- DS4SEQ discusses daylight savings in Queensland with Wikinews

News in pictures

Homepage of English language Wikinews website from February 4, 2009.

Source: Wikinews, http://en.wikinews.org/wiki/Main_Page, February 4, 2009.

largest U.S. newspaper publisher, was experimenting with collaborative reporting using its reporters and the people from the communities it covers. This professional-amateur collaboration, known as pro-am, requires the use of digital tools that can track what information was provided by which reporter or member of the community. In 2007, Newassignment.net, with financial support from Reuters and editorial support from Wired .com, embarked upon an experiment to create a platform that would allow efficient collaboration over the web between amateurs and professional reporters and editors. This tool will be made available to all interested parties at no cost.

As consumer electronics such as cameras and recorders became smaller, more powerful, and cheaper, these tools—once geared toward the skills of professionals and the finances of large organizations—became available to amateur and citizen reporters. Using such consumer equipment, individuals have created news organizations to cover their local communities and niche topics. In April 2007 when fires raged Los Angeles's Griffith Park, the *Los Angeles Times* ran photographs and video taken by local residents fleeing their homes, giving them prominence on their Internet main page along with photographs taken by the professional staff. Some of these images and videos were captured using cell phones cameras.

Multimedia Tools

Photographs were the first visuals displayed on the web after text-only pieces. This has led to a revival of photojournalism. In an earlier era, even if a photojournalist had dozens of quality images, a newspaper could usually only display two at the most for a major story—one on the front page and one on an inner page. By 1998, the same story could display several photographs online.

By 1999, providing audio—which requires more bandwidth to download—was in an early phase. But by 2003 the exploding popularity of Apple's iPod, a device that holds audio files in several digital format that can be attached to a computer to download and transfer songs at the touch of a button, made providing audio a priority at online news organizations. These supplementary audio pieces came to be known as podcasts, a combination of the words "iPod" and "broadcast."

In 2003, several major news organizations like *The New York Times* on the web and WashingtonPost.com, employed a handful of employees dedicated to capturing news stories on video for their websites. Within two years, YouTube .com, a website that displays videos created by users, popularized online video much as the iPod popularized podcasts. The use of video for a news website became a standard by 2007. Washington Post.com and the Associated Press gave some of its photographers high definition video cameras, whose ability to freeze frame video can produce an image of high photographic quality. This image presented little or no degradation in quality and could be used in magazines and newspapers.

As news websites require new content to constantly update the site (called "feeding the beast" in newsrooms), what was required of reporters also began to evolve. Historically, when journalists reported stories, they would work with the photo desk to suggest ideas for photographs for their pieces. And these reporters were traditionally never expected to collect audio and video. But by 2006, many news organizations—both large and small—required their reporters to take photos and to collect audio and video to complement the written material on the organization's website.

Tools for Editing Digital Content

After photographs, audio and video are captured, each must be edited to prepare it for posting. Photographs are usually edited in Adobe Photoshop, the ubiquitous photo editing software. The most common usage is to color balance, crop and resize the photos for the web. The bulk of the features in this application were developed for designers and artists and can be misused.

In fact, digital manipulation is a growing concern as the tools of computer-aided photography have become more advanced. There have been several instances in which photographers manipulated images to suggest something that was not implied in the original photo. For example, in 2006, a freelance Reuters photographer used a Photoshop feature to enlarge and darken a plume of smoke over Beirut during the brief war between Israel and Hezbollah. He also darkened another area of the photo to make it appear, it seems, as though there were two bomb strikes. The fake

image implied, perhaps, that the bombing was more severe than it was. When the doctoring of the photo was uncovered, Reuters dismissed the photographer.

Audio can be edited in several computer applications that allow a user to cut and rearrange segments, or to add narration or background tracks. The most commonly used professional audio editors are Pro Tools, an application that requires additional hardware; Audacity; and Soundtrack.

Video is edited in two common professional level applications, Final Cut Pro and Avid. These digital tools allow editors to sequence interview and background footage, narration, titles, and subtitles to create a visual narrative. These applications allow the final sequence to be exported as several formats that maximize quality and minimize file size—a critical component for displaying video on the Internet, which always requires greater processing power and bandwidth than audio, photographs, or text.

Tools for Integrating and Displaying Digital Content

Unlike a newscast on television, which a viewer must watch in the order dictated by the decision of the its' editors, the web allows the user to navigate to different points in the narrative. This form of interactivity—when the audience can readily select various parts of the story—requires specialized digital tools to create.

Once all the primary assets (videos, audio, photographs, text) are edited, web journalists integrate them into a single interactive presentation using the ubiquitous Flash application by Adobe. Flash is a powerful program that allows people to create interactive and multimedia environments that can display photographs, audio, and video in any combination, while integrating data and graphics to tell a story. This software is widely used by the major news organization, including *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. A particular common practice is to pair photographs with audio. Another popular use is to create interactive maps and graphics. For example, readers can click on various cities on an Iraqi map and a window will pop open which displays important statistics and developments about that particular city. This allows news organizations to provide more information than they could if they crammed all the information on the map itself.

While many of the applications described in this entry can be easily be learned using a manual, the complexity of Flash makes it more challenging and requires people having a basic level of specialization. The program has timelines that must be scripted to carry out actions, and the actions may be nested within yet other timelines within the main timeline. To allow journalists to sidestep this complexity, a few software developers have created programs—like Soundslides—that create templates that can be loaded with photographs and audio and requires no knowledge of Flash. Soundslides is used widely in smaller news organizations.

Additional Tools

Journalists have also harnessed tools used for communications over the Internet—such as electronic mail, instant messenger, and VoIP (Voice over IP, or Internet telephone)—to improve their reporting. For example, using e-mail, journalists, can reach out to sources in distant areas and across time zones. They can also overcome the barrier between them and sources with disabilities—a visually impaired source can have e-mails read while a person with a speech disorder can easily type responses to e-mail queries.

Instant messenger, a popular application that is a faster way to communicate over the Internet than e-mail, can be used in a similar way to e-mail but feels more like a conversation because the immediacy of the questions and answers. It is also used by journalists as a way to stay in touch with their sources and to keep tabs on a particular beat.

An important tool used in conjunction with e-mail or instant messenger to converse with sources who have to worry about their identity is a encryption application called PGP, or Pretty Good Privacy. This application can encrypt communications between two people so that only those two can decrypt the messages they are sending back and forth. Given the sensitivity of some of the topics covered by journalists, this tool can be used to protect the confidentiality of sources. The U.S. government for some time listed PGP as a "nonexportable weapon" because of the strength of its encryption, though it can now be exported with a few exceptions.

Conclusion

As audiences for newspapers and television newscasts continue to defect to the Internet for their news and information, news organizations are harnessing digital tools and techniques to create multimedia and interactive storytelling to draw and engage audiences. Increasing Internet connection speeds and new efficient forms of publishing on the web have allowed news organizations to experiment with new forms of reporting and displaying news online. And as the price of digital video and audio recorders and cameras continues to fall, the tools that formerly only professionals could afford, become more available to amateurs. This has, in turn, spurred experiments to find ways to engage a new generation of news seekers.

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See also Audio and Video News Services; Blogs and Bloggers; Chat Rooms; Citizen Journalism; Computers in Journalism; Distribution; Desktop Publishing; Digital Photography; Digital Sound; Digital Television; Discussion Boards; Editing, Online and Digital; Electronic News Gathering; Innovation Journalism; Internet Impact on Media; News Aggregator; Podcasting; Streaming Media

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Digital Media, Europe

Digital media are an important part of the New Europe that continues to emerge after the breakup of the Soviet Union in the 1980s, the disintegration of Yugoslavia in the 1990s, the implementation of the euro in 2002, and the ongoing waves of immigrants from Africa and Asia. In the twentieth century, Europeans counted on print and broadcast media to help distinguish and coalesce their individual nations. But in the twenty-first century, they expect digital media to help drive a continent-wide economic renaissance, entertain them, and keep them in quick, inexpensive touch with the folks back home, wherever they may be.

In 2008, a trip across Europe would put travelers in touch with digital innovations such as Internet access on trains in England and planes in Germany; 3-D vivisections of Michelangelo's "David" statue in Florence, Italy; digital readouts showing passengers the 200-mph speed of trains in Spain; and six-camera security screens on double-decker buses in Edinburgh, Scotland. Moreover, mobile phones were so ubiquitous that some trains contained quiet cars that banned them, and satellite TV dishes protruded so thickly in some cities that they looked like rows of sunflowers.

Contemporary European officials are far less focused on the social responsibility of the press, the regulation of media monopolies, the quality of public broadcasting, or the media's ability to further democracy than in the past. Instead, new media must fend for and regulate themselves. New media are also expected to fuel technological and economic growth. "The strategic goal for Europe in 2010," the European Council declared in 2000, "is to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion."

So far, however, the results of the digital media revolution have been at best uneven across Europe, with as many unintended effects as intended ones. Some northern European countries have a greater percentage of their population on the Internet than the United States' 71 percent in 2007, such as The Netherlands (90 percent), Norway (88 percent), and Iceland (85 percent). But some southern and eastern European nations lagged far behind on Internet diffusion, such as Ukraine (22 percent), Russia (23 percent), Macedonia (33 percent), and Greece (35 percent). Those nations, however, were among the fastest-growing Internet users. Macedonia's Internet user percentage, for instance, was 21 times greater in 2007 than in 2000. Nearly all the European nations, including those with the lowest numbers of Internet users, had mobile phone diffusion rates above the United States' 80 percent, although the only one to exceed the 26 percent rate of U.S. users

Table 1 Twenty Countries With the Highest Number of Internet Users (per 1,000 people), 2005

Country	*2005*
Iceland	869
Norway	735
Australia	698
Canada	520
Ireland	276
Sweden	764
Switzerland	498
Japan	668
Netherlands	739
France	430
Finland	534
United States	630
Spain	348
Denmark	527
Austria	486
United Kingdom	473
Belgium	458
Luxembourg	690
New Zealand	672
Italy	478

Source: Human Development Report 2007–2008. New York: United Nations Human Development Programme, 2008. Available at http://hdrstats.undp.org/indicators/124.html (accessed February 22, 2009).

In 2005, 15 of the 20 countries with the highest number of Internet users in 2005 were in Europe.

of Internet-enabled mobile phones was the United Kingdom, with 29 percent.

Mobile phone usage in eastern and southern Europe does lag several years behind Western Europe, but the former are also abandoning or bypassing landline phones at an even faster rate than the rest of the world. As in the United States, the most intensive mobile phone users in Europe are adolescents. Most of the time, they are communicating with friends near and far by text messaging, not via voice.

Satellite television (though not satellite radio) is more dominant and diverse in Europe than in the United States. Immigrants, migrant workers, and refugees make greater use of satellite TV than other Europeans, because they can use it to pull in stations in their own language. There are more than 30 stations in Arabic and almost as many in Russian, Polish, and Serbian languages that can be seen and heard in homes as far away as Ireland and Sweden. Members of these diasporas—who have fled to Western Europe from wars, ethnic persecution, and unemployment—also make relatively heavy use of the Internet. They use e-mail, instant messaging and Voice-over Internet Protocol (VoIP) services such as Skype to communicate frequently and comparatively freely with their homelands and, increasingly, with other members of their expatriate communities. In this way, the Internet can be a comfort, but some nationalists complain that it slows their assimilation. A few Western European countries have proposed laws limiting the reception of foreign language satellite channels, but none has tried to regulate Internet usage other than to pass copyright safeguards, child pornography bans, and antiterrorism measures.

In Eastern Europe, new media technologies that have arisen since the fall of the Soviet Union have allowed citizens from those countries to communicate frequently with family and friends after emigrating in search of work or education, according to Laura Lengel, a Fulbright Scholar and communications professor at Richmond American International University in London. New media also enabled citizens to issue global calls for help and to report firsthand on conditions during the war in Yugoslavia and the refugee crisis in Kosovo.

The Balkans conflict of the 1990s became the first "Internet War." When Serbians burned the Kosovo Information Center, Albanians set up a website to distribute the same material. And when authorities closed the B92 independent radio station in Belgrade, the broadcasters successfully moved their audio to the web, adding text and video to it. The Internet became a battle front as Serbs attacked NATO's computer systems and the alliance counterattacked by spreading pro-West propaganda on their websites, said Alfred Hermida, a BBC News Online editor in London.

The Internet has also spawned more alternative and independent media in Europe. Among them

are the Arabic Internet Media Network (www.amin.org), which claims to be an uncensored professional journalism site in English and Arabic; the Arab Press Freedom Watch (www.apfwatch.org/en), which works from Europe to struggle for press rights in Arab countries; the website of Palestinian Scientists and Technologists Abroad, www.palesta.gov.ps; a worldwide workers' advocate, labourstart.org; and an alternative media clearinghouse, indymedia.org.

Another new medium promoted as an information boon for Europe is digital television. Finland led the way, starting to digitally transmit its programming as early as 2001. Much of Western Europe has been years ahead of the United States on digital television, using it not only to multiply the number of channels offered but also to increase interactivity with home audiences. Digital set-top boxes and remote controls have allowed Europeans to respond to multiple-choice survey questions on TV, although the largest use of this technology has been for audience members to vote for favorites on reality TV shows. Approaching real-time feedback, they can then see the tabulated results within minutes, rather than the next day or later, as on U.S. "idol" shows where the audience votes via mobile phones. Moreover, digital television has put increased pressure on public broadcasting staffs, who now must fill more programming needs without getting any more funding from their government.

Having additional channels also opens time for more TV programming and movies from the United States. In 2001, an average of 57 percent of the TV programming in Europe came from the United States, while 26.5 percent was from within the country's own borders and the remainder was from elsewhere in Europe (more recent data are not available because there no longer are regulations that require such monitoring). Adding in cinema, Europe's audio-visual trade deficit with North America was $8.2 billion in 2000, up 14 percent from the year before. And by 2000, North American entertainment media generated more revenue overseas than domestically.

Another major use of digital media in Europe is in theme parks and museums. Interactive science and cultural museums have opened in Paris and—thanks to more than £500 million of new funding from the U.K. national lottery—in London, Edinburgh, Newcastle, and Bristol. The interactive digital exhibits have transformed museums, one curator said, from a model characterized by "Learn! You must!" to one of "Discover! You may!"

On a more commercial level, Denmark-based LEGO now has theme parks with elaborate digital displays and computerization in London, Germany, and Denmark, in addition to the United States. Outside of Paris there is Euro Disney; indeed, U.S.-based Disney is far and away the leading provider of children's programming in Europe. In Denmark on Friday nights, for example, nine out of ten Danish children watching TV are viewing "Disney Fun" on the public service channel, DR1.

Overall, Europe can be seen as a bellwether for digital media. As the continent struggles to pull together, create jobs, and capitalize on its increased diversity, digital media have both helped and hindered the process. Digital media have increased consumption and salved some of the loneliness of scattered peoples. The ultimate challenge, however, will be for Europe's digital media to increase capital and community in tandem.

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See also Agence France-Presse; Al Jazeera; British Broadcasting Corporation; British New Media; Convergence; Deutsche Welle; Diffusion; Digital Television; Émigré News Media; EuroNews; Europe; Germany; Globalization, Coverage of; Internet Impact on Media; Media Ownership; New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO); Reuters

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Digital Photography

Digital photography has changed the way photojournalists and newspapers cover the news. In the twenty-first century, digital cameras are the dominant means of generating images in the production of printed news content. The introduction of digital cameras, computers, image editing software and even photo-taking telephones in the news-gathering process has affected visual reportage appreciably. In photojournalism, the digital camera's capacity for reviewing, editing, deleting, and transmitting images on-the-scene changes the landscape of photographic routines guiding visual practice.

Since the 1980s, digital technologies have intensified and altered photography in several ways. The modern digital camera has been shown to increase photographic productivity, encourage experimentation and creativity, and redefine the boundaries of autonomy in the relationship between subject and photographer. Digital single-lens reflex cameras and digital camera phones have greatly improved the flexibility of both professional and amateur photography. Digital photography differs from conventional film photography in that light is converted into electrical charges, which are recorded onto an image sensor.

Development

During the 1980s, electronic imaging (the conversion from analog to digital processing of information) shifted dramatically for many news operations prior to the full-scale adoption of digital cameras in photojournalism. Electronic imaging pulled photojournalists out of darkrooms and placed them in front of computer terminals. One driving force was the Associated Press's (AP) high-speed digital photo transmission and receiver system, which replaced older analog facsimile-style processes in many newsrooms. According to AP senior photo editor Brian Horton, "In 1988, a revolutionary device called an AP Leafax transmitter allowed a photographer to scan his processed film, instead of making a print. The photographer then could send that image to an attached receiver or transmit it over a conventional telephone line" (2000, 203). Furthermore, research by John Russial and Wayne Wanta (1998) showed that "electronic picture desks were used throughout the 1980s by the wire services, but they did not become common in daily newspapers until 1990." The AP Leaf Picture system, with a constant stream of electronic imagery uploaded to thousands of newspapers worldwide, nudged the news business generally and photojournalism more specifically further into the digital age. In 1981, AP introduced its mini-electronic darkroom, capable of converting photos into 2.5 million bytes of information. With an investment of more than $500,000 in developing the new technology, AP promoted its mini-electronic darkroom as a way of providing editors with an "extra deadline service" to meet "special problems" and "provide more color." A few years later, electronic picture desks were promoted along with color film scanner and image processors.

Development of the digital camera can be traced to the development of video tape recording in the late 1950s, a process later expanded for use in space exploration and government surveillance systems. Beginning in the 1960s with advances in computer technology, the U.S. space program began enhancing images transmitted back to earth from unmanned probes.

During the 1970s, Kodak, Canon, and RCA investigated the possibility of converting light into digital images. Using innovations in television photography, still photographers started experimenting with the use of video and electronic imagery in photojournalism. In 1979, *National Geographic* photographer Emory Kristof was the first to use an electronic camera while photographing life at the bottom of the ocean in a miniature submarine. Kristof worked closely with television engineers at RCA to develop what is considered the first use of a charge coupled device (CCD) in photojournalism.

In 1981, Sony heralded its Mavica nonfilm electronic device as the "camera of tomorrow." Photojournalists were skeptical. Writing in *News Photographer* in 1982, Ed Breen contended, "When the electronic camera, and all that goes with it, is finally in our hands—and it will be—it will not be because we have sought it out, but because we are no longer left with a choice." By 1984, photojournalists were already experimenting and using cellular telephones to send images from remote locations through drum transmitters, a device that

scans a continuous tone image, such as a photograph, and converts the linear pattern in order to form an electrical signal.

In the news business, many saw the digitalization of images produced with film cameras as a way to reduce the expense of film development as well as to increase efficiency by eliminating time spent making prints in a darkroom. As Russial and Wanta put it, "Wire services and newspapers experimented with digital cameras in the late 1980s and early 1990s, but cost and quality considerations largely restricted their use to coverage of high-profile news events, such as a presidential inauguration, a Super Bowl, or an Olympics" (1998, 594).

By 1986 Kodak scientists released the first megapixel sensor and later developed a system for recording images on a compact disc. A pixel, short for *picture element,* is made up of bits of information on a grid. A bit refers to the smallest unit of computer memory. The number of bits making up a pixel determines how many colors or tones can be shown in an image. A megapixel represents not only the number of pixels in an image, but also the number of photoreceptors on a digital camera's image sensor. In this case, a three-megapixel camera would have 3,145,728 photoreceptor cells displayed on the image sensor.

One year later, a video still camera, the Canon RC-701, was used for the first time by newspapers covering the Pan-American games. The camera was capable of recording 50 color images, which could be transmitted over a regular telephone line in between 90 seconds and three minutes. Photojournalists were also required to learn new computer skills in digital imaging to keep pace with changes in newsgathering and dissemination. Photographers gradually embraced the computer as an essential part of the image-making process, just as they had learned to accept making prints from film a century earlier.

Throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s, the AP was actively engaged in the development, promotion and sale of digital technologies in news operations across the country. However, with the introduction of cheaper laptop computing options and advanced image software products, such centralized systems have since become obsolete. By 1996, more than 85 percent of newspapers reported that computer skills were either very or somewhat important in the hiring of entry-level journalists. The speed with which photographers have adopted to the digital cameras has been much faster than adapting to 35mm film cameras. More than two decades of transition time allowed photographers to become accustomed to the smaller 35mm camera and format size. With digital, the transition has taken less than a decade and has required acquiring new skills not only with the camera but also in production methods.

Modern professional digital cameras cost between $1,000 and $5,000 and are considered technically far superior to previous models just five years ago. For example, Kodak's latest models offer the highest resolution on a 35mm format at nearly 14 megapixels with an image resolution in the 4,536 x 3,024 pixel range. Nikon and Canon have also released improved devices in recent years. These cameras are especially suited for photojournalism with faster shutter response times and longer battery life, and are capable of making 40 continuous JPEG full-resolution images at a speed of eight frames per second. Previously with film cameras, photographers were limited to the number of exposures in a film cassette.

Conclusion

Driven by a relentless push toward faster, cheaper and greater quantities of information, digital photography is on the leading edge of a wide array of new digital information technologies. Digital cameras enable photographers to review, edit, delete and transmit images immediately after capture. The level of immediacy in digital photography means that photographers do not have to wait for their results to be processed, edited and printed, as previously experienced with film.

Digital cameras, laptop computers, and cellular telephones offer more flexibility for photographers working in the field. "Without a doubt, several aspects of the practice of news photography are changing" (Fahmy and Smith 2003). With digital technology it is no longer necessary to wait to see results after image capture. The photographic routine is situated within cultural practices that symbolically reorganize sensory experience.

With digital photography, the immediacy of reviewing images may save the photographer the embarrassment of returning to reshoot an event if

a mistake is made or may allow him or her more time on assignment since he or she does not have to rush back to process and scan the images as they had with film. In addition, monitoring images after capture may further enhance the accuracy of information or captioning. The digital camera suggests the transference of information technology from an era of a singular source such as a film negative into an age of high-speed infinite facsimile. The seamless and malleable nature of digital information presents great opportunities as well as challenges for photographers today.

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See also Associated Press; Digital Journalism Tools; Editing, Online and Digital; History of Journalism, 1995–Present; Photo Editors; Photography; Photojournalists; Science and Technology Journalism

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Digital Sound

The ability to record sound is a necessity for journalists in the modern converged media environment. Digital sound technology is a convenient way for reporters to collect and edit audio clips from important speeches, conduct interviews with newsmakers, gather natural sounds to provide an aural context for news events, and produce news packages, newscasts, and public affairs programs. Lightweight digital recording devices are easily transportable, have removable memory cards for storage, and provide excellent sound quality.

The term "digital sound" is used to summarize digital audio techniques for capturing, manipulating, storing, and distributing sound. "Sound" is a disturbance of molecules in a compliant medium (such as air) caused by acoustical vibrations made by something moving in an environment (such as human vocal cords or the strings on a piano) and the reception of those vibrations. Sound may be described in terms of the physical properties of a pressure wave: frequency (pitch), amplitude (loudness), and velocity (speed). Thus, "sound" is by definition "analog," both at its point of origination and point of reception. "Audio" is what happens in between origination and reception and refers to both analog and digital processes for converting acoustical energy to a corresponding energy form (analog) or a representational numeric form (digital). The word "digital" refers to a binary numerical encoding process used to represent sound vibrations.

Origins

An analog system uses a continuous signal or pattern that is analogous to the original waveform of a sound. Early analog devices that contributed to the development of recording include: Thomas Edison's phonograph (1878), a hand-cranked and spring-driven machine that converted sound vibrations into indentations in the groove of a tinfoil cylinder; Emile Berliner's flat disc spiral groove gramophone (1888); Lee de Forest's Phonofilm (1919), a sound-on-film technique that produced a photographic representation of sound; magnetic wire and iron oxide–coated tape processes that were developed in the early 1900s; and microphone, amplifier, and loudspeaker technologies associated with the telephone and radio. These and other analogy technologies made it possible to capture, mix, balance, edit, process (alter sonic characteristics), and record stereo or multiple

audio channels, before converting various energy forms back to sound vibrations.

Digital technology converts sound vibrations into discrete numerical values that represent the physical properties of a waveform. The mathematical concept, believed to have originated in the seventeenth century, uses a binary number coding system with two values (0 and 1) to represent numeric values. But the idea to use binary digits (bits) for signal coding was developed much later—in 1929 by Harry Nyquist, a physicist working on telegraph transmission for Bell Telephone Laboratories. He discovered that the sampling rate of a binary system must be at least twice the frequency of the original continuous analog signal. Known as the "Nyquist Theorem," its application to digital audio was made practical after the development of electronic computer technology during and after World War II.

How It Works

Digital audio converts sound to numbers (represented by electronic pulses) for recording, storage, and transmission, and then numbers back to sound for playback. This is accomplished by partitioning the waveform of a sound into discrete units called "samples." Digital audio devices, such as the standard consumer compact disc (CD), sample sound at over 44,000 times a second. The sound pressure energy of each sample, as measured by electrical voltage, is then represented using a binary digit system of zeros and one. This "coding" process is the "digital" part of digital audio. Because each numeric place in a binary digit system can only be expressed as a zero or one, the more places in a string of binary numbers, called a "word," the more accurate the measurement of a sample. For example, a 16-character word (16-bit system) can represent 65,536 different voltage quantities. Generally, the more samples per second and the more numeric values available to represent the voltage of each sample, the better the sound quality. During playback, the number representing the voltage of each sample is used to recreate the original waveform of a sound. The end result is a discrete stepped representation of a continuous waveform. The resulting sound, which may be played back through ordinary headphones or loudspeakers, is not the original sound, but a facsimile that resembles the original sound, to the extent that a digital system is capable of recreating the analog waveform structure.

Digital storage may be magnetic, optical, or solid state. Building on established techniques of analog tape recording, magnetic tape also has been used for linear digital recording, storing, and distributing. Both open-reel and cassette digital audiotape recorders (R-DAT) were popular in the early stages of digital technology, but these have been replaced by fixed, removable, and optical disc systems. Fixed and removable magnetic hard-disk records were still used as convenient random access devices for recording and storing digital files. Optical media use a laser to "burn" and "read" pits and flat (land) areas on a heat- or photo-sensitive layer of a reflective surface. A change in the reflected value of the laser striking a pit or land is interpreted as a zero or one, creating a string of digital numbers to represent individual samples. Various DVD (Digital Versatile [Video] Disc) formats have increased the storage capability of optical media.

Solid-state media, such as computers, digital audio recorders, MP3 players, iPods, and some cellular telephones use internal or removable memory or "flash" cards. These devices, which have a variety of sampling, bit depth, and memory capabilities, can store vast amounts of digital audio information. Digital audio formats may store and send information in unaltered sequential or raw formats. However, to save space, mathematical compression schemes called algorithms have been devised to reduce file size and the amount of space required for storage and data transmission. Digital compression is achieved by reducing the amount of redundant and unimportant information. Compression file formats exist for optical media and for streaming audio.

Digital Sound and the News Media

The development of digital sound technology for news is closely associated with applications. By the mid-1970s, digital recording machines appeared in music recording studios for mastering albums. Radio newsrooms soon followed the music industry with a number of digital audio devices, including stationary and rotary magnetic-head digital audio recorders. These reel-to-reel format machines were practical for recording long-form in-studio and remote programs. During

the 1980s, digital tape cartridge ("cart") machines, which worked very much like analog tape cart machines, were used to record and playback actualities (sound bites) during newscasts; and Digital Audio Tape (DAT), a linear cassette tape format, became the technology of choice for radio journalists for a brief period in the late 1980s. By the early 1990s, the professional MiniDisc (which combined magnetic and optical recording technologies), a shirt-pocket size portable device with random access and track mark capabilities, was readily adopted by broadcast journalists for recording speeches and interviews; and recordable and rewritable compact discs and hard-disk and solid-state recording devices were found to be useful by journalists for accessing multiple sources and organizing and manipulating audio elements. Proprietary digital audio systems called "workstations" made it possible for one device to perform all recording, editing, and processing functions of a fully equipped studio. Also, dedicated audio software programs, not tied to specific hardware systems, and accompanied by human interface devices, made computer-based digital audio convenient and affordable.

Distribution of Digital Sound

Digital audio may be transmitted and received in real-time online through a process called "streaming," an uninterrupted continuous digital signal made possible by front loading or "buffering" to compensate for variations in the rate of data transmission. "webcasting," a word used to describe Internet Radio, is the ability to stream audio over the web. Although Internet radio stations were streaming their signals by the mid-1990s, the Voice of America is believed to be the first, in 1994, to provide continuous news programming throughout the 24-hour news cycle. Audio files also may be downloaded to computers and other devices using "nonstreaming "digital formats. "Podcasting," a term that combines the words "pod," from the iPod personal media device, and "casting," as in broadcasting, is a popular online distribution application of this technology.

Digital audio can be distributed via satellite or over-the-air as a companion to existing analog radio broadcast signals. These digital systems not only offer better audio quality compared to analog transmissions, but they also make it possible to send multiple channels of programming, called "multicasting." The subscription satellite radio services, Sirius and XM Satellite Radio, beam digital audio directly to automobiles, portable and home receivers, and computers. "HD Radio" (high-definition radio), a system developed by the iBiquity Digital company, provides CD quality digital audio to listeners over existing AM and FM radio frequencies. Reception of this digital radio service, which does not interfere with existing analog signals, requires an HD receiver.

By the beginning of the twenty-first century, new digital audio delivery systems, such as podcasts, Internet radio, HD Radio, and satellite radio, competed with one another and traditional AM/FM sources in providing news. Although early studies do not indicate widespread use of new digital audio sources for news, that pattern is expected to change as on-demand and on-the-go listening habits change with shifting demographics and as digital devices become more affordable.

Don Grady

See also Digital Television; Podcasting; Recording; Satellite News Gathering; Streaming Media

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Digital Television

Digital television (DTV) enables television to offer consumers better picture and sound quality, expanded programming choices (such as multiple

channels of programs at a time), and enhanced closed captioning and interactive video options. By the early 2000s, digital television was having a growing impact on traditional television journalism by expanding the types of programming through multiplexing, changing how journalists appear on camera by modifying makeup techniques and improving news sets to hide imperfections, and modifying traditional camera angles and lighting techniques to hide flaws due to digital clarity.

In use since 1941, analog television displayed a picture with a 4:3 aspect ratio while digital television uses a 16:9 aspect ratio. The latter is similar to widescreen theatrical films and allows consumers to play DVD movies in their original widescreen formats without the letterbox, or black bars, at the top and bottom of the screen. Digital television also utilizes Dolby Digital sound which provides consumers with CD-quality audio.

Improved systems of television were discussed by the Department of Defense in the 1970s as a means of improving the visual resolution of military equipment. In the 1980s, some viewed digital television as a means to regain American consumer electronics market dominance. The first digital systems were modeled on computers in 1990, and in field testing by 1993. The Telecommunications Act of 1996 required the adoption of digital television technology by broadcasters working with the Federal Communications Commission (FCC).

The original date established by the FCC for television stations to broadcast only with digital signals was in May 2002, but due to many technical problems, few digital receivers in consumer hands, and complaints from broadcasters the date was pushed back. The Deficit Reduction Act of 2005 set February 17, 2009, as the date analog television signals would end; this date was later pushed back to June 12 of the same year out of concern that too many people were still not ready for the transition. Broadcasters and the government picked up their promotional efforts over the four months, and most viewers made it through the transition fine. As of that date, consumers required either a digital television receiver, digital cable or satellite service, or a digital-to-analog converter box to receive digital television signals. Television set manufacturers stopped making analog sets two years earlier.

U.S. government television transition policy focused on the millions of television homes using off-air television reception, or those not served by cable or satellite carriers. Converter boxes were made available to consumers to convert digital signals for compatibility with analog television sets. The National Telecommunications and Information Administration (NTIA) offered coupons to help offset the costs of purchasing converter boxes. The transition to digital television has been costly for stations, with some spending nearly 60 percent of their annual budgets on digital equipment. WRAL-TV, in Raleigh–Durham, North Carolina, was the first station to obtain an FCC license for digital operation and became the first to digitally broadcast from both the studio and in the field. The cost for a new television news set, a digital transmitter, and other required equipment totaled more than $10 million.

The digital television 16:9 aspect ratio is requiring more use of wide-angle camera shots. Stations are redesigning news sets (at an average cost of $200,000) to make them more conducive to the wide-screen format. Some stations have spent three times as much. Even news helicopters need digital cameras.

Just as the Internet allows consumers to access news immediately, so does digital technology have the same potential for television viewers. As consumers also time-shift their viewing and listening, digital television will add flexibility through multiplexing. As Neil Hickey points out in his 2004 article "The Digital Newsroom: Ready or Not," this is already changing the nature of television journalism, allowing "A CNN-style, twenty-four-hour channel for local news; a C-SPAN-style channel for coverage of the city council, the state legislature, and important committee hearings; all-day weather updates; stationary traffic cameras at major roadways; local news/talk and call-in programs; coverage of high school and college sports; debates by candidates for local and regional offices; [and] live coverage of court trials," as well as local school and business news and classified advertising.

The shift to digital television has hastened media convergence in newsrooms. The digital format allows for video and data to be easily transferred to the Internet and existing station websites. Hence, reporters of the twenty-first century are expected to be able to produce news stories for television, newspapers, and online. The Tampa News Center serves as one useful model for how

digital technology allows for platform crossover. At the Tampa News Center, reporters for WFLA television station share news stories with the *Tampa Tribune* and vice versa. Additionally, the online news portal TBO.com provides both print and video reports. All three news entities are headquartered in the same building. This sharing of news across platforms has the potential to improve both the quality and quantity of news stories.

Digital television has also enabled camcorder manufacturers to develop lightweight and user-friendly cameras. Despite being small, these digital cameras provide high-quality images, allowing a new type of journalist to emerge. Independent video journalists, using digital technology, now offer television (and newspaper) newsrooms an inexpensive way to cover news from around the world. Digital television technology enables journalists to shoot the video of a news event and then use nonlinear video editing software (such as Final Cut Pro) to edit together a complete news story that can then be sent via the Internet or satellite to newsrooms around the world. The digitally produced news story can be used by television, newspaper, and web-based newsrooms. To be fully effective, this requires journalists to modify both their storytelling techniques and editing principles to make them adaptable to the wider screens, clearer pictures, improved sound, and ease of transferability from one medium to another.

Digital television, through multiplexing, allows for television broadcasters to transmit upward of six channels. Analog television permitted only one signal per station, but digital compression techniques allow the transmission of several signals at once with different programming. This means that consumers have the ability to receive exponential sources of news when combined with the proliferation of new digital television channels and the continued growth of news on the Internet. Multiplexing has allowed television stations to offer more news coverage of local interest. In 2003, WRAL-TV in Raleigh, North Carolina, for example, offered live, continuous coverage of a local murder trial on one of its new digital channels. The same year, KFSN-TV in Fresno, California, offered live, continuous coverage and real-time results of the California governor's recall election. By using the additional channels offered through digital multiplexing, neither station had to preempt network programming. One result in the near term may be an increased emphasis on local news content.

A 2006 study by the Radio-Television News Directors Foundation (RTNDF) on the future of news indicated that more than 40 percent of the public preferred to assemble their own news based upon their individual interests. Digital television, through its ability to offer multiple channels simultaneously, will better address the consumer news interests. The study indicated consumers wanted to see not only *more* news, but also *better* or higher-quality news. Digital television permits journalists to offer both. As of 2006, with many of the nation's television stations already transitioned to digital signals, news directors who participated in the RTNDF study indicated they had improved and expanded their news content. The 2006 study indicated that consumers noticed the content changes in news.

Thanks to digital television's clarity, the way television talent is prepared to appear in front of the camera has changed. To hide skin blemishes, make-up artists now apply makeup foundation with airbrushes instead of with sponges or fingertips as has been done in the past. The clarity of digital television can even reveal if talent has had botox injections or plastic surgery. Makeup experts suggest, however, that extreme close-ups may end once digital television is in full use. Traditional lighting techniques are also modified to hide imperfections of television talent or sets. The traditional practice of having news anchors sit behind a news desk throughout an entire newscast is also rapidly changing. The improved news sets encourage anchors to stand and deliver the news and allow for movement and flexibility. An emphasis on digital graphics, virtual technology, and attractive furniture are all incorporated into the digital television news set design.

Accordingly, journalists and media managers must adhere to even higher standards of ethics as to not lower journalistic standards while attempting to produce enough programming to fill the new television channels created by digital television. Journalists need to continue serving as responsible gatekeepers and agenda setters for the general public. Above all, journalists must continue to maintain the role of accurate storytelling while at the same time utilizing new digital technology to its ultimate abilities.

John Allen Hendricks

See also Convergence; Digital Journalism Tools; Digital Photography; Digital Sound; Distribution; Editing, Online and Digital

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Disaster News

See Natural Disasters; Coverage of

Discussion Boards

Discussion boards, also known as electronic bulletin boards or message boards, are used to host Internet forums in which participants with shared interests exchange messages on a wide range of topics—from politics, the environment, education, and religion, to sports, fashion, video gaming, and parenting.

An ideal format for fostering virtual communities over the Internet, discussion boards have been extensively used in the movement toward enhancing a deliberative democracy—by providing the means for facilitating the exchange of online messages with users sharing experiences and ideas. They have also been used to increase the economic value of an organization's online presence by generating traffic and providing a source of entertainment. The democratic and economic potential of these Internet forums attracted news organizations which were early adopters of the technology.

Origins

A precursor to Internet-based discussion boards was the dial-up Bulletin Board System, or BBS, which is a computer system with software that allows its operator to download and archive data files and software programs. The first BBS was the Computerized Bulletin Board System in Chicago, created by Ward Christensen and Randy Suess; it launched on February 16, 1978. It was not long before other BBSs were appearing across the country.

Users could connect via a modem and phone line to the system to access the archive and exchange electronic messages with other users. BBSs grew in popularity, reaching their peak in the mid-1990s with over 60,000 in the United States alone. BBSs were seen as an ideal environment for online socializing and virtual-community building—from international social movements, such as PeaceNet and its work on international relations and human rights, to individuals communicating about health and parenting issues.

With the explosion of the World Wide Web in the mid-1990s, bulletin boards shifted to web-based applications to connect users and facilitate the exchange of messages. However, where there is limited access to the Internet, primarily outside the United States, dial-up BBSs continue to provide a venue for exchanging messages.

A notable example of an early BBS, the Whole Earth 'Lectronic Link (WELL) began in 1985 as one of the first virtual communities; in the early twenty-first century, it remains a major influence in the online world, and it continues to enjoy a reputation as a members-only gathering place for intelligent conversation. While the WELL was one of the original dial-up BBSs, it became an early web-based community when the Internet opened to commercial business in the early 1990s. The WELL, now owned by Salon Media Group, has a rich history as a meeting place for Grateful Dead fans and as the birthplace of craigslist. The community also quickly caught the attention of journalists, who became some of its early members, bringing media attention to the deliberative potential of virtual communities.

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, journalists began to adopt electronic discussion boards as one early stage of online journalism. *The Albuquerque Tribune*'s electronic newspaper, the Electronic Trib, *The Charlotte Observer*'s online site, the Observer, and *The Spokesman-Review*'s site, Minerva, are early examples of the use of discussion boards in journalism. Engaging citizens by fostering deliberation and community building was seen to fit nicely with journalism's mission and role in a democracy. By 1994, nearly 20 newspapers provided online services worldwide, with the majority using discussion boards.

Functions

However, the Internet and these new virtual formats have presented a major challenge to the traditional model of disseminating news. Prior to the Internet, journalism was based on a one-way communication model, with information flowing from the news organization to a wide and largely passive audience. The power to decide what is news was in the hands of news professionals.

Along with rapid innovation of web-based technologies came the means by which users can interact with a news organization and each other about shared interests. As a fundamental feature of online news, interactivity means that users are able to more actively participate in the production of news. Ordinary citizens now have the opportunity to participate in a number of communication activities, ranging from simply engaging in discussions with others around shared interests to actively deliberating solutions to common problems.

This multidirectional, interactive model of journalism, however, has been seen by some journalists as a threat to their professional domain. With online users more actively engaged in the news production process, often acting as sources of news, journalists have been grappling with ways to embrace this interactive format with its new definitions and practices of what "news" is. Journalists are moving beyond conventional news norms and routines—shifting from a reliance on elite and expert sources to include citizens as sources.

As an Internet forum for hosting online discussions and posting information, discussion boards are part of a larger category of online types of user-generated content (USG). It is, thus, important to understand the specific structure and functions of discussion boards that set them apart from other modes of Internet-based communication (e-mail lists, Usenet, newsgroups, Internet relay chat) and types of user-generated content (blogs, wikis, social networking sites), where ordinary citizens are given the means to publish content for public consumption.

To begin, e-mail lists represent a specialized mailing list organized around specific topics, with new messages posted to the list by members and transmitted to all subscribers via e-mail accounts. They can either be edited or not by a moderator. Discussion boards, on the other hand, are created

by organizations to host ongoing discussions on a range of topics of interest to registered users of their online sites. Unlike e-mail lists, discussion boards require users to actively seek out the host site to join the discussions. However, discussion board moderators have the option of using e-mail to invite users to visit the site by notifying them of new posts or encouraging them to post a topic of their own.

While similar in function to newsgroups, in which users post messages on a wide range of topics, discussion boards use different technology. Usenet newsgroups are hosted by a network of servers to store and forward messages; they require a special software program on a user's computer, called a newsreader, to participate in discussion. Discussion boards, on the other hand, require only a web browser for participation. (The distinction between discussion boards and Usenet newsgroups, however, has diminished since Google's 2001 acquisition of Deja News Research Service, a Usenet message archive. With its web interface, Google Groups service offers users the ability to access, post, and search the archive without a newsreader.)

The speed of communication provides another important distinction between various types of virtual communication strategies. Internet relay chat (IRC), in which messages are exchanged in real time, are a type of synchronous communication that occurs at a speed fast enough to simulate a face-to-face conversation. Discussion boards, on the other hand, provide the means for asynchronous communication, in which messages can be posted and retrieved at different times.

With asynchronous communication comes the need to organize messages and ease the process of following online discussions. Software applications help users read online discussions by applying specific organizing strategies. One method is to display messages in a flat, linear fashion organized by date and time in chronological order. Another method is to group messages hierarchically by topic in a threaded discussion, or "threads." Threads are effective because they help users grasp the structure of a particular discussion, especially a long and complex one, and identify participants to whom they want to respond.

Membership in Internet forums can range from anonymity to full disclosure of identity through a registration process. Forum moderators, usually either the webmaster or a select group of users, perform as gatekeepers by eliminating content considered illegal, abusive, disrespectful, insulting, foul language, obscene, or completely irrelevant to the discussion topic. While rules may vary between sites, moderators assure that users follow the forum's rules of etiquette, or netiquette.

As news organizations began to adopt discussion boards in their early years of developing an online presence, this practice was met with some resistance in newsrooms, as journalists saw the increase in user interactivity as a threat to their profession. There has been a healthy debate about the direction of the profession in journalism circles, with practitioners and academics s searching out the most effective and economically feasible ways to navigate this new media environment. In some circles, journalists are seen as ideal leaders of virtual communities, guiding citizens in their reflections and discussions on common problems of public life.

During the 1990s, news organizations practicing what became known as public or civic journalism, a reform movement to improve news practices and democratic potential, were early adopters of discussion boards. Newspapers, with circulation increasingly in decline, saw their online sites and use of Internet forums as a way to attract and engage news consumers and maintain economic viability.

As this new media environment continues to push journalism beyond its traditional practice of one-way communication to embrace a more conversational model of news, the nature of what is considered news continues to change. For example, with the emergence of user-generated content, citizens can contribute content for publication on the web. In 2004, OhmyNews International (OMNI), the English-language site of the South Korean online newspaper OhmyNews, began publishing news stories from citizen reporters around the world. With an extensive editing process and a strict code of ethics, the OMNI model approaches citizen journalism with the assumption that all citizens are potential reporters. What began as the practice of public journalism, originally conceived as a means to facilitate public discourse, has developed into citizen journalism, where former audiences play an active role in collecting, reporting, and disseminating information.

While not as prevalent in journalism as they once were, electronic discussion boards continue as a presence, especially in community-level news. For example, Outside.In, an online aggregator of neighborhood discussion boards, tracks news, opinion, and conversations in nearly 12,000 local communities across the United States. Launched in 2006 with a mission to build a virtual place where local residents become the experts on community life, the site invites and hosts citizen-generated stories about local happenings, from information on favorite restaurants and bars to more serious local news. Also, *The Washington Post*'s critically acclaimed online site, through its LiveOnline feature, serves as an example of how mainstream news media continue to take advantage of discussion boards to give readers a chance to communicate with writers, editors, and subjects of stories.

As an early software system that paved the way for the shift from a traditional one-way model of journalism to the current interactive model, discussion boards continue to provide a vital means for citizens to exchange ideas, engage in conversation, build community, and participate in the production of news.

Sandra L. Nichols and Thom Lieb

See also Blogs and Bloggers; Chat Rooms; Citizen Journalism; Civic Journalism; Digital Journalism Tools; Distribution, Online; Podcasting; Social Network Websites

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DISTRIBUTION

Newspaper distribution evolved with urban growth and improving modes of transportation. *Acta Diurna,* the reports of the Roman Senate, were proclaimed in the Forum and delivered by courier to the homes of senators, then by horse and ship to officials throughout the empire. During Venice's war against Dalmatian pirates, scribes in the Kingdom of St. Mark (Venice) wrote news accounts that were posted on walls and sold in piazzas; a few individual copies were sold for a *gazetta,* the smallest coin.

Development

Johannes Gutenburg's printing press of the 1450s increased the number of copies produced in a day, allowing and encouraging wider distribution at lower cost. In 1611 Nathaniel Butter hired buxom "Mercurie women" to attract buyers for his paper on street corners. Street kiosks, booksellers, and postal systems became common methods. Ships brought European newspapers to American colonies and carried colonial newspapers back to Europe.

Benjamin Franklin, who began as a printer's devil and newspaper carrier for his brother's *New England Courant,* became a newspaper publisher and postmaster for the colonies. His reforms of the Royal Post improved newspaper distribution by cutting delivery times in half and by allowing newspapers to move between post offices at no charge. President George Washington authorized construction of all-weather "Great Post Roads" from Maine to Georgia and New York to Kentucky to unite the country by assuring speedy delivery of mail and newspapers. Newspaper subscribers reluctant to pay forced publishers to beg postal carriers to collect the fees. As the first U.S. postmaster,

Franklin added another reform: postal carriers paid publishers in advance for every subscription, and then had to collect from subscribers.

In 1833 Benjamin Day introduced the most significant changes in American newspaper distribution with his daily New York *Sun,* the first "penny paper." Day copied a London distribution method suited to a working class readership. Newsboys bought the *Sun* at wholesale rates (66 cents for 100 papers) and sold the papers for one penny. Enterprising newsboys sold the *Sun* on street corners and built routes of subscribers. By letting newsboys profit from distribution, Day enabled them to earn more than adult laborers.

Day's model (made possible because advertisers paid 80 percent of his production cost) spawned dozens of imitators. Philadelphia merchants insisted on knowing the names of a newspaper's subscribers before buying advertising space, so Philadelphia publishers required carriers to provide a current subscriber list. Adults, drawn by the potential profits to be made, began selling papers. Some became brokers, buying papers from every publisher and reselling them to newsboys and retailers. By 1850 such brokers controlled newspaper distribution in every major city, even negotiating wholesale rates with publishers and setting profit margins for carriers and retailers.

By the 1840s, railroads moved newspapers for both publishers and brokers, and newsboys began selling papers on commuter trains. As railroads pushed west, Horace Greeley introduced a *Weekly Tribune* distributed through the Midwest to the Rocky Mountains. A. S. Tuttle, the largest New York broker, had his own railroad cars to serve dealers. His company grew into American News Company which owned or controlled over 20,000 newspaper distribution agencies across the United States. Publisher James G. Bennett challenged the brokers' control by hiring his own distribution force and cutting the paper's price in half, but failed to break their dominance. Brokers controlled

Man buys a copy of the Evening Star from a newsboy in Washington, D.C., during World War I. The paper's headline reads "U.S. at War With Germany; President Signs Resolution."

Source: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

distribution until 1922, when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that they illegally constrained trade. Major newspapers regained control over their distribution and contracted with local brokers for distribution in other towns.

Newsboys, Social Changes, and Distribution Wars

After the Civil War, rapid growth of cities and the rise of labor unions prompted publishers to create the position of circulation manager. By 1875 the distribution process included newsboys and youth carriers, adult carriers, newsstands, booksellers and other retailers, railroads, and post offices. Distribution issues included understanding postal rates and regulations, setting press schedules to railroad timetables, building subscription drives, and negotiating annually with wholesalers, teamsters and other unions. The International Circulation Managers Association (ICMA), established in 1898, offered training and updates and lobbied Congress for favorable newspaper postal rates and regulations.

Social reformers periodically focused on newsboys in their campaigns against child labor. Newspapers defended their reliance on youth, but also solicited donations of winter clothing for newsboys and hosted summer picnics. Scripps newspapers required youth carriers to maintain passing grades in school and employed tutors. Newspapers pointed out that they taught their "Little Merchants" the fundamentals of business: buy wholesale, sell at retail, and serve customers. State legislatures responded in the early twentieth century by setting a minimum age for youth carriers, typically 10 or 11.

Because weeklies, including religious and non-English-language immigrant newspapers, largely were distributed by mail and retailers, they shared few of the distribution problems of dailies. Publishers of all newspapers considered circulation figures a trade secret until the U.S. Postal Act of 1912 required an annual circulation statement from every publication delivered through the postal system. In 1913 the Audit Bureau of Circulations was formed to provide standardized and audited figures. Even for weeklies, distribution now included careful accounting of each day's net paid circulation by subtracting from total circulation the unsold papers and those sold at less than half price.

By the early twentieth century, circulation competition became a war for survival. Improved printing presses pushed daily capacity beyond 100,000 copies. Advertisers preferred to place ad support with the newspaper with the largest circulation simply because it was more efficient. Subscription campaigns sent youth carriers door-to-door several times each year. New subscribers were offered silverware, china, life insurance, and hundreds of other gifts. To increase circulation, metro newspapers used trucks as well as trains to expand distribution into adjacent counties and states, competing with small daily and weekly newspapers. In Chicago, the circulation war turned violent when circulation managers hired thugs to disrupt their competitors' distribution. Trucks and newspaper bundles were stolen, newsstands set ablaze, dealers beaten up, and at least one youth carrier was shot (1916–20). Chicago American circulation manager Moe Annenberg was said to practice his distribution techniques in the newspaper's basement shooting range.

By 1932, "shopper" newspapers began to threaten dailies with a radically new distribution method. Shoppers were delivered free to every household in a defined geographic area. Advertisers gladly paid the low ad rates in return for 100 percent distribution. Daily publishers petitioned city councils for anti-littering ordinances limiting distribution of newspapers only to people who requested them. The ICMA successfully lobbied Congress for a postal regulation limiting the use of mailboxes to items delivered by postal carriers. As a result, the shoppers quickly disappeared. Many metro dailies opened radio stations in the 1920s to boost sales, but in 1933 the "Press-Radio War" broke out because publishers were upset by declining newspaper advertising. The newspapers quickly ended the confrontation when advertising failed to increase.

Mergers increased as publishers bought struggling competitors, consolidating printing and distribution. To increase profits, newspapers used their carrier force to deliver magazines such as *Saturday Evening Post*. Still, nearly 400 daily newspapers closed during the Great Depression, and another 200 dailies went bankrupt during America's involvement in World War II (1941–45) despite the freeze on circulation imposed by newsprint rationing.

Social changes after World War II brought serious new distribution problems. Foremost was the rapid growth of suburbs coupled with the rise of television. By 1955, television was the dominant entertainment medium, displacing both film and general magazines. Television news, however, grew more slowly. Live coverage of the aftermath of John F. Kennedy's 1963 assassination and funeral made it clear newspapers faced a serious competitor.

Suburbanization, Migration, and the End of the "Little Merchant"

Low mortgage rates for veterans combined with mass construction techniques created vast tracts of suburban homes on formerly rural land. Metro newspapers worked feverishly to build efficient distribution networks to reach and cover the suburbs; local weeklies and small town dailies had thousands of potential new readers to serve. The 1956 Interstate and Defense Highway Act authorized a freeway system that promised speedy distribution to suburbs and outlying towns, as well as among cities. Over the next two decades as they tore up and divided inner cities, freeways encouraged families to move farther from the central city and to commute by auto. Growing traffic congestion steadily diminished the ability of afternoon papers to provide timely distribution. As suburban commuters abandoned mass transit for automobiles, afternoon metro editions slowly faded into oblivion. Living in another county distant from the central city, suburbanites needed only a single daily newspaper to complement television and drive time news. Suburban growth allowed publishers to create newspaper "rings" surrounding big cities in the late 1960s. Distributed exclusively in suburbs through the postal system and retailers, the rings comprised weeklies in previously rural towns and new weeklies where needed. Metro newspapers responded by reworking distribution to insure delivery of new suburban news sections to the appropriate carriers and news dealers.

ICMA's Newspaper In Education program begun in the 1960s by several major dailies, sought to build present and future readership among school children. Teachers were paid to attend a summer training program on newspapers as a classroom supplement. Class sets of newspapers were delivered at wholesale rates, and experienced teachers were hired to teach new participants.

The Wall Street Journal began using space technology in the 1970s to provide timely delivery to its national readership. Page layouts were transmitted by satellite to regional printers who then distributed newspapers. Newly developed offset printing plants saved hundreds of weeklies from bankruptcy in the 1960s by creating jointly owned offset printing plants which could take advantage of cheap in-county postal rates.

A series of problems forced massive distribution changes among metro dailies in the 1970s. The elimination of daily transcontinental train service forced some to abandon distant subscribers. Disaster struck in 1974. Gasoline prices quadrupled almost overnight; shortages were common. The postal system substantially increased its rates. Skyrocketing costs forced newspapers to limit distribution to primary readers and eliminate distant "ego" circulation.

Youth carrier shortages became a crisis in the early 1980s. As family size declined with birth control, legal abortion, and dual income households, many families refused to complicate family life with a daily newspaper route. At first, girl carriers eased the shortage, but many parents refused to let their daughters deliver in predawn hours, particularly after a highly publicized kidnapping in Des Moines, Iowa, in 1980. The shortage of youth also crippled door-to-door sales campaigns because youth doubled as a potent sales force. Telephone sales efforts increased, but they could not match the effectiveness of youth carrier begging subscriptions at the front door. Reluctantly, even small city newspapers converted youth routes to motor routes run by independent contractors or contract delivery agents.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, factory closings in the industrial Northeast and upper Midwest (the "rust belt") coupled with construction of new factories in the South, created a massive migration of laborers to warm weather states (the "sun belt") where they joined retirees. This aggravated the flight of white subscribers to the suburbs spurred by, urban race riots (1965–69). Inner cities became concentrations of poor and unskilled laborers living around abandoned factories and railroad yards—-and rarely reading newspapers.

Rust belt metro newspapers restructured delivery routes for their declining number of inner-city subscribers while simultaneously trying to follow their subscribers to the suburbs. Rising inner-city crime rates made carrier safety a priority. To prevent robbery, newspapers abandoned carrier collection, requiring prepayment by credit card or check. Steadily, motor routes replaced inner-city youth carriers.

Sun belt newspapers raced to build distribution networks for sprawling tract developments and planned communities of retirees. In Florida, the "Snowbirds," Northerners who moved there for the winter months, required special delivery routes and subscription packages. Dallas, for example, grew into a major financial center with large numbers of business professionals whose work took them out of the city from Monday through Friday. Special weekend home delivery subscriptions became part of the distribution for the *Times* and *Morning News*.

Late-Twentieth-Century Challenges

An array of problems arose from the changing pattern of urban life as gentrification replaced urban blight in the 1980s. High-security apartments, which attracted middle-class tenants, denied carriers access for delivery. Gyms, shopping malls, television, and evening recreation consumed free time formerly given to newspapers. Increasing numbers of single-copy boxes seemed the only reliable solution. Three Sigma, a major research study, found in 1983 that one in three readers had not seen the previous day's newspaper and were not likely to see the next day's. Young single males, the least frequent readers of weekday newspapers, were the most frequent readers of weekend editions. Every daily newspaper sought solutions to these problems.

In the late 1970s afternoon metro newspapers had begun shifting to morning distribution; others began disappearing through bankruptcy or merger. The *Philadelphia Bulletin,* which had pioneered the use of delivery trucks in 1898, found rush-hour traffic made it impossible to guarantee home delivery to suburban subscribers by 6:30 p.m.; it closed in 1982. In the sun belt, afternoon distribution proved futile, because readers preferred outdoor recreation and other activities. Afternoon distribution remained successful only in small cities and towns.

USA Today devised another distribution strategy in the early 1980s: offer bundles to hotels and airlines at a huge discount and flooded cities with single-copy boxes shaped like television sets. Created for business people, travelers, and occasional newspaper readers, it quickly became a staple in retail outlets. The paper promoted its total circulation, rejecting the Audit Bureau of Circulation's formula for paid circulation, a much more conservative figure. Like *The Wall Street Journal, USA Today* relied on a regional distribution system built around printers who received page layouts by satellite.

Shopper newspapers returned in the 1980s with a new distribution strategy. In cities, they gave away copies through single-copy boxes. In rural areas they placed their own delivery boxes next to rural mail boxes for motor route delivery. By guaranteeing 99 percent household penetration, shoppers competed for classified legal advertising and advertising inserts. Courts upheld shoppers' right to compete for legal classifieds because of their extensive distribution. Loss of advertising revenue forced dailies to build competitive distribution routes; many created a weekly edition delivered to nonsubscribers and rural boxes. The shopper model was mirrored in a host of free special interest and neighborhood newspapers delivered to homes, to open racks, and were left by the bundle in lobbies, skywalks, restaurants, and coffee shops. Metro newspapers devised methods for precise delivery of local sections to the neighborhood route level.

Around San Francisco Bay, weeklies and dailies experimented with distribution techniques to attract the affluent readers advertisers sought. In the "den mother" system, women trained and managed youth carriers who were paid to deliver to every home. These mothers trained carriers to put the paper on every porch in a prescribed fashion, spot-checked their performance weekly, and taught carriers how to go door-to-door seeking voluntary payment for the paper. Others saturated defined areas with free newspapers thrown on the driveways. Rows of single-copy boxes and open racks of free papers lined sidewalks in shopping centers, near restaurants, and wherever people congregated. Free copies were pressed into the hands of people attending events or returning to their cars in mall parking lots.

As newspaper readership declined in the late twentieth century, executives turned to marketing experts. Advertisers sophisticated in target marketing demanded specifics about readers and subscribers. Newspapers restructured to combine advertising and circulation in a marketing unit. As a sign of the times, in 1992 ICMA merged with six other trade groups (American Newspaper Publishers Association, Newspaper Advertising Bureau, Association of Classified Advertising Managers, International Newspaper Advertising and Marketing Executives, Newspaper Advertising Co-op Network, and Newspaper Research Council) to create the Newspaper Association of America.

Internet

The first online versions of newspapers in the mid-1990s delivered only headlines and text. Small newspapers began using online sites for advertising and subscriptions, though with minimal news. Metro newspapers, on the other hand, quickly developed a delivery vehicle for news and advertising with a worldwide audience. With advances in software and Internet speed, newspapers transformed one-way distribution to interactivity, soliciting readers' comments, photos, and videos. By 2006, online newspapers offered readers a richer, more comprehensive and up-to-the-minute package of news, features, and ads. Apart from *The Wall Street Journal,* whose readers were willing to buy a subscription for the latest updates on business news, online newspapers generated little or no revenue apart from charges for archived articles. Users balked at paying for access. Distribution revenue, historically important to newspaper profits, may yet become part of online sites. In 2005, advertisers, encouraged by the dramatic annual rise in online users, began to move advertising dollars from print to online. By 2008, shrinking advertising revenue, coupled with declining subscriptions and corporate pressure for profits of 20 percent or more, created an unprecedented cutback in newspaper staffs and distribution, with no expectation of future growth in traditional distribution.

In 2007 a consortium of newspapers partnered with Yahoo to gain access to the software link between search terms and targeted ads. A search produces local ads and headlines with links. Amazon created a portable reading device, Kindle, which uses cell phone technology to download the full edition of each day's major national and international newspapers along with magazine content and digital copies of purchased books. In 2008, a German factory began producing large format plastic video screens designed specifically for newspapers. Thin, flexible, and easy to read, this new technology seems likely to transform newspaper distribution even further from its ink-and-paper tradition.

Low readership among young adults led metro publishers to create special tabloid newspapers delivered free on subways, in open racks, and even home delivered in targeted neighborhoods. Written in the style and language of young adults, papers like the *Chicago Tribune*'s *RedEye* attract an audience reluctant to seek traditional newspapers.

Youth who today look first to the Internet for information seem far less likely than their parents or grandparents to adopt printed newspapers as they marry, buy a home, and raise children. This iPod and iPhone generation will likely find the new electronic page technology quite normal. Newspaper distribution faces additional challenges: newspapers and their distribution are energy and resource intensive; the issue of air pollution surrounds a distribution system built on diesel and gas engines; newsprint, increasingly expensive, is part of the recycling debate; except in smaller towns, youth carriers have faded into history, and increased reliance on telephone sales and heavy subscription discounts have not generated comparable sales success. In short, the newspaper distribution system, dependant as it is upon readership levels and the appeal of a hard-copy newspaper, seems likely to continue its evolution, even radical technological transformation, especially in major metropolitan areas.

William J. Thorn

See also Broadsheet Newspapers; Distribution, Online; Free Newspapers; Tabloid Newspapers; Weekly Newspapers

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Distribution, Online

For centuries, the dominant means of delivering the news was via print newspapers, magazines or newsletters. While radio and then television made serious inroads during the twentieth century, the biggest challenge to the dominance of print came at the turn of the twenty-first century with a widespread move to online distribution.

Origins

Inspired partly by European experiments with delivering textual information via telephone and television, several U.S. media companies flirted with electronic delivery of information in the late 1970s. These videotex and teletext services sent text and low-definition graphics to subscribers' television sets. The systems were costly and slow and found little reception among readers, though the Minitel system in France did see some level of success.

With the introduction of personal computers into the home in the 1980s, commercial dial-up services such as CompuServe, America Online, and Prodigy were developed, and some publishers experimented with delivering news over those services. But those experiments, such as proprietary services undertaken by *USA Today*, *The Washington Post*, and Time Warner, failed to gain much traction in the marketplace. There were a number of obstacles, many of them economic: early PCs cost as much as $3,000 or more, connection fees added up to another $100 or more each month (and long-distance charges, for those who did not have locally available Internet access, could add up to as much as $1 a minute in many cases). Meanwhile, each service offered access to content from only a handful of news outlets.

The World Wide Web

Only in the mid-1990s did electronic news delivery begin to attract serious attention, with the dawn of the World Wide Web and graphical web browsers, such as Mosaic and, later, Netscape Navigator. In contrast with earlier attempts at delivering news electronically, this new forum offered several advantages to the news consumer. Prices for personal computers began falling as they became more of a commodity Internet service providers began offering large blocks of connection time for a flat fee, often as little as $20 a month. In a rush to stake out their territory in the Internet medium, most news outlets offered their content at no charge. And finally, the World Wide Web offered the convenience of access to hundreds of different news sources.

Initially, news offered on most websites was primarily text based. Hypertext Markup Language (HTML), used to construct webpages, has always had the capability of including inline graphics as well as text. But slow (usually telephone-based) connection speeds made web readers reluctant to wait for graphics to load. In addition, many publishers devoted little effort to preparing web content, merely reprinting news stories online in a practice that came to be known derisively as "shovelware."

As HTML specifications evolved and Internet connection speeds increased, publishers began

incorporating more graphics into their Internet news feeds. Some sites also tried offering audio and even video content, but again connection speeds were a limiting factor. By the late 1990s, Real Networks developed a protocol that allowed audio and video content to be "streamed" with the audio or video starting to play almost immediately while the rest of the content was still being sent. While that theoretically provided a solution to waiting for long periods to download an audio or video file, the reality was that still modest connection speeds and Internet congestion meant that content suffered from low-fidelity audio with frequent pauses or jerky low-resolution video not much larger than a postage stamp. Nevertheless, some radio stations began streaming their programming and several television networks began offering limited video content, although it typically was the same as the broadcast content.

From the earliest days of using the web for news delivery, publishers have sought to increase the frequency and duration of time that users spend interacting with their content. That effort was largely driven by publishers' desire to sell more advertising; the more people accessing the content and the longer they used it, the more advertising revenue could be generated. In 1996, the PointCast Network offered the first means of "pushing" content to users' computers. Coming in the form of a screensaver, PointCast sent live news; all users had to do was set up their personal preferences. Despite initial excitement, however, the software was not long-lived, as it could not be effectively delivered over home dial-up connections, and many businesses banned it for using too much Internet bandwidth.

Bandwidth was, in fact, the prime limiting factor that hindered multimedia news delivery for the first several years of the web. While some businesses and educational institutions enjoyed connection speeds of as much as 1.5 Mbps (million bits per second), home connection speeds typically were around only 1 or 2 percent as fast, barely capable of delivering text at a reasonable rate. Even at their peak speeds of 56 Kbps (kilobits per second)—reached around 2,000—accessing anything more than small graphics over dialup connections was still a slow process. Widespread multimedia news delivery really became feasible only with the introduction of broadband technologies, a group that includes DSL (digital subscriber link, with a typical download speed of 768 Kbps), cable (1 to 6 Mbps), and fiber optic delivery (up to 5 Mbps).

Broadband

Yet, broadband service was slow to take off because of its high price and limited availability. By 2007, however, many countries reported that between 20 and 37 percent of the population had access to broadband connections at home. While the United States has typically led in sheer numbers of broadband users, it has not been one of the leaders in broadband penetration. In 2007, the United States had 21.9 percent broadband penetration, as opposed to a high of 32.8 percent in the Netherlands.

Widespread adoption of broadband access made it possible for content providers to deliver audio, video and other multimedia material without asking users to endure long waits. It also helped blur the lines between traditional news media, speeding convergence. For example, *The Washington Post*'s online division won the first Emmy award ever given for "outstanding achievement in content for non-traditional delivery platforms." (Along with *The New York Times* Online, the *Post*'s service managed to grab five of the seven nominations for the video award.) Widespread broadband access also led CNN to offer its Pipeline video news service, offering both live and on-demand video.

Speeding delivery even further was the widespread adoption of Adobe's Flash technology in 2002 to compress multimedia files, allowing users to enjoy high-quality video and photo slide shows. In 2007, *The Washington Post* marked an important milestone with its onBeing video series, which for the first time offered full-screen high-definition video.

Alternative Formats

News sites also began experimenting with other means of delivering content online. Weblogs—or blogs—gained notice as a tool for mainstream news delivery in 2002, but their use for news dates back to at least 1998. Video blogs (also called vlogs) attracted attention around 2005, and some (such as the one created by technology writer David Pogue of *The New York Times* and CNBC) proved extremely popular.

Another new delivery mechanism was the podcast, which offered users audio or video programming that could be downloaded to a portable music player or played on a personal computer. While initially embraced by the news media as an exciting tool for delivering content in a new way, enthusiasm waned fairly quickly and podcasts became used primarily as a mechanism for time-shifting radio and television content, designed to be accessed by users on the go.

In 2006, a technology known as Twitter made its debut. Designed to be used with mobile phones, Twitter allowed users to send brief messages of up to 140 characters. Interested parties could subscribe to individuals' Twitter feeds (known as following a feed). While at first largely used to convey the mundane details of personal life, users soon realized that Twitter was an effective tool for communicating during a breaking news event. News organizations took notice, and Twitter soon became the go-to tool for journalists looking to report in real time, whether covering politics, sports or court proceedings. Some news organizations also began using Twitter to deliver breaking headlines and links to stories.

News organizations finally began utilizing one of the primary advantages of the medium—its immediacy—and breaking stories online. Most news organizations had held out for more than a decade for fear of cannibalizing their existing print or broadcast services. Slowly it became clear that a web-first strategy was viable and competitive, with subsequent print and broadcast stories adding to and filling in the stories.

A new technology that became commonplace around the same time let news organizations make the most of their content. RSS, or Really Simple Syndication, allows news organizations to offer users the ability to subscribe to frequently updated content such as news headlines and blog entries. The RSS feeds can be viewed in a number of web browsers, e-mail programs, and feed readers.

With an eye toward reaching users away from their PCs, many news organizations also began offering news in formats appropriate for use on mobile phones. At their simplest, these efforts involved text and e-mail alerts. In addition, many news organizations offered access to top stories via special mobile websites. In the most ambitious cases, some news organizations also offered story updates, including full video and graphics, delivered to users' cell phones—in a sense coming full circle from the earliest experiments in electronic distribution.

Challenges

Perhaps the greatest challenges and opportunities came in response to shifts in how people not involved in the news media used electronic media to communicate. As more individuals, businesses and organizations used web and mobile technologies to produce and distribute news of importance to their own communities, news media looked for opportunities to become part of the phenomenon. Their actions trended in two directions: first, attempts to bring the audience into the process of distribution by encouraging audience members to comment on news stories and to submit their own photos and video, commonly referred to as user-generated content, and, second, efforts to establish a presence in social networking communities such as Facebook (as well as in the online virtual world Second Life), with the goal of drawing attention to their own content.

While the rise of online distribution was rapid, it was not without problems. The most persistent was lack of revenue. After initially putting content online for free, it became nearly impossible for news providers to charge users. And with much of traditional media advertising migrating to non-media sites such as eBay and craigslist, news organizations found it hard to generate the kind of revenue they were used to. The declining fortunes of traditional media—particularly daily newspapers—made many resort to cutbacks and layoffs to close some of the gap. The constant search for revenue also pushed some news sites toward emphasizing infotainment content to attract the most page views, a move critics said trivialized news content.

Online distribution continued to lag in at least two other areas as the first decade of the twenty-first century drew to a close. The first was making online products interactive. While news media had come a long way, for the most part, they had made little headway in moving the news into an engaging experience. Aside from offering an occasional role-playing game or letting users upload photos or search databases, most news media offered little in the way of interactivity.

Similarly, after more than a decade of offering their content online, few news organizations took advantage of the Internet's ability to let users customize their sites. Some news sites did offer users the ability to choose from a variety of RSS feeds to create custom home pages, but for the most part, everyone was offered the same content.

Still, despite those shortcomings, it was apparent that in less than 15 years online delivery had become a dominant mode of getting news to users. Users expect to have immediate access to the important news of the day virtually anytime and anywhere.

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See also Blogs and Bloggers; *New York Times, The*; Podcasting; Social Network Websites; Streaming Media; *Washington Post, The*

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Diversity: Content

Although the 1968 Kerner Commission report was not the first criticism of mainstream news media for failing to fairly report on African Americans, it has endured as a benchmark for measuring diversity progress. Officially the *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders,* but informally cited as the Kerner report after its chairman, Illinois governor Otto Kerner, it partly blamed the news media for the riots that exploded in American urban centers during the summer of 1967 and reprimanded the press for its lack of diversity in both news coverage and newsroom employment.

After a comprehensive analysis, the Kerner report leveled numerous criticisms at the press, including failing to communicate the difficulties of being black in America, not understanding or appreciating black culture and history or the black perspective, and not reporting on race relations with "wisdom, sensitivity, and expertise." The report also scolded the journalism profession for its lack of employment of blacks, especially in positions of authority.

Unfortunately, biased news coverage and discriminatory hiring and promotion practices that the Kerner Commission addressed four decades ago, resonate today. In fact, one could apply many of the Kerner Commission's criticisms of the mainstream news media to any racial or ethnic group in the early twenty-first century, including African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, or Native Americans.

Defining Diversity

While a typical dictionary definition of diversity emphasizes distinct characteristics or traits without specifying racial or ethnic attributes, diversity for many has come to represent inclusion of different races and ethnicities, especially in the context of news coverage and newsroom employment.

In recognition of the central role that diversity plays in achieving quality journalism, this entry defines diversity as the inclusion of as well as accurate and fair reporting about groups that historically have been excluded, stereotyped, or devalued because they were born with certain enduring and discernable attributes that differ from the dominant

racial group. Diversity in news coverage (restricted to daily news reporting in this entry) requires that the definition of newsworthy be expanded to include issues, events, communities, and people who historically have been excluded from the news. It also means including sources, both experts and ordinary people, and experiences that represent people of color as well as angles that directly affect communities of color when reporting mainstream stories.

Diversity in News Coverage: From Exclusion to Inclusion

More than 15 years after the publication of the Kerner report, journalism scholars Clint Wilson and Felix Gutierrez (1985) asserted that historically mainstream media's news coverage of racial and ethnic groups involves five stages: (1) exclusionary, (2) threatening issue, (3) confrontation, (4) stereotypical selection, and (5) integrated coverage. In later editions of their book, the fifth stage was renamed "multiracial coverage." These five stages can also be thought of as two dimensions of news coverage with the exclusionary stage symbolizing a failure to include people of color in the news while the other four stages represent *how* news coverage includes and frames people of color.

A pre-Kerner picture of exclusion first emerged from a content analysis of three decades of *The New York Times, The Boston Globe,* the *Atlanta Constitution,* and the *Chicago Tribune.* Indeed, during the early 1950s at the dawn of the civil rights movement, the only newspaper out of four studied whose coverage of the black community accounted for as much as 1 percent of the entire available news space was the *Atlanta Constitution.* By the 1960s, news coverage of blacks had increased, though it still accounted for no more than 4 percent of the total news whole.

In addition to the dearth of African Americans in news coverage, other studies pointed to the exclusion of Latinos, Asian Americans, and Native Americans. One observed that Latinos have been excluded from the news so frequently that they are the "invisible minority" (Salwen and Soruco 1997). The invisible minority status of Latinos on network evening news was documented by the 2006 *Network Brownout Report* put out by the National Association of Hispanic Journalists, which found that only .83 percent of stories aired on the three major networks in 2005 were exclusively focused on Latinos or Latino-related issues.

Although the use of racial labels to segregate blacks in news and obituary pages is a thing of the past, more subtle types of segregation have been found in contemporary news coverage. For example, in a study of network news stories, expert sources were segregated by race. Thirty-three black experts compared to 27 white experts appeared in black-issue stories, but in non-black-issue stories, white experts outnumbered blacks by 94 to 15. Researchers have also found segregation in story assignments. For instance, when the reporter's race and the story's racial focus were compared, it was more than three times as likely that an African American would report a story with a black focus than a white reporter.

Stereotyping

A review of three decades of empirical results of journal articles, books, and convention papers that primarily examined news coverage of African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Native Americans found that not only is stereotyping a mainstay of news coverage but people of color have also been stereotyped in the news in a variety of ways, including two of the Wilson and Gutierrez (1985) stages, threatening and confrontational. Even though every racial and ethnic group throughout the history of the American mainstream press has been a victim of stereotyping, Native Americans may have been the first victims. Mary Ann Weston's 1996 examination of press coverage of Native Americans at critical junctures throughout American history found the press stereotyped Native Americans as threatening, confrontational, degraded, outsiders, historic relics, exotic, good and noble, bad and uncivilized, and as a vanishing race.

A qualitative analysis of *The Boston Globe* done by researchers Autumn Miller and Susan Dente Ross in 2004 found evidence that old stereotypes of Native Americans are still around. Both news and feature stories stereotyped Native Americans as outsiders, and editorials and feature stories framed them as historic relics "wearing bright feathers and colorful blankets." This was most apparent in news stories which used "unattributed narration" to make references to rampant alcoholism among the Native American population.

Poverty Stricken. Equating African Americans with poverty has been an enduring stereotype in news coverage. Despite census statistics showing 29 percent of poor people were African American, one analysis of photographs illustrating stories on poverty published in *Time, Newsweek,* and *U.S. News and World Report* found that 62 percent of the photographs used African Americans to represent poverty. According to Martin Gilens, the face of poverty was even more distorted in news broadcast on ABC, NBC, and CBS: 65 percent of the poor people depicted were black.

Criminal and Threatening. The stereotype of blacks as criminals and threatening not only rivals the stereotype of this same group as poor, but it may also be the most enduring stereotype since empirical evidence of it dates back to 1975 when news stories featuring blacks were concerned with possible crime or past criminal activity on the part of blacks. Similarly, when researchers sorted local television news stories by their racial focus, they found that stories focused on blacks (69 percent) were nearly two and a half times more likely than stories focused on whites (28 percent) to be about crime.

In a 1992 study of local television news in Chicago, blacks were more likely than whites to be shown wearing street or jail clothing and more likely to be shown being held by a restraining officer. The menacing image of blacks was underscored when comparing violent and nonviolent crime news stories as blacks were significantly more likely than whites to be shown in stories about rape, murder, robbery, and drug dealing. Similarly in studies conducted in the Los Angeles area in 2000, there was a gap between government crime statistics and local crime news reports. Blacks were more likely to be shown as suspects in murder stories despite the fact that they do not account for the largest number of murders, and blacks were likelier to be portrayed as felons on television news (44 percent) than to actually be arrested for felonies (25 percent).

Black leaders cannot escape the network news crime story. One analysis of ABC network news stories in 1994 found that among the 186 stories that mentioned a black leader, more than one-third (68 percent) included an allegation that the leader had committed a crime. The study also noted that network news shows white leaders in a positive light vastly more—both proportionally and absolutely.

Nor has the criminal stereotype in news coverage been limited to African Americans. A 1995 content analysis of 60 years of *New York Times* stories, for example, found similar stereotypes for Latinos and Asian Americans. According to the content analysis, the only topic that received regular attention throughout the time period studied was that of crimes committed by Asian Americans, particularly Chinese Americans. Similarly, according to other studies, news coverage emphasized Latinos committing crimes. But in newspapers based in small cities with large Latino populations, another study found crime news about Latinos ranked third behind other hard and soft news. The opposite was true in a study of the front pages of the local or metro sections in the *Los Angeles Times* and *Houston Chronicle.* Researchers found Latino-focused stories were more likely to be about crime. The 2006 *Network Brownout* Report has also found evidence that network news stereotypes Latinos as menacing, carrying images of day laborers standing in a parking lot or immigrants crossing the border.

Confrontational and Critical. Confrontational, another stage of news coverage identified by Wilson and Gutierrez in 1985, is treated here as a dimension of stereotyping. This type of coverage may be evident in news reports about black political figures, community activists, or even ordinary citizens. One 1990 analysis of local Chicago news noted how the sound bites used in such reports often depicted the black person talking loudly—even angrily—and employing emotional rhetoric rather than speaking in a calm, deliberative tone. Moreover, in contrast to this presentation of black leaders, during the week of local news analyzed, white political actors were rarely shown shouting or haranguing.

The image of black leaders in network news is that of the relentless critic, which leads to a negative contrast with the presentation of white leadership behavior: black leaders are routinely depicted as constantly complaining compared with the more balanced portrayal of powerful whites, who are shown offering both praise and reproach.

Problem People. Because of *The New York Times*' sparse coverage of Native Americans, the focus on problems may have been accentuated, making news

coverage take on dimensions of stereotyping. The most noticeable trend in the coverage of Native Americans, according to researcher Carolyn Martindale in her 1995 study of the *Times,* was the tendency to focus on the problems they face, which reinforces the belief of various researchers that the news media presents minorities as "problem people" who are outside the mainstream of American society. Coverage of this kind accounted for 27 percent of the total coverage of Native Americans, a larger share than the problem coverage of any other minority group.

Studies have found that in cities with large Latino populations, Latinos' inclusion in the news is consistent with their representation in the population. Yet Latinos are more likely than Anglos to be covered in the news because they are problems. Examples of problem-oriented news included coverage of crime and the judiciary, riots and demonstrations, and accidents and disasters. This 1989 finding confirmed an earlier study conducted in 1980 that found that news stories tended to focus on Latinos as "problem people" who are constantly causing or beset by problems.

Gang Member and Model Minority. Despite what appears to be mutually exclusive labels, the news media stereotype Asian Americans as both gang members and as model minorities. In contrast to both positive and negative stereotypes, Latinos have been portrayed as members of violent gangs. With gang violence a component of network news' focus on crime, the 2006 Network Brownout Report found that network news stories about violent crime linked the increase in gangs to the upsurge in undocumented immigrants in the United States.

Athletes and Entertainers. If they are not stereotyped as poor or criminals, African Americans are stereotyped as athletes and entertainers. When 3,200 news stories in ten Boston television, radio, and newspaper outlets were analyzed in 1987, a researcher found that most of the blacks featured in major-media news stories were celebrities who were famous for being entertainers or athletes or who had achieved notoriety as criminals or failing students.

Similarly, an examination of photographs of African Americans in *The New York Times, Chicago Tribune, New Orleans Times-Picayune,* and *San Francisco Chronicle* during the pre–civil rights era, civil rights era, and the period since found sports dominated all photographic images of blacks. As a result of an analysis of photographs of African Americans published in *Life, Newsweek* and *Time* magazines for the period 1978 through 1988, researchers determined that in addition to the athlete stereotype, African Americans were largely represented as entertainment figures.

Underrepresenting

By overrepresenting people of color in certain types of news stories such as crime and sports, the news media engage in stereotyping; by underrepresenting people of color in news stories where they should be included, the news media fall short of being inclusive and fail to attain integrated coverage. Whether overrepresenting or underrepresenting, the result is the same: the news is distorted and the press fails to serve the public and live up to its journalistic responsibility.

Black achievements in politics, banking, and education were found to be underrepresented in the news in one study conducted by Kirk A. Johnson in 1987; separate studies found that the everyday life of blacks and Latinos is absent from both the news and photographic images. Blacks and Latinos are even underrepresented as sources for news. Furthermore, studies found sparse news reporting on discrimination, race relations, and other issues and problems related to race and ethnicity. In other words, whether it is focusing on everyday life issues, individual achievements, or topics directly related to race and ethnicity, the news media still fall short of the Kerner Commission's recommendations from 1968.

The Future of News Diversity

Since the Kerner Commission first spotlighted the news media's diversity failures, multiple strategies have been implemented to make news coverage more diverse. Despite significantly improved news coverage and a commitment from the American Society of Newspaper Editors to make newsrooms mirror the racial diversity of American society, representative inclusion of African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Native Americans in newsrooms and news coverage remains an unachieved goal.

Diversity in news coverage depends on the news business continuing to press forward on strategies that have been successful and developing new initiatives that take a fresh approach to achieving diversity in an ever-changing news media landscape. Some examples of innovative diversity initiatives implemented during the past decade include ASNE's "The National Time-Out for Diversity and Accuracy" project; The National Association of Hispanic Journalists' "Parity Project"; and the Freedom Forum's "Diversity Institute."

The "Time-Out for Diversity and Accuracy" initiative is an annual opportunity to set aside time to focus on diversity. In addition to learning more about diversity in their communities, newspapers use this occasion to assess the quantity and quality of diversity in their news coverage, including how stories are written, which sources are used, and what stories and photographs are published on the front page. By linking diversity and accuracy, the "Time-Out" initiative, which was started in 1999 by the Associated Press Managing Editors' Diversity Committee, acknowledges that accuracy, an essential element of journalism, can only be achieved when a community's diversity is fully reflected in the pages of the newspaper.

The Parity Project, initiated in 2002 by the National Association of Hispanic Journalists (NAHJ), was designed to increase the number of Latino journalists. Cities that have significant Latino populations but lack parity in Latino representation in their newsrooms are identified, then targeted as ideal communities for introducing The Parity Project. NAHJ then works with journalism schools, foundations, and Latino leaders to increase the number of Latino journalists in that community.

The goal of the Diversity Institute, which was started by the Freedom Forum in 2002, is to develop a new pool of journalists of color. Local newspapers nominate non-journalism professionals or recent college graduates to attend the Diversity Institute, which is based at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee. Once nominees have completed the 12-week intensive journalism training program, the newspapers that nominated them hire them as reporters, copy editors, page designers, or photographers.

Diversifying newsroom employment is one indispensable prerequisite to diversifying news content, but employment alone cannot do the job. Achieving the goal of news coverage diversity also depends on a commitment from owners, publishers, and editors and *all* journalists—not just journalists of color—at every level of the newsroom hierarchy to present a representative picture of all groups through quality journalism that serves the public good.

Paula M. Poindexter

See also Diversity: Employment; Diversity: Policy

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Diversity: Employment

For 40 years after diversity finally became a principal value of American journalism in the late 1960s, news institutions endeavored earnestly, but with only qualified success, to make news coverage and newsroom staffing representative of society's diversity.

The American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) defined diversity in 1978 when its members vowed to increase the proportion of ethnic minorities in daily journalism equal to their percentage of the population by the end of the twentieth century. The editors' manifesto, formalizing diversity efforts ASNE had begun in early 1972, quickly was followed by similar actions within other press organizations and journalism education groups who set goals and adopted similar diversity standards for racial and ethnic representation in their ranks. The Radio and Television News Directors Association (RTNDA) began tracking minorities in broadcast news jobs in 1972. By 1978, minorities made up about 12 percent of the U.S. population, but only about 4 percent of daily newspaper journalists.

ASNE sought to ensure that its goal of fully inclusive journalism—known as the "Year 2000 Plan"—would endure by issuing a yearly progress report on the diversity drive over the next three decades. But journalism's diligence in measuring diversity far outstripped its effectiveness in meeting the widely publicized goal. By 1998, with press diversity at about 11 percent and the U.S. minority population totaling nearly 25 percent and rising, ASNE extended its projected employment deadline to 2025.

With rare exceptions, each year of the ASNE census did see a slight increase in minority newsroom employment, though gains were usually fractional. Yet on the eve of the 30th anniversary of its original pledge, ASNE's yearly census found diversity dipping from 13.9 percent in 2006 to 13.6 percent a year later, while the percentage of minority-group Americans had soared to nearly 35 percent.

By this time, broadcast journalism had labored for nearly a third of a century pursuing the goal of more representative newsrooms, with no more to celebrate than its print news counterparts. In July 2006, RTNDA reported nonwhite journalists in radio newsrooms had dropped by two-thirds, from 16 percent in 1998 to about 6.4 percent (albeit during a period when all radio journalism employment was in sharp decline). Television newsroom diversity showed a slight gain, rising by about one percentage point to 22.2 percent.

Origins

The challenge of press desegregation grew out of urban riots of the 1960s when mainstream news media, then 99 percent white, urgently needed black reporters to cover the violent uprisings in cities around the country. The outbursts were fueled by black Americans' frustrations over persistent injustices despite the significant gains of the civil rights movement.

The racial revolution of mid-1900s America promised an elimination of separate institutions for different racial groups. Yet just when it was most needed, the black press, a foremost proponent of racial integration, found itself ambling toward obsolescence. The mainstream white press was, however, not as eager to lose its racial exclusion practices as other institutions in society.

One 1970 observer saw the press as hypocritical:

> The strange phenomenon of the newspaper business is that regardless of the liberal editorials, regardless of the strong advocacy of equal rights in employment," James R. Smith said, "newspapers for the most part have the worst hiring record, or inclusion record of blacks than any other business institution. (Smith 1970, 7)

President Lyndon Johnson's 1967 riot investigation panel, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (the Kerner Commission), elevated press diversity to a major civic responsibility. Its report devoted a full chapter to the news media, blaming the riots partly on "a press that repeatedly, if unconsciously, reflects the biases, the paternalism, the indifference of white America. This may be understandable, but it is not excusable in

an institution that has the mission to inform and educate the whole of our society."

The Year 2000 Plan, adopted on the tenth anniversary of the 1968 Kerner report's official release, established both a definition and a timetable for press diversity. It sprang from the vision of Robert C. Maynard, a champion and leading icon of inclusive journalism for two decades before his death in 1993.

Maynard gained prominence as a Washington *Post* correspondent and ombudsman, as diversity chief for Gannett newspapers, and as the first black owner and publisher of a major daily newspaper, the Oakland *Tribune*. Starting in 1972, he built a parallel career in newsroom diversity. In an April 1972 speech at the ASNE convention, for example, he called for a fully representative press to serve not only black people but for the benefit of all Americans, saying, "It is impossible for all Americans to understand what they should about each other if only some kinds of Americans get to control the telling of the story." Within six years, Maynard had grown more strident, urging ASNE to adopt the Year 2000 goal in a 1978 speech: "Ten years after the death of Dr. King, at the end of this long, sorrowful decade, the American press has a long, long way to go. . . . You must desegregate this business."

A few months earlier, Maynard and a multiracial group of journalists had created the Institute for Journalism Education (IJE) in Berkeley, California. Over the next 30 years, IJE became the most prolific instrument of press employment diversity, advocating vigorously for more inclusive newsrooms and training hundreds of journalists of color. It was renamed in Maynard's honor when he died of cancer in 1993, leaving a vacuum in the leadership of press diversity that remained unfilled into the twenty-first century.

During the 40 years after the Kerner Commission's sharp rebuke of the press and 30 years after the newspaper and broadcast journalism business launched concerted efforts to increase their diversity, a vast and growing infrastructure had evolved to pursue the almost universally approved goals. Full-time diversity directors or officers were added, often as permanent positions to national professional organizations including ASNE, the National Association of Broadcasters, and National Public Radio. There were also public organizations such as Accuracy in Media and Freedom Forum.

More than two dozen media organizations devoted some or all of their energies to press diversity, according to a list posted at the Maynard Institute's website. Journalists of color wishing to advocate for themselves formed ethnic professional organizations to support their interests and advocate for more representative staffing, beginning with the National Association of Black Journalists in 1975 (NABJ), followed by the National Association of Hispanic Journalists (NAHJ), the Asian American Journalists Association (AAJA), and the Native American Journalists Association (NAJA).

The Asian American Journalists Association (AAJA) was created in 1981 by a few of Los Angeles print and broadcast journalists of Asian descent with three main goals: to encourage Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders to become journalists, to increase their numbers among news managers, and to pursue fair and accurate coverage of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. AAJA members include top journalists who are national network anchors, Pulitzer-winning reporters, editors, photographers, broadcast producers, and other news leaders. By its twenty-fifth anniversary, AAJA had more than 2,000 members in 20 chapters nationally and rapid growth of journalists around the globe. It had awarded more than $1 million in scholarships, developed an Executive Leadership Program that graduated 288 mid-career journalists, and advocated vigorously for better coverage of Asian American and Pacific Islander communities.

The National Association of Black Journalists (NABJ), with 3,300 members, is the oldest and largest organization of journalists of color in the United States. It was formed in 1975 by a group of 44 journalists gathered in Washington, D.C., to cover an annual convention. It was inspired partly by the frustration of black news professionals who had gained a foothold in the mainstream press by being hired to cover the racial uprisings ("riots") of the 1960s then struggled to expand their voice and presence. NABJ awards nearly 100,000 a year in scholarships to aspiring journalists. Its mission includes pursuit of workplace fairness for black journalists, strengthening ties among black journalists and increasing their numbers in news management positions, advancing excellence in coverage of black communities and the larger society, and encouraging students to pursue journalism careers.

Hispanic journalists and media workers formed several professional organizations that became forerunners to the National Association of Hispanic Journalists (NAHJ), incorporated in 1984. The first National Hispanic Media Professionals Conference was held in San Diego in 1982, and later contributions of the California Chicano News Media Association aided formation of NAHJ. The organization held its first national convention in San Francisco in 1990. Its mission includes providing the visibility and voice that Hispanic journalists previously lacked, bringing more Hispanics into newsrooms and strengthening professional opportunities for working Hispanic journalists. With more than 2,000 members by its twentieth anniversary, NAHJ provided professional development programs, an online job bank, scholarships and internships, and journalism awards.

The Native American press traces its roots to the founding of the bilingual Native newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix* in Georgia in 1828. The rise of modern technologies has expanded the native press from local to national and international vehicles to meet the community and tribal communications needs. NAJA grew out of a 1983 meeting of 30 Native American Journalists at Pennsylvania State University. The organization, first named the Native American Press Association, was launched at a subsequent meeting in 1984 at the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma. The name was changed in 1990 to better reflect the organization's broader goals and the inclusion of radio and television professionals among its membership. NAJA serves and empowers Native journalists through programs and actions designed to enrich journalism and promote Native cultures. It emphasizes that Native Americans are distinct peoples based on tradition and culture; educates and unifies its membership through journalism programs that promote diversity; and defends challenges to free press, speech, and expression.

Inevitably, these groups found commonality and joined to create another entity, labeled Unity, Journalists of Color, founded in 1994. This structure enabled the units to address diversity issues as separate organizations or to speak collectively, as illustrated in its response to RTNDA's disappointing progress report of July 2006 by AAJA president Esther Wu, which, in its call for journalists to strive to reflect the diverse communities they serve, reverberated with the echo of Bob Maynard's call long before for an all-out effort to effect press diversity for the good of all Americans.

Alice Bonner

See also Bias; Diversity: Content; Diversity: Policy; Gay and Lesbian News Media; Labor Unions; Latino News Media; Native American News Media; Women in Journalism

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Diversity: Policy

Diversity policies at news media organizations are designed to increase the presence and influence of

those population groups who historically have been underrepresented or misrepresented in news reports and in the newsroom. These policies are often developed and explained in terms of journalism ethics, social responsibility, inclusiveness, or good business practice. As a business practice, the implementation of a sound diversity policy has a proven ability to increase a news medium's audience, market share, and profits. Nonetheless, news media organizations are much less likely than other organizations to publicly present their diversity policies as outgrowths of financial, political, or legal concerns.

Evolving Definition

Diversity in the news media is usually presented as a value based on principles of ethics and social responsibility. It has been a long-standing value in American journalism, but it has developed a broader interpretation since it was articulated in the first professional codes of journalism ethics created in the early 1900s. The earliest written ethics codes recognized and heralded diversity as a fundamental component of good journalism to encourage and assure the presentation of a variety of viewpoints on important public issues.

Nelson Antrim Crawford and Leon Nelson Flint, two major American scholars of journalism ethics in the early decades of the twentieth century, for example, advocated a diversity that was defined in terms of economic, political, moral, class, and social perspective. This was distinct from the meaning the term acquired during the latter half of the century when it was rooted primarily in race, ethnicity, and gender. The only references to race, ethnicity, and gender in Crawford's 1924 book *The Ethics of Journalism,* and Flint's 1925 book, *The Conscience of the Newspaper,* indicated journalists should eschew the use of offensive racist terms that might offend nonwhites, such as the Chinese. Some of the newspaper codes cited in the books addressed gender issues only to direct reporters and editors to avoid using terms or invoking images a gentleman would know are not appropriate in the presence of a girl or lady. When the Hutchins Commission, a private group of scholars led by educator Robert M. Hutchins, issued its landmark report on the shortcomings of American journalism in 1947, it cited a dearth of diversity in ideas and opinions expressed in the mass media. Among the commission's major recommendations was that journalists and other media professionals provide their publics with "a representative picture of the constituent groups in the society."

In each manifestation of the evolving meaning of diversity, it was seen as essential to providing a fuller, less biased, more accurate depiction of important truths. This basic orientation remains intact in the twenty-first century and is common among the professional associations of American journalists and the major news media companies. The Society of Professional Journalists, for example, has a policy that declares diversity is "essential to excellence and high standards in reporting. We incorporate diversity in our code of ethics because we believe journalists must make every effort to describe all aspects of the human experience, that we must avoid the stereotyping and limited vision that corrupt accuracy."

The 1960s Influence

The modern notion of diversity began to develop during the social and cultural upheavals that marked the 1960s, particularly the Civil Rights movement. During this period, journalists came to recognize that race and ethnicity dramatically influenced perspectives. They also realized that these perspectives determined which issues were considered newsworthy and were therefore sufficiently important to warrant a place on the public agenda. The news media are widely assumed to have the ability to influence development of the public agenda and to determine which issues are important enough to warrant public attention and action.

The news media's long-term failure to recognize issues of concern to African Americans and focus public attention on them led to one of the most pointed public condemnations of professional journalism in the twentieth century. This criticism came from the Kerner Commission, a presidential advisory group created to study the nature and causes of civil unrest and riots in black communities during the late 1960s. Formally known as the U.S. Commission on Civil Disorders, the group cited the news media's lack of racial diversity as a cause and indicator of the nation's lack of concern

for these issues and the failure to adequately address them before they boiled over into violence. Matters of concern to the African American community had not been placed prominently on the public agenda because, in part, black people had no significant role in the process that decided which issues were important. "If the media are to report with understanding, wisdom and sympathy on the problems of the cities and the problems of the black man—for the two are increasingly intertwined—they must employ, promote and listen to Negro journalists" (Kerner Commission Report 1968). Since then, diversity policies in journalism have evolved to focus largely, but not exclusively, on race, gender, and ethnicity. In the latter part of the twentieth century, diversity policies also included concerns about other racial and ethnic groups, women, homosexuals, and the disabled.

Affirmative Action and Law

By the 1970s, American broadcast radio and television stations were under orders from the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to hire blacks and other minorities. Indeed, after a 16-year battle in courts and administrative hearings, the FCC rescinded the broadcast license of television station WLBT in Jackson, Mississippi, because it ignored or demeaned newsworthy issues of importance to its African American audience. This station and other white-owned stations in the South often did not report on the debates and physical confrontations of the ongoing civil rights movement or they excluded the perspectives of the movement's leaders and supporters. These were among the reasons cited when the FCC vacated WLBT's broadcast license and awarded it to a racially integrated group dedicated to including issues of importance to the black community in its broadcasts.

The FCC maintained an aggressive affirmative action and diversity policy for holders of broadcast licenses until the 1990s when federal court rulings began finding race-based hiring considerations constitutionally untenable. The U.S. Supreme Court took a major step in this direction with its ruling in *Metro Broadcasting, Inc. v. FCC* (1990). Eight years later, the federal Circuit Court for the District of Columbia similarly criticized the FCC in the case *Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod v. FCC* (1998) for unduly pressuring radio and television stations to hire blacks, Hispanics, and members of other minority groups.

As some news organizations were making efforts to diversify and broaden their pool of employees to report on race-driven issues during the late 1960s, members of minority groups were hired in news reporting jobs even though some had no prior formal training in journalism. Some of the new hires proved equal to the task and established long careers as respected journalists. Others failed. The earliest affirmative action-newsroom diversity conflicts can be traced to these early failures and the resentment some white journalists expressed when people with less formal training were hired and promoted before them.

Associations of Minority Journalists

As the social and cultural upheavals associated with the Civil Rights movement began to fade, newsroom diversity also began to ebb. A small group of African American journalists, 44 men and women, banded together in 1975 to form the National Association of Black Journalists—NABJ—for the explicit purpose of making sure blacks secured a larger, influential, and permanent place in American newsrooms. Similarly dedicated organizations of other minority group journalists also were formed. Among them were the National Association of Hispanic Journalists, the Asian American Journalists Association, the Native American Journalists Association, and the National Lesbian and Gay Journalists Association. This latter group, founded in 1990, saw its mission not only in terms of keeping its members in positions of influence in newsrooms but also in promoting fair and accurate coverage of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender issues throughout the news media. These minority group journalism associations have similar missions and each works to monitor the profession's treatment of minority issues and the editorial choices made in these areas.

Wording choices have become closely monitored when they address minority-group people and issues and the associations readily offer guidance. Most, if not all, professional journalism organizations have written policies that ban the use of words that stereotype or unjustifiably convey negative implications about minority groups

and women. Such policies were rare during the early decades of the twentieth century. When the career of legendary African American boxer Joe Louis took flight in the 1930s, journalists routinely referred to him as the "Brown Bomber." Such a moniker would probably not be used today because it would be deemed inappropriate and a violation of diversity policy. Labels depicting nationality, ethnicity, and race were common in news reports of the 1920s and into the 1950s; Jewish, Italian, and Irish newsmakers also were subject to such labeling until it became proscribed as a matter of professional ethics. Racial and ethnic labeling are now considered unethical unless these identifications are particularly relevant to the news being reported. News organizations also have worked to make sure women and minorities are among the experts and leaders relied upon and publicly cited as sources, and they have taken steps to ensure that the overall depiction of them in the news is balanced, accurate and avoids stereotyping.

As a result of the efforts of advocates such as Robert C. Maynard, the first black owner-editor of *The Oakland Tribune,* and journalist Hodding Carter III, all of the major professional journalism associations and news companies have publicly embraced multifaceted diversity policies. Indeed, at Maynard's urging during the 1970s the American Society of Newspaper Editors began pushing and supporting progressive diversity policies throughout the United States and regularly monitors and reports its successes and failures. It has set benchmarks and timetables for hiring and promotion in an effort to have newsroom diversity reflect the diversity of the American population. As a result of this and other practices, diversity has become a synonym, in some sections of the newsroom, for an affirmative action policy that gives preferential treatment in newsroom hiring and promotion to members of minority groups or people who otherwise have been misrepresented or underrepresented in positions of power and influence.

Criticism of Diversity Policies

Diversity policy has been criticized for suppressing publication of unfavorable information about historically underrepresented groups. Veteran journalist William McGowan emerged in the early 1990s as one of the most articulate and respected critics of diversity policies in journalism. In an opinion piece published in 1993 in the *Columbia Journalism Review,* he criticized the implementation of newsroom diversity policies, claiming they undermined basic principles of good journalism and subverted venerable guiding principles of neutrality and objectivity. Among McGowan's complaints was the claim that diversity practices caused editors to ignore some newsworthy issues purely because they reflected negatively on some members of minority groups or women. His criticism culminated in a controversial book titled *Coloring the News, How Political Correctness Has Corrupted American Journalism* which won the National Press Club's 2002 Arthur Rowse Award for Press Criticism.

Conclusion

American news organizations have extolled the virtues of diversity in journalism from the outset of their formal efforts to professionalize their craft in the early years of the twentieth century. Nearly a hundred years later, the definition of diversity and the implementation of diversity policies have evolved significantly but remain faithful to the fundamental impetus to fully and accurately report the truth without ethnic, religious, or gender bias. That evolution reflects and projects similar political and social change in the United States.

John C. Watson

See also African American News Media; Asian American News Media; Diversity: Content; Diversity: Employment; Ethics; Federal Communications Commission; Gay and Lesbian News Media; Latino News Media; Native American News Media; Objectivity

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Docudrama

A docudrama is a reenactment, or dramatization, of current or historical events. Docudrama combines fictional elements with the re-creation of events and with documentary. It is, as the word suggests, documentary drama, a hybrid of the real and the fictional. Docudrama has also been called nonfiction drama and reality-based drama.

Scholars, filmmakers, and critics disagree about many aspects of docudrama, including what it should be called. They also disagree about the definition of this hybrid. Some scholars argue that the docudrama has received insufficient study. There is, however, general agreement that whatever docudrama is, it is an immensely popular form of information and entertainment and it continues to find a large and avid audience.

It has been noted that, unlike documentary, there is no pure form of docudrama. Most docudramas might be categorized as reconstructions of dramatic stories, including investigative reconstructions. An important subgenre of docudrama is biography, or the biopic. Many analysts consider *Disraeli* (1929) to be the first biopic. However, there were others that came before, including a French cinematic depiction of the life of *Napoleon* in 1914.

During the 1930s, when the biographical film was first recognized as a genre in the United States, it became a Hollywood staple and a significant number of them were commercial and artistic successes. Among the films were *Alexander Hamilton* (1931), *Voltaire* (1933), *The Story of Louis Pasteur* (1935), *The Life of Emile Zola* (1937), and *Juarez* (1939). While many of Hollywood's earliest biopics did not depict Americans, that oversight was soon corrected. In the late 1930s, *Young Mr. Lincoln* and *Abe Lincoln in Illinois* began a decades-long trend in the American movie industry concentrating on the lives, deeds, and myths of American lives.

The biopic has always found a ready audience. Most docudramas on television today are biopics and appear on two cable networks, *E! Entertainment* and A&E's *Biography,* the latter devoted to biopics.

Origins

The origins of the film docudrama can be traced to the late 1800s when pioneering filmmakers exhibited in penny arcades. It was then common practice to include re-creations with real footage and recordings. This was particularly true for some of the filmmakers telling the story of the Spanish-American War. Certain incidents were reenacted, not to deliberately deceive the viewing public, but because filmmakers were not present at the scene of the action. One example was the use of tiny replicas of a Spanish fleet that had been defeated at Santiago. Film pioneer Edward H. Amet filmed the sinking of the "fleet" in a bathtub. Combined with actual war footage, the faked material was good enough to convince Spanish military archivists who later included it in a collection. An early example of a film docudrama based on actual events was *The Assassination of the Duke of Guise* (*La Mort du duc de Guise*), produced in Paris in 1907. The film was a re-creation of the circumstances surrounding the murder of a rival of King Henri III.

Early-twentieth-century examples of docudrama can be found in the work of British filmmakers Humphrey Jennings (1907–50) and Harry Watt (1906–87). Watt's 1938 film *North Sea* employed reconstructions of a dramatic rescue at sea. His work is credited with helping lay the groundwork for the documentaries that depicted events during World War II. Jennings's 1943 film *Fires Were Started,* for example, was a study of London firemen who helped save the city during the Blitz. Foregoing the use of actors, Jennings cast real firemen in the roles.

Radio Docudrama

Docudrama's American journalism antecedents were aural. *Time* magazine led the way with *NewsActing,* dramatic re-creations of news events incorporated into radio programs *Time* called *NewsCasts*. The *NewsCasts,* created in 1928 by *Time* executives Fred Smith and Roy Larsen, were carried by some 33 stations nationwide.

In 1931, the program became the *March of Time,* first heard on the stations affiliated with the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). The *March of Time* broadcasts closely mimicked newsreels, with actors playing, and imitating the voices of world figures such as Edward VIII and Adolph Hitler. The program's producers required the actors to study voice recordings in *Time*'s vast library.

The *March of Time* production process was extensive, requiring hundreds of hours of research, writing, rehearsal, and other preparations for each minute of programming. Production staffs were large and expensive. In that way, *Time* set the standard for the high quality of research that would follow in the *March of Time* theatrical newsreels and, considerably later, in CBS's *You Are There* radio and television series. By 1932, the high cost of producing the program brought about its demise, but the volume and the quality of the listener objections caused the magazine to reconsider. In June 1932, *Time* entered into an agreement with CBS to continue the program. Although the audience was a loyal one, the *March of Time* failed to attract advertisers and CBS shared the costs with the publisher.

The *March of Time* dramatizations came to an end as technology enabled the use of audio actualities. The early 1940s saw, especially in the reporting of Edward R. Murrow (1908–65) and his team of correspondents, emergence of the broadcast journalist as a respected news source. This trend helped make the use of actors and reenactments obsolete, and the *March of Time* left radio in 1945.

In the late 1930s and through World War II, Norman Corwin produced some of radio's most critically and artistically acclaimed dramas. In all of them, he melded words (often in the form of poetic verse), music, and sound effects to create the right mood for his listeners. In an interview with radio scholar Michael C. Keith, Corwin noted that "The term documentary is elastic, and certainly many of my works fall into that category, among them I would list my 'Bill of Rights' broadcast, as well as 'We Hold These Truths' [1941], 'This is War!'[1942], 'On a Note of Triumph' [1945], 'One World Flight' [1947] and scores of others." Many of these, most of which were aired over CBS (or all four national networks in some cases), used dramatic scenes or elements such as recreations or the inclusion of a narrator or actor talking with current or historical figures in American life. Their themes often centered on fascism and tyranny versus the valor and values of democracy.

March of Time Newsreel

The theatrical film version of the *March of Time* premiered on February 1, 1935, in 500 U.S. theaters and was instantly successful with moviegoers. Louis de Rochemont (1899–1978), a former assistant editor at Pathe News, was hired by *Time* in 1934 to produce the newsreels. De Rochmont decided to mix dramatic reenactments with location footage. For de Rochmont, who called this "pictorial journalism," it was not only a way to survive in the competitive world of theatrical newsreels but also a means of more clearly explaining global issues.

Like the *March of Time* on radio, the newsreels were expensive to produce, requiring a large staff and tens of thousands of dollars per episode. High production costs as well as the advent of television, brought the *March of Time* newsreels to an end in 1951. Before it ended, Louis de Rochmont had passed the series on to his brother Richard and had taken his docudrama technique to feature length films. He made several documentaries, two of which won Academy Awards. These included *The House on 92nd Street,* a docudrama about atomic spies and counter espionage (1945), and *Lost Boundaries* (1949), a true-life story about a black doctor and his family in rural New Hampshire who, for decades, passed for white.

CBS and *You Are There*

The radio and theatrical versions of the *March of Time* concentrated on current news events. At CBS, executives developed a different idea; to reenact history on the radio. The 30-minute

program *You Are There* was launched in July 1947 and lasted on the radio network until March 1959. (Until April 1948, it was called *CBS Is There,* and then became *You Are There.*)

Created for CBS by Goodman Ace, the program was unique, combining history and fictional elements. Well-known reporters such as Richard C. Hottelet and John Daly joined actors in a retelling of episodes in world history. The reporters were present and "interviewing" the principals at Pompeii in 79 AD, the fall of the Bastille in 1789, the Battle of the Alamo in 1836, and outside Ford's Theater the night Lincoln was shot in April 1865.

At the program's outset an announcer called the audience to attention: "CBS asks you to imagine that our microphone is present at this unforgettable moment. All things are as they were then, except, *you* are there!" The program used newsmen as eyewitnesses and translators of great events happening as if they were happening in real time. *You Are There* employed interviews with the actors representing world figures and on-the-spot analysis. It gained a large and loyal weekly audience eager to bear witness to history. During the first season, the audience was there for "The Assassination of Abraham Lincoln," "The Sailing of the Mayflower," and "The Storming of the Bastille." Early in 1948, *You Are There* presented "The Burr-Hamilton Duel," "The Defeat of the Spanish Armada," and "The Signing of the Magna Carta."

In 1953, CBS took the concept for *You Are There* to television. Hosted by Walter Cronkite and directed by Sidney Lumet, the television version was modeled closely on the radio version. The television series also used real reporters and actors, among them Paul Newman, Joanne Woodward and James Dean. Meticulously researched, written and produced, the program was performed live on Sunday evenings when many movie houses were closed. Cronkite signed off with what became a familiar line: "What sort of a day was it? A day like all days, filled with those events that alter and illuminate our times, and *you* were there."

Just as on radio, the television version of *You Are There* gained a loyal following of viewers who willingly suspended belief at seeing modern reporters in historical scenes and events. As television drama and news proliferated, however, *You Are There* left the air in 1957, its four-year run suggesting that drama based on fact could succeed in this new medium.

Broadcast network television docudrama proliferated for three decades, often bringing the drama of headline news stories to viewers very soon after the actual events. Through the 1980s and 1990s, docudrama shifted from the straightforward film biography (biopic) to treatment of a broad array of social issues.

Notable in the development of the television docudrama was producer David L. Wolper (1928–). A prolific maker of theatrical docudrama films (*The Bridge at Remagen, Victory at Entebbe*) as well as made-for-television movies and more than 200 television specials, Wolper is also known as perhaps the most successful independent documentary producer in the history of television (*The Making of the President, Trial at Nuremberg*).

Because of the success of the multipart docudrama *Roots,* which Wolper produced in 1977, he is credited with helping to invent the docudrama television mini-series. *Roots* was the fact-based story of author Alex Haley's African ancestors in Africa and then in colonial America. Broadcast over an unprecedented eight days and lasting twelve hours, the series attracted two-thirds of America's television viewers and set a record for one of the most watched television programs in U.S. history. The success of the venture, considered at the time to be a risky one, signaled an untapped reservoir of interest in the docudrama among American viewers.

Docudrama Today

Although news organizations played a major part in the history of docudrama on American networks, broadcast news organizations had all but abandoned the form by the early twenty-first century. Exceptions can be found in the investigative episodes of NBC's *Dateline* and CBS's *48 Hours Mystery;* both programs are produced by network news divisions, but focus heavily on crime news. Docudrama produced by network entertainment divisions has proliferated and continues to find a receptive audience, particularly for stories inspired by tabloid headlines. One sensational example from 1993 of a story taken on by all three major networks was that of Amy Fisher, whose exploits were dramatized in *The Amy Fisher Story* on ABC; *Casualties of Love: The*

Long Island Lolita Story on CBS; and *Amy Fisher: My Story* on NBC. A U.K. television version of the story, *Lethal Lolita,* beat the American competition when it premiered on January 3, 1993.

Crime and scandal, including political scandal, have been fodder for many television docudramas. *Strange Justice* (1999) melded reenactments with footage of the Senate Judiciary Committee hearings in the nomination of Clarence Thomas for the Supreme Court. Simple human tragedy also draws audiences. *Everybody's Baby: The Rescue of Jessica McClure* (1989), based on the 58-hour rescue of a toddler from a drainpipe, drew a large audience. The docudrama was praised for its suspenseful narrative despite a known outcome. Many docudramas today are produced as regular programming on cable networks such as HBO, the History Channel, Discovery, and the Lifetime network.

Conclusion

What draws viewers to docudrama today may be what has always drawn them: the search for an answer to the question, "what really happened?" This need on the part of the viewer to know what is essentially unknowable may be at the heart of the controversy that surrounds the docudrama. Many argue that re-creations and reenactments are dangerous for their audiences. Filmmakers most often must manipulate facts, compress time, create characters and invent dialogue for dramatic effect. Those watching the "nonfiction" film may be unable to separate what is real from that which is re-created or that which is outright fiction. Filmmakers contend that facts must be manipulated in order to increase impact within a condensed timeframe. But detractors argue that docudrama filmmakers have not embraced the responsibility that goes along with their art.

Whatever the reservations about docudrama, these stories based on actual events present a deep reservoir of material not only for filmmakers but also for the multi-channel television universe, as well as a continuing source of interest—even fascination—for audiences.

Selected Film and Television Docudramas

All the President's Men (1976). A theatrical release reenacting the role of a newspaper, two reporters, and the events surrounding the Watergate scandal that ended the presidency of Richard M. Nixon.

And the Band Played On (1993). Based on the book by Randy Shilts, a television docudrama about the coming of AIDS and bitter competition between American and French researchers to identify and name the disease.

Attack on Terror: The FBI vs. The Ku Klux Klan (1975). An early dramatization of the murders of three civil rights workers in Mississippi. This subject would later be treated in a fictional film (*Mississippi Burning,* 1989), as well as a docudrama (*Murder in Mississippi,* 1990).

The Boys of St. Vincent (1992)—A controversial two-part film produced by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. The television docudrama deals with sexual molestation of boys under the care of priests. It was blacked out in two Canadian provinces where criminal trials of priests were underway.

Brian's Song (1971). An early U.S. television example of the genre. The docudrama is a tale of friendship between two athletes and the early death of one of them, Brian Piccolo of the Chicago Bears.

Death of a Princess (1980). This docudrama has been called the most controversial in the history of American public television. The film tells the story of a Saudi princess executed for committing adultery. It was denounced by PBS underwriter Mobil Oil and by newspapers in the United States and abroad. Because of the need for secrecy, docudrama was the only avenue open to the filmmaker, whose work exposed cultural beliefs starkly at odds with those of the Western world and vividly out of pace with modern life in Saudi Arabia. Produced two decades before 9/11, the film was controversial for its early attempt at exposing the complexities and contradictions of life in the Arab world.

Good Night and Good Luck (2005). A theatrical release mixing real footage from CBS's *See It Now* with reenactments of the showdown between Edward R. Murrow and red-baiting Senator Joseph McCarthy.

In the Name of the Father (1994). A political docudrama and theatrical release about an Irish

citizen wrongly convicted of a fatal IRA bombing in 1974.

The Path to 9/11 (2006). A two-part television miniseries based on the final report of the 9/11 Commission. Billed as "not a documentary" by the ABC network, the docudrama aired on the fifth anniversary of the 9/11 attacks without commercial interruption. It was widely criticized, most notably by officials of the Clinton administration, for implying that part of the blame for the attack was distraction on the part of the American President with the Monica Lewinsky scandal and the Republican effort to impeach him.

Quiz Show (1994). A controversial docudrama about a rigged quiz show on network television in the late 1950s. The theatrical release was criticized for taking too many liberties with a story about cheating.

Roots (1977). The docudrama that cemented the miniseries concept on American television, and still holds a record for one of the most-watched television events of all time. The story of a slave and his descendents.

Ruby and Oswald (1978). A made-for-television docudrama that re-creates the fatal meeting of Jack Ruby and Lee Harvey Oswald. Recreations are interspersed with actual footage. This docudrama was also released as *Four Days in Dallas.*

Strange Justice (1999). A made-for-television docudrama based on the Senate Judiciary Committee hearings in the nomination of Clarence Thomas for the Supreme Court. It melds video of the hearings with reenactments.

United 93 (2006). A theatrical release and real-time depiction of the flight of United Airlines 93 that crash-landed in Pennsylvania on September 11, 2001. The film, based on interviews and recordings, was praised for its realism.

Lee Thornton

See also CBS News; Commentators, Radio; Documentaries, Motion Picture; Documentaries, Television; Infotainment; Newscasters, Radio; Newsreels; Tabloid Television; Television News Magazines

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Documentaries, Motion Picture

Documentary films (and more recently videos) occupy an integral role in journalistic history both here and abroad. The history of documentary films also reflects development of cinematic technology, as technological advances have had a significant impact on both the production and delivery of film.

Definitions

Documentary filmmaking is primarily an act of reporting rather than invention: real people and real events are its subject matter, rather than the imaginary characters and stories of fiction. The word documentary is derived from the Latin *docere,* which means to teach. Documentary

entered the English language even before film to describe a lesson, an admonition, or a warning. The first nonfiction films were given many titles, including actualités, topicals, interest films, educationals, travelogues, and documentaires. The earliest filmmakers, such as Auguste Lumière (1862–1954) and Louis Lumière (1864–1948) in the 1890s, sought to document scientific and cultural phenomena. However, it was primarily through the work of John Grierson (1898–1972) in Britain that documentary came to define a specific genre of nonfiction film.

Grierson was the driving force behind the emerging British documentary movement of the 1930s; he saw documentary film as an important means of informing citizenry of social issues that demanded social change. Grierson defined documentary as the "creative treatment of actuality" (Rotha 1968, 70), emphasizing that interpretation of events shapes the story told in a documentary and distinguishes it from newsreels and other nonfiction productions, such as those created by the experimental avant-garde. As a filmmaker and a theorist, Grierson had a profound influence on generations of filmmakers around the world. "Classic documentary" refers to Griersonian style, in which the film tells the viewer *about* social, political, and economic conditions that need improvement, utilizing the (usually) disembodied perspective of a commentator, referred to in filmmaking as "voice of God" narration.

Documentary filmmakers have always used a variety of styles and modes of technique and address within a single film. Film scholar Bill Nichols (1991) offers four modes or organizational structures of documentary—expository, observational, interactive, and reflexive—to help viewers appreciate the variations of form and content that abound, keeping in mind that these categorizations are understood to be flexible rather than rigid.

Expository documentary style addresses the viewer directly, emphasizes objectivity and logical narration. Observational documentary, or direct cinema, attempts to make the camera invisible and treats the filmmakers and viewers like the proverbial "fly on the wall." Generally, little or no commentary is provided, and the film's story is told by actions of and interviews with the subjects of the film, leaving to the viewer the responsibility of determining the meaning of the events observed. Interactive or participatory documentary stresses verbal exchanges both as monologues and dialogues between the subjects and the filmmaker, who may appear visually and is a prominent player in the film. In the reflexive documentary, the filmmaker engages in meta-commentary and addresses the question about how we represent the historic world and how we talk about knowledge of it. These films, then, render the practice of filmmaking and the filmmaker visible in an attempt to lead viewers to question notions of objectivity and authenticity in representational practices.

Documentary Techniques and Theoretical Debates

Documentaries vary widely. Some use narration, some do not. Some are designed for education, some are expressions of beauty and art, while others are used to evoke social action. Some use more artistic license than others. Some documentaries use reenactments and studio-created environments, yet staying true to basic tenets of the documentary genre by using such techniques to evoke the presence of historical subjects.

Formal conventions such as camera angles and movements, editing styles, sound and music, and voiceovers or dialogue, are shared by documentary and dramatic films. Both styles borrow from each other: documentaries use music scoring or artistically rendered titles resonant with fiction films. Styles most commonly identified with documentary-style footage, such as the shaky camera visuals that often result from handheld camera work, can be used to evoke the feeling of reality in a fictional narrative. As is evident in an historical look at a hundred years of documentary films, improvement of cameras, tripods, sound recording and editing equipment have had far greater impact on documentary presentation than any particular set of stylistic conventions.

Questions about representation itself have occupied filmmakers and critics since the advent of documentaries. The power of the documentary filmmaker to present the filmed world as "reality" has been subject to struggles over who can legitimately claim to speak for peoples and environments not given the means to represent themselves. Particularly since the civil rights movement of the 1960s, with the emergence of race, gender, and class-related struggles for equality as well as those

who strive to give voice to the developing world's people, filmmakers and critics have sought to understand the interactions of the film, the film's producer, its subjects, and viewers in creating a sense of reality. Nichols's framing of questions to guide theoretical considerations of documentary representation are helpful:

> Images are always of concrete, material things recorded at specific moments in time, but these images can be made to point toward more general truths or issues. To what extent can the particular serve as illustration for the general? Not only *what* general principle but *whose* general principle does the particular illustrate? To what extent are generalizations misunderstandings of the nature of the particular, the concrete, the everyday and what does this mean for historically located individuals? The body is a particularly acute reminder of specificity and the body of the filmmaker even more so. Where do filmmakers stand and how do they represent their stance? To what extent should they question their right to represent their own knowledge as situated [specific to their gender, race, class, and ethnicity] or omniscient? What are the consequences of those choices? (Nichols 1993, 176)

A chronological presentation of documentary history can suggest that documentary filmmaking has progressively evolved in a sequential fashion. This is misleading as modes of documentary filmmaking have been evident since film came into being. The sections below place documentary films in contemporary periods to suggest some of the notable films representative of diverse objectives and techniques.

Early Years (1895–1928)

Introduced in 1895, the first portable camera weighed only 11 pounds. The Louis Lumière camera was used to film short scenes of everyday life such as a train arriving at a station. While Lumière preferred to leave dramatic production for the stage, drama soon became the main staple of the film industry. The first film that moved beyond simple travelogues or narrative plots was produced by Robert Flaherty (1884–1951) over a period of nine years. Filming with a 35mm Akeley camera that was reasonably lightweight, Flaherty's groundbreaking film *Nanook of the North* (1922) followed an Eskimo hunter of the Itivimuit tribe in the frozen wastes of Hudson Bay. The film chronicled Nanook and his family as they struggled to survive in a dangerous and merciless environment. Flaherty was interested in sharing with viewers the experiences of lives lived in different cultures, and chose poetic scenes such as a walrus hunt and the building of an igloo rather than polemical scenes of the indigenous people's means of production and commerce. The film combined dramatic tension (man against nature) with people just being themselves in what some consider to be the first documentary. Yet, five major studios turned down distribution of the film, insisting that such reality projects were doomed to failure. A small French arts company, Pathé, eventually distributed *Nanook* and the film quickly became a box-office success.

The next major influence on documentary was the work of Soviet artist Dziga Vertov (1895–1954). An experienced newsreel filmmaker, Vertov expressed the conviction that dramatic fictional films were oppressive tools like religion and theater, used to keep the proletariat preoccupied and sedated. He began a project called Film Truth (*Kino-Pravda*), and created a series of films that blended newsreel style with dramatic production. Perhaps the most influential and widely recognized of these films was *The Man with the Movie Camera* (1929). The film presents a kaleidoscope of daily life in the Soviet Union with people sleeping, waking, going to work, and playing, using a range of cinematic techniques such as freeze frames, slow motion, animation, jump cuts, and split screens. Among the fast montage of images appears the camera man repeatedly reminding the viewer that they are watching film through the cameraman's eye, a device that encourages reflection on filmmaking itself and representative of Nichols category of reflective documentary mode. Vertov wrote out a long manifesto detailing his aims with Film Truth. While primarily artistic, Vertov's work was to have lasting influence, particularly on the later French movement of cinema verité.

The Documentary Takes Shape (1929–1939)

The 1930s brought the use of sound, but documentaries continued to avoid synchronous sound

recording in the filming process because of the cumbersome nature of the equipment. Sound effects and music were added to silent footage during final editing, without the filmed subjects speaking for themselves.

Inspired by the work of Flaherty and Vertov, British filmmaker John Grierson proposed a project to the British Empire Marketing Board (EMB) for a film about the herring fishing industry. Rather than a publicity film, which is what the producers wanted, Grierson directed *Drifters* (1929), which offered a narrative of a sea journey. *Drifters,* a 50-minute silent film, followed a group of herring fisherman on the North Sea as they caught a load of fish through a ferocious storm and then raced back to quayside to auction it. There were no lead roles such as appeared in *Nanook,* nor did it glamorize the industry. Initially, the producers requested certain scenes be removed because they created tension. Grierson obliged but secretly added the scenes back before it was released to the theaters. The film was well received, but rather than following up his success with more of his own productions Grierson became an organizer for the EMB. By 1939, Grierson and his British team produced over three hundred documentaries. He introduced the use of institutional sponsorship, whether public or private, as an alternative to depending on ticket sales. He also moved distribution and exhibition from theaters to schools, factories, union halls, church basements, and elsewhere, shaping the documentary movement and creating a system of filmmaking that became a model for other English-speaking countries.

The documentary was profoundly shaped in the 1930s not only by Grierson but also by government funding, which in some hands turned such films into a major medium of propaganda. Hitler used documentary to bolster support for his new government and to inspire a strong sense of nationalism in the German people. Most German propaganda films were made by Leni Riefenstahl (1902–2003), one of the first major female film directors. Her film *Triumph of the Will* (1935) is perhaps her best known; it presents a Nazi rally in Nuremburg and features no commentary except for the speeches of Hitler and other party leaders. Amid cheering crowds, a marching parade, and Hitler's passionate speeches, the film rallied many to Hitler's cause and gave him almost deity status. Many critics felt that Riefenstahl's production of this and other films was unforgivable and she found herself shunned by studios after the war.

In the United States, documentaries were also used to address social problems, particularly during President Roosevelt's New Deal of the 1930s. One of the more influential was *The River* (1937) directed by Pare Lorentz (1905–92). Funded by the Farm Security Administration, *The River* portrayed the soil erosion problem arising from drought and the need for government control over electric production along the ravaged Mississippi river. The film advocated keeping people on their land and treating the Tennessee Valley Authority as a way to make economically depressed communities viable. As filming finished, it became clear that the river was about to flood. Lorentz quickly reassembled his team to film the one-thousand mile catastrophe on the river. Picked up by Paramount Studios and released to wide success, *The River* is often credited for providing increased support for federal policies. Lorentz was able to persuade the Roosevelt administration (1933–45) to form the United States Film Service in 1938.

Wartime Documentary (1939–1945)

During World War II, hundreds of documentaries were made in the United States, Great Britain, and Germany to serve propagandistic purposes, designed to train soldiers and civilians, inspire national pride, and bolster support for the war. In the United States, documentary films were used to motivate draftees and overcome antiwar sentiments. Successful film director Frank Capra (1897–1991) was asked by the Pentagon to make films to inspire draftees and explain why they were fighting. Seven *Why We Fight* films were produced, including *The Nazi Strike* (1943) and *Your Job in Germany* (1945). They were required viewing for new recruits, and some were released to civilian and overseas audiences. The series was a compilation of emotional history lessons, with a few staged sequences, animated maps, and the robust narration of the kind then popular in movie previews. *The Battle of Britain* (1943) was widely shown in Britain, and *The Battle of Russia* (1943) became required viewing in Russia. Studies of these films suggested they had a positive effect on public opinion, helping to

end the isolationist mentality common among Americans before the war.

Failures and Triumphs (1945–1960)

The years following the war saw a sharp decline in documentary films. Documentary filmmakers found government contracts drying up and there was little interest among the major studios for nonfiction films. The introduction of television significantly revitalized the documentary tradition. Federal law mandated that "broadcasting serve "the public interest, convenience or necessity." Many of the documentaries produced during the war years were among early programs on television. *See It Now* was among the earliest regularly scheduled documentary series made for television. Produced for CBS by Fred Friendly (1915–98) and Edward R. Murrow (1908–65), *See It Now* offered a weekly 30-minute program combining the formal construction of a documentary with the news magazine. Covering everything from McCarthyism to segregation in schools, *See It Now* lasted until it was replaced in 1959 by the longer but irregularly scheduled *CBS Reports*. Also starring Murrow, one of its most influential pieces was *Harvest of Shame,* released around Thanksgiving in 1960. The film followed the plight of migrant farm workers in a small Florida city showing the poverty and detestable treatment of these mainly African American workers by white farmers. A plea to reduce poverty, *Harvest of Shame* created a furor of protests from the agricultural industry and was Murrow's last program in the series before he joined the Kennedy administration. Florida politicians pressured Murrow and the network to withhold global distribution of the program, arguing that it gave a negative view of America which could be used by the Soviet propaganda machine. Thirty years after the program originally aired, the television series *Frontline* featured a follow-up show that went back to the original Florida town featured in *Harvest of Shame*. They found that very little had changed except that the African American migrant workers had gradually been replaced by Haitians.

Documentary film also claimed an important position among art films. An acclaimed example is *Night and Fog* (1955) by Alain Resnais (1922–). The film contrasts old black-and-white footage and photos of Nazi concentration camps with color pictures of the sites ten years after they had been liberated. A first-person narrator provides a poetic reflection of the thoughts and horrors of the war to evoke powerful emotions. The film was designed to be socially stirring, aesthetically powerful, and intellectually reflective. In essence, it foreshadowed a new movement of documentary that would appear in France.

Cinema Verité and Direct Cinema (1961–1979)

Documentary filmmakers began using smaller, less expensive, and more portable 16mm cameras in the 1950s, displacing the heavier and bulkier 35mm cameras used in dramatic films. The ability to easily record synchronous sound in documentary production, however, remained elusive because the camera had to be connected to the sound recorder to maintain synchronous sound. As a consequence, filming situations that required mobility and unobtrusiveness continued to be made as silent films, with sound added in final editing. The breakthrough came in the 1960s, much of it thanks to the efforts of Robert Drew and Richard Leacock in New York City. They helped develop wireless microphones with miniature transmitters and worked with crystal-controlled camera motors that enabled synchronous sound recording without the unwieldy equipment that had impeded earlier sound documentary filming.

The streamlined technology made possible filming of real people and events in locations and situations that had earlier been difficult or impossible for low-budget documentary films. The new cameras and sound recorders required fewer people, and enabled filming to be done without studio lighting and sound recording. Drew and Leacock used the new technology to make *Primary* (1960), a film that followed then Senators John F. Kennedy and Hubert Humphrey as they campaigned for the Democratic presidential nomination. They had promised not to interfere with the action, but rather to observe it. The film was released without narrative titles and with minimal voiceover narration, and set in motion the observational, direct cinema movement to follow.

Filmmakers such as D. A. Pennebaker (1965–), Albert Maysles (1926–) and David Maysles (1931–), and Fred Wiseman (1930–) became synonymous

with this observational, "fly-on-the-wall" documentary style. Pennebaker made the profile of Bob Dylan in 1966 (*Don't Look Back*). The Maysles brothers produced *Salesman* (1968), a searing and intimate portrait of a house-to-house Bible salesman in decline, and later films such as *Gimme Shelter* (1970), on tour with the Rolling Stones and the ill-fated concert at Altamont in which a concertgoer was killed.

Public television enabled Fred Wiseman to produce some of the most intensely involving of the direct cinema productions of this period. His choice of subjects reflected his interest in institutional power reflected in the lives of people at the community level. His first film *Titicut Follies* was made in 1967 (though banned until 1991 from distribution in Massachusetts where it had been filmed). It depicted an asylum for the criminally insane, following the patients and doctors and staff in their daily routines, and culminating in the Follies, an entertainment produced for the staff using patients and staff as actors. Wiseman's style was to shoot very long takes, often one shot over an entire 400-foot roll of 16mm film (about 11 minutes), and to use no narrative commentary. The subjects told their own story. Other films followed in the same style, including *High School* (1968), *Law and Order* (1969), *Basic Training* (1971), and *Welfare* (1975). His documentary style puts the viewer in the middle of the action and, in doing so, subverts the easy attribution of stereotypes and of glibly assigned blame to one "side" or another. At the same time, Wiseman expressed ambivalence about the effect of his shooting style, calling documentaries "reality fictions" in recognition of the influence of the camera on filmed subjects, no matter how invisible the camera and filmmaker may seem to be.

Filmmakers in France also began to diverge from the Griersonian, expository mode of documentary filmmaking, but in contrast to the direct cinema practitioners whose goal was to render the filmmaker invisible, the French filmmakers wanted a more participatory role. A key film that marked this movement was *Chronique dun Eté* (*Chronicle of a Summer,* 1961) by Jean Rouche (1917–2004) and Edgar Morin (1921–). The filmmakers began by asking people on the streets of Paris whether they were happy. The goal of this experiment was to invite participation and encourage reactions from the audience. The filmmakers denied the objectivity of the camera in favor of a subjective involvement by the filmmakers, a mode of filmmaking more in line with the interactive mode named by film scholar Nichols. In homage to Vertov, Rouche called his new film style cinema verité, or cinema truth. The goal of the experiments was to evoke emotions and involvement of viewers and those involved in the filmmaking process.

The Vietnam War was an important subject for many 1970s documentary filmmakers, especially within the U.S. antiwar movement. Peter Davis's *The Selling of the Pentagon* (1971) investigated the Department of Defense's role in promoting the war, while the Academy Award–winning *Hearts and Minds* (1974), used news footage of military operations, Pentagon spokespeople, and White House administrators, and contrasted their words about the war's goals and progress with stark footage of infantry and Vietnamese citizens suffering from the war's ravages. Both documentaries were part of the effort to provide images and awareness to the American public beyond what broadcast television channels were providing. Scores of other films were produced about the Vietnam War, most protesting its continuation.

Battle of Algiers (1966) was released during this time and is regarded widely as one of the great documentary films, though it is a scripted re-creation of real world events. Directed by Gillo Pontecorvo (1919–2006), the film portrays the struggle of the Algerian people for independence from France, a multiyear uprising that succeeded in ousting the French in 1962. The film adopts the neorealistic style of post–World War II Italian filmmakers by casting nonactors in almost all the roles. The people who had lived through the ordeal of colonial occupation and risked their lives for independence from 1954 to 1962 played parts, including Yacef Saadi, a former leader of the revolutionary FLN, who played himself in the film. Pontecorvo shot it documentary-style, using a handheld camera that entered powerfully into the cause of the revolutionaries. *Battle of Algiers* continues to be cited among generations of filmmakers as a source of inspiration for both its technique and its commitment to the liberation of oppressed peoples.

Documentary Today (From the 1980s)

Deregulation of television ownership and content in the 1980s, as well as growing cable competition, led commercial networks to diminish and then drop their use of documentaries. Funding for in-depth news documentaries declined as even public broadcasting became subject to more political and ideological scrutiny and grew more cautious in its funding and programming as a result.

At the same time, technological advancements enabled greater independence in documentary filmmaking. Videotape, first introduced in the late 1950s, was evolving, and in-camera microphones for camcorders known as "portapaks" shooting half-inch videotape were invented in the 1980s. The costs of shooting and producing a video dropped significantly, as did the entry-level training required of film or videomakers. Groups such as Jon Alpert and Keiko Tsuno's Downtown Community Television Center (DCTV), originated in 1972, trained thousands of individuals and sent them out into the streets and neighborhoods as "guerrilla" filmmakers, seeking out social injustices and bringing them to public attention. The potential of video camcorders for alternative broadcasting and grassroots channels of mediated communication pointed toward greatly increasing the number and diversity of voices. As an example, Latin American videos appeared in schools, community centers, and churches, alerting developed countries to the poverty and other human and environmental miseries in developing countries that were rarely depicted on commercial networks.

One of the filmmakers who came to represent "guerrilla" filmmaking for a wide audience is Michael Moore (1954–). Moore released his first major film, *Roger & Me,* in theaters in 1989. A compilation of 16mm film, video, and archival footage, *Roger & Me* exemplifies the mode of documentary known as interactive, much like the French cinema verité of the 1960s. The film features Moore on-camera, doggedly pursuing Roger Smith, the CEO of General Motors, in order to ask him about the harm done by relocating automobile plants to foreign countries for cheaper labor. Moore interviews the people of his hometown of Flint, Michigan, tracing the gradual decay of the town after GM closed down their plant, thus taking away a major source of income for the town. Other films by Moore include *Bowling for Columbine* (2002) that looks at America's gun problems and the Academy Award–winning *Fahrenheit 9/11* (2004), which questions the Bush administration's reactions to the attacks on the World Trade Center in 2001. *Fahrenheit 9/11* broke all previous box office returns for the theatrical release of a documentary.

Although in-depth documentaries have lost much of their commercial television network support since the deregulation of the 1980s, the years since have witnessed a resurgence of interest in the form outside of commercial television. Public television garnered huge audiences in the 1990s for *The Civil War*, a series directed by Ken Burns (1953–). *Who Killed the Electric Car*? (Chris Paine, 2006) on the suppression of an alternative fuel-driven automobile, and *An Inconvenient Truth* (Davis Guggenheim, 2006) featuring former Vice President Al Gore's global campaign to awaken the public to the dangers of climate change, are twenty-first-century examples of the expository documentary mode and its contribution to investigative journalism. *March of the Penguins* (2005) by Luc Jacquet (1967–) about the emperor penguins of Antarctica, and their arduous efforts to reproduce and survive, is second only to *Fahrenheit 9/11* for box office returns and has spawned several feature-length animations.

Ross McElwee's films fall into the reflective mode of documentary that simultaneously comments on the filmmaking itself. His ironically autobiographical *Sherman's March* (1986) begins with his plan to follow General Sherman's Civil War route, but gets diverted along the way by his own past and current love interests. Subsequent films, *Time Indefinite* (1993) through *Bright Leaves* (2003), continue to intermix his deeply personal story with external encounters. In a more political vein, Trinh T. Minh-ha's *Surname Viet Given Name Nam* (1989) and Marlon Riggs's *Tongues Untied* (1990) use the reflective documentary mode to reveal the subjectivity of the point of view of the filmmaker and the need to question whose reality is being portrayed.

Another genre that offers documentary reflexivity is that of animation based on real world people and events. The filmmaker Chris Landreth, whose *Ryan* (2004) won an Academy Award, filmed in video extended interviews with Ryan Larkin, an early and highly acclaimed animator. Larkin had

stopped making art as a result of his alcoholism and drug use and was living on the streets in Canada. The documentary footage is taken by Landreth and animated using Maya animation software to portray what Landreth calls the "psycho-realism" of the subjects, a departure from the attempt of many animators to achieve photo-realism. Animation of this kind explores another avenue of documentary filmmaking, seeking to express what is often inexpressible (*A Is for Autism,* 1992) or taboo (*Daddy's Little Bit of Dresden China,* 1988, by Karen Watson on child abuse).

The Documentary Future

Digital cameras continue to improve, getting closer to the quality of film cameras and with a dramatic decrease in cost. Many cell phones come equipped with a small digital camera, and webcams allow quick recording directly into a computer. While digital cameras are only beginning to be used by major film studios, the fact that most video editing is done through computers as well as the cheap costs of digital cameras makes digital production appealing to many amateur and professional documentary filmmakers. Such devices allow for inexpensive and easily accessible filming and editing of documentary films, and the Internet offers a cheap means of distribution. YouTube and social networking spaces have become immensely popular venues for filmmakers, and may play a significant role in challenging the control media institutions have asserted over production in the past.

Documentary film has proven to be an enduring and dynamic form, one that continues to occupy an important position in media communications. The form itself has multiple modes, with a flexibility that encourages ongoing adaptation and reshaping to fit the particular objectives of the filmmaker. As a journalistic medium, documentaries blend passion, commitment, and a striving to capture reality,

Sarah R. Stein and Shaun Cashman

See also Digital Photography, Digital Sound; Docudrama; Documentaries, Television; Education, Journalism; Film in Television News; Internet Impact on Media; Investigative Journalism; Newsreels; Producers; Public Television Journalism

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ABC Africa—Abbas Kiarostami—2001
And the Pursuit of Happiness—Louis Malle—1986
An Inconvenient Truth—David Guggenheim—2006
Battle of Algiers—Gillo Pontecorvo—1966
Bowling for Columbine—Michael Moore—2002
Chronicle of a Summer (Chronique d'un Eté)—Jean Rouch and Edgar Marin—1961
Drifters—John Grierson—1929
Empire in Africa—Phillipe Diaz—2006

Fahrenheit 9/11—Michael Moore—2004
Far From Poland—Jill Godmilow—1984
Harlan County—Barbara Kopple—1976
Harvest: 3000 Years (Mirt Sost Shi Amit)—Huile Gerima—1975
Harvest of Shame—Edward Murrow, David Lowe, and Fred Friendly—1960
Hearts and Minds—Peter Davis—1974
Kino-Eye—Dziga Vertov—1924
Law and Order—Frederick Wiseman—1980
Leonard Cohen: I'm Your Man—Lian Lunson—2005
Life Begins Tomorrow (La Vier Commence Demain)—Nicole Védrès—1949
Mad Hot Ballroom—Marilyn Agrelo—2005
Making Do the Right Thing—Claire Bourne—1989
March of the Penguins—Luc Jacquet—2005
Moana—Robert Flaherty—1926
Nanook of the North—Robert Flaherty—1922
Night and Fog—Alain Resnais—1955
Paris Is Burning—Jennie Livingston—1990
Primary—Robert Drew and Richard Leacock—1960
Roger and Me—Michael Moore—1989
Salesman—Albert and David Maysles—1969
7 UP (through *42 UP)*—Michael Apted—1963 (and every seven years)
Sherman's March—Ross McElwee—1986
Shoah—Claude Lanzmann—1986
Supersize Me—Morgan Spurlock—2004
Surname Viet Given Name Nam—Trinh T. Minh-ha—1989
The City—Willard Van Dyke and Ralph Steiner—1933
The Civil War—Ken Burns—1990
The Emperor's Naked Army Marches On (Yuki Yukite Shingun)—Kazua Hara—1987
The Lovely May (Le Joli Mai)—Chris Marker—1963
The Man with the Movie Camera—Dziga Vertov—1928
The Quiet One—Sidney Meyers—1949
The River—Para Lorentz—1937
The Selling of the Pentagon—Peter Davis—1971
The Sorrow and the Pity—Marcel Ophuls—1969
Tongues Untied—Marlon Riggs—1990
Triumph of the Will (Triumph des Willens)—Leni Reifenstahl—1935
What Farocki Taught—Jill Godmilow—1997
Who Killed the Electric Car?—Chris Paine—2006
Why We Fight—Frank Capra—1943–1945

Documentaries, Television

Documentaries are nonfiction programs that convey experience, provide information, and offer analysis. Many memorable and respected programs in American television journalism were documentaries. In part, this is because documentaries offer journalists the luxury of more airtime to explore a single topic in greater depth than the shorter-format evening news or newsmagazine programs. In addition, documentarians are often freer to express their own conclusions on controversial issues than beat reporters, who are more constrained by the demands of objectivity and balance.

Although the line between documentary and docudrama is often blurry, documentaries are less likely to dramatize or reenact events. In contrast to talk shows, documentaries aim to go beyond "talking heads" offering opinions to convey the lived experience of people, places, and events. Documentary makers usually construct their programs from some combination of recordings in the field, compilations of archival materials, interviews, graphics, and animations. Many types of broadcast documentary have emerged over the years, including investigative, social, political, historical, cultural, biographical, diary, and those focused on nature.

Radio Documentary

Documentaries held a small but significant place in American radio. From the beginnings of radio broadcasting in the 1920s through the 1940s, the handful of hours per week of documentary programming on each network were really docudramas that presented reenactments of historical and current events. Yet programs such as *Great Moments in History* (NBC, 1927–28), *The March of Time* (CBS, 1931–45), and Norman Corwin's (1910–) patriotic reports on American institutions and World War II (CBS, 1941–45) helped develop some of the conventions of radio and television documentary. Such programs also offered network affiliated stations an important way to fulfill their public service programming obligations as then encouraged by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC).

Two main barriers limited development of radio documentary before the 1950s: the limits of bulky and unreliable recording equipment and the networks' reluctance to air recorded material because of poor sound quality. Advances in recording technology—including magnetic wire, discs, and,

eventually, audiotape—allowed some experimentation with recording live voices and sounds from the field. Growing interest in documenting cultural and social life during the 1930s inspired a handful of reports on folklore, folk music, and the impact of the Depression. These programs were produced by the Library of Congress, the Smithsonian Institution and other government agencies. During World War II, recorded reports from the front began to break down network resistance to airing material created outside the studio. After the war, a few programs began to weave clips of reality sound with narration, including Edward R. Murrow (1908–65) and Fred Friendly's (1915–98) *Hear It Now* (CBS, 1950–51), which quickly became the basis for their early television documentary series, *See It Now*.

However, the economics of commercial radio continued to relegate documentary to the margins from the 1950s onward. The networks' hold over radio waned with the rise of independent radio stations, television networks, and alternative program packagers. Most local stations adopted music formats with only brief breaks for news that left little room for long-form treatment of issues.

In the 1990s and 2000s, radio documentary enjoyed a small creative renaissance on the two American public radio networks: National Public Radio and Public Radio International. American RadioWorks was the largest in-house producer of public radio documentaries, while Soundprint primarily developed and distributed programs made by independent and station-based producers. Both created a steady stream of investigative, historical, and cultural documentaries told in a narrative style. The most notable of these programs, *This American Life,* introduced a new format with its 1995 debut that explored a common theme through individual stories told in the first person by those who lived them. Wry, literate narration by host Ira Glass (1959–) and the breadth of topics explored, ranging from war to summer camp, offered an innovative way to view social and political life through personal voices that created a kind of collective diary.

Television Documentary

Television documentary emerged in the 1950s, influenced by traditions inherited from radio news, photojournalism, documentary film, and movie theater newsreels. These different influences were not always easy for journalists to reconcile. Some producers saw themselves primarily as filmmakers telling stories through images and location sound recordings. In contrast, many reporters tended to favor an illustrated lecture approach in which their narration and interviews were the primary focus.

Documentaries, which were scarce on American television in the 1950s, were of two main types. The first, historical documentaries were compilation films that knitted together archival footage unified by a dominant narrator who told the story, setting the conventions for historical documentaries for years to come. Each of the major commercial networks produced a compilation series in cooperation with the military. *Victory at Sea* (NBC, 1952–53) relied on footage shot by the U.S. Navy to recount the naval battles of World War II to the dramatic musical score of Richard Rogers. *The Big Picture* (ABC, 1953–59) drew on Army footage and sources to portray military history and leaders. *Air Power* (CBS, 1956–57), produced with help from the U.S. Air Force, told the story of World War II's aircraft and decisive air battles. These series were later syndicated to stations around the country, where they were re-run for many years. *The Twentieth Century* (CBS, 1957–70), narrated by Walter Cronkite (1916–2009), depicted historical events through the biographies of key figures, often including retrospective interviews with participants. *You Are There* (CBS, 1953–56) dramatized events by placing modern reporters within recreated historical scenes.

The investigative documentary debuted in the 1950s. *See It Now* (CBS, 1951–55, then intermittently until 1958) marked the first critical journalism on television, giving birth to the second major documentary type. A team headed by reporter Edward R. Murrow and producer Fred Friendly shot their own film and conducted their own interviews rather than using reenactments. The series focused on current and controversial issues rather than major historical events or widely admired heroes. The program was more likely to question political leaders and policies than to collaborate closely with government agencies as co-producers. In its most famous reports early in 1954, *See It Now* critiqued Senator Joseph McCarthy's

anticommunist investigations, profiling some of the victims of his often unsupported accusations of communist activity. Although Congressional sentiment was already turning against McCarthy at the time of the reports, *See It Now* probably helped diminish public support as well. However, network and sponsor discomfort with the program's courting of controversy and commercial pressures to air more lucrative programming forced eventual cancellation of the series and its replacement by the occasional *CBS Reports*.

The 1960s can be seen as the golden age of television network documentary. Early in the decade, each network developed a prime-time documentary series: *CBS Reports*, *NBC White Paper*, and ABC's *Bell and Howell Close-Up!* At the high point of the documentary boom, the networks aired 447 documentaries in the 1961–62 season, over twice as many as four years earlier. The heavy investment in documentaries was the result of several factors. As public service programming, documentaries helped the networks appease angry regulators after the quiz show rigging scandals of the late 1950s. FCC Chairman Newton Minow (1926–) pressured the networks to expand informational fare to improve what he called the "vast wasteland" of commercial entertainment. The Kennedy administration hoped that documentaries might support American efforts around the world to contain communism. The networks believed that documentaries would increase the influence of American television as the networks expanded into global video markets. Television journalists hoped documentaries would help raise their prestige to the level of top print journalists, while offering citizens more thoughtful explanations of current events. By 1969, the Public Broadcasting System (PBS) began to provide a new outlet for documentary journalism that exposed social problems and critiqued American institutions.

Although the networks experimented with many different approaches to documentary in the 1960s, their most enduring contribution may have been to the development of investigative television reporting. Network journalists helped create the first sustained period of muckraking since the beginning of the twentieth century. While most scholars and journalists think print media have been primarily responsible for watchdog reporting on government and corporations, the networks created their documentary units several years before major newspapers developed permanent investigative teams. The number of investigative documentaries on television compared favorably with the number of major press exposés each year—and the documentaries reached many more Americans. In the early 1960s, about 90 percent of American households saw at least one documentary per month. By the early 1970s, a prime-time CBS documentary drew seven to 12 million viewers, while the largest urban newspapers reached fewer than a million readers each.

The most famous of these television reports were as carefully researched and argued as their print counterparts. For example, in *Harvest of Shame* (CBS, 1961), Murrow attacked the poor working and living conditions of migrant farm workers by following some of them on the east and west coasts. *The Battle of Newburgh* (NBC, 1962) criticized opponents of public support for the poor by closely examining the evidence and arguments of an antiwelfare town manager in New York state. *Hunger in America* (CBS, 1968) exposed federal food programs' failure to address widespread malnutrition among Appalachian whites, Southern blacks, Native Americans in the Southwest, and Mexican Americans in Texas. Several documentaries exposed the dark side of America's war in Vietnam through firsthand reporting. Like most investigative reporting, these documentaries often relied heavily on government sources and interest groups for their framing of the issues, yet they helped amplify those voices to a larger audience.

Journalists invented many of the conventions of television documentary in this same period. Taking advantage of newly available lightweight cameras and sound equipment, documentary producers were freed to leave the studio interview setting to offer more intimate and dynamic portraits of people and places. Robert Drew (1924–) produced path-breaking documentaries for Time-Life's television stations and then ABC in which moving cameras followed political leaders behind the scenes for the first time to record them during moments of reflection and crisis. The first of these, *Primary* (1960), followed John F. Kennedy and his opponent Hubert Humphrey in public and private for the last five days of the Wisconsin presidential primary and influenced how political campaigns

would be represented for years to come. This informal and less stagy style became known as cinema verite or direct cinema. *Biography of a Bookie Joint* (CBS, 1961) inaugurated the use of hidden cameras, which would become a staple of investigative television reporting, in this case to capture the doings in an illegal betting parlor operating with police protection in Boston. Documentaries began featuring confrontational interviews between journalists and their sources, introducing another mainstay of television reporting.

Investigative reporting, however, attracted intense opposition from government and business officials, advertisers, and nervous network executives. Complaints to the FCC about documentaries' fairness and accuracy grew. Executive branch officials and congressional committees conducted lengthy probes of television documentary practices, accusing the networks of staging events, encouraging subjects to break the law, paying participants for their stories, and reflecting political bias. Perhaps ironically, airing hard-hitting documentaries helped stimulate threats to regulate network news. When Congress investigated whether CBS journalists deceptively edited an interview with a Department of Defense official to make him sound untruthful in *The Selling of the Pentagon* (CBS, 1971), CBS President Frank Stanton (1908–2006) narrowly escaped being cited for contempt of Congress because he refused to relinquish reporters' work notes and unused footage (outtakes). While the documentary boom arose in part to assuage ire at deceptive game shows, critics accused some documentaries of being equally fraudulent.

Nowhere was this backlash against documentaries felt more directly than at PBS which depended, in part, on public funding. The noncommercial network focused heavily on informational and educational programming to fulfill its mandate. This included airing some contentious documentaries that challenged major institutions. One such report, *Banks and the Poor* (PBS, 1970), assailed banks for discriminating against low-income borrowers and Congress for failing to address the problem because of its members' financial ties to the banking industry. The program incensed bankers, some of whom sat on local public station boards of directors. President Richard Nixon's administration sought to restructure and rein in public broadcasting to limit the autonomy of program producers by trimming budgets for program production. Public affairs documentaries on PBS declined in the ensuing decade.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the documentary also began a slow decline on the commercial networks. Political and legal pressure from government and corporate targets of documentaries alienated sponsors, network executives, and affiliate stations (who refused to carry some of the programs). The rise of television newsmagazines, led by *60 Minutes* (which premiered in 1968 on CBS), demonstrated that programs with several briefer stories reported by a regular cast of celebrity journalists could attract larger audiences and more advertising dollars than long-format documentaries on a single issue. In the 1980s, the FCC dropped regulations that had spurred television stations to provide public service programming. The networks cut back unprofitable news programs because of declining audiences and advertising revenues in the face of growing competition from cable and satellite television, home video recorders, and, by the mid-1990s, the Internet. By 1984 the three commercial television networks aired just 11 documentaries between them all year.

The documentary survived in the 1990s and early 2000s, mainly on PBS and cable television networks. On PBS, the long-running *Frontline* series and the documentaries of Bill Moyers (1934–) kept the investigative tradition alive. *POV* (short for "point of view") aired more personal, independent documentaries, some of which addressed public life, often from the standpoint of unsung individuals. Ken Burns (1953–) reinvented the historical documentary, starting with his 12-hour epic *The Civil War* (PBS, 1990), by mixing imaginative use of archival photographs with contemporary cinematography, music, and actors' readings of historical documents to bring the past to life. Series such as *Nova* and *Nature* continue to introduce viewers to recent developments in human understanding of nature and science.

Cable networks offered a new home for documentaries that were less constrained than on broadcast networks. Some cable channels specialized in presenting particular types of documentary, such as The History Channel (historical documentaries) and Discovery (science and nature documentaries), while others regularly incorporated

documentaries into their entertainment schedules, such as the Independent Film Channel, the Sundance Channel, and Home Box Office (HBO). The Documentary Channel focused entirely on presenting documentaries of all types. Most of the most significant and award-winning documentaries of this period premiered on cable, such as Spike Lee's (1957–) *When the Levees Broke* (HBO, 2006), a four-part examination of human suffering in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina and an indictment of the federal government's response to the crisis.

Conclusion

The broadcast network documentary is significant for several broader trends in American news. First, the documentary has been especially likely to provoke controversy over journalism ethics. Documentary makers have experimented with how best to tell stories and express views on public controversies. Such innovations as field recordings, hidden cameras, and combative interviews have sparked discussion over the proper balance between journalists' duties to record reality and to interpret it, or to reproduce powerful sources' views verbatim and to reveal their inconsistency and evasiveness through editing. Documentary has also been a frequent touchstone for arguments over whether journalists should pursue objective and balanced reporting of competing views or make reasoned judgments about which views are better supported or more fair-minded. Documentary producers are divided over whether they have a responsibility to go beyond exposing social problems by offering potential solutions. At the same time, reliance on reenactments (and claims that some documentaries have relied on misleadingly staged scenes) continues to provoke arguments about the responsibility of journalists to disclose their methods for constructing truth.

The documentary has often raised questions about who is a journalist and who is not. For most of their history, the main commercial networks were reluctant to air documentaries made by independent (non-network) producers. With a few exceptions, documentaries were produced by network news departments to ensure fairness in issue treatment, consistency of journalistic standards, and to promote network journalists. In contrast, PBS and cable television have relied mainly on independent producers, who often bring different perspectives to bear. Yet independent producers may identify more closely with one point of view on a topic or constituency and may prioritize journalistic values differently. Some have not been trained as journalists.

Finally, development of the television documentary illustrates both the promises and perils of the decline of network news' dominance. Forty years ago, network television journalists had bigger budgets and more production and air time to explore often controversial issues in depth than do network staffs today. During the 1960s and 1970s, documentaries could reach and influence millions of Americans. Because so many might watch, however, documentaries became a focal point for criticism of television journalism generally. Powerful forces in government and business pressured network executives to rein in documentary reports to avoid offense, lawsuits, regulatory oversight, and lost advertising dollars.

By the 1990s and 2000s, changing economics and deregulation of television fragmented the mass audience and all but erased the documentary from the commercial network schedules. Broadcast documentarians could no longer command the resources and broad public attention they had in the past. This distinction passed to documentaries first released in movie theaters, which were often buoyed by organized political campaigns, such as those of Michael Moore (1954–) (*Fahrenheit 9/11, Sicko*) and former Vice President Al Gore's (1948–) exposition of global warming, *An Inconvenient Truth*. PBS and cable channels also suffered some economic and legal pressure to quell or restrain investigative reporting. But these networks aired more documentaries produced by independent journalists for audiences more likely to tolerate journalism with a point of view.

Although documentaries have never been plentiful, they have often drawn high esteem within and beyond broadcast journalism. Because they permit journalists to tell lengthier stories and to express a point of view more clearly than other types of news, documentaries may have greater impact on public consciousness. Documentarians pioneered many techniques of television news and, in the process, prompted many recurring questions about broadcast news ethics. Not all documentary makers have identified themselves as journalists in

the traditional sense, a role that grows fuzzier as more voices produce documentaries for cable and public television. Some mourn the passing of a golden age of television documentary. But many feel that documentary makers are freer today on public broadcasting and cable networks.

Chad Raphael

See also Docudrama; Documentaries, Motion Picture; Ethics; Federal Communications Commission (FCC); Hard Versus Soft News; Investigative Journalism; Mass Media, Decline of; National Public Radio; Objectivity; Public Television Journalism; Television News Magazines

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Dow Jones

Dow Jones, founded in 1882 as the Dow, Jones & Company, is the world's largest provider of public financial news and information. Among other print publications, the company has produced *The Wall Street Journal* since 1889 and *Barron's Magazine* since 1921. Dow Jones also owns the Ottaway chain of local newspapers. Its holdings of overseas television business news networks include a 70 percent control of European Business News and 50 percent of Asia Business News. The Dow Jones Newswires, evolving from daily, handwritten bulletins delivered by messengers to subscribers in the Wall Street area of New York City, offers several thousand daily business news items to subscribers worldwide. The company's Financial Information Services division is the world's leading supplier of computerized real-time financial databases and analytical tools. In 2007, Dow Jones maintained 90 news bureaus across the globe and offered financial reports in 11 languages.

History

Dow Jones was formed in the autumn of 1882 by three reporters: Charles Henry Dow, Edward Jones, and Charles Bergstresser, the latter a silent partner whose savings financed the company's launch. Working from a basement office on Wall Street, Dow and Bergstresser produced financial stories and submitted these to Jones, who edited the stories and then dictated bulletins to scribes. These were compiled in handwritten reports known as "flimsies" and delivered to subscribers in the Wall Street area. In November 1883, the company began producing the *Customers' Afternoon Letter,* a printed two-page publication that summarized the bulletins dispatched that day.

The next year the company introduced the "Dow Jones Average," published in the *Afternoon Letter*. It was the precursor of the Dow Jones Industrial Average launched in May 1896, perhaps

the most famous and recognized of several stock market indices created by Charles Dow. The average consists of the adjusted value of the stock prices of the 30 largest and most widely held publicly traded companies in the United States. Regarded as the most reliable assessment of the state of the American stock market, it is reported in newspapers and broadcasts around the world.

By 1889, the company was flourishing. Two years previously, Dow Jones had joined in a news exchange agreement with Clarence Barron (1855–1928), who managed a news bureau in Boston and had been producing a financial newspaper there for several years. In July 1889, the *Afternoon Letter* was transformed into the daily *Wall Street Journal,* a four-page publication selling for two cents. The two offices, Dow Jones's in New York and Barron's in Boston, reinforced one another's coverage of American business news; in 1896, the aggressive Barron expanded coverage into Philadelphia with his *Financial Journal.* In 1898, a morning edition of *The Wall Street Journal* was launched.

In the meantime, the company founders foresaw a need for a quicker way to deliver financial news, especially about the volatile stock market. In 1897, they created the Dow Jones News Service, which provided reports over telegraph wires. Known as broadtape, the local service employed printing devices, called "tickers." The service was announced in the February 26 issue of the *Journal,* and proved a modest success. It underwent a major expansion in the mid-1920s: service was introduced in Chicago, St. Louis, and Detroit in 1925; Boston, Washington, and Richmond joined the circuit in 1927; and Los Angeles, San Francisco, and cities in Pennsylvania and Ohio followed in 1928. This news service laid the foundation for the Dow Jones Newswires.

In March 1903, Barron, along with *The Wall Street Journal*'s then-editor Thomas Woodlock, bought Dow Jones for $130,000. In 1912, with Barron's other publications no longer in print and the *Journal* floundering, Barron appointed himself president of the company and editor of its publications. Readership of *The Wall Street Journal* rose to 52,000 by 1928, and the paper grew to a daily 20 pages. Under Barron, Dow Jones and its publications became vocal defenders of Wall Street and American business practices, even against the U.S. Congress in its editorials during hearings on bills such as the Federal Home Loan Bank Act (1932), Banking Acts of 1933 and 1935, and the Securities & Exchange Act (1934) during the Depression.

Barron's National Business & Financial Weekly made its debut in 1921, with Barron himself serving as its first editor. Since its inception, it has provided a summation of the previous week's stock market activity, news reports, financial statistics, and an outlook on projected market activity for the coming week. Initially priced at 10 cents, it was an immediate success among investment and financial professionals. The magazine is known for its objective assessment of corporate prospects and is recognized for investigative reporting on stock fraud, insider trading, and overvalued companies. According to Dow Jones, *Barron's* circulation in 2004 was over 300,000. Its readership is decidedly wealthy, with an average household net worth of $1.2 million.

Barron died in 1928, leaving control of the company to Hugh Bancroft, his son-in-law, who continued Barron's plans to expand Dow Jones. The first issue of *The Wall Street Journal*'s *Pacific Coast Edition,* published in San Francisco and devoted to financial news of the West Coast, appeared just eight days before the October 1929 stock market crash. Closely tied to the fortune of the financial health of the United States, Dow Jones felt the full impact of the Depression, with declining subscriptions for its various publications and staff layoffs. The newswire "broadtape," which had been expanded to serve the Canadian market, provided the firm's major source of income during the 1930s.

With the end of the Depression and World War II, Dow Jones quickly recovered and entered a period of steady growth. By the end of the 1950s, circulation of the *Journal* was over a half-million. In 1962, the company launched the *National Observer,* its first new product since *Barron's* in 1921. A weekly that reported and interpreted national and foreign news, arts and consumer affairs, the *Observer*'s circulation rose to nearly 500 thousand before it ceased publication in 1977 when it failed to reach projected profits after 15 years. In 1967, the company's experience with its newswire led to the "Economic Report," a joint venture with the Associated Press that transmits business news to subscribers throughout the world. Meanwhile, the company that reported on the

stock market went public itself in 1963, with 110,000 shares of Dow Jones common stock sold to the public, although the Bancroft family, Barron's heirs, retained control of the company.

In 1971, Dow Jones pioneered electronic publishing; the operation, now known as the Dow Jones News/Retrieval Service, permits subscribers to search for and select items from any of the company's publications or services and bring these to their computer screen. The company expanded even more by acquiring the Ottaway group of 8 daily and 14 weekly community newspapers in seven states. Shortly thereafter, it invested in newsprint mills in Virginia and Quebec. The *Journal* launched an Asian edition in 1976, a European version in 1983, and its online edition in 1996. In 1982, the company began production of a syndicated television program on the market, and has added syndicated radio broadcasts that are aired and updated throughout the business day. Since then, Dow Jones has continued a vigorous growth, focused on three broad segments: business publishing, financial information services, and community newspapers.

At the end of 2007, *The Wall Street Journal* was purchased by Rupert Murdoch's News Corp. when Dow Jones shareholders approved the acquisition. In May 2007, News Corp. made an unsolicited bid to take over Dow Jones. The Bancroft family, which controlled more than 60 percent of the stock, at first rejected the offer, but later reconsidered. Three months later News Corp. and Dow Jones entered into a definitive merger agreement. The controversial $5 billion sale added *The Wall Street Journal* and *Barron's* to Murdoch's news empire, which already included Fox Television, the *New York Post*, and *The Times* of London. At the time, *Journal* staffers and union representatives expressed fears that the merger would impact the quality and independence of Dow Jones's news-gathering roles, while academics and others decried such major corporate consolidation of news media as dangerous to democracy and free speech.

Dow Industrial Average

Although Dow Jones produces a number of stock market and financial indices (there are, for instance, transportation and utility averages) the Dow Jones Industrial Average is the most famous and most reported. At the time of its creation, people found it difficult to understand the daily jumble of stock prices and even whether the American stock market was rising, falling or remaining even. Charles Dow compiled the index as a way to gauge the performance of the industrial component of the New York Stock Exchange. It is the oldest continuing market index, aside from the Dow Jones Railroad (now Transportation) Average, which Dow also created.

The Industrial Average (or "the Dow") first saw print in the *Afternoon Letter* in May 1896, and represented the average of 12 stocks from various American industrial sectors; of those original 12, only General Electric remains part of the average. The average is price weighted. When it was first published, the average stood at 40.94, computed by adding the stock prices and dividing by the number of stocks in the index.

For its first 25 years, the Dow Jones Industrial Average appeared only in *The Wall Street Journal*. In the economic boom of the 1920s, however, many average citizens began buying stocks and wanted an easy-to-understand method to judge the market. Newspapers began the habit of mentioning market action in the general news each day, and the Dow became the shorthand method of reporting it. Broadcast news took its cue from print media, adopting the Dow as the most understandable quantified indicator for the health of the stock market.

Over the years the number of companies increased to 30, representing the most commonly traded stocks. For the sake of continuity, changes in the companies represented are rare and are reviewed only after corporate acquisitions or other dramatic shifts. A stock is typically added only if it has an excellent reputation, has demonstrated sustained growth, and is of interest to a large number of investors. To compensate for the effects of stock splits and other corporate adjustments, the Dow is now a scaled average, not the actual average of the prices; the sum of the component prices is divided by a divisor, which changes whenever one of the component companies has a stock split or stock dividend. Since the value of the divisor is usually less than 1, the value of the index is often higher than the sum of the component prices.

Although highly regarded and reported, the Industrial Average has been criticized by some

economists who argue that it is no longer a very accurate representation of overall market performance. Being price weighted, it gives relatively higher-priced stocks more influence than lower-priced ones. Another issue with the Industrial Average is that the posted opening of the Dow is determined by the prices of those few companies that open first along with the previous day's closing price of the remaining components. On those days, according to some observers, the average may not accurately reflect the true state of the stock market. Still the average is the most widely quoted measure of Wall Street used by most news media.

The influence of the Dow Jones Industrial Average is significant and most investors and advisors rely on it to judge the market. According to some academic studies, given that most individual stock portfolios contain three to six stocks at a time, the Dow is closer to human-scale investment, and thus more understandable than indices with hundreds of stocks. It has generally proven to be in sync with other financial barometers, despite the difference in computation methods. The Dow's durability lies also in the selection of companies that make up the industrial average; collectively, these represent every important sector (no longer merely industrials as the name implies) in the stock market.

The Newswires

The Dow Jones Newswires is the world's leading independent provider of real-time business, financial, economic, and market-related political news. The Newswires includes several services, the best known among them being the Dow Jones News Service, Dow Jones Wealth Manager, Dow Jones Indexes, and Dow Jones Advantage Training Resources. VentureWire, with sector-specific news on targeted industries and trading areas, claimed more than 160,000 readers daily in 2007. The Dow Jones Newswires also include financial news networks focused on specific countries and global markets.

The newswires division of Dow Jones is also responsible for a number of specialized reports delivered online to subscribers. The Professional Investor Report provides coverage of unusual stock activity. Capital Markets Reports covers the fixed-income and futures markets, while Emerging Markets Reports follows Treasury Bills, mortgage-backed securities, corporate bonds and political events. Asian Equities Report is available in Asia and covers the equities markets there. Teleres is a commercial real-estate information service.

Taken together, the various offerings of the Dow Jones Newswires served over 420,000 subscribers in 66 countries by mid-2005. Millions of users more have access to selected content via corporate intranets and customer extranets. The Newswires produce each day over 10,000 news items covering equities, foreign exchange, energy, commodities, corporate disclosures, futures, stock markets and over 37,000 listed companies. This real-time news is also delivered via license to their own subscribers by more than 50 vendors, including Reuters, Bloomberg, Thomas Financial, and Telerate.

Dow Jones, through the high-profile *Wall Street Journal* and Dow Jones Industrial Average, is the most successful company offering financial news. Now an international conglomerate itself, it has diversified and dominates the field of business reporting. The Dow Jones Newswires span the globe. The company continues to expand its coverage and services, relying on the latest communication technology.

Rex A. Martin

See also Business Journalism; Business Magazines; Media Ownership; *Wall Street Journal*, *The*

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E

Economic News

See Business Journalism

Editing, Newspaper

Editing involves deciding what news stories, pictures, or video to publish or broadcast and what form that material should take. The role is central across nearly all print media (on which this entry focuses), from newspapers and magazines to websites and books. Editing takes on many forms, however, and involves evaluating both big issues and small details: creating a vision for a publication; assigning articles, photographs, and graphics; evaluating articles for proper organization, tone, and readability; managing and motivating writers, photographers, and other editors; designing each issue; and correcting facts, grammar, word usage, and other mechanics of articles. While the editing process is generally invisible to readers, editors shape everything readers ultimately see.

Anyone who writes, of course, also edits, deciding which subjects and sources to pursue and which to avoid, what material to include in an article, and how that piece should be written. A true editor is an outside voice, offering a view detached from that of the writer but in tune with an audience. In that sense, editors must see a publication more broadly than other staff members, serving as gatekeepers of information and protectors of a publication's integrity through adherence to mission and to standards of ethics and quality.

Evolution of Editing

The word *editor,* first meaning the publisher of a book, originated in the 1600s and over the next 200 years took on the journalistic meaning we ascribe to it today. Editing as a profession began to take shape as the number of newspapers, magazines, and books increased, and as publications grew in both size and readership. The first editors were printers who reprinted articles from other publications (often from abroad), and sometimes added their own commentary. Printers took their role as editors seriously, however, even if they didn't call what they did *editing*. Benjamin Franklin (1706–90), for instance, published "An Apology for Printers" in his *Pennsylvania Gazette* in 1731, saying, "Printers do continually discourage the Printing of great Numbers of bad things, and stifle them in the Birth" (quoted in Pickett, 30). He asserted his right to print controversial material, though, much as editors have done in the nearly three centuries since. That function eventually became known as gatekeeping, with editors deciding what to publish or not to publish, free of government control or outside influences.

Magazine editing was primarily a part-time job until the late nineteenth century, with clergymen or professors often doing such work in addition to their primary employment. Top editors at American newspapers were often (or worked closely with) politicians or civic figures. Publications retained

their political or religious ties and editorial identities for years even as editing grew into a full-time occupation. Gradually, publications began actively reporting news rather than waiting for information to trickle in from outsiders and other publications. This broader role increased the importance of editors, who directed the coverage.

These changes took place as rising literacy rates in the nineteenth century helped create more demand for reading material, improved printing technology allowed newspapers and magazines to easily print thousands of copies, and improved transportation allowed for wider, quicker distribution. By late in the century circulations soared into the hundreds of thousands among big city newspapers and some national magazines. Many of the architects of these mass circulation publications, like Joseph Pulitzer (1847–1911) (New York *World*) and William Randolph Hearst (1863–1951) (*New York Journal*), served as both publishers and editors, guiding both the business and news operations. Others, like Cyrus H. K. Curtis (1850–1933), hired editors like Edward Bok (1863–1930) (*Ladies' Home Journal*) and George Horace Lorimer (1867–1937) (*Saturday Evening Post*) and allowed them to shape their publications as they saw fit. A gap developed, though, between editors who ran large publications and those who ran smaller ones. Those in cities saw themselves as outsiders, of sorts, observers whose detachment allowed them to get closer to the truth. Small-town editors, on the other hand, saw their role as intimates of or voices for their communities. Hodding Carter (1907–72), editor of the *Delta Democrat-Times* in Greenville, Mississippi, said in 1961 that an editor should be "the community's chronicler, commentator, and general hell-raiser," but also a citizen "participating to the fullest in the life and aspirations of his town."

Divisions of Labor

Those different approaches to editing, which still exist to a great extent today, developed not only because of the size of the communities, but also because of the growing size of the publications. At smaller publications, a single editor often does much of the work, including the writing, photography, and design. Newspapers in metropolitan areas and mass-circulation magazines contain larger volumes of information and need larger staffs, leading to increasingly specialized editing. Top editors set the direction and policy for a publication and still do hands-on work with articles. Other editors, though, oversee areas like city news, national news, financial news and entertainment news, as well as the opinion pages. Below those editors are assigning editors, who work closely with reporters and freelance writers in deciding what articles to pursue. All of these editors use their sense of audience to pare down thousands of potential topics and articles into the relatively few that make it into publication. Editing of all kinds is linked to this gatekeeping function, as all editors have at least some control over what readers see.

Many other specialty areas of editing have emerged over the last century. In fields like banking, law, and medicine, technical editors handle specialized books, journals, pamphlets, reports, and training material. Editors oversee newsletters, advertising, press releases, video scripts, product documentation, and online help pages. Nearly any type of published material moves through the hands of editors.

At newspapers, managing editors oversee newsroom operations, including staffing, budgeting, and news coverage. News editors generally oversee a publication's design and sometimes act as a surrogate for the top editor. Features editors guide the coverage of feature stories, including arts and entertainment, food, and social events. Photo editors oversee staffs of photographers much as assigning editors oversee staffs of reporters. Wire editors choose articles from the Associated Press and other wire services, which provide thousands of articles from around the world.

Another group of editors, known as copy editors or subeditors, focus on the mechanics of articles, including proper grammar, spelling, and structure. At newspapers, these editors also write headlines, design pages and see everything through to production. Copy editors are surrogates for readers, looking for problems in articles and asking questions that readers might ask. Because they usually have no part in assigning an article, they can examine the writing and reporting with a fresh eye, seeing problems that those close to the reporting may have missed. Copy editors are usually the last to look over an article before it goes to press, and they inspect the article again on a proof, or copy of a page, a process known as proofreading.

Magazines have a structure much like that of newspapers, though the duties often differ. The top editor, often called the editorial director or editor in chief, sets the overall vision for the publication, working closely with the publisher, the advertising department, and even the marketing department. A managing editor or executive editor oversees day-to-day operations, including deadlines, hiring, and production. The managing editor may also fill in for other staff members, writing, designing, and taking on any other job that needs to be done. At smaller magazines, which may have only a few staff members, the managing editor does all these things routinely. At larger magazines, many other specialized editors work beneath the managing editor, overseeing a magazine's many departments. These editors also write headlines and other display type before passing on articles to the copy desk. Magazines often have fact-checkers, as well, a job that falls to copy editors at newspapers. Some magazines also have contributing editors, who are really freelance writers with expertise in specific areas.

The editing system was set up as a means of quality control. At most publications, articles make their way through at least two editors and oftentimes more. At nearly all publications, though, an editor's duties frequently change from day to day, depending on a publication's needs. So even though editing involves many specialized skills, the best editors are generalists who can adapt easily to different tasks or different roles. Ben Hibbs (1901–75), then editor of the weekly *Saturday Evening Post,* said in 1959, "Magazine editing today has become a team job, simply because the volume of work is so vastly greater and also because no one man can even hope to possess a sufficiently all-embracing knowledge of this complex world to do the job alone." Much about editing has changed since then, but the complexity and the need for many people to create a publication persist.

A Move Toward Professionalism

Editing, like many other jobs inside and outside journalism, became increasingly professionalized at the turn of the twentieth century. Organizations like Sigma Delta Chi (now the Society of Professional Journalists), American Business Media and the Associated Press Managing Editors established professional and ethical guidelines, and industry publications like *Editor & Publisher* and *Quill* helped editors further define their mission and their responsibilities. Universities created journalism programs, helping enhance journalists' education and reinforcing the idea of editing and reporting as professions with standards of quality, ethics and judgment.

Over the last century, many other organizations have formed, allowing editors to share ideas, solve common problems and make their jobs more visible. Magazine editors, features editors, opinion page editors, photo editors, and designers have all formed organizations. More recently copy editors and metropolitan editors have formed separate groups. These organizations have focused on such issues as training, maintaining quality with smaller staffs and, increasingly, helping members adapt to the Internet. This proliferation of organizations solidified the specialized functions of editors and the roles of these editors within a hierarchy of journalism.

As part of this move toward professionalism, editors concentrated more on providing information free of the influence of advertisers, political parties, or religion. This idea of reporting and editing with a seemingly neutral viewpoint became known as objectivity. It developed in the late 1800s and grew into a central tenet of journalism, although some in the field have questioned its relevance. Even journalists who don't subscribe to the idea of true objectivity try to uphold standards of fairness and ethics, two other crucial functions of editing.

Technology and Change

Technology began to change editors' jobs enormously in the late twentieth century. Computers allowed publications to be assembled much more quickly and with fewer people. Editing that was once done with pencil and paper, scissors and paste (for moving sentences and paragraphs) could be done more easily with computers. The popularity of television led to increased emphasis on visual communication in print, attracting a new type of editor whose job focused more on creativity in design than on news and information. Pagination, the assembling of a page with a computer, increased the workload of copy editors and news editors substantially. It gave them more control over the final publication and increased the importance of

their jobs, but it also added technical work that was once handled by printers.

Editing has changed in the upper ranks, as well. Assigning editors, for instance, say they are often stuck in the neck of an hourglass, constantly moving information from above to below without time for long-term planning. Editors of all types have been forced to do more as staffs have become smaller. Top editors have had to become more involved in the business aspects of their companies, rather than focusing solely on the content of their publications. Newspapers and magazines alike have come under growing scrutiny from owners or stockholders to increase profits, even as readership has stagnated or fallen as audiences rely increasingly on broadcast or Internet resources.

Technology has brought about other changes, as well. Computers have allowed journalists to create graphics much more quickly, leading to a proliferation of charts, maps, and other types of illustrations. As a result, some publications have created the position of graphics editor, keeping in the tradition of editing as a specialized function. Other publications have created design desks, with editors who have specialized knowledge in visual communication and use of color. With the increasing importance of the Internet, publications have appointed editors to oversee web operations, while others have pushed print editors to gain skills in publishing material on the Internet.

The Challenge of the Internet

The Internet has given millions of people instant access to information they once got from newspapers, magazines, television, and radio. In a sense, that has turned readers into editors, giving them a hand in the gatekeeping function that was once the sole purview of editors. It has also pressured editors to move their publications to the Internet. Online sites provide only a fraction of the revenue of magazines and newspapers in print, however, and few publications have figured out how to make up the difference. Online journalism also forces editors to make decisions more quickly, much as a wire service does, balancing timeliness with the need to check accuracy, especially as rumors surface in blogs, e-mail, and other electronic sources. Some online content, including news stories and blogs, bypasses editors, at least initially, as news organizations rush information onto the web. Many editors have questioned the logic of that approach, arguing that it compromises the credibility and reliability that have served professional journalists well for decades.

Such changes have created much anxiety among editors, but have also created opportunity. Online readership has been rising, and many editors see the Internet as the future of journalism, with print publications still playing an important, though smaller, role. The skills of print editors transfer easily to the Internet as well. A report by the Online News Association says that word skills remain at the heart of web editing, along with news judgment, attention to detail, knowledge of style and grammar, communication skills, and the ability to work under time pressure. Online editors, sometimes called producers, need computer-related skills, as well: a grasp of web coding, audio and video, and computer programs used to create graphical elements. The author of the report, C. Max Magee, concludes that "online journalists should be prepared to be copy editors."

The importance of editing is likely to grow as the role of an editor evolves. Editors' savvy in assigning, preparing, and presenting information has for decades allowed many publications to thrive. As the Internet becomes increasingly important as a source of information, editors must adapt their skills to a multimedia world even as they maintain the core word and visual skills that have served them well for decades. As the guardians of credibility and as gatekeepers for information, editors play a role that could make or break a website. Rick Rodriguez, a former president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, told his colleagues that in a time of great change editors "must be the guardians of the soul of newspapers," maintaining the "role of verifier and authenticator that makes us unique" and ensuring that "the ethics, values and standards that we've struggled to establish—fairness, accuracy, independence and integrity—don't get lost in the new media ethos." As editors find their way in the world of new media, editing itself is likely to remain in the background. Audiences see little of the editing process even as editors make an enormous mark on journalism.

Douglas B. Ward

See also Agenda Setting; Bias; Computers in Journalism; Digital Journalism Tools; Editors; Editors' Organizations; Framing; News Values; Objectivity; Printing

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Editing, Online and Digital

Digital technologies have been used by newspaper and magazine editors since word processors–simple computers for writing—were introduced into newsrooms in the 1970s. Since the mid-1990s, *digital editing* has referred to the practice of working with digitized source materials: text written on a computer; photographs taken with a digital camera and prepared for publication using digital video editing software; video and audio captured, stored, and edited in digital format; and graphics (such as illustrations or information graphics) created on a computer. *Online editing* refers to using digital editing procedures to prepare material for publication on the World Wide Web.

Origins

Early attempts to deliver digital news content were made in Great Britain. In 1970, one of the world's first teletext services was established. Television sets equipped with a box to decode the digital signal were used to display text and crude, low-definition graphics. Videotex soon followed, distributed by cable. In the late 1980s and early 1990s the online consumer services CompuServe, Prodigy, and America Online (AOL) contracted with news organizations to distribute content. Around 1990, some newspapers began to deliver online content using BBS (bulletin board system) technology. With these developments in distribution methods, newspaper editors began to see the potential future in paperless media.

When Mosaic, the first widely popular web browser with a graphical user interface (GUI), was released in 1993, online newspapers had the opportunity to release news material (text *and* photos) on the web before television and radio stations could air a news story. Before online publication, newspapers usually were forced to wait until the next day's news cycle—long after broadcast media had broken the story.

For traditional print media organizations, this immediacy brought new opportunities to increase readership; to expand local content to a global information market; to provide in-depth coverage, not limited by the physical size of a newsprint page; to interact with readers through e-mail, online chat, and discussion boards. Although the immediacy of online publication offered new possibilities, it also presented a new challenge for online editors. A news organization's credibility may be its most valued asset. Accuracy, assured through careful fact-checking and editing, is a key to building a media organization's credibility over time. Online content can be published for the world to see with the push of a button on an editor's keyboard, adding a new element of risk. A news media organization's credibility may be compromised with a careless key stroke. Online editors have an ethical obligation to themselves, their reporters,

their employers, and their audiences to maintain a high level of journalistic integrity by taking enough time to check facts and assure accuracy.

Hypertext, Interactivity, and Multimedia

In the mid-1990s, online editors (and reporters) were discovering the impact of technology on their daily work routines. Online editors who had been trained as print journalists were introduced to the concepts of hypertext, interactivity, and multimedia.

Online editors are aware of the differences between reading printed material and reading a computer screen. Because reading on-screen is known to be slower and more fatiguing to the eye than reading a printed page, online editors encourage reporters to write short sentences and to use frequent paragraph breaks. Bulleted lists also assist the reader, who may need to quickly scan for items of interest to hunt efficiently for specific information.

Hypertext is layered digital information. Digital files are connected by hyperlinks. For online editors, this meant the linear story—the long-established standard in print—was no longer ideal. Indeed, linear stories posted to the web without any modification were criticized as being "shovelware," meaning that the editor had simply shoveled printed material onto the web, without consideration for the differences in print and online media. By building stories with hypertext, online editors are able to allow readers to choose what to read next.

Since editors have become more sophisticated about building narrative with hypertext, stories are often "chunked"—divided into short, easy to understand units presented on separate webpages. Chunking is also referred to as "layering" a story. One challenge online editors face is establishing consistent styles for layering stories, so readers can become familiar with navigating their way through content. Navigation through a site is one important form of interactivity.

Interactivity is thought of by digital journalists as involving the online reader in seeking or sharing information. Traditional newspapers or news broadcasts usually lack any interactivity—the communication is one way. In contrast, online editors have used various strategies that involve interactivity, such as: an e-mail link at the end of a news story so readers may provide feedback; access to searchable databases; calculators created with JavaScript in stories about investment strategies for retirement or in stories about home mortgage rates; online polls; and clickable maps.

For some stories, online editors may choose to combine more than one type of digital content. The combining of text, video, audio, and animation is referred to as multimedia.

Digitized source materials stored in a central database along with software for editing, combining, and displaying content enable online editors to create news packages that go beyond traditional story structures. For example, a software bundle available in 2008 enables online editors to edit photos, produce illustrations, prepare video clips with audio, and assemble a multimedia news package for publication on the web.

Convergence

In the late 1990s, technology again influenced the daily routines of online editors when the notion of convergence became popular. In the context of journalism, convergence generally refers to the idea that historically separate technologies, content areas, or organizational structures and business models may merge or intersect in some way.

Each of these types of convergence impacts an online editor. For example, when an editor budgets for equipment or assigns a story, he or she needs to know what technologies have converged—such as a cell phone with GPS (global positioning system) capability. The editor needs to know that a reporter assigned to cover the story has been trained to use the new equipment. When the nature of a story lends itself to team coverage—convergence of print (written story) and broadcast (video and audio content)—the online editor must understand the strengths of each medium in order to convey the story in the most compelling manner. Finally, when broadcast, print, and online operations merge to follow a converged business model, the online editor must adapt to new working conditions and develop productive working relationships with new colleagues.

As newer technologies emerge in the early twenty–first century, online editors continue to adapt. Digital media recording devices are becoming more

mobile and more miniaturized. Users of such devices are the audience for digital journalism. They expect customized, personalized content to be delivered the moment it is available. Digital editing allows editors to prepare and distribute news content to a growing population that prefers mobile devices, such as cell phones, over traditional media.

Between the time the first graphics-capable web browser was introduced in 1993 and the development of video-capable handheld mobile media a decade later, digital editing techniques and online editors have adapted to technical advances, professional opportunities, and audience expectations. Online and mobile media compete with broadcast outlets for immediacy in delivery of breaking news. The limitations of paper-based newspaper delivery have been partially eliminated by the capacity to expand and enhance news coverage using nonlinear, hyperlinked, multimedia storytelling and to deliver those stories to a global audience. The role of the digital editor is to provide a wide range of content in a variety of media—text, photograph, video, audio, animation, and graphic—to online editors and digital journalists for use in convergence coverage. The online editor oversees the process of digital news production and assumes responsibility for the accuracy and perceived credibility of the journalistic product.

David R. Thompson

See also Convergence; Digital Journalism Tools; Digital Photography; Distribution, Online; Editing, Newspaper; Internet Impact on Media; Videotex and Teletext

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EDITORIALS

Editorials are articles in a newspaper or magazine (or, very rarely, stories over the air) that combine fact and opinion to interpret news and influence public opinion. They express the publisher or owner's point of view and usually address current events or public controversies. As editorials are public, mass communicated expressions of public opinion, they are probably the most widely circulated opinion statements in society, regardless of whether they are widely read. If a newspaper has a political agenda, it, more than likely, would be visible on its editorial page. The influence of editorial content often depends on their influence on political or business elites.

Even though written by a single editor (and seldom signed), editorials express the opinion of the newspaper, magazine, or (again, rarely) broadcaster. Whatever specific opinions are being formulated, they tend to be derived from social interaction with management, rather than from personal experience or opinion of the editorial writer. As such, editorials offer a prominent function in the construction and expression of public opinion and an important addition to daily or weekly news publications.

Structure of Editorials

The sociocognitive foundation of editorials is reflected in how they are structured. For example, first person pronouns and stories about personal experiences are quite rare. Editorials are impersonal.

They focus on public news events, and support general opinions focusing on social, economic, cultural, or political issues. Editorials usually take the form of an essay, using an argument to promote a specific point of view. Newspapers nearly always publish editorials in line with their publication's editorial positions. An average editorial is approximately 750 words or less and typically includes (1) an introduction, body and conclusion like other news stories; (2) a brief explanation of the issue, especially complex ones; (3) a timely news angle; (4) opinions from the opposing viewpoint that refute directly the same issues the editorial addresses; (5) the concluding opinion of the publication, delivered in a professional manner (good editorials engage issues, not personalities and usually refrain from name-calling or other petty tactics of persuasion); (6) alternative solutions to the problem or issues being criticized; and (7) a solid and concise conclusion that powerfully summarizes the publication's opinion. A good editorial expresses a clear opinion. If it is based on evidence, so much the better. It is contemporary, tackles recent events and issues, and attempts to formulate viewpoints based on objective analysis of happenings and conflicting opinions.

Types of Editorials

Although editorials generally fall into one or more of the four broad types mentioned above, not all editorials take sides on an issue. But they all serve to inform, to promote, to praise or blame, and/or to entertain. When the purpose is to inform, the editorial provides careful explanations about a complicated issue. The editorial writer fills in background information, forecasting the future and passing moral judgment. Editorials explain to their readers the importance of the day's events, telling how a certain event came to pass, what factors counted in obtaining a change in governmental policy, and in what manner a new policy will affect the social and economic life of a community. To show an event's further significance, an editorial may review its historic setting, relating to what has gone before. All editorials are designed to be persuasive—to sway readers to agree with the point of view expressed. Editorial writers often promote events, worthy causes and activities, and people, such as candidates for political office. They may praise political candidates or public servants for making good decisions or make them accountable for bad decisions and/or behavior.

Development

Through the eighteenth century, newspaper editors were primarily printers and had little time or ability to write editorial opinions. What opinions their papers carried were usually by contributors using pen names, although occasionally enterprising printer-editors would write letters to themselves, signing them "from a correspondent." Seldom did the editor or other staff members actually write the opinion of the newspaper. The owner or owners might. More frequently, a newspaper's editorials (although they were not yet called such) were contributed by writers not officially associated with the newspaper. These might include a sponsor who helped finance the paper but did not work for it. Because newspapers and pamphlets were the favored medium for writers wishing to publish their views, we can find there some of the most important opinion writing in early American history. Prime examples include such classics as John Dickinson's "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania," a series of essays that were published in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* and *Universal Advertiser* in 1767 and were instrumental in the American colonies' opposition to British parliamentary power; Thomas Paine's "Crisis" papers, published in the *Pennsylvania Journal* in 1776 and 1777 that helped rally colonists' morale during the American Revolution; and the "Federalist Papers," published in the *New York Independent Journal* in 1787–88 that argued for adoption of the Constitution.

America's first widely circulated "editorial" was also the nation's first newspaper political cartoon. An illustration of a severed snake with the caption "JOIN or DIE," is probably the most famous in American history. At the time the editorial was written in 1754, France was threatening to enlarge its territory and attacking American colonists. American printer, scientist, and writer Benjamin Franklin was considering how to rally American support. On May 9, Franklin published in his *Pennsylvania Gazette* a report of the French attack and included his views on the necessity of colonial union. To emphasize his point, he added the illustration of the divided snake. The eight parts of the snake represented the colonies.

Although numerous newspapers reprinted the editorial and accompanying cartoon, Franklin's plan for union was not accepted. During the Stamp Act crisis of 1765, many colonial newspapers reprinted the "Join or Die" snake cartoon, creating furor among British authorities. As tensions rose in later years, the cartoon reappeared. With the onset of the Revolution, Franklin's cartoon proliferated in newspapers and other publications, becoming the most popular symbol of the revolt.

The Revolutionary War brought more activity by editorial contributors who were mostly agitators and political philosophers. Their writings frequently appeared in pamphlets and were published a section at a time in successive issues of newspapers. In the decade after independence, opinion writing remained the domain primarily of contributors to pamphlets.

During the 1780s the editorial in its modern form appeared. Whereas earlier opinion had been dispersed throughout the pages of newspapers, in the 1780s some papers began to separate their opinion statements from the news and to reserve a specific place for the former. Editors such as Noah Webster and James Cheetham began publishing a separate section of short paragraphs they had written. Other editors began to place a caption over the opinion, indicating that it was the work of the editor rather than a contributor.

According to Kenneth Rystrom (1993), in almost three centuries in which editors on the North American continent have been commenting on public issues, opinion has taken different roles. For the first century or so, editorial comment was sparse and generally intermixed with (often highly personalized) accounts of news. Then, as tension mounted between the colonies and Great Britain, editors began to comment on the issues. Indeed, journals were increasingly filled with opinion.

During the presidency of George Washington there was an increase in partisan opinion, thereby causing the nature of editorializing to change. During the early republic, party leaders saw fit to establish publications to express their party's views. Few had any real expectations of earning money. But they stood to gain social prestige, literary reputation, and political influence, especially if their party won. The function of editorials, which began appearing during this era on designated editorial pages, was to argue the party line as forcefully as possible for the party faithful. The stronger and more emotional the tone of an editorial, the more likely it was to please the reader.

By the early 1800s, the editorial had an established position in many newspapers, but its effectiveness as a literary form was handicapped by several characteristics such as writers who abused institutions and people with whom they disagreed, and domination by politics. On the other hand, partisan editorial writers exhibited a number of viable strengths. Many held key positions in local, state, or national politics and therefore possessed an intimate knowledge of current issues. Some historians argue that because newspapers and politics were so closely connected, at no other time in the history of editorial writing was the newspaper's editorial role of such critical importance in the nation's political system. Rystrom's history of the editorial page notes that Horace Greeley, whose *New York Tribune* was founded in 1841, made the editorial page a significant and respectable portion of the daily newspaper. *Tribune* editorials were written in a variety of different styles but mostly in the traditional literary format. They covered numerous topics and generally followed a consistent editorial policy. Many writers contributed to the thinking behind the editorials and the writing, although readers typically thought of the *Tribune's* editorial page as the product of one man, Greeley. Subscribers read the paper to see what Greeley thought. In the course of his journalistic career, Greeley espoused many liberal causes, including the abolition of slavery and capital punishment, communitarianism, socialism, improvement of working conditions, and free-soil homesteading.

In the two decades leading up to the Civil War, major issues got highly emotional and personalized in editorial columns. However, the Civil War brought new interest in news, and personalized editorial began to wane. A few voices still spoke out. Writers such as Charles Dana, E. L. Godkin and notable newspapermen like William Randolph Hearst, and Joseph Pulitzer editorialized strongly in the 1890s and early twentieth century. But the trend was clear: Editorial writers were retreating into anonymity at conservative newspapers increasingly owned by corporations. As the nation approached both world wars, few editorial writers expressed enthusiasm for getting involved, but as

soon as war was declared lost no time in volunteering their enthusiastic support.

By the early 1900s, the papers with the most popular and respected editorial pages were *The New York Times, Chicago Tribune,* and *The Boston Globe*. However, faced with harsh economic revolution, newspaper readers demanded more news than opinions and insights and most of the nation's anonymous editorial writers were unwilling or incapable of providing readers what they wanted. Consequently there was a sudden growth in byline columnists who were hired by newspapers and syndicated services to explain to readers what was going on, especially in the nation's capital. The columns were mostly interpretative in nature but more lively and informative than the unsigned editorials that represented the views of corporate newspapers.

By the late nineteenth century, newspaper writers and editors—notably William Randolph Heart and Joseph Pulitzer—spoke out strongly for going to war with Spain, but most editors let the war zone issues go to the so-called muckrakers for magazines. Equally noteworthy, editorial writers continued their political endorsements of candidates, mostly Republicans. By the 1950s and 1960s, most newspapers had begun to disassociate with one political party although they continued to lean toward Republican candidates and agendas. In 1964, for the first time in the twentieth century, more newspapers supported a Democrat for President, Lyndon B. Johnson. In the aftermath of the assassinations of President John F. Kennedy, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and Robert Kennedy, editorial writers also tended to support civil rights and social legislations passed during the Johnson administration.

The last decades of the twentieth century were characterized by some aggressiveness as well as passivity in editorial leadership. For example, the Vietnam War did not produce excitement in editorial pages, although Robert Lasch of the *St. Louis* (Missouri) *Post-Dispatch* won the Pulitzer Prize for several editorials written in 1965 questioning the U.S. role in Vietnam. During the Civil Rights Movement in America, editorial pages were not aggressive in their support or endorsements of civil rights issues. However, between 1957 and 1964, six Pulitzer Prizes were awarded for editorials on school desegregation or other civil rights issues. These prizes went to the *Tuscaloosa* (Alabama) *News, Arkansas Gazette* in Little Rock, *the Atlanta Constitution* (Georgia), the *Virginian–Pilot* in Norfolk, *Pascagoula Chronicle* (Mississippi), and the *Lexington Advertiser* (Mississippi).

Between 1969 and 1972, Pulitzer Prizes were awarded to three newspapers for editorials on civil rights issues: the *Pine Bluff Commercial* (Arkansas), the *Gainesville Sun* (Florida) and the *Bethlehem Globe-Times* (Pennsylvania).

By the late sixties, editorial writers returned to supporting Republican candidates and agendas, generally preferring Richard Nixon over Democratic candidate, Hubert Humphrey. The Watergate scandal eventually emerged, leading Nixon to resign from the presidency nearly two years following the break-in at the Watergate complex. A few newspapers, most notably *The Washington Post, Chicago Tribune,* and *The New York Times* earned much credit for keeping the public centered on these events; however, it was done primarily through their news coverage rather than through their editorial leadership.

From the Reagan administration (1981–89) through the Bush administration (1989–93), neither news coverage of the press nor its editorial pages took a leadership role in crusading for national or international causes.

Recent Trends and Challenges

Recent years have been marked by increasing concentration of ownership by fewer groups and by the challenges of the Internet. In 2008 the *Chicago Tribune* became the first major newspaper in recent years to declare bankruptcy. In 2009, the *Christian Science Monitor* became the first nationally circulated newspaper to replace its daily print edition with online-only access. Print journalism has declined in recent years due to a contracting economy and the growth and popularity of the Internet, especially among young people who turn to it not only for their news but also for opinion.

The Internet has become an integral part of life in the twenty-first century and has certainly changed the face of journalism, with numerous applications, including news websites, such as Newsvine, Mixx, and C2NN, among numerous others. As a result,

newspaper publishers are watching sales steadily decline as they continue to struggle to attract readers with different innovations such as online polls, web versions of the paper, audio and video, and the "comment" function that encourages web users to submit opinions about particular stories or blog entries. The Pew Internet and American Life Project Survey conducted in 2008 indicated that 70 percent of Internet users get their news from news websites. The web's unique combination of characteristics, such as space capacity, flexibility, permanence, immediacy, and interactivity, make it a powerful medium for the practice of journalism.

Conclusion

The editorial page is the intellectual focal point of any newspaper. Editorials serve to provoke, debate, set agendas, crusade for change, persuade, and often challenge. While they express the opinion of media owners, editorial writers serve as keepers of the public conscience. The chief duty of its practitioners is to provide the information and guidance toward sound judgments that are essential to the healthy functioning of a democracy. Therefore, the editorial writer is challenged to draw fair conclusions from stated facts, basing them on the weight of the evidence and the publication's concept of the public good.

According to a study, "The Newsroom Barometer," conducted by Zogby International in 2008, about 85 percent of editors surveyed are optimistic about the future of newspapers. Forty percent of the editors believe online will be the most common way to read the news ten years from now, while 35 percent believe that print will reign supreme. The survey also found that two-thirds of the editors polled believe that opinion and analysis pages will grow in importance, but half believe that shareholders and advertisers present threats to editorial independence.

Although challenged by a declining economy and the popularity of the Internet, the newspaper editorial still has value due to its gatekeeping role, which is a challenge to maintain in an online environment where opinions are many and trust in the establishment news media is decreasing. Even as they migrate online, newspaper editorials can continue to hold a significant place in the media landscape by bringing readers strong, well-argued editorials reflecting solid research as well as maintaining the delicate balance between what readers need to know and want they want to read about.

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See also Advertorials; Advocacy Newspapers; Agenda Setting; Columns and Columnists; Framing; Op-Ed Page; Press and Government Relations

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Editors

The title of editor is conferred on a wide variety of individuals who determine what appears in

newspapers and magazines. The term *editor* today can refer to a newspaper's top executive or a lowly copy editor. Every news department, such as those responsible for a newspaper's sports, features, or business sections, usually has its own editor to assign or approve stories and manage reporters.

By the early nineteenth century, the editor was the most important (and often the best known) figure at a publication. He (most were men) often combined several roles that were "editorial" in quite different senses of the word. A traditional editor was the paper's opinion-leader, executive, spokesman, literary stylist, and on occasion the publisher or owner. Such were the eclectic pioneers of the mid-nineteenth-century penny press, notably James Gordon Bennett Sr. at the *New York Herald* and Horace Greeley at the *New York Tribune*. Starting around the time of the Civil War, editorial functions began to be divided up; a publisher would hire an editor-in-chief, while the daily management of a newsroom would fall to a managing editor. A century later, the various jobs of the old-fashioned full-service editor had been further split and downgraded into specialties within a corporate structure.

Still, a publication's top editor was its public face. As late as the 1980s, executive editors such as Ben Bradlee at *The Washington Post* and Abe Rosenthal at *The New York Times* could attain a certain nationwide fame, even though they did not determine the editorial position or business side of their publications. But the next generation of executive editors, in an era of falling circulation and media-industry consolidation, had little fame and that only among journalism insiders. Top newspaper editors of the early twenty-first century were typically corporate functionaries or, at best, fighters of a losing cause for professional autonomy and higher newsroom budgets. Many lost their jobs to that cause. In the heyday of mass-circulation magazines, meanwhile, the personality of a single editor often stamped the character of such periodicals as *The New Yorker* (under Harold Ross, then William Shawn), the original *Vanity Fair* of the 1920s and 1930s (under Frank Crowninshield), *Time* (under Henry Luce, then T. S. Matthews), and *The Saturday Evening Post* (under George H. Lorimer). Since then, the age of the titan magazine editor has passed.

Origins

The earliest definition of "editor," a word derived from the Latin verb *ēdo* (to bring forth into the world), applied to the publisher of a literary work. An editor as "one who conducts a newspaper or periodical publication" began to appear in 1803, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*. This was when the older archetype of printer-proprietor was being replaced by a new type of newspaper chief. In colonial America, the men and women who published the first newspapers and magazines were called printers. With the proliferation of printing presses, heads of newspapers took on more literary status and the new title of "editor."

John Fenno, a Bostonian, became the first editor of the *Gazette of the United States,* the mouthpiece of the new Federalist government and, in particular, of Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton. To advance an opposition party, James Madison, a key author of the Constitution, along with then–Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, sought an editor to create an anti-Federalist newspaper, the *National Gazette*. They installed Philip Freneau, a patriot-poet who had been Madison's college roommate. Fenno and Freneau were editors of the new style rather than printers who happened to own the mechanical means of communication.

The 1790s and the next three decades, which have been called "the dark ages of the partisan press," continued to produce editors under the sway of political interests and patronage. But political spoils and control by factions did not dampen the individuality of editors from this era, most notably *Aurora* editors Benjamin Franklin Bache and William Duane, English gadfly William Cobbett, *Wasp* editor Harry Croswell, *American Mercury* editor Noah Webster, and *Columbian Centinel* editor Benjamin Russell. Each of these editors tended to be colorful, vitriolic, and abusive in a tradition of personal and partisan journalism that would continue throughout the nineteenth century.

In the 1830s, editors of several big city newspapers embraced innovations that greatly increased circulation and revenue. They severed ties with political parties, added amusing human interest stories of crime and sports aimed at working-class readers, dropped their daily price from six cents to a penny, and charged advertisers more as circulation grew. The leaders of this "penny press" revolution

were founders, owners, and publishers of their own newspapers, but also proudly bore the title of editor. They did not renounce traditions of violence or partisan politics. Bennett deliberately provoked rival editor James Watson Webb to assault him twice in the streets of New York, which Bennett, as victim, gleefully reported in his paper. Greeley, founding editor of the *New York Tribune,* embraced some political agendas with a childlike fervor. But these editors largely relied on advertisers, not political machines, as their chief patrons. They were careful to appear neutral in covering politics, at least in their paper's news reports, and sought entertaining news for the masses as well as timely information for the elite. The modern editor was henceforth to be a guardian of journalistic independence and an authority on developing content with mass appeal.

As with newspapers, American magazines have often mirrored the personalities of their editors. In Victorian America, editors such as poet James Russell Lowell and novelist William Dean Howells at the *Atlantic Monthly* helped set the intellectual agenda of the cultural elite, while female editors such as Sarah Josepha Hale (who got Thanksgiving to be a national holiday and wrote "Mary Had a Little Lamb") at *Godey's Lady's Book* and Miriam Folline Squier at *Frank Leslie's Lady's Magazine* (who took the name of her husband, Frank Leslie, after he died) constructed America's culture of the "domestic sphere." The editors of successful magazines in the first half of the twentieth century, especially editors who launched new titles or built huge circulations, tended to be unusually competitive and innovative in their market strategies and graphic design, but also culturally conservative and attuned to the values of the American heartland.

The modernization of newspapers after 1900 saw editors-in-chief diminished in number and in importance. Publishers consolidated newspapers into chains; reformers emphasized schooling and professional standards, thus reducing the importance of editors as on-the-job trainers. After World War II, newsrooms of metropolitan newspapers achieved their greatest energy, size, and professional standards. Editors of various ranks now ran the show. *Late City Edition,* a 1947 book by editors at the *New York Herald Tribune,* describes the three main news desks controlled by editors: local or city desk, national or "telegraph," and foreign or "cable." It was an all-male club until well into the 1970s. "The best editor is the man with an insatiable desire to know the facts of a matter, and an instinctive tendency to be interested in the matters his readers care about," the *Herald Tribune*'s city editor wrote in the book. Most major newspapers by this time had separated the function of editorial page editor from that of news editor, generally called managing editor or "M.E." Under the managing editor came department editors responsible for particular topics—arts, women, sports and business, for example. These editors were usually anonymous to the reader, yet influenced the paper by hiring staff and shaping the news, from story assignment to copy editing and headline-writing.

The skills of a good editor are distinct from those of a reporter or writer, yet successful newspaper editors invariably emerge from the ranks of news reporters with little or no formal training to be an editor. Even heirs of newspaper-owning families who are being groomed for editorships take a turn as cub reporters. Jonathan Daniels, for example, was a Washington correspondent for the Raleigh, North Carolina, newspaper his father owned, *The News & Observer,* before the younger Daniels became editor in 1933. Daniels served as editor in two stints for a total of 29 years, writing editorials and overseeing news while his two brothers managed the business side. Management skills, increasingly important for any newspaper editor, sometimes pushed a good editor into the job of publisher or company president. Lee Hills, for instance, markedly modernized the *Miami Herald* as its managing editor, then executive editor, from 1942 to 1966, systematizing recruitment, bringing colorful design to the paper, and sharpening its news writing. For the next 16 years, he was a publisher or president within the paper's chain, Knight Ridder. His ideas gradually permeated the chain through the many editors who followed in his footsteps.

In contrast to the inventive and eccentric editors of the nineteenth century, however, successful newspaper editors of the twentieth century fit comfortably into the conventions of newspaper production and management. Few editors tried to invent anything as new as the penny press. Ralph Ingersoll, who had been an editor at *The New Yorker* and *Fortune,* attempted a radical experiment in newspapering with *PM,* an afternoon tabloid that relied on wealthy patrons instead of advertisers. Ingersoll's

PM, which accepted but did not solicit advertisements, was greatly admired for its coverage of modern cultural topics, its quality art and photography, and its literary writers. But it never gained the circulation or influence Ingersoll had sought, and folded after eight years, in 1948.

Some Notable Newspaper Editors

James Gordon Bennett Sr. (1795–1872)

Bennett launched the *New York Morning Herald* as a penny paper in 1835, and during the next 37 years as its star reporter, top editor, and irrepressible salesman, helped to invent the modern concept of "news." With an entertainer's flair for writing and a cynic's understanding of public appetites, Bennett changed American journalism by his example, showing how newspapers could be far more democratic, sensationalistic, and profitable. Rivals waged a "moral war" against him, and the diarist George Templeton Strong summed up the elite view of Bennett when he wrote that no one had more debased American journalism. Yet Bennett was hailed as a genius of the profession he helped create. A gangly, cross-eyed Scottish immigrant, Bennett learned editing at the *Charleston* (South Carolina) *Courier,* the *New York Enquirer,* and the *New York Courier.* After many business failures of his own, he threw everything into his vision of a paper that cost a penny, like Benjamin Day's *New York Sun,* but outdid all its competition with a frenzy of news for every class of citizen. Bennett turned over management to James Bennett Jr. in 1866.

Benjamin C. Bradlee (1921–)

Bradlee was a high-profile editor who ran *The Washington Post* during the heady years when the paper exposed the Watergate scandals of the Nixon Administration from 1972 to 1974. A prep-school and Harvard graduate from Boston, Bradlee began reporting for the *Post* in 1948. Later, as *Newsweek* magazine's Washington bureau chief, he and the magazine's business editor, Osborn Elliott (soon to be the magazine's editor for more than a decade), convinced *Post* publisher Philip Graham to buy *Newsweek* in 1961. Bradlee, a friend and neighbor of Senator John F. Kennedy, enjoyed being at the center of Washington's social life from the time Kennedy became President. Named managing editor of the *Post* in 1965, then executive editor in 1968, Bradlee flourished with the support of Katharine Meyer Graham, the publisher after her husband's death. Bradlee led the paper's aggressive coverage during the Pentagon Papers case of 1971 and the Watergate years. His reputation was damaged by the fabricated "Jimmy's World" feature story about an eight-year-old heroin addict by staff reporter Janet Cooke, for which a 1981 Pulitzer Prize was retracted when Cooke confessed that she had concocted the story's main character. Bradlee was the last of the flamboyant big-city newspaper editors. When he retired in 1991, editorial writer Meg Greenfield complimented him as one who had "made the *Post* dangerous to people in government."

Arthur Brisbane (1864–1936)

Brisbane was the highest-paid and most widely read editor under yellow-journalism publisher William Randolph Hearst. The European-educated son of a wealthy Buffalo, New York, family, Brisbane became the chief advisor and front man for Hearst. He had proved himself a facile writer for Charles Dana at the *New York Sun* and then for Joseph Pulitzer at the New York *World* before becoming editor of Hearst's *Journal* in 1897. There, he was the first newspaper editor to reach a circulation of 1 million. He also wrote articles for Hearst's *Cosmopolitan* magazine and penned a popular editorial column, syndicated as "Today" in Hearst's papers and hundreds of others, giving him an estimated readership of 30 million. Critics derided his columns for their banal wisdom, but his concise style made a rising new middle class "think they think," as he once described the goal of an editorial.

Turner Catledge (1901–83)

Catledge was a Mississippi-raised journalist who worked at *The New York Times* for nearly forty years, half of that as managing editor, executive editor, or vice president. He retired in 1970, moved to New Orleans, and wrote a memoir, *My Life and The Times.* Catledge expanded the *Times*' cultural and national coverage, giving attention to the South and the issue of civil rights before any other national news publication did so. He was the most influential of a series of top editors at the *Times* from the South, such as Edwin James, Clifton Daniel, and Howell Raines, reflecting the Southern origins of the patriarch of the *Times*' dynasty since 1896, Adolph Ochs.

Charles A. Dana (1819–97)

Dana enjoyed a long and influential career as a gifted newspaper editor, first at Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune* from 1847 to 1862, and later as editor of the *New York Sun* from 1868 until his death in 1897. His interest in radical politics led him to join the New England Transcendentalists at Brook Farm, where he edited *The Harbinger,* and to cover the revolutions of 1848 in Europe, where he recruited Karl Marx as the London correspondent for Greeley. Dana also played a key role in the Lincoln administration during the Civil War, as assistant secretary of war. But his great talent was not his political vision, which was spotty and often vindictive. Rather, Dana raised the quality of newspaper writing, making the *Sun* one of the best of the major papers of the period. He virtually invented the "human interest story." Dana, who was the first managing editor ever, believed that "the invariable law of the newspaper was to be interesting."

Horace Greeley (1811–72)

Greeley was the founding editor of the *New York Tribune,* his national "pulpit" from which he crusaded for various reforms and rebuked the other penny papers for their money-grubbing sensationalism. The *Tribune,* he announced when it started in 1841, would advance the interests of "the People" and avoid the "immoral and degrading Police Reports, Advertisements and other matter which have been allowed to disgrace the columns of our leading Penny Papers" (Stoddard, 61). He crusaded for temperance, workers' rights, an early form of socialism, and an end to slavery. Raised poor in New England, Greeley failed to make a profit from *The New Yorker,* a weekly literary magazine he ran for seven years in the 1830s, or from the *Log Cabin,* a propaganda sheet he edited for his Whig Party mentors Thurlow Weed and William H. Seward. He ran the *Tribune* with an energy, eccentricity, and idealism all his own, "no man's man," and it flourished in that spirit. He was the first editor to allow by lines, and his published interview with Mormon leader Brigham Young is considered a breakthrough in reporting. Other editors of renown began their careers under Greeley at the *Tribune,* such as Charles N. Dana (later editor of the *Sun*) and Henry J. Raymond (who launched *The New York Times* in 1851). Other notable correspondents for Greeley's *Tribune* were Karl Marx, in London, and feminist Margaret Fuller.

Ralph McGill (1898–1969)

McGill was called the "conscience of the South" as editor, columnist, and publisher at the *Atlanta Constitution* from 1938 through the years of the civil rights movement. A former college football tackle and Marine from Tennessee, McGill was sports editor at the *Constitution* in the 1930s. Doing feature stories on his own time for the newspaper, he witnessed the sad waste of rural poverty and racial hatred in the South during the Depression. He traveled to Europe on a Rosenwald fellowship in 1937, seeing firsthand the relationship between an un-free press and the rise of Nazism. His page-one columns in the *Constitution*—more than 10,000 were published by the time he died at age 70—drew on his love of rural culture but also applied an almost religious morality to race questions that few others would write about. In the old style of Southern editors, he was at once the paper's public face, political captain, and literary voice. His criticism of white bigotry and his eventual support of the civil rights movement brought local hate mail, but national fame. He won a Pulitzer Prize in 1959 for editorial writing and published a historical memoir in 1963, *The South and the Southerner.*

Carr van Anda (1864–1945)

Van Anda was managing editor of *The New York Times* during the formative period of 1904–32, when his mathematical and scientific intellect helped make it the most respected newspaper in the world. Van Anda, a child prodigy, had dropped out of Ohio University and abandoned his plans to become a professor of physics or Greek to work on the mechanical side of several Ohio newspapers. He then switched to reporting, in which he excelled by his detective-minded diligence. But it was as night editor at the *Baltimore Sun* and the *New York Sun* where his energy and news sense achieved the most. Later, as managing editor of *The New York Times,* he kept a night-editor's hours, scooping other papers and catching last-minute errors. Adolph Ochs, who had bought the *Times* in 1896 with the goal of rejecting sensationalism for "all the news that's fit to print," found in van Anda his ideal of an independent, intellectual news chief. Ochs gave van Anda a good salary and a free hand. Van Anda is credited with

making the *Times* the admired newspaper of record it became.

Henry Watterson (1840–1921)

Watterson was editor of the *Louisville Courier-Journal* for a half century after the Civil War. He was a "Kentucky colonel"–style orator with a message of reconciliation he called the "New Departure." His message was like Henry Grady's editorial campaign for a New South, but more partisan, less visionary, and drawn out over a much longer career. As the son of a Tennessee congressman, Watterson learned to love politics and the Democratic Party as a child who literally played in the halls of the U.S. Capitol. His service in the Confederate army was desultory but placed him in the company of legendary generals Leonidas Polk, Nathan Bedford Forrest, and Albert Sidney Johnston. He developed an extravagant writing style as editor of a Confederate propaganda organ called the *Rebel,* followed by stints as editor of a Cincinnati newspaper and an editorial-opinion writer at the *Nashville Banner*. In partnership with Walter N. Halderman, he helped merge Louisville's *Courier* and *Journal* and made the combined paper one of the best and largest in the South. He viewed the editorial page as the heart of any newspaper, and had as many as ten editorial writers on staff. He and his partners sold their stock in the *Courier-Journal* to Robert Worth Bingham in 1919.

William Allen White (1868–1944)

White became nationally known as a prototype of the kind of editor most likely to remain unknown beyond the county line—the proprietor-editor of a small-town newspaper in the American heartland. For nearly 50 years he ran and wrote for the *Emporia* (Kansas) *Daily and Weekly Gazette,* with a circulation of less than 8,000, but achieved fame by having his editorials reprinted throughout the country. White's columns appealed to a wide audience because of their earthy, clear style and his wholesome-seeming political values. After an apprenticeship under William Rockhill Nelson at the *Kansas City Star,* White made a name for himself in 1896 with a widely reprinted editorial called "What's the Matter with Kansas?" It was a sarcastic attack on the Populist revolt against industrialism in farm states like Kansas. Under the later influence of reform-minded President Theodore Roosevelt, White turned more progressive in his politics. But he remained a loyal, active Republican most of his life.

Some Notable Magazine Editors

Edward W. Bok (1863–1930)

Bok edited the *Ladies Home Journal* from 1889 until 1919, during which time it became the best-selling magazine in history. He filled it with functional advice in home management and cheery fiction by celebrated writers. Born in Holland and raised in New York, Bok left school at age 12 to hustle his way, Horatio Alger style, from stenographer to writer to editor at various enterprises. In the *Journal,* as in such books as his Pulitzer Prize–winning memoir, *The Americanization of Edward Bok* (1920), he preached a sunny philosophy that treated poverty as a spur to character building and embraced mild reforms, such as an anti-billboard campaign, that rarely challenged the status quo.

Helen Gurley Brown (1922–)

Gurley Brown was the editor of *Cosmopolitan* for 32 years, turning a failed old general-interest magazine in 1965 into an ad-thick, self-help monthly for sexually liberated young females. Her *Cosmo,* which she called "feminist" and not a woman's answer to *Playboy,* was focused mainly on how to win male attention in any way that felt good. Without nudity, it developed a sex-manual style that a Tom Wolfe novel later satirized as "some sort of pornographic parody of *Cosmopolitan*." The daughter of a poor Ozark couple, Helen Gurley succeeded by her wits and charm as an unmarried secretary and advertising copywriter in Los Angeles. She argued for such feminine self-reliance in her 1962 best-selling book, *Sex and the Single Girl.* By then, she was happily married to Hollywood producer David Brown, who helped her seek ways to repeat the book's success. The Hearst Corporation rejected their proposal for a new magazine, but let her revamp and edit *Cosmopolitan.* The female consumer she targeted and influenced was the type she described in *Sex and the Single Girl* as economically "a dream," because this individual was not a "parasite" in a family but living alone and supporting herself. "You need an apartment alone even if it's over a garage," she advised in her 1962 book.

Norman Cousins (1915–90)

Cousins was editor-in-chief of the *Saturday Review,* a national weekly literary review that grew from a circulation of 20,000 when he began there in 1940 to 650,000 when he fell out with new owners in 1971. Cousins, an irrepressible optimist, returned in 1973 as owner and editor to revive the bankrupt magazine as a biweekly focusing on science and education. It suspended publication in 1982, except for a brief revival in 1986. The *Saturday Review* had started in 1924 as a continuation of the New York *Evening Post*'s literary supplement after the newspaper shut down the supplement. But it flourished only under the sway of Cousins's boyish faith in well-educated magazine readers who were not of any intellectual clique but simply loved discussing ideas. Cousins later applied his intellectual optimism to the idea that a sick patient's attitude could contribute to self-healing. He experienced this personally in overcoming a potentially deadly form of arthritis, and promoted the idea in several popular books and as an adjunct professor of biobehavioral science at the University of California, Los Angeles.

Clay Felker (1925–2008)

Felker was a magazine editor credited with inspiring national and city magazines with his 1960s-style creativity in graphic design, New Journalism, sophisticated satire, and service coverage of where to eat, shop, and live. With designer Milton Glaser, Felker exerted this influence mostly as editor of *New York,* a slick weekly he launched in 1968 as a stand-alone version of the *New York Herald-Tribune*'s earlier Sunday supplement. He lost the magazine to media mogul Rupert Murdoch in 1977, but went on to edit other magazines. Felker, the son of two newspaper editors from St. Louis, Missouri, had been a reporter for *Life,* worked on the 1954 creation of *Sports Illustrated,* and edited features at *Esquire* before becoming editor of the *Herald-Tribune* supplement in 1963. His brash style, on paper and in person, both inspired and intimidated. One former employee said Felker grew bored faster than anyone she ever met, forcing staffers to make their ideas seem interesting within ten seconds. Projecting an in-your-face elitism in print was his great insight into how magazines could survive in the age of television. Print, he said, had become a niche product for well-educated, affluent people with elitist attitudes.

Henry R. Luce (1898–1967)

Luce, the founding editor-in-chief of Time, Inc., created three or four of the most influential magazines of "the American century," a phrase he coined that expressed his somewhat imperialistic view of the twentieth century. Born and raised in the isolated American culture of a Presbyterian mission in China, Luce started *Time* magazine in 1923 with his friend from prep school and the *Yale Daily News* staff, Briton Hadden. The success of this news weekly, the first of its kind, made both men millionaires before they were 30. After Hadden's untimely death from a strep infection in 1929, Luce launched *Fortune* magazine and established "experimental" departments to investigate other innovations in magazine forms. *Fortune,* a pro-business magazine paradoxically flourishing in the Depression, published high quality profiles of businesses with artful photography. Luce launched *Life* in 1936, buying the name from a former humor magazine, and *Sports Illustrated* in 1954, proving that excellent writing and photography could appeal to sports fans even if it covered many sports those readers didn't care about. Luce also created "The March of Time," a radio and newsreel dramatization of the news that ran from 1931 until 1951, and subsidized a commission chaired by Robert Hutchins to study threats to freedom of the press. Luce retired as editor-in-chief at Time, Inc. in 1965, after it had become the largest magazine publishing company in the United States.

S. S. McClure (1857–1949)

McClure created and edited *McClure's Magazine,* a ten-cent monthly that introduced the reform-minded journalism of the early twentieth century known as "muckraking." He claimed that the alignment of powerful exposés of political corruption and industrial exploitation by Ida Tarbell, Ray Stannard Baker, Lincoln Steffens, and others in *McClure's,* starting around 1903, was an unplanned "coincidence." But it was really the result of his long preparation. McClure's energy, gut instinct for new markets, and good relations with literary journalists put him at the center of this progressive movement of the press. Although McClure struggled financially, his talent for publishing good writers in new forms changed magazine journalism. Samuel Sidney McClure emigrated from Ireland at age nine after the death of his father. He graduated from Knox College, where he met friends and lifelong

business partners. In 1882, he launched what was probably the first quality niche magazine, a periodical for the new outdoor activity of bicycling called the *Wheelman*. He created a syndicate to sell short fiction and nonfiction by big-name writers to American newspapers. He launched *McClure's* in 1893, and edited it until forced out by a reorganization in 1911, though he remained active in journalism for another 20 years.

Conclusion

Changes brought by the Internet and digital communications reshaped the various roles of editor. Magazine editors were able to take advantage of the web as a free advertisement, or tease, to draw new subscribers to their print product, which had more sensual appeal in its images and text than either newspapers or the Internet. But for the three major types of newspaper editor—corporate executive, news editor, and opinion writer—the first decade of the twenty-first century presented difficult challenges.

As an executive of a large news operation, a newspaper's top editor was deeply involved in seeking a new business model for sustainable revenue. Executive editors had to invent—and often upgrade—newspaper websites to serve both readers and advertisers. Working out the relationship between the printed and electronic versions of the paper became a central function of senior editors. Web revenue for newspaper companies seemed to be quite limited—about 10 percent of the industry's advertising income in 2006, with the rapid early growth showing signs of slowing. By 2008, a weakening overall economy forced many executive editors into the bleak role of overseeing major staff cuts.

News editors face an equally difficult task of finding a balance between the traditional daily news cycle of their newspaper and the instant-update pace of their webpages. Webpages can be updated with an immediacy and ease that newspapers and TV news can't match. But filing and editing stories for the web takes time away from in-depth reporting for the newspaper. Furthermore, with staff cuts, the additional work has to be done with fewer workers. One editorial response is to equip reporters with video and audio recording equipment to make them more flexible in their work, with less editorial intervention. Another response has been to separate "content"—journalistic coverage of the news—from its delivery or "platform." This further divided news editors into "news and information" managers on the one hand and digital, audio-visual, or print editors, on the other.

In complex ways, the digital age has loosened the grip that editors traditionally had on their readers, their advertisers, and their reporters. But the flexibility and speed of evolving digital technology also gave new importance to news managers—editors—who could navigate the changes and meet the needs of consumers for information and storytelling.

Doug Cumming

See also Agenda Setting; Editing, Newspaper; Gatekeeping; Publishers

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Editors' Organizations

Editors of newspapers, magazines, and (increasingly) online services have a variety of associations

to serve their needs. As with so many journalism organizations, these groups are heavily alike in make-up and function. They focus on specified types of editors, hold annual conventions, give awards for high-quality accomplishment, and support various educational endeavors. Their prime purpose is to provide an effective means for exchanging mutually useful idea exchanges. Less often, they may become involved in lobbying efforts for matters of concern. Several have developed codes of ethics. Some of the groups have active local chapters. At least two are co-located with academic journalism programs.

Journalists are joiners and that is one reason there are so many such organizations. Networking also comes naturally to journalists in their daily work. Editors are concerned, of course, with the overall daily operation of the editorial side of their publications or electronic news operations, and that focus is evident in each of the groups discussed below. As the economic outlook for newspapers has darkened in the early twenty-first century, however, many of these groups have focused more and more on ensuring the basic survival of their business. That may eventually mean a near-total migration from printed periodicals to online and other electronic forms—and these groups may follow suit in their own operations.

Just how to treat online-only journalists has been a divisive issue for most of these groups. While virtually all periodicals now have an online presence, the rise of independent websites and blogs (among other sources) have stretched the definition of just who is an "editor," and thus eligible for membership in these associations. This is far more than a matter of technology, for many of the "nonmainstream" people who consider themselves journalists are not so viewed by the legacy media. They are often one-person operations run by those with little journalistic training or experience. Some have very decided political or social views to advance, rather than a more objective reporting role. Each of the associations listed here deals with this central matter of editorial identity differently, the overall trend being to open membership to those who appear to have the *intent* to be journalistic editors.

This entry is one of several that briefly describe different types of selected journalism organizations (there are too many to include all, and they come and go over time), so readers should also check additional entries noted at the end of this entry. The information below is drawn largely from the associations' websites, which often detail their background, structure, awards and educational programs, and member benefits.

Selected Journalism Organizations

American Association of Sunday and Feature Editors

The American Association of Sunday and Feature Editors (AASFE, http://www.aasfe.org) started in 1947 when 17 Sunday editors (all of them men) had just finished a two-week seminar at the American Press Institute and agreed to meet again the following year. The AASFE early annual meetings alternated between API offices in New York City and elsewhere around the United States, where they were hosted by the local newspapers. In 1956, the host-paper practice became the norm. Membership ceilings kept the meetings small until the 1970s, when the AASFE began to grow. Membership first exceeded 200 in the 1990s. Its conferences and meetings compare ideas on how best to prepare and present feature material, which is often found in Sunday editions of newspapers.

American Copy Editors Society

The American Copy Editors Society (ACES, http://www.copydesk.org) is a professional organization working toward the advancement of copy editors in newspapers, magazines, websites, and other journalistic endeavors. ACES's aim is to provide solutions to copy desk problems and to improve the job situation for its members. It is not a union, per se, but rather provides networking opportunities for the often thankless job of copy-editing, a role which is often reduced as newspaper and magazine revenues decline.

American Society of Business Publication Editors

Founded in 1964, the American Society of Business Publication Editors (ASBPE, http://www.asbpe.org) is the professional association for full-time and freelance editors and writers employed in the business, trade, and specialty press. They edit magazines (usually) aimed at those in a given business or trade. ASBPE offers annual Awards of Excellence which recognize the best in editorial, design, and online achievement. It also holds an annual ASBPE National Editorial Conference which highlights recent trends and problem areas. The

organization has local chapters in 14 cities. ASBPE has developed a Code of Preferred Editorial Practices in which it recommends careful guidelines for dealing with advertisers and sales departments to keep their concerns separate from a paper or magazine's editorial efforts.

American Society of Magazine Editors

Formed in 1963, the American Society of Magazine Editors (ASME, http://www.magazine.org/Editorial) developed out of the editorial committee of the Magazine Publishers of America. It is the primary professional organization for editors of American consumer magazines and business publications Thus it includes editors of virtually all of the high-circulation titles. As with other editorial groups, ASME provides an opportunity for magazine editors to exchange information. Since 1966 it has sponsored the National Magazine Awards. ASME also works to defend editors against external pressures and to speak out on public policy issues, particularly those pertaining to the First Amendment. ASME now has more than 850 members who, despite their small number, wield considerable influence over the nation's periodical press.

American Society of Newspaper Editors

The American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE, http://www.asne.org) was founded in 1922 amid a period of political attacks on newspapers and their editors. It is made up of directing editors (meaning the top editor, regardless of actual title) of daily newspapers, as well as people who serve the editorial needs of daily newspapers, who come together to share ideas at the annual convention, which is usually held in Washington, D.C. Among its primary projects are in the areas of diversity (of both content and employment), publication credibility, and readership. Additional projects include a High School Journalism Project to assist in secondary education programs, the Institute for Journalism Excellence, and an International Journalism Exchange, which brings foreign (typically Third World) editors to the United States for tours and conferences.

Associated Press Managing Editors

The Associated Press Managing Editors (APME, http://www.apme.com) is an association of editors at both United States and Canadian newspapers. As the name suggests, it works closely with The Associated Press news agency to foster journalism excellence and to support a national network for the training and further development of editors who are already running multimedia newsrooms. APME has held a multiday annual conference since 1933 in various cities. It provides subscriber feedback to the news agency directly and through the Sounding Board. Any person who is an editor, executive editor or managing editor, or holds any other title that provides for senior responsibilities for the news, online, or editorial staffs of a member newspaper is eligible for membership.

Associated Press Sports Editors

Formed in 1974, the Associated Press Sports Editors (APSE, http://aspe.dallasnews.com) was initially concerned with the expense and slow reporting of sports news and scores by the AP news agency. Since then, ethical issues and professional team locker room access by reporters have been among the issues touted by APSE. There have also been conflicts with some sports writers organizations, on ethical grounds, among others. Membership is open to all daily newspaper administrative sports department executives, their supervisors, and their assistants, regardless of whether those papers are subscribing members of the Associated Press. The organization is headquartered at the *Dallas Morning News*.

Association of Opinion Page Editors

The Association of Opinion Page Editors (AOPE, http://www.comm.psu.edu/aope) describes itself as "a blissfully unbureaucratic group" which charges no dues and operates no central office. Concerned with the improvement of op-ed page operations, AOPE has only four officers and operates a website and a listserv hosted by the College of Communications at Pennsylvania State University. It exists primarily to organize its annual conference. Penn State sponsors and coordinates the annual AOPE contest, where the best op-ed pages submitted by any print media are recognized for design, editing, and writing.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Foundations, Research Centers, and Institutes; International Journalism Organizations; Investigative Journalism Organizations; News Councils; Publishers' Organizations; Reporters' Organizations; Special Interest Journalism Organizations

Further Readings

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Education, Coverage of

Media coverage of education largely revolves around a broad swath of K–12 issues related to students and teachers, and to a lesser extent higher education. Coverage generally focuses on curriculum, test scores, teacher competency, and graduation rates at the public school level. Higher education coverage centers on the cost of and accessibility to colleges and universities by middle-class and minority students.

Much of the coverage since the 1960s has largely been framed by policies and regulations issued by the U.S. Department of Education, which became an independent cabinet-level agency in 1979 during the administration of President Jimmy Carter (1977–81) after decades of operating as part of the former U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Education's new department status gave federal education policy more gravitas, with federal regulations and laws increasingly anchoring coverage of schools. National media often emphasize federal policy issues, while smaller media outlets tend to devote more coverage to school boards and the politics that often engulf them. Since the 1980s, however, the trend toward broader coverage of schools and the issues that affect them, like poverty or homelessness, has appeared prominently in all media outlets, as K–12 issues and access to higher education are increasingly framed as significant domestic issues.

Early Education Coverage

At the turn of the last century, coverage was sporadic, with schools rarely providing the anchor for stories about education. Coverage instead focused on issues affecting children more generally, such as child labor, a significant issue of the day. Only occasionally did journalists address the impact of lost educational opportunities for working children and youth. A leading voice in the campaign to halt child labor—and to expand a child's educational opportunities—belonged to a New York City schoolteacher, Lewis Wickes Hine. In an article representative of the era's cover, with education as a secondary theme, a 1911 report in the *San Francisco Call* bemoaned the thousands of children and young people roaming the streets, as child-labor laws resulting from Hine's campaign barred children from working. The pursuit of education is rarely mentioned, but the heightened attention to issues affecting children did ultimately result in school reform. The high levels of truancy, and coverage of the problem in newspapers and magazines, prompted many states to pass compulsory school laws and forced states with such laws to enforce them more vigorously.

In the years that followed, education news was often absent from newspapers, magazines, and radio. But in 1944, *The New York Times* established a standard for education coverage with its Pulitzer Prize–winning series by Benjamin Fine, who reported that high school and college students did not know basic facts about U.S. history. The *Times*' series was the first notable reportage examining the quality of education in American classrooms, and it prompted a campaign by schools, colleges, and universities to upgrade instruction. In 1947, the National Education Writers Association was established by Fine and other journalists from the *Christian Science Monitor* and *The New York World-Herald,* among other publications, to improve the quality of education reporting by emphasizing news from inside the classroom.

Despite the success of the *Times* in making education a relevant subject of news coverage and the

creation of the education writers' group, coverage of schools was inconsistent through much of the mid-twentieth century. Journalists often wrote about schools only after being prodded by events outside the classroom. A case in point is the landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* (1954) overturning the "separate but equal" doctrine that had kept schools segregated by race. The volume of education coverage improved significantly in the years before, during, and immediately after the *Brown* decision, and journalists applied broad strokes as never before in reporting the case, explaining that single-race schools were often the result of segregated neighborhoods created by discriminatory deed restrictions and redlining that kept whites and blacks in separate communities. But the coverage was largely framed by discussions about race, not schools. The broader reporting provided context, but it also served to consistently cast education as a secondary theme in subsequent coverage, like the 1957 launch of the Soviet Union's (and the world's) first satellite, *Sputnik*. That event generated hundreds of stories about the nascent space race between the United States and the Soviet Union. Journalists wrote about national defense and the United States' own aspirations about space exploration before coverage eventually settled on the need to beef up public education in training future scientists and engineers.

Journalists criticized schools and teachers for providing weak instruction in science, math, and other core subject areas. At the center of most news coverage about education during this era were teachers themselves. Often praised by news media as community servants at the turn of the twentieth century, educators by the 1950s, particularly after *Sputnik*'s success, were increasingly portrayed as weak links in the education process. Teacher training at colleges and universities was eventually scrutinized by journalists and universities themselves, which linked the poor caliber of teachers not only to deficient college training but also to low pay that prompted young people to seek employment in more lucrative fields.

Growing Federal Role

During the Lyndon Johnson administration (1963–69), the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) provided a steady source of education news. Journalists covered schools and education with more balance, providing deeper explanations about how race and class affected urban schools with schools themselves the anchor for coverage. President Johnson's collection of education programs through his Great Society and War on Poverty initiatives provided a strong framework that helped focus and sustain news coverage. Early childhood education, for example, became a staple of education news for the first time as a result of Head Start, one of the Johnson administration's programs for disadvantaged preschool children.

In 1979, President Carter created the U.S. Department of Education, and a year later the department opened for operation. In 1983, the department's seminal report, *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform,* provided an expansive yet focused frame for education coverage, much like Johnson's education programs supplied two decades earlier. The more focused coverage of educational issues in the 1980s produced the first sustained examinations in the widening gap in academic achievement between whites in their affluent suburban schools and minorities in the poorly financed urban schools they attended. The department also increasingly serves as a clearinghouse through its National Center for Education Statistics for a variety of education data gathered annually, and these data have helped inject more uniformity and precision in education coverage in areas of student learning and achievement, teacher certification, and dropout rates.

While the department often provides the impetus for stories, it is also often the object of criticism. The 2001 No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act, proposed by the department as the central domestic program of President George W. Bush's administration (2001–09) and later approved by Congress, is widely disparaged by education reporters as deeply flawed legislation that places unrealistic expectations on public schools and their teachers. Investigative reports into NCLB found its flagship reading program ineffective. The Bush administration vigorously defended its $1 billion a year "Reading First" curriculum designed to enhance skills of elementary school students against critical media reports, but the program was eventually also deemed ineffective by a study conducted by the education department itself.

Complaints About Coverage

Despite the tighter framing for education news supplied by the Department of Education, coverage of schools over the years often has been criticized as simplistic and incomplete. The uneven quality can be explained in part on the stature of education reporters themselves. In many newsrooms, the education "beat" is considered the domain of beginning journalists. But critics maintain that the growing complexity of the topic requires journalists to cover test scores, school finance cases, collective bargaining negotiations, agreements between school boards and teachers, and curriculum issues, all topics critics and studies assert are covered unevenly. The most seasoned journalists, critics argue, should cover schools as lawmakers and the judiciary depend on media coverage to help guide them in their decisions.

In news coverage of *Rodriguez v. San Antonio Independent School District* (1973), for example, plaintiffs in the Texas case over inequities in state funding of public schools complained that journalists offered inaccurate and unsophisticated analysis of how the funding disparity created inequities in the quality of public schools. It is unclear whether stronger reporting would have made a difference in the Supreme Court's 5–4 decision against the parents who brought the suit. But their complaints about education coverage are not uncommon.

Unlike the experienced Washington press corps, or the foreign reporting staffs of elite news organizations, the nation's education reporters exhibit a range of experience, and they serve disparate audiences. Smaller media organizations, such as community dailies or weeklies or small radio stations, tend to cover school board meetings much more closely than do larger outlets. They typically report every vote in stories that often run on the front page. Because school districts are one of the largest employers in smaller communities, education is also covered as a business by smaller media outlets, with the annual school budget and school taxes demanding much attention. By comparison, the larger news organizations write more extensively about education as federal policy, report more often about trends in the classrooms, and interpret the gains and declines of test scores.

And in both large and small media outlets, education stories often are positioned as political stories, with fights over control of school boards between conservative interests and more liberal ones. Critics have bemoaned the framing of education stories as mere meeting coverage, or business or political stories, all of which they say ignore substantive stories about learning and teaching. But in recent years, reporting has once again shifted to more stories on more significant issues. Sophisticated examinations of school violence, and its root causes, for example, have become more commonplace, as experienced journalists assume the education beat, even at smaller media outlets. Of the 1,500 members of the Education Writers Association, only a third in 2006 were considered beginning journalists (those with five years on the job or less) a number that has declined over the last several years.

Trends in Education Reporting

The evolution in education reporting is widely evident in the early twenty-first century. Broad, contextual reporting, once the domain of publications like *The New York Times, The Washington Post,* and *Time* magazine, is now present more often in regional and smaller media outlets. Despite continuing criticism about uneven coverage, education reporters have produced stories on a wider variety of societal issues and their relationship to and impact on education, with schools consistently serving as the central subject in stories.

The broad sweep and scope increasingly applied to education coverage reflects a growing acknowledgement by editors, producers, and reporters that to write about education in the twenty-first century also means writing about homelessness, poverty, crime, violence, hunger, and other social ills that have long affected schools but have consistently been, until recently, absent from the coverage. In 2005, for example, *The Dallas Morning News* produced a multipart series about South Dallas, a collection of largely minority neighborhoods in decline for decades. Central to the series was an examination of the area's failing schools, but the series also explained how the low achievement of students was the result of the area's low tax base, the thin employment market, and poverty and high crime. In subsequent months, the newspaper has returned to South Dallas to offer readers updates about reforms and improvements in schools and the neighborhoods that support them.

Investigative and computer-assisted reporting also play a more prominent role in contemporary coverage of schools. In 2008, the *Los Angeles Times* examined plans by the Los Angeles Unified School District to build dozens of new schools across the city. The newspaper, however, reported that many schools were operating at levels well below enrollment caps and that enrollment declines were expected to continue. Because of criticisms by taxpayers in response to the story, the district cancelled some building plans but planned to continue the construction of some new schools, arguing that the projects were too far along the planning stages.

In recent years, coverage of both higher education and primary and secondary education also has embraced more of a consumer bent. Media outlets increasingly offer readers, listeners, and viewers news about the best colleges and universities for the money, how to finance a college education, and how to apply for college. In an example of how coverage is more consumer oriented, *The Boston Globe* offered readers in a prominently displayed Sunday article how to shop for a quality preschool and how to determine whether the curriculum is effective.

Higher Education

Coverage of colleges and universities has long been overshadowed by K–12 news. In 2008, the *Chronicle of Higher Education* bemoaned the lack of coverage given to higher education by the news media, and the implication of that missing news for readers. While sporadic in nature, the caliber of higher education coverage, when offered, has often been more substantive than that of public schools. In the 1990s, media coverage analyzed tuition rate increases that outstripped the rate of inflation at both public and private colleges and universities; in many cases, journalists reported that proceeds from the tuition increases often supported expanding salaries of university presidents and their administrations instead of funding more scholarships to improve access. Journalists also applied investigative resources in examining shoddy accounting practices by colleges and universities in administering millions of dollars in federal research grants. The controversies prompted Harvard Medical School, among other institutions, to return grant money to the government and resulted in the resignation of Stanford University's president.

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, coverage has focused on access to colleges and universities by minority students and increasingly by those from the middle class. In an example of coverage that explores historical reasons for lack of representation by students of color but that also offers success stories, the *Los Angeles Times* in 2008 produced a report about African American students from disadvantaged backgrounds that graduated from college; the report demonstrated one increasingly common element of coverage: use of the Internet's multimedia platform, which allowed the news paper to produce a slideshow that featured the students graduating from Grinnell College.

The Internet

The advent of the Internet has helped improve coverage at media outlets of every size. More media outlets post test scores of public schools, helping parents select the best school for their children, while other publications and broadcast outlets list tuition rates at colleges and universities in their states; meanwhile, colleges and universities, as required by federal law, post campus crime reports on their webpages, helping consumer-savvy parents and their children make more informed decisions about selecting a college.

As newspapers and magazines have shrunk in size, the result of declining advertising revenue, journalists have turned to the Internet to write more extensively about local, state, and national education issues in blogs, allowing readers to react more easily by posting comments. The Internet also allows journalists to report a range of continuing challenges surrounding schools with a fresh eye, using slideshows, video, and interactive graphics to frame stories in more compelling ways. Stories about drive-by shootings and murders in urban neighborhoods and the impact on schools and students, for example, took on new meaning in award-winning coverage by *The Philadelphia Inquirer* in 2005 when the newspaper videotaped middle school students' talking about their experiences in witnessing and experiencing death.

Though still criticized as incomplete, and often providing uneven coverage of important issues such as immigrants' impact on public schools,

contemporary coverage of education is much improved compared with previous decades, offering consumers important information on which to base a variety of decisions about education from K–12 to higher education.

William Celis

See also Civic Journalism; Government, State and Local, Coverage of; Immigration, Coverage of; Investigative Journalism; Social Movements and Journalism

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Education, Journalism

Some 400 American colleges and universities offer programs of journalism education, mostly at the undergraduate level. Many others provide courses or programs in electronic media, film, or media studies. Fewer provide graduate—usually master's—degree opportunities as well. Journalism and media studies are thriving academic fields of study in the early twenty-first century, but it took some time to attain that status.

Origins

For decades, the idea of formal education for journalism struck many publishers and editors as both unnecessary and perhaps even harmful. The best place to learn journalism, they argued, was in a newsroom. Broad knowledge, an ability to write, and a willingness to work long hours was required—not hours in a classroom studying theory. On the other side of the desk, many faculty argued just as strongly that "trade school" training was not what higher education should provide. It took some time and effort to overcome these feelings—and neither has entirely disappeared.

The first individual journalism courses were offered by a few different schools in the late nineteenth century but the first organized program sequences, let alone degree programs, only appeared in the early twentieth century. The University of Illinois began a four-year program in 1904, and Wisconsin began providing a journalism sequence two years later. The first journalism school was formed with a vocationally modeled curriculum at the University of Missouri in Columbia in 1908, followed four years later by the Pulitzer-supported journalism school at Columbia University in New York (it became graduate-only in 1935). By 1910 the University of Washington and New York University had begun journalism programs as well. All of these programs centered on practical courses in reporting, writing, and editing and some had close ties with campus newspapers. A few offered courses in the history of journalism as well. Some—Wisconsin was a pioneering example—held journalism-centered classes to no more than a quarter of total college credits, encouraging if not requiring a broad liberal arts (especially social sciences) immersion as well.

As the first attempt to organize an association of college journalism teachers took place in 1912, there were 32 schools offering courses; seven of these had departments while three (Marquette University followed the University of Missouri and Columbia University) had formed schools of journalism. Five years later, the first organization of journalism program and school directors was created.

Publications began to define the boundaries of the developing academic field. The first issue of the *Journalism Bulletin* (later *Journalism Quarterly*) appeared in 1924. Over the next decade it would become a peer-reviewed scholarly publication. Willard G. Bleyer of Wisconsin published his *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism* in 1927, providing a historical basis for more systematic academic courses across the country. As with most journalism histories into the 1960s, Bleyer utilized a "great man" approach, centering on important publishers and editors. A very different landmark came a decade later with Alfred M. Lee's *The Daily Newspaper in America* (1937), which for the first time focused the economics and social impact of the news medium, broadening the horizon of what could and should be learned. Annual conventions of journalism teachers slowly grew larger and showcased an expanding variety of both applied and academic research efforts, including work in public relations and advertising, as well as radio broadcasting.

The first college courses in radio appeared in the 1930s, leading to the first master's program at Wisconsin in 1931, and the first PhD specializations at Wisconsin and Iowa in 1939. Some of these developed within journalism, but many were formed within departments of speech or English and emphasized radio speaking and performance, radio drama (then of importance commercially), and studio production. The first books of radio research appeared in the mid-1930s, but most textbooks focused on practical aspects as had journalism earlier. Serious academic study of radio program trends and audience impact began with the Office of Radio Research at Princeton (later moved to Columbia University), which applied to radio research methods from psychology, sociology and other fields. During the 1940s it combined the efforts of, among others, CBS research director (later president) Frank Stanton and respected sociologist Paul Lazarsfeld, and several books (one 1940 title compared *Radio and the Printed Page*) resulted from their collaboration.

European journalism education patterns varied from the American model. Newspapers were the first medium of academic study after the World War I in Germany and elsewhere, building upon traditional study in such fields as history, law, and political economy. Vocational and trade aspects were not thought proper for a university surrounding. Major expansion of media studies in Europe (as in the United States) would come after World War II. On the eve of the war, more than 400 American colleges and universities provided at least some courses, and many offered degrees in journalism. Yet the old tensions remained—in 1938, the University of Chicago's respected chancellor, Robert Hutchins, called journalism programs "the shadiest educational ventures under respectable auspices."

Postwar Expansion

The real growth in journalism and media education came after World War II. After years of disagreement, a process of academic accreditation for professionally oriented journalism programs (and thus covering only some of the programs) began in 1946. The emphasis on research grew in most academic programs (thereby helping their acceptance by other academic fields) and curricula broadened to include radio (and soon television) journalism, media effects, press law, trade and technical journalism, and often media studies even more generally. Growing as they did out of the experience of both world wars, propaganda and its effects were a topic of major concern and interest. The earliest moves to develop programs (later schools) built around graduate study of broader communication interests developed at the Universities of Iowa and Illinois (and later Stanford) around the efforts of Wilbur Schramm, a seminal thinker in the field. These sought to integrate further study of all mass media as well as aspects of interpersonal communication. What would later become the International Communication Association developed in 1950, and its quarterly *Journal of Communication* began a year later.

By this time, nearly 75 universities were offering degree programs emphasizing broadcasting, though most remained moored in radio. Many schools operated educational FM stations, useful for in-house training, though run on a more professional basis as time went on. Broadcast educators sought an accrediting process but failed to achieve one. As television assumed greater importance in the mid-1950s, broadcast education was expanding from

its original vocational emphasis to include the study of broadcasting history, economics, audience research, and policy aspects. This was prompted by two publications, both appearing in 1956. Sydney W. Head's *Broadcasting in America* played a landmark role similar to Lee's 1937 journalism text, opening the curricular eyes of programs across the country and creating a more critical approach to broadcasting education. And the first issue of *The Journal of Broadcasting* appeared, offering a quarterly outlet for expanding academic and industry research efforts, and it became a peer-reviewed scholarly journal within a few years. By 1960 nearly 90 schools provided bachelor's programs in what was then often called radio-television-film, 45 provided master's degrees, and there were 16 doctoral programs. A decade later all those numbers were higher as the appeal of such study (increasingly in separate communications or media departments) continued to grow alongside more traditional journalism programs. Indeed, enrollment at undergraduate and graduate levels grew fourfold in the 1960s alone.

Behind all this growth, considerable ferment was brewing. Journalism and media studies continued to operate on the lower rungs of academic respectability at most schools, though individual researchers and some departments excelled. "Underwater finger painting" was one derisory term applied to those studying communications. Battles over technical and practical training courses versus broader media education incorporating such traditional fields as political science, psychology, sociology, economics, and history tore many academic units. So did squabbles among media professionals who came to academe versus research-trained academics who never worked in the media. Some critics saw journalism schools as academic outliers of the publishing or media businesses. Yet many of their faculty became staunch critics of those same media. Fiefdoms appeared and were often fiercely protected; some focused on journalism, while others on the same campus might study many of the same topics, but within a context of electronic media or media studies. New subfields—such as political communications—grew up at the intersection of journalism and other academic fields (in this case, political science). As one indication of broadening research interests and intent, journalism as a field became increasingly known as journalism and mass communications—still a widely used term.

Despite the academic infighting, enrollments continued to expand through the last decades of the century. This was partly due to the apparent glamour of investigative reporters like Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein of *The Washington Post* who from 1972 to 1974 helped expose the Watergate scandal and bring down a President. Every time another major investigative news story or scandal broke, applications for admission to journalism programs seemed to rise. Broader and often separate communication or media studies programs also thrived, many of them building on the growing popularity and academic respectability of film studies. By the turn of the century, it seemed every English and language program (among others) offered its own film courses and the publication of film books accumulated in a vast and continuing flood.

Continuing Issues

By the turn of the twenty-first century, journalism and media education more generally was well established in hundreds of American colleges and universities, though few Ivy League schools offered degrees in the field. Enrollments held steady or expanded, despite the steady decline in the economic fortunes of legacy media (newspapers and over-the-air broadcasters) in the face of competition from other news sources, chiefly the online world. The study of technologic "convergence" and growing application of digital methods became increasingly central to media programs. Growing rigor in journalism and mass communication research as well as the more effective application of a broad menu of social science methods led, in turn, to an increase in the number of media research journals. More interest in and focus upon ethical issues and problems was evident in journalism and mass communications programs across the country.

At least three overall trends are readily visible in early-twenty-first-century journalism and mass communication education. First is the increasing specialization of both teaching and research, sometimes within one medium, but often across multiple media. Following the specialization trend evident in other academic fields, interest here focused on such issues as media ownership and

control, management studies, research into news media audience impact, historical studies, journalism law and policy, ethical concerns (often using case studies of which there were, sadly, many at hand), or social sciences-driven theoretical approaches to the study of media in general. Among several schools of thought, critical studies researchers (following the lead of such scholars as Dallas Smythe, Herbert Schiller, and Vincent Mosco) made great headway in the late twentieth century, melding aspects of Marxist political economy thinking with a healthy skepticism about the media industry as it then operated.

Second is growing interest and participation in global journalism. The publication of *Four Theories of the Press* by Fred Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm in 1956 was another landmark study that for several decades provided a widely used approach to studying and contrasting different systems of news media. A half century later, American thinking no longer dominates media fields and the institutional, regulatory, and content variation in print and other media overseas can, among other things, suggest possible change in our own systems. The role of media in national development (both of the one-time Third World and of the former communist-nations of Eastern Europe, for example) has been one consuming interest as has concern for the imbalance in news "flow" between the developed and developing world. Comparative systems analysis—whether of whole media systems or specific aspects such as media policy—is of growing interest.

And third has been a concentration on increasing gender and ethnic diversity—in teaching methods and content, of student enrollments, of academic hiring, and within the news industries themselves. This began with a concern for the role of women in journalism and mass communication in the mid-twentieth century and slowly expanded (paralleling the civil rights push of the 1960s and after) to include various ethnic minority groups, most recently for immigrants. An indication of how seriously this priority is taken is its inclusion as one of the standards required for professional program's accreditation.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Academic Accreditation; Academic Associations; Scholarly Journals

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Election Coverage

Election coverage refers to news media reports about candidates, parties, voters, and issues defining the selection of government representatives or referenda. While regular, competitive elections are considered a hallmark of democracy, they depend upon the voters' ability to be informed accurately and thoroughly in making their decisions. News coverage is one of the most important ways citizens gain such knowledge, and a free news media system is considered an essential requirement of a representative democracy. As the number and type of news media have expanded over time, contemporary election coverage has come to embody the treatment of the electoral process by the printed press, radio, television (including cable), and the Internet.

Development of Election Coverage

From the colonial period through 1824, election campaigns in the United States were different from their current operation in U.S. civil society. Voting itself was limited to a select group of the male

population, and newspapers reported candidate announcements, endorsement letters, and ideological tracts in line with the partisan views of the editor or publisher. Time and distance imposed considerable limitations on timely news distribution.

As voting rights were expanded in the early nineteenth century, more Americans began participating in the process. Nonetheless, there was very little electioneering for the press to cover as the candidates relied on their reputations and associations to attract voters. The election of 1828 between incumbent President John Quincy Adams (1825–29) and his Democratic challenger (and the ultimate victor) Andrew Jackson is considered the origin of presidential campaigning. Money, organization, rallies, parades, hard liquor, and vicious personal attacks became routine elements of this and later campaigns. The presidential election of 1848 between President Zachary Taylor (1849–50), a Whig, and Lewis Cass, a Democrat, was the first to be held nationwide on the same day with the results transmitted over telegraph wires. Through the latter half of the 19th century, newspapers became more entrenched in their partisan relationships.

Whistle-stop train tours, the traveling Lincoln/Douglas debates of the 1850s, and the pursuit of votes from the common people all combined to give rise to pack journalism campaign coverage by 1896. Democratic candidate William Jennings Bryan traveled over 18,000 miles delivering up to 20 speeches a day, and he was accompanied by a pack of journalists requiring something new to report on a daily basis. By contrast, William McKinley conducted his managed campaign from the front porch of his home in Canton, Ohio. While the campaigns were becoming professional mass marketing affairs and politicians more adept at managing their public images, reporters had grown weary of repeatedly attending the same stump speeches day in and day out. The formation of the Associated Press with its exclusive rights to the Western Union telegraph wires also encouraged a more objective approach to reporting so as not to offend any of its thousands of patrons. Continuing as partisan mouthpieces was deemed beneath the dignity of most journalists by the late nineteenth century, and the standard of objective reporting parallel to paid partisan political advertising was born.

Pre-election polls became a staple of newspaper campaign reporting in the early twentieth century. Newspapers (and others) began conducting, publishing, and analyzing public opinion polls. Although seldom scientific in terms of sampling, these weekly and sometimes daily newspaper polls became a staple of election coverage.

Radio Election Broadcasting

Only in the mid-1920s did radio become a widely adopted medium of political communication. The ability to report breaking news over the radio slowly began to jeopardize newspaper superiority by the late 1930s. By 1924, Calvin Coolidge was the first to use this new medium as an effective campaign tool. Radio further developed politically in the 1928 election between Republican Herbert Hoover and Democrat Al Smith. With both major candidates actively campaigning on radio stations across the country, plus the introduction of campaign commercials and sound newsreels, the 1928 campaign may well be considered the first presidential race contested on the air.

The master of the radio campaigners, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, waged his first presidential campaign in 1932. While the press appeared to stay neutral in reporting both the good and the bad aspects of the campaigns, much of the newspaper coverage was framed in terms of the developing horse race. By 1933 radio stations were linked by telephone lines and both NBC and CBS began to form news departments.

Polls and surveys remained extremely popular with the general public, the candidates, and the media. Armed with a means of reporting not just what was happening, but also what the public was thinking, newspapers were permanently hooked on publishing poll results. During the 1948 election cycle, Ted Gallup alone was providing four polls a week to 126 newspapers with 20 million readers.

Television began to claim a spotlight in the coverage of the 1948 election campaign between Democrat and incumbent President Harry Truman, Republican Thomas Dewey, and Dixiecrat Strom Thurmond. The Republican convention that year was the first to be widely aired on television, and an Oregon primary debate between

William H. Taft's successful presidential campaign of 1909 utilized the whistle-stop train tour tactic that had already helped give rise to pack journalism campaign coverage by the turn of the century.

Source: Library of Congress.

Republican candidates Dewey and Harold Stassen was the first to be broadcast over national radio. Newspapers and their pollsters such as Gallup were convinced of a Dewey win in the general election. Many reporters filed their stories assuming that Dewey had been elected President; among them was a now famous *Chicago Tribune* headline "Dewey Defeats Truman" that President Truman gleefully held high the next day.

Election night 1948 was the first big made-for-television news story. From Edward R. Murrow at CBS to Ted Gallup on ABC and H. V. Kaltenborn over at NBC, networks all reported the incoming results which began with a Truman lead that he never lost. Contrary to the predictions of pollsters and news media, the Democrats retained the White House with Harry Truman's triumph.

Televised Election Coverage

The 1952 presidential election between Dwight Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson was the first in which television coverage played a pivotal role. Network news crews lugged their cumbersome analog black-and-white equipment from campaign stop to campaign stop recording events which were then broadcast from their headquarters in New York. The 1960 campaign cemented television's superiority as an election coverage

medium. In addition to general coverage, the campaign is famous for the introduction of the televised debate into presidential politics. A series of four such encounters between Kennedy and Nixon provided enhanced visibility and opportunity for the young, little known, but telegenic Massachusetts senator.

The first debate was seen by an estimated 100 million viewers, and subsequent reports labeled Kennedy the perceived winner, although many of the 15 million radio listeners thought that Nixon had won the debate. To this day, political analysts credit these televised encounters and perceptions of Kennedy's superior performance with catapulting his campaign to a close win. An estimated 90% of American television sets tuned into the election return coverage and watched as the lead shifted from Kennedy to Nixon throughout the night. Forced to declare a winner and vacate the NBC studio for the *Today* show, anchors Chet Huntley and David Brinkley declared Kennedy the winner at 7:25 a.m. and, indeed, Nixon conceded several hours later.

Since the 1960 campaign, television has been the increasingly dominant medium for election coverage. By 1963, television outstripped newspapers as the public's number-one source of information about national politics and elections for the first time. By the 1964 presidential campaign, most political candidates were planning their delivery of campaign messages for a television-based audience. Newspapers and radio remained important for coverage of state and local election campaigns.

Television has been alternately credited with or blamed for a host of changes in modern campaigning. Candidate selection and nomination processes have been affected as political parties have altered and changed the timing and procedures of their primary and caucus proceedings to take advantage of media coverage. The national party conventions, once carried gavel-to-gavel by national networks, have evolved to take advantage of decreasing coverage and heavy competition for audiences in prime-time. Election night reporting and forecasting, particularly the use of exit polling and other sampling that may have contributed to the presidential election-night reporting debacle in Florida in 2000 (when Democrat Al Gore was initially declared as the winner, only to have that pronouncement retracted and replaced by a declaration of victory for Republican George W. Bush, which was also subsequently rendered uncertain), have also led to controversies. The reporting of projected winners before polls have closed (as in states in western time zones) is also a continuing concern as television engaged in this practice starting in the late 1960s (though networks have often withheld making projections of winners until local polls close).

Legal Environment for Election Coverage

When newspapers were the major American medium for election coverage, the primary legal concerns were embodied in the Constitution's guarantee of free expression and particularly a free press. Since partisan ownership of newspapers was common, the expression of political views, including editorial endorsements by newspapers, was a common and accepted norm. Radio and television raised different issues. The spectrum with which radio and television stations transmit their signals belonged, the government decreed, to the public. Thus, the Communications Act of 1934 imposed special obligations on broadcast station owners as preconditions for acquiring a license. Stations must program in line with the "public interest, convenience and necessity."

The most important of these obligations related to elections was in Section 315 of the act, which assigned the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to administer its provisions. In Section 315, the law decreed that stations must provide "equal" access (or allow the purchase of time for access) to all legally qualified candidates for a given elective office. Approximately equal "opportunities" must be provided to candidates, such as the purchase of airtime at the "lowest unit rate" available to other advertisers. This requirement came to be known as Equal Time. It was strengthened with amendment of Section 312 in 1971, which essentially required that stations grant federal candidates (those running for Congress, President, or Vice President) access to broadcast time.

While the application of Equal Time does not apply to the coverage of bona fide news events, documentaries, and newscasts, and thus does not require stations to adhere to strict equal time allocations when covering political campaigns, the underlying intent is clear. A station must be careful

not to give or provide special time slots to one candidate that it does not make available to all others competing for the same office.

News media are subject to civil libel laws. While the standards for proving libel are tough and precise, a newspaper can be found guilty of libel and required to pay damages if they print material that is knowingly false and malicious. Broadcast stations may not censor political candidates using their facilities (because of Section 315), and are thus immune from libel suits based on such broadcasts.

Election Coverage Issues

With television dominating election coverage over the last several decades, a number of issues about that coverage have been raised. Among the most important concerns have been the nature and content of the general campaign coverage, coverage of presidential debates, and the potential political bias in election coverage.

Nature and Content of Campaign Coverage

Classic democratic theory suggests that citizens need solid, accurate information about issues in order to make informed voting decisions. The operation of the democratic system places in the hands of journalists a responsibility to assist voters by providing the necessary information to meet this goal. Accordingly, many political observers are critical of the way journalists cover political campaigns, arguing that they fail to focus their coverage on the public policy and issue information voters need.

Research has shown this criticism has some justification. Coverage of elections seems to be characterized by the typical news values of personalization (a focus on candidates, not issues), an attraction to drama and conflict, highlighting of specific events, and an interest in deviance or novelty. In fact, most studies of campaign coverage over the past several decades have shown that both newspaper and electronic journalists focus their election reporting more on the campaign "horserace," than on the policy issues facing the country. Stories proceed from a "who's ahead, who's behind" perspective. Sometimes this style of reporting is called a "game frame," suggesting that the campaign is presented as a game between players who are alternately winning or losing points much like in a sporting event.

Of course, the reporting of polling results remains a mainstay of "horse race" framing in all election coverage. Some news organizations are careful to maintain rigorous scientific standards in their polling and properly report sample sizes, error rates, and other relevant data for judging a poll's merit. Other reports are less meticulous, leaving the public ill-informed at best, and misinformed at worst. When news organizations turn to such completely unscientific methods of gathering public opinion as call-in or text-messaging polls, without proper qualifications of scientific deficiencies, an even greater disservice is perpetrated.

Another disturbing characteristic of modern election coverage has been an increase in the amount of meta-communication. Increasingly, news reporters seem fixated on recounting their own opinions and feelings, or reflecting on the importance of the media themselves. As a result, election stories become less about the candidates' issue stance and more about the news-gathering process. One result of this meta-coverage trend has been the "shrinking sound bite." Over the past several decades, the amount of time that an average campaign news story on television devotes to broadcasting a candidate speaking has decreased from around 40 seconds in the 1960s to less than 8 seconds through 2008. The rest of the story is composed of what the reporter or others have to say, rather than on what the candidate is trying to convey to voters.

Research about campaign coverage also notes that a high percentage of all campaign coverage is negative news. That is, the coverage has a negative, pessimistic or cynical, often disbelieving tone. The effects of such stories are likewise generally considered to be negative.

Coverage of Presidential Debates

The 1960 debates were the first televised encounters between the two major party presidential candidates, and they are considered decisive, landmark events. However, in order to hold the debates, which were organized and sponsored by the television networks, Congress had to suspend the Equal Time provision of the 1934 Communications Act. Otherwise, every candidate, however unknown and

unlikely, would have been legally entitled to equal time from all the networks. This issue did not arise again until 1976 because in the 1964, 1968, and 1972 campaigns, Presidents Lyndon Johnson (1963–69) and Nixon (1969–74) were unwilling to engage in televised debates. In 1975, the FCC reinterpreted the rule, allowing such debates to be considered "bona fide news events" when sponsored by another entity (not the parties or networks) and simply covered by the news media. This paved the way for future debates sponsored by the League of Women Voters through 1988, and then subsequently by the Commission on Presidential Debates. Consequently, since 1976 there have been one or more presidential debates between major party nominees in every presidential election. Further, since the 1980s there have also been an increasing plethora of primary and caucus debates. During the general election, such debates remain the single most-viewed event in the election cycle.

These debates have all been covered live by the major television networks, providing the public with unprecedented opportunities to see the candidates answer questions in a variety of configurations. The formats have ranged from repetitions or variations of the format with a panel of questioning reporters used in the 1960 Kennedy–Nixon debates, to a single moderator arrangement, to a "town hall format" where questions are posed by members of a live audience. At least three phases of media coverage of these events have yielded important campaign content: the anticipation phase, the telecast itself, and the postdebate news analysis.

In the anticipation phase, media coverage focuses on negotiation of the debate format and its preconditions. In many cases, a great deal of strategy is involved and analyzed as candidates jockey for position and negotiate on timing, layout, staging, audience, location, and other logistics of the debate. The campaigns, of course, also find it advantageous to engage in media speculation about the debate, trying to manage expectations about how well their candidate will perform, and to frame the encounter in ways that are beneficial to their side.

The debate itself often yields important future sound bites, sometimes favorable and sometimes not, that can be replayed later by the media and the opposition. For example, President Jimmy Carter (1977–81) was ridiculed for implying in the 1980 debate with Ronald Reagan that he consulted his young daughter Amy on issues of nuclear policy. Additionally, the media portrayed Michael Dukakis as a "cold fish" due to his passionless response to a question about the hypothetical rape and murder of his wife, Kitty. On the other hand President Reagan (1981–89) masterfully used humor to turn around a critical question about the impairments of his age by saying that he would not exploit for political purposes the youth and inexperience of his opponent (Walter Mondale) in 1984.

Postdebate commentary is perhaps the most important aspect of the media's role in debates. Even those who do not see a debate often hear or see media commentary and analysis following the event. Research has shown that media commentary can influence how the public judges the candidates and their performance in the debates. The most famous example occurred in the second 1976 debate between President Gerald Ford (1974–77) and challenger Jimmy Carter. In response to a question about Eastern Europe, President Ford replied that he did not accept that Eastern Europe was dominated by the Soviet Union and "never would be under a Ford administration." At the time he made the comment, most viewers apparently thought they understood what Ford meant and did not consider it a gaffe. Postdebate polls showed that most viewers thought Ford had won the debate. However, in subsequent commentary the news media characterized the statement by Ford as a "gaffe," declaring that he must be confused if he didn't know that the Soviets dominated Eastern Europe. Later polls, after the media commentary, revealed a reversal of perceptions and viewers switched to thinking that Carter had won the debate.

Research on debate coverage has shown that the media treat debates much like other aspects of the campaign. That is, they focus more on the candidate performances and on the horserace than on the issues discussed in the debate. Generally, newspaper journalists have done a better job than television reporters of conveying the substantive issues of the debates.

Political Bias in Election Coverage

Because of the obligation to broadcast in the "public interest, convenience, and necessity," the possible political bias of television election

coverage has been of concern in the United States. In the early days of television, there was little scientific research on possible bias in television coverage, and it was presumed to be neutral and objective. After the 1968 campaign, however, public awareness of the issue became more acute. One reason for rising concern was the accusations by the Nixon administration of biased coverage. Vice President Spiro Agnew in 1969 began a public campaign of speeches in which he denounced television's political bias. Broadcast media, Agnew claimed, frequently engaged in "instant analysis" after presidential speeches, telling the public what they wanted them to think, not what the President had said. Furthermore, he said, news media exercised great power in selecting what to emphasize and what to ignore. In their constantly negative characterizations of things, he famously labeled the media as "nattering nabobs of negativism." Agnew's particular tirades were cut short by his own failings that later forced his resignation as Vice President, but similar allegations continue.

The flame of media bias was further fueled by Edith Ephron's book *The News Twisters,* which accused the media of biased coverage of the 1968 presidential campaign. This book raised the salience of the bias accusations, and in the 1972 campaign several scholars undertook well-developed studies of media bias using rigorous, scientific methodologies. However, these early studies did not find any definitive political bias. Researchers identified some differences in coverage patterns among the networks and print media, but differences seemed more related to other variables than to political bias. For instance, one study showed that in 1972 George McGovern had received more close-ups and favorable footage of him smiling and meeting people while campaigning than did President Nixon. However, Nixon was the incumbent and had pursued a "Rose Garden Strategy," portraying himself as a working President, doing his job (sitting for photo-ops signing bills in the White House Rose Garden and less often going to campaign rallies) in 1972. This analysis suggested that the media were simply covering the two different styles of campaign, not favoring one candidate over the other due to political basis.

Beginning in 1988, however, network coverage of presidential campaigns has been subject to more possible bias. Scientific content analysis studies have shown that since 1980 most presidential candidates, regardless of party, have received negative overall coverage. Exceptions (those who got favorable coverage) were Mondale in 1984, Bill Clinton in 1992 and 1996, and John Kerry in 2004. Overall, Democratic Presidents and presidential nominees have gotten more favorable (and less negative) media coverage than have Republican candidates.

The increase in the number of media outlets for campaign coverage has changed the political news environment in recent campaigns. While there is still only limited research available on such cable news channels as CNN, MSNBC, and Fox News, there is some evidence that these outlets have broadened the spectrum of views available on news events; providing, respectively, a more liberal and a more conservative interpretation.

The Internet has also pushed election coverage to new heights of availability with unlimited space for alternative viewpoints. Most major news outlets (television, radio, newspapers, and news magazines) have constantly updated web news sites that provide supplementary election information to news consumers. Social networking sites and blogs are also contributing to election coverage in this news environment such that many consumers experience a kind of election overload long before voting.

Conclusion

While election coverage continues to expand and evolve through modern media technology, the elements of conflict and strategy in the horse race continue to captivate both the media and the public. Although most newspapers were once aligned with political parties and their coverage of elections was largely partisan, advancement of mass production and dissemination capabilities in the early twentieth century encouraged a more objective approach to reporting so as not to alienate consumers or advertisers.

Television has long dominated election coverage, focusing campaign stories in personal or candidate-focused terms, while heightening dramatic conflict through a strategic game-playing frame. Further, as the number of news outlets has increased through cable and the Internet, there is an increasing trend toward meta-coverage. Candidates are shown speaking in shorter sound bites while reporters provide

interpretation and analysis frequently more related to the news-gathering process than to issue coverage. While coverage of political debates is considered a valuable service, most election coverage is negative or cynical of the process and may lead to voter alienation. As democracy demands citizen participation, such trends in election coverage are considered damaging to the system. The journalist is entrusted with the responsibility to provide for an informed electorate in a free society, but contemporary election coverage in the United States is subject to considerable and continuing criticism.

Lynda Lee Kaid and David L. Painter

See also Criticism of Journalism; Equal Time; Evening News, Television; Framing; News Values; Political Reporters; Polls and Public Opinion; Presidents, Coverage of; Sound Bites

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Electronic Media Organizations

As with almost any business or industrial sector in the United States, there are many trade or business organizations that serve and represent the interests of various electronic media. "Represent" nearly always means both lobbying (chiefly in Washington, D.C.) and providing a public face for the sector to the general public. This last function includes providing positive press releases, promotion, and often career and internship guides. Virtually all of these organizations present annual awards to recognize especially worthy members—some maintain halls of fame to remember the past. Many of these groups maintain separate educational foundations that help support closely related worthy causes, including scholarships.

On the other hand, few such organizations provide the plethora of free information to nonmembers that they once did. A growing number restrict access to their best material for members. Many operate online stores making information available at a cost. They remain useful information sources, if nothing else, on the official position of this business sector on major media issues of the day. Virtually all of these organizations are non-profit in their operation (though their executives and some senior staff may be very well paid) and many are registered as lobbyists.

The brief descriptive information provided here is drawn largely from the respective organizations' own websites.

Key Electronic Media Organizations

Academy of Television Arts and Sciences

As its website URL indicates (http://www.emmys.tv), this is the organization that awards television's Emmy honor each year. Syd Cassyd formed the Television Academy in Los Angeles on November 14, 1946, long before most homes

owned a television set. The first Emmy Awards, which were devoted solely to local Los Angeles programming, were held on January 25, 1949. Spurred by the success of the Emmys, columnist and television host Ed Sullivan organized a group of East Coast television professionals and established a New York–based Television Academy in 1955. Two years later, the Los Angeles and New York groups united to form a new entity, the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences. After two decades of growing tension, and much legal wrangling, however, the two groups agreed to divide again in 1977. Both retained "national" status, with the group in Los Angeles retaining its original name, the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, and the New York body retaining the name of National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences. The latter retained the Emmy awards given for the news, documentary and sports program categories, as well as jurisdiction over the 19 American chapters that produce their own local Emmy events.

Association of Maximum Service Television

MSTV (http://www.mstv.org) was launched in 1956 with a stated mission to "assist the appropriate government authorities in assuring the maximum television service for the people of the United States." In practice that has meant protecting the concerns (especially freedom from interference) of full-power commercial television stations, often to the detriment of potential competitors such as low power television outlets or other services whose transmissions might interfere with broadcast signals. For the past decade AMST has been an industry advocate for initiating over-the-air digital television in the United States.

Association of Public Television Stations

In 1980, public television station managers created the Association of Public Television Stations (APTS, http://www.apts.org) as their premier advocate in Washington. The goal of APTS is to secure federal funding for public television and to help define policies to help public outlets serve their local communities. To those ends, APTS provides advocacy for public television interests before Congress and the FCC, as well as assistance in marshaling grassroots and congressional support for its member stations.

Cabletelevision Advertising Bureau

Founded in 1980, the CAB (http://www.onetvworld.org/main/index.shtml) provides advertisers and agencies with the cable television information they need to make buying decisions on the national and local levels. It is designed to answer questions concerning cable television's attributes compared with competing television options. It publishes the useful *TV Facts Book* and makes it available online.

Community Broadcasters Association

Formed in 1984, the CBA (http://www.dtvnow.org/links.php?major=Inside) focuses on the needs of low power television (LPTV) stations, which transmit using as little as 100 and 1,000 watts, providing coverage over a very limited area. This is unfortunately one of the more difficult media association sites to navigate, though it appears to cover many industry issues.

Consumer Electronics Association

More than 2,200 companies involved with the manufacturing of audio and video devices make up CEA's (http://ce.org) membership. Nearly all do their actual manufacturing overseas, chiefly in Asia. CEA provides current news about consumer trends, technology-related public policy, sales statistics, and market research surveys. With more than 70 technical standards committees and working groups, the CEA is also a technical standards making body accredited by the American National Standards Institute (ANSI).

Corporation for Public Broadcasting

Created by Congress with the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, CPB (http://www.cpb.org) is a private organization (though with a board partially appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate) that promotes public broadcasting and online services for Americans. With money granted annually by Congress, CPB invests in more than 1,000 local radio and television stations that collectively can reach most households in the country. Most CPB-funded television programs are distributed through the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) that CPB formed in 1969. CPB-funded radio programs are distributed primarily through National Public Radio (NPR), created by CPB in 1970, as well as by American Public Media, and Public Radio International (PRI).

National Association of Broadcasters

The National Association of Broadcasters (NAB, http://www.nab.org) was formed in 1922 initially to counter royalty demands made by the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP) for music that broadcasters play over the air. In working out relations with ASCAP, and later with other licensing organizations, the NAB became the chief business representative as well as the governmental lobby representing radio and later the television broadcasting industry. NAB lobbies on behalf of more than 900 television and about 5,000 radio stations. Its annual convention, held in the spring in Las Vegas, is one of the industry's largest gatherings. There are related organizations in most states.

National Association of Television Program Executives

Encouraged by syndicated program salesmen, 64 television station program directors organized the National Association of Television Program Executives (http://www.natpe.org) in May 1964 in New York. NATPE's membership grew to 210 by 1970; 1,206 in 1980; 1,818 in 1990 and 3,812 by 2000. Its annual conference, where many program syndication sales are made, has been held in a variety of cities, each winter. The event added exhibition suites in 1980 and an exhibit floor in 1981. The organization's focus is on syndicated programming (including *Entertainment Tonight* and other public affairs and sports programs) provided by most stations early in the evening (if they are network affiliates) or at any time if they are independents.

National Cable and Telecommunications Association

Founded in 1952, NCTA's (http://www.ncta.com) primary mission is to provide its members with a unified voice on issues affecting the cable industry. NCTA represents cable operators serving more than 90 percent of the nation's cable television households and more than 200 cable program networks, as well as equipment suppliers and providers of other services to the cable industry. Its website provides the annual *Cable Developments* statistical overview.

National Federation of Community Broadcasters

In 1975, a group of 25 counterculture mavens gathered in Madison, Wisconsin, to ponder the future of community-based (largely FM) radio. The National Alternative Radio Konvention, or NARK, resolved to develop a national organization representing community broadcasters, and the National Federation of Community Broadcasters (NFCB, http://www.nfcb.org/index.jsp) was founded shortly thereafter. Its initial mission was to develop training manuals for station staff, help station applicants obtain FCC licenses, and to operate a program exchange to facilitate sharing tapes among stations. NFCB relocated to San Francisco from Washington, D.C., in July 1995 and shares space with Western Public Radio, a nonprofit radio training and production facility. NFCB offers a voice at congressional hearings on CPB funding, and plays a role in partnering with other organizations on public broadcasting.

National Religious Broadcasters

(NRB http://www.nrb.org) is an international association of largely protestant Christian radio stations with over 1,400 members. As a lobbying and advocacy group, the association represents broadcasters' right to communicate religious views over the air and helps members network over programming and operational issues.

North American Broadcasters Association

NABA (http://www.nabanet.com/nabaweb/about/about.asp) is an association of broadcasting organizations in the United States, Mexico, and Canada committed to advancing the interests of broadcasters at home and internationally. As a member of the World Broadcasting Union, NABA provides representation for North American broadcasters in global forums on topics including protection of content, spectrum related concerns, the territorial integrity of broadcasters' signals, and digital transition issues.

Public Radio News Directors Incorporated

PRNDI (http://www.prndi.org/index.html) is a national service organization that encourages the professional development and training of public radio journalists. The organization began in mid-July 1985, when 45 public radio news directors gathered in Chicago for the first meeting of what became PRNDI. One of the organization's initial goals was to improve the working relationship

between NPR and its member stations. PRNDI has since established working relationships with NPR, the BBC, Public Radio Program Directors, and many other groups.

Radio Advertising Bureau

RAB (http://www.rab.com) is the sales and marketing arm of the radio industry. Founded in 1951, it adopted its present name in 1955. Long based in New York, it moved to Dallas in the 1990s and now serves some 6,000 stations in the United States, and over 1,000 associate members including networks, station representative firms, and sales and international organizations. A useful *Radio Marketing Guide and Factbook* is regularly updated online.

Radio and Television News Directors Association

RTNDA (http://rtnda.org) is the world's largest professional organization exclusively serving the electronic news profession, consisting of more than 3,000 news professionals, educators, and students. Founded as a grassroots organization in 1946, the association is dedicated to setting standards for news gathering and reporting. Members include news directors, producers, reporters, anchors, general managers, professors, students, industry suppliers, operations managers, and digital content managers. RTNDA has a Code of Professional Ethics and Conduct and its website includes research on the status of electronic media news.

Satellite Broadcasting and Communications Association of America

SBCA (http://www.sbca.com/index.asp) is the national trade organization representing all segments of the commercial communications satellite industry. It was founded in 1986 through the merger of the Society for Private and Commercial Earth Stations and the Direct Broadcast Satellite Association. SBCA is committed to expanding the utilization of satellite technology for the broadcast delivery of video, audio, data, music, voice, interactive, and broadband services. SBCA is composed of direct broadcast satellite (DBS), C-band, broadband, satellite radio, and other satellite service providers, content providers, equipment manufacturers, distributors, retailers, encryption vendors, and national and regional distribution companies that make up the satellite services industry.

Television Bureau of Advertising

The Television Bureau of Advertising (TVB, http://www.tvb.org/nav/build_frameset.asp), founded in 1954, is the not-for-profit trade association of America's commercial broadcast television industry. Its members include television broadcast groups, advertising sales reps, syndicators, international broadcasters, associate members, and over 600 individual television stations. TVB promotes the benefits of local broadcast television to the advertising community to develop advertising revenue for U.S. television stations.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Academic Associations; Audio and Video News Services

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Electronic News Gathering

Electronic news gathering (ENG) originally meant combining portable video cameras, video recording, and microwave links to allow onsite coverage of breaking news stories. By the early twenty-first century, ENG includes information delivered via satellite, cable television, and the Internet.

ENG technology further enhances electronic media attributes of conveying a sense of proximity and participation because journalists can take viewers to places where news is happening. Coverage of live events plus the reporting of stories using both sound and pictures conveys the facts and, often, the

emotions of news stories to audiences. In addition, electronic media's ability to "go live, 24/7" through technological melding of microwave and satellite links, computers, and increasingly digital equipment gives electronic journalism advantages of immediacy and intimacy that print media do not share. Such innovations allow local television affiliates to supplement their networks' news bureaus and directly access national and international news stories that have a local connection.

Origins

When networks and local stations began covering news regularly in the 1930s, news reports were often "rip and read" from newspaper and wire service stories. As recording and remote technology improved through World War II, radio stories expanded to include news actualities, recorded on site with "portable" audio wire or tape decks that could weigh 40 pounds or more. By the time local television news began in the late 1940s, newscasts containing news, weather, and sports segments had evolved on radio. This three-part emphasis continued in television.

Both network and station ability to cover such events for television evolved slowly as technological advances enabled them to move out of studios and into the field. At first, photographs and footage purchased from newsreel companies comprised the visuals presented during newscasts, but soon the advent of 16-mm film sound cameras enabled network reporters to cover events such as the 1960 presidential political campaign between Republican Richard Nixon and Democrat John Kennedy. Throughout the 1960s network coverage of such stories as the civil rights movement and the Vietnam War relied on film shot, developed, and edited into news packages. This processing took hours and could expand into days if stories had to be sent from faraway places. Stories shot in Vietnam, for example, were flown to Tokyo for processing and then those images were either flown or transmitted via undersea cable to the United States for editing into news packages. In the 1970s, satellite technology and the development of "electronic news gathering" (ENG), melding videotape, portable video cameras, and microwave links began changing the face of both network and local station news.

ENG cameras and recorders allowed television news operations to expand their news-gathering operations through the 1980s. This newer, portable technology eliminated the need to process film and allowed news events to be transmitted more rapidly to viewers, especially if microwave links were used to send stories from the field back to the studio. In the early 1980s microwaving stories from remote locations for use either as taped stories or live shots in newscasts became commonplace, often eliminating a time lag between coverage and broadcast. In the 1990s smaller, lighter and more portable equipment combined the separate camera and recorder equipment into various versions of camcorders, the most popular of which was the Sony Betacam.

At the same time satellite technology had expanded the reach of both networks and stations. Satellite news gathering (SNG) allowed even individual stations to cover national and international stories, and many—especially multiple stations under the same owner—began to form satellite cooperatives to share stories relevant to all participating stations. Contributors uplinked their stories for use by consortium participants. Trucks equipped with both satellite and microwave technology joined the rest of the digital news revolution during the 1990s. While expensive to buy and operate, they hugely increased the flexibility of television news operations.

ENG live trucks can cost up to $250,000, while SNG trucks cost twice that. ENG trucks need a clear line of site from live shot to microwave tower, so hills, tall buildings, and other obstructions limit ENG use. SNG can go live from virtually anywhere so long as weather does not disrupt the signal (called "rain fade") and nothing blocks signals from the truck's dish to the satellite. While nearly all stations use ENG, networks and the top 50 markets use SNG technology more widely than the other 150-plus markets because of the expense.

While improving technology transformed the collection, distribution, and receipt of news, it also modified the concept of what constituted news. With newer technology, news became more visual and stories became shorter. In the 1960s stories typically ran around two minutes, sometimes more, but by 1990 a story which ran one-and-one-half minutes was considered long. Over the same period, the length of news sound bites dropped from 25 to 30 seconds in the 1960s to around seven seconds in the 1990s. With these changes in length of stories came less emphasis on "readers," news stories which could not be easily visualized

or too complex to cover in a few short minutes. Local newscasts especially became more sensationalized as they focused on celebrity, crime, fires and accidents.

Simultaneous with this transformation in the concept of news came longer newscasts. In the 1950s network newscasts ran 15 minutes with local news running between 15 and 30 minutes in time slots of noon, early evening (around 6 p.m.), and late night (either 10 or 11 p.m., depending on the time zone). During the 1960s most of these newscasts became 30 minutes long with six to eight minutes of commercials and production elements, such as show open and closing credits, and 22 to 24 minutes of news, weather and sports. By the 1990s many local stations supplemented these more traditional half-hour newscasts with expanded noon and early evening newscasts. Other stations added early morning and midday programs, so by the mid-1990s most large and middle market stations were producing six or more hours of news daily.

Until the 1980s the traditional television networks held a virtual monopoly on national and international news reporting. That changed in June 1980, when the Cable News Network (CNN) began its 24-hour, seven-days-per-week news coverage. CNN launched companion services Headline News in 1981 and CNN International in 1985. Its first major news "coup" came during its live coverage of the launch and subsequent explosion of the *Challenger* space shuttle (the broadcast networks no longer covered space shots live). During the late 1980s CNN's in-depth news coverage expanded, especially overseas, soon joined by other 24-hour news operations, including MSNBC and Fox News Channel. All of them made widespread use of ENG techniques to fill their news schedules.

In the 1990s the Internet joined electronic journalism outlets with various bloggers presenting their own version of news—a wholly new sense of what ENG might accomplish. Audiences increasingly turn to the Internet as a primary source for news and information. In January 2008, nearly one-fourth of Americans said they regularly learned something new about the current political campaigns through the Internet.

No matter what delivery forms news media use in the future, electronic news-gathering techniques will remain central to the reporting process. The quest for live or near-live audio and video coverage will continue to define news competition. Broadcast, cable, and Internet services all apply ENG methods to varying degrees and the underlying technology will continue to improve in capability and ease of use.

Louise Benjamin

See also Automation; Computers in Journalism; Convergence; Satellite News Gathering; Streaming Media

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Embedded Reporters

Embedded reporters refer to journalists being officially placed within active-duty military units—especially American and British forces—in the Iraq war starting in 2003. Such a reporting tactic has also been used in some other conflicts, including continuing operations in Afghanistan. Embedded reporters operate as nonfighting members of the unit, traveling, living, and even going into battle with them. Embedding represented a new phase in military-media relations, one characterized by closer contact and a mutual understanding of the roles and needs of fighting

personnel and journalists in wartime. The process is subject to considerable controversy.

Background: Back to the Future?

Embedding arose out of an atmosphere of mistrust on the part of both the media and the military following the Vietnam War. As the United States was officially there "by invitation" of the South Vietnamese, journalists had relatively free reign to do their jobs. The conventional wisdom amongst government and military leaders was that uncontrolled access and uncensored reports from journalists had contributed to both battlefield difficulties and decline in public support for the war effort, which led the Pentagon to take a more heavy-handed approach to news media in subsequent conflicts. Supposedly learning from the British experience in the 1982 Falklands War, the U.S. military, citing national security and safety of the armed forces, greatly limited media access to military operations. For example, journalists were effectively kept at bay until two days after the U.S.-led invasion of the island of Grenada in 1983. A new pool system—where select journalists were allowed on the scene, and to file reports back to others not so selected—was first used during the U.S. invasion of Panama in 1989. In practice, it effectively prevented journalist access to the battlefield until much of the conflict was over. The system was more comprehensively and successfully implemented during the 1990–91 Gulf War against Iraq, during which the U.S. military and "host" governments in the Middle East strictly limited where and when journalists could go and what they could report from the front.

Journalists bristled at these limitations arguing that they unduly restricted freedom of the press and their ability to inform the public independent of government spin. Some attempted with limited success to work for a compromise between greater media access and legitimate government restrictions on information to protect the mission and safety of the troops. After the Gulf War, Pete Williams, assistant secretary of defense for public affairs (and later an NBC news reporter) and his staff met with members of the press to develop new guidelines for coverage of operations that emphasized the role of independent reporting and access so as to avoid journalistic "sharing" of information, which was a major complaint about pools. Some of these policies were rendered moot by better transportation and communications abilities of media organizations. This was shown by coverage of Operation Restore Hope in Somalia in 1992–93, where in one instance journalists were already on the beaches covering a U.S. amphibious landing as it happened, leading to more resentment by some in the military. Nevertheless, members of the military began to argue for commanders taking a more active approach to media relations by preparing for military operations with the media in mind and seeking constructive engagement with the media rather than defensive avoidance or conflict.

In the early days of the Afghanistan campaign of 2002 serious constraints were placed on journalist access to the action, due to transport difficulties and the nature of the new "war on terror." However, the ability of their opponents—the Taliban regime and terrorist organization Al Qaeda—to use media technology for propaganda purposes led to growing understanding on the part of the Pentagon of the value of journalism's independent "watchdog" role, demonstrating the American commitment to openness and democratic values.

Rising tension with Iraq in 2002–03 provided an opportunity for reassessing the role of news media during wartime. Improvements in video, satellite, computer, and telecommunications meant that journalists now had the capacity to capture any war story "beyond the front lines"—almost anywhere and at any time. The Pentagon was concerned about the lack of its official perspective within news coverage while recognizing the journalistic drive to capture the war story as it happened. The military realized the media had the technological means to more effectively cover the war in real time with or without them. Civilian and military leaders, freed from the perceptions of Vietnam, recognized the importance of good media relations for publicizing the war.

The Pentagon's official rationale for embedding journalists was "to tell the factual story—good or bad—before others seed the media with disinformation or distortions" (Brandenburg 2005, 230). Similarly, journalists sought greater access to the troops and battlefield that cooperation would bring. Thus, the policy of embedding was promulgated as meeting both military and journalistic needs.

As reporters had been accompanying troops into battle at least since the U.S. Civil War, embedding in some ways was a return to earlier practice. The modern notion of "embedding" was first proposed in 1996 by the Clinton Administration Defense Department, though the idea was more public relations-driven: having journalists spend a few days or a week with a unit and then do a story. The design and scope of embedding for the Iraq war—placing reporters with all major branches of the military for extended periods—was clearly an expansion of an earlier idea to improve war journalism.

Embeds in Practice

Embedding began before the beginning of combat operations in March 2003. The Defense Department issued a call for news media to send prospective embed personnel to training camps. The military made a conscious decision to offer embedding opportunities to news *organizations,* not individual journalists. It was thought this would provide a better way to hold journalists accountable for following the ground rules to "balance the need for media access with operational security" (Department of Defense 2003) including limitations on the broadcasting of troop locations or future plans, releasing the names and profiles of casualties before next of kin were notified, and allowing commanders discretion to limit media access as they saw fit.

Once accepted, prospective embeds were sent to formal military training—a "mini-boot camp" of sorts. This was to both train them how to work with and not inhibit the military forces to which they would be assigned as well as to provide them a better sense of military life. They were required to sign a waiver absolving the military from any harm to the journalist. They also had to agree that the government could, at any time and for any reason, cancel the embedding assignment and remove the journalist.

U.S. military forces limited the number of embedded journalists for logistical and security reasons. At the height of the program, 775 journalists were embedded with American forces, and 128 British reporters joined UK forces. Foreign journalists, including those from Middle Eastern news outlets like Al-Jazeera, were given some of the slots. After Baghdad fell, most embeds left the program; only 185 remained one month later, with numbers continuing to decline as the war drug on. In November 2006, CBS News reported the number of embeds assigned to units in Iraq had fallen to below two dozen.

The U.S. military provided considerable direct support to embedded reporters. In addition to the pre-war training, they also provided transportation, lodging, food, protection, and other logistical assistance; in a sense, it was as if reporters were actually members of the unit they were covering, somewhat like an additional public information officer. Other journalists, who were either not embedded or voluntarily chose to go it alone for other reasons, were officially known as "unilaterals." While not prevented from access to the areas of operation or beyond, they were not aided nor directly protected, and the military did not go out of its way to do so. Indeed, official policy noted that if encountered, they would be treated "as any other civilian."

By the nature of their being on the scene, embedded reporters were able to show a grassroots, "view from the ground" perspective. In some cases, reports filed by embeds directly contradicted the official line from Central Command, or at times showed events the government would have preferred kept secret. Yet embeds were dependent upon the military—they had little independence, no vehicles or way to move on their own, and were subject to various reporting restrictions. While most followed the guidelines and acted responsibly, there were notable exceptions. Over thirty journalists were expelled from the theater for transgressions, including Fox News's Geraldo Rivera, who foolishly drew a map in the ground describing his location while on-camera.

Being an embedded reporter is still not without its dangers, including the real possibility of ending up in an active war zone. For example, acclaimed print journalist Michael Kelly, editor of *Atlantic Monthly,* was killed in combat while embedded in 2003. In 2006, ABC News anchor Bob Woodruff and cameraman Doug Vogt were both seriously injured by a roadside bomb. Nevertheless, embedded reporters are relatively safer than those outside of the program. According to the Society for the Protection of Journalists, as of October 2008, 135 reporters had been killed in Iraq in five and a

half years of conflict; yet of these, only seven (or 5 percent) were embedded; the other 128 were "unilaterals."

Embedded Evaluation

The embedding of reporters, as ground-breaking as it may have been, proved to be a contentious policy. Some critics charged that embeds might endanger troops or the mission. Others were concerned that journalists would become "too close" to those they covered, and naturally identify more directly with those with whom they lived and were protected by, losing their objectivity. This phenomenon was likened to the so-called Stockholm Syndrome where hostages come to empathize with their captors.

Nevertheless, advocates of embedding argue it has several advantages. It provides an "up close and personal" view and allows journalists to experience war as the troops do, so that they can portray the efforts of those doing the fighting. It provides direct access to the battlefield and the war's events in ways not otherwise possible. The live footage and "real time" reporting provide a realistic "first cut of history" and document the war as it happens.

On the other hand, detractors point out that embedded reports provided a fragmented, "soda straw" view of the war that lacks a larger perspective. What embeds see and report is only a small slice, and may in fact be inaccurate or distorted. Some reports were later rebutted by broader evidence. Akin to the Stockholm Syndrome problem, some argued reporters may become tools of propaganda. Because of their proximity, they may essentially become "part of the home team" using words like "we," "us," and "our side," and in related fashion want to downplay the negative so as to not make their comrades-in-arms look bad. Finally, the focus on action, weapons, and exciting visuals inherent in the embedded context provides little substantive analysis.

The experience of journalists in the field and evaluations of the coverage itself was more complicated. More specifically, a study reviewing the content of embedded reports in one week of the war by the Project for Excellence in Journalism made several observations. The overwhelming majority (94 percent) of stories were factual rather than interpretive; 60 percent were live and unedited; most stories had reporters, rather than soldiers or other sources, as main actors; and stories avoided graphic scenes, and where weapons were shown they were passive and didn't directly show people being hit. The report described coverage as having "all the virtues and vices of reporting only what you see" (quoted in Seib 2004, 55).

One examination of television network news found that stories produced by embeds were *not* more likely to have a positive tone toward the U.S. war effort, and in fact were slightly more descriptive than those by other reporters. It did find, however, that embedded journalists were more likely to quote or focus on individual American soldiers and were less likely to depict Iraqi soldiers, civilians, and civilian casualties than "unilaterals." Conversely, another study of major U.S. newspapers found that coverage by embeds during the invasion and the occupation was significantly more positive toward the military than were reports by nonembedded journalists. Embeds also were more likely to use "episodic" (fragmented, event-driven) frames rather than thematic (interpretive and contextual) ones and to appear more authoritative.

Indeed, from interviews with embeds themselves, there was a clear understanding that on the one hand, they and the soldiers they worked with were both well aware that their job as reporters was to report what they observed—good, bad, or otherwise. But at the same time, it was also clear that embeds did come to identify with their unit and to empathize with them. Or, as journalism researchers Howard Tumber and Jerry Palmer put it in a 2004 critique, "Their professional requirement to cover a story in a detached way was slowly being swamped by the very real, human need to belong, to be safe."

Finally, a study by the RAND Corporation based on a review of news stories about the program and interviews with journalists and policymakers, concluded embedding was a success at balancing the competing needs of the media, military, and the public, and did encourage live, unscripted, and unedited coverage with all its strengths and weaknesses. It also argued the practice may have erased the Vietnam-era mindset of suspicion among the military.

In many senses, then, one could argue that the policy of embedded reporters has proved both its

supporters and its critics correct in different ways. As journalism professor Philip Seib wrote in 2004, embedding demonstrates the "basic tradeoff between access and independence."

Future Embedding

Despite its problems, both the military (and for that matter, other members of the government) and the media felt that the experiment with embedded reporters overall was a great success. Surveys of journalists from the United States and other countries found that they overwhelmingly approved of embedding and believed it an improvement over past practices.

Furthermore, the excitement and intimacy of journalists being directly among the fighting men and women creates a dramatic and human-interest angle that few media organizations can resist. New developments in both media and military technology may well alter the media–military relationship in other ways, but it seems likely that some kind of embedded journalism will be part of the media mix in covering wars to come.

Todd M. Schaefer

See also Foreign Correspondents, Electronic; Foreign Correspondents, Print; Military and the Media; War Correspondents; War and Military, Journalism

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Émigré News Media

News gathering and distribution are key functions of media which are further intensified in the course of migration, as immigrants reach an unfamiliar environment. While information about the host country flows regularly from media in the local language, most immigrants cannot avail themselves of such services because they have not mastered this language. They therefore require their own news sources.

This need for émigré news media was revealed almost a century ago when a groundbreaking study by Robert E. Park (1922) indicated that immigrant newspapers in the United States served as a principal source of information about their new environment for immigrants who had yet to acquire the English language. This environmental surveillance function is often carried out through reports on immigration laws, taxes, legal matters, economics, etiquette and other issues, satisfying the newcomers' basic need for orientation regarding important host society events and thus helping them adjust to their new environment.

The language barrier is not the only reason for immigrants' need for news in their own language. Another factor derives from the tendency among mainstream news media to ignore topics that may interest immigrants or at best to provide partial and

distorted coverage of these events. Yet news from or about one's homeland is of special status and value among immigrant populations, who require updated and diverse information about events "over there," no matter how much experience they have acquired in their new home country.

Furthermore, according to Wan-Ying Lin and Hayeon Song (2006), émigré news media frequently blur the distinction among host, homeland and community news, melding culturally relevant and locally oriented news concerning immigrants in the host society. On the one hand, such stories are ethnically or culturally relevant to a particular immigrant group and, on the other, they are geographically bounded and relate primarily to events in the local immigrant community. As such, news media with geo-ethnic storytelling practices may report home country stories in the same manner as most ethnic media, but go beyond that to make their stories relevant to the local audience. Similarly, news about current events in the host country may be framed to render them more relevant to immigrants: For example, a general announcement of upcoming local elections would not be considered a geo-ethnic news item unless it included information concerning polling sites offering linguistic assistance.

Dual Role of Émigré News Media

One frequently investigated topic concerning immigrant media in general and émigré news media in particular is the opposing effects they exert on their audience, both fostering and retarding immigrants' social and cultural adaptation. The more likely these media are to facilitate and accelerate adjustment to the new society, serve immigrants as a compass therein, and accord them orientation and a source of information and learning, the more they are liable to perpetuate existing national and cultural identities, slow down integration in the new society, and nurture cultural and primarily ethnic enclaves. Thus far, research into immigrant media cannot decide between these two alternatives, as the context and timing of research exert a considerable effect on conclusions.

Early studies of émigré news media, conducted within the "melting pot" paradigm, tended to focus on the assimilative function of such media, seeing them as a kind of interim situation. Some estimated that the success of immigrant media is indicated by their disappearance: The more they succeed at their social mission of fostering immigrants' orientation and adjustment, the less their audience needs news in its mother tongue.

By contrast, cultural and political changes during the second half of the twentieth century altered criteria for the success of émigré news media. As immigration became a permanent phenomenon and immigrants began to constitute bona fide minority groups rather than ephemeral ones, attitudes toward their media changed as well—they are no longer slated for extinction but rather recognized as an alternative source of information unavailable through mainstream media and an essential component of the immigrants' cultural capital and their political resources.

Émigré News Media Content

One highly extensive study investigating émigré news media content, conducted by Kasisomayajula Viswanath and Pamela Arora (2000), examined newspapers established by immigrants from India in the United States. By analyzing different items published in these papers, the researchers identified five functions fulfilled by émigré news media that might influence immigrants' acculturation or maintenance of their original ethnic identity and ties with their native homeland:

1. *Transmission of the homeland culture*—a function fulfilled by covering news of immigrant community events, such as reports about cultural and religious celebrations, communal meetings or visits of politicians, artists and other prominent figures from the homeland.
2. *Informational function*—given the limited coverage of international news in the mainstream media, the émigré news media fill the gap by providing information about events occurring in the immigrants' native homeland or in communities of their co-ethnics dispersed all over the globe.
3. *Community sentinel*—as immigrants are potentially vulnerable to discrimination from the majority group, the watchdog role becomes important for émigré news media, as fulfilled by covering stories on immigrants' civil rights

violations, changes in immigration laws, crime against immigrants etc.

4. *Community booster*—covering news that present the immigrant community in a positive light, projecting an image of success, achievement and contribution to the host society or to the native land.
5. *Assimilatory function*—covering stories such as immigrants' involvement in local politics, promotion of positive feelings between the homeland and their host country and demonstration of local patriotism by immigrant community members.

Émigré News Media Audiences

Immigrants seek news extensively and exhibit a high rate of news media consumption, desire for more news about their native homeland than can be found in mainstream media and a critical stance toward such news coverage for its failure to provide more varied and pluralistic viewpoints. Nearly all immigrants examined use émigré news media regularly and were likely to trust those media more than mainstream media for news about their native countries.

Immigrants also seek news addressing their immigrant experience in the host country. As such features are rare and often biased and distorted in mainstream media, immigrants see themselves as excluded from the flow of national news. This situation often leads to the proliferation of émigré news media aimed at compensating their immigrant audience for the perceived injustice. Émigré news media are thus a means of self-expression and alternative representation, voicing immigrants' concerns from their own perspectives and in their own way.

Studies reveal a positive correlation between consumption of news oriented toward the host country and the newcomers' social and cultural adjustment. For example, Min Zhou and Guoxuan Cai's (2002) study of Chinese immigrants in the United States showed that respondents who did not know English but were heavy consumers of Chinese-language newspapers oriented toward American current events demonstrated a marked inclination toward the U.S. political agenda and strong identification with the host society, whereas consumption of news originating in China reinforced readers' affinity with their native homeland.

On the other hand, although émigré news media initially facilitate immigrants' assimilation, they may exert a damaging impact on integration if immigrants depend on news sources in their mother tongue for too long. Similarly, overemphasis of home country news at the expense of local news also tends to jeopardize the integration role of émigré news media. Preoccupation with the home country undermines immigrants' ties to the local community, impeding adaptation to the host society. Accordingly, if émigré news media maintain a balance between news stories about "here" and "there," they will not only encourage first-generation immigrants' adaptation but also appeal to second and third generations concerned more about local events than news from their parents' homeland.

Differentiating between the assimilative and segregative roles of the émigré news media, it is important to distinguish between media *for* immigrants (that is, media established and owned by the host institutions) versus media initiated and owned *by* the immigrants themselves. Although both use the immigrants' mother tongues, they have different objectives and serve different interests. For example, media for immigrants tends to focus on helping readers adjust to their new societies, while media by immigrants aims at helping readers preserve ties with their homelands.

Émigré News Media Practices and Working Conditions

Émigré news media production employees face several predicaments. First and foremost, these media largely rely on an extremely weak financial infrastructure that dictates their modest professional standards, poorly qualified personnel, low wages, small staffs and poor working conditions. Limited finances and training opportunities often preclude long-term goals, engender understaffing and mandate extensive volunteer work. The smaller dimensions of émigré media, in turn, entail low differentiation, less division of labor and consequent imposition of diverse functions on each employee.

The combination of staff shortages and a heavy load of journalistic duties typical of émigré news

Table 1 Media for Émigrés Versus Media by Émigrés

	Media-for	*Media-by*
Principal objective	Mostly to help immigrants adjust to the host society	Mostly to help immigrants preserve their original identity and ties with the homeland
Immigrants access to the medium	Controlled and limited towards immigrants	Relatively free towards immigrants but limited towards majority
Agenda	Discrepancy between agendas of media and immigrant community; attempt to dictate community agenda	Compatibility between agendas of media and immigrant community; attempt to reflect community agenda
Homeland News Coverage	Limited and usually critical	Extensive and generally supportive
Host Society News Coverage	Extensive and generally supportive	Limited and usually critical

Source: Caspi and Elias, 2008, p. 100.

media can also result in low professional standards, as journalists are mostly tied to the newsroom or studio and use the telephone and Internet rather than engaging in investigative field reporting. Similarly, financial considerations render it difficult for these media to establish their own information gathering sources. Hence there is a clear preference for recycled information acquired from the mainstream media and news agencies, even at the expense of timeliness or commitment to immigrant issues.

Furthermore, immigrant reporters often lack professional journalism training while many of the professional ones lack proficiency in the host language. The former shortcoming may affect quality of reporting adversely, while the latter engenders an apparent problem with host-to-mother tongue translation and local production. Personnel recruitment trends at émigré news media hinder development of higher professional standards, as journalists are offered only minimum-wage salaries or employed as freelancers and paid according to output.

Finally, the position of immigrant journalists within their own community may be precarious. Although émigré media derive their strength from close contact with their own—often small—communities, their professional ethics may be compromised by flawed sources, poor division between professional norms of balance and objectivity and low professional status. Thus, in terms of journalistic routines and practices, émigré news media journalists may be compared with those of local or regional media: All work within their respective communities, often with limited resources and an uncertain future.

Nelly Elias

See also African American News Media; Asian American News Media; Immigration, Coverage of; Latino News Media

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EMPLOYMENT

Among the activities that make up the work of journalists is information gathering, and the assembly and packaging of that information into reports. The terms most commonly used to refer to these activities are reporting, writing and editing. Also included are the making of photographs and of audio and video recordings; the production of graphic images; and the design of news products, such as newspapers, newscasts, and webpages. Journalists also express their opinions in columns, editorials, and cartoons. All of this activity is what is usually meant by news work.

The Jobs Journalists Do

In a newsroom, the work of the journalists is differentiated into distinct jobs. Reporters generate story ideas, gather information, and write or produce reports. Photographers or videographers produce still or moving images. Editors and producers package the materials into a webpage, a newscast, a magazine, or a newspaper. Editorial writers and cartoonists produce specialized sections of the newspaper or newscast that reflect opinions of the organization. Columnists are assigned to produce commentary under their own name. Managers are in charge of supervision and policy. In a newspaper or a magazine, the managers have titles such as managing editor, executive editor, or editor in chief. In radio and television, the manager is called the news director. The size of the organization determines the degree of job specialization. In a small radio newsroom, the editor may also be the only reporter. By contrast, in a large newspaper, the editor in chief may do no writing or actual editing and focus solely on newsroom management.

Story ideation is the first step in making news. Reporters produce ideas that become news in a number of ways, some structured and some haphazard. The ideas can come from something the reporter saw on the way to the office, from a tip from a friend, and from reading or listening to another newscast. If the reporter is a specialist, the ideas may come from the persons the reporter meets while covering that specialty.

In newspapers, specialists are assigned to a *beat*, the term possibly derived from police work, where officers patrol a geographic area. Many beats in the newspaper business originally were organized geographically as well. Journalists covered city hall, or the county courthouse, or the statehouse. Or a journalist could cover the suburban beat. Over time, beats also were organized around particular topic areas. A journalist may be assigned to the environmental or the healthcare beat. Radio and television newsrooms are less frequently organized into formal beat systems. More often, in these newsrooms, the journalists are general assignment reporters, meaning they cover whatever is needed. Some specialization exists in broadcast newsrooms as well. The same person does the weather part of the newscast each day, and sports is usually handled by a specialist. At some stations, journalists are given special areas of responsibility. Health care is a common assignment of this type. These journalists are expected to produce stories in these areas each day or on some regular basis, and the newscast is structured to include these materials routinely.

The work of the reporters is coordinated by an editor, or, in the case of broadcasting, an assignment editor. These managers can assign a still photographer or a videographer to accompany the journalist on the story. Increasingly, journalists are expected to have the ability to shoot stills and video themselves, and the manager may simply assign the equipment to the reporter.

Much reporting is done outside the newsroom, with the writing done in the newsroom. In print, the written story is processed by an editor or team of editors concerned with the style, the content, and, ultimately, the display or presentation of the story. Photographs are handled by specialty photographic editors, who pass their product electronically to the display editors. The reporter for a small broadcast newsroom would be expected to edit the video and write the story once back in the newsroom. At a larger station, that might be handled by a producer, whose job it is to put the pieces together into a story and the completed story into the newscast.

The work of all of these journalists is managed by higher-level editors, in the case of print, or news directors, in the case of broadcasting. In large organizations, these managers would have little direct involvement in story ideation and production, though in smaller organizations, they would have considerable input.

Communication Occupations

Journalists are part of a larger set of occupations, all of which focus around the communication process. Other examples of communication occupations include public relations practitioners, advertising workers, and various types of entertainment workers. Depending on how broadly one defines communication, the list of occupations that are included can become quite large. Clearly, however, public relations, advertising, and producers of entertainment material (such as writers and television program producers), are part of the set.

Historically, there has been a strong connection between journalism and public relations work. In fact, many journalists move to public relations as a second stage of their careers. Generally, pay and working conditions are better in public relations. The work of public relations practitioners has been divided into two types. The first is largely concerned with the production of messages sent out for initial consumption by the news media and then passed on to the general public. Such a worker generates ideas, gathers information, and writes news releases, much as the journalist does. Another variant involves the production of materials directed not at the general public but rather at some internal audience, such as a newsletter for employees or some other target group. This involves developing story ideas, gathering information and packaging it into a newsletter or web product. The public relations practitioner must be adept at all the techniques of journalists, including production of still and video images and layout and design.

The second type of public relations practitioner has managerial responsibilities. The manager advises others on broader communication issues, such as how to develop a campaign to create a brand identity for a company or how to manage a communication crisis. For example, airlines have staff prepared to handle the media in instances of breakdown in service or disasters. Major companies teach top managers how to answer questions from the media and how to speak in a way that makes it most likely that the desired message will be incorporated into a news story.

In the past, when television and radio stations produced both news and other local programming, the person who produced news (those who directed and assembled the newscast, as well as the videographers who recorded it), also worked on other, nonnews productions. The skill sets required for the different jobs overlap, and these would be viewed as the same occupation. As organizations increased in size, specialization took hold, and a news producer was seen as occupationally distinct from an entertainment producer. Today, few stations produce local programming other than news, and most production personnel work in news alone.

Career Patterns

No systematic study has been undertaken of workers as they entered the field and then moved through it to retirement. However, researchers David Weaver, G. Cleveland Wilhoit, and colleagues have conducted studies of U.S. journalists in roughly ten-year intervals since the 1980s and have found that between 10 and 20 percent predict that they will leave journalism within the relatively short period of five years. As would be expected, more senior journalists said they were less likely to stay in their jobs than their junior colleagues. The data are consistent with the idea that many journalists leave their careers for jobs with better pay, more flexible or attractive hours, or less stress.

Recent research has documented that, in the U.S. newspaper industry at least, journalists usually start their careers with small newspapers, move next up to larger ones, and reach the pinnacle of their careers at metropolitan dailies. Less systematic evidence suggests this hierarchical feature is replicated in television as well. In both industries, career progression means moving from smaller media markets to larger ones.

Of course, a journalist can move back down the career ladder to a smaller media organization to take a job that is more prestigious or involves more responsibility. For example, a reporter for a larger newspaper might move down to a smaller one to obtain a more prestigious beat assignment or an editor's post. Similarly, a reporter at a large television station might move to a smaller one to become an assistant news director. The move from reporter or a production position to a managerial post is a natural part of career development.

Concentration of media ownership has an effect on journalists' career trajectories as well. One consequence is that consolidated organizations can hire journalists for smaller media properties and then move them up through their careers without their ever leaving the parent company. This can be thought of as a way of creating an extended internal labor market. The advantage for the employee is that she or he does not have to leave to advance their career. The advantage for the company is that their investment in the training and career development of the journalist is retained. In addition, this internal labor market protects the organization from the competition and uncertainty of dealing with the labor market outside the organization.

Countries with more centralized media systems than the United States, such as Britain and Germany, distinguish between the national and regional press, and to a lesser extent, between national and regional broadcasters. The likely consequence is a system of career movement similar to what has been described above. Journalists working for a newspaper or broadcast station in Mainz or Wiesbaden would see it as a promotion to move to nearby Frankfurt or Berlin with their national and even international distribution systems.

Training

Journalists enter the occupation in different ways, though specialized university training in journalism seems to be developing as the norm. Historically, preparation nearly everywhere was via on-the-job training. In the United States, formal university training took root in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Even in Britain, where on-the-job training remains the norm, universities increasingly are offering journalism training programs as an alternative. Hybrid systems exist in Germany, France and elsewhere. In Germany, where labor laws are restrictive and it is difficult to terminate an employment contract, journalists enter specialized training programs operated by media companies, usually after completing university training in another field, and get work contracts only after completing one- or two-year programs in which their performance is closely monitored.

The United States, with the long tradition of journalism education at universities, has the most elaborate system. About 1,200 universities offer

some sort of program that educates students for careers in mass communication occupations. Of those, about 450 have journalism training as a core component, and about 110 are nationally accredited for their emphasis on professional journalism education. American university journalism programs initially were designed to prepare graduates for careers in the newspaper industry, but as radio and television developed, those curricula generally were expanded to include them. Over the last 40 years, these programs have further diversified their offerings to include other occupations, especially public relations and advertising.

In the United States, most journalists begin their careers after completing one of these journalism programs. At daily newspapers, about 80 percent of new journalists have a university journalism degree; in television newsrooms, the ratio is more than 90 percent as television journalists require more technical training and are more likely to have it if they have completed a broadcast journalism degree.

Most journalism students complete internships at local newspapers and television stations. They may practice their skills by working for a newspaper, or a radio or television news program operating at the university. Such experience predicts success in finding employment upon graduation.

Some nations, especially in the developing world, license journalists. Italy, among western democracies, also licenses journalists. Such licensing can be a prerequisite for employment.

Occupational Values

One useful way of classifying occupations is in terms of professionalism. Professions rely on research and systematic theory to support their activities, specify a client/worker relationship in which the worker has authority over the client, operate with sanctions such as licensing, have a code of ethics, and enjoy a culture that includes training standards, associations, habits, language, and other features that separate members from outsiders. Much has been written about journalism as a profession, with the consensus being that it lacks many of the required features. Anyone can be a journalist; no licensing system is in place in most countries. Journalism codes of ethics are not enforced strictly, and there is even quite a bit of disagreement on their key features. At the same time, most countries do offer formal training programs for journalists, and journalists do enjoy a certain amount of prestige, have associations and a language that separate them from others in society, and do claim at least a worker/client relationship. When journalists are challenged about a story they frequently claim that their expertise as journalists allow them to decide what is and what is not news.

Comparative research on journalistic values suggests mixed evidence that a common set of values is emerging. Journalists generally desire freedom to operate. And there is evidence that most agree that transmitting information quickly is one of their key roles. On the other hand, there is less agreement on how important it is for journalists to investigate and challenge government claims—or play what is often called the watchdog role. The research also shows that the value assigned to reporting accurately and objectively varies around the world.

Occupational Setting

Journalistic work traditionally has most often taken place within an organizational setting. The reason for this is simple. The costs and complexity of news gathering, preparation and distribution are high and require the work of many people. A journalist who does not work for a news organization on a permanent basis is referred to as a freelancer. Some journalists who work under contract for one media organization sometimes do work for another, particularly if the second does not compete with the first. A journalist for a media organization in a setting where conflict or war breaks out might send reports to media organizations outside that zone on a temporary basis. Across time, the relationship might be maintained, and the journalist would then be referred to as a stringer for the remote organization. Freelance journalists also often work as stringers for noncompeting media organizations. For example, a freelance journalist might send reports to newspapers in Japan and also to newspapers in the Netherlands, serving as a stringer in both cases. The Japanese and Dutch newspapers are not competing, so there is no conflict in the work arrangement. The important limitation of freelance and stringer work, of course, is

that these journalists are dependent on those who own and operate news media for distribution of their reports.

Employers and the Nature of Employment

All journalists are part of a labor market where the key transaction concerns the services of the worker. These services are not bought or sold, however, as the services journalists provide cannot be separated from their persons. As a result, their services can only be rented. The employer agrees to make use of—rents—the services of the journalist through some contract.

The contract can be short term, as with the freelance journalist, longer lasting, as with the stringer, or more permanent, as with the regular employee. A major determinant of that contract, however, is the general labor law of the country where it is written. German freelance journalists, as one example, receive benefits similar to those of regular employees once their freelance relationship persists over a prescribed period of time. American journalists generally can be terminated from their "permanent" employment on very short notice—usually two weeks—while journalists in many European countries can be terminated only after protracted negotiations involving government labor boards.

Because journalism services are only rented, not actually bought and sold, price is not always the key factor of the transaction. In addition to wages, employees desire favorable working conditions, benefits such as health and life insurance, flexibility in scheduling, accommodation for the demands of parenting and care of family members, and social prestige.

The news work environment usually is hectic because journalists are constantly under pressure to produce stories for deadlines. Journalists often have to work in uncomfortable and even dangerous environments. News occurs at all times of the day and night, and work and travel schedules can be irregular as a result. Newsrooms in the United States are often open spaces with lots of noise and little privacy, though in other countries work settings can be more favorable. Certainly in emerging media markets, however, quarters are often cramped, equipment must be shared, and even the air can be smoky and unhealthy.

Under these circumstances, it might be expected that the pay of journalists would be quite good and other benefits lavishly provided. That does not seem to be the case in most countries, in large part because labor markets follow whims of supply and demand. Enough people seem to be willing to take the jobs, even at low pay and with poor working conditions, to keep the level of compensation relatively low. The media are a central part of modern society, and media jobs are attractive in part because of this.

In the United States, a graduate with a journalism degree generally earns less in the first job than a graduate with a comparable degree in the liberal arts and much less than a graduate with a degree in business or computer science. Among journalism graduates, those who take a job with a daily newspaper earn more than those who work at a weekly but about the same as a graduate in radio. Graduates working in the magazine industry generally are paid better than journalists in daily newspapers. Graduates who take a job in television earn much less than those with newspapers or even in radio. This is consistent with the argument that supply determines salary, as research has shown that the ratio of job seekers to jobs is higher in television than in print. Overall the best salaries are earned by graduates who take jobs in advertising and public relations.

In the United States, a very small percentage of journalism jobs are with media organizations that have union contracts. Journalism graduates who work with a union contract do earn more than those who work in a nonunion newsroom. In other countries, however, journalism labor unions have successfully negotiated for high salaries and for other benefits. In Denmark, for example, journalists are entitled to postemployment training as part of their contracts. In the United States, where postemployment training (often mislabeled mid-career training) is widely available, journalists often have to seek such training on their own time. Oftentimes, they have to quit their jobs in order to participate in programs that stretch over a month or more.

The Future of Journalistic Work

Journalistic work is not static. As recently as the 1970s, an editor working for a daily newspaper was in charge of the design and layout of the paper,

sketched out the layout of the next day's edition on a sheet of paper, and passed it to the composing room, which converted that sketch into what the reader saw the next day. As computer technology took over, those individuals in the composing room were phased out, and much of the actual work of laying out the newspaper was shifted to the editor, who worked with page layout software to produce the next day's pages. Similarly, television reporters who worked with a videographer in the 1980s were shooting their own video two decades later.

These technological changes were minor compared to the changes brought about by the Internet. The Internet provided an alternative delivery system for news that gave consumers the ability to select and create their own news products at any time. It also meant that news work, previously tied to the cycle of broadcast or printing schedules, became even more hectic. In addition, journalists had to learn new tools, such as web design, database creation and management, and web searching. At the same time, journalists who worked for print suddenly found that they also had to know how to shoot video and capture audio messages. They had to know how to edit these files and upload them, along with their texts. They also needed to produce and upload still photographs, graphic enhancements, and databases. The technologies that once differentiated the work of journalists by industry type had converged.

In many ways, however, these were the simple changes in the world of news work. More complex, and more challenging, were the changes in the very definition of news—and the work that creates it. News had once been what news organizations such as newspapers, newsmagazines, radio, and television produced. News work was what journalists in those organizations did. Suddenly, news work was decoupled from these organizations. If anyone can distribute a news report on the Internet via a blog or a podcast or send a mobile text message, then everyone is potentially a journalist. News is no longer simply what a journalist produces. News is what anyone claiming to produce news produces. News work is no longer only what a journalist does, it is what people claiming to produce news do. For better or worse, every person has the opportunity to be a citizen journalist.

The advent of Internet-based citizen journalists certainly has had an impact on the work of journalists in the traditional media, though the full dimensions of that impact are not yet known. Citizen journalists have challenged those working for the traditional media by presenting additional or even contradictory information. Traditional journalists must monitor the work of the new journalists for these reasons as well as to generate story ideas themselves. In all cases, the Internet has become a routine part of newsgathering and checking.

Lee B. Becker

See also Academic Accreditation; Education, Journalism; Professionalism

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English Roots of the Free Press

The origins of journalism are similar across Europe. The newspaper grows out of the time-honored

twin impulses to report significant political and economic events or sensational, curious (often trivial) ones. These impulses long pre-date the introduction of moveable type so the arrival of the printing press in the mid-fifteenth century was not in itself a necessary cause for the development of the modern newspaper.

European Background

The printed newspaper, in the form of an unbound, sequentially issued, independently edited publication using the same title but differentially dated does not appear until about a century and a half after European printing began—in other words, around 1600. During that delay, intermittently printed prose news-books on major individual events, as well as occasional digests of news, would be produced featuring stories real or imagined (e.g., battles and royal progresses as well as miracles, disasters, crimes, and celestial phenomena). The fictional as well as the factual would all be sold as "true." These proto-news journals—referred to as *mercuries, relations, gazettes,* or *avisos*—were of a piece with the printers' other ephemera, such as woodcuts or ballads on contemporary topics, both serious and sensational.

The most economically and politically significant news enterprise was the regular exchange of information between kingdoms through their ambassadorial system or by merchants at periodic great fairs or in reports from their factors in distant cities. These communications, however, did not appear in print. They remained handwritten and secret as they had always been throughout the middle ages. Some were regular enough to be "newsletters" issued to limited readership (a bank's main clients, for example) in multiple handwritten copies. They continued to be produced by hand well into the seventeenth century. The news they contained was seen as potentially damaging if published because it could be revealing of state secrets or could possibly jeopardize commercial advantage.

Making this information—known as "intelligences"—more public was a fraught enterprise. Medieval merchants had not much desire to share market intelligence at all. Authorities were also fearful but were more confused as to how to deal with the issue of press control. The problem was that, from the time of the introduction of the press, they had sought to exploit print's potential as a means of information dissemination for their own purposes. Yet they felt threatened by private presses. In response, states and the church licensed the physical machines and organized printers into monopolistic guilds. They proscribed works and authors, vetted proposals, registered titles and, as a last resort, banned any work that got through the net; but printing itself remained a necessity. The result was a censorship regime less effective than it might have been. Policing was rudimentary. Authorities were willing to license publications (inflammatory blasphemous pamphlets, for example) for export which they would not countenance for domestic distribution. Ownership and operation of presses was difficult to control because they were small enough to be loaded on a handcart or concealed in any room.

Despite this somewhat confused official approach, what emerged in the sixteenth century was an ever-increasing need to distribute commercial intelligence. During the long period of print media incubation, feudalism was collapsing and mercantile capitalism was emerging as the basis of economic organization. To work, the new system needed not secrecy but informed participation. It is this realization that finally "caused" independent printed news in its modern form to emerge, despite its destabilizing potential as far as the authorities were concerned. By the start of the seventeenth century, the pressure mercantilists brought to bear—because they needed a constant flow of information to conduct their businesses—had transformed the role of the press. No longer was knowledge deemed to be only of value to princes or banking houses. Couple this development to the established popular taste for the sensational and the foundation of modern journalism was laid. As the towns of Europe grew, so did the merchant class and the numbers of those who wrote, printed, and published news-books and a range of news-sheets.

Especially in the German-speaking cities, printers (*mercurists* rather than *journalists* at this stage) were licensed to produce regular *corantos,* instead of occasional news-books and mercuries. In 1605, Abraham Verhoeven started a coranto, *Nieuwe Tydinghe,* in the Netherlands. By 1617 he was publishing weekly and eventually, in the 1620s, these *New Tidings* came out as often as three times a week. By then journalism had one very big, and

long running, story to cover. What was to become the Thirty Years' War—a paroxysm more than a century in the making as the tensions produced by the Protestant Reformation were transformed into a bloody and interminable conflict—had begun in 1618. Nearly a third of the population of the German-speaking lands was to die in these decades mainly by disease and famine as the Catholic Church fought Protestant princes.

Censorship in the Netherlands, a republic established in provinces recently independent of Spain, was less draconian than elsewhere. Dutch printers, taking advantage of this, published in many languages including English.

English Press Controls

English printers were less fortunate than their Dutch counterparts, and strict controls via a licensing system were exercised though the Stationers' Company. Originally a medieval guild of those responsible for the production of manuscript editions, the Company had been given a monopoly over print as well. In sixteenth-century England, the printing of news took the same form as on the Continent with the appearance of occasional newsbooks. Sensation, however, sold as well as politics and was less liable to cause offense so English printers did not include the political content that the Dutch and German corantos did in the early 1600s. Nevertheless, in 1620, the first coranto written and printed in English was imported from the Netherlands without official action being taken against it. Essentially, the English authorities were permissive because the news it contained focused on the Continental war. However, in August 1621, when a London printer, Thomas Archer, started his own publication with the same Continental focus—but unlicensed by the Stationers' Company—he was quickly imprisoned.

The authorities did allow two other printers, Nathaniel Bourne and Nathaniel Butter, to emulate Archer the next month. Butter had been a freeman (member) of the Stationers' Company since 1604 so their *Corante, or, Newes from Italy, Germany, Hungarie, Spaine and France . . . Out of the Hie Dutch Coppy printed at Franckford . . .* was licensed and therefore allowed. The countries named in the title changed with each edition, functioning much like a headline. Bourne and Butter sought no news of their own but merely translated and reprinted coverage of the Continental conflict from Dutch and German corantos. They were, therefore, dependant on the flow of publications across the English Channel and their printing schedule was dictated by the arrival of the packet boats. Sometimes *The Courante,* which settled as a quarto publication of between 8 and 24 pages, failed to appear for more than a week; at others, three editions might be printed within a seven-day period.

Their success was emulated by other licensed publications; but all the printers knew that their situation was fraught with potential danger and by the early 1630s even reporting the European war was getting more difficult. Any coverage of domestic English events, of course, was avoided as it would bring instant sanctions. Despite this caution taken by printers, in 1632, the king's Court of the Star Chamber banned the corantos. England and Scotland, recently united under a single crown but uninvolved in the Continental fighting, were Protestant realms fearful of Catholic intrigues and interventions. The protracted conflict had simply become too sensitive a political topic for public debate. That Bourne and Butter alone printed 500 copies of every coranto they issued was no recommendation in the eyes of the authorities. The printers did not, though, willingly forego this business and, in 1638, they successfully petitioned to have the publication licensed again, now to be sold under the learned name of *Mecurius Britannicus*.

English Civil War and the Press

The *Mecurius* continued as before with its diet of Continental news but soon a bigger story would sweep away the ban on domestic coverage. As the King and Parliament headed toward armed confrontation, the Star Chamber, the main organ of overt press suppression, was abolished by Parliament in June 1641. A new form of journal, the weekly *diurnal* appeared: *The Diurnall: Or, The Heads of All the Proceedings in Parliament* began that December. Parliament tried to maintain the old licensing system by banning unlicensed news publications but, with the distractions of the coming conflict, this had little effect, and the diurnals proliferated. In August 1642, the first fighting in the English Civil War began. The war was to act

as midwife to what was to become and remain Europe's most outspoken press.

In the fog of war, English printers made a breakthrough that was to condition all subsequent developments. Throughout the long period of press incubation on the Continent, there had been a flood of pamphlets arguing, more often than not hysterically, either the Protestant or Catholic cause. These organs formed a tradition of propaganda and opinion quite distinct from that of news publications. However sensational and mendacious these last were on occasion, they were "true" in ways that the pamphlets were not. These two journalistic streams come together for the first time in the English news publications of the Civil War period (the 1640s).

Early News

On the one hand was the sobriety of the diurnals. Take this report of the most traumatic event of the war:

> Tuesday January 30. This day the king was beheaded, over against the Banquetting house by White-Hall. The manner of Execution, and what passed before his death take thus. He was brought from Saint James about ten in the morning. . . . After which the King, stooping down, laid his necke upon the blocke, and after a very little pause, stretching forth his hands, the executioner at one blow severed his head from his body.

This is on page three (because it was a Tuesday and the publication began with the events of the Sunday) of Samuel Pecke's *A Perfect Diurnall of the Passages in Parliament* for the first week of February 1649. Pecke, despite a refusal to sensationalize his reports, was printing 3,000 copies a week.

On the other hand, Marchmont Nedham—the Parliament's and later the republican leader Oliver Cromwell's main apologist—and his Royalist rival, Sir John Birkenhead, inserted into their mercuries a tone which had only previously been found in pamphlets. Take one example from the *Mercurius Britannicus, Communicating the affaires of Great Britaine for the better Information of the People: From Monday the 28. Of July, to Monday the 4. Of August, 1645*. Nedham wrote:

> Where is King Charles? What's become of him? … If any man can bring tale or tiding of a wilfull King, which hath gone astray these foure years from his Parliament, with a guilty Conscience, bloody Hands, a Heart full of broken Vowes and Protestations. . . . Then give notice to Britannicus, and you shall be well paid for your paines: So God save the Parliament. (quoted in Clarke, 21)

This enthusiasm, partisanship and wit came to condition the English newspaper: a unique mix of the coranto's sober reporting tradition and the argumentative dynamism of the pamphlet.

Journalism in England was now infected with a different spirit from that on the Continent. Dr. Théophraste Renaudot, Marchmont Nedham's French counterpart, who started the *Gazette de France* for Louis XIV, wrote: "Was it for me to examine the deeds of the government? My pen was only the grafting tool." Nedham's position was very different: "I tooke up my pen for disabusing his Majesty, and for disbishoping and dispoping his good subjects, and for taking off vizards and vailes and disguises . . ." (quoted in Smith, 130). Crucially, of course, Louis's position was very different from Charles'. He had defeated a revolt of his nobles while Charles lost his head.

In the midst of this social upheaval, the English press became a veritable engine of liberty. When in August 1643, the poet John Milton published an unlicensed anonymous pamphlet in favor of divorce, then an illegal proceeding, he was summoned before Parliament. His defense there not only provided the burgeoning news publications with a theoretical basis for the exercise of a free press but it also produced, the following year, in the (again, deliberately) unlicensed form of a pamphlet, a first, great printed public affirmation of that principle in English. He called the pamphlet *Areopagitica,* after the hill where the ancient Athenian high court met. It was subtitled "A speech of Mr. John Milton for the Liberty of VNLICENC'D PRINTING, to the PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND": "Give me the liberty to know to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience above all liberties." It was, he claimed, "as good almost kill a man as kill a good book."

In one sense Milton was merely extending a concept that lay at the heart of Protestantism itself—liberty of conscience—to embrace the secular world of politics as well. His liberality, though, should not be overstated. He wrote the divorce pamphlet because his own marriage was in ruins

and his concept of unlicensed printing did not in fact run to allowing Catholic texts, for example. In fact, for a time he was to act as Cromwell's censor. Nevertheless, there was something new and crucial in his stand, a *de facto* justification of Nedham's and Birkenhead's feisty editorial attitudes. Libel, blasphemy, and sedition would still constrain publication but the fail-safe position, as it were, was that publication should be unlicensed; and therefore, at least in theory, free.

The Restoration Press

This move toward press freedom would have counted for little, however, if, after the Restoration of the crown in 1660, the old controls had been effectively reimposed; but, despite what was to become centuries of effort on the part of British authorities, they never quite were. In 1662, Charles II had passed a new act for the licensing of the press but the crown's power was now so weakened that it was only a temporary measure. In 1695, this Printing Act was again up for renewal when Edward Clarke, a member of Parliament, successfully persuaded the House of Commons that the weight of existing laws "makes this or any other Act for the restraint of printing very needless" (quoted in Sutherland, 25). The act was not renewed. Clarke was influenced by his friend, the philosopher John Locke, who had argued that, contrary to the assumptions of a divine right of kings, there was a right of resistance if the crown forfeited through its actions a claim on the loyalty of its subjects. Nedham, according to Locke's argument, had a right to write as he did. Religious reform and political theory had joined hands in arguing for a level of personal freedom which would slowly embrace, with struggle, the concept of a free press.

Yet 1695 cannot be said to mark the start of this freedom any more than did the *Areopagitica*. The existing laws were still vigorously applied, backed by a special police force known as the Kings' Messengers, who had the powers of a "General Warrant"—that is, one with no persons named as was usually required—to search any premises for unlicensed presses; and soon, special taxes on newspapers (a term that had first appeared in the 1670s) were imposed. Nevertheless, as a consequence of the Civil War and English radical thinking, the English newspaper flourished.

The English now caught up with the one Continental development they had ignored—the daily newspaper, which had first appeared in Leipzig in 1650. In 1702, Samuel Buckley brought out the London *Daily Courant,* a single sheet printed on one side but very much, as its name suggests, an echo of the old corantos; that is, a digest of translated foreign news.

The Eighteenth-Century Press

Despite the taxes and authorities being ever quick to bring offending journalists to court—even to the gallows if accused of treason and sedition—the early-eighteenth-century London press attracted "giants to write for it" including Daniel Defoe, Jonathan Swift, Joseph Addison, and Richard Steele. Journalism flourished during this time. The state was now, in effect, constrained by an assumption that the British people and their growing newspapers were free and therefore free to impart and receive information. The idea of a free press could not be extirpated: "Freedom of speech" wrote the London journalists John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon under the pen-name "Cato" in 1720, "is the right of everyman, as far as by it he does not hurt or control the right of another; and this is the only check which it ought to suffer, the only bounds it ought to know." By the 1760s, this was assumed to be the Common Law. William Blackstone, the great jurist whose *Commentaries on the Laws of England* was in the baggage of every English lawyer emigrating to the American colonies in the late eighteenth century, held that "The liberty of the press is indeed essential to the nature of a free state; but this consists in laying no previous restraints on publications, and not in freedom from censure for criminal matter when published." The press was not to be above the law but neither could it be censored—controlled by prior restraint. This was not quite the positive "liberty . . . to utter" for which Milton and the other radicals had argued; but it was a "right to hear."

In 1763, as Blackstone was formulating this concept of "no prior constraint." a famous radical and rake, the member of Parliament John Wilkes, was charged with publishing, in his paper *The North Briton,* an "infamous and seditious libel tending to influence the minds and alienate the affections of the people from His Majesty and to excite them to traitorous insurrections against his Government." Wilkes was just being rude about a

political opponent whom he accused of prostituting the crown. He, of course, claimed Parliamentary immunity and Chief Justice Parry agreed; but what was important was that Parry also held that the General Warrant under which Wilkes had been arrested, a hangover from the seventeenth century, was now illegal under English Common Law.

All that remained of the old censorship apparatus was the unique rule that in press libel cases juries only determined the fact of "publication," not of the libel itself, as the latter was the judge's determination to make. In 1769, in another case involving an anonymous journalist, "Junius" (who has never been identified), the judge upheld the libel but the jury, absurdly, held it had not been "published" despite being printed and the known publishers (now named in ordinary warrants) being before the court. The law, in other words, had been made a fool of. With this precedent, it was to become increasingly difficult to prosecute newspapers. Juries would not convict, often against the background noise of public protests outside the courthouse.

Elsewhere the positive principle of "the right . . . to utter" (not merely the concession of "no prior constraint") was incorporated into statute for the first time, albeit on what turned out to be a temporary basis, in Denmark (1761) and in Sweden (1776) and, for a few weeks short of three years, in revolutionary France starting in 1789. Press freedom had become one of the Enlightenment's *Droits de l'homme*: "The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the most precious of the rights of man." Two years after this Article XI of the French revolutionary constitution, the first U.S. Congress caught up with the French (and the constitutions of some American states) to pass the most long-lived of these eighteenth-century statutes, the First Amendment. But in Great Britain, homeland of the concept, the slow erosion of formal state controls continued without any enactment of a free press right.

Direct attack on the press via the law, though, was no longer a possibility. To control the press, the British state had only the tools of taxation and bribery. Robert Walpole, the first man who could be said to hold the post of Prime Minister, was accused of spending 50,007 pounds of public money, some of which had been obviously raised by the taxes on print and the bribing of newswriters, printers, and publishers in the 1730s. The last recorded governmental bribe occurred in 1820.

The Stamp Act, a tax levied on all newspaper copies, persisted but also became increasingly difficult to sustain. In 1822, Home Secretary Sir Robert Peel ordered that tax-dodging publishers should not be prosecuted as this too often led to public disorder; however the lowly distributors, often women, remained at some risk. A decade later the unstamped press was estimated as having a readership of 2 million, more than did the legally stamped papers. A campaign for the brilliantly branded "Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge" eventually resulted in a series of abolitions—of the duties on advertisements in 1853, on newspapers in 1855 and, finally, on newsprint itself in 1861.

The press at last was "free" but there was still no statutory "liberty . . . to utter." It was not until the Human Rights Act of 1998 that the "freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority" became part of British statutory law. By then, however, the time was long past when a radical newswriter could sell discombobulating journalism printed on a little flatbed press. Newspapers were big business. The British press was "free," but it was also, perhaps more importantly, "safe."

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See also British Press Regulation; Censorship; First Amendment; Free Expression, History of; Libel

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Entertainment Journalism

As new forms and delivery systems for arts and entertainment proliferated, interest in news and comment on all aspects of entertainment and its creators reached new heights in the early twenty-first century. The rise of blogs and other Internet-based avenues for sharing information helped democratize entertainment journalism by throwing it open to amateurs and semi-professionals. At the same time, serious criticism by trained professionals seemed in decline, resulting in a trivia-obsessed public and a reduced market for serious reviews of traditional art forms.

At a time when hard news has softened into what could be termed a 24-hour song and dance, parameters of entertainment journalism can be difficult to identify. Journalism *about* entertainers can lose definition when many journalists appear to have *become* entertainers. Meanwhile, infotainment is offered alongside self-avowed "fake news" comedy venues like *The Daily Show* and *The Onion*—which, in turn, is where increasing numbers of citizens say they get their news (and, according to some research, are better informed than those who stick to more traditional sources). Infotainment—the practice of mixing news with entertainment—is not new; it dates at least as far back as the medieval period, when traveling troubadours and theater troupes in a pre-literate age shared gossip and events from towns they had recently visited. But such light content has increasingly dominated what is being called a post-literate age.

When Neil Postman wrote his landmark treatise *Amusing Ourselves to Death* in 1985—before the rise of the Internet and its incarnations of news lite—he was primarily concerned with the dumbing down of both America and the world in a post-literate age. He saw this phenomenon as the result of people gorging on the eye candy of television in preference to the more intellectually demanding medium of print. Postman had no objection to entertainment, even of the mindless variety; what he feared was a citizenry that could no longer tell the difference.

Fewer Professionals, More Amateurs

The landscape of entertainment journalism at the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century is marked by a growing conundrum: We have fewer critics of the arts than we did 100 years ago. Yet at the same time, we have far *more* of them.

A century earlier, when magazines were our only national medium and newspapers were at their most plentiful, a major city like Chicago would have roughly a dozen daily newspapers, each with its own theater, music, and art critics. A hundred years later, Chicago had a few suburban papers and two major downtown dailies, only one of which, the *Tribune,* dominated those zip codes that were home to most patrons of the arts. Other cities followed the same pattern. So while the proliferation of blogs and websites has increased the raw number of critics writing, most communities find that for a play or exhibit to succeed financially—to draw enough customers to support the organization that produced it—it must gain a positive review from the critic who works for the dominant (or, in an increasing number of venues, the *only*) newspaper.

This proved true even in New York, widely acknowledged to be the cultural capital of the United States. Although the city supported three viable newspapers into the twenty-first century, *The New York Times* had an outsized influence on the success or failure of performing arts organizations. It was a rare show that could succeed without a positive review from the *Times.* When it came to books, that influence was nationally felt: "Get" the *Times,* and your book was made.

Media mergers, even when they did not result in a reduction of the number of newspapers, sometimes led to a reduction in force of arts and entertainment journalists. For example, various San Francisco Bay area newspapers that merged under the umbrella of the *San Jose Mercury News* saw replacement of separate arts critics with one critic whose reviews and features appeared in multiple papers. Thus the nation's traditional arts establishment found itself in an environment where a hundred blogs by unknown writers could not counteract the influence of the one remaining (and thus more powerful) newspaper critic.

These developments affected the performing arts (theater, dance, and live music including opera and symphonies as well as rock and roll and other popular genres) and museum arts (painting, sculpture, and performance art) more profoundly than they did recorded and broadcast arts such as motion pictures, recorded music, music videos, and video games. But even these electronic arts were affected: fewer newspapers meant fewer critics. As remaining newspapers felt the pinch of decreased revenue, they often dropped critics of non-local art forms. It became an unnecessary luxury to carry a local movie critic when reviews were available from syndicated sources and readers could access reviews in national publications online.

Changes in Reviewing

In the early twentieth century, when a dozen local critics would review the same performance, a public that bought more than one newspaper might take disagreements among critics as a cue to apply their own critical thinking to any given work of art. A review might be seen as less a verdict and more an invitation to consider and discuss the meanings and artistry of the work in question. A hundred years later, the critic for *The New York Times*—or the critic for any city's dominant newspaper—could not help but feel the weight of his or her review. Given the increasing price of performing arts events—even after accounting for inflation—the main function of each review seemed to have devolved into a monetary one: Should the reader buy this product or pass it by? The arts had always been subject to commercialization. Now they had fallen under the spell of *commodification,* the idea that as the monetary value of something increased, its intrinsic value decreased.

That trend was exacerbated by the transformation of culture from something that occurred live and in person to something that was recorded, reproduced, and distributed on disks or downloaded on personal computers, MP3 players, or cell phones. As art became a slickly packaged product to hold in one's hand, journalism about art increasingly took on the mantle of consumer guide. The essential question for the arts journalist shifted from "Is it good art?" to "Is it worth the price?"

In some ways the rise of the Internet hurried these trends. For example, websites like craigslist seriously undercut newspapers' ability to make money with classified advertising, leading to cost cutting on the editorial side. And the Internet itself became a one-stop marketplace where one could sample, share, pay for, and consume free snippets and full-length downloads of artistic products. Art became increasingly impersonal, consumable, disposable—and forgettable.

Web 2.0 Reviewing

On the other hand, the Internet also carried the possibility of counteracting some of these trends. The popular movie website Rotten Tomatoes collects a wide array of reviews for every new film, allowing readers to compare views as well as the differing aesthetic stances of a wide variety of critics. Some may use this as a way to comparison shop, but others might be drawn into a deeper consideration of film as an art form—and may feel compelled to post their own views. That is both the danger and the promise of the Internet, which can be tawdry and anonymous and obsessed with surface values but can also become the venue for the creation of a community of dedicated art lovers who share personal views and even art itself. Online communication is as honest and serious and deep as its users choose to make it.

If, as Marshall McLuhan famously wrote in the 1960s, "The medium is the message," there is some evidence that attention spans are dwindling as a result of the nature of the Internet itself: shimmering pixels on a screen loaded with hyperlinks that invite split focus and rapid-fire clicking from one source of stimulation to another. "Is Google Making Us Stoopid" (sic) was the title of a 2008 *Atlantic* cover story by Nicholas Carr, who observed that his own patience with long-form writing had diminished. When attention spans shrink, so does the ability to consider complex ideas and sophisticated art forms.

That said, historians caution that the penchant for short bursts of entertainment pre-dated the Internet. The late oral historian Studs Terkel observed that the practice of channel surfing—rapidly clicking from one television program to another—was a throwback to the age of vaudeville, when one frenetic act after another would enter stage right, perform hurriedly for two or three minutes, and then exit stage left to make room for the next dog-and-pony act or juggler or singer entering stage right.

Obsession With Celebrities

Celebrity journalism has never been more popular, but, as with infotainment, it is not an entirely new development. Marie Antoinette was nothing if not a celebrity in France's era of self-published pamphlets (a precursor to our blog culture). Pamphleteers speculated endlessly about what was or was not going on in the bed of the young queen and King Louis XVI. In the United States, celebrities were among the most popular subjects for the new field of photography in the late nineteenth century; Napoleon Sarony built his career photographing leading actors of the day. As attention turned from stage actors to film stars, the celebrity business kept pace, building cult followings for figures like Rudolph Valentino in the early 1920s.

That trend grew with new media products, from the oversized photo magazines like *Life* and *Look* in the late 1930s through the phenomenally successful launch of *People* magazine in 1974 and into the spawning of a seemingly infinite number of websites devoted to film stars, hip hop phenoms, and figures such as Paris Hilton who seem to be famous simply for being famous.

Painter Andy Warhol observed that everyone would be famous for 15 minutes. The Internet seemed to provide the tool for such fame, with sites like Facebook and YouTube allowing anyone with a personal computer to upload photos and videos of themselves, their neighbors, and their pets—a more democratic but less organized version of the television show *America's Funniest Home Videos*.

Amateur Hour

Just as the line was blurring between professional and amateur entertainment journalists, increasing opportunities developed for amateur performers to make a splash, and sometimes a killing. A century after vaudeville had discovered up-and-coming talent during regularly schedule amateur nights, television turned to its audience to cast performers as either legitimate talents or laughably inept wannabes. *American Idol* was a phenomenally successful "reality" television program, based on a British precursor, which in turn appeared to have its roots in an earlier American free-for-all called *The Gong Show,* in which performers kept going until a gong let them know they had worn out their welcome. The *Idol* shows invited audience members to text message their votes to help determine whether a given performer should continue on to the next round of competition. *Dancing with the Stars* followed a similar format, but

paired stars not known for their dancing ability with hitherto unknown professional dancers in ballroom competition. The third component of both these shows was a panel of judges, each of whom would give critical comments and cast votes themselves. The winners and even the runners-up in *American Idol* sometimes received lucrative recording contracts.

These programs raise difficult questions for entertainment journalism. Were these celebrity judges—noted more for their personalities than for their learned comment—functioning as legitimate critics? Had art been reduced to a commercial contest? Yet the weekly results of each of these network programs were widely reported as news in the media.

Serious Criticism in Decline

In such an environment, one might expect professional entertainment critics to be growing superfluous and perhaps disappearing entirely. Indeed, serious arts criticism, which never had commanded much airtime, appeared to be in further decline on television in the early twenty-first century. Newspapers, city and national magazines, and a few public radio stations continued to offer news and reviews of the fine and popular arts, as did a number of websites. Several awards promoted recognition of the best critics and criticism each year: the George Jean Nathan award recognized excellence in dramatic criticism. The Pulitzers, the National Magazine Awards, and the City and Regional Magazine Association's annual awards each included categories for arts criticism. They had no lack of worthy nominees. The most severe long-term threat to the careers of critics, however, was the aging of audiences for fine art forms like dance and opera. Dwindling coverage led to dwindling support, in a vicious cycle.

The more serious arts each had respected publications with smaller circulations, whose topic was easily identifiable by the magazine's title: *Dance, American Theatre, Art in America,* and *Opera News,* to name a few. Just as serious book publishing houses were in disarray amidst multiple mergers, the few newspapers that provided them were cutting back on their book review supplements. Graphically, the few surviving Sunday book sections made up the one area of American newspapers that had changed the least since the Civil War, back when America was a nation of book readers. Although the number and size of these sections had dwindled, their content was remarkably similar. They mixed reviews of new books with excerpts and profiles of authors. The questionable practice continued of having reviews of new books often written by authors of similar books. The balance shifted over a century and a half from dominance by fiction to nonfiction. And a number of magazines maintained book review sections. The talk-show host Oprah Winfrey encouraged reading by recommending books on her television show and in her magazine.

Beyond the more serious magazines stood a number of middle-brow national magazines devoted to popular arts. *Entertainment Weekly* was one of very few that covered the variety of popular entertainment in America. Most limited themselves by art form. The largest number focused on music, which was in turn subdivided by musical genre: *Rolling Stone* and *Spin* covered rock music fairly broadly, while other magazines carved up other formats, including country, hip hop, heavy metal, and so forth. A growing trend by 2008 was magazines that combined a musical genre with a complementary lifestyle. At the same time, movie fan magazines, once dominant in entertainment journalism, were in decline.

The Business Press on Show Business

The most thorough reporting on show business appeared in the relevant trade press. Magazines like *Variety, Billboard, Publisher's Weekly* and *The Hollywood Reporter* followed both the big picture of company mergers and acquisitions as well as the endless statistics of box office receipts and record sales. Perhaps the best gauge over time of the many changes in the entertainment industry could be found in *Variety*. When it began publication in New York in 1905, it was but one of dozens of magazines covering variety entertainment (which included vaudeville, burlesque and circuses) in the United States and England (where variety was called "music hall"). All of the English magazines lived and died with the art form. *Variety* survived, largely because it followed its professional readers into new worlds of musical recording, motion pictures, radio, television, and, eventually, video games and the Internet. The DNA of changing

American popular culture can be read in the small print of *Variety*'s back pages.

Similarly, there was a business-to-business magazine for virtually every type of entertainment worker. For example, the creators of postproduction special effects in movies could read the trade secrets of the latest outer space war epic in their own magazine called *millimeter*.

Opportunity for Abuse, Reason for Hope

Just as entertainment found new forms in the early twenty-first century, so too was entertainment journalism in flux. The prospects for serious critics and reporters seemed hazy at best while the opportunity for abuse was great. In the mid-nineteenth century, when the average working critic was not given a byline, there is evidence that many were open to bribes of money and food. Some theatrical producers went so far as to send in positive reviews they had written on their own presentations—and some newspapers, desperate for copy, ran them as is. A similar crisis of trust faced the public 150 years later as bloggers stepped out from under the umbrella of publications with established reputations to preserve and began to self-publish. A Google search for reviews of a DVD or live performance might turn up an undifferentiated mass of writing by unknown authors of unknown affiliations. Optimists saw the democratizing of a once elitist field. Others feared that the average reader could not tell when he or she was being sold a bill of goods—and in an era of diminished critical thinking, might not even care. There certainly was a lot of entertainment journalism out there. But how much of it was any good, and how much could be trusted?

Scott Fosdick

See also Comics; Criticism and Critics; Docudrama; Feature Syndicates; Human Interest Journalism; Infotainment; Internet Impact on Media; Lifestyle Journalism; Mass Media, Decline of; Media Literacy; Morning News; News as Narrative; News Audiences, Decline of; Parody of News; Podcasting; Sports Journalism; Tabloid Newspapers; Tabloid Television

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Environmental Journalism

The creation and rise of the environmental beat in journalism since 1960 has coincided with the increased public and government interest in the environment. Beginning in the 1960s, society determined that it could no longer accept the environmental harm that in the past had been an accepted cost with an industrialized world. Journalists responded with such stories as how automobile exhaust was choking the air of cities and describing water pollution so foul that a river could catch fire. As the beat matured, so did the reporting, and journalists needed to delve into increasingly complicated issues such as whether chemicals were threatening human health and whether the world's temperature was rising. While the number of reporters grew over the years it has fluctuated with the public's varying degree of interest in environmental news. By the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, rising fuel prices and interest in global warming were peaking interest in the environment and producing more environmental news.

Origins

Among the first true writers about the environment were the geographers or explorers who at the completion of their journeys described what they had

seen. But as journalism developed in the nineteenth century it was slow to embrace environmental coverage. An exception was William Cullen Bryant, editor of the *New York Evening Post,* who led a movement to establish a public park and is credited with writing editorials in 1844 that led to the creation of New York's Central Park. Beginning in 1876, George Bird Grinnell championed the establishment of both the national park system and the national forests in *Field and Stream.* Nature writer John Muir and Robert Underwood Johnson, editor of *The Century Magazine,* led campaigns to preserve such national treasures as the Yosemite Valley in California. The muckrakers of the early twentieth century at times touched on environmental issues. Lincoln Steffens, writing for *McClure's* and *American Magazine,* exposed timber frauds in the Pacific Northwest forests. Ida Tarbell uncovered the ruthless practices of the Standard Oil Company and John D. Rockefeller. Still, the first major journalism award for an environmental story did not occur until 1941 when the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* led an editorial campaign against industrial soot and smoke that was so thick that it could turn day into night. The newspaper won a Pulitzer Prize, and the air grew cleaner.

Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring,* published in 1962, helped change society's thinking about the environment. A biologist, Carson criticized the widespread use of DDT, an insecticide that had wiped out malaria in the developed world and drastically reduced it globally. DDT was so popular that in the 1950s American communities were using it to spray entire neighbourhoods to kill unwanted pests. The problem was that it also killed wildlife, including birds ranging from robins to eagles. Carson called the use of such chemicals a sinister force that could not only wipe out many species but also threaten humans. The chemical industry responded with a major marketing campaign questioning the book's premise. Yet *Silent Spring* became a best-seller and prompted the U.S. government to review and eventually ban the use of DDT. Carson set the stage for a new era by encouraging readers to question, rather than to accept, what industry was doing to the environment and to human health.

The Beat Develops

By April 1970 when the first Earth Day was held, it drew millions of participants who did not want to live in a world wasted by pollution. The federal government responded by enacting a series of far-reaching environmental laws, including creating the Environmental Protection Agency. News organizations added to their focus, devoting new resources to the environment. The weeklies *Time* and *Saturday Review* started regular sections on the environment, *Life* increased its coverage, and *Look* and the monthly *National Geographic* produced special reports. In 1973 *Editor & Publisher* listed 95 newspaper reporters who identified themselves as specialists covering the environment.

One of the biggest stories of the 1970s came out of Niagara Falls, New York, when a local reporter, Michael Brown, wrote about how the Hooker Chemical Company had buried hazardous chemicals beneath a residential neighborhood. Love Canal became the poster child for the hazards of toxic chemicals. It also led to the creation of the federal Super Fund that spent billions of dollars cleaning up the nation's old waste sites. Love Canal catapulted to fame a 27-year-old homemaker named Lois Gibbs whose chief aim initially was to find out why her two children kept getting mysterious ailments. She became a community organizer who helped initiate an unprecedented evacuation of the Love Canal neighborhood that cost $17 million. Eventually Gibbs moved to Washington, D.C., and helped organize other local activists. Supporters said her action gave credence to grassroots efforts. Critics argued it was an expression of social selfishness.

Many stories in the 1970s and 1980s were shaped by a simplified white-hat-black-hat environmental view. Reporters too often seemed to rely on interviewing government officials, environmental activists, and business groups while ignoring scientists. Evident in their stories was confusion about when a story was environmentally oriented as opposed to politically driven.

Sometimes big events helped shape what journalists needed to cover. The nuclear power plant accidents in March 1979 at Three Mile Island in Pennsylvania and in April 1986 at Chernobyl in the Soviet Union prompted journalists to spend more time examining the safety of nuclear energy. The 1984 chemical spill in Bhopal, India, that killed hundreds drew renewed interest in the chemical industry. The oil industry also faced greater scrutiny after the 1989 oil spill from the tanker the Exxon *Valdez* off the coast of Alaska.

Complex Issues

By the beginning of the 1990s, environmental coverage had grown significantly not only in print but also in broadcast journalism. CNN was devoting a regular weekly news program to the environment and such programs as *Nova, Nature, National Geographic,* and Mutual of Omaha's *Wild Kingdom* were appearing. Most major daily newspapers and many smaller publications had assigned reporters to the beat and *Time* magazine was calling the endangered Earth the "Planet of the Year." By the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century the Society of Environmental Journalists, itself a creation of the new interest in the beat, reported that 1,400 journalists covered the environment either full-time for a news organization or as a freelancer.

The types of environmental stories being reported were increasingly complex, often rooted in science but having public policy implications. For instance, as the population grew in the country's Sunbelt, the pressures of development clashed with the region's diminishing water resources, creating environmental policy challenges. Efforts to control floods and provide water in places such as Louisiana and Florida were found to be destroying wetlands and making some coastal areas more prone to flooding. Human development was creating a range of biodiversity issues, from vanishing wildlife species to new invasive plants and insects.

Many stories were also taking on global dimensions. Perhaps the biggest story, and one fumbled at times by the press, dealt with whether human activity was causing the world to get hotter. Scientists began warning in the late 1980s that gases, including carbon dioxide from human sources, were building in the upper atmosphere, creating a greenhouse effect that was warming the planet. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, created by the United Nations and composed of the world's pre-eminent climate scientists, issued reports beginning in 1989 warning that these emissions needed to be sharply reduced in the near future. Otherwise, said the IPCC, sea levels would rise, droughts would increase, there would be more frequent and violent storms, and ecosystems would undergo massive changes. The political response was weak, especially from U.S. government and industry. Journalists have been accused of not understanding the science and of putting too much emphasis on stories about the uncertainties of global warming. News story standards called for fairness, which meant including comments from all sides of an issue. That practice allowed global warming skeptics to get what sometimes amounted to equal play on an issue that most scientists felt was no longer a matter of scientific question.

Finding the Right Sources

As reporters delved into these complex issues, it became apparent that they needed a stronger background in and understanding of science. Unfortunately, the journalism and science communities have a history of distrust, wariness, and sometimes outright hostility. There are several reasons for this. One is that reporters and scientists approach language differently. Scientists need to be specific and precise while journalists need to write broadly and generally to a wide audience. Those differences in language and approach can lead to communication complications. For instance, take the word *theory*. The public associates the word with an opinion or concept. Scientists see it as a set of facts that when accepted make a theory very similar to a law. Another problem is that science often works slowly; journalists seem always on a deadline. The very nature of science has been to take enough time to adequately assess a concept, even if it takes years or even decades.

The issue of balance, as journalists discovered on the climate change story, does not always work when writing about science. Scientists dislike self-promoters who stray from professionally recognized boundaries and show up in the press. Such professional reluctance only has complicated the reporting process for environmental reporters. But of all of the impediments, the possibility of journalists not getting the story right may be the greatest. Too often scientists complain that journalists simply do not get their facts correct. Journalists agree that accuracy is paramount but that some errors are inevitable in their fast-paced culture aiming reports at a general audience.

In recent years, some scientists and environmental reporters have been working to repair their

relationships. Along with seeking to better understand science, some journalists have gone a step further by directing or doing scientific research themselves. They have hired epidemiologists to find cancer clusters, conducted their own air tests for pollution and drawn their own blood to test it for the presence of potentially dangerous chemicals. The results—and their news reports—have sometimes been startling. For instance, a reporter for the *St. Petersburg Times* in 2001 tested the soil in local playgrounds containing lumber that was pressure-treated with arsenic. The tests in five counties found arsenic in the soil at levels up to 13 times higher than the level at which the state would require implementation of a toxic waste cleanup.

Environmental issues begin in science but eventually become public policy. That means that environmental journalists must also understand the roles of government, economics, and business. Authority to regulate environmental issues is spread between a multitude of federal, state, and local agencies as well as some regional and even international organizations. While the Environmental Protection Agency is perhaps the best-known environmental agency in the country, it is often small, local agencies that are the first line of protection in providing clean water, and sewage and waste disposal. Cleaning the environment is costly and a variety of players have developed to help influence government. The National Center for Charitable Statistics reported in 2006 that nearly 15,000 nonprofit environmental groups shared annual gross receipts approaching $7 billion. The range of approaches they employed was vast. One of the largest, the Nature Conservancy, was dedicated to buying and preserving land. Another large, global group, Greenpeace, embraced nonviolent, social protest as a tool for change. Many were small grassroots organizations focused on local issues. Business and industry groups were also active in promoting their approach to the environment. They often retained public relations consultants and spokespeople to get their side of the story out. Public relations consultants call such environmental campaigns "green p.r." while critics use the phrase "greenwashing." Sometimes such efforts have successfully bridged the gap between environmental advocates and business and caused the two sides to work together. Environmental journalists use all of these as sources, seeking to balance spin from reality.

Understanding Advocacy

What is sometimes misunderstood, even by journalists, is whether reporters who write about the environment are (or should be) pro-environment. After all, how can anyone be against a cleaner environment? Some have argued that environmental journalists pick sides and present a biased story in order to advocate for a better environment. Only a small percentage of environmental journalists embrace this concept of advocacy journalism. According to recent surveys, environmental journalists believe that they need to be as fair and objective as other journalists.

Accusations of bias can target stories and reporters who are considered both too favorable to environmental organizations and their aims and others who generally oppose government and regulatory controls of the environment. In 2001, Bill Moyers hosted a two-hour Public Broadcasting System documentary reporting that the chemical industry produced products from the 1950s into the 1970s that it knew could harm human health and the environment. Moyers was accused of producing a pro-environment story, because he did not give industry enough time to respond. Moyers admitted he had trouble tracking down industry sources but he also said that if he made too strong of an effort that the industry's powerful public relations specialist would have distorted the message. During the same period John Stossel of ABC News was repeatedly criticized for producing stories on the other side of the issue from Moyers'. Once a respected consumer and environmental reporter, Stossel said he had an awakening and realized that some of those stories had been overly alarmist. He then began producing stories that he said compensated for his earlier leanings by openly accusing environmental activists as fringe radicals and environmental regulations as needlessly costly to society.

As the environmental beat is complex and involves huge sums of money, reporters must deal with rabid advocates on each side. Most environmental journalists recognize that they must

provide perspective, fairness, and at times interpretation based on scientific facts.

Conclusion

Dramatic stories such as oil spills and nuclear accidents first drew attention to the environmental beat and big disasters such as Hurricane Katrina in 2005 have helped propel it. But most environmental stories lack drama. Rather than striking with a fury, some ooze, seep, or bubble silently and are often unseen. A story, such as the disappearance of another animal or plant species, might change so imperceptibly as to be nearly invisible. The challenge in the future will be to find those stories and then explain them in ways that relate to readers and viewers. Journalists have better tools and understanding of these issues. Acting on them will be critically important for future generations.

Robert Wyss

See also Agriculture Journalism, Electronic; Agriculture Journalism, Print; Bias; Government, Federal, Coverage of; Government, State and Local, Coverage of; Health and Medicine Journalism; Muckrakers; Natural Disasters, Coverage of; Objectivity; Science and Technology Journalism; Weather Jouralism

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Equal Opportunity

See Diversity: Content; Diversity: Employment; Diversity: Policy

Equal Time

Equal time is a widely used shorthand term referring to fairly complex federal requirements concerning American political candidate purchase or other use of radio or television air time. The phrase "equal opportunities" better incorporates the many relevant facets of the requirements. The basic intent of the law and related regulations is to enhance and provide more balanced access to competing candidates for broadcast air time during election campaigns. However, these regulations have not balanced the disparity in funds among candidates, allowing a wealthy or well-supported candidate to purchase more air time more often.

The First Amendment's clear prohibition against federal interference with the press has meant that there has never been a similar political access requirement for print media. Yet because spectrum frequencies are limited and thus stations must be licensed, courts have held that broadcasting is subject to more limited First Amendment rights. Broadcasters have argued for decades that this creates an unfair situation, but except for a brief experiment in 1960, the "equal time" law has remained in force since 1927, though modified in detail through court cases and administrative agency reconsideration.

Origins

U.S. political broadcasting regulation began with the Radio Act of 1927, which required (in Section 18) that

> if any licensee shall permit any person who is a legally qualified candidate for any public office to use a broadcasting station, he shall afford equal opportunities to all other such candidates for that office in the use of such broadcasting station; provided that such licensee shall have no power of

> censorship over the material broadcast under the provisions of this section. No obligation is imposed under this subsection upon any licensee to allow the use of its station by any such candidate. . . .

Further, stations could not censor anything a candidate said on the air. Until a Supreme Court case in 1959, broadcast stations were caught in a legal wringer as they could be, and were, held liable for what a candidate might say, even though the station could not, under the law, censor the candidate's words.

In drafting this provision, members of the House and Senate (by definition, candidates in periodic elections) feared either being denied access to radio at all, or of having their words censored as they tried to reach voters during campaigns. Defining exactly what the law means, however, has occupied countless regulators, attorneys, and judges in the 80 years since as the requirement was carried over verbatim to the Communications Act of 1934 (as section 315). The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) was constantly called upon to define what "equal opportunities" were in specific situations. Generally, the commission held that *any* use of air time by a political candidate was subject to the provisions of law and regulations. Nothing, however, prevented stations from staying away from controversy altogether by refusing to provide time to any candidate. Despite the lost revenue, many stations did just that.

Until 1959, the political broadcasting law remained essentially unchanged. With the impending 1960 election, however, came the first substantial update. What received all the attention that year was Congress's decision to suspend Section 315's equal opportunity requirement just for the 1960 election—as a test to see how broadcasters would act. Results from that campaign suggested little real change on the equal opportunities front, though some third and lesser party candidates complained of being mistreated. Still, Congress never again suspended the law.

Far more important and lasting that year was the congressional decision (after years of lobbying by the broadcast industry) to amend the statute to exempt four types of news programs from candidate requests for "equal time." There had been countless cases of fringe or third party candidates demanding broadcast time after a mayor or congressman against whom they were running was covered in a newscast or interview program. The new exemptions included newscasts, interview programs, news documentaries, and on-the-spot coverage of news events. To qualify for the exemption, however, the FCC determined over the years that such programs, to be bona fide exemptions, must be under the control of a network or station (not a candidate or political party), be regularly scheduled (not just airing during a campaign), and a candidate's appearance was merely incidental to the program. If a station covered the incumbent mayor undertaking some function of his office, for example, that would now be seen as news coverage and thus not a "use" triggering the equal opportunities provision of the law.

In 1971 came a further change. Congress amended section 312 (a) (7) of the Communications Act to read that a station could lose its license to broadcast "for willful or repeated failure to allow reasonable access to or permit purchase of reasonable amounts of time for the use of a broadcasting station by a legally qualified candidate for federal elective office on behalf of his candidacy." In other words, a station could no longer deny a candidate for the House or Senate, presidency, or vice presidency, access for campaigning. Stations could (and still can) reject air time requests by state and local candidates.

One final change came that same year—and this one hit broadcasters in the pocketbook. For years stations had often increased their rates for political candidates, charging whatever the market would bear. Given that candidates sought a lot of air time over a relatively brief period, the "market" was one controlled by broadcasters—and they priced their time accordingly. They argued the income was needed to compensate for extensive record-keeping required by the FCC, as well as various "equal time" legal challenges by candidates and others. In 1971 Congress mandated (in section 315 [b] [1]) that stations could only levy their "lowest unit charge" for political ads sold in the 45 days before a primary election and 60 days before a general election. At other times, stations could only charge "comparable" (rather than higher) rates to those charged to their commercial advertisers. While FCC implementation of this provision became very involved, the gist of the requirement is that political candidates (at all

levels, not just for federal office) are entitled to lower rather than higher charges during campaigns. Given the growing dominance of radio and (especially) television in modern political campaigning, this provision has been vital to candidates, though despite it, the proportion of total campaign expenditure devoted to broadcasting continues to rise each election year.

As cable television developed into an important medium in the early 1980s, the political broadcasting law and regulations were applied to that service as well. Any cable system that provides time to candidates (as they must if candidates for federal office so request) is subject to the same rules that bind radio and television stations. Broadcast satellite services are also subject to these rules.

Shifting Definitions

Every even-numbered (i.e., federal election) year, the FCC is called upon by stations and candidates to render judgment about how the equal opportunities and lowest unit charge provisions of the law apply. This has become almost a game of shifting definitions. The FCC's decisions have to be rendered quickly, while a campaign is still underway, so that any finding of unfairness can be rectified before voters reach the polls. Many more complaints become legal cases, decided long after the voters have had their say.

For example, the definition of a "qualified candidate" would seem fairly straightforward. But in fact, over the years, the FCC has had to determine that this (usually) means a person who has publicly announced an intention to run for a given office and can actually be voted for depending on applicable state or local law. Write-in candidates are generally "legally qualified" if local law allows for write-ins, for example. The commission has held that a presidential candidate fits the "qualified" definition if he or she is qualified by state laws to run in at least 10 states. The burden of proof in determining qualification is always on the candidate requesting air time.

More controversial has been that little word "use." Here the definitions have changed substantially over the years. Generally speaking, the commission long held that *any* appearance (other than the four program exceptions noted earlier) constituted a use and thus triggered the provisions of the law for competing candidates. But this has been modified in the more recent era of negative ad campaigns to mean any use *authorized by the candidate*. Thus while old Ronald Reagan movies were banned by FCC rules from airing on television while he was a candidate for California governor in the 1960s, such a ban was later found unnecessary since Reagan's appearance as an actor in a movie was clearly not an "authorized" use by Reagan as a political candidate. The Federal Election Commission took this one step further by the 2004 election, requiring candidates to appear at the end of their ads and saying that they had authorized what was said or shown.

A good example of shifting definitions is the broadcast political debate. With the so-called Great Debates between John Kennedy and Richard Nixon during the 1960 campaign, the larger controversy over televised debates began. The 1960 face-off of four "debates" was not a debate in the generally recognized manner of two opponents directly addressing each other. Rather, each candidate answered reporter questions and could then comment upon the other's answer, without, as a rule speaking directly to each other. For the next several presidential races, similar "interview-debates" were allowed by the FCC only if sponsored by something other than candidates *or* broadcasters. This was important because otherwise dozens of minority candidates could seek time equal to that granted the major party candidates. For several presidential face-offs, the League of Women Voters became the sponsoring group. In the early 1990s, however, the FCC changed its policy, allowing networks and stations to directly sponsor candidate debates.

The phrase "equal opportunities" means more than just the amount of time provided. The "quality" of that time needs to be comparable as well (e.g., prime time or drive time as opposed to the middle of the night or crack of dawn). Candidates may request (but not demand) exactly the same time slot as their opponents. Stations have a fair bit of flexibility in how they meet such requests, though they are more restricted in dealing with candidates for federal office. Stations cannot, for example, insist on live-only use of air time. Candidates must be charged equally for the same quality of time (such as prime time on television, or drive time on radio), have equal use of station

facilities (such as for making spot ads), and the many other things that can reflect on campaigns. If a station requires an advance copy of a political ad's script from one candidate, it must treat others the same way. Finally, stations must keep quite detailed records of all requests for time (and how they were acted upon) for a period of two years after any election. As a result of these various provisions, stations rarely give time to any candidate: if they did so, opposing candidates could demand free time as well.

And What Is *Not* Equal

Candidates are often surprised at what the so-called equal opportunities law does *not* provide for. If candidate A has lots of money and purchases considerable time, candidate B can request "equal" time—but will only receive it if she or he can also pay for it. Thus a rich candidate can purchase many appearance times knowing that a poorer candidate cannot match his access. In effect, the law is financially blind and presumes all competing candidates have access to equal cash—which is rarely the case.

Candidates in states bordering Mexico or Canada face another issue—the FCC has no control over political time sold by stations in those nations, even though such border stations may well beam programs to listeners in the United States. Indeed, purchases of political time on foreign stations has proven important in a number of races in the Southwest.

More central to fairness and equity are some recent developments. Many political groups regularly purchase time on the air to debate issues rather than candidates. Such issue advertising is not subject to any equal opportunities requirement, since the "equal time" requirements apply only to candidates. Similarly, air time purchased by so-called 527 groups (named after a provision of the U.S. tax code) falls outside the requirements since these purchasers are tax-exempt entities formed to work in favor of or against issues—and only indirectly for individual candidates. As these groups are not under the control of a candidate (or are at least presumed not to be: 527 groups are not supposed to "coordinate" their efforts with a candidate's campaign), Section 315 equal opportunity requirements do not apply to them. Such groups played a substantial part in the 2004 presidential election and appear to be growing in election importance.

While commercial stations may editorialize in favor of or against political candidates (though in practice, few do for fear of offending advertisers or their audiences), noncommercial educational stations are not allowed to support or oppose any candidate for public office. The reasoning behind the ban is that noncommercial stations usually receive some public funding. A candidate may purchase time on a noncommercial station, though payment must only cover actual station costs.

Conclusion

The substance of American political broadcasting regulations dates back eight decades. While often amended, the basic requirements have long required equal treatment of opposing candidates with the important exception of how well those candidates may be financed. The many provisions do little for a candidate with insufficient funds to purchase broadcast time, equal or otherwise. In a sense, the law and regulations presume candidates are equally funded, which is rarely the case. Thus the "equal time" laws do little to regulate broadcast campaigning, other than to avoid the most blatant bias on the part of broadcasters. And perhaps that is exactly what the congressional authors of the law back in 1927 had in mind.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Access to Media; Advertorials; Congress and Journalism; Election Coverage; Political Action Committees; Political Reporters; Presidents, Coverage of; Press and Government Relations

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Ethics

Journalism ethics is a branch of professional ethics. Recognizing the power of communication technologies worldwide today, occupations in the media are now included with such professions as medicine, law, business, and engineering under the purview of applied ethics. Although journalists have been roundly criticized for more than a century, the exponential growth in media ethics did not occur until it began rising in parallel during the 1980s with the growth of professional ethics as a whole. The challenge at present is whether journalism ethics can contribute to applied ethics as a field, while making significant progress on its own complicated agenda.

History

Concerns over the press' weaknesses are at least as old as the country. Abuses of the press were first explicitly linked to ethical principles at the end of the nineteenth century. During the 1890s a transition occurred from everyday commentary to a more reflective period, with criticism of various kinds growing into a systematic collection of ethical precepts and several examples from this decade can be listed. Sensationalism had always been criticized through the century, but it took serious institutional form in the late 1890s during the circulation battles between *New York Journal*'s William Randolph Hearst and the New York *World*'s Joseph Pulitzer before and during the Spanish-American War. As telegraph and then telephone services were established, privacy became an urgent issue as sensitive diplomatic, military, and business information crossed multiple borders, especially in Europe. Gifts to journalists and free travel to sports events and meetings (freebies and junkets, as they were called) scourged by media critics since 1870, were now treated more systematically in the context of individual accountability. The groundwork was laid for the free press/fair trial debate.

The elementary work of the 1890s evolved into a more comprehensive effort during the 1920s as journalism education was established within university liberal arts programs. Four important textbooks in journalism ethics appeared in this period: Nelson Crawford's *Ethics of Journalism* (1924), Leon Flint's *The Conscience of the Newspaper* (1925), William Gibbons' *Newspaper Ethics* (1926), and Albert Henning's *Ethics and Practices of Journalism* (1932). They were similar in the topics they considered central: reporters and sources, economic temptations and conflicts of interest, national security, free press/fair trial, deception, fairness, accuracy, sensationalism, and protection of privacy.

However, the flurry of journalism scholarship in the 1920s, the growth of professional societies with codes of ethics, and individual journalists who made ethics a priority—even together these trends could not prevent the demise of ethics in the face of an antithetical worldview called scientific naturalism. After Crawford's 1932 book, the term "ethics" and its cognates disappeared from mass communications book titles for forty years in North America. Instead of ethics, advances in the physical sciences became the ideal as academics—including those in communications—promoted its methods and principles. Lawrence Murphy in 1924, for example, saw the scientific approach to news as the only safeguard against bias and amateurishness. Centered on human rationality and armed with the scientific method, the facts in news were said to mirror reality. The period from the 1930s is typically described as the social scientific phase of communications study, and objectivity was a quasi-scientific method appropriate to it. Objectivity in journalism helped give the press legitimate status alongside the older and more prestigious professions of medicine and law.

Under the umbrella of scientific naturalism, journalistic morality became equivalent to unbiased reporting of neutral information. Presenting unvarnished facts was heralded as the standard of good performance, with readers and viewers presumably deciding for themselves what the facts meant. As given definitive book-length treatment by Stephen Ward (2004), objective reporting, in its history and practice, was both a methodology and a moral standard.

Concern for ethics during the 1930s through the 1960s arose only on isolated occasions. The *Report of the Commission on Freedom of the Press* in 1947 advancing social responsibility was the most famous counterstatement of this period. Occasionally there were pockets of resistance in

journalism's intellectual and vocational life, but the neutrality model dominated nonetheless. A preoccupation with that value-centered enterprise called ethics seemed out of place in an academic and professional environment committed to the scientific worldview.

Two events in 1980 stimulated a renewal of journalism ethics, the "MacBride Report" issued by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and *The Teaching of Ethics in Higher Education,* both published after struggles with ethical issues in North American and international news media since the mid-1970s.

Sean MacBride, Ireland's ambassador to the United Nations, chaired an International Commission for UNESCO on communication and human rights, and the state of professional journalism around the world. The Commission's report, *Many Voices, One World: Towards a New More Just and More Efficient World Information and Communication Order* (1980), helped define debates over the economic concentration of communication industries, the possibilities for democratic politics through the news media, and the free trade of communications products and services. *Many Voices, One World* recommended establishing quality journalism education in every country of the developing world.

A decisive American media ethics event revolved around the Hastings Center of New York. From 1978 to 1980, it carried out the most extensive study ever done of professional ethics in American higher education. Funded by the Carnegie Foundation, the results were published in 1980 in a series of volumes and monographs that established the field of applied and professional ethics (for the volume on journalism ethics, see Christians and Covert 1980). Occupations in the media were included along with such professions as medicine, law, business, and engineering under the purview of applied ethics. The Hastings project made recommendations about course goals, evaluation, indoctrination, and teacher preparation. It established the baseline statistical measures that are used today to teach journalism ethics.

In line with other professional fields, more monographs on media ethics were published during the 1980s than had appeared since the beginning of the twentieth century. In a critical period, between 1983 and 1993, the number of freestanding media ethics courses in American higher education increased by nearly 100 percent. The most influential contribution to media ethics education—the Gannett-sponsored National Workshop on the Teaching of Ethics in Journalism and Mass Communications directed by Edmund Lambeth—began its 20-year career in 1984.

Scholarly study of media ethics has established itself over the last three decades as a subset of professional ethics with its own subject matter. The bellwether of the field's development, the *Journal of Mass Media Ethics,* began publication in 1985. An "ethics summit" on the state of media ethics was convened in Boston in 1987, with Emerson College as a result originating in 1990 the biannual *Media Ethics Magazine,* which anchors a worldwide network of proceedings, teaching, and scholarship in ethics. Demonstrating the growth of the field, a second journal was initiated in England in 2004, *Ethical Space: The International Journal of Communication Ethics.*

Applied and practical ethics dominate academe. And the trappings of this new field are everywhere outside the classroom too. The Association for Practical and Professional Ethics began in 1991. Journals such as *The International Journal of Applied Philosophy, Ethical Perspectives* (from the European Ethical Network), and *Professional Ethics* deal with generic issues, while virtually all the professions now have their own journals, books, and courses on ethics as well. The reissuing a century after its original publication of Henry Sidgwick's *Practical Ethics* (1898/1998) signals this trend toward professional ethics as a field of philosophy with its own identity.

For journalism ethics, there have been some important intellectual gains. We understand more sharply promise keeping and contractual obligation, paternalism and client autonomy, indoctrination, reform of institutional structures, and the difference between a journalist's behavior and the need for institutional reform. Important advances have been made on the ethics of privacy, confidentiality, and deception. But many of the crucial issues (justice), diversity in popular culture, digital manipulation, and conflict of interest) are still underdeveloped. Even the ethics of truth-telling—central to news as its basic norm—has been neglected.

Issues

Media Technology

Over the history of journalism ethics, a decisive change has occurred in media technology and another shift is underway. When modern journalism ethics study began in 1980, broadcast technology dominated our media systems; while today the important ethical concerns focus on digital manipulation. The study and understanding of journalism ethics, as it took hold with MacBride and the Hastings-Carnegie studies, was rooted in print technology. Most of the heavyweights in media ethics were preoccupied with news in its literary rather than broadcast form. Nearly all the dominant issues received their sharpest focus in a print context—invasion of privacy, sensationalism, confidentiality of sources, and stereotyping. As television became the primary arbiter of news by the early 1990s (if not before), principles of truthfulness from print set its standard.

In the ongoing digital era, the challenge for ethics is to establish an agenda in terms of the distinctive properties of this new technological system. An early version of this task was a special issue of the *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* (1998) devoted to new media technologies. A double issue of the same journal five years later, focused on "Virtual Reality and Communication Ethics," developed the idea that the virtual world as the innovative edge of online technologies is the most advanced context for coming to grips with ethics. Communications researcher David Gunkel's *Thinking Otherwise: Philosophy, Communication, Technology* (2007) centers on ethics throughout, philosophical ethics and media ethics both. He develops a model of moral responsibility within the context of the newest innovations in information technology. Journalist and educator Michael Bugeja's *Living Ethics Across Media Platforms* (2008) identifies moral issues that converge across media technologies.

Based on this scholarship to date, the ethics agenda needs to be more fully developed for the digital world of search engines, online networking, and computer databases. Some issues are new, some amplify or transform ethic concerns of the past, and others create new levels of complexity heretofore unknown. Of the latter, cyberwarfare and cyberterrorism have been given special urgency since September 11, 2001. Long-standing issues have taken on a new complexity or orientation, such as web-based hate speech with violence, surveillance, and deception. The ethics of representation now has a different orientation, identifying how gender, race, and religion are represented in anonymous cyberspace. Equitable allocation of information technologies is another moral problem of justice, confronting as it does the injustice of the digital divide between the information rich and poor.

Other problems are rooted in computer technology itself, such as the ethics of blogging and online journalism. Blogging is only possible in an age of sophisticated technology. As a digital revolution at home and at work, it requires special emphasis in developing ethical principles that are appropriate. A code of blogging ethics developed by media law researcher Martin Kuhn and the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, considers the character of blogging interaction and the struggle to build human relationships and communities in cyberspace to be the core duties that the code of ethics must address. Together these dramatic technological applications offer an obvious challenge for developing appropriate ethical principles.

Truth

The press' obligation to truth is standard in journalism ethics. Truth telling is the generally accepted norm of the media professions, and credible language is pivotal to journalism's very existence. But living up to this ideal has proved nearly impossible. Budget constraints, deadlines, competitive pressures, and self-serving sources complicate the production of truth in news writing. Sophisticated technology accommodates almost unlimited news copy but still requires that difficult choices be made without the opportunity to sift through the intricacies of telling the truth.

The prevailing view of truth as accurate information is too simplistic for today's social and political complexities, though objectivity remains entrenched in daily practices of news production and dissemination. The dominant scheme committed to facts is under duress and philosophical work is critical for transforming the concept of truth

intellectually. A more sophisticated concept of truth is disclosure, getting to the heart of the matter. Even 60 years ago, the famous Hutchins Commission Report on *A Free and Responsible Press* called for this alternative. It advocated a deeper definition of the press' mission as "a truthful, comprehensive and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning." Dietrich Bonhoeffer contends correctly in his *Ethics* (1995) that a truthful account includes the context, motives and presuppositions involved. Truth means, as former UPI reporter and journalism researcher Wesley Pippert wrote in 1989, to strike gold, to get at "the core, the essence, the nub, the heart of the matter."

Forsaking the quest for precision journalism does not mean imprecision but more precision in disclosure and authenticity. The best journalists understand from the inside the attitudes, culture, and language of the persons and events that enter news reporting. In the process of weaving a tapestry of truth, reporters' disclosures will be true on two levels: they will be theoretically credible and they will be realistic to those being covered. Rather than reducing social issues to the financial and administrative problems that politicians define, the truth principle requires that the news media disclose the depth and nuance that enable readers and viewers to identify the fundamental issues themselves.

Diversity

Another urgent issue for present-day journalism ethics is not merely the obligation to treat ethnic differences fairly, but how to recognize the identity of various cultural groups that together make up a society. Native languages and ethnicity have come into their own. Sects and religious fundamentalists insist on recognition. Culture is more salient for many than their country. In the United States, for instance, rather than the "melting pot" Americanization of the past century, immigrants now insist on maintaining their cultures, religions, and languages. In fact, since the cold war, identity politics has become dominant in world affairs. As a result, news media are challenged to help develop a healthy ethnic self-consciousness rather than reinforce a strident tribalism.

Obviously news cannot be ethical unless the challenge of cultural diversity is met, and this requires a fundamental shift from pushing homogeneity to recognition of differences. The basic issue is whether democratic societies are discriminating against their citizens in an unethical manner when institutions fail to account for the identity of their members. In what sense should the specific cultural and social features of Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, Buddhists, Jews, the physically disabled or children publicly matter? Should not government institutions insure only that citizens share an equal right to political liberties and due process without regard to race, gender, or religion? Beneath the rhetoric is a fundamental dispute that Charles Taylor calls the "politics of recognition." This foundational issue regarding the character of ethnic identity must be resolved for diversity to come into its own.

The flourishing of particular cultures, religions, and ethnic groups is the substantive goal to which news professionals are generally committed, but it needs deeper application. Paul Lester's *Images That Injure* has become a staple of instruction toward that goal. Media researchers John Downing and Charles Husband help fulfill this agenda as well with their literature review of three decades of racial stereotyping as background for proposing a new "multi-ethnic public sphere" model for representing race. And communication researchers Robert Entman and Andrew Rojecki illustrate a deep application to race in the twenty-first century United States. Their research indicates a broad array of white racial sentiments toward African Americans as a group. They emphasize not the minority of outright racists but the perplexed majority. On a continuum from comity (acceptance) to ambivalence to animosity and then racism, a complex ambivalence most frequently characterizes the majority. Ambivalence means that the majority of whites do not necessarily harbor deep-seated fears or resentment, but become conflicted about the best strategies and sometimes lose their patience with the slow progress.

Correcting white ignorance and dealing with ambiguities hold the most promise for the news media. The reality is, however, that the media serve as resources for pushing ambivalence into animosity. There is little evidence that television or other popular media pull their viewers toward comity. The media are not enhancing racial understanding among the ambivalent majority most open to it.

Unfortunately, the news media do not serve this important swing group for moving forward and changing policy and institutions toward cultural pluralism. For journalism ethics, ethnic identity is not trivial. The media as public communicators are a crucial arena through which ethnic identity is shaped.

Privacy

Public opinion polls indicate that invasion of privacy is a premier issue in media ethics, at least in western cultures. Intruding on privacy creates resentment and damages the news media's credibility. But for all the technical gains in privacy case law and tort law, ethicists consider legal definitions an inadequate foundation. How can the legally crucial difference between newsworthy material and gossip or voyeurism be reasonably determined?

Therefore, while acknowledging legal distinctions and boundaries, the ethics of privacy is constructed from such moral principles as the dignity of persons and the redeeming social value of the information disclosed. Journalism ethics researcher Louis Hodges establishes the issues for the print and broadcast eras, and communications researcher Thomas Cooper (1998) adds the new challenges to privacy with computer-based technologies. Privacy is a moral good since it is a condition for developing a healthy sense of personal identity. Violating it, therefore, harms human dignity. But privacy cannot be made absolute because we are cultural beings with responsibility in the public arena. We are individual beings, therefore we need privacy; yet because we are also social beings, we need public information about one another. These conflicts lead to the formal criterion that the intimate life space of individuals cannot be invaded without permission unless the revelation averts a public crisis or is of overriding public significance and all other means have been exhausted.

From an ethical perspective, a fundamental media issue is the relationship between self and society. A legal right to privacy presumes a sharp line dividing an individual's zone from the collective. An ethics of privacy prefers the richer connections between public and private advocated by social theorists since Alexis de Tocqueville who have centered their analysis on a viable public life. While participating in this important debate about the social order, media ethics has been applying moral principles to three specific areas: (1) the reporting of personal data on various social groups from innocent victims of tragedy to public officials to criminals; (2) protecting confidential information stored in computer data banks—medical, financial, library, educational, and personal records; and (3) ubiquitous advertising that intrudes on our everyday activities.

Democracies insist on individual privacy as a boundary against intrusion by the state. In this sense, the USA PATRIOT (Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism) Act has special significance. This legislation, first signed into law six weeks after September 11, 2001, shifts the Department of Justice from prosecuting terrorists to preventing terrorism. Among its controversial provisions dealing with privacy, it grants to the FBI what its critics call overbroad access to the confidential records of citizens if needed for the clandestine intelligence of suspected terrorism. The news media should be vitally involved in creating awareness of these privacy issues as they intersect with the operation of a democratic state in a complicated world.

Internationalization

Media ethics in the 1990s shifted its emphasis from local and isolated concerns to the international arena. Back in the late 1970s, the world agenda was only occasionally included. Dutch communication researcher Anne van der Meiden of Utrecht published a reader in 1980, and international conferences on media ethics were held that same year in Norway and Germany. The Gregorian University sponsored a series of colloquia in the 1980s with scholars from several continents; one in 1985 focused on ethics and another in 1987 focused on moral development. Media ethics researcher Kaarle Nordenstreng's *The Mass Media Declaration of UNESCO* in 1984 was a pathbreaker in international codes of ethics.

These efforts and others have culminated in a methodical, cross-cultural approach to journalism ethics. The first comprehensive treatment by an

international network of scholars, *Communication Ethics and Global Change,* appeared in 1989 edited by Thomas Cooper. Surveys of media ethics from 13 countries were included and integrative chapters emphasized three major areas of worldwide concern: truth, responsibility, and free expression. Throughout the 1990s, the Professional Education section of the International Association of Media Communication Research has given mass media ethics a strong emphasis. The University of Paris convened a European/North American conference on ethics in 1993, and the University of Tampere also hosted an international conference in 1993. Francis Kasoma edited a volume of ten theoretical and practical essays on *Journalism Ethics in Africa* which appeared in 1994. Pedro G. Gomes grounded his ethical model in social communication and liberation theology. John Hurst and Sally White use local examples and examine Australian attempts to develop principles and monitor policies through press councils and codes of ethics.

These are only illustrative. Already in 1991, a special issue of *Communication Research Trends* had identified academics interested in ethics in 40 countries. The Silha Center bibliography (*Books in Media Ethics*) includes entries from ten countries. Barrie MacDonald and Michel Petheram's *Key Guide to Information Sources in Media Ethics* (1998) is a reference handbook detailing extensive work in media ethics around the world.

Mass communication ethics in terms of issues, participation, and setting has achieved a level of maturity and acceptance in academe, if less so in the media themselves. One major challenge as a result is to replace the Eurocentric axis of communication ethics with a model that is genuinely comparative. The first systematic attempt at developing a comparative model across 13 countries (India, Nigeria, Brazil, Japan, Taiwan, Poland, South Africa, Germany, Venezuela, Colombia, United Arab Emirates, for example) was done by media ethics researchers Clifford Christians and Michael Traber in 1997 and identified the sacredness of life as a universal protonorm which yields three ethical principles across cultures: human dignity, truth-telling, and nonviolence. In the same comparative spirit, communication theorist Fred Casmir has developed a "third-culture model" of communication ethics. Thomas Cooper is seeking principles underlying cultural diversity by studying indigenous groups. And other recent attempts at transnational ethics in various countries have shown the significant potential of this perspective.

Conclusion

Applied ethics is taking on a life of its own. Within philosophical ethics, academics increasingly recognize applied ethics—often labeled professional ethics as well—as a legitimate domain in itself. Traditionally it has been dismissed as busy work; that is, limited to applying ethical principles to particular cases. But applied ethics is now gaining legitimacy as a scholarly enterprise with its own subject matter and logic.

In practical terms, the question is whether journalism ethics will be able to contribute significantly to applied ethics as a whole. Can it be done with such penetration that it simultaneously shapes professional ethics generally? The issues addressed in journalism ethics are often problematic across several professions—employee loyalty, distributive justice, deception, conflict of interest, and digital technology, for instance.

Communication ethics cut loose from the general morality becomes self-serving and racked by a double standard in which the press criticizes others without questioning its own failures. Unless it can be integrated into the large arena of applied ethics, we tend to rationalize our weaknesses too easily. The relentless demands on reporters and media professionals generally is to trick us into excuses or exceptions for ourselves that we would never tolerate in others. In an ironic twist on conventional skepticism, normative claims are not a medieval remnant but the catalyst for innovation.

Clifford G. Christians

See also Blogs and Bloggers; Citizen Journalism; Civic Journalism; Conflicts of Interest; Criticism of Journalism; Deception; Diversity: Content; History of Journalism: 1930–1995; History of Journalism: 1995–Present; Internet Impact on Media; New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO); Objectivity

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Ethnicity

See Race and Ethnicity, Coverage of

Ethnic Minority Networks

When radio networks first appeared in the early 1920s, ethnic minorities were invisible elements in majority societies, and in many cases were under pressure to abandon their traditions and conform to mainstream culture. If those minorities spoke "foreign" languages (such as those spoken by indigenous peoples including the Maori in New Zealand), their languages might be expected to die off in due time, and in many cases their usage was actively discouraged by educational and religious institutions. While their speakers might be welcome guests permitted to sing or speak in their own tongues, mainstream media would decide when to issue such invitations.

The modest sizes of many minority populations, coupled with their frequent economic weakness and the long prevalence of mainstream assimilationist policies, have meant that minority-operated electronic media outlets have emerged slowly and tentatively, with minority networks lagging even farther behind. That situation still largely prevails, even as civil rights movements, an opening up of the frequency spectrum for both radio and television, the falling cost of broadcast equipment and a greater acceptance of minority presence in many countries have led to increased minority stations and networks, by and large they continue to lack the resources available to their mainstream counterparts.

Development

By the late 1920s, a few American radio stations were carrying scheduled ethnic minority broadcasts, usually for an hour or less per day. Other countries took similarly cautious approaches. The New Zealand Broadcasting Service first offered continuously scheduled programming in Maori only in 1942: a newscast once a week for five minutes. Norway's NRK began scheduled broadcasts in Sami in 1946. Minority networks did not

emerge until the 1960s, and then only gradually: a few to several hours of programming per day, and often for less than the full week. If the networks were part of a larger national public service broadcaster (PSB)—the BBC's Asian Network, for example—they sometimes lacked such support as proportional budgets, "good" broadcast frequencies and sufficient transmitter power, full access to production facilities, or "status" among their mainstream peers. If the networks were commercial services, as with the U.S. Spanish language television networks *Univision* and *Telemundo,* finances tended to be tight and network-originated programming limited. (Both of those networks still rely predominantly on material produced in Latin America for Latin American audiences.)

Whether commercial or public, ethnic/linguistic networks have suffered from a paucity of local outlets through which to disseminate programs, but also from which to *receive* program material. They have created programming, but have done little to encourage local outlets to produce programs that could be carried by the networks, which has limited the degree to which networks reflect local ethnic communities. A few networks have assisted growth of local stations and carried their programming, as has happened with Inuit radio in Canada starting in 1970 with the foundation of the CBC Northern Service. More often, they were highly centralized, as was the U.S. Black Entertainment Television (BET, founded in 1980) network. BET did little to support the establishment and growth of black-owned and -operated local TV stations, (they numbered 24 in 1991, dropping to 22 by 2006) or to receive material from them.

Since most ethnic minority populations are small and often economically disadvantaged, their networks are not attractive to the financial community as business ventures, and few operate commercially. If those networks are financed through annual audience license fees or government appropriations, the relatively small size of the populations they serve may mean that their fee shares or appropriations are modest. Indeed, governmental appropriations may be cut off altogether, as was Canada's Native Communications Program in 1990.

Despite these obstacles, many ethnic and linguistic minorities now have networks or network-like services. Australia, three Andean countries (Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru), Canada, three Nordic nations (Finland, Norway, and Sweden), France, New Zealand, and the United States all feature one or more ethnic minority networks. The following selective examples, listed alphabetically, present their origins and the approaches they have taken to serving the informational needs of their audiences.

PSB and State-Supported Ethnic Minority Networks

Australia

Indigenous (Aboriginal) radio services in Australia emerged on a piecemeal basis, often supported by hard-won government funding administered by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs. Community radio obtained legal status in the mid-1970s, and Indigenous groups soon began to participate. The advent in 1978 of the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS), a multilingual radio and television service, soon led to development of an indigenous information program, though not a full-fledged newscast. The creation in 1987 of the Broadcasting for Remote Aboriginal Communities Scheme (BRACS) gradually resulted in the installation across Australia of over a hundred ground stations with modest studios and equipment, as well as satellite uplinks and downlinks.

The BRACS stations helped stimulate development of a national network. The National Indigenous Radio Service (NIRS), founded in 1996, serves as a program exchange and distribution service for the BRACS stations as well as for the many community radio stations carrying indigenous programs. The NIRS also originates several newscasts per day, often featuring items supplied by some of the 130 BRACS operations and 23 indigenous radio stations, as well as stringers, and indigenous media centers. It also provides a daily national indigenous talk show, *Let's Talk,* hosted by Tiga Bayles, one of indigenous radio's best-known figures. NIRS is supported primarily through annual government appropriations. Support levels for the BRACS stations are low to nonexistent, which impedes many from creating programs.

Australia's indigenous television networks began with Imparja in 1996, which started broadcasting from Alice Springs after a group of indigenous individuals competed for and received a commercial

TV narrowcast license valid for satellite broadcasting to eastern and central Australia. Imparja provides a daily 30-minute newscast, which often contains items submitted by the same sources as those featured on NIRS. It also broadcasts occasional documentaries. The weekday children's show *Yamba the Honey Ant* includes informational segments, often in the form of music such as "The Healthy Body Song." Starting in the late 1990s, Imparja also operated Indigenous Community Television, a service featuring videos made by and for Australia's indigenous population. That service was superceded in 2007 by National Indigenous Television (NITV). NITV introduced a five minute national newscast in 2008, and intends to expand it. Both Imparja and NITV are supported through Australian government appropriations as well as payments for carrying government announcements of training programs and other information directed to indigenous audience members. Commercial advertising accounts for only a minor portion of Imparja's annual budget.

Canada

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) Northern Service began in 1958, in part because of pressure from Inuit ("Eskimo") listeners impatient at being ignored. The Northern Service catered to both Inuit and non-Inuit populations of northern Canada through shortwave transmissions in English. It introduced Inuktitut language broadcasts in 1960, produced in Montreal and elsewhere in northern Canada. There were a few local terrestrial radio stations in the region, so the broadcasts did provide a network of sorts, which, in the words of the manager of the CBC service in Iqaluit, Nunavut, "enabled Inuit communities, separated by vast distances, to communicate with one another" (quoted in Molnar and Meadows). Following a lengthy series of campaigns conducted by Inuit, Native Americans, and white supporters, local Native American and Inuit stations began to emerge across Canada in the early 1970s. Many were supported through Native Communications Societies (media centers), and after 1983 through funding from the Canadian Government's Northern Native Broadcast Access Project (NNBAP).

The Inuit Broadcasting Corporation's television service developed from several experimental projects in the 1970s, broadcasting its first regular program in 1982. It was dependent on CBC transmission facilities, which could be used only late at night. After considerable lobbying, the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation received a dedicated satellite transmitter, which enabled an expanded service, Television Northern Canada (TVNC), to come on air in 1992. That service broadened its scope in 1998 by embracing television programming for Native Americans and Inuit throughout Canada in a renamed Aboriginal People's Television Network (APTN).

TVNC and APTN both have drawn heavily upon productions from several native communications societies, which provide opportunities for Native Americans and Inuit to produce material for print and broadcast media. Such productions enable the exchange of information through daily newscasts—APTN began a national newscast in 2000—as well as call-in current affairs shows such as *Contact* and frequent documentaries, in both English and tribal languages. APTN has the additional advantage of having been declared a national service, which ensures its availability through cable TV in Canada, thus making it accessible to most households. This also provides APTN with its major source of income through a share of cable and satellite subscriber fees—roughly C$30 million in 2007.

New Zealand

Maori radio stations in New Zealand (or *Aotearoa*, in Maori) developed first at the local (*iwi,* or tribe) level starting in the late 1980s, following a protracted struggle with the national government over broadcast licensing rights and funding. The stations all produce local news programs, and some create current affairs, discussion and call-in talk programs. Some of the programming is in Maori, some in English. Radio Waatea in Auckland is under contract to produce and relay a national Maori newscast in both Maori and English several times daily to the *iwi* stations. Radio Waatea also produces daily and weekly current affairs programs, including a weekly phone-in talk show. For all of those productions, Radio Waatea works closely with the 21 *iwi* stations, which are themselves interlinked through an online network, and with stringers living in cities and

towns lacking such stations. The stations receive most of their financial support through a government-supported Maori funding agency, *Te Mangai Paho,* with further assistance for specific series and one-time programs through another government agency, NZ on Air.

Maori Television made its debut as a distinct service in the mid-1990s. The existing Public Service Broadcasting (PSB) channels had carried Maori language newscasts and a few discussion and cultural programs starting in the early 1980s). It obtained its own channel in 2004, which broadcasts Maori news twice per day and also offers two weekly current affairs programs and numerous documentaries (the latter often originating from other minority stations around the world), interview-based programs, and discussions. While there are no purely local Maori television stations, Maori Television has numerous stringers as well as a few full-time reporters around the country. It also provides a video booth at its Auckland headquarters, where anyone may enter and make a brief statement about anything whatsoever. Occasionally this material is incorporated with regularly scheduled informational programs. Funding for Maori Television comes largely through *Te Mangai Paho,* with further support through the NZ on Air agency.

The Nordic Nations

Sami radio in the Nordic nations developed in part because the Sami peoples' campaigns for a voice of their own helped to convince top-level administrators of the national public broadcasting services in Norway and Finland in particular (Sweden was less supportive) that their demands were justified: Sami paid annual broadcast license fees just as did the majority population. Sami stations exist in all three countries as part of the national public service broadcaster, for example Norway's NRK-TV. In 1965, the stations began to operate as a transnational network in part because the Sami are spread across northern Finland, Sweden, Norway, and Russia, number less than 50,000, and fear the loss of their language, so the sharing of responsibility for programming made sense. A share of the broadcast license fees provides major support for the three stations.

The joint program schedule (about six hours per weekday, two on weekends with each station also providing programming for its own national population) offers a mix of information and entertainment, with several newscasts per day, various interview and discussion programs, occasional documentaries, and coverage of such events as meetings of the Sami Parliament. There is as yet no Sami television service, but since the early 1990s the radio stations have produced a number of TV documentaries each year, as well as a weekly children's television program, all of which are broadcast through Nordic PSB television services such as NRK-TV.

United Kingdom

As the South Asian and black populations of Britain pressed for greater rights and better working conditions in the 1970s, some of the newly authorized BBC and Independent Broadcasting Authority local radio stations began to offer programs produced by them. A network of sorts was created in 1989 when BBC local radio stations in Leicester and Birmingham, soon joined by BBC CWR (Coventry and Warwickshire), began to share such productions and to use the title "Asian Network." Proposals for a nationwide network led to the expansion of that network in 1996 and its carriage on the Sky satellite (and later on the Virgin and Fairview satellites as well as Digital Audio Broadcast, or DAB). Programming now includes news and public affairs, with a 30 minute weekday newscast and news inserts, and is produced primarily in London, Leicester, and Birmingham. Most of the material is in English, with several hours per day of programs in South Asian languages. The BBC also has an Afro-Caribbean-British 24-hour radio service, 1Xtra, based in Birmingham. It carries brief daily newscasts and a weekday two-hour news block (TXU), with some attention to blacks and their activities in the United Kingdom. It, too, is carried on several satellites as well as DAB.

United States

U.S. Native American radio stations first appeared when KYUK in Barrow, Alaska, made its debut in 1973. There was a considerable growth spurt through the early 1980s, fueled in part by civil rights protests and demands for self-representation

among Native Americans. By 2008 there were 33 Native American and Inuit radio stations, not including commercial or web-based services. English is the usual broadcast language, and only a few of the stations offer news and current affairs programming in the tribal languages. Although there was some exchange of taped material starting in the 1980s, nothing resembling a full-fledged network appeared until 1994, when American Indian Radio on Satellite (AIROS) was created. AIROS plays several important networking roles: as transmitter of several five minute newscasts per day, the one hour Monday through Friday call-in talk show *Native America Calling*, the radio magazine *AlterNative Voices*, and *Voices From the Circle*, a mixed news/music/current affairs/storytelling program. Funding comes primarily through government appropriations, including annual support by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB).

Native American television lacks a network service, but there are several sources of independent programs, many distributed through the Native American Public Telecommunications (NAPT) VisionMaker Video Service, established in 1997 and aired through public television stations. Most of the videos deal with current issues (for example, child abuse or alcoholism) and cultural life in Native American communities. In addition to CPB and other government funding, NAPT receives support through the Ford Foundation.

Radio Bilingue in Fresno, California, came on air as a community radio service in 1980, but gradually grew to become a six-station network with satellite transmission to several dozen more stations. It broadcasts in Spanish and in a few other Mexican and Central American languages such as Mixtec, as well as offering occasional programming in Hmong and in some South Pacific Islander languages. It provides a national newscast, *Noticiero Latino,* as well as a weekday call-in program, *Linea Abierta,* which covers topics of particular importance to Latinos, such as immigration reform.

Notable Commercial Minority Networks

Commercial ethnic/linguistic minority television networks that carry newscasts are uncommon, and most are in the United States. Where they do exist, substantial increases in the size of the relevant populations and availability of satellites led to the creation of these networks.

France

One of the few minority commercial radio networks outside the United States is Radio Beur, founded in 1990 to serve a largely North African Arab population in Paris which soon established outlets in several other French cities. In addition to providing a daily 30-minute newscast that uses some material from those outlets, the station has a one hour talk show, *Question de Tout,* on Saturdays and Sundays. Many of the topics deal with sensitive issues such as AIDS, the "correct" way to observe the holy month of Ramadan, and anti-Arab prejudice in France. Most broadcasts are in French and Arabic.

United Kingdom

When the BBC's monopoly on radio broadcasting was broken with the initiation of Independent Local Radio (ILR) commercial services in 1973, some of the ILR stations began to offer small segments of airtime to South Asian and Afro-Caribbean-British groups, sometimes on a group's request, sometimes on their own initiative. The BBC local radio stations had not been particularly active in that sphere, which provided the ILR stations with a way to distinguish themselves. However, a nationally distributed commercial Asian radio service did not emerge until 1991, when West London–based Sunrise Radio first aired on the Astra satellite. It offers informational material emphasizing South Asia life within the United Kingdom, and has a four person news staff as well as a number of stringers and other informants around the country, but does not have a regularly scheduled newscast. Instead, brief news inserts are included with some of the entertainment programs, especially the morning talk shows. At least one local station, Sunrise Radio Yorkshire, offers a local newscast.

United States

There are two U.S. black commercial radio networks. Radio One, founded in 1980 and based in Lanham, Maryland, owns 54 stations in 17 cities.

However, it does not provide national newscasts, nor do many of its local stations have newscasts. It provides a separate web service, Black America Web, which offers news and commentary emphasizing subject matter of particular interest to black audiences such as Barack Obama's 2008 presidential campaign. The American Urban Radio Networks (AURN) is a set of four differentiated outlets, and was created from the merger of the Sheridan Broadcasting Network and the Mutual Black Network in December 1991. AURN's Pinnacle and Renaissance Networks originate daily newscasts. Renaissance also offers a daily *White House Report*, a nightly talk show dealing with such issues as prostitution and child abuse, and a daily *Health Watch*. The third network, STRZ Weekend Entertainment, and the fourth network, Sheridan Gospel Network, do not originate news and public affairs programming.

The U.S. Black Entertainment Television network (BET) has been moderately successful financially, albeit primarily as a provider of light entertainment rather than news. From its inception in 1980 BET provided two minute news briefs embedded in the program *Video Soul* but did not initiate weekday newscasts (*Black Nightly News*) until 2001. It dropped these newscasts in 2005 in favor of "news briefs" throughout the day. TVOne, a black-owned cable and satellite network founded in 2004, does not offer newscasts, but does provide three weekly talk shows and brief news analyses. The Black Family Channel (BFC), founded in 1999 as MBC (Major Broadcasting Network), has struggled financially because of a relative lack of success in securing channels on local cable systems, and it dropped cable distribution entirely in mid-2007 in preparation for moving to broadband in 2008. BFC has not offered a newscast, but it has aired several informational programs dealing with health and personal finances, both of which are slated to reappear when BFC moves to broadband. A 24-hour all-news service, The Black Television News Channel, was announced in April 2008 for launch in 2009.

Univision Radio provides daily newscasts and talk shows to a 70 station network of Spanish language radio stations located in most of the major U.S. Latino population centers. The corporation did not offer a radio service until 2003, when it acquired the Hispanic Broadcasting Corporation. It has correspondents in many U.S. cities and in a number of Latin American capitals. Its two major rivals, the Latino Broadcasting Company, founded in 1996, and the Spanish Broadcasting System, founded in 1983, are less active in news and public affairs programs, but SBS began a 60-minute weekly network news program in May 2008.

Two U.S. Hispanic/Latino/Chicano TV networks offer 30-minute Spanish-language newscasts. Univision began as the Spanish International Network in 1962, and its rival Telemundo began network operations in 1987. A portion of each newscast covers events taking place within the United States, some of them involving Hispanic/Latino/Chicano events. Telemundo's commitment to newscasts decreased in 2006, when the network's owner, NBC, dropped local newscasts on six of Telemundo's principal affiliates in Texas, Arizona, and California, and replaced them with a regional newscast. Univision also provides a two-hour morning program along the lines of ABC's *Good Morning America* or NBC's *Today,* with news briefs every half hour, and a daily magazine show (*Primer Impacto*) containing newscasts. Documentaries are rare on both networks.

Programming

It is not always easy to differentiate between informational and entertainment programming where ethnic/linguistic minority networks are concerned. For example, many of these networks produce children's programs that are replete with informational material such as tribal history, vignettes of outstanding minority group members, histories of words and proverbs, and, in a few cases such as Australia's NIRS, brief newscasts produced specifically for young viewers. Where the more or less traditional information formats such as news, live coverage of major events, commentary, documentaries, interview-based shows, and talk shows are concerned, most networks offer examples of each. The manner of presentation of these programs, however, often differs from majority models in their slower pace, more respectful tone, and general absence of confrontational behavior.

Most network-originated newscasts include national and international news, particularly when the items contain material of specific interest to a given minority group, such as a U.S. Supreme

Court decision upholding the basic right of Native American tribes to establish casinos. They also are likely to contain items about local and regional events and activities, which often are reported by local minority stations or by stringers. Reporting about minorities done by minority networks generally tends to accent the positive; when negative items such as minority-committed crime are reported, often there will be material giving some minority context to the story, for example, explaining that a particular crime is also punishable under tribal law and perhaps detailing that punishment.

Interview-based programs also are a common feature of minority networks and often take the form of talk shows, where audience members will be encouraged to join in. As a rule, interviews are conducted in a spirit of respect rather than opposition, and callers are treated collegially rather than adverserially. In many of the indigenous cultures (Sami, Native American, Maori), there will be longer pauses between questions and answers than is usual with most majority services. This protracted silence is a sign of respect. Topics vary widely, but for many minority groups, health care, high incarceration rates, respect for and rights of women, proper child care, and minority political activities appear frequently. AIROS' *Native America Calling* has been particularly successful in generating discussion on such topics as family violence, casino and fishing rights, incarceration, health care, and assisting returning Native American veterans who suffer from posttraumatic stress syndrome.

Program-length discussion shows are relatively rare, but Maori TV's weekly program *Ask Your Auntie*, popular with Maori and *pakeha* ("whites") alike, illustrates the potential utility of such a format. Four Maori women of differing ages and backgrounds respond to viewers' inquiries, ranging from personal matters such as whether to date a pakeha to current issues in society such as how to deal with alcoholism among Maori. While much of what they cover could be regarded as advice, they also provide specific information about issues as well as where to obtain further information. The women move back and forth between speaking in Maori and in English, making the program more widely accessible. Native America Calling provides a daily forum for listener and "expert" discussion of such topics as Christianity's influence on U.S. Indian law and helping returning Native American combat veterans to readjust to civilian life. It regularly invites listeners to submit their own suggestions for topics.

Documentaries are fairly common in many minority TV network program schedules, and a few networks, notably Canada's APTN, carry them often. In APTN's case, many documentaries are produced by the aforementioned Native Communications Societies but also by independent ethnic minority producers in Canada and other countries, especially Australia, New Zealand, and countries in Latin America. Topics include those already listed for discussions, but also feature portrayals of "traditional" cultural activities such as woodworking or dancing and their present-day equivalents such as Maori song contests.

The production of cultural documentaries can be a sensitive matter, due to fear over the loss of local identity. That is a particularly delicate issue for certain forms of knowledge (usually religious or cultural) that may be seen as privileged, so that only certain individuals, families, and community groups (women, for example) are allowed to use and share them, while still retaining ownership. Some documentarians have developed codes of practice emphasizing the importance of sensitivity to such concerns. That includes the need for an interviewee to understand that, because many different kinds of audiences are likely to hear or view the program, and because those audiences may not understand the concept of story ownership, they may feel free to repeat what they hear and see without acknowledging ownership. Hosts of interview-based shows often observe the same caution.

Live coverage of events tends to emphasize minority cultural activities such as athletic, poetry, singing and other contests, but demonstrations, major political gatherings, and commemorations, particularly when they involve minorities, also receive attention. The funeral of the Maori queen late in 2006 drew continuous coverage from both Maori radio and TV, and was considered by Maori broadcasters as a major contribution to increasing a sense of national unity among the Maori tribes. National election campaigning and the tallying of votes also frequently attract minority network coverage, particularly where minorities are running for office.

There are associations for minority journalists in a number of countries, such as those for African

American, Asian American, Native American, and Hispanic/Latino/Chicano journalists in the United States; for Native American and Inuit journalists in Canada; for Maori journalists in New Zealand; and for Australian Indigenous journalists. These associations' annual meetings emphasize employment issues, usually with respect to mainstream broadcasting, but they also include discussion of ways to effectively and respectfully represent the cultural, political, and economic activities of the minorities they serve.

Networks and "Localism"

Ethnic and linguistic minorities appear to regard networks serving their communities as a mixed blessing. Those who feel that there is strength in numbers realize that having their own networks can increase minority and mainstream public awareness of minority grievances, problems, and accomplishments. These networks also make it easier to mobilize minority and majority public opinion around such pressing issues as high minority incarceration rates; chronic health problems; issues of land ownership; cultural, economic and educational achievements; and the importance of one's own language and religious practices.

Others worry about a possible loss of local identity, which in some ethnic and linguistic minority populations is connected with the unique language usage and cultural practices of a particular region. Broadcast networks, they fear, may lack the sensitivity to respond to these localized concerns. The centralized, top-down nature of most networks also may act to diminish the importance of local radio and television where such services exist. Networks' command of greater material resources, moreover, and their tendency to follow professional production practices, may make the local services appear amateurish.

Because some of the networks—Maori TV, Sami, Inuit, and Radio Waatea—broadcast largely or exclusively in an ethnic tongue, the homogenizing effect that such services can have on regional and local accents and word usage is also a matter of concern in terms of maintaining a sense of place and community. Further, a network news service often deals with a range of scientific, political, public health, and other issues, for example, AIDS and counterterrorism, thus requiring terms of reference that do not exist in many of the minority languages. While the users of some languages—Maori is a notable example—have been resourceful in creating linguistically appropriate terms using words from the native lexicon, others have taken the less labor-intensive approach of using the majority term or modifying it with their own language's prefixes and suffixes. This adaptation of the language can lead some to feel that the essence of the minority language is being compromised.

Changing Technology

As minority networks evolve, they become more adept at using new technologies such as the Internet and satellites to expand their reach and enhance their effectiveness. Where journalism is concerned, many minority media operations have yet to employ satellites in ways that will bring the voices and images of local populations into network-produced and -distributed news and public affairs programs. (Popular music is a very different story, and there are many MTV-like services such as Desi TV for South Asian viewers around the world.) However, there are some already-noted examples of such efforts, such as the AIROS satellite service's *Native America Calling,* APTN's *Contact,* Radio Bilingue's *Linea Abierta* and NIRS's *Let's Talk*. Because each of the host nations is vast and features indigenous populations that are widely scattered, the satellite is the only technology that enables real-time participation for a sizable share of the target audience. Satellites have also been crucial to the development of national audiences for the BBC Asian Network, Sunshine Radio, Radio Beur in France, and others. They even have made possible the development of mini-networks for specific groups, such as a three-station "network" (Little Saigon Radio) that offers daily newscasts containing items on Vietnamese American life from each of the stations.

Network websites increasingly feature interactivity. Australia's NIRS, for example, solicits contributions of news items from listeners through the Internet. The Internet and satellites also may hold the key to the creation of a long-awaited international network linking ethnic and linguistic minority broadcast services around the world. Sami Radio in Norway is coordinating the effort to involve as many groups as possible. It remains to

be seen what sorts of services minority networks may make available for users of iPods and similar mobile devices, although several of them, such as NIRS, are already offering podcasts and other downloadable audio and video material.

Notwithstanding the present and potential obstacles minority networks face—budgetary, but also the need to make themselves visible in a rapidly expanding media universe—they appear destined to grow in numbers and in reach thanks to the greater availability and affordability of newer communication technologies, satellites and the Internet in particular. As one example, the Latin American Indigenous Broadcast Network Red Quiechua Satelital uses a combination of e-mail, web radio, and satellite transmission to link 28 Quechua/Quichua language media services, which provide news and radio magazines to some 12 million of their speakers in Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru. Given the mountainous areas in which that population lives, it would have been impossible to develop a terrestrial network to reach it. Whether the possible loss of local dialects, privileged knowledge, or purity of language is offset by possible gains in the strengthening of the larger community through such networks is a question that can only by answered by those ethnic and linguistic minority communities that are directly affected by such developments.

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See also Development Journalism; Native American News Media; Special Interest Journalism Organizations

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EuroNews

EuroNews is a multilingual television news channel that strives to cover world events "from a European perspective." Founded on January 1, 1993, the Lyon, France–based EuroNews is broadcast in 121 countries, via terrestrial channels, cable, and digital satellite. It is operated by SOCEMIE, a company whose shareholders are comprised of 21 public service broadcasters from Europe and North Africa, and it receives regular subsidies from various pan-European institutions. EuroNews broadcasts simultaneously in eight languages (Arabic, English, French, German, Italian, Portuguese, Russian, and Spanish) and follows a "rolling news" format, with news headlines broadcast every half an hour. Its professed goal—to present primarily "European news" devoid of any national bias while employing an international staff of journalists who work with footage in large part provided by national broadcasters—has forced EuroNews to develop a different model of television journalism.

History

The idea of creating a genuinely pan-European television channel that would not be identified

with any country in particular but rather with "Europe" itself is considerably older than the EuroNews project. During the early 1980s, the European Community (the precursor to today's European Union) was in the midst of a series of wide-ranging transformations (e.g., addition of new members, elimination of passport controls between some members), and audiovisual policy was perceived as an important vehicle for a durable "European integration."

Against this background, the European Broadcasting Union (EBU, a federation of national public service broadcasters) created in 1982 an experimental closed-circuit television channel called Eurikon, which aired news, documentaries, and some entertainment programs. The experiment did not enjoy much success with audience panels due to its perceived inability to provide programming relevant to local communities while also somehow maintaining its pan-European mission. As a result, Eurikon was soon scrapped. In 1985, Europa TV began operating with the support of five European public service broadcasters. The channel was explicitly set up to reflect and contribute to an (ill-defined) "European culture." Simultaneous translations and subtitles were also provided to the highly heterogeneous European audience. While many of the innovations brought about by Europa TV were sound enough to be used later by EuroNews, this experiment in pan-European TV also soon failed due to policy and financial disagreements among the stakeholders. In 1993 the EBU tried its hand again at establishing a viable transnational, multilingual television channel that could provide "European news."

Ownership

The new channel was not spared the financial and administrative nightmares that then characterized not only Europe's various audiovisual policies but also its wider political and economic integration efforts. The saga of EuroNews' ownership aptly reflects the transformations pan-European institutions have experienced during the past two decades. The initial backers of the EuroNews project were 11 European public service broadcasters (all members of EBU) who pledged to provide some 55 percent of the channel's operating cost. The rest of the money was to be provided by advertisers, various pan-European bodies (such as the European Parliament) and the French city of Lyons, where EuroNews's headquarters were established. The channel was operated by SOCEMIE, a company currently owned by EuroNews's 11 founders, plus 10 other European and North African public broadcasters. (Confusingly enough, the broadcasters actually own SOCEMIE through an intermediary company, whose acronym is SECEMIE). SOCEMIE stands for "Société Opératrice de la Chaîne Européenne Multilingue d'Information EuroNews" ("The Operating Society of the European Multilingual Information Network EuroNews"), while SECEMIE stands for "Société Editrice de la Chaîne Européenne Multilingue d'Information EuroNews" ("The Editing Society of the European Multilingual Information Network EuroNews").

The first two years of EuroNews' operation were extremely difficult, as the channel constantly faced bankruptcy. The contributing national broadcasters were going through financial problems of their own, while some of the funds promised by the European Union and France failed to materialize. Thus, in 1995, the French company Alcatel Alsthom purchased 49 percent of EuroNews. The company guaranteed editorial freedom and attempted to turn the channel's financial situation around. Two years later, however, Alcatel sold its shares to the British news broadcaster ITN, who agreed to provide some of EuroNews's content and took over the company's management. ITN, too, would eventually tire of EuroNews and sell its participation back to SECEMIE. To make matters even more complicated, the ownership arrangements within SECEMIE itself have changed over time as well. Perhaps the most notable such change came in 2004, when Russian broadcaster VGTRK increased its EuroNews shares from less than two percent (acquired in 2001) to 16 percent. The other major shareholders within SECEMIE are public service broadcasters from France, Spain, and Italy. The most notable absentee on the shareholders list is Britain's BBC, which prefers to focus on operating its own 24-hour news channel. Various pan-European institutions continue to provide money to EuroNews, through direct subsidies (the EU contributes 5 million euro annually), and advertising deals.

Audience Reach and Content

According to EuroNews's own data, in 2007 the channel reached nearly 190 million households in 121 countries and its programming is viewed by 8 million people daily. Thirty-three national TV channels also broadcast some EuroNews content. The channel's main competitors are CNN International, BBC World, France 24, and DW-World. EuroNews employs close to 200 journalists representing various European countries and languages. All programming, whether by EuroNews' own staff or contributed by the partner national broadcasters, is translated into the seven languages (with Turkish a potential eighth). Because of this policy of multilingualism, EuroNews does not have screen presenters (since it would be impossible for them to speak in more than one language at a time), and relies on voice-over narration accompanying visual footage. The programming design is minimalist. News headlines appear every 30 minutes. Each current affairs story is 60 to 90 seconds long, and is repeated for several news cycles until it is changed to accommodate new information or is displaced by fresh news items.

Between the half-hour news cycles, EuroNews presents a variety of staple programming (such as *Economia, Europa, Sport, Meteo, Press Review, Markets,* and *Cinema*) and the occasional live broadcast of notable European events. The programming sometimes also includes a "Debates" segment, which features European decision-makers discussing newsworthy issues either with each other (predictably enough, in a debating format) or with members of the European media, civil society, or citizenry. In keeping with its pan-European mandate, EuroNews covers events and issues pertaining to the various European institutions in the "Pass" program. "Europeans" switches the perspective from institutions to "regular" European citizens. Finally, "No Comment" features the day's most striking footage devoid of any voice-over narration. All of these programs are transmitted over multimedia platforms, including asymmetric digital subscriber lines (also known as DSL), the Internet, personal digital assistants, and mobile phones.

Issues

EuroNews came into being as a result of the belief on the part of many decision-makers in various pan-European institutions that television is the most effective means of rallying a heterogeneous group of people (the "Europeans") around a common ("European") cultural identity. By distancing itself from a national point of view, EuroNews journalism was intended to prove that "Europeanness" is a feasible alternative to parochial, often conflict-prone, "national interests." The proven resilience of those "national interests," however, has caused EuroNews to "downgrade" its mission to a more manageable effort to "promote cultural diversity" and inform its audience on pan-European affairs. The channel's supporters have repeatedly pointed out that national broadcasters tend to avoid covering pan-European events (mainly due to the complexity of European law and administration and the lack of dramatic—and, thus, broadcast-worthy—European press conferences and committee meetings), making EuroNews virtually the only media outlet that devotes considerable efforts to understanding and explaining pan-European policies. Some EuroNews backers, notably those in France, often extend EuroNews's mandate to providing a counterbalance to American dominance of world and European news media markets.

EuroNews professes to be independent of pressure emanating from national and EU institutions. Due to its multinational and multilingual nature, it has embraced a policy of strict impartiality in all matters regarding conflicting national interests. In practice, however, absolute neutrality is extremely hard to implement on a daily basis, and EuroNews is walking a tightrope, perpetually fielding allegations of favoritism from one interest group or another. The most common charge leveled at the channel is that of being a "propaganda arm" of either the European Union (perceived by some as a huge politicoeconomic interest group that only caters to a small transnational elite) or of France (which hosts EuroNews and provides it with a significant amount of money and staff). Moreover, perhaps precisely because of its insistence on reporting "European affairs," EuroNews has been accused, since its inception, of producing a journalistic product that is tame, repetitive, and altogether boring.

Conclusion

More than a decade after it first aired, EuroNews remains an experiment in transnational television.

Unlike its main competitors, the pan-European channel maintains a highly diverse staff of journalists, broadcasts in a steadily increasing number of languages, and maintains tight, mutually beneficial connections with national public service and private broadcasters in dozens of countries in Europe and beyond. EuroNews's continued survival is by no means a foregone conclusion, however: in a European media market rapidly drifting toward American-style corporate consolidation, an ownership scheme as complicated—and unstable—as that of EuroNews is seen by many to be a significant liability.

Razvan Sibii

See also Al Jazeera; British Broadcasting Corporation; Cable News; Europe; *International Herald Tribune;* Public Television Journalism

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Europe

The European media are a hodgepodge of rapidly transforming institutions, journalistic styles, structures of ownership, and politicoeconomic priorities, born of centuries of conflicting values, traditions, rules, and ambitions. (This entry covers European countries other than France, Germany, Russia, and Scandinavia, which are treated elsewhere in this encyclopedia.) No viable analysis of "European" anything can be undertaken without some degree of generalization and categorization; the most useful theoretical distinction to make is that between "Western" and "Eastern" European societies. While this distinction is not without obvious problems (such as its tendency to operate as a self-fulfilling prophecy), it is relatively easy to justify, given the two regions' differing economic, political, and ideological coordinates for at least the past century.

Due to their prominent position in countries across Europe, national newspapers have always shaped their goals, standards, and practices in close alignment with the host country's politico-economic system. Since Western and Eastern European countries can be said to have run themselves according to different ideologies, their media also presented significant differences. On top of the East-West binary, this entry adds another, historical, duality: the cold war period between the end of World War II and about 1990 versus the more recent era.

Transition From Cold War Media

In the period between World War II and 1990, the two halves of Europe were locked in an ideological conflict, pitting Western Europe's liberal democratic system against Eastern Europe's Communist/popular democratic system. At least theoretically, Western European countries believed in a democratic system based on freedom of speech. Journalists were not only allowed to speak their mind, but were expected to play a societal "watchdog" role, investigating potential wrongdoing by those in power. Economic power (such as ownership of a newspaper) was not supposed to be concentrated in the hands of those who already possessed political power, and the economy was, in large measure, market-based, thus encouraging competition among product/service providers (such as newspaper publishers).

By contrast, Eastern Europe's domination by the Soviet Union led to the complete subordination of the media and other forms of cultural production to the interests of the political elite. The journalists' priority, therefore, was not to be "objective," but rather "educative," meaning they were responsible for communicating to the citizens the decisions reached by the leaders, and for rallying the

populace around various "national objectives" (such as producing more iron in the next five years, or increasing the country's population). Unlike in the West, where the media were mostly privately owned and lived off advertising revenue, in the Communist East all media were owned by the state, which appointed editors and directors, and subsidized newspapers and television stations. During the cold war period, therefore, Eastern and Western European media differed drastically in ownership patterns, perceived societal roles, and day-to-day journalistic practices.

The last months of 1989 saw monumental changes in Eastern Europe, as the Communist regimes toppled one after the other. The breakdown of the political establishment had multiple repercussions: the dictatorial Communist parties gave way to a myriad of parties competing for citizen votes, and state assets such as factories and newspapers were privatized. Communist ideology was officially denounced as both tyrannical and inefficient, and was replaced with a "wild" version of liberalism and capitalism that was also quickly denounced by many in Europe. The predictable vacuum in the political and economic arenas was filled by unsavory characters—in many cases former Communist decision-makers who had "reinvented" themselves into seeming businessmen and patriots. The media industry was not spared from these transformations. A large variety of privately owned newspapers and television stations mushroomed in every Eastern European country, and quickly became a battleground for competing economic, political, and ideological interests. In many cases, entities associated with the reformed Communist Party (now usually called the Social-Democrat or Socialist Party) owned a newspaper that espoused left-wing ideology (such as the Bulgarian *Duma*), while the opposition forces controlled a corresponding publication (in the Bulgarian case, the *Demokracia* newspaper linked to the Union of Democratic Forces). Toward the mid-1990s, large international corporations began investing in Eastern European media, achieving, in many cases, near dominance of the local market while also introducing new journalistic standards. The Eastern European media had traveled a long way to a chaotic yet immensely popular mix of "professionalism" (i.e., striving to abide by the Western media standards of "objectivity" and "freedom of speech") and "hitman journalism" (i.e., selling its influential voice to the highest bidder).

Although they did not experience the powerful earthquakes that shook Eastern Europe's political and economic establishments in the late 1980s, Western European countries did go through and accelerated integration of states into the powerful politicoeconomic European Community (later the European Union). The 1980s saw the addition of three of Western Europe's poorest countries—Greece, Spain, and Portugal—to the nine-strong EC membership. The shift from manufacturing to service economies required the liberalization of national telecommunication systems. The Irish Broadcasting Act of 1988, for example, ended state-owned RTE's legal monopoly over the radio market in that country, and encouraged competition from other broadcasters. In Italy, the newspaper industry flourished due to developments in advertising and marketing, reaching a daily press circulation of 7 million copies in 1989. Deregulation, liberalization, and diversification made up the new economic creed of "neoliberalism" that was sweeping Western Europe into the 1990s.

Ownership

Since the 1990s, Eastern European media have adopted many characteristics of the Western media model, making it possible to speak of a "European" media, with distinctions for individual countries rather than for regional blocs. Both Eastern and Western European media industries, for example, are based on the competitive market model, with various outlets fighting for audience and advertising shares. The European electronic landscape is characterized by a mixture of public service and private broadcasters, albeit with significant country differences. (The Norwegian public service broadcaster NRK, for example, is a major player, while in Greece, the public Hellenic Broadcasting Corporation has been badly affected by private television.) While virtually no European state has been able—or willing—to maintain a media monopoly, private near-monopolies have emerged throughout the continent, as international corporations have purchased popular media outlets, including the newly privatized or newly established Eastern European newspapers and television channels. Perhaps the most famous such media empire

in Europe belongs to Silvio Berlusconi, one of Italy's richest people and two-time Prime Minister, whose television holdings have a conservatively estimated national audience share of 40 percent. (Berlusconi also controls the AC Milan soccer club, dozens of magazines, several national newspapers, a film distribution network, and various publishing and advertising companies, as well as Spain's Telecinco TV station). Other European media empires include Bertelsmann AG, whose subsidiary RTL Group is Europe's largest broadcaster with broadcast channels in ten countries; Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation, which dominates the British television and newspaper market, and is also involved in broadcasting in eight European countries; and the U.S. company Central European Media Enterprises, which has broadcast holdings in six countries. Ownership concentration in the media industry has had many direct and indirect consequences for Europe's economies (where media corporations are major taxpayers and employers), political landscapes (where power and influence are often proportionate to one's ability to get one's message into the media), and ideological battlefields (as television is perceived to be one of the main shapers and carriers of national identity).

Policy

All European states recognize that news media play a special role in a democratic society: while the vast majority of media outlets are commercial and therefore have a legitimate interest in making money, as a whole, the democratic press must provide people with accurate, timely, and relevant information. In order to safeguard this process, each European state has put into place a system of media accountability. Most countries have rules—some more "official" than others—about television portrayals of violence and sex, and all regulate advertising on TV. (Sweden bans all forms of advertising directed at children.) Another area susceptible to controls is ownership, as some European states have passed laws trying to prevent (often unsuccessfully) corporations from establishing monopoly-like dominance of a country's media industry. Everywhere on the continent, however, those who would impose strict controls on the media are battling not only individuals and organizations dedicated to maximizing freedom of speech in their society, but also the profit-seeking media industry, which is often under the protection of powerful political forces.

European mechanisms of media accountability vary from country to country. While virtually all states have some kind of media laws (albeit, in some cases, those laws are minimal or are seldom enforced), some states have set up either government-controlled (Estonia) or autonomous institutions (Denmark) which have media regulation responsibilities. The duties and prerogatives of these institutions range from simply monitoring the national media landscape, to enforcing media laws by issuing warnings to transgressors, instituting fines, and even revoking a private broadcaster's license. Other (mostly nongovernmental) bodies designed to hold the media accountable on behalf of media audiences are review boards (Ireland), ombudsman (Sweden), industry-consumer councils that meet regularly (Denmark), and self-regulatory institutions built by the media industry itself (the Netherlands, Belgium). There is no consensus on which system serves the citizens the best; many media activists simply focus on making sure that whatever media rules do exist in a country are actually observed by everybody involved: government agencies, media companies, consumer and professional organizations, labor unions, and so forth. (Italy and Greece are two notorious examples of theoretically decent accountability systems that are seldom properly enforced.)

Emergence of pan-European institutions has constituted a strong impetus toward the harmonization of national accountability and regulation systems. The 1989 "Television without Frontiers" European directive provides television channels broadcasting on the continent with a general framework of responsibilities. The directive goals are "to ensure the free movement of broadcasting services within the internal [European] market and at the same time to preserve certain public interest objectives, such as cultural diversity, the right of reply, consumer protection and the protection of minors." In the early 2000s, however, the European Union did not have the institutional muscle to enforce these requirements in its member countries. What the EU can provide, however, is various official avenues for petition and redress to all *consumers* who take legal action against a product

or service provider (such as a broadcaster). EU citizens, thus, have the right to petition the European Parliament, to complain officially to the European Commission, and to make claims to the Court of Justice and the Court of Human Rights.

Media Systems Variations

As mentioned, the European media systems vary considerably in terms of their structure, business and editorial models, and relationship with their audiences. Nevertheless, perhaps the most important of pan-European trends is the concentration of media ownership in the hands of fewer and fewer corporations. Within this trend, the most relevant distinction for media analysts concerns the national identity of the owner. In countries such as the Czech Republic and Hungary, most of the media, print and broadcast alike, are owned by foreign companies (Switzerland's *Ringier* and Germany's *Bertelsmann* are major players). On the other side of the spectrum, in countries such as Greece, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Slovenia, media outlets are mostly owned by local companies, with little financial involvement from foreign institutions. There are several countries, however, such as Poland and Spain, whose national media systems sport an eclectic mix of national and foreign media owners.

The picture is considerably more muddled when it comes to the national print media, as virtually every individual newspaper and magazine market features some unique characteristics. Some national markets are dominated by one newspaper, as is the case with Austria, where *Neue Kronen-Zeitung* accounts for 43 percent of all newspaper circulation. Other markets are a genuine battlefield for several daily newspapers (as is the case of Hungary, which has twelve national dailies fighting for a piece of the pie). In Greece and the Czech Republic, the main newspapers are aligned with various political-ideological camps. In the Netherlands, on the other hand, newspapers which maintain a neutral tone of reporting have recently been gaining ground to the detriment of partisan newspapers. Spain possesses a strong regional press, while its neighbor, Portugal, has a weak regional press. Tabloids have considerable audiences in the Czech Republic, but are not widely read in Italy. Due to a peculiar system of taxation, British newspapers are cheaper in Ireland than Irish newspapers and enjoy significant popularity.

Conclusion

In keeping with their different historical traditions, the countries of Europe have significantly different media systems. Some countries have moved to liberalize their national media market, while others have clung until recently to state monopolies, particularly in broadcasting. The degree to which states have regulated their media varies considerably, as do their accountability systems. The drive to harmonize and integrate their systems, however, was picking up at the beginning of the twenty-first century, in large measure due to the centripetal effect of the European Union and other pan-European institutions, and a growing fear of the influence that American culture—carried to Europe by highly popular American broadcasting programming—is thought to have on the social and ideological make-up of the continent. The rapid development of multimedia platforms is also contributing to the integration of various formerly "national" media outlets, which have increasingly found it necessary to establish partnerships with each other. In an age of informational revolution and globalization, the media in the countries of "both Europes" are nowhere close to settling into a pattern, be it economic, institutional, or ideological.

Razvan Sibii

See also British Broadcasting Corporation; Comparative Models of Journalism; Digital Media Europe; EuroNews; France; Germany; Globalization, Coverage of; Media Accountability Systems; Media Ownership; Public Television Journalism; Russian Federation; Scandinavia

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Evening News, Television

World War II was raging when, by some lights, the age of network evening television newscasts haltingly got under way. In April 1944 an NBC series of short war-news programs, already tried out briefly on New York City viewers, shifted to a three-city network (New York City; Schenectady, New York; and Philadelphia) and began providing a quarter-hour of information "regularly" but on a frequently shifting schedule. These reports were mere snippets of news by modern standards but could later be seen as a milestone in broadcast journalism as television began developing into the dominant cultural medium it would become.

Over the next two decades, television news from the "Big Three" networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC) would coalesce into a daily wave of information reports surging across the United States. On couches or at dinner tables, tens of millions of Americans from the late 1950s forward would turn each evening toward their receivers to learn of what had happened to whom and where. Even as television stimulated national discussions of domestic issues raised by comedy shows and dramas, the architects of the networks' evening newscasts would lure viewers to consume common images and narratives of national and world affairs.

Roots

Newscasts are not definitive reports, only rough summaries of daily developments likely to affect or at least interest large numbers of people. CBS anchorman Walter Cronkite and other leading journalists have characterized these programs as providing a "headline service" abstracting world and national developments that viewers can explore more deeply elsewhere, especially in newspapers (and more recently on cable channels and the Internet). The newscasts present news constructed around topics and in styles meant to reflect the problems and interests of "ordinary people." Topics come to the attention of news organizations in public ways—in rallies, releases of surveys, crime waves, and shopping stampedes—or less conspicuously through editors' intuitions and the networks' audience research. However producers defined their raw materials, the American "dinnertime" television programs emerging in the years following World War II came to wield unique power to attract national audiences to news and to help determine the agenda for public consideration of important issues.

The slow birth of network evening newscasts provided few indicators of a future of national influence. By the early 1940s, CBS and NBC were managing to televise special news events to very limited audiences. The pioneering NBC program launched in 1944 and aptly named *The War as It Happens* could be seen (by those few owning receivers) only in New York City and in two other communities electronically linked by NBC: Schenectady, New York, and Philadelphia. This three-city "network" reached only hundreds of television sets. A mass audience for TV news would take years to build, depending on development of hundreds of affiliated stations that could deliver programs around the country.

Radio had helped to demonstrate that a truly national audience for television was a future (if distant) certainty. Even before Japan's December 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor drew the United States into a widened war, the voices of CBS reporter Edward R. Murrow, his corps of "Murrow boys," and other unseen radio journalists brought home to Americans the drama, gravity, and damage of the growing conflict. Film of the great drama also played in newsreels on theater screens across the country, bringing even rural Americans glimpses of international conflict accompanied by ominous narration, dramatic music and aerial views of bombs dropping. Newsreels intensified emotions across the home front as only vivid moving pictures could.

The success of radio and newsreels stimulated network interest in covering news visually on a regular basis. But such development would have to wait because the war diverted industrial resources to the military effort and virtually shut down television's development. No network could yet employ enough trained journalists to cover the world for television, with its tough technical and logistical demands, and, moreover, the audience was not yet large enough to warrant the expense. Nor were the networks always sure of what to do with the few news programs they created. NBC's *The War as It Happens* appeared only once a week, with constantly changing broadcast times and days.

The narrator or announcer of these earliest evening newscasts—the term *anchor* had not yet arrived—had few dramatic images to support his words until newsreel producers and the government began providing film to the program. Even then, based on radio experience, the temptation was to fill the screen with "talking heads," one-time radio newscasters simply reading the news as they might have done for radio. But some of these performers were awkward on camera and less compelling than when merely heard.

Technology also lagged behind journalistic ambitions: Film of important but distant news had to be shipped or carried to New York, so important stories often aired two or three days "late." Newscasts typically were shot live in the studios and included simple graphics and photos placed on easels. Viewers who could afford costly sets did begin to follow news on television, but only a few thousand sets were in use when the war ended in 1945. Besides New York's three TV stations, only six more in Chicago, Los Angeles, and the Northeast were on the air. Sales of television sets were unlikely to skyrocket until more stations—outlets for network as well as local news—sprouted across the land. In the meantime, building on the model radio had created, selling time to advertisers grew as the financial lifeline for all programming, including television newscasts.

Events that drew national attention, such as the funeral of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in April 1945, continued to assemble most people around their radios. Television promised a startlingly different experience, its visuals adding a visceral punch to the sound radio used to project its news stories. Indeed, even before wide-ranging, heavily staffed newscasts could be launched, the new medium was putting newsmakers on the air and pumping their pictures into people's living rooms. The balance of stories was routinely limited by the visuals available, but news deemed important enough made air even if only film of a news conference, a still photograph, or a "talking head" interview was available. During the 1940s, the main attraction to viewers was the novelty of having moving images in the home—if one owned a TV set to receive them.

Postwar prosperity and expansion supported a population explosion, a boom in local-station licensing and, not incidentally, an upsurge in consumption of all goods and services by growing families. NBC continued airing its evening newscasts once or twice a week, and CBS, ABC, and even the short-lived DuMont network (1945–55) made forays into frequent or regular newscasts—but not every weeknight. The networks mostly kept their newscasts away from "prime time" (after 8 p.m.), when entertainment shows could draw big audiences and high advertising revenue. Most evening newscasts got on and off the air by 7:30 p.m., although NBC experimented through the 1940s with newscasts that were broadcast up until shortly after 9 p.m.

Growing audiences and advertising revenue fueled this experimentation, and this was the age of the single sponsor: NBC was noted for naming its early Monday-through-Friday newscasts after Camel cigarettes; less well known is that in 1946 the network had begun showing a filmed report called *The Esso Newsreel,* sponsored by the oil company, three nights a week. Sometimes the fledgling network news operations were selling advertisers more than commercial slots and naming rights; a sponsor's contributions to the bottom line were often granted in return for some influence over how the program looked, who appeared in it, and even what news it covered.

Acceleration

In 1948, the three national networks made dramatic moves to install their newscasts in U.S. homes on a nightly basis. In February NBC launched a five-weeknight newscast that at first was named *Camel Newsreel Theatre,* after its sponsoring cigarette company, and later was recast as *Camel News Caravan.* A similar program from

NBC's main rival, *The CBS-TV News,* went on the air in April. These two oldest networks learned much about putting news on the air from covering that year's national political conventions. ABC, the youngest network and last to gain multiple-city status, began broadcasting its *News and Views* six nights a week in August.

It also was in 1948 that a new kind of television star began to appear via the newscasts. Even as comedian Milton Berle's arrival was stoking NBC's entertainment profits, its newsreaders were being introduced as "anchors." (The metaphor reportedly referred not to a dead weight under a boat but to the last-lap runner crucial to a relay team.) The anchor would start every newscast, frame its stories, and wrap it up at the end. Former news narrator John Cameron Swayze (anointed by his sponsor, Reynolds tobacco) moved in front of the NBC cameras. New York local-news front man and radio announcer Douglas Edwards took over the CBS newscast, of which he would remain anchor for more than a dozen years, during which it became *Douglas Edwards with the News*. The team of Jim Gibbons and H. R. Baukhage was named to handle *Issues and Answers,* ABC's nightly news entry. Each of these ran for 15 minutes nightly.

By April 1950, more than a hundred television stations were delivering television shows to 5 million sets—and more than 8 million receivers were in use by October. NBC was setting up affiliates in the Midwest and West, with CBS lagging behind and ABC a distant third; through their affiliates, programming by all three would penetrate more major cities over the next decade. Amid domestic growth and relative global peace (save for the Korean conflict of 1950–53), the decade of the 1950s witnessed the development of network television news.

Big events and trends helped make this development happen. The national political conventions of 1948 had been televised, but only to audiences in the few networked (Eastern) cities—and with *Life* magazine sponsoring NBC's news work and directing some of it. As the 1952 conventions approached, however, the networks were ready for all-out coverage, having extended their reach to nearly 40 states. Politicians vying for coverage at the conventions rushed to the cameras in moments of high drama and controversy, and the result was a powerful, weeks-long national story.

Television began to mint major journalism stars during this time. The 1952 conventions helped establish the on-screen reputation of 45-year-old Walter Cronkite, one-time reporter for the United Press. His solid, take-charge leadership in CBS's convention booth made him nationally known. The 1950s also witnessed some of the most spectacular achievements of CBS journalist Edward R. Murrow. He reported and fronted documentaries and "specials" that touched nerves and consciences, exposing abuses including those of Communist-hunting Senator Joseph McCarthy. The work of journalists such as Cronkite and Murrow, seen night after night in the networks' evening newscasts, further elevated interest in and respect for television reporting.

On the strength of their success leading coverage of the 1956 political conventions, newsmen Chet Huntley, then 44, and 36-year-old David Brinkley became co-anchors of *NBC Nightly News*. This single move stoked a competition that demonstrated network television newscasts as a rapidly growing phenomenon. *The CBS Evening News* succeeded that network's existing program in 1962, and the following year found Cronkite replacing Douglas Edwards as anchor.

Network news decisions were driven in part by their advertisers, but mostly by their growing number of affiliate stations. A typical local station was owned independently but was contractually "affiliated" with one of the three networks. Such an arrangement exposed local viewers to the network's entertainment and newscasts while the station gained the prestige of carrying the network's entertainment and news programs as well as a little time for local ads within the national evening newscasts. This helped stations, but sometimes not enough; network newscasts often were less popular among local viewers than its stations' local reports were, so network news didn't add much to their drawing power. Still, thanks to its prime-time entertainment, the affiliated network was what distinguished a station, so the networks' newscasts aired everywhere and their logos (NBC's multicolored peacock, CBS's eye) appeared in stations' promotions and signs.

Power rising

On September 2, 1963, CBS expanded its evening newscast to 30 minutes, a statement of optimism

for the role of evening newscasts in American homes. A week later, NBC also expanded its evening program to half an hour. (Financially weaker ABC wouldn't switch to 30-minute newscasts until January 1967.) With the expansion of program time, network newscasts were also maturing, and none too soon, given that the 1960s threatened to overwhelm broadcast journalists with big stories to cover. These stories included the November 1963 assassination of President John F. Kennedy, whose death Cronkite broke into regular programming to announce, with visible emotion. African Americans increasingly demanded equal rights as the tumultuous civil rights movement took hold, prompted and aided by television coverage. The 1968 assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. led to days of urban riots vividly covered by network news.

Increasingly, these domestic events played out against the chaotic background of the 1959–75 Vietnam War, which would kill more than 58,000 U.S. troops and perhaps more than 2 million Vietnamese. Every year, as politicians' ability either to win or shut down the war slowly slipped away, thousands of war protesters poured onto American campuses (fueled by the draft) and streets. Evening newscasts brought all of this home, literally, and Cronkite returned from a war-zone tour in early 1968 to tell his audience—one of every five TV households in the country—that it was "more certain than ever that the bloody experience of Vietnam is to end in a stalemate." President Lyndon Johnson (1963–69) memorably exclaimed that if he'd lost Cronkite he'd lost Middle America and he soon resigned. By war's end in 1975, a decade and a half of wrenching quandaries and pain had divided Americans along many fault lines, even as it united most of them around "the tube" at news time every evening.

A Very Big Story

Newscast producers sometimes have chosen saturation coverage of the day's "top" story, downgrading other topics. (Usual motivators: available visuals and the freshest information.) In spring of 1972, President Nixon was headed for a second term despite the roiling Watergate scandal and the lethal persistence of the Vietnam War. Which ongoing story should dominate a newscast? On Thursday, May 11, 1972, ABC's evening news rundown looked like this:

1. *Vietnam/Blockade—Mines:* Lethal mines airdropped by U.S. aircraft are keeping war-supply ships out of North Vietnam's harbors. (30 seconds used for anchor voice-over)
2. *Vietnam/Blockade—Russian reaction:*
   - The Soviet Union, defending its ally North Vietnam, denounces U.S. blockade;
   - Russian delegation visits United States despite fears that mine blockade would endanger upcoming summit talks in Moscow. (3 minutes 20 seconds, filmed stories from two field reporters)

(*Commercials*)

3. *Vietnam/Blockade—North Vietnam reaction:*
   - French report says North Vietnamese are preparing to clear U.S. mines from ports;
   - U.S. ships will warn vessels of harbor mines; defense secretary vows to keep supplies out of enemy hands. (1 minute 50 seconds, anchor report and filmed story from field reporter)
4. *Vietnam/United States bombing:* North Vietnam claims U.S. planes have struck civilian areas; film shows alleged destruction of schools and hospitals hit by U.S. bombs. (1 minute 30 seconds, anchor summary and filmed story from field reporter)
5. *Vietnam/Blockade—Chinese reaction:* Communist China denounces U.S. moves to sever water and land routes to North Vietnam. (30 seconds, anchor summary)

(Continued)

(Continued)

(*Commercials*)

6. *Vietnam/Blockade—Student reaction:* 500 arrests reported as protests against new U.S. Vietnam policy continue; demonstrators chain selves to seats at United Nations; protesters crowd Capitol steps; lawmakers oppose Nixon policy, other lawmakers support it. (2 minutes 30 seconds, anchor report and filmed story from field reporter)

(*Commercials*)

7. *Vietnam/Casualties:* 19 U.S. combat deaths reported for week in Vietnam. (30 seconds, anchor summary)
8. *Vietnam/Offensive:*
   - One highway now is known as "slaughter alley"; U.S. planes bomb positions of North Vietnamese attacking U.S. troops;
   - Defense Department film shows North Vietnam trucks being shot at night by U.S. planes;
   - Big Communist attack on Hue expected on Ho Chi Minh's birthday, the day before Nixon trip to Russia;
   - Enemy already infiltrating area around Hue; 100 killed trying to blow up a base; North Vietna mines roads. (4 minutes 40 seconds, 3 filmed stories from field and one anchor summary)

(*Commercials*)

9. *Chicago 7:* Court overturns sentences of radicals charged after demonstrations at 1968 Democratic national convention. (40 seconds, anchor voice-over)
10. *Idaho mine fire:* 14 more bodies recovered after fire; death toll is 65; 26 still missing. (10 seconds, anchor summary)
11. *Army headquarters bombed in Germany:* Five bombs kill U.S. colonel; believed to be protest of U.S. Vietnam policy. (20 seconds, anchor voice-over)
12. *Alaskan oil line:* Interior secretary to authorize 800-mile oil pipeline across Alaska; project stalled by environmentalists' court action. (20 seconds, anchor summary)
13. *Minimum wage:* House approves raising minimum wage to $2 per hour; lower rates set for teens and farm workers. (20 seconds, anchor summary)
14. *Willie Mays:*
   - Baseball star just traded at age 41 by Giants to New York Mets; moved with Giants from New York to San Francisco in 1967;
   - Mets chairman says trade will succeed financially, but purpose was to get help on the field for Giants. (2 minutes, anchor voice-over and reporter field story)

(*Commercials*)

15. *Commentary—Vietnam War:* Says war is drawing to close; protests idea that North Vietnam is winning because it is superior society; attributes success to terror tactics. (1 minute 40 seconds for studio commentary by co-anchor)

News in a Newer Age

On Thursday, May 10, 2007—almost exactly 25 years after the newscast profiled earlier—the same network presented a very different sort of evening roundup. Again the United States was locked in a long-lasting war, this time with Iraq; but war did not dominate the entire newscast, or even lead it, as ABC summarized the news day:

1. *Drug fraud:* Drug company's admission it lied about addictiveness while promoting pain-killer Oxycontin draws closer investigative look; users comment on drug habits; coverage of company's expressed attitude, details of legal penalties. (2 minutes 50 seconds, anchor introduction and reporter in studio)
2. *Iraq war/funding compromise:*
   - Political debate examined; details of House funding bill; pro & con interviews on bill's prospective passage.
   - Discussion of President Bush's strategy, role of general's earlier report on Iraq situation.
   - Army will send more mine-resistant, ambush-protected combat vehicles to Iraq. (4 minutes 40 seconds; field report, anchor/Washington bureau chief discussion, brief anchor report)
3. *Britain/Blair:* British Prime Minister Tony Blair to step down June 27; details of his earlier reaction to death of Princes s Diana; British view of Blair role in Iraq war. (1 minute 50 second, field report)

(*Commercials*)

4. *Retail sales:* Report on weak retail sales nationally and on the stock market. (20 seconds, anchor summary)
5. *Starbucks:* Company's cultural role and insights into American psyche; details of U.S./world proliferation of Starbucks stores. (3 minutes 10 seconds, field report)

(*Commercials*)

6. *Wildfires:* Updates on Florida & Georgia fires. (20 seconds, anchor voice-over)
7. *Flooding:* Update on Midwest flooding of Missouri River, damage. (20 seconds, anchor voice-over)
8. *Basketball/Fisher:* Profile of pro basketball star Derek Fisher and family, including baby with eye cancer. (1 minute 50 seconds, field report)
9. *Auto racing/Earnhardt:* Report that NASCAR driver Dale Earnhardt Jr., has announced he is leaving team-racing team owned by his stepmother. (10 seconds, anchor summary)

(*Commercials*)

10. *Mother's Day/kiwi bird:* Feature on pregnant kiwi in National Zoo; X-ray of huge egg inside small bird. (2 minutes 20 seconds, field report)

Source: Newscast summaries courtesy of Vanderbilt Television News Archive, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee.

Even in the 1960s and 1970s, when robust political and social upheaval gave network newscasts virtually a clear field to cultural power, audiences inevitably grew restless. With ad revenues of millions of dollars a year depending on the success of newscasts, networks responded partly by tinkering with the "look" and casting of the evening programs. It had long been established that anchors were crucial to the success of a newscast; after all, viewers who watched the news every night were inviting the same personalities into their home nightly as well. President Kennedy's assassination and state funeral in 1963 had made clear how crucial the emotional connections between anchors and viewers could be in grave national moments. What was not certain was whether a single formula for strong anchor selection could be found.

In 1969 ABC put in a dual anchor team (Frank Reynolds and Howard K. Smith) and in 1975 bumped it up to three anchors (Reynolds, Max Robinson—the first African American network news anchor—and Peter Jennings) broadcasting live from three major cities (Washington, D.C., Chicago, and London, respectively); and, in 1978, having earlier wooed Barbara Walters from NBC (for a first-ever million-dollar salary), added her as a contributor to the newscast. At NBC, Chet Huntley's retirement was followed by a multi-anchor phase and then the 1971 arrival of John Chancellor at the helm of *NBC Nightly News*.

Changing the Game

Some of the most significant changes on the evening news programs came not from anchor shuffles or format redesigns, but from one canny television producer's bright idea. Don Hewitt had been on Edward R. Murrow's CBS team producing the history-making documentary series *See It Now* in the 1950s. In the late 1960s Hewitt sold executives on something new: an hour-long weekly news magazine show that would cover only a few stories per broadcast, but in great depth. Mike Wallace and Harry Reasoner anchored the 1968 debut of *60 Minutes,* and its time slot varied until the program settled in at 7 p.m. Sundays in 1975. It became the highest-rated program in all of television, making a lot of money on the highest-rated viewing night of the week. No news program had ever done that, and this development put a gleam of fresh hope in the eyes of network executives—while at the same time demonstrating to network officials that news could make money. Soon the networks were requiring their news divisions to make money routinely, on evening newscasts and other news programming. This seemed better than losing money routinely, as in the public service–oriented years when competition for newscast audiences and advertising dollars had been much less intense. The news units responded with new programs including more "magazine" shows in prime time, and with large-scale breaking-news coverage that showed the unique power of experienced network teams. The latter factor could "drive" viewers toward a particular evening newscast, no matter when news broke.

William Wheatley was producer of *NBC Nightly News with Tom Brokaw* in January 1986 when the *Challenger* space shuttle blew up right after launch, killing seven astronauts. The network interrupted regular programming in order to cover the disaster. "We started with an advantage," Wheatley later recalled in an interview with the author, "because Brokaw had closely followed the space program and so had several of our other correspondents. We were first to cover the story, and later we were first to report the suspected cause of the explosion . . . we were all over that story, it was really important news, and soon after that we went to first place [in the ratings]."

Wheatley said having expert journalists available to guarantee strong reporting in the opening hard-news minutes of a newscast often gave him time to focus on the softer "back" of the show, where a producer could choose among a wide field of stories. Through much of the 1980s, at least two of every three U.S. television viewers reportedly watched one of the three big-budget evening newscasts every night. Every small judgment could be important, however, because competition—not just among network newscasts, but from their new rivals—was growing.

Technology and ingenuity were at the core of that widening of viewer choices. Networks already paid to develop and then showcase the use of satellites to relay reports from around the globe. They also had pioneered high-tech news graphics that aided storytelling. But in 1980, well-funded innovator Ted Turner and his Cable News Network (CNN) began providing escape from the

"appointment viewing" of network news by filling a 24-hour schedule with various types of news and features. Busy viewers could use videotape to switch their television consumption away from the dinner hour—and thus away from the network newscasts. CNN as well as other cable news channels could be viewed not just at home but, in the years ahead, also at the office, gym, or other venues. Added to this was the appeal of local newscasts on network-affiliated stations, which in some large cities rolled like a train through late afternoon and early evening, carrying world and national, as well as local news. Meanwhile, independent stations and even affiliates could ignore networks' video "feeds" and then compete with them by acquiring news material from CNN and other sources.

In the 1980s, new owners of the three networks pushed network news hard toward standard business models, which tended to mean getting more done with fewer dollars and personnel. Major layoffs and buyouts resulted, as did shutdowns of most foreign bureaus (the networks relied on the Associated Press and reporters from other media).

These actions tended to weaken all network news programs, especially the flagship newscasts. For decades, most TV viewers had relied almost exclusively on those programs for national and world news. Now these newscasts sometimes lost competitive luster, as when, during the 1990–91 Gulf War, a CNN correspondent stayed in Iraq as other Western journalists left and wound up sending exclusive reports from Baghdad.

The Nineties brought other trends to network news: dramas around celebrities, including the murder trial of ex-football star O. J. Simpson, sometimes crowded out more substantive coverage. Network newscasts made room for "news you can use," light features and even interesting local crime cases as producers sought to keep fidgety viewers from tuning out. But many did so—some of them particularly attracted by a powerful new medium called the Internet, which was winning over younger viewers before they could form networking news viewing habits.

Prospects

Early in the twenty-first century, network newscasts occupy a greatly reduced position compared with their brightest days in the 1970s. Evening news still enjoys the loyalty of tens of millions of viewers—enough to keep bringing in strong advertising revenues. However, the Project for Excellence in Journalism reported that the audience had slipped from 26 million in 2006 to only 23 million in 2007—shrinking by more than ten percent in a single year. Moreover, by 2007 the average age of those remaining loyal viewers was about 61.

A 2008 survey by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press found most (72 percent) national journalists predicted that network evening newscasts would disappear within 20 years. More than half of that group believed the newscast era would end in half that time. Some of society's most avid news-seekers were less than half the age of typical newscast viewers and saw little reason not to move on.

The Project for Excellence in Journalism has characterized the trend toward acquisition of news from the Internet as threatening "old" media in general: "News is shifting from being a product—today's newspaper, website or newscast—to becoming a service—how can you help me, even empower me?" This change endangers the classic role of the network anchor—wise, authoritative, reassuring in a national crisis. With digital communications available "24/7," daily appointments with mature anchors, however distinguished, might appeal to aging viewers but probably not to younger ones essential to future network success.

Network news divisions are working to survive—shifting more effort to the online universe and adapting the lessons of more than half a century of television news to the fast-changing landscape of multi-source digital information. Their newscasts still bristle with commercials—now mostly medical ads aimed at older viewers—and still receive big money from advertisers. Amid continuing and unpredictable media change, however, there is a real risk that the traditional nightly newscasts will soon fade to black. In the meantime, they may be transformed in fundamental—once unimaginable—ways.

James R. Upshaw

See also ABC News; Agenda Setting; Anchors, Television; CBS News; Commentators, Television; Documentaries, Television; Foreign Correspondents, Electronic; Fox

News; NBC News; News Audiences, Decline of; Public Television Journalism; Reporters, Television

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Facsimile

Facsimile, or the wired or wireless transmission of text, graphics, and photographs, has developed over more than a century into the office machines widely used by the 1970s. For a time before and after World War II, publishing newspapers with facsimile technology was a subject of extensive interest and many experiments. By the early twenty-first century, "fax" machines were in widespread office (and some home) use but were increasingly being supplanted by Internet-based services.

Origins

The basic notion of sending graphic material long distance is as old as the telegraph. In the early 1840s, Scottish physicist Alexander Bain introduced the first primitive facsimile machine and patented it in 1843. Frederick Bakewell, an English physicist, was the first actually to demonstrate facsimile transmission, in 1851 at the London exposition. His system differed from Bain's in that images were received and printed on cylinders (a method commonly used as late as the 1960s). In 1865, Italian physics professor Giovanni Caselli established the first commercial fax system linking Paris with several other French cities, using his Pantèlègraphe, a further modification of Bain's original idea. He transmitted nearly 5,000 faxes in the first year and the service operated until 1870. Early in the twentieth century, Germany's Dr. Arthur Korn developed a system of photoelectric scanning to allow transmission over distances of photographs. By 1910 his system connected Berlin, London, and Paris. A year earlier, *Colliers Weekly* tested facsimile service between New York and Washington, D.C.

In 1922 Korn's system was used to transmit, by radio, a photograph of Pope Pius XI from Rome to Bar Harbor, Maine. The picture was published the same day in the New York *World,* a major feat in an era when news pictures usually crossed the ocean by ship. After experiments dating back several years, the first transatlantic facsimile service, which could transmit a photo across the Atlantic in six minutes, was inaugurated by RCA in 1926. AT&T opened its telephoto system commercially the same year. Several firms soon developed "high-speed" fax systems. Early users of facsimile included newspapers to transmit and receive photos and weather services, which by 1930 could transmit weather maps.

Facsimile and Journalism

While there were numerous experiments with facsimile at both radio stations and newspapers in the 1920s, the service became the focus of serious development only in the 1930s. In 1934 the Associated Press, using AT&T technology, began its commercial wirephoto service. United Press soon followed suit. By 1937, several experimental newspapers had been transmitted using radio station facilities. In 1939 the first daily newspaper was published by radio facsimile. More than 1,000 households were equipped with experimental facsimile receivers that could print a brief newspaper overnight.

World War II interrupted further development until 1948 when the Federal Communications Commission authorized commercial use of the technology using FM frequencies. Western Union used thousands of its Deskfax machines to send telegrams between customer and Western Union offices. The *Miami Herald, Chicago Tribune, Philadelphia Inquirer,* and *New York Times* all broadcast experimental newspapers using their FM stations. The *Herald* transmitted five editions a day for a time. For a brief time it looked as though facsimile newspapers might become common. But the receivers were too expensive for widespread adoption, and the experiments were soon wound up.

Still, facsimile remained essential to newspapers. By the 1970s, both AP and UPI were transmitting hundreds of photos to subscribing papers each day. Within a decade virtually every newspaper and broadcast station was equipped with at least one fax machine for business purposes.

Widespread Fax

The modern era of fax communications—as a means of interoffice communication—began with the approval in 1966 of the American—and in 1968 of the first international—technical standard for fax transmission and machines. The analog systems that used dial-up telephone links slowly improved in definition and speed. The first phone-based fax machines in the 1980s took about six minutes to transmit one page of information printed on special paper. In 1987 Canon introduced the first plain-paper fax machine; a color fax standard followed in 1995. Digital fax machines making use of modern transmission compression technologies could transmit one mid-resolution page in less than ten seconds by the turn of the twenty-first century when some 14 million generally inexpensive fax machines were annually sold worldwide. But with the ease of transmission and dropping cost of the technology came junk fax—the hard copy equivalent of computer spam.

When the commercial Internet appeared in 1995, however, facsimile began to give way to expanding web capabilities—including the transmission of fax messages from personal computers. From 1998 to 2000 the number of transmitted pages worldwide fell by more than half—to about 170 million. But the date-stamping of fax messages—and the option that they can be signed—has continued their use in business, including news media operations. Indeed, combination fax machines and computer printers are now a common technology. Digital scanning combined with the web and e-mail continues to encroach on the facsimile business.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Graphics; Videotex and Teletext

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Fan Magazines

See Celebrity and Fan Magazines

Farm News

See Agricultural Journalism, Electronic; Agricultural Journalism, Print

Fax

See Facsimile

Feature Syndicates

A feature syndicate is a supplier offering an often quite considerable menu of comics, editorial cartoons, columns, and other features for newspapers across the country. Papers pay a subscription fee for what they select to use, the fee varying by the size of the market and circulation of the subscribing paper. Feature syndicates help broaden the non-news content offerings of newspapers, especially those in smaller communities, by providing national markets for print and graphic material.

Feature syndication in the American press has a long history—back to before the Revolution in one case, though really starting a century later with pre-printed features distributed to rural nineteenth-century weekly newspapers. Modern syndicates serving the daily press developed early in the twentieth century around popular comic strips, political columnists, and other features.

Origins

The first informally syndicated feature in American journalism appears to have been "Journal of Occurrences," a propaganda column written in Boston in 1768. It appeared weekly in three papers for just under a year, letting readers in other colonies know what was happening under British military occupation of Boston. But the column was "informally" carried by many other papers as well.

Ansel Kellogg founded a ready-print service in Chicago during the Civil War (1861–65). It provided such features as columns, poems, sometimes serialized fiction, and other entertainment-based material and display advertising for inside pages of newspapers, leaving the front and back page open for the local paper to fill with stories and advertisements. This process became known as "patented insides," for the patent medicine advertising they carried. Until the 1890s, lack of effective copyright protection made metropolitan newspapers widespread users of British literary and dramatic works as filler, often published in serial form.

Development of the stereotyping process provided a technology boost to syndication. Light stereotype molds (dubbed "boiler plate") could be readily shipped or mailed to subscribing papers. Soon the business of providing these got organized with formation of the Western Newspaper Union in Des Moines, Iowa, in 1872. Other firms developed as syndication took hold, but Western grew to dominate the field by 1917, serving some 7,000 papers (many of them weeklies serving small communities) at its peak. This approach gave way in turn (it ended entirely in 1952) to yet another syndication idea.

The rise and expansion of both daily and Sunday newspapers (the latter's longer formats called for more content, and thus demand for syndicated graphic and text material increased) helped create a new form of syndication late in the nineteenth century. C. A. Dana's *New York Sun* syndicated use of stories by Bret Harte and Henry James to a limited number of other papers. Using stereotype and electrotyping technology, the American Press Association began to serve daily papers in 1882. Irving Bacheller (1859–1950), a journalist and writer who created the first newspaper feature syndicate, focused on syndicating material to daily papers beginning a year later and was within a few years serving more than 150 of them in cities across the nation. Publisher S. S. McClure joined the growing number of syndicators in 1884, often using content from his magazine *McClure's* by such authors as Jack London, Robert Lewis Stevenson, and William Dean Howells. He was soon providing up to 30,000 words a week to subscribers.

Development of electrotyping technology in the mid-1890s made wide distribution of color graphic material possible. Paced by the means to print them, demand for comic strips soon drove the syndication business.

Growing out of E. W. Scripps' syndication activity in the 1880s, and his Newspaper Enterprise Association of 1902 (which at first supplied only the Scripps-run papers), the United Feature Syndicate was founded two decades later with nearly 400 newspaper clients, and syndicated such literary names as Carl Sandburg, Ernest Hemingway, and Ring Lardner. Eleanor Roosevelt later wrote her "My Day" column for United (from 1936 until 1962), becoming the first (and only) First Lady to write a newspaper column.

After a careful analysis of potential newspaper demand, and its own initial syndication efforts, the Hearst chain began its Newspaper Feature Service in 1913, which soon expanded into the King

Feature Syndicate in late 1915. King focused heavily on comic strips and illustrated features to attract readers; he placed artists on a salary and took control of characters to further its control of the content syndicated. By the mid-1930s, it was operating a number of syndication services to a huge list of client newspapers, along with pre-printed weekly (Sunday) magazine and comic publications.

Larger metropolitan dailies in cities such as New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles began to syndicate their own columns and other features. The *Chicago Tribune* began this in 1910, the *New York Tribune* in 1914, and *The New York Times* much later in 1960. So did the major news agencies such as the Associated Press and United Press. By the mid-1920s, there were easily 100 or more feature syndicates of all kinds operating (with 2,000 different and continuing features on offer)—they formed their own trade association in 1926. The number varied during and after the Depression, but was similar by the eve of World War II. By 1960 there were nearly 200 operating syndicates large and small.

Syndicated Content

The variety of content provided by the major syndicates in the early 2000s included a wide breadth of options for newspapers to select from. United Features, for example, provided some 50 daily comic strips, the work of ten editorial cartoonists, and a whole menu of columns including advice (3), commentary (15), consumer and finance (8), entertainment (7), food (3), health (2), horoscopes (3), home and garden (4), sports (3), and others. The service also offered nearly 20 different puzzles and games. Several other syndicates offered at least as much.

Comic Strips

Comics, and especially Sunday strips printed in color, formed the core of modern syndication efforts. The "Katzenjammer Kids," which began in 1897 (based on an earlier German comic strip), remains the oldest comic strip still in syndication. The King syndicate offered several dozen comic strips by the 1920s, and more all the time. In the bottom of the Depression in the early 1930s, some of the most popular syndicated strips brought their creators weekly salaries of more than a thousand dollars. United's comics included (by 1950) the hugely popular "Peanuts," for which the syndicate selected the name, though cartoonist Charles Schulz never liked it. With its affiliated syndicates, King Features distributed (by the early 2000s) three times as many comic features as its next-largest competitor.

Editorial Cartoons

The early 1900s marked the height of editorial cartooning syndication as few smaller papers could develop and produce their own. Syndication added greatly to the impact of individual political cartoonists, carrying their images far beyond their "home" newspaper to a wider audience. Sometimes only occasional cartoons were carried in weekly "round-ups" of the best images of that week or concerning a specific event, but some were regularly displayed in a variety of newspapers.

Political Commentary

Political column syndication began with David Lawrence (in 1916) and Mark Sullivan (three years later) being offered to other newspapers around the country. Walter Lippmann joined the growing number of political writers in 1931 and was carried in 165 major papers a decade later—with a large salary to match his growing impact. He had become the widely respected and influential dean of the genre on his retirement in the early 1960s. Drew Pearson began his "Washington Merry Go Round" of political gossip in 1932 and it quickly became a huge and lasting success (continued by Jack Anderson well into the 1990s). Britain's Winston Churchill survived economically on his syndicated writings in the 1930s, many carried in American papers. The new Gallup poll provided features about what people thought about major issues and trends by 1935, an early example of public opinion polling. By the late 1930s and increasingly in later years, many political columns took strong political stances to the right or left.

Gossip and Show Business

Society gossip content in a few metropolitan newspapers dated at least to the 1820s and appeared continually thereafter. National syndication was slower to develop. By 1924, Walter Winchell was reporting on Broadway for New York tabloid papers, soon joined by Hollywood

columnists Louella Parsons and Hedda Hopper. All three were widely syndicated and thus held considerable power in the show-business world into the 1950s. Many others centered on stage, motion pictures, radio, and eventually television. To some extent, the latter began to siphon off some of the genre by the late twentieth century—as when Broadway columnist Ed Sullivan hosted a CBS television variety program for two decades.

Modern Living and Advice

Dorothy Dix began to write a women's column in 1896 and kept it up for four decades. Later examples were the long-lived "Ann Landers" and "Dear Abby" columns, written by two sisters, and running nearly as long as Dix's effort. Numerous fashion and sports columns and illustrations were being syndicated by the late nineteenth century. Religion was an early and steady feature—in 1934, for example, King ran a 40-installment version of the Bible. Humor was always an appealing feature of syndication—Will Rogers wrote a daily column from 1922 until his death in 1935, eventually reaching 400 newspapers. Many others would follow in his footsteps.

The parlous state of many newspaper balance sheets by the early 2000s made syndication more important as the shared cost basis of the system was seen as an efficient and attractive means to display nationally known columns, features, and comics in small as well as metropolitan papers.

Feature syndicates play a newspaper role somewhat analogous to broadcast or cable networks, contributing to similar content across the country.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Cartoonists, Political; Columns and Columnists; Comics Entertainment Journalism; Infotainment; News Syndication; Printing

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Federal Communications Commission (FCC)

The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) is an independent American regulatory body created by an act of Congress on June 19, 1934. The FCC replaced the earlier Federal Radio Commission (1927–34) and expanded its authority to include wired communication. Today the FCC's role includes the licensing of all services that utilize spectrum. It reports directly to Congress, which supplies its budget. In the early 2000s, the commission had about 2,000 employees and a projected annual budget approaching $320 million. While the cost of administration is on the rise, the agency typically offsets its operational cost by charging application processing fees.

The 1934 Communications Act has been amended many times since its passage, though its

Table 1 FCC Annual Budget 2001–08[1]

Fiscal Year 2001	$312,505,000
Fiscal Year 2002	$337,334,000
Fiscal Year 2003	$369,380,000
Fiscal Year 2004	$361,011,000
Fiscal Year 2005	$368,287,000
Fiscal Year 2006	$377,038,000
Fiscal Year 2007	$385,132,000
Fiscal Year 2008	$408,913,000[2]

Source: Summary Tables—Distribution of Resources, in Federal Communications Commission. Budget Estimates, Submitted to Congress Yearly. Available from http://www.fcc.gov/Reports/fccbudget.html

1. Total gross budgetary authority, actual.

2. Total gross budgetary authority, congressional budget.

basic core requirement—that services (including broadcasting) operate as public trustees (of their spectrum channels) in "the public convenience, necessity or convenience"—remains. Many of the alterations have been in response to the many technical changes in communications, including the introduction of television, satellite and microwave communications, cable television, cellular telephone, the Internet, digital broadcasting, and PCS (personal communications) services. For example, the Cable Act of 1992 and the Telecommunications Act of 1996 both amended the 1934 act. But the flexibility incorporated into the original provisions has allowed the law and agency to survive.

Organization

The Communications Act describes the administration, formation, and powers of the commission. Five regulatory commissioners are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Each commissioner serves a five-year term except for when an appointee is filling an unexpired term. The only qualifications are that commissioners must be citizens and no more than three can be members of the same political party. One commissioner is appointed chair and is responsible for setting the commission's agenda. The commissioners (and increasingly this means the chairman's office) supervise all FCC activities, delegating responsibilities to various bureaus and offices.

In 2002, FCC bureaus and offices were reorganized by function. Responsibility for oversight of electronic media (radio, television, satellite, and cable services) is concentrated in the Media Bureau. Other bureaus include the Wireless, International, Enforcement, and Wireline Competition. After the terrorist attacks in September 2001, a new bureau responsible for public safety, disaster management, and homeland security was created. Most of the day-to-day regulatory work of the commission is done by civil servants at the bureau level.

Congress wrote the 1934 act in broad terms and provided the commission with the ability to promulgate rules and regulations as a means of administering communication policy. The commission's rules and regulations sometimes reflect the intentions of Congress but may also be initiated to solve problems that develop as technology advances or when user needs warrant changes to existing policy. Regulations adopted by the commission have the same force as law (though Congress can override them) and are subject to judicial review. Decisions may be overturned in whole or in part by federal courts or remanded (sent back) to the commission for reevaluation.

FCC Media Concerns

While the commission concerns itself with many technologies related to communications, the Media Bureau seems to gain the most attention from the press and the public. The bureau focuses on facility licensing and engineering and technical considerations. While it is charged with regulation of broadcast media, section 326 of the act bars it from censoring programming. Congress can stipulate that the FCC enforce specific policies, such as regulations concerning indecency and obscenity that are part of the U.S. Code. The boundaries as to what may or may not be broadcast are variable since the courts have ruled that cable (and satellite services) has greater programming leeway because it is not a licensed broadcast service—and its subscribers must make an overt decision to subscribe and pay for its reception in their homes. Thus cable programming is not required to meet the same standards as over-the-air broadcasting. This disparity between the two services has caused confusion with the viewing public and difficulties for the FCC as it tries to apply equitable standards. In recent years, the number of complaints regarding indecent programming has spiraled as watchdog groups have used the Internet to educate the general public and to complain to the commission.

The FCC does not specifically regulate broadcast journalism. During the early days of radio, publishers threatened to support antibroadcasting legislation and convinced the news agencies to withhold news from the radio industry. That so-called Press-Radio War lasted only a few years. By the time television began to grow in the 1950s, the FCC decided, in a policy known as the Fairness Doctrine, that news coverage of local and controversial public issues was an important part of a licensee's responsibility. Given the trend to deregulation over the past three decades, including the demise of the Fairness Doctrine, however, the FCC rarely comments upon any station's news programs—or lack of same.

Frequently news and issue-oriented programming on cable will take a particular slant as a way to energize debate among viewers while broadcast

networks usually try to maintain balance in their presentations. Talk shows on radio and national cable networks often take strong sides on political and social issues. The FCC plays virtually no role in any of that. The FCC can only review licensees (whose licenses normally run for eight years and are routinely renewed) though it may fine stations for knowingly broadcasting false information. Cable and Internet news coverage, however, is generally exempt from FCC supervision as those services do not need one of the limited number of broadcast channels for distribution.

While viewer complaints to the commission are fairly common and often concern the failure of a station to cover certain events, complaints about slanted or even ignored stories are generally considered more serious. The FCC almost never interferes with the right of broadcasters to make editorial judgments regarding how stories should be covered, but it can focus its attention on rigging or slanting news and penalize stations when they have knowingly broadcast false information.

In its 75-year history, the FCC has changed many of its regulatory policies as the electronic media news and entertainment business has grown from radio to include television, cable, and now satellite communications. Early commission policy tended to be proscriptive, spelling out detailed rules about station performance, record-keeping requirements, and license renewal procedures. Though the Communications Act required that broadcasters serve in the "public interest, convenience or necessity," it does not define what these requirements entail. That definition has come from decades of FCC decision-making and judicial review—and it changes over time. Among early commission concerns were issues of fairness and balance in programming, overcommercialization, and abuse by networks over their affiliates. During the golden age of radio, the commission promulgated rules that specifically spelled out the interrelations between networks and their affiliates. In the now-famous *National Broadcasting Co. v. United States* case [319 U.S. 190 (1943)], the Supreme Court upheld the FCC's ability to specify the nature of licenses and competition within the industry. As television service expanded, the commission developed rules to encourage the use of UHF as well as VHF channels and stressed the importance of developing a local public service presence in the community of license. Over time, the commission required substantial filings requirements for broadcast licenses and asked broadcasters to investigate the needs of their community of license through a complex ascertainment process. Most of that has been swept away by deregulation.

News and content fairness has been a concern of the commission and a source of frustration for broadcasters, journalists, and the public alike. Congress mandated political candidates' access to broadcasting in sections 312 and 315 of the act but did not specify how broadcasters should report on controversial issues. Early on the FCC insisted that because of "scarcity" (the presence of more applicants for each available license than can be accommodated), a licensee must operate in the public interest rather than promote only one point of view. Initially the FCC frowned on stations developing editorial policy but later reversed itself in 1949 by adopting the Fairness Doctrine, which strongly encouraged stations to (a) cover controversial issues of public importance and (b) entertain a variety of points of view. The constitutionality of the Fairness Doctrine was upheld by the Court in *Red Lion Broadcasting Co. v. FCC* [395 U.S. 367 (1969)]. Broadcasters complained that the doctrine produced a "chilling effect" on speech (in that to avoid controversy offending advertisers or audiences, stations would avoid complex issues entirely) and cited the possibility of fighting protracted legal battles over Fairness Doctrine challenges. In reality, though, the FCC determined station "fairness" based on the overall programming record, not individual programs. The Court reaffirmed the notion that licensees were not obligated to sell or give time to specific opposing groups to meet Fairness Doctrine requirements as long as the licensee met its general public trustee obligations. Similarly, the court demonstrated support for FCC regulation based on the theory that broadcasting has a "special impact" in *CBS v. Democratic National Committee* 412 U.S. 94 (1973)]. As commissioners embraced deregulation during the 1980s, however, they began looking for ways to eliminate the Fairness Doctrine. In its *1985 Fairness Report,* the FCC concluded that scarcity was no longer a valid argument given the growth of multiple news and public affairs sources, and that the Fairness Doctrine inhibited broadcasters from airing more controversial material. In 1987, the FCC repealed the doctrine (Congress tried to reinstate it the next year, but President Reagan vetoed the bill), and in 2000, a federal

court ordered the FCC to rescind its long-standing personal attack and political editorializing rules. Periodically, members of Congress announce support of legislation that would reinstate the doctrine, often citing one-sided conservative radio talk shows as a problem. But a renewed Fairness Doctrine seems very unlikely.

The terrorist attacks of 2001 highlight the role of television during times of national crisis. Its coverage provides millions of viewers with information in a fashion that cannot be matched by newspapers, though cable and online sources often beat broadcast television. Their continuing ability to reach mass audiences gives broadcast television news greater significance and some call for more regulation as a result of this special impact. While the Gore Commission issued its 1998 report on the public interest obligations of digital television broadcasters, there was no consensus on adopting new regulations for broadcasting. In recent years, some FCC commissioners have argued that cable should be regulated much like broadcast licensees but these ideas have met with little acceptance by the industry and Congress.

Deregulation of Broadcasting

In the mid-1970s and reflecting the changing political atmosphere, the commission began to change direction and adopted a deregulatory stance, increasingly using "marketplace competition" as an alternative model to rule-based regulation. Many of those rules had first been adopted when radio broadcasting was far more limited—a few hundred stations. By the early 2000s, the number of radio and television licenses had multiplied to more than 18,000 broadcasting stations. With that number of stations, most cities have a choice between as many as 25 different radio channels and five or more television channels—not to mention a growing number of satellite and cable services and the Internet.

With the increase in the numbers of broadcast stations and competition in the entertainment industry spawning numerous new technology alternatives for consumers, some critics argue that the importance of individual broadcast stations as sources of news and public affairs has decreased. Early commission policy had stressed the importance of "localism"—reflecting the local community in programming—as a goal for individual licensees. Over the last three decades, however, radio stations have become highly formulaic (often using automated services and totally dropping any news or public affairs), while many television stations have become outlets for national network and syndicated programming and have turned away from developing costly local content. Over the last two decades, the commission instituted a new classification of broadcasters, low-power television (and more recently a limited low-power FM radio) service, created to reinvigorate localism and to help rural areas that could not get adequate TV service.

When Congress passed the Telecommunications Act of 1996, it substantially redirected communication policy toward a converging marketplace of telecommunications services. While major provisions of the Act made changes in wireless and wireline telecommunication, it also made substantial changes in broadcast licensing and ownership rules. The radio business quickly consolidated into a few large group owners controlling the most powerful stations in the country. Television ownership was also relaxed, with a cap (eventually 39% of the national television audience) that could be reached by the stations of any single owner. Interested in maintaining the momentum of change, Congress directed the FCC to re-evaluate commission rules bi-annually, encouraging elimination of unneeded regulatory policies. Over the past few years, the FCC has taken steps to further loosen requirements for broadcast license ownership as well as limits on cross-media (print-broadcast in the same market) consolidation. These policy initiatives have been met with court rulings that have directed the commission to re-examine its proposals.

Technology continues to drive change in the communications and entertainment industries and the FCC must develop policies (and speedier processes) that will ensure regulation can keep up with those changes. The FCC has adopted several strategic goals designed to accelerate the acceptance of digital television (Congress established an early 2009 deadline) and radio (no deadline exists yet) as well as broadband information services in the United States. Rapid changes in communications technology continue to place burdens on the commission's already stretched resources. Despite the need for quicker action, according to FCC records, the time necessary to complete rulemaking has increased while the number of completed proceedings has decreased over recent years. Whether the

Federal Communications Commission can adapt its procedures to meet the exigencies of the future remains to be seen.

Fritz Messere

See also Censorship; Diversity: Policy; First Amendment; Indecency and Obscenity; Media Ownership; Supreme Court and Journalism; Video News Releases

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Feminist News Media

Feminist news media are best understood within the framework of the movements that shaped them. Feminism in the United States came in three phases or waves, each with its own feminist news media.

The first wave started with the 1848 women's rights conference in Seneca Falls, New York, and encompassed the suffrage movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. First-wave feminists focused on personal rights of interest to middle-class women, education, property, employment, and the right to vote. These feminists developed their own newspapers and magazines.

The second wave began in the early 1960s when feminism reawakened in America, Europe, and England. Second-wave feminism split into two branches—the more conservative faction that focused on legal reforms through organizations such as the National Organization for Women and the more radical "women's liberation" branch that became known for its public protests and consciousness raising. Believing "the personal is political," second wave feminists emphasized the need for greater reproductive rights, sexual freedom, and workplace advances. Second-wave feminist news media reflected the deep divisions within the movement.

Third-wave feminism developed in the late 1980s, as young feminists began to question the racism, classism, and heterosexism of the second wave. This new wave of feminists saw themselves as having different goals, strategies, and alliances. They also crafted a new style of journalism, designed to tell their story with new technology to a new audience.

First-Wave Feminist News Media (1848–1920)

Women committed to improving their gender's legal, political, social, and economic status in America in the nineteenth century faced formidable obstacles. Under the English common law principle of *femme coverte,* upon marriage women suffered a legal death. Wives had no right to own property, sign contracts, or retain custody of their children in the event of a legal separation. Divorces were rarely granted. Social customs also placed women at a disadvantage. Under the cult of domesticity that developed in the early nineteenth century, women and men occupied different spheres—men within business/industry and women within the home. Nonetheless, certain women were involved in the temperance and abolitionist reform movements of the antebellum period. It was at the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840 that the seeds of America's women's rights movement were sown. The American delegation to the convention included women, yet only men were seated. Women delegates and witnesses sat in the galleries; among them were

activists Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who would organize the first women's rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. The two would also play a role in developing the feminist news media of the first wave.

All reform organizations need communication vehicles to update members and to foster a sense of community. The first wave of the feminist (women's rights) movement in America was no exception. Like many other reforms of the time, women's rights advocates relied on conventions as their primary organizational, informational, and support structure. Letter writing also served as an important means of communication. However, these two methods reached a relatively small number of women's rights supporters. How to reach other supporters became a key question for the women's rights movement during the antebellum period.

Feminists could not rely on general circulation newspapers to cover their concerns. In general, these dailies were antagonistic toward women's rights. For example, the *Oneida* (New York) *Whig* (August 1, 1848) even referred to the Seneca Falls convention as "the most shocking and unnatural incident ever recorded in the history of womanity."

Feminist news media developed in two ways in antebellum America—as part of publications launched to support other reforms and as a distinct voice of feminism. The best known of the former group were Jane Grey Swisshelm's *Pittsburgh Saturday Visitor,* a newspaper launched to support abolitionism; and Amelia Bloomer's *The Lily,* a monthly located initially in Seneca Falls, New York, which was committed to temperance. In both of these publications, feminist news, essays, and poetry were part of the editorial mix. Paulina Wright Davis' *Una* introduced a new model of feminist news media—a publication committed solely to women, their emancipation, and feminist news.

Swisshelm's weekly, *Pittsburgh Saturday Visitor,* began as an antislavery voice for the city in 1847, but the paper also covered (and editorially supported) the women's rights movement. Swisshelm's newspaper, however, was not just a voice of and for Pittsburgh. Indeed, the editor admitted that the largest number of subscribers lived outside the city. That fact explained how the newspaper covered the women's rights movement. Swisshelm's *Visitor* reported on events that impacted the women's rights movement, whether they took place in Pennsylvania or elsewhere. For seven long years, Swisshelm editorially supported equal education and a woman's right to own property even after marriage in her newspaper known for conservative feminism.

Bloomer's *Lily* sought to emancipate women from "Intemperance, Injustice, Prejudice, and Bigotry." That motto illustrated the *Lily*'s twofold reform emphasis: temperance and women's rights. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, often writing under the pen name "Sun Flower," was a frequent contributor, endorsing suffrage, opposing laws that put women at a disadvantage, and proposing a kind of easy-to-obtain, no-fault divorce. But Bloomer's *Lily* is best remembered for dress reform. Bloomer and her *Lily* promoted a "scandalous" form of female apparel: "bloomers," a shorter skirt with "Turkish" trousers underneath, a "healthier" alternative to the constrictive, heavy garb that most women of the day wore. Bloomer was also a great supporter of what twentieth-century feminists would call "sisterhood," supporting young women reformers and writers as they began their careers.

However, the title of first "feminist" newspaper belongs to the *Una,* the monthly publication of Paula Kellogg Wright Davis, in Providence, Rhode Island. Launched in 1853 and lasting almost three years, the *Una* had a host of feminist readers, including Lucy Stone, Lucretia Mott, Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Elizabeth Blackwell, and Frances Gage. Davis and the *Una* covered the standard fare of news of the movement—such as calls for women's rights conventions, essays on the need for better education for women, and letters from readers—but also venturing into new areas and expanding the feminist debate. The *Una* carried essays on domestic abuse, child labor, and poverty. Thus, the publication began to break down some of the class and cultural barriers that were so problematic in the first (and subsequent) waves of the feminist movement.

Much of the feminist debate was silenced during the Civil War. Only the *Sibyl,* the dress reform/abolitionist/temperance reform publication edited by Lydia Sayer Hasbrouck in Middletown, New York, continued to appear until 1864. The newspaper was the only forum dedicated to a feminist perspective on the war.

After the Civil War, the women's rights movement re-emerged and with it a whole new generation of publications materialized. Between 1870 and 1890, 33 feminist publications debuted. Feminist newspapers were published primarily

in the North—in large cities such as New York, San Francisco, Portland, and Denver; in small towns such as Lafayette, Indiana, and Beatrice, Nebraska; and in religious centers such as Salt Lake City. Editors included the notorious free love advocates Victoria Woodhull and Tennessee Claflin as well as the more conservative Mary Livermore, a well-known editor and one of the organizers of the Sanitary Commission during the Civil War. Some publications were committed to more liberal, even radical, positions such as divorce reform and abortion rights; others embraced more conservative stances such as suffrage through state action and educational, legal, and political equality.

The two publications that made the greatest mark on this time period—for quite different reasons—were *The Revolution,* the voice of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, and the *Woman's Journal.* These weeklies not only redefined feminist news but also illustrated the deep divisions in the post–Civil War women's rights movement over strategies and philosophies.

As the name implies, *The Revolution* was the more radical of the two. Started in 1868 and bankrolled by George Francis Train, a controversial businessman and pro-slavery Democrat, *The Revolution* was committed to "The true republic.—Men, their rights and nothing more; women, their rights and nothing less." *The Revolution* was affiliated with the National Woman Suffrage Association, the arm of the suffrage movement that sought the vote via a federal amendment, as opposed to the state-by-state strategy endorsed by the more conservative American Woman Suffrage Association. Like the *Una, The Revolution* expanded the feminist debate to include divorce, domestic abuse, and abortion. Essays, editorials, and news stories kept the readers up to date on suffrage progress in the states and territories. In addition, *The Revolution* also addressed (and editorially supported) more radical issues, including the right to abortion, and both divorce and prison reform.

The Woman's Journal was Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell's response to *The Revolution.* Launched in Boston in 1870, the *Journal* was edited by the experienced, Chicago-based journalist Mary Ashton Livermore. At the time Livermore took over the *Journal,* she already edited her own suffrage publication, the *Agitator,* which was folded into the new periodical. With Livermore at the helm, the *Journal* debuted as the key national voice of conservative feminism. Livermore was astute, well connected, and respected nationally. She was supported by a powerful editorial board, which included women's rights activist Lucy Stone, abolitionist editor William Lloyd Garrison, writer/lecturer/composer Julia Ward Howe, and abolitionist clergyman Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

The weekly reflected the middle-class roots of its founders. The *Journal* was committed to the "interests of Woman, to her educational, industrial, legal and political equality and especially to her right of suffrage," as it explained in the January 8, 1870, issue (quoted in Hudson 1873). From its start, the *Journal* served as the clearinghouse for suffrage news from around the country. Clubwomen, members of the American Woman Suffrage Association, and professional writers kept the *Journal* informed of what was happening in their communities. With this network of correspondents, Livermore and the *Journal*'s subsequent editors Lucy Stone and Alice Blackwell were always able to provide readers with up-to-date information and the best essays. By 1915, the *Journal* was circulated in every state and 39 countries. Woman suffrage leader Carrie Chapman Catt once observed that the *Journal* was pivotal to the success of the women's rights movement.

The *Woman's Journal* stood apart from every other feminist publication of the nineteenth century. It was the most widely circulated and probably the most influential of the feminist publications of its age. It also lived the longest. The weekly started in 1870 and continued until it merged with two other suffrage publications to form the *Woman Citizen* in 1917, just a few years short of the passage and ratification on the Nineteenth Amendment. No other feminist publication—past or present—has equaled the *Journal*'s long life.

Second-Wave Feminist News Media (1960s and 1970s)

After winning suffrage, the feminist movement seemed to founder. Feminist Alice Paul, her National Woman's Party, and its periodical *Equal Rights* pushed hard for another amendment that would afford women equal rights. That proposal, variously called the Lucretia Mott amendment, the Alice Paul amendment, and the Equal Rights Amendment, was introduced into every session of Congress from 1923 until it was finally passed (though not ratified) in 1972.

The Revolution.

PRINCIPLE, NOT POLICY: JUSTICE, NOT FAVORS.

VOL. I.—NO. 1. NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 8, 1868. $2.00 A YEAR.

The Revolution;

THE ORGAN OF THE

NATIONAL PARTY OF NEW AMERICA.

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KANSAS.

THE question of the enfranchisement of woman has already passed the court of moral discussion, and is now fairly ushered into the arena of politics, where it must remain a fixed element of debate, until party necessity shall compel its success.

With 9,000 votes in Kansas, one-third the entire vote, every politician must see that the friends of "woman's suffrage" hold the balance of power in that State to-day. And those 9,000 votes represent a principle deep in the hearts of the people, for this triumph was secured without money, without a press, without a party. With these instrumentalities now fast coming to us on all sides, the victory in Kansas is but the herald of greater victories in every State of the Union. Kansas already leads the world in her legislation for woman on questions of property, education, wages, marriage and divorce. Her best universities are open alike to boys and girls. In fact woman has a voice in the legislation of that State. She votes on all school questions and is eligible to the office of trustee. She has a voice in temperance too; no license is granted without the consent of a majority of the adult citizens, male and female, black and white. The consequence is, stone school houses are voted up in every part of the State, and rum voted down. Many of the ablest men in that State are champions of woman's cause. Governors, judges, lawyers and clergymen. Two-thirds of the press and pulpits advocate the idea, in spite of the opposition of politicians. The first Governor of Kansas, twice chosen to that office, Charles Robinson, went all through the State, speaking every day for two months in favor of woman's suffrage. In the organization of the State government, he proposed that the words "white male" should not be inserted in the Kansas constitution. All this shows that giving political rights to women is no new idea in that State. Who that has listened with tearful eyes to the deep experiences of those Kansas women, through the darkest hours of their history, does not feel that such bravery and self denial as they have shown alike in war and peace, have richly earned for them the crown of citizenship.

Opposed to this moral sentiment of the liberal minds of the State, many adverse influences were brought to bear through the entire campaign.

The action of the New York Constitutional Convention; the silence of eastern journals on the question; the opposition of abolitionists lest a demand for woman's suffrage should defeat negro suffrage; the hostility everywhere of black men themselves; some even stumping the State against woman's suffrage; the official action of both the leading parties in their conventions in Leavensworth against the proposition, with every organized Republican influence outside as well as inside the State, all combined might have made our vote comparatively a small one, had not George Francis Train gone into the State two weeks before the election and galvanized the Democrats into their duty, thus securing 9,000 votes for woman's suffrage. Some claim that we are indebted to the Republicans for this vote; but the fact that the most radical republican district, Douglass County, gave the largest vote against woman's suffrage, while Leavenworth, the Democratic district, gave the largest vote for it, fully settles that question.

In saying that Mr. Train helped to swell our vote takes nothing from the credit due all those who labored faithfully for months in that State. All praise to Olympia Brown, Lucy Stone, Susan B. Anthony, Henry B. Blackwell, and Judge Wood, who welcomed, for an idea, the hardships of travelling in a new State, fording streams, scaling rocky brinks, sleeping on the ground and eating hard tack, with the fatigue of constant speaking, in school-houses, barns, mills, depots and the open air; and especially, all praise to the glorious Hutchinson family—John, his son Henry and daughter, Viola—who, with their own horses and carriage, made the entire circuit of the state, singing Woman's Suffrage into souls that logic could never penetrate. Having shared with them the hardships, with them I rejoice in our success.

E. C. S.

THE BALLOT—BREAD, VIRTUE, POWER.

THE REVOLUTION will contain a series of articles, beginning next week, to prove the power of the ballot in elevating the character and condition of woman. We shall show that the ballot will secure for woman equal place and equal wages in the world of work; that it will open to her the schools, colleges, professions and all the opportunities and advantages of life; that in her hand it will be a moral power to stay the tide of vice and crime and misery on every side. In the words of Bishop Simpson—

"We believe that the great vices in our large cities will never be conquered until the ballot is put in the hands of women. If the question of the danger of their sons being drawn away into drinking saloons was brought up, if the mothers had the power, they would close them; if the sisters had the power, and they saw their brothers going away to haunts of infamy, they would close those places. You may get men to trifle with purity, with virtue, with righteousness; but, thank God, the hearts of the women of our land—the mothers, wives and daughters—are too pure to make a compromise either with intemperance or licentiousness."

Thus, too, shall we purge our constitutions and statute laws from all invidious distinctions among the citizens of the States, and secure the same civil and moral code for man and woman. We will show the hundred thousand female teachers, and the millions of laboring women, that their complaints, petitions, strikes and protective unions are of no avail until they hold the ballot in their own hands; for it is the first step toward social, religious and political equality.

The January 8, 1868, inaugural issue of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony's feminist newspaper, The Revolution.
Source: Library of Congress.

It was not until the early 1960s that feminism re-emerged as a new, distinct wave. Several unrelated events explain the reawakening of feminism. In 1961, President John F. Kennedy created the Commission on the Status of Women under former First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt. In 1963, that commission released a report that documented the discrimination women faced in almost every part of American life. That same year, Betty Friedan's book, *The Feminine Mystique,* chronicled what the author called "the problem with no name," the dissatisfaction among middle-class, educated women, and the role of mainstream (primarily male-edited) women's magazines in creating unrealistic expectations. It became a bestseller. The next year, the Civil Rights Act was passed. Under Title VII, employment discrimination "based on race, color, religion, sex and national origin" was prohibited. In 1966, liberal feminists organized the National Organization for Women (NOW).

Second-wave feminists had many ills to correct—legal, social, economic, and media policies had long put women in a second-class position. Like feminists of the nineteenth century, second-wave feminists split over policies, goals, and strategies. Many liberal feminists aligned with NOW, Women's Equity Action League, and other organizations that focused on legal reforms. The younger, more radical wing wished to address the larger social issues that oppressed women and adopted different goals, strategies, and forms of journalism.

In her 1988 dissertation on feminist publications of the second wave, Martha Allen identified eight characteristics that marked this form of journalism: women speaking for themselves; preference for the collective structure; a noncompetitive, sharing perspective; analysis of the media's role toward women and their media; a nonattack approach; an "open forum" emphasis; inclusion of information not related in other media; and an activist orientation.

Both wings of second-wave feminism issued publications. Most chapters of the National Organization for Women published their own newsletters. Large NOW branches in major metropolitan areas issued the best known of these newsletters. Thus, the Washington, D.C., and Chicago chapters issued separate newsletters called *Do It NOW;* the Los Angeles branch offered *NOW Times,* and New York City had *The New Feminist*. NOW newsletters shared certain characteristics. They kept readers up to date on what the organization was doing in their city and nationally, reported on local policies that discriminated against women and programs that afforded opportunities, and served as communication vehicles for the chapter's members as well as tools for recruitment. This decentralized approach meant that each NOW newsletter carried a distinct flavor of the local community, even as it offered the news of the national organization. These NOW newsletters represented a large portion of the feminist publications issued during the 1960s and 1970s.

The "women's liberation" wing of the feminist movement—the younger, more radical women—was not without a voice. Indeed, this wing of the feminist movement had many voices—and the voices reflected the rich diversity of viewpoint and strategy that marked this movement.

Any discussion of this feminist news media must begin with the *Voice of the Women's Liberation Movement* (*VWLM*), the periodical that named the movement. Edited by Joreen (Jo Freeman), *VWLM* was the first national feminist newsletter of the second wave. It represented the thoughts of the women associated with the Chicago Westside Group, which included Freeman, Naomi Weisstein, Shulamith Firestone, and Amy Kesselman. Premiering with the March 1968 issue, *VWLM* appeared on an irregular cycle—as time, material, and money allowed—and died after the June 1969 issue.

The *VWLM* was a forum for feminist news, essays, and creative expression. The first issue asked the question, "What in the Hell Is Women's Liberation Anyway?" named the "Male Chauvinist of the Month" (Warren Hinckle, editor of *Ramparts,* a political and literary magazine), provided a chapter report of the Women's Radical Action Project of the University of Chicago, offered advice on what to do at the Democratic Convention in Chicago that year, called for a spring conference, published a cartoon, and invited "unsolicited manuscripts and news stories."

Over its seven issues, the newsletter offered news reports of activities by the "women's liberation" wing of the feminist movement from Seattle to New York City, from UCLA to Boston. Some reports included long, first-person accounts, such as the coverage of the 1968 demonstration at the Miss America pageant ("WLM vs. Miss America").

Not only did the author, Judith Duffett of New York, explain what happened in the October 1968 issue of *VWLM* but she also offered a rationale for the action: "Our purpose was not to put down Miss America but to attack the male chauvinism, commercialization of beauty, racism and oppression of women symbolized by the pageant."

VWLM created an editorial package that influenced the newsletters, newspapers, and magazines of the radical wing. News was only one part of the package. Editorial comment and creative expression were also important elements of many of these publications. Thus, many of these periodicals included drawings, cartoons, photography, and poetry from contributors.

No one knows precisely how many "women's liberation" publications were issued in the late 1960s and the 1970s. Most were underfinanced, relatively short lived, had small circulations, and reflected the views of the group issuing the publication. Thus, the militant separatist organization Cell 16 of Boston issued *No More Fun and Games*; New York's early women's group, New York Radical Women, offered *Notes from the First Year*; the socialist/communist-leaning Red Women's Detachment (New York) published *Red Star*.

Few publications of these early days have survived. The periodical *off our backs* (*oob*) is a notable exception; it is the longest running feminist periodical issued in the United States today. Premiering in Washington, D.C., in 1970, the newspaper was the product of small collective that included Marilyn Webb, Marlene Wicks, Heidi and Nan Steffens, Norma Lesser, and Nancy Ferro. Since its founding, the publication has been issued by a collective, the membership of which has changed over time. *oob* has published some of the key documents of second-wave feminism—the unedited "C.L.I.T." (Collective Lesbian International Terrorist) papers, the Redstockings' charges that feminist editor Gloria Steinem had ties to the CIA—and her response—and reports of problems within the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition. That type of coverage caused the *Woman's Survival Sourcebook* to criticize *oob* for its coverage of factionalism within the movement. Notwithstanding that criticism, *oob* is considered one of the most highly regarded of the radical feminist periodicals in the 1970s.

The 1980s were particularly difficult for *oob*. Politically and socially, the decade was more conservative. Moreover, the periodical faced economic jeopardy, when a collective member embezzled funds. Other collective members lent the publication money so the newspaper could continue its coverage of politics, policies that oppressed women, academic and activist conferences, and news from industrialized and Third World nations.

During the 1990s, when much of the second-wave feminism languished, *off our backs* was reenergized when new members joined the collective. *off our backs* is one of the few publications that has been able to bridge the second and third "waves" of feminism. In its special issues, the publication—in the early twenty-first century issued as a quarterly—offers news, essays, and creative expression on everything from alternatives to patriarchy to military power, from censorship to body image, from the media to money and class; each story is told from a radical feminist perspective. Its editorial mission, which is published in the organization's website (www.offourbacks.org), is something with which feminists from the second and third wave can agree:

> to provide news and information about women's lives and feminist activism; to educate the public about the status of women around the world; to serve as a forum of feminist ideas and theory; to be an information resources on feminist, women's and lesbian culture; and to seek social justice and equality for women worldwide.

While *oob* has remained true to its radical roots, *Ms. Magazine,* another remnant of second-wave feminism, has had an uneven life as a voice of American feminism. Premiering as an insert in *New York* magazine in 1971, *Ms.*—as a distinct magazine—debuted as a monthly in 1972. Soon the magazine reached a circulation of 395,000. At its best, *Ms.* provided thoughtful first-person comment from readers; reported on sexual harassment, domestic violence, body image, women's health issues, and the status of women internationally; editorially supported the repeal of laws that put women at a disadvantage; rated presidential candidates on women's issues; issued a "No Comment" section that highlighted advertising that was insulting and degrading to women; and offered a range of creative content from poetry to illustrations and photography. Not all feminists admired *Ms.* or its editorial direction—*oob*

and *No More Fun and Games,* both radical voices, saw the magazine as a sellout.

Like *oob, Ms.* faced an uncertain future in the 1980s. Sold by the Ms. Foundation to an Australian conglomerate and then resold, the magazine shifted its editorial focus to become a general interest news magazine for women, with celebrity covers featuring singer Cher, actors Meryl Streep and Bette Midler, television host Oprah Winfrey, and athlete Florence Griffith Joyner; increased political reporting; and expanded coverage to such subjects as child care, hair coloring, and cooking. The 1990s saw *Ms.* return to its feminist roots in an ad-free format. In 2001 the Feminist Majority Foundation acquired the magazine. Since then, *Ms.* has published stories that specifically are designed to appeal to feminists whatever the wave.

Third-Wave Feminist News Media (Late 1980s–Present)

Young feminists of the third wave questioned the racism, classism, and heterosexism of the second wave. In its "Blueprint for the Future," the Third Wave Foundation pointed out how the second wave had failed young women. Earlier feminists had been too insulated and too limited in their vision, especially in overemphasizing abortion. Their outmoded messages did not relate to the young. Moreover, by excluding men, the second-wave feminists had limited the movement's growth. Researchers Charlotte Krolokke and Anne Scott Sorensen emphasized the complexity of third-wave feminism to include those who flaunted their femininity and sought to reclaim derogatory terms such as *bitch*.

Third-wave feminism has many voices. Its adherents can be heard on the radio and occasionally television. But feminist news media of the third wave are found primarily in print and on the Internet. The two best-known voices are *Bust* and *Bitch,* two print magazines circulated nationwide. Of the two, *Bitch* has the most in common with the editorial traditions of feminism of earlier waves. *Bitch* provides news, editorials, first-person essays, and art coverage; all content is designed to be a "feminist response to pop culture" and is presented in an edgy format, avoiding the objective, inverted pyramid-style of traditional journalism. Premiering in 1996 as a "Xerox-and-staple 'zine" in the San Francisco Bay Area, *Bitch* has grown into what has been called an "underground media phenomenon" with more than 150,000 readers. Founded by Lisa Jervis and Andi Zeisler, the magazine zeroed in on popular culture as its focus.

Bitch is a "girl-friendly" place where many points of view find a home. Each issue has a special theme, which is announced beforehand so young feminists can submit essays. The result is an irreverent editorial mix that touches on everything from superheroines to lipstick, from breastfeeding to breasts, from fashion to music. Even the magazine's title is in keeping with the third-wave feminism's attempt to reclaim pejorative terms.

In contrast, *Bust,* the other most frequently cited voice of the third wave, looks more like a mainstream consumer publication; it is a slick bimonthly lifestyle magazine, with content designed to appeal to the varied interests of young educated women: articles on fashion, media, makeup, sex, and travel, as well as profiles of young women making a difference in their field, all find a place in the magazine's editorial mix. The magazine is edited by Debbie Stoller, who is also known for the *Stitch 'N Bitch* series of books that has helped spawn a whole handicraft movement among third-wave feminists. *Bust* offers both news that isn't likely to be found in mainstream publications—such as a calendar of feminist events and woman-focused international news—and stories that could easily appear in any women's magazine, including recipes, craft projects, and new products, albeit from a hipper, younger perspective.

However, the largest number of third-wave feminist news voices is found online. According to one estimate, the Internet is now the home of at least 240,000 feminist blogs. These serve a range of functions. Some are merely personal perspectives; others serve as a kind of cyber consciousness-raising; a number are designed to deliver news from a feminist perspective.

The best of the feminist blogs provide perspectives from many. Feminist blogs (feministblogs.org) and feministing (www.feministing.com) offer information and commentary posted many times a day. At feminist blogs, contributors offer their perspectives on everything from politics to international women's issues, from media to education. Edited by Jessica Valenti, feministing is more news-based, offering interviews with notable women (including the commander of the all-female United Nations peacekeeping force) and

stories on politics, international events, the media, and fashion. Both blogs carry video.

The feminist blogs represent yet another phase of the feminist news media. Activist women are using new technology to offer news and opinion from their perspective, to showcase their creativity, and to build a feminist community. Those aims are not so different from the nineteenth-century women's rights activists who launched the *Lily,* the *Una,* and the *Revolution,* and they are the same goals of the twentieth-century feminists who started *Voice of the Women's Liberation Movement, off our backs,* and *Ms.* The third-wave feminist news media employ the new technology but seek to accomplish many of the same goals.

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See also Alternative and Underground Newspapers; Diversity: Content; Gay and Lesbian Journalism; Gay and Lesbian News Media; Social Movements and Journalism

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Film in Television News

Until the American commercial television networks introduced videotape recording in 1956, they produced news only live or on film. They aired live, film, and videotape news reports until 1978, when film was dropped.

Development

Televised film news first appeared in late 1936 in England with the launching of the BBC's London Television Service. Three years later, in 1939, NBC/RCA introduced U.S. television at the New York World's Fair. After World War II, in 1946, four networks (ABC, CBS, DuMont, and NBC) began broadcasting daily 15-minute filmed news magazine programs from their New York flagship stations. Coverage of political party conventions and presidential elections followed in 1948.

To capture televised images on film, 16mm and 35mm kinescope cameras especially designed for

the purpose were aimed at video monitors carrying studio or remote transmissions. Only in the late 1950s were film reels and cameras gradually replaced by erasable, two-inch magnetic videotape and the Ampex-developed transverse video recorder. Throughout the more than two decades of airing filmed news, competitive and convergent shifts occurred within and between the U.S. television and motion picture industries that affected which news formats were widely distributed and which were not.

Formats for filmed news began to proliferate after World War I. In the new Soviet Union, director Dziga Vertov (1896–1954) and the Moscow Cinema Committee experimented with free weekly newsreels screened at train stops and on barges. His collective soon switched to longer, monthly *Film-Truth* programs of "action caught on the run, from any revealing vantage." Later Soviet newsreels captured unstaged dramas he called "the prose of life." During the Depression, Frontier Films, which was affiliated with the U.S. National Film and Photo League, began producing American newsreels and documentaries that influenced the 30-minute *March of Time* series that ran from 1935 to 1951. Other U.S. independents also began producing newsreels for women, children, African Americans, and urban locales.

By 1925 an average of 40 million American moviegoers a week watched filmed newsreels in most of the nation's 18,000 theaters. Between 1931 and 1935, this total rose to 69 million. In 1929, Fox Movietone News opened its first newsreel theater on Broadway. Newsreel theaters began opening in England and Europe. The Trans Lux Corporation launched a luxury newsreel chain in New York, and Embassy newsreel theaters opened in other cities. Trans Lux theaters' ultra-modern black-and-silver look designed by Loew theater architect Thomas Lamb charged 25 cents to watch and discuss an hour of news, day or night. Downtown news houses decorated with huge globes opened in Los Angeles, Oakland, and Arizona. One was designed entirely of glass, so passersby could stop and watch. In 1938, the Telenews Theatre Corporation formed a 13-theater chain run by managers who spliced together their own newsreels from the six newsreel majors to offer a "continuous flow of news just off the wire." Also in the late 1930s, neighborhood cinemas featured locally produced newsreels. The *Home News Parade* by Castle Films even targeted the 2 million home movie market. In wartime, when movie audiences jumped to 85 million, newsreels were promoted as *the* news that brought world events home and kept communities together.

After the oligopoly of Fox Movietone, Pathe, Hearst, Universal, Paramount, and Kinograms added sound by the early 1930s and expanded their international coverage, the newsreel format had changed, though not enough for critics, who complained it was poorly ordered, blandly shot, and lacking in news value. Newsreel producers, who always viewed newsreels as entertainment, now classified news as either sudden, impending, or scheduled. Company heads hired radio industry narrators, movie cinematographers, and newspaper assignment editors. Camera people competed and collaborated with radio and print reporters, and editors further speeded up production. Content values, however, remained much the same: violence, speed, action, disasters, and assassinations. Self-censorship of shocking, morbid, and controversial content became more explicit. (As more serious critics of the 1930s and 1940s deplored the cutting out of serious, unpleasant footage unless it contained sensational violence, they also blamed the smoother, studio-produced sound newsreels for being less immediate and believable.) Cinematographers, who doubled as reporters, lagged behind their Hollywood peers. As demand for news increased, newsreel producers should have adapted (says Raymond Fielding, author of *The American Newsreel*) by shifting to bigger stories with beginnings, middles, and ends.

Dziga Vertov and Soviet film director and editor Esfir Shub (1894–1959) introduced two additional news formats that later influenced television news: the compilation newsreel and the long compilation news documentary. Both mixed archival with live footage and added voice-over commentary, and, during World War II and the early days of television, compilation newsreels with voice-over commentary became a common format. Government units in England, Germany, and the United States adopted variations of it—for widely varying purposes. *March of Time* synthesized aspects of these earlier formats. Imitated in the film *Citizen Kane,* its 30-minute newsreels spliced actuality with reenactment sequences. Stage actors impersonated

prominent newsmakers. Voice-over narration "interpreted" each story's importance.

During the 1930s and during World War II, other countries competed internationally with U.S. newsreels, so that by the time the war ended in 1945, the first television journalists could avail themselves of several new filmed-news formats. Independent newsreel companies had formed international networks to share news footage. Governmental and commercial newsreel companies like Japan's Prokino circulated their military footage. England's General Post Office unit released medium-length voice-over documentaries with actuality footage intended to provoke social change. These were so well received in England that unit head John Grierson (1898–1972) was sent to set up similar units in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Wartime news producers around the world began what Erik Barnouw called a "documentary war." The U.S. War Department film unit remastered footage from Europe, Japan, and the Soviet Union to produce the "Why We Fight" series of documentaries, which were used to train recruits and were also screened in studio-owned theaters. Forty-minute weekly German newsreels featured animated maps, voice-over propaganda, and music, as well as actual and staged battle footage. In U.S. theaters, war messages now changed every 30 minutes. Within the Telenews Corporation, which was dedicated to communal news-sharing, Allied and Axis countries sent government-funded news films units to military fronts and exported their news programming to neutral countries. England's Crown Film Unit documented changes in the English population; Soviet feature-film directors shot winter footage in Stalingrad, Moscow, and Leningrad; and German filmmakers dropped by parachute into the invasion of Poland.

From 1944 to 1947, the NBC network aired one of the first series in a long-form documentary format, *The Voice of Firestone Televue,* which featured serious groups such as the 4-H and the United Nations, but the first prevalent filmed news format was a 15-minute news magazine similar to the Hollywood newsreel. However, broadcasting's leaders intentionally slowed down the development of network television programming. They foresaw that, without competition, radio would earn millions in advertising, stock prices, and celebrity contracts. The war interrupted FCC and other regulation, giving network heads time to plan, publicize wartime electronics contributions, spell out merits of commercial broadcasting, and persuade the U.S. government to restrict its oversight. Only after a battle between NBC-RCA and CBS ended in 1946 with licensing restricted to the VHF spectrum did issuing of station licenses and sale of receivers begin to climb.

For a brief period from 1946 to 1955, television-produced filmed news and Hollywood newsreels directly competed for theatrical markets. It was not yet clear television would be a solely home innovation; Hollywood tried to introduce it into theaters. After 1949 newsreel production rose on a floodtide of movie-goers, who climbed from 39 million in 1951 to 49 million in 1955. Television producers introduced programming to movie theaters, while Hollywood released more "telefilms." Theater architects drew up plans for large-screen television lounges, as well as for television news theaters. By 1950, some movie theaters were replacing newsreels with regular closed-circuit television programming, as well as special televised events. The Telenews chain's newsreel production unit created daily newsreels, a weekly two-reel news review, and a separate sports edition, and delivered these products to independent movie theaters and television stations. One theater even cut out wartime newsreel frames so audiences could take home pictures of loved ones. In the early 1950s, Telenews also sold its news to both CBS and theaters in Brazil, Cuba, and Mexico. However, these efforts ended in 1954 when Hearst Metrotone News purchased Telenews. At the same time, television receiver set sales jumped to a saturation level of 36 million in the United States in 1955, and even abroad sales topped 10.5 million in 1956. Home access to free television news programming had won the competition with theatrical news.

When the four networks settled on broadcasting nightly news magazines in the late 1940s, NBC's *Camel News Caravan* combined filmed newsreel footage with narrated wire service print stories, but soon more thorough news formats emerged from a group of good, studio-based journalists. Former radio journalists Edward R. Murrow (1908–65) and Fred Friendly (1915–98) sought to tell news more visually on their *See It*

Now Series through filmed footage illustrating Murrow's voice-over narrative, and long takes of Murrow's interpretive commentaries. Murrow's powerful position at CBS, earned in part by heroic wartime radio reporting, also led *See It Now* to enter the nation's most polarizing controversy over Senator Joseph McCarthy's witchhunt for communists. During 1952 and 1953, Murrow and Friendly produced and narrated two anti-McCarthy documentaries, whose high ratings influenced ABC to air the Army–McCarthy hearings. Together, these three television news events caused McCarthy and McCarthyism to lose credibility and elevated the status of television news.

Within a few years, however, several factors influenced networks to shift away from live and filmed news programming. For one thing, videotape technology permitted reruns and franchises. For another, studies suggested that programs had little impact on overall viewing levels. Network executives began to fill prime-time with feature films and Hollywood-produced filmed series. That shift caused FCC Chairman Newton Minow to condemn television in mid-1961 as a cultural "wasteland."

Golden Age: The 1960s

In response to regulator concern about the late 1950s' quiz show scandals, the networks turned to more public service programming. Teams of journalists and documentary filmmakers like the Robert Drew Associates adapted portable sync-sound film technology to introduce on-the-spot "fly-on-the-wall" documentaries. In just the years 1961 to 1963, the networks aired 1,600 news documentaries, largely using film. Later filmed documentaries shaped television viewers' opinions about the Vietnam War, civil rights, the de-colonized Third World, and countercultures. At the same time, network journalists' uncensored nightly war coverage turned television into what Friendly called "the electronic hearth . . . where history was being made, and this country will never be the same again" (quoted in Winship 1988, 218). As Vertov had done with his news collectives, American documentary makers of the 1960s and 1970s taught generations of television journalists and film students to believe in the truth of unscripted, close shooting of "unmanipulated," unfolding events. This tradition continues today in cable television's cinema verite documentaries.

By the end of the 1960s, however, network news content was under constant criticism from liberals and conservatives alike. News documentaries were expensive and controversial, and their number began to decline. Network television reduced the airing of filmed news documentaries, especially after intense controversies provoked by CBS's *The Selling of the Pentagon,* which exposed the U.S. military's deceptive public relations efforts, and CBS's *Hunger in America,* whose report on 250 "hungry counties" nationalized food stamps. In 1980, CNN began its 24-hour, satellite-relayed, electronic news coverage. The 1980s also saw creation of documentary-centered cable networks such as the Discovery Channel and the History Channel. The one-time broadcast format shifted to the growing number of cable services.

Of interest is Fielding's argument that issues and problems in newsreel production were "substantially" the same as those of television news. Both formats were "too important a matter to leave entirely to newsmen and women—at least in a free society." The ethical issue of fakery, for example, plagued newsreels from the time they were imported from France in 1909. Fielding classifies four types: theatrical restagings not likely to fool audiences, realistically staged re-creations intended to deceive, approximate re-creations intended to deceive, and outright false news also intended to deceive. In later decades, he says, nearly 50 percent of all newsreel content was "manufactured." By the mid-1920, critical audiences deplored newsreels' fragmentation, brevity, superficiality, repetitiousness, and trivialization, much as today's viewers of network and cable television news complain about similar shortcomings of contemporary televised news. Filmed newsreel content-values of strong action and sensationalism remained constant until newsreels ended in the late 1960s, and these were carried over into television values of feeling, action, energetic presentation, and the three C's of crisis, catastrophe, and conflict.

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See also Documentaries, Motion Picture; Documentaries, Television; Evening News, Television; Newsreels; Recording

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First Amendment

In only 45 words, the First Amendment to the United States Constitution, ratified in 1791 along with the rest of the Bill of Rights, guarantees the American people a free press, as well as freedom of speech, assembly, religion, and the right to petition the government. It reads,

> Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Although written in absolute terms ("Congress shall make no law"), the Supreme Court of the United States has never interpreted the First Amendment to prohibit every kind of government regulation of news media. Nevertheless, it has recognized a strong presumption against government attempts to restrict the exercise of any First Amendment right. This means that the government bears the burden of justifying any news media controls.

Origins

The concept of freedom of the press in the United States began well before the First Amendment. Prior to the American Revolution, newspaper publishers in the British colonies in North America were subject to laws and licensing requirements passed by Parliament. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, printers could be jailed, and their publications burned, if they published without official permission. Publishers of articles or books that criticized the government could be prosecuted and jailed, even if their statements were true.

In 1734, a New York printer named John Peter Zenger was charged with seditious libel (criticizing the government or government officials) after he printed anonymous criticism of the colonial governor general in his newspaper, the *Weekly Journal*. After spending nearly a year in prison, Zenger was acquitted when a jury refused to follow the judge's instructions and convict him—an early example of "jury nullification" in what was to become the United States. Although the outcome of the case created no binding legal precedent, it established the principle that truth would be considered a defense in similar cases in the colonies.

By the 1760s, English jurist William Blackstone, in his *Commentaries on the Laws of England,* had declared that, under British common law, "liberty of the press is indeed essential to the nature of a free state," and that "previous restraints" upon publication were incompatible with the concept of freedom of expression. However, Blackstone also made clear that writers and publishers could be held legally responsible, and punished *after* the fact, for speech that was "blasphemous, immoral, treasonable, schismatical, seditious," or libelous. In other words, the government could not stop a publisher from printing anything he chose, but could hold him legally responsible if the material published violated the law.

The men who would become known as the Founding Fathers, including Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, all students of the philosophers of the Enlightenment, were strongly influenced by Blackstone's principles, as well as by the concept of a truth defense as recognized in the Zenger trial. They regarded freedom of the press as an essential human right. But the early document that attempted to create a new nation in 1783, the Articles of the Confederation, did not mention freedom of the press. Nor did the Constitution of 1787, which created the tripartite government that exists in the country today, include a Bill of Rights. Federalists such as Alexander Hamilton believed a Bill of Rights was unnecessary, arguing that any attempt to define freedom of the press would necessarily result in limiting it. In addition, many of the states' constitutions already included provisions protecting citizens' expressive rights, which were seen as adequate protection by the Federalists. But others, particularly members of the Anti-Federalist party, feared that the new central government would muzzle citizens' rights to criticize it, and cited the lack of a Bill of Rights as the basis for opposing the Constitution. Although 13 states ratified the Constitution, nearly half either recommended, or insisted, that a Bill of Rights be appended to it.

James Madison undertook the task of drafting the twelve proposals that would be the basis for what eventually would become the Bill of Rights, submitting them to Congress in 1789. The third proposal, as originally submitted, would have protected freedom of the press from infringement by the states, and was approved by the House of Representatives. But the Senate revised that provision, resulting in the language that was adopted in 1791 (after the original first two amendments failed), following ratification by three-fourths of the states, and survives as the First Amendment.

First Amendment Theories

Legal scholars have developed a variety of theories to explain the basis and need for freedom of the press or news media more generally. These theories are important because they influence the way judges interpret the First Amendment when deciding legal disputes involving news media.

Among the most prominent of these theories are the following:

Natural law—articulated first by seventeenth-century English philosopher John Locke, the belief that freedoms of expression and of the press are natural rights that government has no power to curtail.

Self-fulfillment—the argument that free speech is an essential component of human dignity and autonomy, and cannot be subject to regulation by the state.

Marketplace—derived from John Milton's *Areopagitica* (1644), the contention that public debate is the best way to determine truth. The "marketplace of ideas" theory was refined by John Stuart Mill in the nineteenth century, who argued that society cannot function without the freedom to freely exchange viewpoints without fear of retribution from the state.

Self-governance—the theory espoused by philosophy Professor Alexander Meiklejohn, among others, that free speech is an essential component of self-government. Under this theory, free speech permits citizens to participate fully in the political system by discovering truth, reaching consensus, thwarting tyranny, and providing stability. Related concepts include the "safety valve" theory, which contends that free expression is essential to diffuse violent dissent, the "checking" function, which holds government accountable to the electorate, and the "watchdog" function, which considers the press to have a unique role as the primary guardian of the public's interest.

Right to know—the presumption that there is a constitutionally based right to know what the government is up to, and that the primary function of news media is to be a conduit of information to the public. Justice William O. Douglas, who served on the Supreme Court from 1939 to 1975, argued in *Branzburg v. Hayes* (1972) that "The press has a preferred position in our constitutional scheme . . . to bring fulfillment to the public's right to know."

Absolutism—a literal reading of the language of the First Amendment, advocated by, among others, Justice Hugo Black, who served on the Supreme Court from 1937 to 1971. In *Beauharnais v. Illinois* (1952), Black wrote that "Congress shall make no law" means just that, "without any 'ifs' or 'buts' or 'whereases.'" This view, although shared by Justice Douglas, has never enjoyed support by a majority of the Court.

Balancing—a process, widely utilized by U.S. courts, by which government weighs the value of free speech against competing social values, thereby determining whether the speech is worthy of legal protection. Under a "hierarchical approach," different types of speech enjoy different degrees of protection depending upon their "value," with political speech enjoying the most favored position, and pornography or hate speech the least. Under a "categorical approach," certain types of speech, such as obscenity, are excluded entirely from First Amendment protection.

Early Interpretations of Free Press Clause

Just seven years after the First Amendment was adopted, the Federalist Party passed the Sedition Act of 1798. This law made it a crime to print any false, scandalous, or malicious writings about the President, the Congress, or the federal government. It was used to indict and convict the editors of several Republican newspapers that supported the candidacy of Thomas Jefferson for President. When Jefferson won the election, he allowed the act to expire. Although the Supreme Court never ruled on the constitutionality of this statute, both Jefferson and Madison used it as a vehicle to renew debate over the power of the federal government to silence its critics.

Well into the nineteenth century, judicial interpretation of the free press clause was limited, in large part because it applied only to the actions of the federal government. State governments in the South that censored abolitionist materials, for example, were not then subject to the First Amendment. Not until 1868, when the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment prohibited the states from making or enforcing laws that abrogate rights protected by the Constitution, could it be argued that the provisions of the Bill of Rights would also apply to the states. In 1925, in *Gitlow v. New York,* the Supreme Court explicitly held that the states were bound by the First Amendment's prohibition on abridging freedom of expression.

The Presumption of Unconstitutionality: *Near v. Minnesota* and the Pentagon Papers

As we have seen, the idea that prior restraints on publication are incompatible with press freedom, as championed by Blackstone, predated the adoption of the First Amendment. But although prior restraints might be unconstitutional, postpublication sanctions were not. For example, in 1907 in *Patterson v. Colorado,* the Supreme Court upheld a fine imposed on a Colorado publisher who had been found in contempt for criticizing state judges. The opinion by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes held that because there had been no prior restraint, the fine did not violate the Constitution, noting that "the subsequent punishment may extend as well to the true as to the false."

In 1931, however, the high court invalidated a Minnesota statute that permitted officials to stop publication of "malicious, scandalous and defamatory" newspapers and periodicals, and to require publishers who had been enjoined to submit their copy to a judge for review before publication could resume. Jay Near, publisher of *The Saturday Press,* had been ordered to stop publishing his newspaper, which accused local officials of having ties to "Jewish gangsters" who were involved in gambling and bootlegging operations. His challenge to the statute led to a 5–4 decision in his favor by the Supreme Court. Although not adopting Blackstone's absolutist language, the ruling established the principle that a prior restraint on the press would be presumed to be unconstitutional. In other words, the government, not the press, would have to justify its actions.

The high court provided some examples of the types of "exceptional cases" in which prior

restraints would be permissible: obstruction of military recruiting, or publishing the details of troop movements in wartime; obscenity; incitement to violence or the violent overthrow of government; and so-called fighting words. But none of these exceptions applied in Near's case, the court found. Although acknowledging that *The Saturday Press* used language that some might find offensive to make its charges about government officials, the opinion by Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes observed that the "abuse" of press freedom by some did not "make any the less necessary the immunity of the press from previous restraint when dealing with official misconduct."

The "national security" exception recognized in *Near* was tested 40 years later. During the war in Vietnam, *The New York Times* was leaked a copy of a classified multivolume government report on U.S. involvement in Vietnam known informally as the Pentagon Papers. The day after the paper began publishing material from the report, Attorney General John Mitchell sent a telegram to the *Times,* "respectfully request[ing]" that the newspaper cease publication of the documents. After the *Times* refused to comply, the Justice Department sought federal district court orders to enjoin it, and, in a separate action, *The Washington Post* from further publication. When the two federal circuit courts that reviewed the lower courts' decisions came to different conclusions—the appeals court in New York ruled in favor of the government, but the District of Columbia federal court sided with *The Washington Post*—the Supreme Court agreed to review the case on an expedited basis. Only 17 days after the first installment of the Pentagon Papers had appeared in the *Times,* the high court, in a terse *per curiam* (unsigned) opinion, ruled in *New York Times Co. v. United States* that the government had failed to meet its burden to demonstrate that a serious threat to national security would be posed by publication of the Pentagon Papers.

Although the *per curiam* opinion of the Court provided little insight into the justices' reasoning, each member of the Court also wrote separately. Absolutists Black and Douglas believed that the First Amendment barred any prior restraints, and would have vacated the orders without even a hearing. Justice William Brennan argued that the government's failure to do more than speculate about the harm that would result was insufficient to prove that this was an example of the "extremely narrow class of cases" in which a prior restraint would be constitutional. Justices Thurgood Marshall, Potter Stewart, and Byron White contended that, absent explicit authorization by Congress, the Executive branch had no authority to ask the judiciary to enjoin publication.

By contrast, the dissenters—Chief Justice Warren Burger and Justices John Marshall Harlan and Harry Blackmun—decried what Harlan called "the frenzied train of events" and pleaded for more time to sort out the competing interests at stake. And a majority of the justices appeared open to the possibility that the newspapers might face postpublication sanctions, including prosecution for espionage, if Congress authorized it. But the Pentagon Papers case established an almost insurmountable standard for the government to meet, and, in fact, the high court has never upheld a prior restraint on news media on the grounds of national security since that ruling.

Constitutionalization of Libel Law: *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan*

In common law, libel and slander—the publication of false and defamatory statements about an individual—were "strict liability" torts, which meant that the plaintiff was not required to show that the publisher had been in any way at fault before liability could be imposed by a court. Until the mid-1960s, libelous speech was considered to be outside the protections of the First Amendment.

But in 1964, during the height of the civil rights movement, the Supreme Court established in *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan* that criticism of public officials deserved constitutional protection. In an opinion by Justice William Brennan, the high court overturned a state court decision, and ruled that an Alabama police commissioner could not successfully sue *The New York Times* for libel based on an "advertorial" that had appeared in the paper four years earlier unless he could prove that the newspaper had published false statements about him with "actual malice"—knowledge that the statements were false, or with reckless disregard of whether they were false or not.

Brennan's opinion noted that "erroneous statement[s are] inevitable in free debate," and that in order to encourage robust debate about public

officials, as well as citizen participation in the governmental process, neither factual error, nor defamatory content, in themselves should remove speech from First Amendment protection. Although agreeing with the result in this case, concurring opinions by absolutists Justices Black, Douglas, and Arthur Goldberg would have gone further, granting complete protection for criticism of the official conduct of public officials. Perhaps surprisingly, however, in *Garrison v. Louisiana* (1965) the Supreme Court declined to strike down state criminal libel statutes outright, but nevertheless required that they meet the constitutional standard of a "high degree of awareness of their probable falsity," effectively eliminating any possibility of a prosecution for seditious libel based on a truthful statement.

In subsequent cases, the high court extended the same First Amendment protection to libelous speech about public *figures*. But in 1974, it ruled that the actual malice standard would not apply in situations where the news subject was a purely private individual, even if that person was involved in matters of public concern. The Supreme Court, in *Gertz v. Robert Welch, Inc.*, said that all the Constitution would require would be a showing of some degree of fault on the part of the publisher. It left it to the individual states to decide whether the standard of fault would be negligence, actual malice, or something in between—unless the plaintiff wanted to recover punitive damages. All those seeking punitive damages, which are designed to "punish reprehensible conduct and to deter its future occurrence," would be required to prove actual malice as well.

Protecting "Pernicious Opinions": *Hustler Magazine, Inc. v. Falwell*

An additional important aspect of the *Gertz* case was the observation in Justice Powell's opinion that "however pernicious an opinion may seem, we depend for its correction not on the conscience of judges and juries but on the competition of other ideas." The idea that pure opinion—statements that can be proven neither true nor false—should enjoy absolute protection under the First Amendment marketplace of ideas theory faced one of its most severe challenges in a case arising from a satirical advertisement parody that appeared in *Hustler* magazine in 1983.

The parody, which was clearly labeled as such, lampooned the prominent minister the Rev. Jerry Falwell, suggesting that he had committed incest with his mother in an outhouse when both were intoxicated. Falwell sued, claiming libel, invasion of privacy, and intentional infliction of emotional distress. Two of his claims were thrown out at trial, but Falwell initially prevailed on the emotional distress claim.

On appeal, the Supreme Court in *Hustler Magazine, Inc. v. Falwell* (1988) ruled that, as a public figure, Falwell would have to prove actual malice in order to successfully sue the magazine for damages. The unanimous opinion by Chief Justice William Rehnquist recognized "the fundamental importance of the free flow of ideas on matters of public interest and concerns," citing the colorful history of "caustic" political commentary in the United States as an important attribute of individual liberty and the free trade in ideas. Although acknowledging that the *Hustler* parody was "at best a distant cousin" of the classic political cartoons by artists such as Thomas Nast, it would be impossible, Rehnquist wrote, for the Court to set down an "outrageousness" standard that would permit recovery of damages based on the emotional impact on the audience, or the subject, at least when that subject was a public figure who was the object of "vehement, caustic, and sometimes unpleasantly sharp attacks."

The "Right to Know" and Rights of Access

As noted above, Justice Douglas argued that the "preferred position" of the press was predicated on its role in fulfilling the public's "right to know." However, although the high court has acknowledged that news gathering enjoys some First Amendment protection, it has been reluctant to recognize special access privileges for the press. Indeed, the Court—in *Bartnicki v. Vopper* (2001), for example—has made clear that journalists are subject to laws of "general applicability" when gathering news, as long as those laws do not unconstitutionally infringe upon the ability of news media to do their job.

This reluctance to grant special privileges is based, at least in part, on an unwillingness to attempt to define who "the press" or news media may be, out of concern that this would signal a

return to the licensing prohibited by the First Amendment. As a consequence, the Supreme Court has ruled that the First Amendment does not grant journalists a privilege to avoid compelled disclosure of confidential sources and information about criminal activities before a grand jury. It has also declined to recognize special protection—beyond the Fourth Amendment rights that extend to any citizen—from law enforcement searches of newsrooms.

Similarly, journalists enjoy no greater First Amendment right of access to government installations and activities than any other person. Even news media access to criminal court proceedings—a right seemingly guaranteed by the First Amendment—is only coextensive with the right of the general public to observe the judicial process. However, the high court has acknowledged that news media, acting as the public's surrogate, do fulfill a distinct structural role in fulfilling the historical need for citizen oversight. And gag orders on news reports of trials and other judicial proceedings—which are ostensibly designed to protect an accused person's constitutional right to a fair trial—are subject to strict limitations reminiscent of those constitutionally imposed on other types of prior restraints.

Licensing to Promote First Amendment Rights

Despite the Supreme Court's rejection of press licensing, it upheld the Federal Communications Commission's authority to compel broadcast licensees, who enjoy diminished First Amendment protection, to air programming concerning controversial issues of public importance and to provide equal opportunities for those who disagreed to express their views (the so-called Fairness Doctrine). This was based on the idea that the broadcast spectrum is a scarce public resource, and must be utilized in a way to encourage the free exchange of competing ideas and to protect the First Amendment rights of the listeners and viewers to receive information. The FCC itself chose to repeal the Fairness Doctrine in 1987, but it was not compelled to do so on First Amendment grounds.

By contrast, in *Miami Herald Publishing Co. v. Tornillo* (1974) the high court struck down a Florida statute that compelled newspapers to publish replies by politicians whom they had "attacked" in their "news columns" on pain of criminal prosecution. Although acknowledging that the statute might encourage news media to provide a forum for competing viewpoints, the opinion by Chief Justice Burger observed that "a responsible press is an undoubtedly desirable goal, but press responsibility is not mandated by the Constitution, and like many other virtues cannot be legislated."

Conclusion

The First Amendment remains unique in the world, both on its face and in its interpretation. Although the Supreme Court of the United States has never accepted the idea that "no law means no law" in Justice Black's absolute terms, it has embraced the notion that free news media are essential to a democratic society. Government attempts to regulate and control news media are subject to close scrutiny by the courts. In most cases, particularly in situations that amount to a classic "previous restraint" on publication (or broadcast), the burden is on the government to justify the restriction, not the other way around. The presumption that news media free of government control enjoy a fundamental and essential right was not invented by the Founding Fathers. But it is fair to say that the United States has come closer to realizing it than any other country in modern times. The First Amendment will continue to face challenges as new media permit individuals to participate in gathering and publishing news to a degree never imagined by James Madison and Thomas Jefferson. The Supreme Court has made clear that advances in technology will not alter the core principles that have shaped First Amendment jurisprudence. Rejecting the idea that the Internet, a new medium whose content "is as diverse as human thought," should be subject to government control, Justice John Paul Stevens wrote in *Reno v. American Civil Liberties Union* (1997)—the first case the Supreme Court considered that involved congressional attempts to regulate sexually explicit Internet content on the grounds that it was too easily accessible to vulnerable minors—

> As a matter of constitutional tradition . . . we presume that governmental regulation of the content of speech is more likely to interfere with the free exchange of ideas than to encourage it. The

interest in encouraging freedom of expression in a democratic society outweighs any theoretical but unproven benefit of censorship.

Jane E. Kirtley

See also Free Flow of Information; Free Press and Fair Trial; Gag Orders; Libel; Indecency and Obscenity; Privacy; Shield Law; Supreme Court and Journalism

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Food Journalism

Starting in the 1980s, leisure interest in food flourished across America as more people began treating cooking and dining as a pastime akin to attending the theater or cinema. The number and variety of restaurants, gourmet shops, specialty kitchen shops, cooking classes, international culinary tours, and other food related enterprises proliferated.

As culinary consumer culture grew, so did consumer interest in food writing, a category of journalism defined by its subject that takes many forms, including reviews, essays, memoirs, feature stories, and hard news. As food journalism became more lucrative (attracting both readers and advertisers), many newspapers developed their food columns into stand-alone sections, new glossy food and lifestyle magazines appeared, the cable Food Network was launched, blogs and other online publications devoted to the culinary arts exploded, and publishing houses sought book-length manuscripts from journalists who took food as their primary beat.

The best food journalists and periodicals also received recognition for their work in the form of professional awards including the National Magazine Award, The Guild of Food Writers Award, The James Beard Foundation Awards, the M.F.K. Fisher Distinguished Writing Award—even the Pulitzer Prize, which was awarded for the first time to a restaurant critic in 2007. In bestowing this award, the Pulitzer Prize committee recognized food writing as an important cultural beat worthy of professional recognition and respect—and conferred upon food journalists a status that had eluded them since they first began writing in the early days of American newspapers.

Development

Food writing appeared in the women's pages of American newspapers as early as the 1840s and by the 1880s was a staple of newspapers and magazines. From the beginning, food writers offered much more than simple guides for making the best plum puddings. They served an ideological function as well, giving women advice on how to comport themselves and manage their homes so that they lived up to the image of the proper, white, middle-class, Christian home that became the cornerstone of the nineteenth-century American "cult of domesticity." Food, its preparation, and its consumption played a central role, and food writers advised women on how to prepare, for their husbands and children, economical and nutritious meals in an efficiently designed and managed kitchen, and how to serve and consume these meals at a well-ordered table that allowed for genteel conversation. These domestic duties, women were told, would ensure a morally and physically robust family, which in turn would ensure the health and vitality of the Republic.

In addition to preserving the moral and physical health of the country, food writers in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century also advised women to ensure its economic health by instructing them on how to become good "consumers" at a time when production of goods was shifting from the home to the factory, and people began buying rather than growing, raising, or making their own food. During the Civil War, canned and other packaged goods appeared in the markets and by 1897, Joseph Campbell had figured out how to can and condense soup. By the turn of the century, canned and other processed foods of all kinds—packaged dry cereals, pancake mixes, crackers, canned hams, and bottled corned beef—had become common in the American diet. Magazines and newspapers wrote about and accepted advertising for these goods, and taught women how to use them in their own cooking.

Periodicals also taught women from the late 1800s up through the 1920s and 1930s how to use the mechanical and electrical appliances being invented and manufactured. For example, as electricity became more widely available women had to be convinced that it was safe—and that the new kitchen appliances it powered were worth buying. These appliances were promoted in the popular press as the solution to women's drudgery in the home. In the process, a new image of the American housewife took shape, one suitable for an age of invention and consumption: an ideal wife and mother, who wisely bought and used the modern conveniences of appliances and processed foods to alleviate her toil, allowing her to always dress nicely, smell good, and be ready to meet her husband's needs when he came home at the end of the day.

Food journalism contributed to this household consumer revolution and ideological instruction through the many stories, columns, and advertisements promoting kitchen appliances and the use of processed foods that appeared regularly in local and national newspapers and magazines. Thus the often symbiotic relationship between food writing, advertising, and the various food industries that continues to influence food journalism in the twenty-first century was established early on.

Postwar Expansion

Food writing remained largely the province of the women's pages and advice columns through the 1940s. In the prosperity that followed World War II, however, interest in food and food writing began to breech its domestic confines. New York writers documented the coming of French haute cuisine to the United States in the person of Henri Soule, a French chef who opened New York's premier French Restaurant, Le Pavillon, in 1941. It soon became the training ground for a generation of chefs who went on to open their own restaurants. Other writers, notably Mary Frances Kennedy (M. F. K.) Fisher and Clementine Paddleford, traveled around the country discovering humble regional cuisines and sharing their discoveries with their readers.

As an increasing number of Americans enjoyed more leisure time and disposable income after 1945, they began to eat out more regularly and to take an interest in food that went beyond the moralistic advice columns of how to prepare efficient, nutritious meals for the young generation of citizens, or how to buy and use new consumer goods. These early columns were slowly supplanted by stories that intertwined recipes with personal experience, culinary history, and journalistic descriptions of people and places. While advice did not

disappear from food writing, it changed with the times. Women, some of whom had returned from war service overseas or in the nation's factories, were encouraged to stay home and learn how to cook delicious, fun meals for their hard-working husbands and growing children; and men were taught that home cooking was no longer for women alone: that the backyards in the new suburbs were perfect for weekend barbeques, where they could grill robust steaks and burgers in their outdoor "kitchens" without compromising their masculinity. Some food writing thus continued its ideological function, teaching Americans how to conform to accepted gender roles and other norms of the white, Christian, middle-class home—and continued to teach Americans how to be "good" consumers of the new food products and appliances continually flooding the markets.

By the 1940s and 1950s the first well-known food writers that would form the foundation of the canon of American culinary journalism emerged. One of the most influential and prolific was M. F. K. Fisher, a writer who continues to exert tremendous influence on culinary journalists. Fisher loved reading magazines from an early age because they served as her source of escape and emulation, and this love influenced her preference for short narrative forms (Reardon 2006, xii). Fisher introduced a style of food writing that soon became popular: integrating recipes into personal stories that chronicled her travels and impressions of the places she visited and lived in. She shied away from writing about food analytically, as an amalgam of ingredients and nutrients. Nor did she treat food and its preparation as a civic or domestic duty. Instead, she wrote about food as a pleasure to be enjoyed alone or in the company of family and friends. Fisher published more than 25 books and contributed regularly to such magazines as *Gourmet, The New Yorker, The Atlantic Monthly,* and *Vogue*.

As Fisher traveled the United States and Europe gathering material for her work, other writers were describing American regional cuisines for readers of newspapers and magazines. One of the most popular of these was Clementine Paddleford, who worked as the food editor for the *New York Herald Tribune* from 1933 to 1966, and contributed regularly to other newspapers and magazines, including *Gourmet,* which had been launched in 1941 as a magazine for stylish living.

In 1951, Paddleford learned to pilot a plane so she could fly around the country discovering local dishes, which she shared with her readers. Like Fisher, Paddleford gave readers not only recipes but also vivid descriptions of the people, places, and traditions she had discovered, broadening her own and her readers' culinary knowledge and experience. She also redefined the target audience for food writing, believing that although most men might not be interested in reading recipes or suggestions for setting a festive table, they would be interested in reading stories about specific foods and the people and places in which they were produced, prepared, and consumed.

From 1948 to 1967, Paddleford traveled more than 50,000 miles a year documenting local cuisines. By 1953, she had become so popular that *Time* magazine declared her the "best known food editor in the United States." Her collection of regional recipes joined other early books that treated American cooking seriously, including the works of Sheila Hibbens, who wrote the food column "Markets & Menus" for *The New Yorker* magazine and served as a consultant for White House menus under Eleanor Roosevelt.

Although the number of food journalists writing in mid-century was small, those who did take food as their beat began treating it as more than an opportunity for sharing recipes and advice, seeing it as an occasion for telling stories. Interest in food as a leisure and educational activity grew and the nation's first food television programs were broadcast. Food, in certain contexts such as the backyard barbeque or the professional kitchen, also became an increasingly acceptable passion for men. For example, in the 1930s a radio cooking show called *The Mystery Chef* was hosted by a man named John MacPherson, who concealed his identity to protect his mother who "found the idea of her son doing such a feminine thing as cooking disturbing" (Iness 2001, 94). But by 1946 when the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) invited celebrated chef and cookbook author James Beard to host a short cooking segment on the variety show "Elsie Presents," the network and its audiences were ready to tentatively accept the authority of a man in the kitchen.

Even though the concept of men-in-the-kitchen was gaining popular acceptance, it took a bit longer to take hold in the nation's premier newspaper, *The*

New York Times. When Craig Claiborne applied for the job of the paper's food editor in 1957 to replace retiring editor Jane Nickerson, he was met with skepticism. It was only after intense lobbying that the *Times* agreed to hire him as the first male food editor of a major American newspaper.

During his tenure at the *Times,* Claiborne changed the way food journalism was practiced, treating it as a "bona fide arm of journalism" (Kamp 2006, xv). Kamp argues that while writers such as A. J. Liebling and Joseph Wechsberg wrote about food in a memoirist vein, Claiborne "treated food as a journalistic beat, a daily responsibility to sniff out what was going on in America's more creative kitchens" (2006, 70). Claiborne found creative kitchens in professional restaurants and culinary schools, as well as private kitchens, and he wrote avidly about both professional and amateur cooks that he found newsworthy. Claiborne also instituted the restaurant review and in 1963 his reviews became a regular feature of the Friday paper. That same year, he introduced the system of rating restaurants by awarding them one, two, or three stars.

Claiborne became a food editor at a time when Americans were increasingly open to unfamiliar cuisines. Julia Child, one of the nation's first celebrity chefs, introduced Americans to French cooking through her best-selling book, *Mastering the Art of French Cooking* (1961), and through her popular television program *The French Chef,* which was first produced by Boston public television and then broadcast across the country. Claiborne also did a great deal to broaden his readers' appreciation for the foods of the world. Thus, food writers stimulated interest in international cuisines and guided readers in how to buy and use the latest ingredients and kitchen wares coming in from abroad.

By the 1960s, Julia Child, James Beard, and Craig Claiborne had become so popular and powerful that they formed the triumvirate of an emerging "food elite," which included a "small group of New York-based sophisticates who, via newspaper columns, magazine work and cookbooks, had national and even international reach" (Kamp 2006, 57).

From Counterculture to "Lifestyle" Nation

The 1960s and early 1970s counterculture challenged the way food was produced, distributed, and consumed in the United States, and encouraged Americans to engage in food practices that were ecologically sustainable, democratic, and humane. "Buy local" became the buzzword and food cooperatives, farmers markets, and organic farms sprung up across the country, making it possible for Americans to bring fresh, organically grown produce and humanely raised, hormone- and antibiotic-free meat to their tables. Alternative markets specializing in natural foods became profitable, as did vegetarian restaurants, demonstrating that it was possible to prepare food using fresh, local, seasonal ingredients without sacrificing taste.

The excitement buzzing through the food world affected food writing as well. Numerous alternative newspapers published food columns for the revolution, including Alice Water's "Alice's Restaurant" in the *San Francisco Express Times, Good Times*' "Eat and Enjoy," the *Quicksilver Time*'s "Food and Fun," the *Fifth Estate*'s "Eat It!," *Kaleidoscope*'s "Politix of Garbage," and the syndicated "Grub Bag," among others.

More mainstream publications also participated in the democratization of food culture: *New York* magazine, for example, ran a column entitled "The Underground Gourmet" by Milton Glaser and Jerome Snyder, both of whom were tired of the relentless focus of major publications on fine dining and set out to review the city's abundant ethnic restaurants and shops. Clay Felker, the editor of *New York,* hired Gael Greene who wrote about food as a pop-culture phenomenon in a sexy, hip, and highly personal style; and Nora Ephron, who wrote a landmark essay for the magazine in 1968 in which she coined the term the "Food Establishment."

In the three decades following 1980, culinary journalism developed alongside restaurants, gourmet shops, boutiques specializing in imported kitchenware, and other markings of a "lifestyle" culture. Indeed, as the concept of "lifestyle" permeated popular discourse, engaging in the culinary arts by eating out, taking cooking classes, participating in wine tastings, buying high-priced kitchen accoutrements, touring exotic locales that promised intensely local and still-authentic cuisines, spending small fortunes on designer kitchens, seeking out organic produce and grass-fed beef, and reading the latest of the hottest food writers became a powerful marker of status and sophistication. But, as the popularity of the international

Slow Food Movement and the work of writers passionate about food suggest, engagement in the culinary arts also satisfied an elemental need to participate in a sustainable way of living that celebrated the leisurely sharing of good food with family and friends, and that nurtured individual creativity in professional and home kitchens.

Where fewer than 20 food magazines were published in the United States in the 1950s, a half century later there were approximately 145 of them, plus quarterlies and newsletters, and the Food Network claimed 78 million viewers. Opportunities for food journalists were never greater. Food journalists, like the chefs they cover, were also gaining power and celebrity status, exemplified by the success of Ruth Reichl, Alan Richman, Jeffrey Steingarten, Molly O'Neill, Mimi Sheraton, Calvin Trillin, and others. Interest in the work of food writers from the past has also been rekindled, and a number of retrospective anthologies are appearing.

Elizabeth Fakazis

See also Alternative and Underground Newspapers; Columns and Columnists; Criticism and Critics; Health and Medicine Journalism; Lifestyle Journalism; New Journalism

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Foreign Correspondents, Electronic

Several historians declare that the foreign correspondent—the reporter covering events outside the country—is an endangered species. This description applies to traditional electronic media correspondents in particular. Since 1980, American networks closed most of their overseas bureaus and have decreased their international news coverage. Neither the terrorism of September 11, 2001, nor the war in Iraq has reversed these trends. In a review of the year 2007, for example, the *Tyndall Report* (which monitors network television news) found that while the war in Iraq was the story of the year by a wide margin, the networks' foreign bureaus had their lightest workload since 2001. Economic pressures, global interdependence, and technological innovations—and a perception of public disinterest—have changed the way foreign news is reported and consumed. At the same time, international news is appearing in new and less traditional packaging, which suggests species development more than extinction. Cable television, countless blogs, news websites and YouTube videos offer the near equivalent of a multimedia wire service, albeit lacking the credibility and professional rigor of traditional media. In a fragmented media landscape, Americans who seek international news can find more of it, while those who lack interest can avoid it.

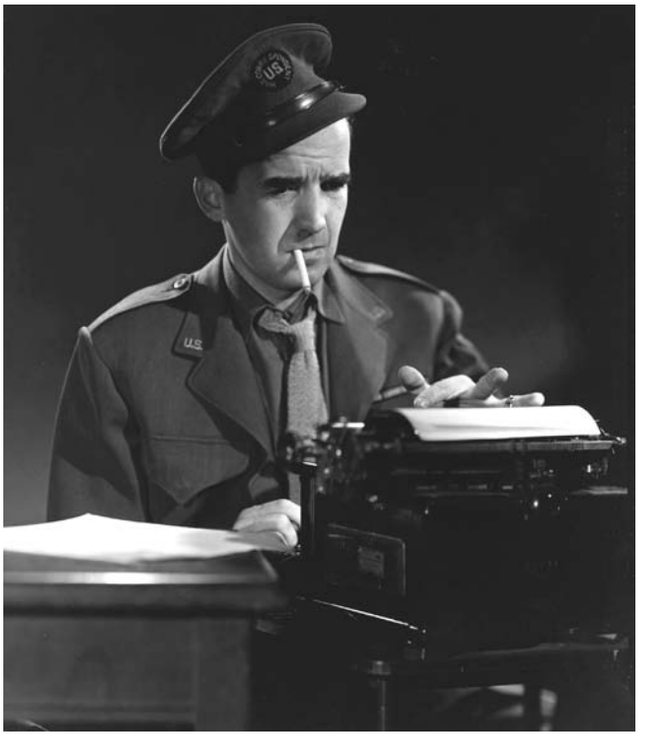
Radio Correspondents

By the late 1930s a new breed of network foreign correspondents helped to transform radio into a pervasive news influence in American life. David Hosley (1984, xi) describes the summer of 1940 as a time when journalists, medium, and moment made a perfect combination. American radio commentators broke rules, innovated, and competed for exclusivity. There was little precedent, so they had room to create tradition.

While the major radio networks began experimenting with broadcasts from abroad in the 1930s, the few items aired usually consisted of musical programs or cultural curiosities, almost never breaking news.

NBC's correspondent in Europe, Max Jordan (1895–1977), let his sources believe that his network was *the* "national" network, which made them more eager to work with it. This gave it an early edge. CBS, however, soon caught up. Its correspondent Hans von Kaltenborn (1878–1965) won a prestigious award for his live broadcasts during the Spanish Civil War and then for translating and analyzing broadcasts from Europe during the month-long Munich crisis of late 1938. When Edward R. Murrow (1908–65) was sent to Europe as the new "European director" of CBS in 1937, he lacked any journalism experience. At the time, the networks thought of radio more as an entertainment than a news medium. The August 1940 German bombing of London prompted Murrow's series of "This is London" broadcasts, in which he showed his narrative genius. Murrow became a legend. His understated and steady live broadcasts, even in the midst of chaos, used human interest to get people involved in the tragic stories of war. Similar salutations—"This is Berlin," "This is Rome," "This is Paris"—were soon uttered by the talented correspondents Murrow recruited and molded for CBS. Overall, the CBS News staff grew from 4 in 1939 to more than 60 by 1941.

The first journalist recruited by Murrow was out-of-work reporter William L. Shirer (1904–93). While the Spanish Civil War and the 1936 abdication of King Edward VIII of Great Britain were the first European events to receive elaborate coverage from the three American networks, it was the reporting of the March 1938 *Anschluss,* Hitler's annexing of Austria, that altered the character of radio foreign correspondence. Shirer was in Vienna when German troops rolled in on March 12, 1938. German soldiers occupied his studio before he had a chance to contact CBS. So he flew to London and delivered his chilling story of the events he had just witnessed. CBS news director Paul White developed a new broadcasting technique, the "European News Roundup." Correspondents (many of them part-time print journalists) stood by microphones in several European capitals to provide their live perspective on changing events from their vantage points. Newsman Bob Trout in the New York CBS studio coordinated 16 such roundups during the *Anschluss* period, being in simultaneous telephone contact with Pierre Huss in Berlin, Edgar Mowrer in Paris, William Shirer or Edward R. Murrow in London, and Frank Gervassi in Rome. The *Anschluss* broadcasts were possible because seasoned newspaper correspondents helped with the coverage and shortwave radio made possible the live transmissions over such a distance.



Broadcast journalist Edward R. Murrow in his U.S. military war correspondent's uniform during World War II, February 2, 1945.

Source: Getty Images.

"Murrow's Boys" (a group that included a woman) grew with the addition of Eric Sevareid, Tom Grandin, Larry LeSueur, Charles Collingwood, Howard K. Smith, Winston Burdett, Bill Downs, Mary Marvin Breckinridge, Cecil Brown, and Richard C. Hottelet. Many of these correspondents became everyday household names. As just an example, Collingwood's (1917–85) scoops of war news in North Africa resulted in newspaper correspondents increasingly quoting his on-the-spot reports.

During the 18-day Munich Crisis, prompted by Germany's territorial demands in the Czech Sudetenland in September 1938, CBS provided complete coverage, bringing the American public up-to-date news as it occurred. NBC mounted a

similar effort, augmenting its personnel in London, Paris, and Geneva. Throughout the month, CBS carried 151 broadcasts and NBC 147, from a total of 70 correspondents. Although the Mutual network (MBS) did not possess a newsgathering service comparable to CBS and NBC, it did have its own correspondents in London. To reduce the high costs of maintaining transoceanic phone communications, MBS correspondents often telegraphed their copy to New York, where an announcer would read it.

To a considerable degree, radio reporting through its speed, dramatic appeal, and sense of participation displaced the newspaper as the dominant source of foreign news. Moreover, the Munich Crisis made it clear that war was imminent in Europe, which pushed networks to perfect their means of reporting from abroad. When the conflict broke out in September 1939, the American networks benefited from enlarged European staffs, better equipped newsrooms, and improved transmitters that helped the correspondents relay dramatic broadcasts.

While NBC and to a lesser extent Mutual had many of their own glory news reports during the war, CBS was widely recognized as having done the best overall job. Some 600 radio editors voted that CBS had done the "best news job in radio" in its coverage of V-E Day and the final Japanese surrender.

After the war, CBS's bureaus around the world, staffed by journalists with education and skill, rivaled the foreign services of the great newspapers. Murrow and his correspondents were the standard against which excellence in foreign broadcast reporting was measured. NBC as well as CBS continued to broadcast highly informative radio programs on foreign affairs into the early 1950s, and occasionally thereafter. National Public Radio provided excellent international news reports by the 1990s, but it was the exception as the rest of the radio business focused on music and talk shows.

The Television Foreign Correspondents

Most correspondents, drawn from radio at first, doubted the journalistic potential of the upstart medium of television. After all, the need for make-up and bright lighting had little to do with news substance. They didn't like all the equipment or having to take instructions from a director or cameraman. The president of CBS, Frank Stanton (1908–2006), had to beg Murrow and Erik Sevareid to appear on television reports during the 1948 political conventions. "I wish God dammed television had never been invented," Murrow complained (Mickelson 1988, 124).

Even Murrow and his "boys" could resist only so long. In 1951 Murrow's *Hear It Now* radio program morphed into *See It Now,* a weekly television news documentary program. CBS overseas correspondents begrudgingly mixed television with radio work until 1954. The nightly 15-minute newscast on CBS television was soon drawing a bigger audience than the network's most popular radio programs. Television was clearly going to be American's primary source of news.

Several factors gave continuing weight to foreign news on television well into the 1970s: the quality of the correspondents, the long cold war, and the shorter but hotter Vietnam conflict, which kept foreign policy in a crisis mode; Federal Communications Commission regulations that made local station licenses contingent on public interest broadcasting; and, perhaps, the momentum from World War II coverage. Both CBS and NBC expanded their 15-minute evening newscasts to a half hour in 1963 (ABC followed four years later), which meant more airtime to fill.

The Vietnam War, called "the living-room war" because of nightly coverage on television, was a high point in television foreign reporting. The first network correspondent to open a full-time bureau was Garrick Utley of NBC in 1965. Soon Saigon was the largest overseas bureau for each network. Some reporting, vivified by the television images, became iconic. In August 1965, CBS's Morley Safer filmed Marines setting the village of Cam Ne ablaze with cigarette lighters, painting one of the first bleak pictures of the Vietnam War—and noting the irony of having to destroy the village "in order to save it." In 1967 Frank McGee of NBC examined the contribution of black troops to the war in the documentary program *Same Mud, Same Blood.* The surprise Tet Offensive by the North Vietnamese and Vietcong guerillas in January 1968 shocked Americans. Unlike most previous combat, which took place in small skirmishes at night, this fighting occurred in daylight, where television cameras could capture it. In a memorable scene in news history, an

NBC camera caught a South Vietnamese general shooting a captured Vietcong fighter.

Pentagon officials complained that television was running too many confusing battle scenes and presenting dour reports, which they thought eroded public support. In fact, television journalists supported the war effort for a long time, only showing overt skepticism after the Tet Offensive. Emblematic of this change was CBS anchorman Walter Cronkite (1916–2009), who traveled to Vietnam to see for himself. Distressed by what he saw, Cronkite ended his February 28, 1968, documentary on the trip with an editorial comment that the war could not be won. Cronkite's comment followed a wave of similar newspaper reports. His comments also agreed with sentiment among a growing majority of Americans.

Into the early 1980s, the networks continued to operate bureaus in cities around the world. Along with CNN (Cable News Network), they provided outstanding crisis reporting from 1989 to 1991—the Tiananmen protests, the fall of the Berlin Wall, the toppling of Communist regimes in Romania and Czechoslovakia, the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and the first Iraq war.

When CNN started its 24-hour cable news operation in 1980, it was heralded for its considerable foreign news. CNN established a large network of bureaus (10 domestic and 26 international as of 2008) and several regional and foreign-language networks around the world. CNN led in providing live coverage abroad by making use of new, lightweight equipment. Live foreign news came to be available the way local news was. Coverage of the first Gulf War and other crises of the early 1990s led many to assess the so-called CNN effect, the perceived impact of real-time, 24-hour news coverage on U.S. diplomacy and foreign policy.

From its beginnings, television struggled to speed up reporting. Speeds of news transmission quickened in a succession of phases: replacement of motion picture film with portable video in the 1970s; satellites with portable uplinks for live coverage in the 1980s; digital technology that facilitated rapid editing on computers and the creation of engaging graphics in the 1990s. In 1989, correspondents had to carry 800 pounds of equipment. It took between five and seven hours to set everything up and make a live feed to the United States. By 2003, for reports from Iran, all the equipment fit in two cases, for a total of 140 pounds, which looked just like large luggage to Iranian airport customs and the border guards. It took one technician just about 20 minutes to set it up.

By 2005, the development of small digital equipment made it possible for Kevin Sites, formerly war correspondent for CNN and NBC, to become a one-person television crew who reported, edited, and transmitted stories for Yahoo! News while on the run all over the world. He spent one year traveling to 22 war zones, reporting on victims in conflict for the website Kevin Sites in the Hot Zone. He helped pioneer the so-called video journalism or solo journalism ("SoJo"), a practice employed extensively by the BBC.

Television abroad took an upswing with the invasion of Iraq, which correspondents covered at considerable peril. ABC's new anchor Bob Woodruff (1961–) followed in the Cronkite tradition of anchors traveling abroad and visited Iraq in 2006. He was severely injured by a roadside bomb. But by 2006, the number of broadcast foreign correspondents stationed abroad had fallen by about 50 percent. For almost a year in the mid-1990s, ABC's Jim Bittermann (1947–) found himself "the only full-time, on-air correspondent for ABC News based between London and Antarctica" (Foote 1998, 74).

Meanwhile, modern communications technology has transformed coverage in ways that can be described as both good and bad. New technology has made it easier to travel, even for local stations, which can do occasional reporting abroad because of lower costs and ease of travel. Technology has transformed the idea of bureaus. Now when news breaks in a remote corner of the world, correspondents can fly in and report live. The downside is that they have less time for gathering facts, working under the imperative to go live, which is much less expensive than highly edited and produced programming. Correspondents spend less time crafting scripts and more time speaking extemporaneously. "Lost is the editorial process of balance, thought, structure, and confirmation of facts," said broadcaster Garrick Utley, who worked as correspondent for three networks. Technology favors live coverage, which, Utley argued, is more appropriate for sports events than serious news. Also, as they get parachuted in on a needs basis, correspondents have less expertise in that specific region than in the days when a reporter was stationed in one place for years.

One sign of the lessening attention to foreign news over television is that each generation of anchors has less experience abroad than the one before. CBS anchor Walter Cronkite was a United Press war correspondent in Europe and after the war the UP bureau chief in Amsterdam and Moscow. His successor, Dan Rather (1931–), took a break from being White House correspondent in 1965 to report from London, where he jumped off to cover other stories, and subsequently Vietnam. In London he broadcast from Murrow's old studio. Rather was followed by Katie Couric (1957–), who had been a host on the entertainment-heavy NBC *Today* show. Her major foreign experience, some years earlier, had been a short-term assignment to cover the Iraq invasion of Kuwait. NBC anchor John Chancellor (1927–96) was a correspondent in Vienna, London, Moscow, Brussels, and Berlin before becoming the network's anchor. Thomas Brokaw (1940–), never a foreign correspondent, came after him. Brokaw made his name as White House correspondent and, like Couric, as a *Today* show host. Brokaw's successor Brian Williams (1959–), who came from an anchor job on the cable channel MSNBC, had only episodic overseas experience.

Peter Jennings (1938–2005) was an exception in terms of foreign experience. He won the ABC anchor seat in his 20s. Realizing he was not ready for the job, he asked to go abroad instead. In addition to postings elsewhere, Jennings was for seven years the bureau chief in Beirut at the first American television news bureau in the Arab world. In 1983, with his authority very much established, he became the anchor and senior editor of *World News Tonight*. Foreign correspondents, Peter Jennings commented not long before he died in 2005, are "very hard to recruit. They are told, first of all, it's not the hottest thing. It's not the way to get to the top." With decline in network interest in foreign coverage, would-be anchors find it better to establish their credentials at home.

Changing Correspondents

Thirty years ago the three major networks were the exclusive source of broadcast images from abroad. Today images stream into living rooms from a wide variety of electronic sources, some of which are versions of print outlets. The modern audience—more fragmented and active—is far better able to choose and even shape the news it wants to see and hear.

Consumers of Internet news are taking on functions once the prerogative of editors. Internet users can be much more specific about the international news that they want to read, view, or listen to. MSNBC's website allows consumers to personalize the type of international news by region, as print has morphed into electronic media. *The New York Times*' news tracker allows people to create a subject or keyword-based filter alerting them when an article is published with those words. Or audience members can surf for their own news. Immigrants or Americans with a particular interest in another part of the world can read foreign newspapers online, a process that creates another new variety of foreign correspondent: the "foreign national correspondent," who may be a reporter in India writing for an Indian daily, whose work is read over the Internet by a resident of Indianapolis. That same reader also can access specialized websites run by nonjournalists or freelancers. For example, freelance reporter Christopher Allbritton successfully set up a personal website and asked readers to make online donations to finance his travels to Iraq. The so-called PayPal journalist was then able to tell the story directly to his paid readers rather than adopt an editor's focus or bias. On his site, *Back to Iraq* (http://back-to-iraq.com), Allbritton calls his work "pure, individual journalism using a laptop and a satellite phone, done without the protection of the Department of Defense embedding program or a bulletproof vest." With the support of more than 1 million readers, he raised in 2003 almost $20,000. By May 2004, daily readership was almost 50,000 people.

With groups and individuals able to post information on websites, anyone now can be an amateur foreign correspondent. On September 11, 2001, nearly one-half of Internet users looked for news about the terrorist attacks, marking a trend where people increasingly rely on online news sources during crises. The images that defined the media coverage of the July 7, 2005, London terrorist bombings, which claimed more than 50 lives, came not from professional news crews but from everyday people. Commuters caught in the attacks used camera phones to take images that were relayed across the world, providing hundreds of eyewitness pictures. It was a first for such a major breaking news story,

followed by similar correspondences when Hurricane Katrina hit in late August 2005, when several tsunamis shook the Indian Ocean, and when war broke in Lebanon in July 2006.

Filling the increasing void in foreign correspondents, so-called parachute journalists have become the alternative of choice for large media organizations when they are obligated to cover a foreign story. When a story happens—like the most recent war in Iraq—reporters are sent in to cover events in the region temporarily. NBC foreign correspondent John Chancellor (1927–96) expressed concern in the 1990s about how the networks were closing foreign bureaus and replacing "veteran journalists, bureau chiefs who had lived in their areas of coverage and who spoke the languages . . . with parachute reporters, just off the jet, there for a day or two, who knew little about the territory and the people involved." Nonetheless, as the national media use this technique to render foreign news more economical, local news outlets that previously had no foreign reporting have also employed parachute journalism. Therefore, contrary to the view that parachute journalism is bad, this type of correspondence can increase and broaden foreign coverage.

Technology has other tradeoffs when it comes to foreign correspondence. There are fewer bureaus overseas, but stories arrive home faster and more reliably. Speed, on the other hand, means more pressing deadlines, hence less time for reporting and reflection. Moreover, with the help of a phone connected to a satellite link, editors can better direct their distant reporters' work, which means less freedom and autonomy for correspondents, but better editing and coordination. While Internet foreign news can be a source of error, rumor, or propaganda, especially that provided by do-it-yourself journalists, it also offers valuable perspectives on the news often missed by traditional media, especially when the number of traditional foreign correspondents is in decline. Moreover, the ability of the public to get foreign news for itself may offer one of the best solutions to dwindling foreign reporting by traditional media.

Notable Foreign Correspondents

Christiane Amanpour (1958–)

Amanpour is probably the best-known foreign correspondent of our times. Amanpour grew up in Iran and England and moved to Rhode Island to study journalism. After graduation in 1983, she landed an assistant's job on CNN's international desk in Atlanta. She was transferred to Eastern Europe in 1986, just prior to the fall of Communism. Amanpour was elevated to CNN foreign correspondent in 1989, when she reported on democratic revolutions in Eastern Europe. She first attained widespread acclaim for her coverage of the Persian Gulf War in 1990, followed by award-winning reporting of the conflicts in Bosnia and Rwanda. Based in London, she has reported from war zones in Africa and the Middle East and exhibits a talent for securing exclusive interviews with political leaders.

Jim Bittermann (1947–)

Bittermann worked as a European correspondent for NBC News from 1978 to 1990. Stationed in Rome and then Paris, he covered two Papal transitions and many of the decade's major international stories in Eastern Europe, Northern and Western Africa, the Middle East, the Philippines, Japan, and the Soviet Union. As an ABC Paris correspondent until 1996, he reported on the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Gulf War and the Middle East peace process, and U.S. deployment in Somalia. He has been the CNN Paris correspondent since 1996. He received a National News Emmy for his coverage of the 1988 Sudan famine.

Tom Fenton (1930–)

After working as a foreign correspondent for the *Baltimore Sun,* Fenton joined CBS News as a Rome-based correspondent in 1970 and conducted the first interview with hostages taken that year by the Palestine Liberation Organization. When Ayatollah Khomeini overthrew the Shah of Iran in 1979, Fenton was the first western journalist to interview Iran's new leader. He later covered the Iran hostage crisis, the first Gulf War, the fall of the Soviet Union, and the violence in the Middle East and Africa.

Max Jordan (1895–1977)

In 1934, German-born Jordan became NBC's full-time European Representative, based in Switzerland. "Ubiquitous Max," as he was known, had worked for Hearst newspapers in the United

States and abroad before joining NBC. He had lived more than 20 years in Britain. Besides on-the-spot reporting, he arranged special broadcasts and talks by prominent Europeans, securing NBC an initial edge in foreign news. In 1934 he reported from Vienna the assassination of Austrian chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss. Among his many scoops, Jordan was the first American to broadcast from the Zeppelin *Hindenburg* over the Atlantic, from Munich during the 1938 crisis, and from German-occupied Paris in 1940.

Edward R. Murrow (1908–65)

Murrow started his career at CBS in 1935, and he became its European director in 1937. His background was in public speaking and drama. He understood the difference between broadcasting and the printed word, and his broadcasts from Vienna and London made him a household name, as familiar as those of Churchill and Roosevelt. His great, baritone voice and sense of how to speak placed him ahead of all radio newscasters. During the bombing of London in August 1940, Murrow showed his narrative genius and also risked his life to tell his (partisan) stories of British heroism. After the war, he broadcast *Edward R. Murrow with the News* nightly at 7:45 p.m. on the CBS radio network until 1959.

William L. Shirer (1904–93)

Shirer had worked as a correspondent in the Paris office of the *Chicago Tribune* and the *New York Herald* before becoming a "Murrow boy" in 1937. During the annexation of Austria, he had to leave his Vienna office, which was occupied by the Nazis. At the start of World War II he reported from Berlin, where he remained until his return to the United States in December 1940. Shirer worked for Mutual from 1947 to 1949. His intimate involvement with Hitler's Germany made him a foremost U.S. authority on the Nazi era, and his expertise led to several decades of book writing and lecturing.

Hans von Kaltenborn (1878–1965)

Radio's first regular news commentator, von Kaltenborn became a celebrity after his around-the-clock Munich crisis commentaries for CBS, when he made 102 broadcasts in 18 days, many of which were extemporaneous. He had extensive overseas experience as a former newspaper foreign correspondent. His talent in securing interviews with heads of state around the world and his precise, somewhat unnatural diction made him sound serious and authoritative, although he wasn't always consistent in his commentaries. Politicians accused him of exciting listeners' emotions about the war and of openly expressing his pro-British and pro-involvement stance, while those who tuned in loved his emotional outbursts. On November 2, 1941, he actually called for a declaration of war against Germany, after being equally outspoken about Japan—well before Pearl Harbor.

Garrick Utley (1939–)

Utley the son of an NBC commentator, was the first full-time correspondent to cover the Vietnam War from Saigon. He then served as NBC's correspondent in Berlin and in Paris. Utley was the Senior European Correspondent for NBC News, based in London, from 1973 to 1979. Utley anchored several of the weekend editions of NBC *Nightly News* from 1971 to 1973, and again from 1988 to 1993. From 1993 to 1996, Utley returned to London as Chief Foreign Correspondent for ABC News. He joined CNN in 1997 after 30 years of covering more than 70 countries for NBC and ABC.

Conclusion

Because of the nature of foreign news, the evolution of correspondence has been shaped as much by technology advances as by news executives and economic pressures. Also, the peak in audiences that National Public Radio reached in 2007 (26.5 million per week) is notable in light of general declines in audience for commercial radio, television news, and newspapers, showing that sizeable audiences are still interested in serious international news.

John Maxwell Hamilton and Raluca Cozma

See also ABC News; CBS News; Commentators, Radio; Commentators, Television; Foreign Correspondents, Print; International Journalism; Mutual Broadcasting System; NBC News; Shortwave Radio

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Foreign Correspondents, Print

In 1928, the *Chicago Tribune*'s *Pictured Encyclopedia of the World's Greatest Newspaper* defined foreign news in romantic terms, arguing that, at the mere mention of the words "we catch visions of a pith-helmeted correspondent dashing into the Sahara on camelback after a flying column of the Foreign Legion; we see another seated at a desk in some battlemented European castle, interviewing a statesman who holds the destiny of a nation in his hands; we envisage voyages on Chinese junks, airplane flights over the Holy Land, and all the color and lure of seeing distant countries and reporting international affairs."

In a time when foreign newsgathering is more than ever a matter of national security, these descriptions are only partially true. Traditional print correspondents are still an elite (upper middle class, according to media researcher Stephen Hess). But since the early 1990s their numbers have been shrinking. Three-quarters of the nation's largest 100 newspapers have no foreign correspondents (*The New York Times* had the most in 1992: 37). The Associated Press, with many bureaus overseas, services 97 percent of the 1,600 U.S. dailies. At the same time, it is now rare for a reporter to be stationed abroad for years to develop expertise in a country or region's foreign affairs. Most come home after assignments of a few years. Nor is it only the traditional foreign correspondent who is reporting from abroad. That work is increasing accomplished by a variety of new types of journalists, in some cases local newspaper reporters who can travel abroad on short-term assignments, in others by non-journalists who report what they see and experience online over blogs—some of which ends up in traditional news stories.

Media ownership, advances in technology, America's involvement in world affairs, and the evolution of correspondents' roles and routines have shaped foreign correspondence ever since its early days in the eighteenth century.

First Foreign Correspondents, 1700–1840

America's first newspapers did not have reporters at home, let alone abroad. In the colonial period, editors thought of themselves as printers, publishing newspapers typically as a mere sideline. The newspapers were largely passive and opportunistic in terms of newsgathering. Publishers collected information simply by sitting in their offices waiting for people to drop off letters or strolling down to the port to greet incoming ships. After the Revolution, political parties financially supported newspapers that sided with them. None of these newspapers had reporters, either, much less correspondents as we know them today. The first "foreign correspondents" were travelers to London or Paris who wrote letters home as well as passengers and crew who hove into port with newspapers from abroad and their own stories to tell. European newspapers and journals delivered by sailing ships were the equivalent of today's overseas wire services. Early American newspapers freely reprinted official government pronouncements and other

news found in those foreign journals. Benjamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette,* for example, lifted more than four-fifths of its news about the British Isles directly from other newspapers. But that "news" arrived no faster than a ship could carry it. This meant well over a month could pass before a story reached the United States from Europe. News dried up when harsh winter weather disrupted shipping or someone lost precious printed cargo.

During the eighteenth century, foreign affairs held considerable interest for the colonists, who had strong ties to the Old World, especially to England, which dominated most foreign news. Those ties were practical as well as emotional. Economic and political policy made in London, Paris, Vienna, and Madrid eventually materialized in the Americas. The Seven Years War in Europe (1756–63) spilled over to the colonies in the form of the French and Indian War. British newspapers provided extensive coverage of foreign affairs for much the same reason American newspapers did: readers saw foreign news as relevant.

The Popular Press Correspondents, 1840–1900

The advent of the penny press and commercial newspapers in the 1840s led to the development of special correspondents who filed from abroad. In the beginning, when the role of reporter was still ill defined, these foreign correspondents were often part-timers with other jobs. Many were still volunteers. James Gordon Bennett (1795–1872), the most successful of the early popular press editors, had special correspondents ("specials") in Glasgow, Berlin, Brussels, London, Paris, Rome, Jamaica, Liverpool, Le Havre, and elsewhere for his *New York Herald*. Full-time reporters later traveled abroad for their publishers. Some of these were highly entrepreneurial in their newsgathering. One example is Henry Morton Stanley (1841–1904), who famously set out in 1871 to find "missing" missionary/explorer David Livingstone in Africa for the *Herald,* then run by Bennett's son. In 1874 the *New York Herald,* in partnership with Britain's *Daily Telegraph,* then financed Stanley on another expedition to the African continent, where he solved the last great mystery of African exploration by tracing the course of the River Congo to the sea.

Journalism was no longer a side trade or a politically subsidized enterprise. It had developed into a substantial business, focused on making a profit. The publisher's business model sought to run reports of lively local news that attracted the great mass of readers local advertisers wanted to reach. Although this model introduced the idea of original reporting, it led to a decrease in the amount of foreign news, not only because of the local emphasis with a strong appeal to urban readers, but also the high cost of newsgathering abroad. Hereafter, foreign news would form but a small part of the average newspaper except during wars and other crises. The few newspapers that did emphasize foreign news were prestige publications that sought to extend their readership to elites.

Beginning in this era, with improved communications and transport, editors began to talk about "the annihilation" of time and space. In the case of urgent news, editors became particularly inventive. When the Mexican War broke out, the New Orleans *Daily Picayune* created a relay system to get news from the battlefields. Riders carried dispatches to the Mexican coast. Regular mail boats carried the news onward to New Orleans. To beat competitors, the *Picayune* sent a small, fast steamer fitted out with typesetting equipment to meet the mail boat. To help reduce the costs of foreign newsgathering, newspapers pooled resources to transmit distant news gathered by others abroad. This became the basis for the Associated Press (AP), organized by a number of newspapers in 1846. At the turn of the century, the AP began a concerted effort to open its own bureaus overseas.

The prospect of getting news faster on a routine basis came with the completion in 1858 of the first transatlantic telegraph cable, which sadly failed within a few weeks. But in 1866, the first lasting "ocean greyhound" cable hummed with foreign news, which then flew across the country by telegraph. Cables were laid between Java and Port Darwin in Australia in 1873 and between Europe and Brazil the following year.

The first modern foreign correspondents were not American.

William Howard Russell (1821–1907)

Russell was an Irish reporter for *The Times,* the British publication that pioneered the practice of sending correspondents to cover certain conflicts in the world. Russell spent two years covering the

Crimean War (1853–56). For the first time the public could read about the reality of warfare, and his dispatches did not shy away from criticizing the suffering that the soldiers had to endure. His attacks on the British military leadership affected the reputation of both the army and the government and led to changes in the treatment of troops. Russell went on to cover conflicts in India (1857) and the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71) as well as in the United States during the Civil War (1861–18).

Given their small numbers and the importance of their jobs, correspondents began to be seen as a professional elite, who operated fairly autonomously from the home office. "The special correspondent must be 'to the manor born,'" observed Julian Ralph in 1893. "He must be as sanguine as a songbird, and as strong and willing as a race horse."

George Washburn Smalley (1833–1916)

Smalley, a correspondent for the New York *Tribune,* was such one elite correspondent. During the 1866 Austro-Prussian War, his first overseas assignment, Smalley displayed characteristic enterprise by obtaining a rare interview with German Chancellor Bismarck. The story caused a sensation in the United States. From his permanent base in London, he acquired deep knowledge about foreign affairs. He was efficient at organizing the flow of European news around special events, whether the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71 or the Oxford-Harvard boat race of 1869. He functioned almost as an ambassador in Anglo-American relations. Besides covering politics, he wrote widely admired personality profiles of politicians, explorers, clergymen, educators, and artists, actors, and musicians.

Richard Harding Davis (1864–1916)

The first American correspondent to be lionized on the scale of Britain's William Howard Russell, Davis worked as a reporter for the New York *Herald, The New York Times,* and *Scribner's Magazine*. He became famous for his coverage of the Spanish-American War (1898), the Second Boer War in South Africa (1899–1902), and the early part of the World War I (1914–18). His first trip abroad was in Central America in 1895 and resulted in a book as well as magazine articles. He elevated his status further by writing about the glamour and romance of being a correspondent. While covering the early stages of World War I, German soldiers apprehended Davis, thinking he was a British spy. He convinced them he wasn't by showing the label in his hat, "Knox, New York." The story became the basis for an advertisement for Knox, which further enhanced Davis's celebrity. When Davis died of a heart attack in 1916 at the relatively young age of 51, he had established himself as the yardstick by which correspondents' fame would be measured.

Organized Foreign Correspondents, 1900–1920

The beginning of the twentieth century saw a more systematic approach to the news, in which individual correspondents became part of a larger network of news gatherers.

Victor Lawson (1876–1925)

The epitome of organization in newsgathering was Lawson owner and editor of the *Chicago Daily News*. The paper's foreign service was the first thoroughly professional corps of American correspondents abroad and their reporting was eventually syndicated widely. Lawson mixed profit motives with a sense of public responsibility. He favored American reporters reporting for American readers. He believed these journalists needed to go beyond the common practice of combing foreign publications for the news and gather it themselves. He also left correspondents in the field for years to gain expertise.

Paul Scott Mowrer (1887–1971)

Mowrer was Lawson's most famous correspondent. In 1929 Mowrer won the first Pulitzer Prize given for the category of "correspondence." His diplomatic reports from Europe, the jurors said, "most closely approximate the ideals expressed in the award criteria: fair, judicious, well-balanced and well-informed interpretive writing, which shall make clear the significance of the subject covered in the correspondence or which shall promote international understanding and appreciation."

Following the *Chicago Daily News,* other publications began their own foreign services in due course: the *Christian Science Monitor,* which began in 1908 as a Christian Science project against yellow

journalism; the *Philadelphia Public Ledger;* the *New York Evening Post;* the *New York Herald Tribune;* the New York *World;* and the *Chicago Tribune*. The most prominent was *The New York Times,* which was to consistently win Pulitzer prizes for its work abroad in the 1930s and after.

The reports of correspondents benefited from undersea cables and telegraph lines. But technology was expensive to use, and many newspapers focused on less time-sensitive, in-depth reporting that could be sent through the mail. Because it was still not possible for editors to talk to their correspondents directly, overseas reporters still enjoyed a high degree of independence.

The Golden-Age Correspondents, 1920–1970

The two decades between the two world wars, a period when memoir writing by foreign correspondents excelled, is commonly dubbed the golden age of foreign correspondence. Foreign correspondence reached a high point in terms of professionalism, competence, and news quality. Moreover, with their names on books and greater use of bylines in newspapers—all against the backdrop of dramatic international issues—correspondents achieved enormous celebrity. This contributed to their autonomy and, because many were still allowed to stay abroad for long periods, their expertise. As a relatively small group with direct links to the American public, correspondents were treated with deference by the foreigners they covered as well.

Vincent Sheean (1899–1975)

Sheean epitomized the dashing, "I was right there on the spot" school of foreign correspondents. Sheean's biggest break came when he was sent by the *Chicago Tribune* to report on the Riffian revolt in Morocco in 1924. Riff rebel leader Abd el-Krim was willing to talk to any correspondents who managed to make the hazardous trip across Spanish or French lines to reach him. Donning a turban and a loose-fitting robe, Sheean finagled passage through the French lines. A petty tribal chief ambushed him. When orders for his release arrived from Abd el-Krim, the chief relieved Sheean of his money and other valuables. After Sheean interviewed the rebel leader, he was given a tour of Abd el-Krim's dominion. He returned to Tangier in February under a hail of Spanish bullets. Rumors that Sheean had been killed in the Riff improved the story. Building on his budding fame, he struck out as a freelance journalist, traveling to news spots wherever his fancy took him. His reputation was assured with his book *Personal History* (1935), a combination of autobiography and political commentary, which led the way for a number of other best-selling memoirs by foreign correspondents. Those memoirs, which were really extended reports of what correspondents were seeing on the ground, warned of the coming global conflict. Many possessed literary quality.

This "golden age" resulted not simply because correspondents of the time were blessed with talent. The real difference was the conditions in which those correspondents worked, very different than those of the early twenty-first century. For instance, *The Saturday Evening Post, Collier's, Look, Liberty, Life,* and many other popular weekly magazines fielded their own overseas reporters and made extensive use of freelancers like Sheean. Likewise, the North American News Alliance and the Consolidated Press, two specialized news services at the time, flourished. Those media, many of which have since disappeared, paid correspondents well and let them write at length. By the mid-1930s, a growing number of foreign correspondents also worked on radio, using shortwave links to get their reports back to the United States.

Surely helpful to these correspondents was the fact that Americans were well liked abroad and could live well in many countries on even modest incomes. Because of their dramatic and immediate nature, radio and, increasingly after 1950, television replaced print media as the main news source for American audiences. Major daily newspapers and some magazines continued to play an important role, however, because of their in-depth coverage and analysis from celebrity correspondents like the ones noted here.

Dorothy Thompson (1893–1961)

Star correspondents in this era included some of the first great female reporters, notably Thompson. Women were still rare in foreign correspondence during this time. (By the 1970s, about 16 percent of the corps of correspondents were women, a figure that doubled in the 1980s and remained about the

same in the 1990s.) Thompson went to Europe in 1920 where she established herself as a journalist. Upon arriving in London, she received assignments from the International News Service, which was heavily dependent on freelance material, and began selling stories directly to the *Christian Science Monitor, Outlook,* and other publications. By 1925, she headed the Berlin joint bureau of the *New York Post* and the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*. In his 1990 biography of Thompson, Peter Kurth described her as "Richard Harding Davis in an evening gown. Nothing prosaic ever happened to her." She was expelled from Nazi Germany for her negative, belittling reporting of Hitler in 1934, which instantly transformed her into a heroine. In her "I Saw Hitler!" piece published in *Cosmopolitan* in March 1932, she wrote that Hitler "is formless, almost faceless; a man whose countenance is a caricature; a man whose framework seems cartilaginous, without bones. He is inconsequent and voluble, ill-poised, insecure—the very prototype of the Little Man."

John Gunther (1901–70)

Gunter, a friend of Thompson, became famous shortly after her for his *Inside* series of books. Although full of facts and figures, which Gunther collected through prodigious research, these books focused on personalities. The heart of *Inside Europe* (1936) was in its profiles of Hitler, Stalin, and Mussolini. The book reached the best-seller lists in the United States and Britain and made Gunther a national figure. Five more editions appeared in the next four years, and he extended his *Inside* formula to other parts of the planet. To support himself while researching books, which typically took months of travel, he wrote magazine articles while on the road. Whereas most reporters struggled to secure interviews with heads of state, leaders courted Gunther. In the Philippines, while working on *Inside Asia,* he and his wife were entertained on the private yacht of President Manuel Quezon and his wife. China's General Chiang Kai-shek gave him a rare interview. Gunther's books were enormous in breadth and length (*Inside Africa* and *Inside U.S.A.* ran nearly 1,000 pages), and timely, which secured him a popularity that lasted long after Sheean and other foreign correspondents dropped off the best-seller lists after World War II.

Homer Bigart (1907–91)

Bigart is regarded as one of America's most accomplished war correspondents. A two-time Pulitzer Prize winner, he covered World War II and the Korean War for the *New York Herald Tribune,* and later spent six months in Vietnam for *The New York Times*. In 1943 Bigart was one of the few privileged reporters permitted to fly on some of the first daytime bombing raids over Germany, a time when up to 25 percent of the aircraft could be lost. Bigart received his first Pulitzer Prize in 1946 in recognition of his foreign correspondence in the Pacific. He won his second in 1951 for his work in Korea, this one shared by Marguerite Higgins (1920–66), a longtime colleague and rival. Higgins's determination prompted the lifting of the ban on women foreign correspondents in Korea in 1950. She went on to cover the Soviet Union during the cold war and then Vietnam, where she contracted a tropical disease that proved fatal. Her journeys became the basis for several best-selling books.

Harrison Salisbury (1908–93)

Salisbury, who began with the United Press news agency in World War II, served as *The New York Times*' foreign correspondent in the Soviet Union for five years starting in 1949. In 1955 he won the Pulitzer Prize for international reporting, and soon became one of the nation's most respected journalists. Known among his peers for his high journalistic standards, he was named assistant managing editor of the *Times* in 1964. In December 1966, Salisbury was the only Western journalist granted access in Hanoi, North Vietnam. His dispatches, heavily criticized by the administration and other prowar mainstream media, highlighted civilian deaths and injuries and damage to nonmilitary structures by American bombing. Salisbury's reports contradicted the administration's communiqués that the air force and navy pilots hit only military targets with surgical precision. Accusations of relying on North Vietnamese propaganda cost Salisbury a Pulitzer Prize. CIA analyses and historical research later showed that Salisbury, "the teller of unpopular truths" as his obituary in *The Guardian* described him, was accurate in his reporting. He wrote 29 books based on his research and correspondence experience.

For media organizations, foreign newsgathering and elite status were mutually reinforcing during this period. The best organizations gathered news abroad and thereby affirmed their excellence. A similar reinforcing process existed for individual correspondents. They were sent abroad because of their skills or set out on their own because of their ambition. Once overseas, they enjoyed special privileges and trappings that enhanced their status.

During this period a substantial foreign press corps took shape in the United States, according to media scholar Hess, as reporters from all over the world arrived in 1946 to cover the newly founded United Nations. Based largely in New York, they came predominantly from Western Europe and Asia, with Japan and Germany having the largest numbers of correspondents. From 616 correspondents in 1964, the foreign press corps grew to more than three times that number in 2000. As of 2005, 15 percent of the full-timers, those who usually work for the major foreign news outlets, are American citizens. This use of locals as correspondents is a trend that marks American foreign correspondence as well.

The Corporate Correspondents, 1970–2000

In this period, foreign correspondents were far less free-wheeling, less likely to spend decades overseas. The *Saturday Evening Post* and other general interest magazines with an interest in foreign affairs, as well as the *Chicago Daily News,* disappeared. Newspapers also began to eliminate their foreign services, among them the *Baltimore Sun, Newsday,* and *The Boston Globe.*

But there were positive developments as well. A key factor in this change was the nature of media ownership. Growing corporate control and a resulting concern for greater profit combined with concerns about the viability of their product. Foreign news, the most expensive kind, was not the best way to reach and hold newspaper readers, who were slipping away in large numbers. Radio was no longer a central news medium, and television often lacked the time for effective foreign coverage. As media companies grew larger and more diversified, in some cases becoming but a part of general conglomerates, news executives sought to trim costs.

Technology has been one important factor in these changes. Reporters can now travel farther and faster to get to stories. The time between witnessing a story and writing about it has been reduced to basically no time at all. Most newspapers have created a parallel online presence, where news can be published instantly, without waiting for the ink-on-paper version to reach readers. Instant communication has made it possible for the home office to closely coordinate the work of correspondents. In the early twenty-first century, major media that once assigned correspondents abroad permanently rely more on "parachute" reporting by home-based celebrity anchors as a way to cut corners. The term *parachute foreign correspondent* typically is a pejorative. It describes a cost-cutting ploy through which a major news organization reduces the size of its staff of permanent foreign correspondents and instead covers foreign news only when a big story comes along by flying ill-equipped reporters to the scene. This critique overlooks the way parachute journalism adds to coverage. Advances in modern air travel, which make it possible for journalists to go abroad quickly and at lower cost, enable smaller, local newspapers that never had permanent foreign correspondents before to send journalists on special assignments, often to trace local stories abroad. In addition, traditional foreign correspondents are to some degree parachutists. Henry Morton Stanley was a parachutist when he found Dr. Livingston in 1871. Even with the development of modern bureaus, it is not unusual for modern correspondents to travel half the time or more. In 2004, the *Los Angeles Times* had roughly 30 foreign correspondents, one of the largest corps of any metropolitan newspaper, but its Jakarta correspondent covered virtually the whole of Southeast Asia. Assignments became particularly flexible after 2001, with many correspondents leaving faraway posts to cover the fighting in Iraq and Afghanistan.

In the current media climate, it is much harder to be an independent freelance correspondent for either print or broadcast media. Living abroad is no longer cheap for American journalists, and the attraction of a full-time job is much more powerful because of the need for benefits such as health insurance. Nor, sadly, are Americans as admired as they once were.

In this environment, correspondents also are far less often eccentric or flamboyant. "It's a corporation,

and it's a business; it's a brand," said a *USA Today* world editor in a March 2005 interview, "and there is less tolerance for the kind of eccentricities that you used to always see in our profession." The newspaper has a written Overseas Journalist Safety Policy that says, "You must obtain permission from your editors before entering a hostile environment.... You must routinely advise your editors of your movements" (interview with J. M. Hamilton, *Journalism's Roving Eye: A History of American Foreign Reporting,* forthcoming).

Despite this more straight-laced approach to foreign reporting, some correspondents excelled in their courage and insights.

John Burns (1944–)

Burns, with *The New York Times* since 1975, won two Pulitzer Prizes in five years. In 1993 he distinguished himself through his coverage of the destruction of Sarajevo and the barbarous killings in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In 1997 he won the prize for his reporting of the harrowing regime imposed on Afghanistan by the Taliban. After covering Africa, China, Russia, and Iraq, Burns became the paper's London bureau chief in 2007.

Thomas Friedman (1953–)

Similarly, Friedman won two Pulitzer Prizes in 1983 and 1988, respectively. The *New York Times* correspondent, who, like Salisbury, began with United Press International upon graduating, won his first Pulitzer for his coverage of the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, and particularly the Sabra and Shatila massacre against Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut, in September 1982. Assigned to Jerusalem from 1984 to 1988, Friedman received a second Pulitzer Prize for his coverage of the First Palestinian *Intifada* (uprising against Israeli military occupation). His subsequent book, *From Beirut to Jerusalem* (1989), described his experiences in the Middle East. As of 2008, he was a foreign affairs columnist with the *Times*.

Trends in the Early Twenty-First Century

While serious foreign newsgathering by *The New York Times* and other prestige newspapers and magazines continues, new forms of foreign correspondence have emerged and flourished by taking advantage of new technologies. The overall result is a broader, more variegated class of foreign correspondents that, if still imperfect, ensures continued foreign news flow and forms a basis for improvement.

Print and broadcast news have blended online, sometimes in specialized services. The outstanding example of this is Bloomberg News, which has 1,250 reporters outside of the United States in about 80 bureaus. It provides news to clients on special computer terminals, but Bloomberg reports are also syndicated in 500 publications, including *The New York Times*. Also, the Internet allows news consumers to access newspapers online around the world, virtually making them their own foreign correspondents, especially if they can read more than one language.

Conclusion

Even in the great days of foreign correspondence, readership of international news was problematic. Foreign reporting, Sheean complained, was substantially useless because the forces of public opinion and of official power paid so little attention. In this light, the best hope for improved coverage of foreign affairs lies in new approaches, creating partnerships, making more and better use of indigenous journalists abroad, and constantly applying changing technology. While newspapers cut down on international news (with the notable exceptions of *The New York Times,* the *Los Angeles Times, The Washington Post,* or *The Wall Street Journal,* each of which maintain substantial foreign staffs and produce first-rate reports), the claim that readers don't want foreign news doesn't bear out. They do in times of crisis. On a more routine basis, foreign news readership is on par with that of Washington politics (17 percent), and ahead of consumer news (12 percent) and the entertainment (12 percent) coverage that is heavily produced nowadays, according to a 2006 report by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press. These internationally aware news consumers will, as they have since the nineteenth century, have to rely on prestige or specialized media to stay informed about our increasingly interdependent planet.

John Maxwell Hamilton and Raluca Cozma

See also Associated Press; Cables, Undersea; Foreign Correspondents, Electronic; Havas; International Journalism; International News Service; United Press International; Wolff

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Foundations, Research Centers, and Institutes

Journalism is served by a plethora of foundations, institutes, and research centers, virtually all of them dedicated to improving the news media and their products. Some are tied to academic institutions and based on their campuses (usually as an integral part of their journalism programs), though many were at least initially funded by endowments or other gifts from wealthy individuals, some of them journalists themselves.

Most tend to focus on a specific aspect of the news media, and some espouse specific viewpoints. A number offer scholarships and fellowships or annual awards that are detailed elsewhere. Not noted here are the many media industry individual company or trade organization educational foundations that many news media groups operate. These generally focus on training and scholarships, seeking to provide support for those seeking careers.

The very number of such organizations is surely one indication of the importance of journalism in society—but can also be a source of confusion. While some have quite specific functions, others are wide ranging, and the overlap is obvious. Some are fairly "quiet," centering on training and other background functions, while others are far more active in participating in the public debate about the changes in journalism, how to improve its performance, or expressing concern about a lack of objectivity or coverage of some aspect of daily life.

What follows is a partial directory of those entities operating at the time this project went to press, with descriptions drawn largely from the organizations' own websites.

Key Organizations

American Press Institute

Founded by newspaper publishers in 1946, the American Press Institute (API, http://www

.americanpressinstitute.org) is the oldest and largest center focused upon training and professional development for both news practitioners and journalism educators. API conducts more than 30 residential seminars a year for journalists and sales, marketing, and management professionals in print, broadcast, cable, and digital media companies. API offers "tracks" of programs that focus upon key parts of news organizations: advertising, circulation, the editorial function, general management, marketing, and the special issues of weekly newspapers, all building on what has been learned from its ongoing Newspaper Next project. API also develops customized training seminars on news content, journalism values, and effective leadership and management, and continues to design educational programs for news people and organizations in other parts of the world.

Casey Journalism Center for Children and Families

The Casey Journalism Center (CJC, http://www.journalismcenter.org/index.cfm) was created to teach about and recognize exemplary reporting concerning children and families. Since 1993, thousands of print and electronic journalists have attended its training programs and relied on CJC for information about children and family life. CJC is a nonprofit program of the Philip Merrill College of Journalism at the University of Maryland. Its two- and five-day fellowships, news summaries about children and family concerns, and other programs are funded by foundations and individual donors.

Center for Media and Public Affairs

Formed in 1985 by Robert and Linda Lichter (the latter died early in 2009), the Center for Media and Public Affairs (CMPA, http://www.cmpa.com) has been a nonpartisan research and educational organization that conducts research on both news and entertainment media. CMPA election studies have played a part in the ongoing debate over improving the election process. They also analyze late night television program political jokes, the important role media play in communicating information about health risks and scientific issues, and the gap between academic research and the broader domains of media policy. The CMPA's stated goal is to provide an empirical basis for debates over media fairness through studies of media content.

Dart Center for Journalism and Trauma

The Dart Center for Journalism and Trauma (DCJT, http://www.dartcenter.org) was established in 1999 at the University of Washington's Department of Communications as an interdisciplinary clearing house to encourage reporting about victims of trauma. With continuing support from the Dart Foundation, DCJT is responsible for annual Dart Awards and numerous projects linking working journalists, mental health professionals, researchers, and journalism teachers. These programs combine two related goals: educating journalists to report effectively and ethically about victims of violence and tragedy; and encouraging awareness of the psychological impact of such reporting on journalists themselves. Related Dart centers operate in Europe and Australia.

The First Amendment Center

Based at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee (with an office in Arlington, Virginia), the First Amendment Center (http://www.firstamendmentcenter.org/default.aspx) was founded in 1991 to work to preserve First Amendment freedoms through information and education. Now a part of the Freedom Forum (see next paragraph), the center studies free-expression issues, including freedom of speech, the press, and religion, and the rights to assemble and to petition the government—the four central tenants of the First Amendment. It has issued an annual report on the state of the First Amendment since 1997 and conducts educational programs.

The Freedom Forum

The Freedom Forum (http://www.freedomforum.org) is a nonpartisan foundation dedicated to free press and free speech. It focuses on three priorities: funding operations for the interactive Newseum in Washington, D.C., supporting the First Amendment, and expanding newsroom diversity. Its First Amendment Center and the

Diversity Institute are housed in the John Seigenthaler Center at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee. The Freedom Forum was renamed in 1991 as the successor to the Gannett Foundation started in 1935 by newspaper publisher Frank E. Gannett. It is not affiliated with Gannett as it receives support from an endowment of diversified assets.

Freedom of Information Center

The Freedom of Information Center (FOIC, http://www.nfoic.org/foi-center) is a reference and research library at the school of journalism on the campus of the University of Missouri. Established in 1958, the FOI Center helped support the effort to enact a national Freedom of Information Act. The center operates the most comprehensive library focused on freedom of information concerns—a collection of more than 1 million articles and documents about access to information at the local, state, and federal levels. The closely related National Freedom of Information Coalition (NFOIC), supported by the Knight Foundation, issues grants to support state-level action. Both entities also work abroad.

Freedom of Information Clearinghouse

The Freedom of Information Clearinghouse (http://www.citizen.org/litigation/free_info) is a joint project of Public Citizen Litigation Group and Ralph Nader's Center for Study of Responsive Law. It provides technical and legal assistance to individuals, public interest groups, and news media who seek access to information held by government agencies. It also offers extensive information on filing FOI requests to all levels of government.

Independent Media Institute

The Independent Media Institute (IMI, http://www.alternet.org/about/imi.html) is a nonprofit organization designed to assist people with independent news resources and media tools about social issues. More specifically, it is dedicated to strengthening independent journalism, and to improving public access to such sources. IMI supports AlterNet, a monthly web magazine created in 1998 that focuses on issues of environment, human rights and civil liberties, social justice, media, and health care.

Institute for Justice and Journalism

Founded with the support of the Ford Foundation in 2000 at the University of Southern California's Annenberg School of Communication in Los Angeles, the Institute for Justice and Journalism (IJJ, http://www.justicejournalism.org/index.html) seeks to strengthen news media coverage about the legal system, justice, and injustice. IJJ activities include professional fellowships; direct support and grants for journalists; web-based resources for journalists, journalism educators, and students; and conferences, forums, and collaborative projects.

J-Lab: The Institute for Interactive Journalism

A late 2002 spinoff of the Pew Center for Civic Journalism (see below), the J-Lab (http://www.j-lab.org) is an incubator for innovative news experiments that use changing technologies to better engage people and media in critical public issues. J-Lab's core mission is to improve public life by transforming journalism. It provides seed money to news organizations that propose interactive news ideas, linking them with computer experts to build software and means of navigating it. It is supported by the Knight Foundation (see next entry).

John S. and James L. Knight Foundation

Two brothers established the Knight Memorial Education Fund in 1940 to provide financial aid to college students from the Akron, Ohio, area where they published the local paper. In 1950 its assets were transferred to the more broadly conceived Knight Foundation (http://www.knightfoundation.org). Independent of Knight business interests, the foundation was intended to make small grants to local educational, cultural, and social service institutions as well as to a few journalism-related causes. A turning point came in 1972 when its assets rose to more than $24 million and it initiated an expanded grant program focused on the growing number of cities where the Knights published newspapers. The education of journalists became a more pronounced funding interest. The foundation grew

exponentially with proceeds from the estate of Jack Knight 15 years later, and in 1990 it moved to Miami. By June 2006, total foundation grants surpassed the $1 billion mark since its founding, many of them in the 26 markets where the brothers had operated newspapers. With assets of $2.4 billion, it is one of the largest supporters of centers and institutes and other programs concerned with journalism.

Knight Center for Environmental Journalism

The Environmental Journalism program at Michigan State University's school of journalism (http://www.environmental.jrn.msu.edu/institute.html) was founded in 1994 to train students and journalists to research, report, and write about environmental issues. The center conducts research in environmental and science journalism; provides research assistance to scholars; organizes training institutes; produces educational materials; and houses the Meeman Archive, a collection of award-winning environmental journalism reports in print and electronic form.

Knight Center for Specialized Journalism

Formed in 1987, this Knight-funded center in College Park, Maryland (http://www.knightcenter.umd.edu/index.htm), is a national program providing seminars for print, broadcast and online reporters, editors, and editorial writers. Journalists receive training in such subjects as law, health, science, society, demographics, and national and international affairs. Knight Fellows gain new sources, new reference materials, and further story ideas. More than 2,700 fellowships have been awarded to journalists from more than 460 news organizations.

Markle Foundation

The John and Mary R. Markle Foundation, Inc. (http://www.markle.org) was established in 1927 "to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge . . . and the general good of mankind." The first foundation to name both husband and wife in its title, it began with an initial endowment of $3 million. Having worked in other areas, in 1969 the foundation began to refocus on the various roles of masscommunications in a democratic society. The program subsequently expanded to include information technology, focusing in three areas: media and political participation, interactive technologies, and communications policy. Three decades later, the focus changed again, centering on policy for a networked society, health care, and interactive media for children. In the new century it has focused on modernization of the nation's healthcare system and strengthening the country's security against terrorism.

The Robert C. Maynard Institute for Journalism Education

In 1979, Maynard took over as editor of *The Oakland Tribune*, purchasing the paper in 1983, in the first management-leveraged buyout in U.S. newspaper history. By doing so, he became the first African American to own a major metropoli tan newspaper. The foundation (http://www.maynardije.org), which took Maynard's name on his death in 1993, was begun in 1977, dedicated to preparing news professionals of all ethnicities to operate more effectively in the modern but changing multicultural, multimedia marketplace.

National Center on Disability and Journalism

National Center on Disability and Journalism (NCDJ, http://www.ncdj.org/index.php) grew from a need for journalists and educators to better understand the diversity of disability reporting issues. Freelance photographer Suzanne C. Levine founded the Disability Media Project in 1998. The name changed to NCDJ in November 2000; in 2002, it moved into its own office in San Francisco but shifted to Boston in mid-2004. NCDJ offers educational and resource materials for journalists and educators to use in the media, schools, and college and university classrooms.

National Institute for Computer-Assisted Reporting

The National Institute for Computer-Assisted Reporting (NICAR, http://www.nicar.org) is a program of Investigative Reporters and Editors, Inc. and the Missouri School of Journalism. Founded in 1989, NICAR has trained thousands

of journalists in the practical skills of finding and analyzing electronic information on a variety of news topics.

National Press Foundation

With the support of some 80 organizations since 1975, the National Press Foundation (http://www.nationalpress.org) has provided professional development opportunities to more than 5,000 editors, producers, and reporters (some 300 per year), helping them better explain the impact of public policy to its readers and viewers. One and multiday seminars held in Washington and elsewhere bring journalists together with subject experts to discuss significant issues ranging from agriculture to zoology.

The Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard University

The Nieman Fellowships http://www.nieman.harvard.edu) were established in 1938 and are the oldest mid-career program for working journalists. An unexpected gift of $1 million to Harvard in 1937 came with a mandate "To promote and elevate the standards of journalism in the United States and educate persons deemed specially qualified for journalism." The benefactress was Agnes Wahl Nieman, who bequeathed the money to Harvard in memory of her husband, Lucius W. Nieman, the founder and publisher of *The Milwaukee Journal.* Nieman Fellowships are awarded to any type of journalist (print, broadcast, and online reporters, editors, photographers, producers, editorial writers, and cartoonists) with at least five years of full-time, professional experience.

The Alicia Patterson Foundation

The Alicia Patterson Foundation Program (http://www.aliciapatterson.org) was established in 1965 in memory of the longtime editor and publisher of *Newsday*. One-year and six-month grants are awarded to working journalists to pursue independent research and to write articles based on their investigations for *The APF Reporter,* a quarterly magazine published by the foundation (and available on the web).

Pew Center for Civic Journalism

The Pew Center (http://www.pewcenter.org) is an incubator for experiments in civic journalism that help print and broadcast news organizations find ways to engage citizens in dialogue and problem solving. The center shares results from its civic journalism experiments with other journalists through workshops, publications, videos, and outreach programs. Since the center was created, more than 3,500 journalists have attended workshops, and about 226 news organizations have participated in 121 civic journalism initiatives.

Pew Research Center for the People & the Press

The Pew Research Center (http://people-press.org) is an independent opinion research group that studies attitudes toward the press, politics, and public policy issues. It is best known for regular national surveys that measure public attentiveness to major news stories, and for our polling that charts trends in values and fundamental political and social attitudes. Originally the Times Mirror Center (1990–95), it is now sponsored by The Pew Charitable Trusts. The center's purpose is to serve as a forum for media and public policy issues through public opinion research. The research program (with results available on the center website) includes regular reports about people and the press; the people, press, and politics; news interest; and media usage.

The Poynter Institute

Publisher Nelson Poynter founded the Modern Media Institute in 1975 as a nonprofit school for journalists as well as journalism teachers and students. On his death in 1978, it became the Poynter Institute for Media Studies (http://www.poynter.org), focused on improving standards of journalism through training and research. It continues to own and operate the *St. Petersburg Times* as well as *Congressional Quarterly, Governing,* and *Florida Trend* magazines. Among its activities, Poynter conducts seminars and workshops on broadcast/online communications, journalism education, ethics and diversity, leadership and management,

reporting and editing, and visual aspects of the news (including their design and use of graphics and photos).

Project for Excellence in Journalism

Founded in 1997, for nine years, the project (now PEJ, http://www.journalism.org) was affiliated with the Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism and had a twin mission of evaluating the press and helping journalists clarify their professional principles. In mid-2006, PEJ joined the Pew Research Center, doubled its staff, and significantly expanded its research activities. Its wider research agenda now includes continuing content studies of the nation's news agenda, plus tracking of key industry trends, and analyzing that trend data. PEJ continues existing research, publishing *The State of the News Media* annual report on American journalism (2009 marked the sixth edition), conducting content studies of key event coverage, offering occasional analysis of press behavior, and issuing an online *Daily Briefing* of media news.

Public Journalism Network

The Public Journalism Network (PJNet, http://pjnet.org), founded in 2003, is a global online linking of journalists and educators interested in strengthening the relationship between journalism and democracy. PJNet has evolved from a public journalism site to more of an informational clearinghouse for both public and citizen journalism.

The Schuster Institute for Investigative Journalism

Founded in 2004 and based at Brandeis University in Waltham, Massachusetts, the Schuster Center (http://www.brandeis.edu/investigate) was created to help improve public interest and investigative journalism—and to counter the increasing corporate control of what Americans read, see, and hear. Its goals include to investigate significant social and political problems, and uncover corporate and government abuses of power. It offers grants and seminars concerning three major projects concerning political and social justice, the Justice Brandeis Innocence Project; and a gender and justice project. Media criticism is another part of the institute's work.

The Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics, and Public Policy

The Shorenstein Center (http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/presspol) is a Harvard University research center founded in 1986 to explore the intersection of press, politics, and public policy in theory and practice. The center is designed to bridge gaps among journalists, scholars, and the public. The center operates through teaching and research at the Kennedy School of Government and its program of visiting fellows, conferences, and other initiatives.

The World Security Institute's Pulitzer Center on Crisis Reporting

The center (http://www.pulitzercenter.org), established in 2006 in Washington, D.C., seeks to increase independent (freelance) foreign affairs reporting that media organizations are increasingly less willing to undertake on their own. By funding travel and other needs, the center's goal is to raise the standard of coverage of global affairs to engage both the public and policy makers. Funding comes principally from several members of the Pulitzer family.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Academic Associations; Archives and Museums; Audience Research; Criticism of Journalism; International Journalism Organizations; Investigative Journalism Organizations; News Councils; Special Interest Journalism Organizations

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Fox News

The Fox News Channel is a 24-hour cable and satellite news channel based in the United States. Fox News has become an influential player in global information since its launch in October 1996. Most of Fox News's 16 hours of live programming on weekdays, and 27 hours on weekends, are produced at its New York City headquarters. As of January 2009, Fox News is available in roughly 90 million U.S. homes, and in more than 50 countries. Competitors include CNN and MSNBC.

Fox News is often at the top of many cable news ratings categories, making it the most successful U.S. cable news operation in terms of domestic audience size and loyalty. At the same time, Fox News is arguably the most conservative and controversial cable news organization. Many critics suggest Fox News is tailor-made for Republican audiences and that its journalists are anything but objective. Regardless, the channel's opinionated programs have changed the very definition of news in the twenty-first century.

Origin and Key Executives

Fox News is a subsidiary of Fox Entertainment Group, which is owned by News Corporation, one of the world's largest media conglomerates. Its stable of media properties includes businesses in film production and distribution, book publishing, cable and satellite services, television, and Internet. News Corp. owns at least two dozen newspapers in Britain, Australia, and the United States. In 2007, News Corp. acquired American journalism institution *The Wall Street Journal* through its $5 billion purchase of Dow Jones & Company, Inc.

Rupert Murdoch (1931–)

Murdoch is chairman of News Corp. Murdoch began to build a global media empire in the 1960s when he bought the British tabloid *News of the World* and London's *Sun* newspaper. In 1979, Murdoch formed News Corp. in Australia. News organizations have been at the heart of Australian American Rupert Murdoch's acquisition and expansion strategy for decades. Fox Broadcasting was created in 1986 when News Corp. purchased six U.S. television stations as the first step in developing the fourth national television network over the next several years. News Corp. launched the Fox News Channel on October 7, 1996, as an alternative to CNN, the leading cable news provider at the time. Fox News has since expanded its reach from 10 million U.S. homes to more than 90 million. The organization oversees numerous websites tied to its programs; Fox Radio News, a 24-hour radio news service; and its sister channel Fox Business Network, which was launched in 2007.

Roger Ailes (1940–)

Ailes is chairman of Fox News, chairman of Fox Television Group, and a senior advisor to Murdoch. Ailes began his broadcast news career in the 1960s in Cleveland, Ohio. A 1967 meeting with Richard Nixon while Ailes was executive producer of *The Mike Douglas Show* led to a successful political consulting career that spanned the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. His most notable clients include Republican Presidents Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan, and George Bush Sr.

In 1996, Murdoch hired Ailes to run Fox News. Ailes is often credited for the channel's aggressive expansion and unconventional, conservative editorial direction. *Broadcasting & Cable* referred to Ailes as the "proudly capitalistic mastermind" behind Fox News. Author Scott Collins argues that Ailes's personality-driven, patriotic approach to news has revolutionized journalism.

Fox News Formula

Fox News turned television news into a multimedia, manic storyteller with its use of dynamic graphics and sound effects. Fox News innovations include the scrolling ticker at the bottom of the screen to update viewers on breaking news, half-screen and bottom-of-the-screen graphics to help orientate viewers to a segment's subject as well as multimedia visuals and sound effects used to introduce Fox News programs and "Breaking News" segments. Rivals CNN and MSNBC were quick to follow Fox News's graphically enhanced format. While the flashy Fox style modified industry standards, the substance of its programs has also been both influential and controversial.

Characteristics of Fox's personality news programming include a blend of headlines with opinions, interviews, and true-crime or celebrity stories. Many of the network's longest-running programs fall into this category including *The O'Reilly Factor* (1996), *Hannity & Colmes* (1996), and *On the Record with Greta Van Susteren* (2002). With their melding of opinion and personality, Fox News's primetime programs consistently top Nielsen's list of cable news programs.

There is little demographic difference between viewers of Fox News and those of its chief competitors, CNN and MSNBC. The typical cable news viewer is likely a suburb-dwelling, married, middle-aged man with a median income of $62,000, according to the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press. The key difference is ideology. The average Fox News viewer describes himself as conservative. Indeed, a third of Republicans report they regularly watch Fox News. Republicans also tend to believe the network is more credible than its rivals, according to the Pew data.

Key Fox News Programs and Personalities

Bill O'Reilly (1949–)

O'Reilly is host of the most watched U.S. cable news program, *The O'Reilly Factor*. The program debuted in 1996 as Fox News was launched. It includes discussions, debates, commentary, arguments, and interviews about current events, politics, and celebrities. Occasionally, it offers analysis of newsmaker body language. At the heart of the program is opinion—O'Reilly's and those of his guests. He is known to tell those who disagree with him to "shut up" and/or call them "pinheads." O'Reilly's legendary on-air arguments often turn into shouting matches. He admits he likes to "joust" and the verbal warfare between him and many of his guests is the main reason people watch the program. In 2008, O'Reilly renewed his contract with Fox News for four years for reportedly $10 million a year.

Sean Hannity (1961–)

Hannity is another popular, highly opinionated, and highly argumentative Fox News personality who has been with the organization since 1996. For more than a decade, he co-hosted the second most watched news program on cable, *Hannity & Colmes* (behind *The O'Reilly Factor*). Hannity presented the conservative side of an issue, while his co-host Alan Colmes offered the liberal point of view. In late 2008, the liberal-leaning Colmes left the network. Hannity remained as the sole host and the program was aptly renamed *Hannity*. Hannity also hosts *Hannity's America,* a weekly hour-long program that includes investigative stories such as a November 2008 piece that "exposes the liberal lies permeating classrooms across the country." Fox News senior vice president of programming said Hannity is a "die-hard conservative and he believes what he says." In 2008, Hannity renewed his contract with Fox News through 2012. No figure was released; however, reports indicate he earns more than $20 million a year for his nationally syndicated radio talk show heard on more than 500 stations with roughly 13 million listeners.

Greta Van Susteren (1954–)

Van Susteren joined CNN as a legal analyst in 1991. She rose to fame for her gavel-to-gavel commentary during the O. J. Simpson trial in 1995. The former criminal defense and civil trial lawyer then co-hosted CNN's daily legal affairs program before hosting her own CNN program. In 2002, she joined Fox News as host of *On the Record with Greta Van Susteren,* which focuses on true crime and celebrity scandals. It is consistently among the top five highest rated cable news programs.

Fox Controversies

One of the most persistent criticisms of Fox News is that its programs are not news at all, but rather commentary. This stems from the usual professional and cultural expectation that journalists should refrain from offering personal opinion and remain independent, neutral observers. Fox News has pushed the boundaries of conventional "objective" journalism by embedding and rewarding opinion in its news programming. Fox News personalities O'Reilly, Hannity, and Van Susteren have built their careers on their opinions; at the same time, they call themselves journalists and in many ways what they do often appears to be journalism.

They gather, interpret, and present information; they work for an organization that has "news" built into its brand; and they interview the world's top news makers. The merging of such "acts" of journalism as information gathering, reporting, and interviewing with opinion programming may harken what author Farhad Manjoo called the "twilight of objectivity" in journalism.

Many journalism critics (and most Democrats) complain Fox News coverage and commentary flagrantly favors right-wing and Republican positions. Some critics have gone as far as to say that Fox News's conservative "bias" is the result of editorial intervention in the newsroom by executives at the highest levels in the organization, including Ailes and Murdoch. The concern for many is that Fox News reporters, producers, and hosts exercise political considerations when assessing the newsworthiness of a story, instead of sound, fair, and balanced news judgment.

Fox News registered "Fair and Balanced" for trademark in 1998 and has heavily integrated the slogan into its programming and marketing materials ever since. In 2004, liberal Internet advocacy group Moveon.org and the nonpartisan organization Common Cause filed a complaint against Fox News with the Federal Trade Commission, the government agency responsible for assessing and regulating unfair and deceptive business practices. The groups claimed Fox News's persistent use of "Fair and Balanced" equated to deceptive advertising and Fox News reports were "deliberately and consistently distorted and twisted to promote the Republican party of the United States and an extreme rightwing viewpoint." The FTC rejected the complaint, citing First Amendment freedom of speech and press guarantees.

Conclusion

From a business perspective, the Fox News strategy of building a brand based on personality and opinion has proven to be brilliant. Ailes and his management team have demonstrated the "fair and balanced" formula of Fox News not only attracts audiences in an increasingly fragmented media environment, but those audiences remain loyal to the channel and its programs. From a journalistic perspective, Fox News's apparent conservative bias and opinionated programs clash with traditional principles of objectivity and neutrality. If imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, the impact of Fox News on journalism is clear. Most cable news channels in the United States and abroad have to some degree copied Fox News's opinionated, personality-driven programming format.

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See also Bias; Cable News; Commentators, Television; Objectivity; *Wall Street Journal, The*

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Framing

Framing is a concept that refers to the selection of words, topics, and ideas in communication and the effects of these selections on public opinion. The term itself is a metaphor, suggesting that media messages, such as news stories, are bounded by practices of inclusion (what's inside the frame) and exclusion (that which we do not see). Communications researcher Robert Entman wrote in 1993 that "[t]o frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to

promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation." This straightforward definition locates the act of framing in the newsroom, but the theory of framing is also rooted in psychology, where the focus of study is on how individuals interpret reality differently, in part as a result of media frames. Framing research therefore spans several disciplines such as communication research, psychology, sociology, and political science. This entry discusses several of the theoretical approaches to framing, illustrates their applications, and considers the importance of framing for journalism practice and criticism.

Framing as Practice

Framing practices are observed by studying the social organization of the news and by analyzing the linguistic and rhetorical organization of journalistic texts. The underlying implication of the *frame* concept is that a story has more than one way of being told and that editorial decisions affect the way reality is transferred from its actual occurrence to its symbolic representation in the news. Journalists collect a body of facts relating to an event or a series of events, such as the mayor's visit to a local school or a presidential election campaign. They are then required to digest considerable factual information and incorporate it into fairly short news stories by choosing which elements to tell and deciding how to tell them. Reducing news occurrences into narrow frames allows journalists to deliver the news efficiently to their audience. The efficiency of framing has to do with brevity but also with the use of words and concepts that are already familiar to the audience and established in use. Otherwise, journalists would have to introduce and explain each occurrence they report, without assuming prior knowledge by their audience. As a result, journalists are less likely to frame the news in a manner that challenges their audience's pre-existing beliefs.

The news media frame news by stressing certain aspects of issues or people on which they report while de-emphasizing others. They may choose to cover a new presidential initiative by emphasizing its merits and shortcomings, or discussing it as an election gimmick. Either approach may be justified, but the way in which the story is told (the policy-frame or the gimmick-frame) becomes socially important, since it can affect the way the public will consider this policy.

Framing as Effect

The expectation for framing effects is premised on the notion that frames are likely to shape the way people think about issues, persons, and events. This effect can be driven at times by choices of particular words, which activate distinct and predictable ways of thinking. The workings of this process are best understood through psychological studies, dating to the 1970s, which are the foundation for the study of framing effects. Economists Daniel Kahneman and Amos Tversky observed how seemingly minor changes in wording impact people's support for policy choices. Famously, they found that people would prefer a program where 200 out of 600 people might be saved as opposed to one in which there is a one-third probability that all 600 will live but a two-thirds probability that no one will be saved. Even though the prospects for lives saved were mathematically identical, the way in which the options were worded, emphasizing risk or gain, activated biases that are inherent to human nature. In this case, the bias was against risk. Since people are, by and large, risk averse, they will likely oppose political candidates that are framed as more risky, even where the facts may not back this estimate of risk. Along the same lines, health information can affect behaviors differently when it centers on avoiding loss rather than on possible gains as well. For example, young women exposed to information about breast cancer were found more likely to conduct breast self-examinations when provided with negatively framed information, which emphasized the risks of not doing so, than when presented with the benefits of such action.

At the receiving end of the framing effect is the individual exposed to the news media message. For the effect to take place, the media frame needs to activate pre-existing mental "nodes," or pre-existing frames, through which the person receiving the message might think about the world, such as risk and gain. Such pre-existing frames of thought are called "schemas." Media frames make certain schemas more accessible to the receiver, which means the way the story is told becomes the way in which the individual thinks about the issue

discussed. Thinking again about a presidential health initiative, if it is discussed by news media as a gimmick, the audience is likely to perceive this initiative as a political ploy. Once this skeptical schema has been activated, future initiatives are also likely to be regarded as political ploys. When frames are fresh in people's minds and when they are often repeated, their effect extends beyond single instances of attitude-formation and into their broader outlooks on the world.

The evidence for framing indicates that editorial decisions about which terms to use in a news story, which attributes of a person or an issue to highlight, and what social values to invoke can impact the audience's opinions. These decisions are not necessarily deliberate, but they can be of great consequence. The notion of framing effects covers a variety of topics and a multitude of ways in which "frames" appear in news stories. The examples below illustrate some of the types of framing effects that have been studied in recent years.

Types of Frames

Value Framing

Media coverage can affect the types of moral, religious, or social values that people apply when processing a news story. When news reports stress values such as honesty or discuss which candidate can be an agent of change, they are also framing these criteria as central to the audience. Framing occurs through the salience afforded to different values and by subtle linguistic differences that favor one value or another. Consider, for example, the terms *partial-birth abortion* and *late-term abortion,* both of which refer to the same medical procedure. The first term stresses birth and would more likely lead people to consider abortion as it relates to the unborn fetus. *Late-term abortion* frames the abortion issue in the context of the pregnancy and perhaps the mother and her well-being. Such terms could trigger different sets of emotions and values that can be tied to the abortion issue. However, in order to maintain journalistic efficiency, reporting of the abortion debate often turns to just one of these terms, which can direct the audience's thoughts about the issue in different directions.

Value-framing research often finds that framing is contingent on individuals' predispositions, suggesting that framing is not inevitable. One experiment found that people's support for national security policies is affected differently when the story's wording centers on individuals impacted by the policy than when it focused on groups. Media framing in this case affected the type of values (national security or individual rights) activated by the individuals in conjunction with their own ideological leanings. Liberals were more likely to be affected by the individual rights frame than conservatives, while the national security frame affected conservatives more than liberals.

Attribute Framing

The study of attribute framing (sometimes called "second-level agenda setting") demonstrates how news media emphasis on particular characteristics of an issue or a person can affect attitudes. When a desirable attribute of an object is stressed it will lead people to think about it more positively than when an undesirable feature is emphasized. Therefore, it should not come as a surprise that research has found that people prefer beef that is 75 percent lean to that which is 25 percent fat, even though it is exactly the same product. Simply put, the label attached to an object, meaning whether it is "good" or "bad," affects the way people think about it, no matter what its actual qualities are. In electoral campaigns, attribute framing refers to those characteristics of public figures that are made salient for prospective voters. For example, the coverage of Al Gore during the 2000 presidential campaign centered on his perceived tendency to exaggerate. This became the frame through which the public came to view him. To the extent that this was perceived as a negative attribute, voters were less likely to support him. In this manner, the news media can frame candidates by the emphases they put on candidate traits. Since political reporting tends to center on candidates' shortcomings, attribute framing can affect not only the way people think about particular candidates; persistent framing of negative attributes can foster negative outlooks on political life as a whole.

Responsibility Framing

A long-standing body of research illustrates how the framing of news stories affects the way people attribute responsibility for various social

problems. Consider two ways of discussing a problem such as homelessness. Stories may provide straightforward facts and figures as to the underlying cause of this problem, such as an economic downturn. Or news organizations may choose to personalize a story, as they often do, by centering on the individuals affected by homelessness in order to illustrate the issue. Political communication researcher Shanto Iyengar's experiments found that viewers exposed to a problem through the travails of particular victims ("episodic framing") are more likely to attribute responsibility to dispositional or individualist factors, while stories that focus on the problem itself ("thematic framing") are more likely to lead viewers to fault systemic factors and ultimately the government. As a result, this difference in media framing has undeniable political implications.

Strategy and Issue Framing

In the course of political campaigns, candidates make countless speeches, issue numerous position statements, and offer a set of policies and promises for the voters. Political news coverage, however, often seems more interested in "horse race" matters such as poll standings and tactical maneuvering by the candidates. Communications researchers Joseph Cappella and Kathleen Hall Jamieson studied the effects of these two types of frames ("issue" and "strategy") on people's sense of political trust. Experiments they conducted reveal that when people watch politics discussed through the strategy frame they express higher levels of political cynicism, or distrust, than when the campaign is discussed by focusing on the issues at hand.

Framing and Individual Factors

While framing research has been able to produce significant results in several research traditions, some studies have lacked necessary explication of the conditions attenuating the effect or eliminating it altogether. People tend to process information in accordance with their pre-existing outlooks, rather than by invariably reacting to new information as it is transmitted to them. At times, individuals may resist or ignore this new information and they will tend to see, understand, and remember things as they always have. Therefore, media effects, such as framing, may be conditional on the extent to which a frame is compatible with individuals' pre-existing knowledge structures and with the prevailing beliefs in a given culture. Some frames may simply not register with their audience. The less congruent the media frame is with an individual's schemas, the lesser the likelihood of frame transfer.

Framing research does not assume automatic frame transfer. This is evident in a study that exposed participants to political messages that were focused on either candidate traits or the issues. As framing theory would predict, those in the trait-frame condition expressed more thoughts about candidate traits than those in the issue-frame condition and vice versa. However, the effects were particularly strong for those who were more likely to think that way to begin with: people who thought traits were most important ("trait schematics") in politics were more affected by the trait frame than the issue schematics, while those who considered issues most important were more affected by the issue frame than the trait schematics. In this way, framing reinforces existing conceptions.

Most of the research on framing discussed above took place in lab settings that do not amount to an exact replication of the way people actually receive media messages. Some scholars have demonstrated that framing effects are short lived and may dissipate quickly, especially if people discuss the media messages with others, who may have different viewpoints.

The fact that framing may be conditioned by individual factors as well as by the setting in which the message is received should not, however, diminish framing's importance. There is an overwhelming body of evidence that indicates that how a story is told can have a significant effect on how broader social concepts and central political figures are considered by the public. In some cases, the way news media frame a story can affect not only opinions but also actions and behaviors.

Conclusion

While somewhat context- and person-dependent, the evidence for the effects of framing poses a challenge to news reporting. Many journalists still aim to provide an impartial account of an actual reality. But the process of reporting the news involves a series of decisions as to which attributes

of an occurrence or person are brought to the forefront and which are to be excluded. Each one of these decisions can affect the type of concepts activated in the minds of news consumers, which, in turn, affect public perceptions about issues and persons and could perhaps transform general outlooks on policies or social institutions. With this in mind, media framing should be considered as one of the most important sources for media-driven cognitive effects, bearing individual and social consequences.

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See also Agenda Setting; Audience Research; Bias; Election Coverage; Media Literacy; News Values; Polls and Public Opinion

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France

France's importance as a world cultural and political power has been evident for centuries. The nation has also played an important role in the history of journalism. French newspapers appeared as early as the mid-1600s. Newspapers in France have been credited with both helping bolster government legitimacy and helping push forward social movements.

Origins

There is some debate among historians as to what were the first publications in France. Most believe that the first regularly printed publication was Paris's *Cy est le Compost et Kalendrier des Bergiers* in 1491. Between then and the 1630s, the bulk of publications produced were calendars and almanacs. While weekly newspapers were being imported into France from Amsterdam as early as 1620, the first French newspaper appeared in 1631. The *Gazette de France* remained almost unchanged in format until the French Revolution in 1789. Most periodicals' format between 1631 and 1789 resembled those of small books—columns of dense type with little illustration. Business and political events made up most content in newssheets prior to 1750.

For more than a hundred years after the first newspaper was produced in France, newspapers were a resource for the privileged. Under the monarchy during the 1700s, newspapers were more closely linked with literature than business. Literary critics and writers (who by definition were members of the aristocracy because literacy was almost solely limited to the aristocracy) would gather in "literary salons" discussing new works. The ideas of this aristocratic clientele were then printed in newspapers. Thus, both the readers and writers of newspapers were members of the aristocracy and essentially extensions of the state, and journalistic content remained primarily literary in focus. Given the high cost of printing and distribution, individuals would pass on handwritten copies to others.

The rapid spread of news created by these networks strengthened the market for more newspapers.

The number of French language periodicals slowly grew worldwide, from 40 in 1700 to 277 in 1780. As in most countries, the press in France experienced periods of rigid censorship versus greater freedom depending on the nation's changing political climate. The Revolution of 1789 resulted in increased public and institutional freedoms. Prior to the Revolution, only *Le Gazette* (*Gazette de France*) was allowed to report political news. Subsequently, the press won the right to report on Parliamentary proceedings. Despite this newfound freedom, however, presentation of political news continued to lag behind arts, sciences, religion, and philosophy.

Claude Chappe helped bring France to the forefront of media development in the eighteenth century with his pioneering work in semaphore telegraphy. In 1793, the French National Assembly voted to have Chappe expand his invention, a semaphore telegraph, and build a state semaphore telegraph system from Paris to Lille.

The chaos of the French Revolution into the 1790s prompted a period of increased newspaper development, especially in Paris. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (1789), the first step in constructing a new constitution, set the stage for press freedom. The Declaration states that "All citizens, being equal in the eyes of the law, are equally admissible to all public dignities, places, and employments, according to their capacity and without distinction other than that of their virtues and of their talents." The Declaration also defined freedom of speech, stating: "The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the most precious human rights: hence every citizen may speak, write, print with freedom, but shall be responsible for such abuses of this freedom as shall be determined by the Law." Newspapers started to appear in public places, quickly expanding readership beyond the bourgeoisie. Indeed, during the post-Revolution period, newspaper circulation in France became the highest in the world. Estimates put the peak circulation at 300,000 a day, about all the limited technology of the time could produce. By 1802, with greater social calm, Parisian newspaper circulation had fallen to 33,000.

Napoleon Bonaparte took control of the Republic in 1799 as First Consul and later Emperor from 1804 until 1814. Regardless of the freedoms granted to the press in 1789, upon his ascension to power, and as a result of his belief in the power of the press over public opinion, Napoleon was able to skillfully suppress the political press through his sense of news management. By 1811, only four Parisian dailies remained (*Le Moniteur, La Gazette de France, Le Journal de l'Empire,* and *Le Journal de Paris*).

After his defeat in 1815, the monarchy was restored with constitutional limitations. However, Charles X placed limitations on the press; in 1830 journalists led a revolution that helped bring him down. In the years that followed, improvements in printing capabilities (steam and rotary-action presses) increased the numbers of dailies produced and the simultaneously lower subscription costs resulted in growing circulation.

Development

Print

Growing revolutionary developments in thought and demand for freedoms they incited led to reinstatement of press freedoms in a July 1881 press law. The press enjoyed these freedoms until World War I (a period often called "the Golden Age" of the French press), when press cooperation in state propaganda bruised public opinion of press services. Instrumental to growing readership was the expansion of public education, which made French literacy the highest in Europe and encouraged appearance of commercial newspapers resembling the American penny press. By 1914, *Le Peit Parisien* became the largest-selling newspaper in the world with a circulation over 2 million. The rate of French circulation was 244 papers sold per 1,000 people, rivaling that of the United States (255 per 1,000) and overshadowing that of Britain (160 per 1,000). Despite the success of commercial papers that claimed no political bias, many political opinion-based papers remained. In fact, 80 percent of Paris papers in 1914 were small-circulation opinion papers, insignificant compared to the huge commercial papers. Yet despite the success of French commercial newspapers during this "Golden Age," they failed to develop into a sustained industry, in part because profits were lower than those of their British and American counterparts.

By 1914, more than 300 dailies were being published in France, the most copies per capita in Europe.

During World War I, circulation declined, but photojournalism became increasingly popular. *Paris-Soir* was notably one of the few dailies to successfully survive this period through its inclusion of pictures and other more modern editorial techniques.

By 1936, French papers earned but one sixth to one eighth the advertising dollars of newspapers in Britain or the United States due to the inter-war economic depression experienced throughout Europe, but exaggerated by the French government's pro–laissez-faire response (which meant no direct government economic stimulation). The financial strain placed on newspapers by these low advertising revenues was exploited by the government's "buying" off of corrupt journalists and newspapers in return for favorable government coverage. Thus the 1930s saw a significant decline in the newspaper industry, both in terms of production and circulation. Adding to the decline was the nation's growing news focus on radio and early television experiments.

In 1940, the government established a Ministry of Information to centralize control over the press. During the German occupation (1940–44), forced cooperation of the newspaper industry intensified to the point that after liberation in 1945, only some newspapers were resuscitated.

After the war, political papers surged in popularity. There was also considerable concern over corruption in the press. The political left pushed for (and were somewhat successful in) advancing a broader public service system. The French Press Federation declared in 1945 that "the press is not a means of commercial profit. It is free only when it is not dependent on either the government or the money powers, but only on the conscience of its journalists and readers." Despite this argument, however, no such system developed, and both commercial and political powers retained close ties to the press. Most newspaper ownership was concentrated in corporate hands, though some industrialists with political aspirations sought to retain political influence. One example is Robert Hersant, a member of the National Assembly for two decades (1956–78), who owned many media outlets including the Paris dailies *Le Figaro* and *France Soir*. In the mid-1980s, a dozen National Assembly members worked for Hersant.

By 1947, the largest-selling paper in France was the Communist Party's *L'Humanite*. Even in the twenty-first century, there is a strong cultural desire to ensure the survival of these ideological newspapers, including those connected to religious institutions, especially the Catholic Church. These collectively make up 70 percent of circulation in the early twenty-first century. The largest-selling paper in the country is a provincial daily, *Ouest France,* founded in 1944, with a circulation of around 700,000.

Broadcasting

Regular radio broadcasting began in Paris in 1921 with transmission of Radio-Tour Eiffel from the Tower, and slowly expanded. Radio was perceived as a means of reinforcing national identities. A 1923 law made broadcasting a state monopoly (although some private stations were allowed if they did not interfere with state programming transmissions). License fees on receivers provided financial support starting in 1933 as radio expanded into a mass medium. Radio news was initially politically neutral, but that did not last long. In 1932 radio was first used in an election campaign. Political riots in February 1934 increased the importance of radio news reporting. By 1935 there were 1.3 million radio receivers in France; just three years later, there were over 4 million.

President Charles de Gaulle instituted a true "government model" system in broadcasting. He believed that control of the country's television was required for effective government. Until 1964, top executives of Radio Television France (RTF) were appointed by the Minister of Information. Changes in government were directly reflected in public broadcasting personnel and policies into the 1970s.

Immediately following the political crisis of May 1968, a "rule of thirds" was established to ensure diversity of political opinion on television both public and commercial. During election campaigns, television airtime must be divided equally between the government, the parliamentary majority, and the opposition. This rule was renewed in 2000 and provisions made to ensure minority parties received some airtime. During campaigns, paid political advertisements are prohibited and the week prior to voting, televised poll results are prohibited. The Conseil Superieur de L'Audiovisuel (CSA) is the government body responsible for issuing broadcasting licenses to stations and seeing these rules are enforced.

During the 1980s, the nation's broadcast system was threatened by expanding cable and satellite television. The number of available television channels increased to over 200 channels plus seven terrestrial channels compared to only three in 1980. Credited for this increase was the end of the government's media monopoly by the late 1980s.

Government Versus Market Control

As a result of the new competition, privatization was introduced. In 1986 the government privatized the TF1 channel, though the government still exercised control over private networks. For example, during the shift to privatization in the 1980s, government networks were sold to political "friends" of the administration.

The second half of the twentieth century also saw a move toward market-oriented print media, including efforts to mix traditional political stories with more human interest, features, and elaborate graphics. The increasing importance placed on regional media helped feed the public perception of media as social actors because of their vast diversity and pluralism. This was especially evident in May 1968 as student protests against the de Gaulle government focused upon replacing the old conservative cultural morality with a more liberal morality stressing human rights and equality. The French government is protected against "offenses to the chief of state" and can seize any publications in the interest of national order. During the turbulent times of Charles de Gaulle's administration of 1966–73, the law was exercised over 300 times.

The Law of 29 July 1982 guaranteed the commercial media's independence from political powers and placed all television and radio stations (which had been controlled by a state monopoly for nearly five decades) under the regulation of an independent government entity, which was later modified in 1989 to become the Conseil Superieur de l'Audiovisuel (CSA). One result was a sharp increase in the number of radio stations, especially on FM channels, and a more decentralized and pluralistic system. In 1984, some stations began using satellite links. Two years after the Law of 1982 guaranteed media independence, the French Constitutional Council acknowledged the constitutional importance of press freedom and the necessity of such freedom to democracy.

To protect media from political influence, a law in 1986 extended protections to all modes of communication. The Freedom of Communication article included in this act does have numerous limitations, however. It states that "this freedom may be limited only, to the extent required, for the respect of human dignity, freedom and property of other people, the pluralistic nature of the expression of ideas and opinions and, for the protection of children and adolescents, safeguarding of law and order, for national defense, public service reasons," and so on.

One exception to the country's low level of journalistic autonomy is the newspaper *Le Monde*. Control of that paper is held by its journalists through the Societe des Redacteurs (Society of Editors) whereby journalists elect a director who is then financially supported by a Corporation of Readers (a group of small investors), who do not have voting rights. Over the years, the paper took steps to insulate its reporting from outside influence by limiting its revenue obtained through advertising. Journalists retained control over the paper's director into the twenty-first century.

During the first decade of the twenty-first century, French papers enjoyed higher circulation rates than other Mediterranean countries but lagged behind the rest of Western Europe.

Modern News Media

Journalists are typically members of the elite; most come from the upper middle class, are educated at elite institutions (especially at Institut des Etudes Politiques in Paris) that also turn out the country's economic and political leaders, and are thus often close friends with or even married to political and economic leaders. However, development of new media has begun to unravel this tight relationship between the state and media. Cable and satellite television have made available many more news sources and the Internet has reduced the ability to control news institutions.

French journalism has traditionally focused on political commentary, placing high value on discussion and interpretation of events and ideas. It is common for the press to interject judgments on policy and political action. At the same time, information-oriented journalism became more common as investigative reporting grew in popularity and frequency.

Yet there is little journalistic autonomy in France. For example, there are many laws and self-regulatory codes within news organizations that protect journalists. In 1935, a law included an individual conscience clause, which made it easier for journalists to leave their paper after an ownership change if the ideological or political stand of the publication shifts. Conflict over the political stance of newspapers continued into the early twenty-first century.

Trade unions in France are closely affiliated with political parties. A formal governmental authorized organization, Commission de la Carte, regulates wages as well as journalist credentials and benefits.

Newspapers

Though the number of French newspapers increased in 2004, circulation and revenue declined between 1990 and 2005. By 2008, France produced 75 national newspapers: 10 dailies, 26 weeklies, 22 monthlies, and 17 quarterlies. Eight of the ten national dailies are owned by media conglomerates that own many various media outlets across many different media platforms (broadcast, print, etc.); the other two (*Le Monde* and *Liberation*) are owned by financial organizations. France has long enjoyed a culture of sharing copies of newspapers. Evidence of this appears in the 2008 circulation and readership rates of national daily papers: 1.2 million copies, but a total readership of 8.3 million. The yearly circulation of dailies was 611 million copies, of which 449 million were continuing subscriptions, reaching over 70% of the population. Nearly half of all revenue originated from advertising (409 million euros).

Newspaper circulation declined during the late twentieth century. In 1961 *France Soir* sold more than a million copies a day; by 2005 daily sales had dropped to 50,000, leading to considerable financial losses. Regional papers followed similar trends initially, but by 2008 their circulation appeared to be increasing. In 2008, national dailies accounted for 14 percent of total media publication circulation, and only 2 percent of the published titles. As was happening elsewhere, audiences and advertisers were shifting allegiance to electronic news sources, both broadcast and Internet.

Free papers have become hugely popular, with total circulation of 291 million copies. There are three "freesheet" networks: *Metro, 20 Minutes,* and a group of city-edited factsheets. *Metro* is owned by the Swedish Metro press group of which TF1 French television is a major shareholder. *20 Minutes* is owned by Shibsted (a Norwegian firm) and Ouest France (regional). The third group is owned by Groupe Hersant, Socpresse, Hachette group, and Sud-Ouest group and includes the public service television channel *France Cinq*.

Magazines

Modern French readers tend to rely less on national dailies as sources of information and more on magazines and local newspapers. Nearly 40 percent of France's print media circulation (and titles) is represented by magazines. By the first decade of the twenty-first century, French magazine yearly production totaled 111 million copies. Similar to newspapers, almost half of magazine revenue came from advertisements (113 million euros), the remainder from subscriptions or single-copy sales. French magazines have also experienced a slow decline in readership since 2002.

Television

The French government has always controlled broadcasters. Most major channels are publicly owned and have been occasionally subject to censorship. Despite provisions made to legally protect expression and encourage opinion pluralism, relationships between television executives, their journalists, and government officials remain close. Indeed, many powerful government officials are married to journalists. Allegations frequently arise that the French government (through the CSA) makes public television appointments based on a journalist's political persuasion.

There is a long-standing news culture of protecting the privacy of government officials and not delving into their private lives. This has been encouraged because French law typically sides with the government in libel cases. However, this culture is beginning to shift, although heavy personal criticism of public officials remains largely absent in the mainstream media. For example, President Nicolas Sarkozy divorced his wife and then dated and married the pop singer and former model Carla Bruni, all within his first year in office, and mainstream media coverage was similar

to that given to a celebrity; however, the President was not generally criticized.

In mid-2000 the government established the France Televisions holding company to take control of the three public television companies (France 2, France 3, and La Cinquieme). The firm determines these companies' strategies, development, and program policies within their public mission.

Viewers pay an annual audiovisual licensing fee, which finances public television. Seventy-six percent of the sector is financed by the state (funded largely by the licensing fee), and the rest by advertising. However, advertising has been perceived as a threat to public television stations. As success of the newly privatized TF1 forced the public channels France 2 and 3 to compete for ratings, the public channels were forced to accept advertising. Subsequently, they have been criticized for behaving as private channels. However, the same law that created France Televisions also reduced the amount of advertising time on France 2 and 3 because they are public channels. The state subsidizes some of the lost advertising revenue in order to help the channels compete, because while they must compete commercially with TF1, they are also bound to limit advertising time in compliance with their "public" status.

There are five national public channels (France 2 through 5, the latter an educational channel, and France ô-, a multicultural channel); three national privately held channels (TF1, M6, and Canal Plus); and more than 20 national and local cable channels. The 24-hour news channels in France include France 24 (international news and current affairs), BFM, and iTele. However, although they are on the air 24 hours a day, often their programming is pre-recorded. A substantial portion of the country still watches televised news at 8 p.m. on weekday evenings.

Radio

By 2008 some 1,200 different broadcasters were on the air, reaching better than 80 percent of the population aged 15 years and older. Radio station ownership is often concentrated through co-owned networks, affiliated stations, programming franchises, or advertising networks. There are also a number of state-owned public radio stations operating as Radio France (which is a network of 53 radio stations). Radio France is a parent umbrella media company composed of major national stations such as France Inter, France Info (a 24-hour news station), France Culture, France Bleu, France Musiques, and FIP (music and traffic information station).

Newer Media

French Telecom formed Minitel, a pioneering (and for a time quite successful) teletext system in 1981. Minitel is an Internet-like system, in which users can access the Minitel network via simple terminals that were connected to the telephone system. Users could look up phone numbers, buy train tickets and other items, and even purchase stocks via Minitel. The company gave away the terminals for free, creating a large network of users, thus saving money on printed telephone books, among other services.

But despite widespread publicity, Minitel was doomed in the face of the more useful Internet and World Wide Web. By 1997, French Prime Minister Lionel Jospin argued that continuing Minitel was holding France back from fully entering the information age. In 2001, Minitel users totaled 16 million compared to half as many Internet users, though the latter expanded rapidly over the next few years as Minitel was largely phased out.

By 2008 nearly 60 percent of the country's population could access the Internet and nearly all French newspapers offered online editions including daily news, files, record, chats, and blogs. Many radio and television stations were also offering at least some online content.

Media Organizations

There are numerous trade unions and associations serving the country's journalists and press. The most influential is the Federation Nationale de la Presse Francaise (FNPF), which studies issues related to the industry and the profession, represents the collective interest of the press in legal events, and represents the press to governmental and para-governmental entities. The FNPF also represents the profession to interprofessional groups including the organization responsible for issuing journalist ID cards (the CCIJP or Commission de la Carte d'Identite des Journalistes Professionnels).

There are 40 journalist syndicates ranging from those focused on broad interests to those specializing in religion, politics, or professional interests. In 1918 the Syndicat National des Journalistes was created (and fully established in 1938) to create a moral code for journalists similar to that of lawyers. Professional training of journalists is controlled by the Union Syndicale de Journalistes CFDT (created 1992) in an attempt to create common understanding among all French journalists.

Professional associations exist for nearly every communications job at both the regional and national level as well as journalism specialties (such as Internet journalism). Many individuals who work in public relations and communications, such as press attaches, or for corporate publications belong to Information, Presse et Communication. Internet and multimedia journalists often belong to the Association des Journalistes Professionnels des Technologies de l'Information (AJPTI). In general, the various associations offer professional resources and networks for their specific members.

Print Media Policy

Press freedom of expression was first protected by law with an act in July 1881. The legislation sought a balance between freedom of expression, protection of citizens, and maintaining law and order. Over a century later, similar protection was extended to television and radio. Despite these freedoms, however, France employs strong "hate speech" regulations. It is prohibited to either write or deliver a speech that incites religious, racial, or gender orientation hatred (added 2003), denies the Holocaust (1990), or presents illegal drugs or their use in a positive light (1970). Violations of these rules are pursued in the courts after the fact, rather than using prior restraint.

In 2000, the 1986 act on media freedom was extended to include amendments created for greater audiovisual diversity through the introduction of digital terrestrial television and establishment of local stations.

As of 2008 the French government provided the highest press subsidies in Europe, estimated at 12 to 15 percent of total press revenues. Commonly, funds in the form of grants go toward helping maintain party and ideological papers in the spirit of political pluralism. Subsidies also come in such forms as lower tax or utility rates. The government provides similar subsidies to individual journalists in the form of up to 30 percent reduction in their taxes. (This is not uncommon in France; the government provides similar subsidies in other industries, such as to farmers and agricultural companies.) Given these financial benefits, along with the close relationship between the media and politicians, vigorous privacy protections, tight control of official information, and the centralized form of state administration, media organizations tend to take care not to embarrass state representatives. However, when scandals occur, the media take a more independent stance and are often highly critical.

Electronic Media Policy

In 1989 the Conseil Superieur de l'Audiovisuel (CSA) was formed as the chief government policy agency for electronic services. The CSA holds the rights to chair appointments within public television and radio (which in practice means that programming can be indirectly influenced by the government), as well as frequency distribution and licensing, and acts as the administrator of broadcast laws, particularly those protecting authors' rights and guaranteeing representation of a diversity of opinions. The president of the National Assembly, the Senate, and the Republic each appoint three CSA members (for a total of nine), who serve six-year terms. Each set of appointments is staggered so a third of the council is replaced every two years. The country's President appoints the CSA chair.

In an attempt to protect French culture, in 1994 popular music stations were required to devote at least 40 percent of their music to French language songs, an obligation that remains in force. As with television, the CSA controls transmission and distributes frequencies.

In 1996, the French government set up a commission to explore Internet policies, resulting in a set of recommendations to increase French cultural presence and language. Named after the Minister of Telecommunications at the time, the Fillon amendment was enacted by the National Assembly to regulate the Internet. Under it, Internet providers do not have to abide by codes of conduct set forth by the CST (Conseil Superieur de la Telematique), but those who do are absolved of any legal liability for content (text, documents, or images) they transmit.

There has been some criticism that CST censoring of the Internet is unconstitutional.

In 2008, President Sarkozy, in response to the struggling survival of cultural identity in media, proposed to increase government control of publicly owned television and radio, removing all advertising. Through his proposal, private broadcasters would be taxed on advertising revenues and new media (Internet service providers and mobile phones) would be taxed on revenues as well to subsidize the more cultural public television and radio. (The idea is that this new subsidy and elimination of advertising pressures would rejuvenate public broadcasting that has been hurt by the decline of more traditional audiences.) His proposal was met with great criticism. On February 13, 2008, around a dozen public television and radio stations, employing about 150,000 workers, went on a 24-hour strike. Radio stations stopped broadcasting news and only played music, and television stations ran a banner at the bottom of the screen explaining the strike. (This strike was reportedly the largest strike in the audiovisual sector since 1974 when President Chirac announced that the Office de la Radio et de la Television Francaise [ORTF] was to be split into seven independent companies that included what became the France Televisions and Radio France.)

Summary

France has been a leader in driving media development across Europe and the world. The country was one of the first to experiment with television, and its media have a long history of fighting for free expression. Although new media usage is often slower to develop, France continues to utilize new media platforms as they appear. Like print media elsewhere, France has experienced declines in newspaper and magazine circulation. There remains, however, a strong sense of national pride in its journalistic professionalism. Despite this, the country has experienced a growing amount of "soft" news such as celebrity gossip and tabloid features.

Heather Gilbert

See also Agence France-Presse; Havas

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Freedom of Information Act (FOIA)

The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) is an information disclosure statute that provides the principal means of access to records of the executive branch of the United States federal government. The FOIA, codified at 5 U.S.C. section 552, was enacted in 1966 and has been amended several times since, significantly by the Electronic FOIA Amendments of 1996.

History

The FOIA was necessitated in large measure by the dramatic growth of the federal government in the mid-twentieth century, though a confluence of circumstances brought open-government legislative efforts to fruition in 1966. The U.S. Constitution does not provide a right of public access to inspect or copy government records. The first statute to provide a comprehensive right of access was the Administrative Procedure Act of 1946 (APA), of which the FOIA today is a part. The APA was initially limited, vesting broad discretion in agencies and permitting access only to "persons properly and directly concerned" with records. Abuses of government secrecy were well publicized in subsequent years and frustrated Congress, journalists, and the general public. Attorney Harold Cross documented government secrecy in a report to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, published in an influential 1953 book, *The People's Right to Know*.

Responding to this frustration, Congressman John Moss, a Democrat from California, began in 1955 to press for access reform and to hold

hearings on government secrecy. Legislation to expand access under the APA access was introduced in Congress as early as 1957, though no bill gained traction until the APA came under review in 1963. Moss found long-sought bipartisan support for a bill in 1965. Federal agencies unanimously testified against the proposed legislation, and the Department of Justice doubted its constitutionality. Nevertheless, owing in significant part to press editorial pressure, the FOIA passed the Senate, and passed the House unanimously, in 1966. President Lyndon Johnson (1963–69) signed the bill into law without ceremony at his Texas ranch on Independence Day, July 4, 1966. The holiday was likely a coincidence, as the President was unenthusiastic about the law. He issued a signing statement asserting that the FOIA "in no way impairs the President's power under our Constitution to provide for confidentiality when the national interest so requires."

FOIA Today

The FOIA applies to the executive branch of the federal government, including independent agencies, the military, and the Executive Office of the President, but excluding the President and Vice President, and their immediate staffs. The FOIA does not apply to Congress, to the courts, to nongovernmental recipients of public funding, the District of Columbia, or to state governments. As a general matter, the FOIA provides that when any person requests access to the records of a public agency, the agency must provide them unless they come within one of the nine FOIA exemptions. The FOIA also requires that agencies provide information and indexes for public guidance.

Pursuant to the FOIA, "any person" (not just journalists) may request records from a public agency. The agency must fulfill a request that "reasonably describes" the records sought. Records are defined broadly to include not only documents, but video and audio recordings, and data stored in electronic media. An agency must undertake "reasonable efforts to search for" requested records, including automated searching, but need not create new records. Records must be produced in the form requested as long as the records are "readily reproducible" in that form. An agency may charge a "reasonable" fee for searching, reviewing, and duplicating records, but noncommercial and news-media requesters may not be charged for searching and reviewing. A waiver of search and copying fees is available for requests "in the public interest." Agencies are compelled to respond to requests within 20 working days (four weeks), absent "unusual circumstances" warranting extension. However, as a matter of practice, some federal agencies (such as the FBI) are renowned for backlogs running from weeks to years. An agency must offer expedited processing for the requester who "demonstrates a compelling need," and when news-gathering has been held to constitute such a need.

Exempt from mandatory disclosure under the FOIA are

1. classified national security records;
2. records of "internal personnel rules and practices";
3. material specifically made exempt from disclosure according to a statute other than the FOIA;
4. confidential "trade secrets and commercial or financial information";
5. agency memoranda and letters that would be privileged in litigation (sometimes termed "working papers" or "pre-decisional" records);
6. personnel, medical, and other records "the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy";
7. certain law enforcement records, including those which "could reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings" and those which "could reasonably be expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy";
8. reports generated in the supervision of financial institutions; and
9. geological information about oil and gas wells.

The scope of some exemptions is controversial and subject to perpetual litigation. Records must be redacted of exempt information before their release. When an agency claims an exemption to support denial of access to records, the agency may produce (indeed, may be compelled by a court to produce) an itemized inventory of undisclosed records and claimed exemptions, termed a "*Vaughn* Index" after a 1973 federal court case.

The FOIA requires that agencies publish in the *Federal Register* rules, procedures, and FOIA forms as well as a description of its organization. Agencies also must publish online their final orders and opinions; policies and interpretations; staff manuals and instructions, such as they affect the public; annual FOIA compliance reports; and records previously produced under the FOIA that are likely to be requested again. The FOIA authorizes agencies to promulgate and enforce their own internal FOIA policies and procedures, as long as they do not contravene the law. The online publication requirements added by 1996 amendment have led agencies to create "electronic reading rooms," websites where agencies post information as required by the FOIA and provide additional guidance to FOIA requesters about the agency's own policies and procedures.

Every federal agency must designate an official to receive FOIA requests. If a requester does not receive a response to a request or believes the agency has improperly claimed exemption, the FOIA requires that the agency provide a process of administrative appeal. For the requester who is dissatisfied with the outcome of an administrative appeal, the FOIA authorizes suit against the agency in federal district court. If a court determines that FOIA non-compliance was "arbitrary and capricious," disciplinary action may be taken against responsible federal employees.

Interpreting the Law

Influential in interpretation of the FOIA are executive orders of the President, memoranda and policies of the attorney general and Department of Justice, and the body of federal case law that has arisen from more than four decades of FOIA litigation.

Executive discretion has vacillated between greater and lesser disclosure, as illustrated by executive orders concerning the national security exemption. In a 1982 executive order, President Ronald Reagan (1981–88) created a detailed classification system that weighted agency analysis in favor of classification. In a 1995 order, President Bill Clinton (1993–2001) revamped the system, instituting a presumption in favor of disclosure absent a demonstrable threat to national security. In a 2003 executive order, President George W. Bush (2001–09) eliminated the access-friendly presumption.

Attorneys general too have struggled over FOIA interpretation. In a 1993 memorandum, Attorney General Janet Reno directed agencies to favor disclosure when FOIA exemptions, such as those concerning agency memoranda, are discretionary, rather than mandatory, unless the agency could foresee harm resulting from disclosure. In October 2001, after the terrorist attacks of September 11, Attorney General John Ashcroft revoked the Reno memorandum and told agencies instead that the Justice Department would defend any non-disclosure decision rested upon "a sound legal basis."

The federal courts have developed a voluminous body of case law interpreting the FOIA. A key U.S. Supreme Court decision involved journalists' FOIA requests for access to "rap sheets," or criminal information histories, maintained by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In *Department of Justice v. Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press* (1989), the Court stated that the "central purpose," or "core purpose," of the FOIA is to inform people about "what their government is up to." The rap sheets revealed information about private individuals, not about the government, the Court reasoned, so access was properly denied. Though the case ostensibly involved only a question under the law enforcement–personal privacy exemption, the "central purpose test" has been more broadly influential in lower court interpretation of the FOIA, affecting a limit on disclosure.

The *Reporters Committee* decision was also an important interpretation of the FOIA privacy exemptions because the Supreme Court accepted an argument predicated on "practical obscurity." The federal rap sheets contained information aggregated from the records of state and local law enforcement agencies, and the information generally was available to the public from those underlying sources. That availability did not preclude application of the federal privacy exemptions, the Court decided, because the geographic dispersion of the source data rendered it practically obscure.

Journalists and the FOIA

Because journalists historically have advocated vigorously for open government, the FOIA is commonly regarded as a law for journalists. But studies of FOIA usage show otherwise. Though precise numbers are difficult to ascertain, journalists'

access requests account for only about five percent of the millions of FOIA requests made annually. Most FOIA requests come from commercial entities, such as private businesses seeking information about government contracts, and information brokers mining information to repackage and sell. Journalist requests are also far outpaced by requests from individual citizens, including researchers, historians, and the simply curious.

The FOIA is arguably ineffective for many journalists. They complain that the FOIA process is too slow for timely newsgathering because of agency resistance to disclosure, the 20-day time frame, agency processing backlogs, the sluggishness of the federal courts, and a weak enforcement process. Important stories such as the Pentagon Papers in 1971 and the Iran Contra Affair in 1986 were based upon government leaks or investigative reporting, not upon voluntary government disclosures. Critics therefore charge that the FOIA is only as useful as the government is cooperative.

Nevertheless, the FOIA has made countless news stories possible and remains an important tool, especially in historical research and long-term investigative projects. For example, records disclosed under the FOIA brought to public attention the health consequences of dioxin exposure resulting from use of the "Agent Orange" defoliant in the Vietnam War. Public record disclosures were also instrumental in exposing programs of domestic government spying on civil rights activists in the 1960s and 1970s. Access advocate and journalism professor Jane Kirtley has asserted that the FOIA is important to journalists even if they do not invoke it formally, because the threat of its use is sufficient to ensure public officials' compliance with journalists' informal requests for information.

Influence

Most states had open records laws before the FOIA was enacted in 1966. Nevertheless, the federal FOIA was influential in bringing about open records laws in the remaining states, and federal court interpretation of the FOIA has been influential in state court interpretation of open records laws. Though the FOIA was not the first such law in the world—it had antecedents in Sweden and Finland—it has been influential in the creation of statutory access regimes in more than 60 countries. Though access to government records remains a subject of law around the world, access is becoming an international norm of democratic governance. International nongovernmental organizations advocating public access have proliferated, and in a 2006 case about the environmental impact of development in Chile, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights construed the American Convention on Human Rights—not binding in this respect on the United States—to provide a "right of access to State-held information."

Related Laws

Several federal disclosure laws complement the FOIA. The Privacy Act of 1974 permits individuals access to public records about the requesters themselves. The Presidential Records Act of 1978 governs access to, and the retention of, records of the President and Vice President and their immediate staffs. Public access to meetings in the federal government is provided in limited fashion by the Government in the Sunshine Act of 1976 and by the Federal Advisory Committee Act of 1972.

Conclusion

Despite its shortcomings, the FOIA plays a critical role as an instrument for both the public in general and journalists in particular to ensure government accountability in the United States. As a corollary to the freedom of speech and press embodied in the United States in the First Amendment, the right of access is coming to be recognized as an essential component of democracy in the modern era of expansive government. The FOIA is therefore unusual among U.S. statutes in that it plays a role in American law and journalism that is akin to the fundamental constitutional freedom of expression.

Richard J. Peltz

See also First Amendment; Free Flow of Information; Government, Federal, Coverage of; Press and Government Relations; Reporters' Organizations; Secrecy and Leaks; Sunshine Law

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Free Expression, History of

In early modern Europe and North America, many conflicts over freedom of expression occurred, occasioned by the development of the printing press, on the one hand, and democratic theory on the other. By the twentieth century, a standard history of these struggles had become canonical for political theorists as well as for the occupations that are most invested in freedom of expression—lawyers, publishers, librarians, academics, religious activists—and journalists.

Journalism as a practice and an institution has been fundamentally shaped by these struggles. Positioning itself as the gateway between governments and their publics, journalism has defined itself in part as the instrument people rely on to acquire the information they need to protect themselves from and to participate in government; journalism also has thought of itself as representing the voice of the people. The culture of journalism pivots on struggles over government control of information and expression. Journalism's identity relies on a collective memory about its role in continually expanding the area of free expression.

Conceptualizing the Notion

Several different approaches to the history of freedom of expression are common. The oldest and best established is a liberal approach, sometimes called the "Whig theory of history." This theory begins with the premise that power, including the power of government, is always hostile to individual liberty. In the Whig theory, history is the story of the continual advance of liberty. This viewpoint is rooted in liberal political philosophy, which holds that liberty advances because people are free by nature, and "ideas want to be free" as well.

One variant of the liberal approach was put forward by the 1956 book *Four Theories of the Press* by Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm. It identifies a "libertarian" theory of the press, which has confidence in the rationality of free individuals and proposes that minimal government interference will be the best policy for a media system. It contrasts the libertarian theory with the "authoritarian" theory on the right and the "Soviet communist" theory on the left, which both call for massive oversight and leadership of the media system. The *Four Theories* model is somewhat different from the "Whig" model, though, in that it sees the rise of the mass media requiring a modification of "libertarian" theory into a fourth theory, the "social responsibility theory," which distinguishes between the freedom of expression of *persons* and the freedom of the *media,* and concludes that the latter is derived from and justified only to serve the former.

On the opposite end of the political spectrum there is a series of critical—as opposed to liberal—approaches to the question of freedom of expression. These approaches dispute a key point shared by liberal theories: that the realm of ideas and expression is relatively autonomous from the realm of material wealth and power. The classic expression of this position comes from German social scientists Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, who declare in the *German Ideology* that the ruling ideas

of any age are the ideas of the ruling class, who own the mental as well as material means of production. A similar position is taken by feminist critics and some proponents of critical race theory, who understand public discourse as a "zero-sum" game, in which more speech for some means less speech for others. From a critical perspective, the history of freedom of expression can be understood only as a feature of a larger history of political struggle among groups identified by race, class, and gender.

A third approach, emphasizing the historical development of the "public sphere," mediates between liberal and critical approaches. Inspired by the work of German sociologist and philosopher Jürgen Habermas, thinkers who use the concept of the public sphere to talk about freedom of expression emphasize the importance of the development of a space of public deliberation. Like critical scholars, they point to the importance of economic development, social classes, material struggles over political power, and the material development of media forms as factors in the creation of a public sphere and the norms of public communication that govern it. Like liberal scholars, on the other hand, they point to the importance of free expression and rational deliberation within the public sphere.

Each of these approaches projects a different historical view. But any account of what we now call freedom of expression muddles the distinctions on which these approaches pivot. This is because freedom of expression is itself a constructed object. The term *freedom of expression* is a relatively recent invention. But with its construction came a kind of obligation to create a lineage for it.

Development

One might usefully begin the history of freedom of expression with the European struggles over control of information at the end of the medieval period. John Milton's *Areopagitica* (1644), one of the first arguments in English for freedom of the press, begins with a history of censorship, which, after touching on and then dismissing incidents in the ancient and medieval worlds, argues that the true origin of censorship came with the Roman Catholic office of the Inquisition. Milton's history is disingenuous, of course. His rhetorical purpose was to identify censorship with an institution that his target audience would loathe; he tried to deflect attention away from the fact that all European governing institutions also constructed systems of press regulation around the same time.

The European invention of the printing press in 1450 seems to have been the cause for the invention of press regulation. Printing was immediately understood to be a technology with deep implications for the flow of ideas and information. Historian Elizabeth Eisenstein has argued influentially that the printing press was an "agent of change," altering the cultural environment by introducing "fixity," her term for the permanence and standardization associated with printed work, multiplying the number of texts that any individual could conveniently encounter, and thereby producing a tremendous cross-fertilization that in turn nurtured the Renaissance and Reformation, the scientific revolution, the growth of the nation-state, and the crystallization of vernacular languages. Other scholars have challenged Eisenstein. Historian Adrian Johns, for instance, argues that rather than fixity, printing's first effect was to multiply forgeries and piracies. According to Johns, only when a regime of copyright law stabilized the print marketplace did fixity occur.

For the history of freedom of expression, it's not the printing revolution per se that's important, but the conflict between printing and the law. Established authorities perceived printing as potentially threatening and tried to construct webs of control. The regime of copyright law that Johns cites was a strand within one such web. In England, the larger web combined elements of church, state, and the private sector. Beginning with the Tudor monarchs in the sixteenth century, and formalized in the Star Chamber decree of 1586, England controlled printing through pre-publication licensing by officials operating under the Crown's Privy Council and the Church of England. The Crown also granted a monopoly to the Stationers' Company, the trade organization of printers and booksellers. The Stationers' Company in turn policed its membership, taking care not to alienate the authorities. Other nations achieved a different balance of mechanisms of control, but all pursued a system of prepublication censorship.

Nevertheless, these systems of press control proved ineffective in times of strain. Printing was

too mobile a technology for Europe, with its competing jurisdictions and geopolitical and religious divisions. Cultural historian Robert Darnton has documented the network of print distribution that allowed Swiss publishers to produce Enlightenment works for the French market. Earlier, printers in Amsterdam had produced English-language newsbooks for the public in England. Moreover, within any particular country, patrons with means could find sympathetic or ambitious printers willing to produce contraband publications.

So regulation was unable to prevent movements from finding expression in print. The Reformation and the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century revolutions all featured bursts of publication activity; in some cases activists in these movements made freedom of expression a cause in itself. In England, the period of revolution that began in 1640 saw the collapse virtually overnight of the complicated Tudor and Stuart system of regulation and an explosion of discordant newspapers and pamphlets. When the revolutionary Parliament moved in 1642 to create its own system of licensing, John Milton responded with *Areopagitica,* which argued against prepublication licensing, although it allowed that the state had a legitimate right to burn publications that advocated "Popery, and open superstition." This outburst of relatively uncontrolled publication proved temporary, and after the Stuart monarchy was restored in 1660 firmer regulations were put in place. But these also eventually fell. The creation in practice of freedom of political expression often resulted from accidental political events. In England, the failure in 1695 of competing parties in Parliament to negotiate a renewal of the Printing Act produced de facto freedom of the press. The parties, however, remained suspicious of the value of free public discussion of politics, and in 1712 adopted a stamp tax that in effect doubled the price of newspapers, substituting economic regulation for content regulation.

In many western European countries, it proved difficult to silence empowered groups. As new bourgeois classes appeared, they asserted their rights to freedom of conscience, political participation, and, therefore, free expression. Alongside the achievement of enfranchisement, universalistic explanations developed to legitimate these liberal policies.

Some of these explanations appealed to natural rights. Philosophers such as John Locke argued that the rights to "life, liberty, and estate" were rooted in natural law. In essence, men owned themselves, and by extension their labor and their thoughts, and had the right to do with them what they will. This naturalistic argument paralleled the religious argument that humans were endowed by nature with the capacity and the duty to make moral choices, and that governments should not interfere in the exercise of individual moral decisions.

In addition to these "metaphysical" justifications, liberals asserted that freedom of expression would also have practical effects. One recurring motif was that free discussion would lead toward progress because truth would prevail over falsehood in any fair contest. Another common assertion was that freedom of expression was necessary to maintain the vigor of beliefs in the face of a tendency toward bland conformity. This social need for lively belief also, it was argued, required toleration of unorthodox positions, especially religious ones. For the most part, early liberals presumed that there would be limits to free expression. For the most part, they presumed that non-Christians, nonwhites, women, and the poor would not participate in public discourse. They also assumed that there would be a certain etiquette to the public sphere marked by an appeal to disinterested reason.

Transformations

The public sphere, according to Habermas, came into existence in early modern Europe as the realm of private life/civil society separated itself from the state, which was in the process of transforming itself from the person and household of the monarch to a permanent bureaucratic structure. This space between civil society and the state was to work as both a steering mechanism for the state and a buffer zone protecting private rights. It could work as a steering mechanism because it allowed citizens to communicate freely on matters of common concern. It could work as a buffer zone because it kept the government under public supervision. In this liberal model of the public sphere, any empowered individual could enter public space, but only as a "citizen." Because a separation of civil society from the state was constitutional to the public sphere, citizens were expected to repress

or "negate" their purely personal interests when entering it: they were to speak as "no one," or as "anyone." And they were to assume that everyone was watching. So the norms of public discourse assumed that public speech was by no one for everyone. This style of speech is exemplified by the Federalist papers, for instance—anonymously authored by "Publius," published in New York newspapers with the expectation of republication throughout the nation, and composed in calm lawyerly language.

One particular area in which freedom of expression was jealously guarded was legislative privilege. It was a traditional right of legislatures like the House of Commons to enjoy freedom from prosecution in their deliberations. Ironically, this right meant also freedom from public supervision, and was interpreted to prevent all but authorized publications of proceedings. The eighteenth century saw continual maneuverings to publish legislative proceedings, with legislatures attempting to muzzle news outlets in the name of freedom of expression.

The bourgeois revolutions of the eighteenth century yielded an embodied philosophy of free expression in the form of bills and declarations of rights. The United States protected religion, speech, press, assembly, and petition in the first amendment to its constitution (1791). The French Declaration of the Rights of Man (1789) includes the following protections:

> No one shall be disquieted on account of his opinions, including his religious views, provided their manifestation does not disturb the public order established by law.
>
> The free communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious of the rights of man. Every citizen may, accordingly, speak, write, and print with freedom, but shall be responsible for such abuses of this freedom as shall be defined by law.

Such catalogs typically asserted that these rights were natural or divinely ordained. But the logic of the Enlightenment also included an impulse toward empiricism that worked to undermine the notion of natural rights. Arguing that the book of nature could be understood without the assistance of divine revelation, the scientific revolution that accompanied the political revolutions in the western world called into question all notions of divine order.

Utilitarian Notions and Tyranny of the Majority

If rights could not be justified by an appeal to the natural order, then more utilitarian notions of the grounding of rights were called for. In England, philosophers James Mill and his son John Stuart Mill articulated such notions, arguing that acknowledging a right to free expression had the practical effect of promoting the discovery of new truths and prolonging the liveliness of existing truths, resulting in a more dynamic social order and a more equitable political order. But utilitarian justifications could always be falsified by experience. One could argue that a panoptic society was more functional than a libertarian one. Likewise, in utilitarian or consequentialist notions of free expression, there would always be a question of balance. Free expression would be just one among a host of other goods, like the right to privacy or property rights.

A utilitarian justification of free expression was falsifiable by practice. In the wake of the eighteenth-century establishment of freedom of expression, as well as other individual rights of private security and political participation, a series of observers described shortcomings in the practice of free democratic societies. The most famous of these observations are Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* and John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty*. De Tocqueville noted that freedom of the press had produced explosive growth in the number of newspapers in the United States, but that this had resulted in a general lowering of the quality of journalism. Any individual newspaper or journalist had little authority, but cumulatively the press was very powerful indeed. Its power was the power of democracy, a system in which a raw majority of the people could exercise power in every realm of social, cultural, and political life. Mill echoed de Tocqueville's alarm over the potential "tyranny of the majority." Repeating his father James Mill's arguments about the importance of free expression for the continual progress toward truth in a dynamic society, Mill pointed out that a "tyranny of custom" had appeared in Victorian England, and that this threatened the independence of the strong individuals on the

creative periphery of the society necessary to drive continued development.

The rights talk of the bourgeois revolutions had been majoritarian. The point of protecting free expression was to allow the majority to deliberate, to form public opinion, and to assert it in the face of constituted authority. Constitutional law professor Akhil Reed Amar has convincingly argued that the U.S. Bill of Rights (1791) was a majoritarian document. It was this that alarmed de Tocqueville and Mill. Though neither proposed restricting freedom of expression, their critiques implied that there should be policies aimed at countering majority impulses.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the industrial west had developed a minoritarian agenda for freedom of expression. Movements and groups outside the mainstream used the notion of freedom of expression as a political tool to protect core beliefs, practices, or identities from majority pressure. Sometimes these actors concentrated on concerns that might be considered private—sex and religion were frequent flashpoints. Sometimes the stakes were political or cultural. In many cases in Britain and the United States, the key issue was class power. In Britain, property restrictions on voting and the stamp tax on publications gave a class edge to questions of equal rights. In the United States, attempts to limit the labor movement's exercise of free expression defined the issue at century's turn. Arguably, the twentieth-century notion of freedom of expression was invented by these outsider groups. At the same time, some of these struggles generated antiliberal notions of free expression.

In the United States, the World War I era marked a climax in the development of thinking about freedom of expression. In the background were fears about the tyranny of the majority—always also a fear of domination by the lower classes—intensified by new, more sensual media, especially motion pictures and recorded music, which seemed to undermine cultural authority by directly entering the eyes and ears of morally, culturally, and socially vulnerable populations—women, children, exhausted workers. Against this background appeared all the abuses of political communication associated with a new age of total war—propaganda in every form, and official and informal repression of dissidents. In the wake of World War I, a civil liberties coalition emerged, consisting of lawyers, academics, librarians, artists, and journalists. This coalition aimed to protect individual expression. At the same time, the experience of the propaganda effort and the failure of the news media to counter it produced a new sense of apprehension about the power of the media. Thinkers such as journalist and political commentator Walter Lippmann called for some institutional corrective for commercial media—in Lippmann's case, expert intelligence bureaus that would provide authoritative information to decision makers.

Libertarian and Public Service Models

These quite different legacies of World War I inspired two very different liberal traditions of addressing the problem of free expression. The civil liberties movement inspired a libertarian approach. Emphasizing the protection of individual freedom from government interference, this approach predicted that allowing the broadest exploitation of free expression to every conceivable actor, including both nonmainstream voices and the emerging corporate media industries, would produce a healthy and diverse realm of public discourse.

But the suspicion of the power of the media produced a very different approach. If media were becoming larger, more monopolistic, and more powerful, as the new terms *mass media* and *mass communications* suggested, then competition in the marketplace could no longer be counted upon to provide a healthy realm of public discourse. Instead, media outlets had to be tasked with the responsibility to provide a virtual marketplace, or *marketplace of ideas*, also a novel term in the middle third of the twentieth century. This approach to free expression viewed individual freedom as requiring media stewardship, and amounted to a public service or social democratic vision of media freedom.

The public service model of free expression seemed in the ascendant at the end of World War II. In the United States, practical moves like the breakup of the Hollywood studio system in the late 1940s and publication of the FCC's 1946 "Blue Book" setting standards for broadcast licensees gave concrete form to the abstract articulation of "social responsibility theory" by, among others, the Hutchins Commission, whose 1947 report, *A Free and Responsible Press,* is credited with crystallizing this approach. Internationally, similar developments

in European countries, which had already instituted a public service regime for telecommunications and were more advanced in developing media professionalism, suggested ways of fulfilling the "right to communicate" set forth in the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948).

The UN Declaration's wording was designed to embrace more than these two liberal traditions, however. It also suggested a different approach to free expression coming from the Marxist tradition. Marxism rejected the assertion in liberalism that the realm of ideas operates by different rules than the material realm. In the material realm, goods are distributed in roughly a zero-sum fashion—more oil or gold for you is less for me. Liberals asserted that more speech for you is more speech for me and for everyone else as well, and that the solution to any equity problem in communication is simply more speech. Marxists pointed out that liberalism's notion of protecting freedom from government interference translated into a preservation of inequality in the private realm—more speech for the rich is less speech for the poor. So Marxists called for a redistribution of communicative resources.

Such a redistribution, while elegant in theory, was difficult to implement. In nations governed by Marxist authorities, like the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, Marxist theory translated into a combination of party control of media systems coupled with a kind of professionalization of media work with the agenda of creating a realm of correct political discourse. By the 1930s in the Soviet Union and by the 1960s in the People's Republic of China, apparently seamless systems of state-controlled media operation were in operation. These systems were supposed to be transitional, pending maturation of communist society. Few Marxists claim these systems to be appropriate embodiments of Marxist principles, which would require a less alienated body of media workers and a more responsive, less centrally controlled, and more open news and media culture. Into the twenty-first century, no mature Marxist national media system offered itself as a paradigm.

Global Free Expression, the MacBride Commission, and Right to Recognition

By the second half of the twentieth century, however, the language of freedom of expression, like the language of democratic governance, had become the default language of the international community. As the Universal Declaration attests, a global consensus endorsed something called free expression, even though many different conceptualizations of it existed. The tension between these conceptualizations played out in the 1970s and 1980s in the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, or UNESCO.

Calls for a "New World Information and Communication Order" led UNESCO to create a commission, headed by Sean MacBride. Formally called the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems (and informally the MacBride Commission), it issued its report, *Many Voices, One World,* in 1980. The report acknowledged a series of imbalances in communication that paralleled imbalances in wealth, with the north controlling international wire services, international markets in film and broadcast entertainment, and consequently the flow of images and information. The report responded to the principle of the free flow of information with a plea for a "free and balanced" flow and suggested a variety of principles and mechanisms to promote it. Critics, usually speaking from liberal principles, seizing on the human rights records of some proponents and on the commission's recommendations for licensing newsworkers and for "right of reply," depicted the movement as a concealed attempt at endorsing censorship. The controversy contributed to the withdrawal from UNESCO of both the United States and Great Britain. In the decade that followed, the debate over the international communication and information order shifted from UNESCO to the World Trade Organization as protecting intellectual property became the key site of struggle.

A continual erosion of the public service model in western countries accompanied this shift. In the 1980s and 1990s, national telecommunications authorities were either dismantled and privatized or supplemented by privately owned commercial broadcasting and cable or satellite television and radio. The collapse of the Soviet bloc after 1989 opened a new territory to commercial media development. In some countries, media entrepreneurs acquired tremendous political influence. The rise to political power of media magnate Silvio Berlusconi in Italy marked the emergence of a new kind of "media politics."

The MacBride Commission report and the controversy it incited showed the difficulty liberalism as an ideology experiences when the subject of free expression is shifted from the individual to the community. In the MacBride Commission, which took its initial charge from the Universal Declaration, reference was made to the "right to *communicate*." Liberals note that this is different from the right to free *expression*. Expression doesn't require that anyone else pay attention, and is in fact freest when no one does. Communication, on the other hand, only exists with some reciprocal action. So a right to communicate entails the imposition of a duty to be communicated with.

Within liberal societies, the parallel frontier involves the right to recognition. Nonmainstream and subaltern groups claim a right to recognition of their identity and culture by the general public or the national government, arguing that otherwise their members are denied full equality under the law. Liberals are unaccustomed to thinking of groups as rights-bearing, however. Corporations, for instance, are rights-bearing only because liberalism treats them legally as "fictitious persons"—General Motors has the same First Amendment rights as any citizen. It makes no sense to think of the Quebecois as a fictitious person, however. So on what basis can liberalism require the acknowledgment of Quebec or Canadian francophone culture?

This dilemma has been keenly felt in multicultural nations, particularly those with competing religious communities. The reception of Salman Rushdie's 1988 novel *Satanic Verses* in India and the Muslim world was one such spectacular case. In 2006, the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* published caricatures of the Prophet Mohammed that were condemned by Muslims as blasphemous and rioting followed in numerous countries. In both cases, Muslims claimed a kind of right to recognition; liberals responded by claiming the issue to be the individual right to free expression.

Such controversies became framed by the larger question of freedom and policing in the post-9/11 age of the Global War on Terror. Although the implications have been most visible in the realms of surveillance and procedural rights, the GWOT has also marked the return of the World War I dynamic, as propaganda has been matched by formal and informal attempts to oversee and curtail certain forms of expression, especially in combat zones. In the United States, "embedding" reporters, covertly funding "expert" sources for cable news shows, planting news in Iraqi media, restricting use of cell phones and blogs by military personnel, wiretapping electronic communication, and surveilling antiwar protesters have awakened traditional civil liberties concerns.

So the beginning of the twentieth century saw conflicting trends in the realm of free expression. On the one hand, the reappearance of patterns of state control and interference looks back to earlier generations of struggle and reenergizes older civil liberties organizations. On the other, technological change and neoliberalization promise a new era of channel abundance that makes older forms of control, including journalistic professionalization, seem superfluous.

John Nerone

See also Access to Media; Antitrust; Blacklisting; Censorship; Comparative Models of Journalism; Copyright; First Amendment; Free Flow of Information; Gag Orders; Indecency and Obscenity; Libel; Military and the Media; New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO); Press and Government Relations; Religion Journalism; Secrecy and Leaks; Self-Regulation; Shield Law; Supreme Court and Journalism; Violence Against Journalists; War and Military Journalism

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Free Flow of Information

Toward the end of World War II (1939–45), the expression "free flow of information" and the ideas that it encapsulates began appearing in national and international documents. Briefly, the expression is meant to convey the open passage of print and electronic media across borders and among nations. Important examples include (as "free flow of ideas by word and image") the constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 1945) and (as "freedom of opinion and expression") the UN Declaration of Human Rights (1948). The UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) established the Subcommission on Freedom of Information and of the Press in the early 1950s. ECOSOC addressed the problem of a global imbalance of information structure as early as 1961, as did the United Nations General Assembly in deliberations in 1952 and again a decade later.

The intellectual currency of "free flow" has demonstrated durability and adaptability over time, appearing, for example, in the 1966 UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (as "freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media"), and in the 1972 General Conference of UNESCO's Declaration of Guiding Principles on the Use of Satellite Broadcasting for the Free Flow of Information, the Spread of Education and Greater Cultural Exchange.

Yet not long after the end of World War II it also became apparent that the principle of "free flow" of information might potentially clash with both *equity* among nations in their levels of technological and economic development, and with their *national sovereignty*. Transnational delivery of television signals by satellite, first accomplished in the early 1960s with *Telstar,* was predicted by some critics to pose a severe threat to national cultural sovereignty (although by the 1990s, it seemed that satellite had greater significance at local, national, and regional than at global levels). The "free flow" principle was broadened to a "free and *balanced* flow of information" in UNESCO's 1978 "Declaration of Fundamental Principles Concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, the Promotion of Human Rights information and to Countering Racialism, Apartheid and Incitement to War." This long-titled document called for "greater reciprocity" of information, and for a "free flow and better balanced dissemination of information"—reformulations that were reiterated in the 1980 MacBride Commission report to UNESCO. The MacBride report was the culmination of a series of debates at conferences hosted principally by UNESCO and by countries of the Non-Aligned Movement, that sought to encourage a proposed "New World Information and Communication Order" (NWICO) as a necessary sequel to an earlier New World Economic Order (NWEO). The story of the NWICO debates and their conflicting philosophical foundations has been recounted in many sources, including Mehra's 1986 book, *The Free Flow of Information: A New Paradigm.*

The spirit of NWICO was first reflected in global telecommunications when in 1973 the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) eliminated its colonial system of voting whereby nations voted according to the number of colonies they administered. In 1982, the ITU expanded its mandate to address particular needs of developing countries. Both the NWICO and the 1980 MacBride Commission report to UNESCO met with a sustained Western media attack, spearheaded by the

United States (including 1982 congressional measures against UNESCO, and strong lobbying of the newspaper-backed World Press Freedom Committee) and Britain. Their reaction expressed a fear that UNESCO might endorse restrictions on "free flow" imposed by undemocratic governments. It was also argued that these might require government licensing of journalists (although UNESCO itself never supported this concept). Western negative reaction can also be seen as one reflection of an evolving postcolonial world in which the UN was no longer as compliant with Western foreign policy as it had been earlier.

The United States (in 1985) and Britain (a year later) withdrew from UNESCO, prompting conciliatory changes in UNESCO structure and policy. Both nations returned to membership two decades later, by which time UNESCO had ceased to aggressively promote the ideas of the MacBride Commission. Through its International Program for the Development of Communication (IPDC) UNESCO concentrated instead on technical assistance, often in bilateral contexts. Discourse about "free flow" lost popularity for some years following MacBride, which exposed the concept as an ideological tool wielded mainly by America and its allies. Those responsible for such exposure were roundly condemned by Western governments and mainstream media. Inspired by the work of Manuel Castells and his disciples, some academics later abandoned the metaphor of "flow." Instead they favored the concept of "network" and other alternatives that better visualized the complex interrelationships between digital communication, space, and time. Critics wondered whether the newer language subtly distracted attention from continuing concerns about media power, gate keeping, and control.

Indeed, UNESCO found it useful to revive the language of "flow." "Promoting the free flow of information and the development of communication" appeared as a component of UNESCO's strategy for 1996 to 2001, as adopted at its General Conference in 1995. The report of the UN World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS), held in Tunis a decade later, saw 170 governments recognize "that freedom of expression and the free flow of information, ideas, and knowledge are essential for the Information Society and beneficial to development," a very different text than the MacBride report a quarter of a century earlier. WSIS had a strong government, corporate, and technocratic character, focusing principally on computing, the new media, and the Internet. Its patrons worked hard, though not altogether successfully, to avoid ideological and political controversy.

Benign Implications

The earliest uses of "free flow of information" had broadly benign meaning. Later attacks on the concept generally targeted particular uses to which the expression was applied, rather than the inherent ideals that it was intended to represent. The word *flow* is associated with fluidity (whether of liquid or electricity), and the notion of a "free flow" of information is suggestive of a forceful, self-sustaining, and unrestrained movement of ideas. Yet limits of this positive interpretation are suggested by unidirectional flows of both fluid and electricity. These, in turn, are evident to critics who maintain that the term is ideologically loaded.

The specific reference to "information" is sometimes deemed a poor term to cover the full range of human communicative activity, seemingly confining the notion to knowledge of a neutral descriptive or scientific character. Still, "free flow" has acquired value as shorthand for the open movement of information and ideas and the creative expression within and, especially, *between* societies. It acquired considerable purchase during the twentieth century, especially in democratic societies in which processes of decision-making were said to be based upon interchange of rational argument among different interests, so that important ideas and information were widely articulated by well-developed media networks. Indeed, a close symbiosis between democracy and media has often been postulated. The historical context of World War II and its immediate aftermath was especially receptive to the idea of "free flow of information," as the Western allies recovered from the threats of fascist authoritarianism, threats that many believed were revived in a different guise by Soviet communism.

As Tool of Ideology

The deconstruction of what he called the "free flow" doctrine was perhaps most eloquently

undertaken by Dr. Herbert Schiller, a professor at the University of California, San Diego, notably in his 1976 book *Communication and Cultural Domination*. His second chapter, "The Diplomacy of Cultural Domination and the Free Flow of Information," recounts the intensive diplomatic efforts by the United States, in partnership with influential U.S. publishers, associations, and the Associated Press, to promote the "free flow" concept. In a 1986 book, Achal Mehra noted congressional resolutions in 1944 that called for "world-wide right of interchange of news . . . without discrimination . . . protected by international compact." Schiller recalled a 1944 resolution of directors of the American Society of Newspaper Editors in support of "world freedom of information and unrestricted communications for news throughout the world," a sentiment that had the support of both major political parties and congress. The doctrine was also espoused by the Inter-American conference on problems of War and Peace convened in Mexico City in 1945 and embedded in the earliest drafts of the constitution and organizational structure of UNESCO, not to mention during the outset of the UN itself, including the foundation of the UN Commission on Human Rights in 1946 and the 1948 UN Conference on Freedom of Information.

Writing in 1997 for the *Le Monde Diplomatique,* Schiller recalled U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles as saying in the 1950s that "free flow" was the most important issue in American foreign policy. In 1946, Assistant Secretary of State William Benton had said much the same thing: "Freedom of the press—and freedom of exchange of information generally—is an integral part of our foreign policy." In his article, Schiller referred to American delegates at the UN and UNESCO pressing "relentlessly" for free flow of information. Financial incentives were later added to ideological appeals. The Marshall Plan, for example, tied dollar grants to a recipient's willingness to open its market to American cultural exports, including film. Schiller noted the "enormous significance" of U.S.-funded research and development for such things as computer and surveillance technologies. Communications satellites were designed, he argued, to purposefully "wrest global information control from Great Britain, which at that time exercised worldwide domination of underseas cable."

In his 1976 book, Schiller linked all of this to the American experience preceding World War II, and in particular to the long period during which the leading U.S. news agency, Associated Press, was subservient to the British-based news agency, Reuters, in a world news cartel. An influential polemic, *Barriers Down,* written by AP Managing Director Kent Cooper in 1942, described his own campaign over many years to liberate AP from the cartel, something his agency had largely accomplished by 1933. His book became an influential source for "free flow" enthusiasts. It chronicled how the United States had been disadvantaged by cartel restrictions on AP's news coverage, subjecting American readers to news written through the biased lenses of foreign journalists, and subjecting foreign readers to American news written by foreign journalists.

Schiller's attack on the free flow doctrine revealed the extent to which use of the term had been put to ideological work on behalf of the United States taking over from Britain the role of world superpower, and the interest of American publishers, movie makers, and broadcasters in securing unfettered access to global markets at the very time when many nations (such as those emerging from war-devastated Europe) might have much preferred measures of market protection on behalf of nascent or recovering local industries. Yet, as Dwayne Winseck has noted, the "free flow of information" doctrine largely wiped out the rights of states in important areas of communications policy.

Skepticism of what Schiller labeled the "free flow doctrine" was reinforced by a 1970s series of UNESCO-sponsored conferences and debates about the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO). Schiller's deconstruction of the term exercised a powerful influence on many of those active in those debates, and the UNESCO-commissioned MacBride report of 1980.

At the start of this period, a development in Helsinki struck a discordant tone, temporarily dislodging political discourse from uncritical acceptance of "free flow." Accounts have been offered by both Schiller in his 1976 volume and, in 1995, by Kaarle Nordenstreng, a Finnish communications researcher who participated in the 1975 conference that led to the signing of the Helsinki Accords. The leaders of 35 nations, including the United States and the Soviet Union, signed a document calling for increased international cooperation in practically

all fields, including culture and communication. In an address to the conference, Finnish President Urho Kekkonen critiqued the concepts of "freedom of speech" and "free flow of information," arguing that these were not unalloyed benefits in circumstances of severe inequality of access to the means of communication. Could it be, he wondered, "that the prophets who preach unhindered communication are not concerned with equality between nations, but are on the side of the stronger and wealthier?" (quoted by Nordenstreng 1995).

Resuscitation of the Concept

Use and significance of the "free flow" term, therefore, has been ambivalent. In use, it has too often glided over the issue of *whose* freedom. Freedom of media owners, or of media consumers? of senders or receivers? Is there reciprocity of communication between parties to the communication? Ambivalence cloaks the play of *power* in situations where some communicating parties control far more capital, equipment, know-how, technology, and talent. Where there are wide discrepancies of power between the parties, any communication is much less likely. Additionally, the term "information" seems to many critics of "free flow" doctrine too narrow a concept to embrace such a vast array of publishing, educational, entertainment, and cultural products and activities that are disseminated in many complex ways. Such a restriction may mostly serve the interests of those who stand to gain by the reduction and commodification of this vast array into marketable bytes.

In its use, finally, the term often seems to assume that the primary enemies of "free flow" are governments, whereas increasingly those enemies are found to be private enterprise. Initiatives to stimulate privatization of previously government-owned or controlled media form part of the bundle of trends that accompany policies of media "deregulation." Their impact is to enhance the likelihood that private interests may reduce "free flow." This happens principally through the political power accumulated by giant communications conglomerates whose emergence has been greatly facilitated by deregulation policies. How such conglomerates choose to exercise their power in lobbying politicians, and how they shape their news and entertainment practices, will continue to affect "free flow" within an ongoing deregulation environment.

These problems notwithstanding, the term remains durable, as in the case of UN debate over the World Information Society. Dwayne Winseck in 1997 argued that "free flow" had been resuscitated through the "trade in services" regimes of the North Atlantic Free Trade Area, the World Trade Organization with their promotion of media deregulation as a condition for membership of the emerging global economic order. Features of media deregulation as advanced by the United States and Britain (such as removal of regulations that restrict foreign investment in domestic communications, cross-ownership between newspapers and broadcasters, or the share of national audience a single broadcasters might reach) also promote the corporatization of media and reduce the potential for public access to media and decisions about media content. "Free flow of information" applied to such trends cloaks implications for growing corporate control of communications under the supreme "purr" word *freedom*.

In a final example of its rhetorical durability, a "free flow of information act" was proposed by U.S. Attorney Chuck Rosenberg and others in 2005 as a measure to limit the circumstances and manner in which reporters might be compelled to reveal sources in court. While out of line with uses of the term in the international realm, this instance begs the question, once again, of *whose* freedom—the freedom of courts to subpoena media as witnesses, or freedom of the media to protect sources in the interests of gathering information? We can conclude that despite its demonstrated lack of intellectual precision, the term "free flow of information" remains a valid tool in debates about the proper role of media.

Oliver Boyd-Barrett

See also Censorship; Comparative Models of Journalism; Development Journalism; Free Expression, History of; Globalization, Coverage of; New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO); U.S. International Communications

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Freelance Writers and Stringers

Freelancing for media outlets—working on a short-term, temporary, or contract basis rather than as a salaried staff employee—used to be seen as a tenuous but promising route to full-time employment in journalism. By the early twenty-first century, that was no longer the case. As demand for diverse media content has grown while conventional media job opportunities have shrunk, the corps of freelance writers, photographers, broadcast journalists, web scribes, and others working assignment-to-assignment has expanded. Likewise, "stringing" for particular outlets, once seen as a foot in the door, has become a decidedly transitory arrangement rather than a portal to permanent work.

Definitions and Evolution

The *Oxford English Dictionary* online traces the word *freelance* to the Middle Ages, when it designated "a type of military adventurer . . . who offered his services to states or individuals for payment, or with a view to plunder; a mercenary soldier." In modern times, to freelance means to works as an independent contractor, fulfilling assignments for different clients.

A *stringer* is a subcategory of freelancer who supplies content on a regular basis for a specific client. The designation originated in newspaper work, with nonstaff correspondents paid according to column inches published; an untraceable urban legend has it that such writers used string to measure and bill for their accumulated work, while the online *Oxford English Dictionary* attributes the term to the figurative saying "one who strings words together." The usage grew in the 1950s, especially as applied to photographers and foreign correspondents, and thanks largely to the expansion of Time Life magazine operations, which claimed 435 correspondents, stringers, and writers reporting from 33 locations around the world by 1958. By the 1960s to 1970s, TV news relied increasingly on worldwide stringers as well.

During this same postwar period, the proliferation of niche magazines and trade journals along with the growth of advertising, marketing, and public relations industries created additional demands for writers, editors, designers, illustrators, photographers, and others with relevant media skills. Over time, the burgeoning availability of work without corresponding provision of permanent salaried positions gave rise to a notion of freelancing as a career in itself. An accompanying genre of instruction emerged in the form of books, magazines, marketing directories, and writers' courses aimed at individuals seeking income from media piecework.

In the Internet age, the downsizing of conventional print and broadcast staffs, the continued vitality of niche and trade publications, and the boundless appetites of the web only accentuated these trends. While extending infinite opportunities for mostly unpaid expression, the Internet also furthered the idea of content creation for money, seen in the profusion of self-help websites for would-be freelancers. Meanwhile, celebrity journalism across all media continued to build upon and sustain another brand of freelancer—the paparazzi, glad to sell photos or stories to the highest bidder.

International Reporting

As major news organizations closed or consolidated foreign bureaus and cut back on permanent staffing abroad, overseas stringers became even more crucial to international coverage. Young freelancers willing to travel to dangerous hot spots provided much of the reporting on Latin American

upheavals in the 1970s to 1980s, and stringers were conduits for much of the news of the brutal Balkan civil wars in the early 1990s.

Increasingly, however, hard news from areas wracked by violence and conflict depended on unsalaried, uninsured, and often politically vulnerable stringers who were nationals of the countries affected. This became particularly evident amid the civil strife of the Iraq war (2003–), when Western news outlets came to depend on Iraqi stringers risking their lives to get first-hand information—a situation one reporter quoted by *Slate* media columnist Jack Shafer likened to "journalism by remote control."

At the same time, the expanding international operations of business news services such as Bloomberg, Dow Jones, and Reuters (Thomson Reuters by 2008) created new prospects for Western freelancers abroad. Even as locals stepped into situations too dangerous for outsiders, the outsiders were stepping into safer and more lucrative jobs.

These varied trajectories in freelance journalism have their counterparts in popular culture. The footloose reporter easily becomes the intrepid seeker of truth, as in the 1986 Oliver Stone movie *Salvador,* about a freewheeling U.S. journalist covering El Salvador's guerilla insurgency against a right-wing military dictatorship. The notion of the freelancer as mercenary also lives on, however, as in the more obscure 1999 film *Stringer,* whose protagonist is expected to be first on the scene, videocamera rolling, at accidents, fires, rapes, and robberies.

Two reporters who freelanced from abroad, David Bank and Peter Leyden, found the reality less dramatic, writing in 1991: "Ultimately stringers are trapped in a caste system that leaves them little chance for advancement. Few stringers make the jump to staff positions as foreign correspondents. Like migrant farm workers, stringers are dependent for their living on the crop of news coming out of a country. When the story dries up, the stringers must move on. Nobody looks out for their welfare."

Varieties and Rationales

Any type of writing for hire can come under the rubric of freelance writing—be it sports reports, advertising copy, promotional brochures, or greeting card verses. Most freelance writing advice is geared toward production of articles for magazines, newspapers, and online publications, but money-making freelance jobs can range from recording statistics at baseball games to compiling technical manuals.

Proponents of freelance writing for a living note the virtues of a flexible work schedule, the ability to work from home (or, thanks to the Internet, from just about anywhere), the prerogative to accept or decline jobs, and other liberties that come with being self-employed. Indeed, notions of independence and freedom are central to the ideology of freelancing not just as a career, but as a lifestyle choice—sometimes deemed especially suitable for mothers of small children. As one web enthusiast, Rachel Pickett, puts it: freelancing means "you work when you want, for who [sic] you want, and for the amount of time you want."

Realistically, however, those who seek a livelihood through freelancing seldom control the volume, terms, or conditions of their work. Most freelance jobs are unglamorous. The workload fluctuates, the pay is often low, and publication usually is not assured. Freelancers don't get benefits like health insurance and paid vacations; at best, a project might provide for expenses. Freelancers are eminently expendable, because potential replacements abound.

The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics' (BLS) overview of the job category "Writers and Editors" observes: "While many freelance writers enjoy running their own businesses and the advantages of working flexible hours, most routinely face the pressures of juggling multiple projects with competing demands and the continual need to find new work. Deadline pressures and long, erratic work hours—often part of the daily routine in these jobs—may cause stress, fatigue, or burnout. In addition, the use of computers for extended periods may cause some individuals to experience back pain, eyestrain, or fatigue."

Reliable statistics on numbers of media freelancers are hard to come by for numerous reasons, including the fact that many freelancers make their main living at other jobs. The BLS reports that writers and editors held some 306,000 jobs in 2006 (subcategories of "writers and authors" accounted for about 135,000 jobs, "editors" about 122,000, and "technical writers" about 49,000), with more than one-third self-employed. But the

numbers of individuals who write or edit on a freelance basis without claiming this as their main occupation is surely far larger.

Information on freelancers' incomes is similarly elusive. The BLS put median annual earnings for salaried writers and authors at $48,640 in May 2006, but comparable information for freelancers is not available. Magazines like *The Writer* or *Writer's Digest* and websites for writers such as writers weekly.com and worldwidefreelance.com suggest that six-figure incomes are well within freelancers' reach, but other evidence belies such claims. Internet discussions of pay rates suggest tremendous variation from region to region as well as among individuals, with some commentators commanding hourly rates of $35 or $50 and others settling for little more than minimum wage. In any case, comparisons with the salaried workforce are impossible, since freelancers carry their own overhead.

Freelance journalist Doresa Banning's web survey of U.S. freelance journalists conducted in the fall of 2004 found that nearly three-fourths of the 473 respondents were female, the majority were middle-aged and well educated, and they were concentrated in large cities. Most respondents said they freelance from choice, because they like being their own boss. Nearly 70 percent reported an annual gross income of less than $50,000 from freelancing, while another 24 percent grossed $50,000 to $99,000 annually. Five people, the top one percent, said they earned between $200,000 and $250,000.

Information and Advocacy

The expansion of freelancing since World War II has been accompanied by the growth of organizations devoted to protecting and promoting the rights and interests of self-employed media workers, and such advocacy groups constitute another sort of resource for freelancers.

The leading trade association for photographers, for example, is the American Society of Media (formerly Magazine) Photographers, founded in 1944 and one of the earliest advocates for fair pay and copyright protection for freelancers. The most active writers' associations are the Authors Guild, with some 8,000 members, founded in 1912; the American Society of Journalists and Authors, founded in 1948, with about 1,100 members; and the newer and more militant National Writers Union (NWU), founded in 1981 and affiliated with the United Auto Workers, with a membership of some 3,400. On its website, the NWU describes its emphasis as improving income, contracts, and working conditions for all freelance writers, "including journalists, book authors, business and technical writers, essayists, poets, playwrights, script writers, writers for the web, and campus writers. . . ."

Under U.S. labor law, freelancers are considered as "independent contractors," rather than employees. As such, they are not entitled to any employee benefits; nor do wage and hour laws apply to them. Publishers make no deductions from payments to freelancers for tax purposes; freelancers are responsible for paying their own taxes, keeping their own place of business, and supplying required tools and skills. Freelancers by nature bargain from the weaker position, and policing the use and reuse of their work is an unending challenge.

The advent of newer media formats, particularly online publication using digital technologies to disseminate text, pictures, audio, and video on the Internet, greatly expanded opportunities for expropriation of content without compensation, and the 1990s brought additional battles over electronic publication. Among the most important was a class action lawsuit filed on behalf of thousands of freelance writers whose stories had been republished in online databases without their consent. The defendants—large publishers and database companies that included *The New York Times,* Time Warner, *The Wall Street Journal,* Dow Jones Interactive, Knight-Ridder, Lexis-Nexis, Proquest, and the West Group—argued that they were merely facilitating access to information, akin to making newspapers available on microfilm. The plaintiffs maintained that in repackaging content in new formats, the publishers were obliged to obtain copyright permissions anew. The case *Tasini v. The New York Times* reached the U.S. Supreme Court and culminated in an important victory for freelancers. The court's 2001 ruling established that principles of copyright developed for print also apply online, and that editorial content cannot be distributed electronically without the creators' permission.

As a result of this ruling, the NWU and other authors' organizations reached an $18 million settlement agreement with the companies involved, setting payments of up to $1,500 to writers who

had obtained copyright registration and up to $60 per article for writers who had failed to register their copyrights. The results remained in limbo, however, after a group of freelance writers seeking better compensation for the unregistered works challenged the settlement. As of mid-2008, no resolution had been reached, nor any payments made to claimants.

Similarly, freelance photographers brought battles over rights into the electronic sphere in the 1990s, notably in a challenge to *National Geographic*'s 1997 release of a 30-CD set of the magazine's 108 years of content to that point. The set included countless images taken by freelancers who claimed the copyrights to their own work—unlike staff photographers or writers, for whose work the employer held the copyright. Some 2,000 affected photographers learned of the upcoming product in a company letter informing them that they would not be paid for the use of their material. Numerous lawsuits followed, with two federal appeals courts making opposite rulings and the Supreme Court declining to resolve the conflict. Ultimately, one of the photographers, Jerry Greenberg, won $400,000 after eight years of litigation.

As wrangling over rights continues, many publishers have formulated "work-for-hire" contracts that require freelancers to sign over all rights ahead of time. Major newspapers commonly ask regular contributors to sign blanket agreements relinquishing all rights in all mediums to past, present, and future works, and refuse to work with freelancers who balk. Advocacy organizations have challenged such sweeping provisions with additional lawsuits, including a class action suit filed in 2000 by freelance writers, illustrators, and photographers against *The Boston Globe*. Freelancers are advised to avoid work-for-hire arrangements, but unless they are well-established writers with leverage to negotiate better terms, this often means forgoing the work.

Against the backdrop of these enduring controversies, a myriad of other organizations, publications, and websites offer admonitions, encouragement, and guidance for breaking into freelancing, getting and fulfilling assignments, dealing with editors, running a home office, and collecting payment. (As a practical matter, for many freelancers the problem of nonpayment often looms larger than the issue of rights.)

Some of the providers of information and resources for freelancers are disinterested nonprofit groups; some are entrepreneurial freelance endeavors themselves; and some are large corporate ventures. Among the latter, F & W Publications, Inc., based in Cincinnati, Ohio, publishes one of the most successful freelance-oriented magazines, *Writer's Digest*, a monthly with a circulation of about 200,000. F & W also puts out the best-known handbook for freelancers hoping to publish books or magazine articles, *Writer's Market*. The website WritersMarket.com complements an annual directory published since 1921, providing contact information for thousands of consumer and trade magazines and publishing houses, along with guidance for preparing manuscripts and approaching editors and agents.

Websites aimed at freelancers often host job listings along with tips, cautionary tales, and plentiful moral support. Blogs offer "Top 10" or "Top 100" lists of writing tips, story ideas, freelance markets, or best sites for freelancers in categories ranging from writing, design, and photography to programming and web development. The Society of Professional Journalists sponsors a blog for freelancers called "The Independent Journalist."

Financial support for unaffiliated journalists wishing to pursue independent projects is rare, but a few key sources exist. The Alicia Patterson Foundation fellowship program, with an annual awards program begun in 1965, has a laudable track record of supporting freelancers engaged in serious public affairs journalism. In 2008, the organization Investigative Reporters & Editors announced the creation of a new $80,000 endowed fund to support freelance journalists doing investigative projects.

The realities of the media marketplace in the early twenty-first century continue to drive the growth of freelancing. From the perspective of employers, the relative economies of hiring part-timers and stringers on a contract or piecework basis ensure the endurance of such arrangements. From the perspective of enterprising journalists, getting a start by freelancing or stringing can open the door to more stable employment. And as a chosen career path, freelancing can offer a flexible and independent, if often tenuous, livelihood.

Judy Polumbaum

See also Blogs and Bloggers; Employment; Labor Unions; Reporters' Organizations

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Free Newspapers

Free newspapers are dailies that are given away free of charge to readers, typically Monday through Friday. Often quite thin and tabloid in physical format, free newspapers usually feature shorter news stories, employ news agency copy, and emphasize lifestyle and entertainment coverage. In the first decade of the twenty-first century, free newspapers began proliferating around the world with the Metro International chain leading the way.

This growing trend impacted the news industry in several ways. First, free newspapers sought to capture a younger, nontraditional demographic that was increasingly ignoring daily newspaper reading. Second, the business model for free newspapers—reliant upon advertising income alone—represented a bold departure from the strategy of subscription revenue. Third, free newspapers became indelibly linked with urban public transit systems where they are often given away and designed to be read during brief commutes. Lastly, their often bare-bones mastheads signal a potential shift toward reporting and editing with fewer, more versatile journalists and leaner institutional operations. Although their lasting impact on the news industry remains as yet unclear—particularly whether they complement or cannibalize the existing market for mainstream dailies—some preliminary conclusions already seem to be emerging.

Origin

Various claims are made about the origin of the free daily newspaper. One source traces the format back to Australia at the turn of the twentieth century; another points to *Contra Costa Times,* founding publisher Dean Lesher's experiment with free newspapers in California during the early 1960s, as the progenitor. According to the California Newspaper Hall of Fame, Lesher's model delivered the paper to reader's homes for free but sought "voluntary" subscriptions to support the service. The *Colorado Daily,* a newspaper based in Boulder, whose own free format dates from the early 1970s, also claims to be one of the first outlets to publish under the advertising-only model. The more recent geographic expansion and readership growth of free newspapers was born of a gambit by Swedish publishers in 1995. Launched in Stockholm, *Metro* sought success based on the premise that subway riders would enjoy a free newspaper to accompany their daily commute; the approach was groundbreaking for integrating free distribution with mass transit structure. The paper achieved notable inroads with the youthful readers so desired by advertisers, saw broader growth that doubled the size of the still-comparatively slim publication, and posted an industry-leading $11 million in earnings within a decade. As one Swedish media analyst told *Time* magazine in 2000, "Metro has changed the newspaper reading patterns for Swedes.…It is all the young people read."

The concept proliferated swiftly across Europe and more slowly elsewhere. Metro International introduced free daily newspapers in the late 1990s in Prague, Helsinki, Budapest, and Amsterdam. From their modern incarnation in 1995 with a circulation of 200,000, free newspapers grew to distribute more than 40 million copies daily by the middle of the first decade of the twenty-first century, according to industry expert Piet Bakker. Although the format has taken hold in cities from

Baltimore to Buenos Aires and Seoul to Singapore, Europe continues to be the region where most of the papers are located—Spain in particular has had a large concentration of free dailies. Metro International, based in Luxembourg, continues to dominate the bulk of the market as the world's largest publisher of free dailies. By 2008, the chain that distributes to New York, Boston, and Philadelphia in the United States claimed a daily circulation of 23 million copies in 23 countries around the globe. Traditional (paid) daily newspapers responded to the format upstart with several business and legal strategies. Free newspapers challenged their existing institutional model and raised concerns about eroding habitual readership and advertisers, though claims were often made (and some evidence found) that the free dailies capture a younger readership that was not using the more venerable outlets. Faced with potential competition nonetheless, the established market players could opt for confrontation, competition, or co-existence.

Clashes and Criticism

Paid newspapers around the world have pursued lawsuits against free dailies for a host of reasons—frequently challenging the exclusive distribution deals the giveaways cut with public transportation systems. In Philadelphia, the daily *Inquirer,* in conjunction with legal counsel from *The New York Times* and *USA Today,* tried unsuccessfully to block what they argued was an unconstitutional alliance between *Metro* and the local transit authority—claiming that the agreement violated First Amendment principles by its exclusive nature. Another obstructionist strategy is to prevent free newspapers and their journalists from joining publishing associations and press clubs. In France, for example, when *Metro* entered the market without obliging printing and distribution agreements already in place, union workers destroyed its debut editions and attacked those handing them out. Alternately, traditional newspapers can choose to enter the market themselves with a free daily. In the United States—perhaps in response to steadily declining readership (youth in particular)—the parent organizations of *The New York Times, The Washington Post, Chicago Tribune, Chicago Sun-Times, The Dallas Morning News,* and *Newsday* have all introduced free off-shoots at one time or another. London-based Associated Newspapers, for example, uses its free daily (which also happens to be called *Metro*) as a means of promoting the sale of sister newspapers, *The Evening Standard* and *The Daily Mail*—particularly on weekends, when most free dailies are not distributed. Market impact of free dailies on paid circulation and advertising revenue appears to be relatively mild; some cite estimates of 1–2 percent reader losses for traditional newspapers.

Free dailies have been criticized on a number of fronts. In their effort to attract younger readers, the publications have been designed for shorter attention spans and with a limited commute window in mind. Stories rarely provide the depth of information and context found in traditional newspapers and most can be read in their entirety in 15 minutes. Their flashy style and lighter fare extends many of the often-maligned techniques pioneered by *USA Today*—indeed, one journalism scholar told *American Journalism Review* in 2005 that the rise of the free mini-daily newspaper is the most important trend in the newspaper industry since the advent of *USA Today*. As such, free dailies often have faced condescension at being "fast food journalism." Jack Shafer, an influential press critic for the online magazine *Slate,* lodged an emblematic complaint against the Chicago free dailies: "As 'remedial' newspapers, designed to lure young readers back into the newspaper habits and then graduate them to the flagship product, they're a bust. . . . The market is already saturated with journalism by people who can't write for people who can't read." Others protest that free dailies view the reader more as consumer than citizen (with content heavy on entertainment and gossip and light on political or investigative reporting) and, in so doing, abdicate journalism's role as responsible protector of democracy propagating an informed audience.

Other concerns about free dailies have been raised during their decade-long rise to notability. To hold down costs, the giveaways often outsource printing press work and expect their spare-yet-versatile staffs to multitask journalistic roles like reporting, photography, page design, and editing. This also means that free newspapers spend comparatively less on journalistic overhead—by one 2006 estimate, one-half to one-quarter less than conventional newspapers. Some have also

grown concerned about the environmental impact of free newspapers—with many potentially littering the streets as trash. Despite these criticisms, free dailies continued to grow through the first decade of the twenty-first century, suggesting that the concept was, indeed, filling a niche. Defenders of the genre add that young audiences reading an abridged newspaper is an improvement on young audiences reading no newspaper at all. Moreover, the explosion of free online news sites may increasingly cultivate a reader mindset that eschews paying for content—in that sense, proponents of free dailies argue, their format is ahead of the curve.

All of this suggests that, while still a nascent trend, free newspapers seem sure to leave some mark on journalism as a whole. At a content level, they signal an extension—in even more bite-sized form—of many of the patterns *USA Today* first developed in the 1980s. The reliance on very short stories both caters to short attention spans and potentially encourages them—which, some fear, could further endanger journalism's capacity for depth. Their target demographic—18- to 30-year-olds—is an elusive audience for the news media, but early signs point to free newspapers' success reaching them (though it remains unclear if these readers will feed into the paying audience). The impact on industrial patterns of the free newspaper business model—dependent on advertising alone and a skeletal staff—is, as yet, uncertain.

Michael Serazio

See also Alternative and Underground Newspapers; ***USA Today;*** Weekly Newspapers;

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Free Press and Fair Trial

Two cherished U.S. traditions guaranteed by the Bill of Rights are a free press and the right to a fair trial. Although independent media coverage can, and often does, enhance public oversight of the administration of justice, untrammeled reporting of information by the news media prior to and during criminal trials has the potential to undermine the integrity of the proceedings as well as the Sixth Amendment right to a "speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed."

Courts have struggled to reconcile the competing constitutional rights implicated by robust news reporting about criminal cases. The Supreme Court has made clear that neither the Sixth nor the First Amendment invariably prevails in a clash between these two competing values. At best, trial courts must strike an uneasy balance in an attempt to further the public interest.

Although the perceived conflict between a criminal defendant's right to a fair trial and the public's right to know has been exacerbated since the advent of electronic communication, the issues raised by media coverage of crimes are not new. For example, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when Aaron Burr was facing charges of treason, Chief Justice John Marshall ruled that despite the pervasive publicity that had surrounded his arrest and indictment, Burr could still be assured of a fair trial as long as the jurors could base their decisions solely on the evidence presented in the courtroom (*United States v. Burr,* 25 Fed.Cas. 49, No. 14692G [1807]).

It was not until the 1960s that the Supreme Court specifically ruled that media coverage of criminal defendants' confessions by the news media had resulted in such "deep and bitter prejudice" that the accused's rights to a fair trial had been violated, necessitating the reversal of their convictions and new trials (*Irvin v. Dowd,* 366 U.S. 717 [1971]; *Rideau v. Louisiana,* 373 U.S. 723 [1963]). In 1966, the Court went further, excoriating a trial judge for failing to control the "carnival atmosphere" in the courtroom during a high-profile murder trial, as well as neglecting his responsibility to restrict media reports of information deemed prejudicial to the defense during the course of the trial. Although acknowledging that the news media were free to report what transpired in the courtroom, the high court made clear that the trial judge must take appropriate steps to protect the defendant's Sixth Amendment rights, including such options as instructing lawyers, witnesses, and government officials not to talk to the press; postponing the case until the publicity died down; transferring the case to another location; or sequestering the jury to prevent their exposure to information that would not be admissible at trial (*Sheppard v. Maxwell,* 384 U.S. 333 [1966]).

In the wake of *Sheppard,* the American Bar Association convened the "Reardon Committee" to propose a set of principles designed to govern conduct for attorneys to minimize the potential for prejudicing a defendant's Sixth Amendment rights. These served as a model for voluntary bench-bar-press guidelines for coverage of criminal cases that were adopted in many states.

Ten years after *Sheppard,* however, the Supreme Court was forced to confront the issues again. The murder of six family members in a small town in Nebraska attracted immediate and widespread media coverage. A suspect was arraigned the day after the murders, and two days later, both the prosecution and defense attorneys asked the trial judge to issue gag orders to prohibit anyone from disseminating testimony or evidence in the case, and requiring the news media to adhere to the "voluntary" Nebraska Bar-Press Guidelines. After representatives of the press protested, the judge modified the order to limit the reporting restrictions to five specific subjects that the court found to be particularly likely to be prejudicial, but also continuing to mandate compliance with the Nebraska Bar-Press Guidelines. The order also prohibited the press from reporting about the exact nature of the gag order itself.

On appeal, the Supreme Court reversed. Although acknowledging that its prior precedent required judges to take "strong measures" to protect Sixth Amendment rights, it concluded that the gag orders on the press in this case were contrary to the First Amendment. Prior restraints on reports and commentary on news and current events constitute serious infringements on constitutional rights, Chief Justice Warren Burger wrote, and can only be justified in cases where pervasive prejudicial publicity could not be mitigated by less restrictive measures, and where the gag orders demonstrably would prevent the harm to the defendants' rights. In this case, the Court found, the trial judge had failed to adequately consider alternative means, including extensive pretrial examination of potential jurors. In addition, there was no evidence that the gag orders would in fact be effective, especially in light of the wide-ranging gossip and rumors that had already spread throughout the rural community (*Nebraska Press Association v. Stuart,* 427 U.S. 539 [1976]).

But although the high court rejected the idea that restrictions on media reporting of legally obtained information would be an acceptable way to protect a criminal defendant's rights, it nevertheless continued to uphold court rules and state bar canons of legal ethics, as well as gag orders that restrict commentary by lawyers, litigants, and others involved in the case. And although it recognized that the First and Fourteenth Amendments guarantee both the press and the public a constitutional right of access to criminal

proceedings, that right is not absolute, and must be balanced against competing interests, including the defendant's right to a fair trial (*Richmond Newspapers, Inc. v. Virginia,* 448 U.S. 555 [1980]). As a consequence, narrowly tailored restrictions, particularly on access to pretrial proceedings such as suppression hearings, have been upheld in situations where an overriding public interest trumps the presumption of openness, where other alternatives will not adequately address the threat, and when it is clear that the closure will avert the harm.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the use of newer technology such as cameras and audio recording devices to cover the courts has been particularly vulnerable to judicial restrictions. Although the Supreme Court explicitly rejected the idea that the presence of a camera over the objections of a criminal defendant would, in itself, result in an unfair trial, it has never affirmatively recognized that the electronic media have the same rights of access to court proceedings enjoyed by their print colleagues (*Chandler v. Florida,* 449 U.S. 560 [1981]). Although the states generally permit "cameras in the courts" in at least some types of criminal proceedings, electronic coverage has never been allowed in federal criminal trials. An experiment launched in 1991 to test audiovisual coverage in federal civil proceedings, regarded as a necessary precursor to expanding the right of access to federal criminal trials, was received favorably by many judges. But the experiment suffered a massive setback in the wake of the media frenzy surrounding the murder trial of athlete and actor O. J. Simpson in 1995. Much of the blame for the extensive and often sensational coverage was directed, arguably unfairly, at the presence of the cameras in the California state courtroom during the trial.

But many other factors, including the relentless use of selective leaks as well as repeated press conferences and public statements on the courthouse steps by both the prosecution and the defense, fed and contributed to the "carnival atmosphere." Some of these activities clearly fell within the control of presiding Judge Lance Ito under the *Nebraska Press* standards, but for whatever reason, Ito declined to exercise his inherent authority to control the trial participants. Of course, as it turned out, Simpson was acquitted of the murder charges, so the issue of whether the media coverage had undermined his Sixth Amendment rights never reached a court for adjudication.

The conflict between free press and fair trial continues. Other high-profile cases, including the 2004 trial of entrepreneur Martha Stewart for insider trading, as well as that of Lewis "Scooter" Libby Jr., former Vice President Dick Cheney's chief of staff, who was convicted in 2007 of perjury and obstruction of justice in connection with the investigation into the leak of the identity of CIA operative Valerie Plame, raise significant questions about the impact of saturation media coverage on the ability to impanel and maintain jurors who are untainted by prejudicial pretrial publicity. Certainly the United States is unique among the common law countries, including the United Kingdom and Canada, in continuing to uphold the presumptive rights of the press to report information about ongoing criminal investigations both prior to and during a trial. The Supreme Court has not retreated from the standards articulated in its precedents from the 1970s and the 1980s, recognizing that the First and Sixth Amendments each protect interests that are vital to preserving democratic values.

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See also British Press Regulation; Canada; Censorship; Crime and the Courts; First Amendment; Gag Orders; Shield Law; Supreme Court and Journalism

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Gag Orders

The term *gag order*—also known as an *injunction, restraining order, restrictive order,* or *protective order*—refers to a form of prior restraint which prohibits an individual or institution from disseminating information to those not authorized to receive it. Although the term is usually applied to orders issued by a judge in the context of an ongoing legal proceeding such as a trial, it can also include statutory or regulatory provisions promulgated by the legislative or executive branches.

As a general proposition, prior restraints are presumed to violate the First Amendment rights to freedom of speech and press, and are therefore unconstitutional. However, the Supreme Court has recognized that this presumption is not absolute, and can be overcome when a competing and overriding public interest requires protection (*Near v. Minnesota,* 283 U.S. 697 [1931]).

"Classic" Gag Orders

A typical gag order is issued by a trial judge during the pretrial stages of a criminal prosecution. It restricts trial participants, such as attorneys, law enforcement officials, or witnesses, from disclosing information which could be deemed prejudicial to the Sixth Amendment right of the defendant to a fair trial by undermining the ability of the court to impanel an impartial jury. This could include, for example, investigatory details such as the contents of wiretap transcripts or the fruits of a search that have not yet been admitted into evidence; the defendant's confession; the fact that a lie detector test has been taken (or refused) and its outcome; or the defendant's previous criminal record.

In 1966, in the wake of a notorious murder trial, the Supreme Court reversed Dr. Sam Sheppard's conviction, placing the responsibility for controlling prejudicial publicity squarely on the shoulders of the presiding judge. In addition to maintaining the dignity of the courtroom by controlling media conduct during the proceedings themselves, the high court also recommended that trial judges consider issuing orders proscribing extrajudicial statements by lawyers, parties, witnesses and court officials (*Sheppard v. Maxwell,* 384 U.S. 333 [1966]).

Controls on trial participants' speech, however, did not solve the perceived problem as long as the news media were free to report information that was leaked to them. Ten years after *Sheppard,* the Supreme Court considered the question of whether direct restraints on the press could be constitutional after a trial judge in Nebraska had ordered the news media to refrain from publishing specific details considered "strongly implicative" of the guilt of the individual accused of murdering six family members in a small rural community, including the confession of the prime suspect which had been introduced in open court during his arraignment. The high court found that the order was vague and overbroad and that it violated settled principles protecting the rights of the press to report events that transpire in a public hearing. Publication of information obtained

legally from other sources, the Supreme Court found, could be restrained only if it posed a clear and present danger to the defendant's rights; if no alternative measure such as change of venue or extensive questioning of the jurors could avert the potential danger; and if the gag order demonstrably would protect the defendant's Sixth Amendment rights. Given the pervasive gossip that had already saturated the small community, the high court was skeptical that any restrictions on the news media would be effective (*Nebraska Press Association v. Stuart,* 427 U.S. 539 [1976]).

The principle that the news media could not be restrained from publishing truthful, accurate information obtained in an open judicial proceeding was reiterated shortly thereafter when the Supreme Court struck down an injunction prohibiting the press from publishing the name or photograph of an 11-year-old boy whose identity was disclosed during a hearing that was open to the public after no objection was made to the media's presence (*Oklahoma Publishing Co. v. District Court,* 430 U.S. 308 [1977]).

Gags on Lawyers

As officers of the court, attorneys are considered to have diminished free speech rights in the context of ongoing criminal proceedings. Most state bar associations have promulgated mandatory ethics rules that proscribe statements by participating attorneys if they could be prejudicial to ongoing proceedings.

In 1991, the Supreme Court considered whether these rules are constitutional. Nevada attorney Dominic P. Gentile held a press conference the day after his client was indicted in a high-profile case involving the theft of money and drugs. Gentile stated that his client was innocent, and suggested that police corruption was implicated in the case. His client was acquitted, but the state bar's disciplinary board reprimanded Gentile for violating a rule prohibiting lawyers from making statements to the press which they knew would have a "substantial likelihood of materially prejudicing a proceeding." The Nevada Supreme Court upheld the reprimand, but the U.S. Supreme Court reversed on the ground that the language in the ethics rule was unconstitutionally vague. However, a separate opinion by Chief Justice William Rehnquist (1924–2005) made clear that attorney speech could be regulated by a standard less exacting than the *Nebraska Press* test because statements by lawyers pose a particular threat to fair trials and impartial jurors because they are likely to be perceived as "especially authoritative" (*Gentile v. State Bar of Nevada,* 501 U.S. 1030 [1991]).

Two years later, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit struck down an order forbidding prosecution and defense attorneys from making any extrajudicial comment in the case arising from the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center in New York, finding that the trial judge had failed to consider less restrictive alternatives (*United States v. Salameh,* 992 F.2d 445 [2d Cir. 1993]). But the same circuit upheld a finding of criminal contempt against Bruce Cutler, an attorney representing crime boss John Gotti, for willfully violating a local court rule prohibiting public statements by lawyers if there is a "reasonable likelihood" that the statements would interfere with a fair trial (*United States v. Cutler,* 58 F.3d 825 [2d Cir. 1995]).

Gags on Jurors and Grand Jury Proceedings

Juries, including grand juries, are supposed to deliberate in secret. Although court rules generally govern jury secrecy, it is not uncommon for judges to direct jurors that they have no obligation to speak to the news media at the conclusion of their service, and, in some cases, to issue specific gag orders to prevent them from doing so. For example, the Fifth Circuit upheld a trial judge's instruction that jurors could not be interviewed about their deliberations without an order from the court. The appeals court found that the limiting language of the order, referring to discussions within the jury room but not the jurors' personal reactions to the trial, was narrowly tailored to protect the sanctity of candid juror deliberations from posttrial interviews (*United States v. Cleveland,* 128 F.3d 267 [5th Cir. 1997]). But in another case, a trial judge's order that jurors should not discuss their verdict with anyone was struck down by the Tenth Circuit because it contained no limitations on time or scope. Although it would have been permissible for the judge to have told the jurors not to discuss specific votes, for example, the appeals court held that he could not prohibit any contact

between the press and the jurors "without a compelling reason" (*Journal Publishing Co. v. Mechem,* 801 F.2d 122 [10th Cir. 1986]).

One unusual case involving a journalist who was called before a grand jury as a witness came before the Supreme Court in 1990. Michael Smith (dates unknown) had written a series of stories for his Florida newspaper which led to a special grand jury investigation about corruption in the local state attorney's and sheriff's offices. He was advised by the special prosecutor that if he wrote anything about his appearance before the grand jury, he would violate a state statute making it a misdemeanor to disclose witness testimony. His suit challenging the statute reached the high court, which ruled unanimously that the statute violated his constitutional rights to the extent that it would punish him for revealing matters he had learned prior to his grand jury appearance, even if he testified about them there. Although acknowledging the strong state interest in preserving the integrity of the grand jury proceedings and protecting the privacy of those not yet indicted, the Court ruled that those interests did not overcome Smith's First Amendment right to disclose truthful information he had previously obtained by lawful means. However, a concurring opinion by Justice Antonin Scalia (1936–) suggested that it might be permissible to punish Smith if he disclosed procedural details, such as questions he was asked or comments made by participants, that he learned during his grand jury appearance (*Butterworth v. Smith,* 494 U.S. 624 [1990]).

Gags on Litigants

Based on the Supreme Court's mandate in *Sheppard,* trial judges have authority to issue restrictive orders governing extrajudicial comment by criminal trial participants—including, it would seem, the defendant. The Fifth Circuit upheld a gag order imposed on all trial participants by the trial judge in the corruption trial of former Louisiana Governor Edwin Edwards. Edwards himself claimed that the order violated his First Amendment rights, but the appeals court found a "substantial likelihood" that publicity could undermine the conduct of the trial, despite the fact that the trial judge had not considered less restrictive alternatives (*United States v. Brown,* 218 F.3d 415 [5th Cir. 2000]).

Protective orders are frequently sought by litigants in civil litigation as part of the discovery process, where a condition of parties agreeing to exchange information prior to trial is conditioned on an undertaking to keep the information confidential. Although the news media are not bound by these orders if they are not participants in the trial, and may in some cases have standing to challenge them, a different situation arises when the press is the plaintiff or defendant in the case.

The *Seattle Times* was sued for libel and during the course of pretrial discovery asked for the membership lists and names of contributors to the plaintiff foundation. The plaintiff initially refused to disclose the material but was ordered to do so by the trial judge. However, the judge also issued a gag order prohibiting the newspaper from publishing or otherwise disseminating the information obtained through discovery. On appeal, the Supreme Court upheld the order, ruling that it did not constitute a classic prior restraint because it was limited only to material that the newspaper obtained through compelled pretrial discovery, which the state Supreme Court had found might embarrass or otherwise harm the libel plaintiff if disclosed. The newspaper would be free, Justice Lewis Powell (1907–98) wrote, to publish identical information as long as it obtained it "through means independent of the court's processes," but its First Amendment rights were not violated by enforcement of the protective order as to pretrial discovery information (*Seattle Times Co. v. Rhinehart,* 467 U.S. 20 [1984]).

News Media Challenges to Gag Orders on Others

A number of courts have held that news media have the right to contest gag orders issued to lawyers, even though the press is not directly restrained by them. For example, the Second Circuit permitted Dow Jones, publisher of *The Wall Street Journal,* to challenge an order silencing prosecution and defense counsel in the 1987 Wedtech contracting scandal. Although the court did not regard the order as "prior restraint" on the press, it nevertheless

acknowledged that the media had a right to receive information and therefore had standing to litigate the issue. It did uphold the order, however, finding that there was a "reasonable likelihood" that the defendants' Sixth Amendment rights would be prejudiced by pretrial publicity (*Application of Dow Jones & Co.,* 843 F.2d 603 [2d Cir. 1988]). This "reasonable likelihood" test has been also been adopted by the Ninth Circuit (*Radio & Television News Association v. U.S. District Court,* 781 F.2d 1443 [9th Cir. 1986]). However, the Sixth Circuit has utilized a "clear and present danger" test (*CBS Inc. v. Young,* 522 F.2d 234 [6th Cir. 1975]). Although the U.S. Supreme Court did not grant the newspaper's petition for certiorari, three of the then-justices of the U.S. Supreme Court would have accepted the *Dow Jones* case in order to resolve the conflict.

Similarly, the Tenth Circuit has held that a newspaper has standing to challenge gag orders imposed on jurors. Again, the appeals court found that the trial court's order "impeded [the newspaper's] ability to gather news" (*Journal Publishing Co. v. Mechem,* 801 F.2d 1233 [9th Cir. 1986]). On the other hand, the Third Circuit has ruled that the news media may challenge such orders only "when there is reason to believe that the individual subject to the gag order is willing to speak" (*FOCUS v. Allegheny County Court,* 75 F.3d 834 [3d Cir. 1996]).

News Media Challenges to Gag Orders on the Press

Gag orders on the media are rarely upheld, but they have survived judicial scrutiny in a few cases. In 1990, Cable News Network (CNN) obtained tape recordings allegedly made by prison officials of telephone conversations between former Panamanian General Manuel Noriega and his attorneys while he was being held in federal custody. Noriega's lawyers obtained a temporary restraining order to prohibit the network from airing the tapes until it was determined whether they contained material protected by the attorney–client privilege. CNN refused to surrender the tapes for review, asserting its constitutional right to air the tapes. It unsuccessfully appealed to the Eleventh Circuit and to the U.S. Supreme Court, which refused to review the lower courts' orders over the dissent of two justices, and was held in contempt of court for airing one of the tapes, even though the lower court eventually lifted its order. CNN avoided paying a fine by issuing an apology and paying $85,000 to cover the government's costs (*Cable News Network v. Noriega,* 498 U.S. 976 [1990]).

Similarly, the U.S. Supreme Court declined to disturb a trial judge's order prohibiting Colorado news organizations from disseminating transcripts from closed hearings in the rape case brought against athlete Kobe Bryant which had been sent to them electronically in error. Even though the information was truthful and had been legally obtained, the trial court concluded that the compelling state interest in protecting the privacy of alleged sexual assault victims outweighed the First Amendment interests of the press (*Colorado v. Bryant,* 94 P.3d 624 [Colo. 2004]).

In civil cases, however, where constitutional issues are less clearly implicated, restraining orders on nonparty press are more likely to be viewed as "transparently invalid." The Sixth Circuit ruled that a trial judge had improperly ordered *Business Week* magazine to refrain from publishing sealed documents provided to its reporter, finding that the litigants' interest "in protecting their vanity or their commercial self-interest" was not sufficient to outweigh the First Amendment rights of the press (*Procter & Gamble Co. v. Bankers Trust Co.,* 89 F.3d 219 [6th Cir. 1996]).

The Constitutional Right to Defy a Gag Order

A lingering question that the Supreme Court has yet to resolve is whether a news organization may violate an unconstitutional gag order with impunity. The Fifth Circuit has held that even an unconstitutional order must be obeyed by the press until it has been overturned on appeal (*United States v. Dickinson,* 465 F.2d 496 [5th Cir. 1972]). The First Circuit, on the other hand, has ruled that a news organization may publish material in violation of a "transparently invalid" gag order "[i]f timely access to the appellate court is not available or if a timely decision is not forthcoming" (*In re Providence Journal,* 820 F.2d 1354 [1st Cir. 1987] [en banc]).

Conclusion

The strong presumption that prior restraints violate the First Amendment means that the courts rarely uphold gag orders against the press. Nevertheless, restraining orders that prohibit sources, such as lawyers, litigants and jurors, from speaking to the news media pose a significant obstacle to news gathering. The news media have enjoyed some success in challenging these orders. In order to avoid further erosion of their rights to report on the judicial system and to preserve the public's right to know, it is essential that they continue to do so.

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See also Censorship; Crime and the Courts; First Amendment; Free Press and Fair Trial; Supreme Court and Journalism

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Gang Journalism

See Bandwagon Journalism

Gannett

Frank Gannett and his associates founded Gannett Company in 1906 when they bought a half interest in the *Elmira* (New York) *Gazette*. More than a century later, the company's media holdings in the United States include 85 daily newspapers, among them *USA Today,* and another thousand nondaily periodicals. By early 2008, Gannett newspapers reached a combined audience of 7.2 million, led by *USA Today*'s circulation of roughly 2.3 million. Additionally, Gannett publishes 17 daily newspapers and 300 nondaily papers in the United Kingdom under its Newsquest brand, with a circulation of more than 600,000.

Gannett also operates 23 television stations in the United States, which reach more than 20 million households, and operates many online news and advertising operations, which in 2007 had more than 23 million unique visitors. In addition to its print and broadcast holdings, the company is investing in online advertising and other Internet services.

History

After purchasing the *Elmira Gazette* in 1906, Frank Gannett and his associates slowly expanded their holdings, first by buying another paper in Elmira, New York, and merging the two to form the *Star-Gazette,* and later buying *The Ithaca* (New York) *Journal*. They then purchased two papers in Rochester, New York, and in 1923, formed Gannett Co., Inc., with holdings of six newspapers all in upstate New York. Gannett appointed Frank Tripp as the general manager of the company.

Gannett believed in the power of the press and saw the media as a force for public good. He said that newspapers had a responsibility to be honest and fair and to always fight injustice, arguing that "A newspaper's power for good is unlimited," because "newspapers can create public opinion. There is no limit to what public opinion can do" (quoted in Newton 1999).

The company gradually expanded its holdings throughout the northeastern United States and in 1943 created Gannett National Service—now Gannett News Service—to provide the group's papers with national news coverage from Washington, D.C., as well as regional coverage from a number of news bureaus across the country. By the 1960s, Gannett had become a national rather than regional newspaper group, and in 1967 the company went public. Gannett has long been at the forefront of technology, with Frank Gannett investing in the development of the typesetter in the late 1920s and later equipping newsrooms with shortwave radios to improve the speed of reporting from distances.

Perhaps one of the company's biggest gambles was the creation of *USA Today,* a national general-interest daily newspaper, in 1982, after two years of research on what readers and advertisers wanted. The new paper, originally sold out of white vending boxes designed to resemble television receivers in order to appeal to a generation raised on television, made heavy use of color and graphics and avoided page jumps for continuing stories. Critics of *USA Today* chided the publication for its short stories that they said gave scant attention to significant news and took to calling it "McPaper." The paper was known for its stand-alone charts that sized up the latest trends and for its reliance on news briefs. But it had a daily circulation of 1.3 million by the end of 1983—it only publishes five days a week—and it ushered in design changes and the wide use of color (especially in weather pages) in newspapers across the country. Richard Perez-Pena, writing for *The New York Times* in September 2007, concluded that *USA Today* encouraged "many drab dailies to print shorter articles, switch to color, devote more space to sports and use more pictures and graphics."

Perez-Pena also notes that despite the paper's success today, it lost nearly $1 billion in its first ten years of operation. But he argues that *USA Today,* which was designed for a more mobile society—half of its 2.3 million copies are distributed through hotels—is well situated to adapt to a changing and challenging environment for print newspapers. The paper's website, for example, was drawing more than 9 million unique visitors each month in the fall of 2007. And its mission, editor Ken Paulson told Perez-Pena, is to "run stories that nobody else has, where we're driving the conversation."

The success of *USA Today* led Gannett to move its headquarters from Rochester, New York, to Arlington, Virginia, in 1986 so that executives were closer to the organization's flagship newspaper. In 2001, the company moved to a newly built headquarters in McLean, Virginia. As of early 2008, Gannett had more than 49,000 full- and part-time employees worldwide, and it posted revenues of $8 billion in 2006. More than 45 percent of the company's U.S. employees are women, and roughly 25 percent are minorities.

Gannett in the Media Market

News organizations in the United States—and especially newspapers—continue to face tough economic times as they try to adjust to the challenges posed by declining readership and free content on the web. The result of these challenges is shrinking advertising revenue, which accounts for roughly 80 percent of newspaper revenue. It's no different for Gannett, which had a 21 percent operating profit margin in 2007, but a 10 percent decline in the dollar amount of that margin and a 5 percent drop in advertising revenue.

As a result, newspapers are looking for more innovation online, even adopting many of the traits of new media, from blogging to citizen-generated content. The top newspaper website, NYTimes.com, gets nearly 15 million visitors a month; *USA Today* has close to 10 million monthly visitors.

Gannett is responding to the new media market on several fronts. In 2006, the company, through the *Tallahassee Democrat* that it already owned, started reaching out directly to a younger generation of potential readers by purchasing its first collegiate newspaper, the *FSView & Florida Flambeau,* published for the students, faculty, and staff at Florida State University. The paper has a circulation of about 25,000. And the company approached the *Rocky Mountain Collegian* at Colorado State University with a proposal to purchase the student paper through *The Coloradoan,* the local paper that Gannett owns in Fort Collins. University officials and Gannett executives could not reach an agreement on the proposal, however, and the deal fell through early in the spring of 2008.

The company's news outlets also have started "crowd sourcing" their newsgathering, which emphasizes local over national news; the publication of user-generated content; the primacy of the web over print versions of newspapers; and using readers to help research in-depth and investigative pieces. While other news organizations are looking to user-generated content to increase their audiences, Gannett outlets are outsourcing some traditional reporting roles by encouraging citizens do the investigative legwork. In Fort Myers, Florida, for instance, *The News-Press* asked readers to help them find out why costs to connect new homes to water and sewer lines were so high. According to *Wired* reporter Jeff Howe (2006), "Readers spontaneously organized their own investigations: Retired engineers analyzed blueprints, accountants pored over balance sheets, and an inside whistle-blower leaked documents showing evidence of bid-rigging." But the experiment also has led to more speculation being included in some stories, and Howe notes that reporters and editors are concerned that despite the cost savings, the expectation among the public is that information that appears on a news organizations website has been as carefully scrutinized as information that appears in print or on the air. That, however, isn't typically the case.

Still, Gannett views the web as the venue for future growth and, according to the Project for Excellence in Journalism's "State of the News Media 2008" report, the company's newsrooms are becoming "'platform agnostic,' meaning news would be delivered from any medium." The company also is focusing on multimedia news-gathering techniques, ranging from photos and video to use of graphics to podcasting. Additionally, Gannett is doing more to involve readers in the process through crowd sourcing, by which the company's news organizations solicit advice from readers on stories.

Despite these efforts, Gannett—like most media companies—was struggling in 2008. In June 2008, the company, which was ranked tenth in the world among media businesses according to ZenithOptimedia, announced that it was going to write down its assets by up to $3 billion because of the declining value of is operations. According to an article that ran in the Green Bay (Wisconsin) *Post-Gazette,* a Gannett newspaper, Gannett's net income for the first six months of 2008 was $424.5 million, compared with $500.5 million for the first six months of 2007. As a result, Gannett announced in August 2008 that it was cutting 1,000 jobs from newspapers throughout the United States and laying off 600 employees. Similar cuts were being announced at other news organizations throughout the country, mostly due to falling advertising revenue.

Elizabeth A. Skewes

See also *USA Today*

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GATEKEEPING

A classic piece of research published more than a half century ago contributed the concept of "gatekeeping" to the understanding of decision making in journalism. For news communication, a gatekeeper is anyone who makes editorial decisions on what news should be published or broadcast to the public. There are usually multiple gatekeepers in all but the smallest news organizations. Gatekeeping decisions help determine the news agenda and thus play a role in agenda setting for news consumers.

The term *gatekeeping* appears to have first been used by social psychologist Kurt Lewin in 1947 research that determined that wives or mothers were the usual decision makers (or gatekeepers) on what made up their families' meals. Three years later, David Manning White published a seminal paper in 1950 applying the concept to journalism. Based on his observation of a newspaper wire service editor (whom he dubbed "Mr. Gates"), White saw that the role entailed constant decision making about what stories to distribute versus the many more that for one reason or another were not used. White's pioneering study, and the many replications in the decades that followed, helped identify the many subjective factors that help define an editor in his gatekeeping function

Several issues are central to the gatekeeper concept, chief among them who the gatekeepers are, how they came by that role, what training and biases they bring to the role, how much decision-making freedom they have, and the breadth of their potential impact—do their gatekeeping decisions affect only one local daily, or *The New York Times* where any news story decision will contribute to the news agenda for other media?

The factors that have impact on gatekeeper decision making must also be considered. What is it that makes one news story sufficiently interesting or important that it passes through an editorial "gate" to the next step (gate) in the process—perhaps eventually to reach the pages of the newspaper, and thus its readers? The relevant decision factors could be similar across different editors at different papers—or broadcast news departments, for that matter—or they could vary widely in application. Through the 1950s and 1960s, further research began to answer some of these questions while often posing others.

The gatekeeping process begins with the professional norms in defining news and the gatekeeper's personal knowledge and biases (whether recognized or not). Next comes the menu of choices presented to any editor/gatekeeper at a given time or day. Gatekeepers at a news agency (the Associated Press, for example) have already made choices on what news to place on the wire for local subscribers to choose among. That creates part of the menu of choices for local editors—the rest are locally reported stories. The latter nearly always take priority: the paper or station has expended effort and money to obtain that local story (and has already made a decision that the story is important enough to cover) whereas a news agency story, though it costs little to use, is almost surely of less local relevance.

Local relevance is almost always a vital gatekeeping factor in deciding which news stories will appear in a newspaper or on the air. And any way that a story from outside the local area (even one from overseas) can be "made" local—perhaps by highlighting a role played by a local resident—will increase that story's chances of being used. National stories that have general impact on readers and viewers—such as those about the state of the housing market, rising gasoline prices, or concern about business failures across the country—are more likely to be used, but other factors are important as well in gatekeeping decisions. These include the timeliness of an event (how recently it occurred), its impact (how many people—particularly local people—are affected), how much controversy or conflict is involved, the simplicity or complexity of a story, how prominent the newsmakers involved are, the public's perceived interest in the story, how visual the story is (especially for television), and what other stories are happening that day that are competing for attention.

Always important to the gatekeeping process are the location and characteristics of the individual news market. Access to and cost of water is of vital concern in the Southwest. The Middle West is more worried about crop or livestock prices. Floridians and those along the Gulf of Mexico need to know about incoming tropical storms. Bigger markets have more interest in business and market news. Small towns could be devastated by reports of the departure of a key employer or the end of local airline service.

Changing technology, particularly the explosion of news sources on the Internet, is diminishing the role of traditional gatekeepers. The tech-savvy individual can now fence in or fence out information—choosing what stories to pay attention to (often those that reinforce already held beliefs) and completely ignoring others—in a phenomenon some scholars have called the "Daily Me." This customization of news feeds has been welcomed as democratization of news or bemoaned as the self-selection of news that reinforces existing convictions. New information gatekeepers have also been

introduced in the form of bloggers and "citizen journalists" who often lack their traditional predecessor's training. At the same time, financial pressures on news organizations, particularly newspapers, has prompted many to cut back on editing staffs and to rethink the role of the editorial gatekeeper in the twenty-first century.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Agenda Setting; Editing, Newspaper; Editing, Online and Digital; Framing; News Values

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Gay and Lesbian Journalism

News coverage of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender community has been guided by changes in social tolerance, legal proscriptions against homosexual acts, and the desire of gays to hide their sexual orientation to avoid the social stigma attached to homosexuality. Until the mid-twentieth century, the term *homosexual* was considered obscene, and mainstream newspapers shunned the topic for fear of offending readers and alienating advertisers. In rare instances when the importance of a story overrode these concerns, newspapers couched any reference to homosexuality in obscure terms that eluded the average reader. When Oscar Wilde was put on trial for "gross indecency" in 1895, he offered the first public defense of homosexuality in England, but *The New York Times,* for example, never expressly stated the playwright's offense. By the 1940s, newspapers and magazines highlighted the military's efforts to weed out homosexuals and other "undesirables" from the armed forces. The Washington, D.C., *Evening Star* celebrated the policy in a 1943 feature article headlined "How the Navy's Mind Detectives Seek Men of Sound Nerve for Warfare." *Newsweek* explained in 1947 that military psychiatrists detected homosexuals by their effeminate looks or behavior and by "repeating certain words from the homosexual vocabulary and watching for signs of recognition." However, many other publications continued to avoid the subject. In 1948, the *Raleigh Times* for example, refused to print a wire service report on Alfred Kinsey's *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male,* although they did inform readers that the story could be ordered by mail.

Depictions of homosexuality grew even darker in the 1950s, as newspapers relegated homosexuals to the crime pages. A string of articles in the *Miami Herald,* for example, described a crackdown on undesirables along a strip of beach. One official explained that the area had acquired a reputation as a "congregating place for males who try hard to look and act like women." Similar stories were seen in New York City; Atlanta; Denver; Dayton, Ohio; and Washington, D.C., to name a few.

Homosexuals garnered greater negative attention as they became easy prey for Senator Joseph McCarthy and other politicians who were eager to capitalize on the nation's postwar paranoia. "Perverts Called Government Peril" blared a *New York Times* article that described concerns that homosexuals had infiltrated the federal workforce. In a similar fashion, a Washington *Times-Herald*

article told readers: "Reds Entice Women Here in Sex Orgies." Despite the sinister tone, the article was one of the few that acknowledged the existence of lesbians.

Slowly Changing Times

Network television first tackled the subject in a 1967 documentary, *CBS Reports: The Homosexuals*, hosted by correspondent Mike Wallace. "The average homosexual, if there be such, is promiscuous," he said. "He is not interested in nor capable of a lasting relationship like that of a heterosexual marriage. . . . The pickup—the one night stand—these are characteristics of the homosexual relationship." Such characterizations were widespread among broadcasters and the print media, such as a 1966 *Chicago Tribune* feature headlined "The Homosexuals—A Growing Problem." Although the media did not create the sinister image surrounding gays in the 1960s, they reinforced the negative stereotypes promoted by police, clergy, and antigay psychiatrists. Newspapers readily publicized bar raids and arrests, but they were reticent about mentioning homosexuals in any other context. Chicago newspapers routinely rejected any press materials, even including advertisements, sent to them by Mattachine Midwest, a gay rights group in the city. In September 1966 a small group of gays responded by picketing both the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Sun-Times*.

In the summer of 1969, gay activism became more vocal as gays clashed with police outside the Stonewall bar in New York City. After a *Village Voice* account referred to the rioters as the "forces of faggotry," gays picketed the newspaper's editorial offices, pointing out that while the paper refused to print an ad from the Gay Liberation Front, it permitted landlords to specify "no gays" in apartment rental ads. The publisher agreed to change the advertising policy but vowed to retain the right to call gays whatever his writers pleased.

Heartened by their success—and by a 1973 decision by the American Psychological Association to drop homosexuality from its list of mental illnesses—gay activists organized protests against *Time, Harper's,* the *San Francisco Examiner,* the *Los Angeles Times,* the *New York Daily News,* and ABC Television, and the media began to listen to their complaints. But by the late 1970s, successes of the Gay Rights Movement touched off an antigay backlash. Pop singer–turned–antigay-activist Anita Bryant sparked a rash of negative publicity nationwide in her campaign against gay teachers in Florida public schools. Although coverage remained spotty and uneven through the late 1970s and the early 1980s, as gays fought for legal protections, news coverage increasingly reflected who gays were and what they wanted from the rest of society. Gays lobbied *The New York Times* for eight years before the newspaper relented and permitted its staff to use the term "gay" as a synonym for "homosexual."

In 1974, David Goodstein, a former Wall Street financial whiz, bought *The Los Angeles Advocate* which was the first true newspaper aimed at gay readers. Goodstein renamed it *The Advocate* and transformed it into a glossy magazine that departed from the strict political radicalism that had gripped other gay publications after 1969. *The Advocate* helped introduce a new degree of professionalism by shifting from advocacy journalism to the practice of objective journalism found among the mainstream press.

The AIDS Tragedy

News coverage again darkened with the onset of AIDS in the early 1980s. Some outlets ignored the epidemic because they did not consider the death of homosexuals relevant to their largely heterosexual audiences. Those outlets that did address the epidemic tended to define everything about the gay community in terms of death and disease. Extreme antigay voices also got a hearing on the issue: *National Review* publisher William F. Buckley Jr. urged a government crackdown on people with AIDS that included mandatory tattooing. Gay and lesbian activists again confronted the media and in 1985 created the Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation, the first organization exclusively dedicated to challenging negative media depictions of gays. The organization also became a resource for journalists and a clearinghouse that strove to guide the press toward gay men and lesbians who exemplified issues facing the gay community.

The case for fair and accurate coverage was also being made by an increasing number of open gay and lesbian journalists. Randy Shilts became the

first open gay reporter at a major mainstream American newspaper when he was hired by the *San Francisco Chronicle* in 1981. After *New York Times* deputy national editor Jeffrey Schmalz contracted AIDS and revealed his homosexuality to his colleagues, he became the highest-ranking openly gay editor in American journalism. Similarly, Linda Villarosa at *Essence* and Andrew Sullivan at the *New Republic* rose quickly through the ranks after making their sexual orientation known. In increasing numbers, gay and lesbian journalists were willing to make their sexuality known within their newsrooms and to serve as resources on stories about the gay community. In 1992, former *Washington Post* editor Leroy Aarons formed the National Lesbian and Gay Journalists Association (NLGJA). Within three years, its membership rolls had swelled to more than one thousand. Gays who would have been considered too biased to write on the subject in an earlier era were routinely reporting on their own community, sometimes from their own personal experience. "It is a history of seismic change in the way American Journalism treats gay subjects and in the openness so many of us now enjoy in our newsrooms," Aarons told the NLGJA's fifth annual convention in 1996.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, court cases, legislative proposals, and protests fueled a seemingly endless flow of coverage of issues related to gays and lesbians. A national gay march on Washington in 1987 helped focus media attention on gay parenting. The presidential campaign and another national march on Washington in 1993 generated another surge in coverage, particularly discrimination against gays by the military. Similarly, widespread coverage of the gruesome murder of a Wyoming college student, Matthew Shepard, in 1998 focused public attention on homophobia.

The Turn of the Twenty-First Century

By the late 1990s, news outlets routinely approached sexual orientation in ways that were unimaginable forty years earlier. Editorials could be seen in both *The New York Times* and *The Boston Globe* attacking the homophobia after Matthew Shepard's death. The *Times* endorsed antigay discrimination legislation on both the city and the state level and argued for inclusion of transgendered people under the state's antidiscrimination bill. The *Globe* editorialized in favor of domestic-partner benefits, as well as endorsing Massachusetts's Safe School initiative, which supported the rights and safety of gay kids and students.

The changes that had taken place at some of the nation's most prestigious and most influential newspapers became models for newspapers in smaller cities and towns across the country. By 2002, the pattern reversed as smaller newspapers became trendsetters when they began carrying announcements for gay unions. Such papers as the *Sun Journal* of Lewiston, Maine; the *Sunday Citizen* of New Hampshire; the *Fayetteville Observer* of North Carolina; and local Massachusetts community weeklies, such as the *Melrose Free Press,* the *Somerville Journal,* and the *Cambridge Chronicle,* began carrying such announcements before major newspapers. *The New York Times* changed its policy in August 2002, and *The Washington Post* followed six months later. On the other hand, as increased coverage by the mainstream press produced greater visibility for the GLBT community, it brought a crisis to some gay publications that no longer held a monopoly on news about gays and were increasingly seen as anachronisms of a bygone era. The shifting financial landscape prompted unprofitable publications to close in the early 1990s but also produced a variety of publications aimed at marketing niches that had developed within the gay community, such as magazines aimed at gay parents and gay vacationers.

In another trend, mainstream media increasingly shifted from treating gay men, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgendered people as novelties and began to incorporate them into articles on the nation's broader social and political fabric, including them in stories about family life, parenting and adoptions, home ownership, and employment issues, to name a few. Some outlets discovered, however, that the new approach to gay-related issues could carry a price. After the *Roanoke Times* ran a four-part series on "Gay Living" in 2001, for example, more than 400 readers canceled their subscriptions. At the same time, gays and lesbians increasingly became the subjects of features and entertainment rather than hard news. Some activists questioned whether the media's focus on only a segment of the gay community fostered public understanding of what it is like to

be gay or obscured it. "Sure it is exciting to see gay issues in the media, but where is the more complicated content, the deeper analysis?" wrote Michael Bronski in a 2003 *Newsday* article. "[Journalists] need to ask the same hard questions they do about energy or the budget or Iraq."

Edward Alwood

See also Diversity: Content; Diversity: Employment; Gay and Lesbian News Media; Social Movements and Journalism

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Gay and Lesbian News Media

From their humble beginnings in the 1920s, the gay and lesbian press have played a critical role for the gay and lesbian community in a fashion similar to that performed by media for other minorities. They have provided a platform where gays could their share their common struggles, define themselves as a social minority, and identify their political and social goals.

The earliest gay forays into journalism were short-lived. The Society for Human Rights in Chicago, the nation's first gay rights organization, launched *Friendship and Freedom* in 1924. The initial issue contained an article on "self-control," a poem by gay journalist-poet Walt Whitman, and an essay concerning the gay playwright Oscar Wilde. They published only two issues before the wife of one of the founders became suspicious and called the police, who quickly shut down the organization and its newspaper.

A lesbian in Los Angeles, using the pseudonym Lisa Ben, an anagram for "lesbian," established a social club for women in 1947 and began publishing *Vice Versa,* a pamphlet that contained short stories, poems, and personal essays. A secretary at the RKO film studios, she published the newsletter by hand, typing each issue several times using carbon paper to generate copies to distribute to lesbians bars. Although her rudimentary publishing process generated only a few copies, her readership grew as readers passed them from one to another for years. She published nine issues before the task became too arduous to continue.

Six years later, a group of Los Angeles gay men began publishing *ONE,* a pamphlet-size, professionally printed magazine that marked the first time gays in America had written about their concerns in a publication intended for mass distribution. Beginning in January 1953, *ONE* typically consisted of 20 to 25 pages of poetry, original fiction, essays, and scientific articles, much of it promoting assimilation of homosexuals into the greater society. The small staff wrote both under their own names and under pseudonyms, a practice that made their numbers appear larger than the reality. A few Los Angeles newsstands sold copies openly, but others refused to carry it. Even so, monthly sales climbed to 16,000 within a year, most of them distributed through the mail. The success of *ONE* attracted the attention of Los Angeles postal officials who refused to accept the October 1954 issue, claiming it was obscene. The publishers slapped the postmaster with a lawsuit

citing constitutional protections of free press and free speech and touched off a legal tug-of-war that lasted for several years.

In 1958, the postal case against *ONE* landed in the U.S. Supreme and resulted in a landmark decision for gay journalism as the Court unanimously reversed a lower court ruling that banned the publication. The decision set a major precedent that effectively sanctioned public discussion of homosexuality and cleared the way for the emergence of a sustainable gay press in the United States. It wasn't until the late 1960s, however, that gays began to cover their own community and to reach well beyond organizational newsletters and small-circulation magazines. The publications of the "homophile movement" of the 1950s had been an essential platform for homosexuals in that era but infighting undermined *ONE* and it collapsed in 1967

In the meantime, the Mattachine Society, a Los Angeles–based organization for gay and lesbian rights, began publishing the *Mattachine Review* in 1955. The following year, the Daughters of Bilitis, formed by lesbians in San Francisco, began *The Ladder*. Both contained news of the fledgling gay and lesbian community and served as a lifeline for chapters that sprung up in Los Angeles, Long Beach, Chicago, and San Francisco. Declining membership in the Mattachine Society forced the *Mattachine Review* to shut down in 1958. Although *The Ladder* continued to be an important publication for women, its emphasis shifted to embrace the broader feminist movement.

The first true newspaper aimed at gays appeared in 1967 when two men first published *The Los Angeles Advocate* with an all-news format. Publisher Dick Michaels had a personal interest in sounding an alarm over illegal police activities, having been arrested several years earlier in a bar raid. His partner, Bill Rand, became the editor and printed the first editions in the basement of his office at the ABC Television studios. After distributors refused to touch the publication, the founders created a crude sales network through gay bars, which explained why much of the content focused on gay men and excluded lesbians since they were less inclined to frequent the bar scene as gay men did.

In June 1969, New York City police raided the tiny Stonewall Inn, a popular gay bar located in Greenwich Village, touching off three nights of rioting. The riots marked a shift in the tenor of the fledgling gay rights movement from polite discussions to militant demands. The shift also brought changes in gay journalism as pacifist publications like *ONE* gave way to a new generation of more forceful publications that included the *Gay Blade* later renamed the *Washington Blade, Gay Community News* in Boston, *NewsWest* in Los Angeles, *Gay News* in Pittsburgh, and *Gay Life* in Chicago. Unlike their predecessors, which stressed identity and cooperation, this second generation concentrated almost solely on political change and resistance.

In 1974, Michaels and Rand sold *The Los Angeles Advocate* to David Goodstein, a former Wall Street financial whiz who had been fired from the investment department of a large bank when his superiors realized he was gay. Goodstein renamed the newspaper *The Advocate* and transformed it into a glossy magazine that departed from the strict political radicalism that had gripped other gay publications after 1969. Under Goodstein's leadership, the magazine explored topics that ranged from gay sensibility in art and literature to women's music, lesbian motherhood, and the popularity of gay bathhouses and discotheques. At the same time, *The Advocate* helped introduce a new degree of professionalism by shifting from advocacy journalism to objective journalism. Articles began to reflect the journalistic convention of balancing gay perspectives with antigay comments on issues.

In the early 1980s, a new disease mysteriously began to devour gay men at an alarming rate. Gay publications such as the *San Francisco Sentinel,* the *Bay Area Reporter,* and *The Advocate* failed to sound an alarm about the incipient AIDS crisis. Such publications were reluctant to oppose actions that had traditionally been a large part of defining gay liberation. Moreover, they avoided stories that placed some of their biggest advertisers in a negative light, such as gay bathhouses. On the other hand, the *New York Native* and the *Washington Blade* distinguished themselves by crusading against the disease, often reporting medical developments before mainstream news organizations that had far greater resources.

By the late 1980s, the epidemic propelled the lesbian and gay community into a new culture of radicalism which spawned a new genre of publications. *OutWeek,* a New York–based weekly

magazine burst into the national spotlight when it began to "out" men and women who were closeted and silent on the AIDS crisis, such as publishing tycoon Malcolm Forbes. The confrontational tactics of ACT UP and Queer Nation sought money to support AIDS research and treatment, as well as an end to second-class citizenship for gay people. These campaigns set an important editorial tone for much of the gay press.

Increased visibility and the simultaneous increase in public acceptance produced a variety of forms of gay journalism in the early 1990. The most prominent, *Out,* was a glossy, New York–based lifestyle magazine that reflected a sophisticated design and a desire not to offend the political or social sensitivities of its politically diverse gay and lesbian readership. *Out* and publications modeled after it succeeded in attracting a large number of mainstream advertisers with large advertising budgets and the business model began to supplant the advocacy model among the gay press.

At the same time, gays began to pay greater attention to opportunities in broadcasting. In 1992, John Scagliotti, an openly gay New York television producer, launched *In the Life,* the nation's first nationally distributed, gay-oriented television show. The monthly program, funded by foundations and loyal viewers, focused on such diverse topics as youth and education, health and AIDS, arts and culture, workplace, and relationships and family. By 2006, the program aired on more than 200 public television stations nationwide, reaching 70 million households.

Gays also ventured into the Internet as it surged in popularity in the mid-1990s. Tom Rielly, an openly gay entrepreneur, established PlanetOut .com, one of several portals serving the gay and lesbian community. Not only did the site offer gay men, lesbians, transgender, and bisexual people a way of meeting others, it also provided an efficient delivery system for news of interest to online readers. As the American social climate became increasingly tolerant, the gay and lesbian press produced a string of specialty publications. *Gay Parent,* for example, became a 16- to 24-page bound newsprint magazine featuring personal stories of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) parents from across the country and around the world. It concentrated on readers in the New York tri-state area (New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut). Articles included international and domestic adoption, foster care, donor insemination, using a surrogate and what it is like to raise their children throughout the world. By 2001, there were more than 200 publications in North America serving LGBT readers.

In 2005, the gay and lesbian market became increasingly attractive to cable broadcasters as narrow casting became financially sustainable. Viacom's MTV Networks launched Logo, the first the first national cable network devoted to LGBT programming. Programming on the advertiser-supported network included a mix of original and acquired programming. MTV and Showtime announced a groundbreaking joint venture to develop the first national cable channel devoted to gay and lesbian programming.

Despite the successes of gay media outlets, the gay press faced similar pressures as their mainstream counterparts, and adopted similar solutions. Not only were they competing for advertisers among themselves, they also began to compete with mainstream publications that discovered a lucrative gay market and began to carry similar content aimed at gays. A few smaller gay publications went out of business while some others began to consolidate under a single publisher. PlanetOut Inc., for example, acquired the majority of the assets of the publisher of *The Advocate* and *Out,* which had become the two largest circulation LGBT magazines in the United States. Much had changed since the days when the biggest problem facing the gay press was censorship. The gay and lesbian press has played a critical role in the growing gay movement since the 1950s and developed a genre of its own by creating an alternative form of journalism on which gays came to depend.

Edward Alwood

See also Alternative and Underground Newspapers; Diversity: Content; Gay and Lesbian Journalism; Social Movements and Journalism

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Germany

Located in the center of the European continent, Germany is the largest state west of Russia on the continent in terms of population and economic strength. As of 2007, about 82.3 million people live in Germany in 39 million households, of which 98 percent have at least one television set. About 9 percent of the population are foreign or have roots outside of Germany. The common language is German and, together with Austria and the German-speaking part of Switzerland, about 100 million people make up a German-language area, constituting a rather large media market.

Development

Germany has a long history of journalism. After a phase of sporadic nonprofessional dissemination of news until the middle of the 1600s, a sort of correspondence journalism developed until the middle of the 1700s, while a mixture of writers and opinion-arguing journalists was predominant until the mid-1800s. Since then, the modern appearance of journalists as part of a newsroom developed, followed, since the middle of the 1970s, by a sort of newsroom-technical journalism in which present forms of online journalism can be included. Attitudes to and standards of journalism have changed dramatically during these phases.

German journalism in the twenty-first century is strongly affected by conditions of the postwar era after 1945: by the efforts of the Allies to create a new media elite, which was to be democratic and free of contamination by the old Nazi ideology; by the emergence of a democratic press, which endorsed critical reporting as a part of developing a better future; and by the early commercialization of the press, which began with the reappointment by the Allied military administration of the former (anti-Nazi) editors to leading positions.

A sensationalistic journalism developed in the 1950s and 1960s (in the tabloid newspapers operated by Axel Springer of a Hamburg-based editor family, among others), while in the newly built system of public service broadcasting the ideal of a journalism oriented towards a democratic mission was promoted.

With the inception of commercial broadcasting in 1984 in West Germany (in East Germany the media were state owned and nearly completely under the control of the ruling communist party) and the competition that resulted from this so-called dual system, another important sphere of public communication yielded to commercialization. This commercialization has its effects on journalism as a whole. Deregulation and competition give the advertising industry more weight, so that journalism is increasingly orientated to advertiser interests and becomes more market driven.

The end of Soviet-controlled East Germany (German Democratic Republic, GDR) and the reunification of East and West Germany in 1990 brought about a new situation: the two different models of journalism had to merge. The media system of the former GDR was highly centralized under the control of the Communist Party. In consequence of the merging, the attitudes and self-perception of journalists became an important research topic for media and communication scholars, which also provided answers to earlier criticism that German journalism in West Germany before unification had been too removed from the political opinions of the majority of the population and too left wing.

By the mid-1980s, criticism of journalism was fuelled by several media scandals during which coverage of crimes and catastrophes did not live up to the expectation of the audiences. A famous example is the taking of a hostage after a bank robbery in 1988, where the reporter of a Cologne-based tabloid joined the criminal in his car for an interview, even as the police were hunting the thug. The expanding critique was included in a report initiated by the President of Germany in 1994 that bemoaned the many aberrations of political reporting and the

decreasing credibility of the media. Sensationalism, negativism, scandalization, and ritualized presentations of politics were the main points of critique in this report. The heavy competition resulting from commercialization and concentration of media created many problems for journalism in Germany.

German Journalism in the Twenty-First Century

By the early twenty-first century, some 48,000 people in Germany work as journalists (earn more than the half of their income or spend more than half of their working time in journalism). Not included are those journalists who are working part-time and who are earning their living from other activities, mostly within public relations or related fields. Some authors describe a three-class system of journalism in Germany, where the first includes famous star journalists with high incomes who are influential in both media and in the political field; the second includes the majority of full-time journalists who mainly work in regional and local newspapers; and the third includes part-time journalists or 'professional amateurs,' who experience difficulties making a living from their journalistic activities.

Most regular journalists are predominantly male (63 percent), average 41 years of age, emanate from the middle class, are living in a permanent partnership (whether married or not, 71 percent), lack children (57 percent), have a university degree (69 percent), and have completed (usually) two years of an editorial department traineeship (which is still the dominant way to become a journalist in Germany aside from university-based and industry-owned journalism schools). The majority (63 percent) is working in a print medium and earn roughly 2,300 euros net per month ($44,000 a year).

The number of professional journalists declined by about 6,000 people between 1993 and 2005. This is mainly due to the shrinking number of freelance journalists able to earn their living from journalism. The number of professional journalists within newsrooms has been relatively stable, although a significant amount of new online facilities and special interest and trade magazines have been founded. This indicates that fewer staff are working for more media. With journalistic talent spread so thin, academic and journalistic observers fear that accuracy and diligence will suffer and mistakes may increase. The fact that fewer journalists can live on journalism incomes and seek additional income from public-relation activities is a danger for the professionalism of journalism, since conflicting interests may undermine journalistic independence.

The survey also shows more women in journalism: the percentage of women increased from 31 percent in 1993 to 37 percent by 2005. While women have been entering traditionally "male" field such as politics or economics, their share in leading positions (22 percent) is still far from equal, although they generally have more formal education than their male counterparts.

Most German journalists feel obliged to meet the standard of presenting information in an unbiased fashion, explaining complex issues, and breaking stories rapidly. The one-time complaint that German journalists were "missionaries" trying to influence public opinion, is no longer applicable. German journalists are generally quite cautious and do not practice risky and unethical methods of investigation, such as door-stepping (recording an interview with a person for broadcast without having made a prior arrangement with the interviewee), undercover reporting, or checkbook journalism.

Regulation

Fundamental to journalistic freedom are the guarantees of article 5 of the German constitution, which ensures freedom of opinion and information and the freedom of press, broadcasting, and film. Article 18 prevents misuse of these freedoms, Article 75 provides framing directives for press and media law, and Article 30 protects the prerogatives of the states (*Länder*) within the federalist system. Within criminal and civil law, there are several restrictions to news media freedoms, namely the protection of human dignity, as conveyed in Article 1 of the Basic Law, and the protection of youth. There is nothing similar to the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.

The main ethical norms for journalism are found in the constitutions of the states, which stipulate requirements concerning the public mission of the press, due diligence, and accuracy. Similar prescriptions for broadcast journalism are

laid down within laws for public service and commercial radio-television of the states; these are similar to state press laws.

Legal provisions protecting journalists as the bearers of press freedom include the right to keep confidential sources secret, the right to refuse to give evidence to police and the courts, and the freedom of information act, introduced in 2005, which gives all citizens the right to have access to information of public administration.

Normative claims for journalism which do not have legal backing are laid down within the German Press Code, published in 1973 by the German Press Council in West Germany (in East Germany a similar institution did not exist). This self-regulatory body was formed in 1956 with ten representatives each from journalists' and publishers' organizations. Members of the general public may appeal press concerns directly to the Council and if the Council supports the complaint, the respective newspaper is expected to publish the Council's ruling. Claims are decided based on the Press Codex, which is regularly renewed according to developments in journalism. The effect of this self-regulation is limited, however, especially in relation to the practices of the "boulevard" (tabloid) press. Discussion has emerged on how the German Press Council could work more openly with the public, but there are no media ombudspersons in Germany.

A developing, though still weak, area of media accountability is the trend of media organizations, especially newspapers, having special media sections or slots of air time that offer more transparency about the making of media content and explanations of behind-the-scene decision making for audiences, but offer little criticism. Journalists' organizations such as *Netzwerk Recherche* (network for investigative journalism) are trying to improve news reporting quality.

Print Media

German print media include a large number of titles, a strong local and regional newspaper market, a few national newspapers, many magazines, a dependency on advertising income, and considerable economic concentration.

In 2007 the number of "independent editorial units" (i.e., full publishing entities that produce all parts of a newspaper) for daily newspapers in Germany was 136, with more than 350 newspapers overall. If local editions of all papers are included, there are 1,524 different newspapers. Since the early 1990s, the number and circulation of newspapers in Germany have declined. Penetration of daily newspapers fell from 75 percent in 2005 to 73 percent in 2007. Most major media production centers are located in the western half of the country, and newspapers of the former GDR are usually controlled by western publishers.

Circulation figures show that the local and regional press is very important in Germany. Ninety-seven percent of the subscription press claims to be local, which means a circulation of 14.6 million. On first view, the German press appears to be highly diversified and local, but, in fact, much newspaper content is produced by central offices. The *Heimatpresse* (local press) is in many cases only legally independent. Because of concentration and economics local papers work closely with larger newspapers or other local and regional newspapers.

In terms of circulation figures, German national newspapers account for 1.6 million (without the biggest tabloid, *BILD*), and 4.6 million papers are sold on the street. The top-selling German tabloid paper is *BILD Zeitung*, with a circulation of 3.3 million. With the buying up of the publishing house *Berliner Zeitung* (and, later, other papers) by British investor David Montgomery, the first takeover of a German newspaper by a foreign owner took place. Daily newspapers control just over a quarter of national advertising expenditure.

The German magazine sector is extremely buoyant with some 884 general magazines and 1,081 specialized periodicals on the market. *Der Spiegel* (The Mirror), a weekly news magazine modeled after the American *Time* magazine has long held a virtual monopoly of its market. With its investigative style of journalism, it represents the most influential political publication in Germany. The market for general interest magazines is also quite lively. Best known for its liberal and investigative format, and with a nearly 20 percent share of advertising, *Der Stern* (The Star) is the best known although its circulation is dropping The weekly newspaper, which presents less news and more analysis and background information, became popular after 1945. The most successful and important is *Die Zeit* (The Times), a liberal and

independent paper. Free newspapers only started publishing in the beginning of the twenty-first century, but have not gained any importance.

The Broadcasting Market

The main characteristics of German radio and television include a "dual system" of both public and commercial broadcasting, federalism, and a strong role for the Länder in public broadcasting. The supervisory councils have an important role in both the public and private sector. Penetration of cable television is substantial. Two groups, ProSiebenSAT.1Media AG and the RTL Group, control commercial TV. Digitization of the terrestrial TV is ongoing, and governmental policy is active in developing infrastructures for digital services. While there is a lack of innovative services and programs, public service broadcasters play an active role in developing digital services and maintaining quality journalism.

The traditional public service broadcaster is an independent and noncommercial organization, financed primarily by licence fees. The public service broadcasting organization (*Anstalt*) in Germany roughly resembles the BBC system in the United Kingdom. The typical *Anstalt* provides a region, usually a *Land,* with public service radio and television service. Together the regional corporations founded the ARD (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Rundfunkanstalten Deutschlands*) in 1950, and contribute content (according to their size) to the first TV channel which is in the responsibility of the ARD. In addition, the regional corporations independently organize a third channel, broadcast only in the Länder, that offers regional news and more culturally and educationally oriented programming. The second German television channel, ZDF (*Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen*), is based on collaboration by all Länder channels (via the ZDF-Interstate treaty) and is located in Mainz. ZDF offers one national television service, but also maintains offices in different parts of the country. All Länder broadcasters offer three to five different radio channels in their own region, some of them localized.

German commercial television is controlled by two media groups calling themselves "sender families." One, formerly led by Leo Kirch, is ProSiebenSAT.1Media AG and consists of Sat.1, Pro 7, N24, Kabel 1, and 9live; the RTL Group is owned by Bertelsmann and the Luxembourg-based CLT (which also owns RTL II, Super RTL, VOX, and n-tv). N24 and n-tv are all-news channels. Many more specialized programs are offered. In large cities such as Berlin and Hamburg, regional commercial TV has also been established.

The combined market share of all public service television broadcasters is 43 percent, of which ARD has a market share of 13 percent, ZDF 13 per cent, and the third channels 14 percent. Among the private channels RTL (12 percent), SAT1 (1 percent) and ProSieben (7 percent) have the biggest audience shares. Television enjoys a share of 42 percent and radio advertising a share of 6 percent of the overall advertising market.

Online Market

Among Internet media, T-Online and AOL provide the most popular websites, and many new online media are generated by the traditional media such as the above mentioned channels, magazines, and national newspapers. In 2008 about 66 percent of all Germans used online services. The Internet is an established medium and is especially popular among young people; 96 percent of those aged 14 to 19 use it daily. About half of all Internet users report that they use the web for up-to-date information.

News Agencies

There is one dominating, internationally active German news agency and seven small specialized agencies, and competition among them is fierce. The leading agency, dpa (*Deutsche Presseagentur*), also is very strong in the international market and has a cooperative structure; approximately 200 newspapers, magazines, and broadcasting stations participate. As nearly every newspaper is a subscriber, dpa can be regarded as the primary source, whereas the other news agencies are complementary sources. The second largest agency is ddp (*Deutscher Depeschendienst*), which reports German national and regional policies, and because of its former GDR heritage includes a strong representation of correspondents in the new Länder. Other players in the global news market are active in Germany as well. The

Associated Press (AP), the German Reuters (rtr, a subsidiary company of Thomson-Reuters), and Agence France-Presse (AFP) rank second, third, and fourth in the German market.

Journalism's Future

Journalism in Germany is both a strong provider of public communication as well as a highly competitive business. Transformations resulting from deregulation and commercialization of the media system have changed journalism to such a degree that it might be in danger of not fulfilling its democratic tasks. De-professionalization and an increasing degree of self-referentiality are the most obvious signs of trouble. On the other hand, new forms of journalism, including blogs, phlogs (photoblogs), wikis, and other forms of web 2.0 online communications, may challenge the traditional monopolistic situation of journalism as responsible and competent providers of news and reports. To survive in the future, German journalism has to prove that it fulfills those tasks and values that a democratic society requires. It is an open question, however, under which business model the funding of such journalism can be maintained.

Barbara Thomass

See also Deutche Welle; Wolff

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Globalization, Coverage of

Globalization is the process of increasing communication interconnectivity between geographically distant and diverse populations, cultures, and economies. This is usually, though not always, brought about by technological advances in transportation and communications and through the creation of virtual interactions. With regard to journalism, globalization can mean both the process of this interconnection and reporting about the end results. Two resulting phenomena are particular noteworthy. The first is the public's expectation of instant international news as part of the now standard 24-hour news cycle. The second is the expectation of ongoing cultural exchange between previously separated and diverse groups of people. Of this increased cultural exchange, some scholars see increased diversity and hybridization of cultures (pluralism), while others see an extension of Anglo-American corporate hegemony (cultural imperialism). Paradoxically, evidence for both outcomes abound.

History and Development

Integral to both of these globalization phenomena is continuing improvement of technologies of transport, distribution, and communications. Globalization is a longer running trend than many perceive—it began with the industrial revolution in the mid-nineteenth century and continues into the early twenty-first century. Many antecedents of contemporary globalization can be found, including such early trade routes as the Silk Road in Eurasia and the Incense Route in Africa and Arabia, and the religious institutions which spread with empires, most notably the Roman Catholic Church and the Islamic Caliphates. These global religions created and continue the process of

globalization through complex ecclesiastical hierarchies, traveling missionaries, and pilgrimages. By the late Middle Ages, trade and craft guilds had established systems for traveling journeymen and craft masters which increased the exchange of knowledge and ideas. Through these proto-globalizing trends, information was collected by travelers and conglomerated into central locations for use by ruling elites, merchants, and religious officials. As such, journalism and news gathering evolved together with travel and nascent globalism.

The rise of nationalism worked against globalism for a number of centuries as newly formed nations established national or ethnic identities by defining what they excluded. However, the rise of the nation-state was partially due to the rise of the printing presses and the cultural consciousness of nationhood brought about by growing distribution of printed material. Establishment of an educated merchant class, usually in coastal city-states, required information to facilitate trade. City-states evolved into larger nation-states. Due to the cultural nature of globalization and its foundation in multilingual communication, it has been inextricably linked to forms of cultural information exchange, including journalism.

The character of globalization changed drastically with the beginning of the industrial revolution. Some technologies, for example steamships, allowed for faster travel and as a result more rapid global interconnections. However, it was the development of telegraphy in the 1840s that most radically encouraged globalization. Telegraphs were first used by Great Britain and the United States. The development of undersea telegraph cables in the 1860s, and wireless telegraphy at the turn of the twentieth century, dramatically speeded up cross-border communication. Although early telegraphy allowed for faster news gathering and the development of international news (or "wire") services, it was the application of wireless technology for radio broadcasting by the 1920s, which allowed for large groups of geographically and culturally diverse populations to be seen as one single audience. Point-to-point and broadcast radio expanded alongside each other and were used to form the first broadcast networks. These involved (by the late 1930s) a central news collection organization linked to dozens of affiliate stations. While the network itself used point-to-point wired communications to link affiliates, the stations used broadcast technology to reach their audiences.

Expansion of Global Communications

Truly rapid global communications began with undersea telegraph cables in the 1860s and expanded with the adoption of shortwave broadcasting in the 1920s and 1930s. Unlike medium-wave radio broadcasting, shortwave signals are bounced along the ionosphere and reflected back to the earth's surface thousands of miles from their broadcast source. This technology allowed a few, usually government-controlled, broadcasters to reach audiences around the world. The most notable drawback to shortwave radio is limited bandwidth. Thus, shortwave broadcasts are heavily regulated by international treaties and often exclude smaller broadcasters. This perceived notion of exclusion lead initially to many "pirate" broadcast stations that operated in international waters (Radio Caroline, broadcast from ships anchored off Britain), across international borders (Radio Luxembourg, which broadcast to Western Europe and especially Britain), or in areas with little government oversight (Radio Swan near Cuba). The rise of satellite distribution in the 1980s and Internet audio streaming radio early in the twenty-first century has diminished the role of pirate radio.

The growing number of broadcast, cable, and satellite-based electronic media systems has led to the (thus far) ultimate network of networks, the Internet and the World Wide Web. While the Internet was created in the late 1960s by an agency of the U.S. government, it was used for academic, military, and government communications nearly exclusively until the wide-scale proliferation of personal computers and a standardized Internet protocol (IP) for the graphic display of information. The resulting system is now called the World Wide Web, which uses the infrastructure of the Internet for commercial, journalistic, and entertainment purposes. The system of the World Wide Web and the Internet form a good metaphor for globalization in media, with the Internet's basic infrastructure created in the United States in the late 1960s and early 1970s, while the World Wide Web backbone and protocols were designed in Europe in the early 1990s.

Looking at the explosive growth of communications technology in the mid-twentieth century, media researcher Marshall McLuhan made the now famous observation that humanity will soon be living in a "global village." Many of the cultural assumptions that McLuhan had based his global village model upon were flawed and vague—for example, the idea that some media were "hot," and gave much information and required less sensation—such as radio and newspapers—and other media were "cool," giving less information but inviting more participation—such as television and film. His ideas gained acceptance and are still widely used when discussing global media and globalization. Proponents of McLuhan's vision point to the growth of the World Wide Web and mobile communications devices as examples of the continuing relevance of McLuhan's model. Detractors believe that the model does not take into consideration large-scale media conglomerates and the effect of governments on mass media.

Globalization and Mass Media

In 1956 communications researchers Fred Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm posited four types of media organizations around the world: authoritarian, libertarian, Soviet/Communist, and social responsibility. Criticized even at their introduction as too simplistic, these four cold war categories still have some relevance in the twenty-first century. Despite the technological movement toward digital global corporate culture, individual nation-states and regions maintain unique journalistic media.

Through the expansion of communications technologies and global media, there had been a sliding scale of media freedom from state-controlled media (as in the People's Republic of China) and state-funded media with some level of autonomy (Britain's BBC) through commercial satellite and cable networks (BskyB, CNN) to the apparent anarchy of online media (YouTube, P2P filesharing). Digital technologies can most readily permeate national borders and allow for journalism to cross borders with decreasing government control. The rise of transnational media corporations has greatly aided and speeded this process. One of the best-known examples, Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation, holds newspapers (*The Times, The Wall Street Journal*); broadcast, cable and satellite networks (Fox Television Network, BSkyB); film studios (20th Century Fox); and Internet sites/services (MySpace, Photobucket). Other examples of transnational media corporations include Bertlesman, Sony, Vivendi, Disney, and Time Warner.

International organizations and trade agreements have been created around the complex issues surrounding globalization and mass media. During the 1970s the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) attempted to establish news guidelines called the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO). These guidelines were intended to equalize treatment and coverage of developing and industrialized nations. The establishment of the NWICO became overtly political during the cold war struggle, and it was ultimately derailed in the mid-1980s. This was superseded by a series of trade negotiations from the 1940s through 1994 called the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). In 1995 the World Trade Organization (WTO) was formed to institutionalize international agreements on trade. Within the WTO, the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) is an evolving framework of treaties that includes global entertainment and worldwide news distribution.

Growing international trade and corporate ownership of technologies for communication have moved most nation states toward the social responsibility and libertarian models originally proposed by Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm. Proponents of globalization in media production and news gathering/distribution favor the model of an open "marketplace of ideas." Opponents of this form of globalization counter that it places profitability ahead of media access.

Marshall McLuhan, Jacques Ellul, Niel Postman, Walter Lippmann, Edward Bernays, and Daniel Borstin all contributed to thinking about global media culture in the twentieth century. Contemporary media critics and philosophers include Robert McChesney, Ben Bagdikan, and Noam Chomsky.

Noam Chomsky began is career as an academic linguist who applied ideas of language to mass media. He gained notoriety by being a fierce critic of U.S. foreign policy and by making the connection between government/military aggression and corporate ownership and control of mass media

and news gathering. In his book *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media,* Chomsky popularized the idea that corporate-owned journalism operates under the same profit-driven model as that of other businesses, and will rarely engage in anti-authoritarian criticism and self-censor much of its content to appease business interests.

New thinkers on this subject include Naomi Klein, Henry Jenkins, and Lawrence Lessig. Lessig was trained as a copyright and intellectual property lawyer who argued several cases before the U.S. Supreme Court. He was one of the leading members of the open-source movement, which has evolved around free, editable software, such as Linux, but has grown to encompass scientific research, music, photography, and online collaborations, such as Wikipedia. As a practicing attorney, Lessig has also worked to design legal methods where copyright protection could be extended across global borders.

Globalization and Journalism

Many of the changing social trends in news gathering and reporting can be linked to emerging globalization of mass media. The spread of both Western consumerism and laissez-faire democracy throughout the world has changed how audiences interact with their news sources. Both increased democratic participation and intrusive corporate marketing make new demands on and new models for journalism in a globalized world. Older models for journalism took a mass-production approach to mass media and continue to privilege journalistic objectivity, the use of public intellectuals and experts, tight scripting formats, and an attempt to give neutral facts to an audience. Newer models take a niche-market approach to mass media and tend to embrace (or at least admit) a political or cultural point of view, more frequently assess and interpret facts for an audience, rely more on public opinion and vox-populi (or man-on-the-street) interviews, and openly criticize or advocate political parties or regimes. Some examples include newer organizations such as *The Weekly Standard* and *The Independent Media Center*; however, older examples include *The Economist* and *The Nation* as well as other practitioners of "Advocacy Journalism." While becoming increasingly commercialized, newer models of journalism in a digital, globalized world focus on putting individual stories in a context for their audience. This is thought to be a reaction to the 24-hour news cycle and information overload that can be created by the news industry itself.

Other emerging trends in journalism that may be changing globalization are the adoption of a global form of English for news coverage along with the rise of multiple-language reporting by large news-gathering organizations. Community-based journalism and other forms of user-generated content, such as YouTube and Fark .com, increasingly become the story leads for professional journalists. For example, both CNN and the BBC include viewer-submitted stories on their websites. Thus, stories that previously would not have been reported upon due to distance, lack of field reporters, or political pressures can move easily from very small news organizations to a large global conglomerate in a short time.

In the future, globalization will continue, as the many underlying "causes" of it are highly unlikely to reverse course. The "marketplace of ideas" model, argues that it is possible that global communications may become more balanced as digital technologies become the norm. Specific examples of globalism likely to continue are hybrid cultures, particularly in music and independent film; the continued rise of viral marketing and memetics; and the expansion of user-generated content and citizen journalists. Other events likely to effect media globalization are the continued decline of both state-funded media and funding through tax-incentives and technological accessibility to a global audience through crank radios, mobile phones, and inexpensive notebook computers.

There is an essential paradox of globalization in the production and distribution of global journalism. Along with the greater bandwidth and the number of media outlets within new media overall, there is a simultaneous conglomeration of both ownership and content. In the twenty-first century, globalization presents the question "are there mainstream media, or is that concept an illusion?" From this paradoxical question, there is an evolution within media and journalism; the meaning of "broadcasting" is changing as individual media users customize their experience as readers and audience members. This is done first in multichannel satellite news networks and with the

widespread adoption of news aggregators and social networks for vetting a large amount of broadcast news and information. In the same fashion that journalism grew and changed with improvements in transport, communication technology, and growing industrialization, it will continue to be a leading part of globalization.

William A. Hanff

See also Cables, Undersea; Comparative Models of Journalism; Development Journalism; Free Flow of Information; New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO); Streaming Media; Telegraph; U.S. International Communication

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Government, Federal, Coverage of

Media coverage of the federal government entails both news gathering to monitor the actions of government agencies and officials, as well as news about national politics and policy. Both kinds of coverage predate the formal formation of government itself. As just one example, *The Federalist,* a collection of commentaries arguing for the reorganization of the United States into its present form, appeared in several New York newspapers following the 1787 Constitutional Convention.

The federal government's myriad activities continue to provide an indispensable set of topics for U.S. news media. The government's importance to journalism is underscored by the vast assembly of correspondents, editors, and analysts dispatched to or based in Washington, D.C. According to *The Washington Post,* almost 70 correspondents from 40 news organizations cover the President as part of the White House press corps. This is only one fraction of the Washington press establishment: According to the Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics, nearly 2,000 reporters and correspondents lived in the District of Columbia in 2006. Their work is integral to the functioning of American democracy as it provides necessary links between voters and officials, even in the face of concerns about government co-option, the representativeness of the press corps, and the influence of media.

Origin of the Washington Press Corps

In the late eighteenth century, press coverage of national politics was dominated by news organizations sponsored by government officials and financially subsidized by federal agencies (see Cook 1998). Federalist newspapers like *The Gazette of the United States* and its rival *National Gazette*

were published by partisans supported by government printing contracts and political patronage jobs. The President designated an official administration newspaper, such as the *National Intelligencer,* which provided President Jefferson (1801–09) with a mouthpiece for official news as well as information not attributed directly to him. When reporters sought to cover the proceedings of the House of Representatives, their access was granted on an individual basis and could be revoked as political revenge. The Senate, members of which were (until 1913) appointed by state legislatures, made no provision for reporters in its chamber until 1802.

The Washington press corps began to take a more recognizable shape in the mid-nineteenth century, with the expansion of the penny press and its dependence on a mass audience, rather than narrower partisan audiences. The federal government established the Government Printing Office in 1860, reducing patronage opportunities for partisan printers. During the Civil War, news content shifted from terse reports and ideological arguments to expanded coverage of specific events, delivering what mass communications researcher Timothy E. Cook calls "the coup de grâce to the old partisan system."

In the late nineteenth century, "Newspaper Row" developed along 14th Street between F Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, allowing the press corps to establish a stronger sense of internal camaraderie. The interactions among reporters and officials also became more institutional with these changes, with both sides developing a clearer set of routines and establishing a set of Washington newsbeats. Rather than initiating sporadic and ad hoc interviews with officials, specialized reporters began covering the various branches and agencies of government.

By the time of Leo Rosten's sociological investigation of *The Washington Correspondents* (1937), there were at least 127 reporters covering the New Deal federal government. Rosten documented a press corps quite similar to its contemporary counterpart, a cadre of news professionals socially integrated into the Washington establishment and often friendly with officials. He discussed familiar efforts on the part of government officials to shape coverage, including "the handout" or press release from a government agency.

Trends in Federal Coverage

In the 1960s and 1970s, Herbert J. Gans found that almost three-fourths of domestic television news stories and an even larger percentage of newsmagazine columns addressed the activities of government and officials in some way. These stories were diverse, including coverage of scandals and investigations, conflicts among officials, policy proposals and decisions, information about the officials themselves, and occasional protests against government actions.

In recent decades, however, federal government coverage appears to be on the decline. According to the Policy Agendas Project at University of Washington, using *The New York Times* as its principal indictor, news media are devoting less coverage to governmental issues than they did in the mid-twentieth century. In the most recent decennial national survey of journalists, 40 percent said discussing national policy is an extremely important role for journalism. Yet three decades earlier, 55 percent of journalists said focusing on national policy was an extremely important role for journalists (Weaver et al. 2007, 104). Nonetheless, coverage of the federal government and its activities remains on the front page of daily newspapers nationwide and often leads nightly network newscasts.

News from Washington increasingly revolves around the presidency. The President is especially important because news values privilege officials as a function of their position in hierarchies: as sociologist Herbert J. Gans writes, "the higher an actor is in the governmental hierarchy, the more his or her activities are of importance." To that end, presidential administrations invest substantial resources in providing facilities for journalists, and in generating newsworthy events that allow the White House to control the story, with structured public addresses, as well as foreign and domestic travel. The White House has institutionalized its efforts to spin the media with its Office of Communication.

Members of Congress also devote resources to garnering press attention, with specific personnel designated in congressional offices to handle press inquiries and generate interest in what the member is doing. Coverage of the legislative process tends to focus on party and committee leaders as a function of their perceived institutional importance. In 2004 Arnold analyzed coverage of Congress in a

sample of 25 newspapers across the country and found that the median newspaper covered its local representative in one article every two days. The range of this coverage was quite large, from only six stories per month to nearly one story per day.

Much coverage of Congress also involves the President. Coverage of these officials, when not focused on structured photo opportunities, tends to adopt what authors Joseph Capella and Kathleen Jameson call a "strategic frame," advancing a narrative for news focused on conflict and how actors play at politics with each other. This strategic frame lends itself quite well to the independence and objectivity norms of journalists. Covering politics as a game of strategy allows reporters to give voice to at least two sides of any given debate.

Knowledge of these news values has given rise to the particular media strategy of members of the U.S. Supreme Court. Justices do not necessarily seek press coverage for their own political ends, but are interested in promoting knowledge of and compliance with majority opinions. Thus, they tend to focus their news releases and comments on specific opinions, rather than their own personalities. This results in less, but perhaps better, coverage for the Court and less attention to its internal conflicts.

Reporters and Officials

Washington correspondents and federal officials have a relationship which is, at best, reciprocal. Reporters need to produce news stories and officials, elected officials in particular, often need attention in the form of news coverage. However, there is a great deal of tension in this relationship; reporters—and many observers—fear that journalists are ultimately too close to the officials they cover, while at the same time needing to cultivate those relationships to get stories. According to sociologist Michael Schudson, journalists individually distrust government, particularly in the post-Watergate era, but there "is always a tendency for journalists to revert to the comfort of being friendly insiders."

Most Washington journalists collect news through their assignment to a continuing newsbeat, such as the White House. This allows reporters to develop deep, long-term contacts in the institutions they cover and helps them cultivate better stories about the inner workings of these institutions. But access to high-level government officials is a scarce resource that is necessary for journalistic success. This level of familiarity and dependence, according to Gans, also draws the beat reporter's attention to "stories that please their sources, since angering them may endanger closeness or rapport . . . beat reporters are drawn into a symbiotic relationship of mutual obligations with their sources."

According to political scientist and communications researcher W. Lance Bennett, the nature of the relationship between reporters and officials has led some observers to reject the ideal that journalists serve as an independent monitor, claiming that news media have been co-opted to "generate support, compliance, and just plain confusion among the public."

Many are particularly critical of the job journalists did in covering the George W. Bush administration's (2001–09) foreign policy prior to the 2003 invasion of Iraq. In September 2002, *New York Times* reporters cited unnamed sources in the Bush administration asserting that Iraq had intensified its quest for nuclear weapons. It was one of several stories later criticized as factually inaccurate and which caused the newspaper to admit, in a 2004 editorial, that its reporting on preinvasion Iraq and U.S. policy was "not as rigorous as it should have been." This is just one example of news produced by an establishment of correspondents considered by many to be too cozy with governmental officials.

Charges of Bias

In addition to charges of being too close to its government sources, the Washington press corps is often criticized for being insufficiently representative of the varied perspectives and political views of Americans. The loudest of these criticisms come from activists, pundits, and some scholars asserting that the press corps contains a higher proportion of people with left-leaning political ideologies than the nation as a whole. Others reject these claims out of hand, noting that even if reporters as a group lean leftward, the owners of news organizations and affluent editorial leaders lean to the right. The substance of this controversy is reflected in quite similar terms in Rosten's 1937 study—claims and counterclaims of ideological bias are old news.

A more substantively important source of potential bias in the Washington press corps is the racial and ethnic makeup of news bureau staffs. A 2004

report from UNITY, an organization promoting newsroom diversity, found that the Washington press corps dramatically underrepresents persons of color. While more than 30 percent of the U.S. population is nonwhite, less than 10.5 percent of the Washington reporters, correspondents, and others staffing bureaus are from historically underrepresented groups. Among the few minority reporters in the Washington press corps, only a fraction (13 percent) thought the press corps does a good job covering racial issues—none of the journalists responding to their survey thought the press corps does an excellent or even very good job with race-related topics. More than 80 percent thought expanded racial diversity in Washington bureaus would improve coverage.

Media Effects

Concerns about ideological and descriptive representation not only involve judgments about fairness, but also embody concerns that the media's priorities reflect those of the country rather than skew in an unrepresentative direction. This is particularly important given the influence of the news media in setting the national political agenda. News stories about potential issues worthy of government attention can affect their inclusion on the government's agenda. This affects actions of elected officials as well as bureaucrats. For example, in 2002, political scientist Daniel Carpenter showed that the Food and Drug Administration approves a drug more quickly if there is sustained media coverage of the disease associated with it.

Another salient example of how federal government coverage can effect the actions of officials is the so-called CNN effect, a product of visually compelling coverage provided by 24-hour news channels. The CNN effect appears to be pronounced particularly among foreign policy and national security officials presented with images of humanitarian crises and late-breaking events across the globe brought to American homes. The CNN effect can shorten the amount of time available to consider policy alternatives, as well as affect military priorities.

Yet the influence of news coverage on the public is conditional at most, and has even been described as minimal. Members of media audiences have a well-documented resistance to persuasion—they are selectively attentive to news and media messages and selectively receptive to the information received from them. But variation in news media attention can influence what issues people find important, how they define issues under debate, and how they evaluate public figure performance on those issues.

News media may also have the effect of increasing public cynicism. Cappella and Jamieson find that by focusing on strategy and conflict, news media coverage of government may have the unintended consequence of creating more suspicion of government officials and thus contributing to a potentially self-destructive crisis of legitimacy for American government. How this balances allegations that coverage of the federal government tends to produce support for and compliance with government action is difficult to assess.

Conclusion

The Washington press corps is reliant on informational subsidies (e.g., access to officials) that call into question its incentives to act as an independent monitor of those officials. The practice of newsgathering and the content of federal government coverage are criticized because of the importance of that coverage to the functioning of American democracy. Critics who are watching the watchdogs may help serve the public interest as long as their goal is to improve rather than impede federal government coverage. The federal government remains newsworthy due to its importance to the daily lives of U.S. residents. Given that the structure of how the federal government distributes power makes it difficult to assign responsibility for government action, the process of holding officials accountable is made all the more difficult. Citizens require effective information about how officials act in order to have any hope of holding them accountable.

Martin Johnson

See also Congress and Journalism; Political Reporters; Presidents, Coverage of; Supreme Court and Journalism; Washington, D.C.

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Government, State and Local, Coverage of

American news media have traditionally invested considerable time, space, and expense to cover local and state-level news. Such coverage can be dynamic and have considerable effect on public affairs, or be more passive, uninteresting, and even ineffective. The most popular media for coverage of state and local issues are newspapers and broadcast (usually television) news, and increasingly some online services. Research demonstrates that people rely more on newspapers than television for local political and governmental news—raising concerns given both the changing content of "local" television news, and the continuing decline in newspaper readership. Nor do newer media offer much promise as blogs present individual points of view and mainstream media closely control what "citizen journalism" appears on their pages or in their broadcasts. These media serve more as alternative outlets for citizens to voice their opinions rather than gather objective news.

Local Media and the Democratic Process

State and local governments provide greater and more direct interaction with constituents than is the case with national politics. Politicians on the local or state level are more closely aligned with community issues, requiring greater public interaction. However, direct politician-to-citizen communication remains a challenge given constraints of time, cost, and sometimes distance. Local media are instrumental in this interchange because they serve as the primary mode of communication among officials, business, citizen action groups, and the general public. According to a survey by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, 40 percent of people involved in local print media maintain that journalism does very well as a public service for providing information to the public, as compared to only 28 percent of people involved in national print media.

Given this role, local media can and often do help foster democratic processes. By covering local and state governments (including such vital functions as education, transportation, and health), media inform citizens of what these governments are doing. With such coverage, media serve as "watchdogs" on government, increasing transparency through occasional use of investigative journalism and by holding officials accountable for their actions. This watchdog role is thought to be more effective in local than in national media

coverage: approximately 39 percent of people from local print media that responded to the Pew survey stated that journalism does very well as a political watchdog, as opposed to 31 percent of respondents from national print media. At the same time, media channel citizen wants and needs to government. For example, letters to the editor, e-mail messages to stations, and blogs help to make clear where some members of the public stand on controversial concerns.

Local and state governments are primarily concerned with public issues such as health and safety, welfare, transportation, education, and agriculture. Thus, media coverage of state and local government fluctuates with local elections, whether the state legislature is in session, or whether a function of the government is under scrutiny. Usually based on legislative action (or threatened action), hot-button issues like political scandals, gun control, how schools should (or should not) teach evolution, consolidating public schools, or government cutbacks due to budget shortfalls will feature prominently in coverage of state and local affairs.

Agenda Setting

Agenda setting is evident when news media report to their audiences about current issues. The very choices of news items made by newspapers, television, and other media contribute to the public agenda by their selection, and how the stories are treated and for how long. A one-shot story has limited effect, while a string of stories over time is far more likely to have lasting impact on reader or viewer thinking. Yet such follow-up news is becoming increasingly rare (unless it is a specialized news program such as *60 Minutes* or *20/20*) in the news media quest for audiences, attracted by the latest scandal or disaster. Thus, news media have the ability to tell the public what issues to think *about*.

The more people are exposed to news about government, the more they may pay attention to what government is doing. Indeed, the public will seldom consider an issue significant if they do not hear about it in mainstream media. Therefore, if media do not report on local and state government activities, then the public will not view those functions as an important subject. This raises obvious questions about what drives news media choices among the influx of stories to cover. Will an issue receive coverage because it will attract viewers or readers? That is surely a vital factor that explains the widespread media fascination with local crime and scandal stories, as well as those of accidents, fires or other local disasters which may provide dramatic pictures of flames, rescue, and traffic jams. A plane crash—even one involving only a handful of people—will always get more coverage than a story on state finances that lacks dramatic pictures, yet actually affects far more people. Local and state-level coverage, like other news, is often defined by available pictures, dramatic narrative about events, or the importance of the people involved.

Local Coverage and Civic Journalism

Media coverage of local government and politics is often enhanced by civic, or public, journalism. Civic journalism refers to news media efforts to engage citizens regarding community issues. While maintaining traditional journalism values such as objectivity and accuracy, civic journalism aims to foster discussion about local issues, serving as forums for community discussion and empowering people with information essential to involve them in the political process. The resulting relationship between government and civic journalism is therefore symbiotic: Effective civic journalism can increase public involvement in local and state politics, and a vibrant local or state government will ideally seek greater citizen involvement. News media are in the middle of such a relationship.

The Pew Center for Civic Journalism argues that civic journalism can best foster democracy by subscribing to the following guidelines on local government election coverage:

- Avoid focusing local election coverage on "horse-race" news about which candidate is ahead in the polls, as such reporting may increase voter apathy by depicting the outcome as a foregone conclusion.
- Instead, focus on the issues directly concerning local voters to further engage the public in local elections.
- Frame local election stories as a "hiring" process by inviting readers or viewers to ask which candidate would best run local government, and then provide thorough information and a forum to discuss issues with others

The Binghamton, New York, "Facing Our Future" project is an example of the symbiotic relationship between civic journalism and local government. Defense contractor cutbacks in the late 1980s resulted in a loss of over 14,000 manufacturing jobs in the upstate city of 53,000 people. In 1996, several local media outlets—the *Press & Sun-Bulletin,* the WSKG public television and radio station, and the WBNG-TV CBS affiliate—partnered with the State University of New York at Binghamton to create the civic journalism project. The aim of the project was to foster community discussion about the resulting economic crisis and promote solutions.

The project organized multiple activities to align the public with local government through political dialogue and informed action. The *Press & Sun-Bulletin* and local television stations produced multipart series about employment and economic revitalization; WSKG offered online discussion forums for elementary and high school students to better relate to their community; the newspaper published questions that young people could ask government officials; and project partners hosted a televised town meeting that rallied over 300 citizens to participate in action teams. For five months, these teams communicated through the media to brainstorm community revitalization recommendations that were ultimately presented at an open forum. This became a continuous dialogue with local businesses to create tangible economic development initiatives. The "Facing Our Future" media project was buttressed by outspoken support from the mayor. Local Binghamton media not only informed the public of political challenges facing their community but also encouraged direct involvement with the government in finding ways out of the employment drop.

State Government

News media also engage readers and viewers in broader state issues. States hold primary responsibility, for example, for public education, through relevant taxes and statewide boards of education. States often determine standards for local school boards. All of this is germane for print and broadcast media, especially when controversies about the teaching of evolution or the topic of school lunch programs arise. What occurs on the state level often defines what local school boards can accomplish, a topic most people learn about through media coverage.

Further, every state has a highway, public works, or transportation department responsible for building and maintaining freeways. Especially in congested urban areas with long commute times, transportation decisions can make compelling news coverage. When states are considering, for example, whether or not to build highways or develop new light-rail or subway systems, local news media will provide coverage. Indeed even mundane daily traffic reports have become a staple of daily news coverage. State and local news media coverage also includes activities of state police forces, crimes and trends in crime, disaster updates and response, creation and maintenance of parks, and encouraging growth of businesses and employment. How such stories are presented makes a significant difference in viewer or reader involvement. Pictures always attract attention, as do stories that feature important decision makers and their concerns, as opposed to bland descriptions of events.

However, both state and local levels of government have always suffered a lack of visibility. Research has found that there is less public awareness of state and local government than there is of the national political scene. A research study conducted at the University of Pennsylvania found that residents in and near Virginia's capital city of Richmond were significantly more knowledgeable about state politics than those living elsewhere in the state. Proximity to where decisions are made increases the likelihood that local and state-level news will be covered. Even in capital cities such as Richmond where the state capital is a relatively small market (Northern Virginia, for instance, is the far more important economic and population center of the state), local news media can and often do play a considerable role in framing issues of governance.

Electronic Media

Coverage of any story, let alone those concerning state and local government, depends on the availability of qualified reporters and, ideally, graphics or video with which to illustrate the story and attract viewers. The same is true for the relatively few local cable channel news reports. The ability

to obtain video is central to television or cable news—and many government-related stories do not readily lend themselves to visual presentation. For example—economic news, such as layoffs or budget cuts, are hard to visualize without falling into clichés. Lack of video or photos often means that a news outlet is less likely to cover a story.

A larger trend is also evident here. "Local" television news is increasingly anything but that. As programs' popularity with viewers and advertisers increases, they become longer and include more national and even international coverage rather than their one-time focus on local or state-level stories. Indeed, the once distinctly different content displayed by local station and network news programs is increasingly blurred. Every national or international story takes away time that might otherwise be devoted to detailing or following up on local stories. The trend is due in considerable part to economics—simply picking up ready-made network or syndicated national or global material is quicker and cheaper than sending out one or more reporters to dig into local stories. The weakening economy at the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century simply exacerbated this trend. Stations trimmed local news staff and other resources and turned increasingly to network and news agency services.

What the public wants—as measured by broadcast ratings and readership studies—also plays an important role in determining this changing news content. However, whether the lack of public interest leads to this declining local coverage, or if minimal coverage lowers public interest remains unresolved. What is clear is that there is a declining amount of local and especially statewide news coverage on television.

An exception is with public radio stations, many of which broadcast a mixture of national and locally produced news programs. Programming, often in the form of call-in or panel discussions, allows coverage of local interest issues. But state and local government support of public radio has been decreasing steadily. This forces stations to rely more on private donations, charitable foundations and corporations to support their costs. Some of that support is local and helps encourage local and state-level reporting. Wisconsin, for example, with an extensive state-operated public network of FM outlets (it opened in the late 1940s and has been greatly expanded in the decades since), provides regular coverage of statewide news that reaches most listeners.

Unlike public stations, commercial operations are far less likely to report news, especially at the state or local level. News gathering is costly and radio has steadily declined as a serious news medium in many markets. Most outlets rely on music and if they feature news at all, it will focus on national stories from a news agency (such as AP), all too often centering on entertainment and human interest stories rather than local or state government.

Newspapers

In the early twenty-first century, newspapers remain the main source for detailed coverage of local government and political news. Newspapers have the editorial space, the staff (though they, too, are shrinking) and the "watchdog" reputation to garner public respect and attention. There are many examples of award-winning newspaper investigative stories into local and state-level government and other news events. Furthermore, such newspaper attention often attracts follow-up television or radio attention.

Yet breaking news of crime, deaths, or disasters tend to take priority over incremental, probing stories because of their immediate concern or interest to readers, and often provide striking visuals. The probing stories take more time and money, both less available as newspaper circulations decline. As a result, investigative reporting of local government stories usually receives only a small portion of a newspaper's limited budget. Aggressive watchdog journalism is especially costly for resource-starved newspapers already inundated with the conflicting demands of daily reporting by a limited staff.

Conclusion

Coverage of state and local governments is essential to the democratic process because it fulfills the watchdog role better and fosters more direct communication between politicians and constituents than is possible with coverage of national politics. All too often, however, coverage of state and local government news is neither as good nor

as extensive as coverage of national government. When state and local government *is* covered, stories tend to focus on controversies in education, politics, public safety, or transportation that directly affect citizens' lives. Few readers or viewers get a continuous sense of what their local or state governments are actually doing. As a result, very few can name any of their local government officials. Fewer still go to the polls when only state or local candidates or issues are on the ballot. It would take a broader and deeper menu of media coverage to reverse those dismal facts.

Christina M. Bertsch and Marisa A. Lubeck

See also Agenda Setting; Agriculture Journalism, Electronic; Agriculture Journalism, Print; Civic Journalism; Crime and the Courts; Education, Coverage of; Letters to the Editor; Press and Government Relations; Public Radio Journalism

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GRAPHICS

Graphics, also referred to as infographics, are visual elements used to explain information (as in a news story) in a way that text, photos, or video alone would not be able to do. Graphics present information in a more concise, succinct way. In 2001, Edward Tufte, an authority on graphics history, estimated that between 900 billion and 2 trillion graphics were printed worldwide annually. With the launch of *USA Today* in 1981 and the development of the Internet after 1995, graphics have become a vital part of news presentation.

Graphics should be easy to understand. The best graphics do not call attention to themselves, but rather become an integral part of the story they support. Those looking at a graphic should not worry about how it was put together, but focus on the information it provides. While some interpret graphics in print media to include photographs, most media organizations make a clear distinction between the two, often having separate departments for each. Collaboration between the two is common and stories often contain both graphics and photos.

Graphics may accompany a story, or they may stand alone. Reporters and/or editors usually play a key role in developing graphics, since they provide the needed information. They also decide when a story needs a graphic. Information for the graphic is rarely repeated in a story to save space. Most media companies hire specialists not involved in the layout or editing of a story to create graphics on a regular basis. Since graphics are supposed to replace text, most present information in a visually creative way, rather than relying on extensive use of text.

Knowing the purpose of any graphic is central, as is the data on which it is based. While illustrations can be humorous, they still need to fulfill a specific informational goal.

Although most graphics are created in-house, news agencies and other syndication sources also provide news graphics.

Computer technology has provided a huge boost to the use of graphics in journalism, by making their creation easier, quicker, and less expensive. Adobe's Illustrator and Photoshop programs are examples of commercial programs that are widely used.

Common Elements in News Graphics

Most effective graphics share five basic elements:

1. The ***headline,*** or ***title,*** should provide a short, clear introduction to the graphic, calling people to read it. Too often headlines in graphics can be confusing calling for further explanation in the graphic itself.
2. The ***chatter,*** or ***briefer,*** presents additional information explaining the graphic or its reason to be. It may serve as a complement to the headline.
3. ***Art*** is the visual core of any graphic. It may include a pie chart, map, one or more photos, or a meld of photos and graphic features.
4. The ***source*** explains where the information contained in the graphic was originally acquired. This may be the name of an organization, the title of an article or book, or other sources.
5. The ***credit*** lists the artist and/or publication that created the graphic.

Types of Graphics

Graphics can be categorized into six main types: maps, tables, charts, timelines, illustrations, and breakout boxes.

1. *Maps* are the most common type of journalism graphic. They help answer questions about the location of places cited in stories; the distance between places; or the geography, typography, or other spatial relationships. Maps may focus on specific subjects, such as weather or population information.

2. *Tables* provide information usually displayed in columns and rows, with headings usually running horizontally across the top, and the categories listed vertically on the left side. Tables allow readers to compare two or more subjects, and can sometimes include much text. Tables may also include photos or drawings, to help illustrate the different categories or subjects.

3. *Charts* are, in a sense, graphic tables. There are three common types of charts: fever or line, bar, and pie charts.

A fever or line chart shows one or more continuous lines connecting several points on a grid. This helps illustrate changes in quantity or amount over time. A fever chart can contain multiple lines comparing elements over time. Stock market trends are often presented using a fever chart.

Bar charts, as the name suggests, present information by using bars to compare two or more items. All bars in a graphic extend in the same direction (either vertically or horizontally) and follow the same scale, allowing ready comparison of the measures illustrated.

Pie charts demonstrate all of a given category, as well as how different subcategories make up the whole. Each subcategory is represented by a "slice" of the pie, usually separated from others by lines and the use of different colors or markings.

4. *Timelines* illustrate how a trend of events developed over time. They nearly always include some measurement of time from moments to weeks or years. Timelines are especially useful in tracing developing events and are essentially graphic chronologies.

5. *Illustrations* or drawn pictures help add information to a story in a clearer fashion than text or photographs. Cartoonists use their illustrations to make comments by enhancing a person's physical features to playfully poke fun at—or strongly satirize—their subjects. During the 2008 presidential elections, for example, illustrations often showed Barack Obama with large ears.

6. *Breakout boxes* present information by highlighting parts of the text in an attention-grabbing way. These may include highlighted quotes, a list of questions and answers; a fact box, listing an

event's time and location; a brief biography of a person; or checklists. Page designers often create breakout boxes as they lay out a publication, with the input of editors and reporters.

Development

In modern history, many consider Williams Playfair the father of graphics. A Scottish engineer and political economist who lived most of his life in London, Playfair created three of the most common graphics still used to this day: the line graph, and the bar and pie chart formats. Another pioneer was Joseph Priestley who created the first timeline.

The first journalism graphics appeared in the early 1800s. *The Times* of London used maps to explain how a murder took place in a victim's mansion in 1806, marking the beginning of graphics in news media. In the United States, the first newspaper maps appeared in the 1860s, to clarify important battles during the Civil War. Graphics also appeared in a growing number of American magazines. In similar fashion, maps were widely used during both the First and Second World Wars, to clearly show where battles took place in areas far from the United States.

The *Chicago Tribune* was the first newspaper to create a graphics department, in 1974. With the new department, it also created the position of graphics editor to be in charge of graphics for the entire newspaper, helping to identify the importance of graphics in American newspapers.

USA Today

The best-selling newspaper in the country, *USA Today,* brought with it a revolution in the use of graphics right from its first issue in 1982. A committee was assembled in 1980 to design prototypes for the newspaper—then code-named "NN," for "Nation's Newspaper." It included Gannett CEO Al Neuharth; Ron Martin, then editor of the *News American;* future deputy managing editor of design J. Ford Huffman; and designer George Rorick, among many others. Around 30 people worked in assembling prototypes for what would become *USA Today*.

Four prototypes were presented between 1981 and 1982. When the *USA Today* was launched on September 15, 1982, it introduced several new graphic elements that American newspaper readers had not previously seen.

Perhaps the most famous was the color weather map. The idea was simple: run a wide map across the page and put weather patterns in it. Artist Ray Stanczak, editor John Bodette, and J. Ford Huffman did the first *USA Today* map in 1981. Originally, the map was presented on an inside page, in black and white. Ultimately, it was displayed in color, on the back of the first section, where it remains.

Aside from the color-coded section labels, another element soon made famous by *USA Today* was the "snapshot"—a small, easy to read graphic illustrating a current trend. Ron Martin is usually credited with creating the snapshot idea and George Edmonson was an early snapshot editor who directed a team of researchers to produce them. Originally, the paper was to have just one snapshot. At the last minute, Neuharth decided to have snapshots in each section's front page. When *USA Today* was launched, it would take four hours to create the graphic for a single snapshot, not counting the research involved. By late 2008, the newspaper had produced some 28,000 snapshots, and they remain one of the most valued bits of information for the paper's readers.

Internet Influence on Graphics

Since it became a commercial medium in 1995 the Internet has changed how graphics are used in news media. From static images and numbers on the printed page, graphics have become animated, with sound, video and interactive capabilities. Technology now allows graphic artists to easily transform a print graphic into a lively moving online graphic.

The *South Florida Sun-Sentinel* was one of the first newspapers to present graphics online. Leavett Biles, graphics director at the paper, created the first multimedia graphics department. The newspaper's approach at the time was "Nobody does [know how online graphics are supposed to work]. We're going to invent it." The department launched the first animated graphic online in late 1996. It was a Christmas project for the Science page of the online edition of the newspaper, created using the Macromedia

Director and Shockwave programs and is still available online. While many viewed the graphics, at first, it could take up to a half hour to download the necessary software to see them. Soon after, Macromedia released Flash, and many other media organizations started adding animated and/or interactive graphics to their sites. With faster connections and cheaper computers and connection costs, online graphics have rapidly become an important tool for news media.

As the technology advances, the media are expected to not only enhance their graphics in print—by using, for example, more powerful 3-D software—but also online. Some have started integrating video with their online, and new approaches are continuously being developed to present news and graphics in more interesting and attractive ways.

Danny Paskin

See also Internet Impact on Media; Layout; Magazine Design; Maps in Journalism; Newspaper Design; Photography; *USA Today*; *Wall Street Journal, The*; Weather Journalism

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H

Hard Versus Soft News

While the terms *hard* and *soft* news are somewhat loaded, they represent the extreme ends of a continuum of standards in news value. Broadly speaking, most news stories can be separated into two types: the immediate and serious, and the less immediate and often less serious. Of course, there are nuances within each category, and the terms *hard* and *soft*, as well as *serious* and *less serious*, carry with them a wealth of value judgments about the legitimacy of journalistic efforts in relation to various subjects.

"Hard" news is the embodiment of the "watchdog" or observational role of journalism. Typically, hard news includes coverage of political, economic, or military significance, or social issues with political, economic, or military implications (such as crime coverage and stories about political demonstrations). Hard news stories also carry temporal imperatives—hard news indicates events that are current and time-sensitive.

"Soft" news, then, is everything else. The term *soft news* can be (and has been) applied to human interest stories, arts and entertainment, sports, celebrity gossip, society pages, and similar topics. In general, soft news stories are seen as less time-sensitive and covering topics that are not viewed as seriously or as having as great a societal impact as hard news coverage. Another way to think of soft news is as feature material. If the conventional wisdom about hard news is that its major purpose is to inform, then it follows that the major purpose of soft news must be something else—to entertain, perhaps, as well as to inform. In the words of journalism historian Frank Luther Mott, a hard news story is "interesting to human beings," while a soft news story is "interesting because it deals with the life of human beings."

The Rise of "Soft News"

With the public inundated with news from a vast array of venues and media, from newspapers to television to the Internet, consumers often turn away from news entirely. Beginning in the 1950s but sharply escalating in the late 1970s, in order to offset the loss of readers and viewers, news organizations sought to increase the amount of entertaining, human interest stories they presented—and the manner in which those stories were presented. Dramatic content, faster presentation, shorter stories, and more happy endings became commonplace in the 1980s. Especially in cable news, in which demands of the 24-hour news cycle dominates the information landscape, more sensationalistic and "softer" news items are included, not only to attract and retain viewers, but simply to fill the hours of the day.

Sensationalism is often linked with soft news, although certainly not all soft news is sensationalistic, and there is ample opportunity for hard news to be sensationalized. Media outlets do not have to simply focus on shock value, name recognition, or human interest to be sensationalistic—hard news stories can be sensationalized by focusing on emotional or dramatic elements of a story at the expense of context, background, or other information that may be more relevant to the public at large.

However, while this trend increased significantly as media venues proliferated toward the end of the twentieth century, tabloid media and their sensationalistic leanings found roots as early as 1919. Published by Joseph Patterson and Robert McCormick, *The New York Daily News* focused primarily on scandals—the sexual peccadilloes of local well-knowns, violent crime stories, and the like. Its major rival, *The New York Post,* has taken the *News*'s sensationalistic, soft news–prominent approach and amplified the shock value with garish headlines and questionable photo doctoring. Then again, the *News'* influence is not simply limited to other tabloids; many of the particular stylings of *The New York Daily News,* such as the prominence of photography in its layout and extensive gossip and entertainment sections, have been adopted by major daily newspapers across the country such as *USA Today*.

To be fair, soft news does, in fact, attract viewers who might not normally take notice of daily events. However, the rise in soft news has also had significant impact on the public's perception of the quality and importance of news coverage overall. Despite efforts to attract more consumers, overall consumption of news (through almost all venues) is down and declining compared to years past. According to a 2008 Pew poll, newspaper readership declined from 58 percent of Americans to 34 percent between 1993 and 2008; radio news listenership suffered a similar loss, from 47 percent in 1993 to just 35 percent in 2008. Additionally, local television news viewing decreased, from 77 percent in 1993 to 52 percent in 2008. The largest blow, though, has been struck to network nightly television news, which decreased from 60 percent viewership in 1993 to a paltry 29 percent in 2008. Whether it is because there are simply too many news outlets and it all becomes white noise, or because media critic Neil Postman was correct when he stated we are "amusing ourselves to death," public consumption of news as a whole is in rapid decline.

The format of presenting hard news is changing as well. Conventionally, hard news newspaper articles follow the "inverted pyramid" format of information structuring. That is, the journalist places the most important and interesting portions of the story near the beginning, with the less critical information coming at the end of the story. In this manner, a reader can be sure he or she has most of the pertinent information in just the first paragraph or two of the story. However, as soft news styling has slowly crept into nearly every corner of journalism, the traditional inverted pyramid is being replaced by more narrative forms. Compared to the newspapers from as recent as the 1980s, nearly the entire contemporary newspaper is significantly softer than before.

As hard news reporting changes, so too does the nature of a great deal of soft news. Sports coverage is the most visible of the "serious" soft news genre, with its entrenchment in both print and broadcast news sources. The advent of EPSN, *The Sporting News,* and other completely sports-related media outlets lends credibility and a hard news–type focus to the presentation of sports information. While entertainment news continues to maintain a softer approach, the legitimacy of celebrity happenings, movie openings, record deals, and the like (as featured on programs such as *Entertainment Tonight*) have markedly increased in prominence with the expansion of entertainment coverage by many newspapers and entire networks devoted to entertainment news.

Coverage of the mid-2009 death of pop music star Michael Jackson provides an example of "gang" journalism—mobs of reporters and 24/7, often breathless, continuing coverage of every possible angle of the story, repeated endlessly. Where hard news was not available, speculation often filled in—or "person-on-the-street" interviews—to provide a measure of what viewers think. The Jackson story led evening network newscasts for several days, and again at the time of his funeral, and filled countless newspaper columns and even more cable news hours, blogs, podcasts, and Twitters. The story was almost impossible to avoid and, argued some critics, crowded out other (often more important) stories.

Journalism has appreciably blurred the distinction between hard and soft news. The Pulitzer Prize has been awarded far more often in recent years not to breaking news presented in the traditional inverted pyramid format, but to the real stories of people's lives as events unfold around them. Even in the wake of national disasters and tragedies, such as Hurricane Katrina (2005) or the 2007 shooting of more than 30 people at Virginia Tech University, it is not the traditionally structured, "just the facts" approach that has been rewarded by the Pulitzer committee but the stories told through people's faces, in their own words, that have impressed and moved the award body.

For example, the Pulitzer for National Reporting was given in 1948 to the *Minneapolis Tribune* for stories on the Truman administration's plan to "impose secrecy about the ordinary affairs of federal civilian agencies in peacetime"; in 2001, *The New York Times* received the same award "for its compelling and memorable series exploring racial experiences and attitudes across contemporary America." In 1998, the *Los Angeles Times* received the Pulitzer for Breaking News Reporting for its coverage of a bank robbery that led to a police shootout; in 2005, the award was given to the *Star-Ledger* for its coverage of the New Jersey governor's announcement that he is gay and had an affair with a male lover.

Criticizing Terminology

The terms *hard news* and *soft news* are fraught with issues of vagueness and value relativity. One of the major criticisms of a distinction between the two is that, in the age of increasing media intrusion into the private lives of public figures and widespread access to media-producing technology, the line between what is public and private has blurred significantly in contemporary society. For example, a story regarding an uncovered tryst between a political figure and a prostitute would be hard news, as it may lead to the political figure's resignation and possible prosecution. If the tryst was a legal one involving, say, the politician's secretary, however, the story drifts into "soft" territory. In either case, the affair may constitute both political and social discussion.

The distinction between time-sensitive and -insensitive news is also not universal. For example, while sports are considered soft news, the reporting of breaking scores or player news often requires timeliness. A review of the weekend's latest Hollywood release is sure to appear in the arts and entertainment section of major metropolitan dailies. Conversely, not all hard news stories require immediate distribution. An analysis of a candidate's political platform, the reporting of this year's crime statistics, or an article on the development of a particular technology may not need to be reported immediately. Soft news sometimes means feature or "evergreen" material that can run on slow news days. One manner in which researchers attempt to distinguish between hard and soft news is by examining the tone and style in which stories are delivered in an effort to discern if the intent is to inform or entertain—or, as is increasingly the case, both.

Finally, different news organizations make different judgments about what constitutes serious or timely news. There is no universal standard that signifies a clear distinction between hard and soft news. For example, if a major player in the National Football League is sentenced to prison, it would seem this would be a hard news report on the outcome of a criminal investigation. However, it could also be considered soft news, as the loss of a star player impacts the team's ability to compete. This, in turn, becomes an economic issue, because the loss of the player could harm team revenue, making the story, once again, hard news. The conviction of the player has legal, social, and business ramifications, which places it somewhere between the hard and soft labels.

Conclusion

The lines between "hard" news and "soft" news are not nearly as clear as they once were. There is a rapidly growing middle ground in which even hard news has adopted a more entertaining, human-interest oriented style, and in which some soft news has taken on a more serious, information-oriented tone. As the chasm between hard and soft news shrinks, and the narrative blends in with the inverted pyramid approach to form a combined or melded category, the terms *hard* and *soft news* may slowly disappear altogether.

Christopher Bell

See also Entertainment Journalism; Human Interest Journalism; Infotainment; Lifestyle Journalism; New Journalism; News as Narrative; News Audiences, Decline of; Newsroom Culture; News Values; Sensationalism; Sports Journalism; Tabloid Television

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Havas

Havas was the world's first news agency, and after a century of operation, formed the core of the present Agence France-Presse.

Origins

Charles-Lewis Havas (1783–1858), a Frenchman of Hungarian background, began to develop an informal network of European reporters (today they would be called stringers) in 1825 to report about European financial and political events for French businesses, banks, and a few newspapers. Havas himself initially acted as translator. In 1832 he created L'Bureau Havas in Paris, with an office located not far from the main post office, the French stock exchange, and several newspaper offices. A growing staff (which briefly included Bernhard Wolff and Julius Reuter, both of whom would go on to form their own news agencies) assembled financial news from other European capitals (some transmitted by semaphore telegraphs), translated it, and distributed it by messenger or mail to client newspapers in France and elsewhere.

Havas soon took over two small competing news bureaus. With some 200 client newspapers and a subsidy from the government, in 1835 the growing operation became known as the L'Agence Havas, usually recognized as the inception of the world's first news agency. By 1840 it was sending and receiving some news reports by pigeon, enabling same-day news from London and Brussels to appear in major Paris newspapers.

By 1845, Havas operated as an effective monopoly in France and began to utilize the electric telegraph, initially with a line newly installed between Paris and Rouen. The founder retired a year later and his son Auguste-Jean took over direction of the expanding operation. In 1852, Havas took over a budding advertising agency, allowing the merged entity to provide both news and advertising to client papers and spreading the cost of operation. For many years, the advertising side of Havas helped to support the expense of news gathering.

Beginning in 1860, Havas began to report news from and to South America, and to much of Europe over the 1870s. In 1879 family control ended with sale of the growing news and advertising agency to a Paris banker.

News Cartel

As early as 1856, Havas, Reuter in Britain, and Wolff in Germany signed an exchange agreement to share financial news from their own countries. It soon expanded to more general news, and in 1859 to an agreement to create joint offices in different cities, subject at different times to the imperialist moves by the countries' respective governments.

By 1870, the three agencies established a cooperative news cartel, soon dubbed "The Ring," each agency taking responsibility for part of the world (Havas took the French colonies plus news of Spain and Portugal, Italy, and all of South America where no national agencies developed until after 1900), thus eliminating overlapping reporting and their related costs. All three made effective use of the growing web of undersea cables as well as land telegraphy and were accordingly often called "wire" services. With some changes, the cartel agreement was renewed in 1890 and again in 1914.

By World War I, Havas occupied a semi-official role in France. While the agency was a primary source of wartime news, it could issue only those stories approved by the French military command. Havas also refused to carry German military communiqués. Havas faced growing competition from new national news agencies after World War I.

A multiple address radio system was introduced in 1931 (thanks in part to government financial aid), allowing Havas news to be more efficiently (and far less expensively) distributed across both Latin America and Asia. By 1933 a dedicated short-wave transmitter near Paris carried the

service to some 2,000 newspapers worldwide, using automatic teleprinters. Such services could theoretically, of course, be used by any recipient, not just those with Havas subscriptions. But with them, Havas was able to compete for a time with American news agencies in Latin America.

Teleprinters were also used by newspapers and radio stations within France (which relied almost totally on Havas for their international news), keyed to an extensive network of dedicated telegraph lines. Within the capital city, messengers and telephone links were used to distribute news. Havas controlled the national agencies in Spain and Italy until the mid-1920s. It received government financial support through the budgets of several ministries.

Demise5

With the occupation of much of France by the German army in June 1940, however, Havas, cut off from many of its usual sources and clients, and operating from a country (and its colonies) in disarray, largely closed down. Indeed, many of its personnel became part of the French Resistance. News from Paris was controlled by Germany until 1944.

In August 1944, as Allied forces cleared Paris of the occupying German forces, the remains of Havas gave way to form the core of a new publically owned Agence France-Presse.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Agence France-Presse; Cables, Undersea; France; Reuters; Telegraph; Wolff

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HD Television

See Digital Television

Health and Medicine Journalism

Health journalism provides news about issues of personal and public health. Magazines, newspapers, broadcast and cable channels, and websites frequently run news and advice about health matters directed to a lay audience. Indeed, health stories are some of the most prevalent and popular stories that run in consumer media. Such stories are also referred to as medical journalism, health reporting/writing, and medical/health news.

A Distinct Field

Health journalism is not a recent phenomenon. In fact, two prominent examples from the turn of the last century show just how enduring the fixation on health maintenance has been. Luther H. Gulick wrote for magazines (such as *Good Housekeeping*) and authored a 1907 book, *The Efficient Life*. Gulick obsessively outlined how to live a more vital, healthy life through good personal habits and mental attitude; he advised on how to battle common ailments; and he deemed prevention to be the "distinctively modern attitude toward disease." Another was Bernarr Macfadden, a crusader for wellness and health, who wrote more than 100 health books and published a magazine called *Physical Culture* (founded in 1899) that included articles about nutrition, vitamins, fitness, and natural foods (decrying the "white bread curse"), remarkably similar to contemporary prevention coverage. A focus on personal health was further entrenched by the birth of the "therapeutic society" in the 1930s, which appealed to a generally healthy, middle-class audience. Interest in health, especially from the historically therapeutic audience, has only continued to grow.

While health journalism in some cases grew under the umbrella of science writing and faces similar challenges, it is now largely considered to be its own field of news reporting. Although

information in science news is often relevant to health stories, the distinction is that science events have less direct bearing on individual action and thus are not given service-oriented treatment. For that reason, science writers have observed that consumer-focused health reporting is edging out science coverage at newspapers. Immediate impact on the daily lives of readers and viewers is what sets health journalism apart from science.

Health journalism is a primary source for consumers to learn about personal health as well as medical developments and new research. Medical personnel, who also follow health journalism, often deal with patients' questions and attitudes that are direct results of their exposure to mass-mediated health information (not to mention "ask your doctor" prescription advertising). Policymakers also rely on journalistic accounts of health to inform their decisions on laws and regulations. Because health journalism can have an impact on so many consumers, physicians, and legislators, media and medicine scholars analyze many facets of the field.

Health journalism is also a magnet for pharmaceutical and health care industry advertising dollars. The FDA's relaxing of the regulations on direct-to-consumer (DTC) advertising in the late 1990s and early 2000s led to immense growth in DTC advertising. Reader interest in health, compounded by manufacturer desire to reach those readers through aggressive marketing, brought about an increase in editorial health content.

How It Is Produced

Health journalists' primary function is to translate often technical medical information into lay language. Although some health journalists have a specialized background in medicine (as a physician or a registered nurse, for example), many health journalists have not practiced medicine. Other health journalists may have an educational background in health, having obtained a degree in public health or biology. Still, many health journalists don't have a background in science or medicine and come to the topic through other journalistic endeavors. Organizations to which people who produce health journalism belong include the Association of Health Care Journalists, the American Medical Writers Association, and the European Medical Writers Association.

Some research has investigated how health journalists do their work. Though many journalists lack specialized training in covering health news, they learn much of what they do on the job. Many health journalists consider the absence of a medical background a boon to their ability to present information in an understandable way. Rewording medical jargon, interpreting statistics, and extracting meaning from medical studies are some of the skills that constitute their work as translators.

In order to explain health information, journalists use many tools. Media often stand in as the public's only contact with people working in technical fields, and the presence of medical researchers and specialty physicians in journalistic health articles is no exception. Journalists often interview "experts" to help explain information in a clear, credible, and quotable manner. Depending on the subject, such authorities can include physicians, lead investigators for a medical study, nurses, trainers, malpractice attorneys, policymakers, psychologists, authors, nutritionists, spokespeople for pharmaceutical companies, social workers, and hospital administrators. Another approach that health journalists use to present a story is interviewing "real" people to provide more of a "human element." Such people are experts in their own right, considering they have often suffered from a certain disease, faced a problem with the health care system, or participated in a clinical trial, among other experiences. Journalists often introduce a story with what is called an anecdotal lead (or lede) to hook the audience with a personal account or question and then get to the more complicated details later in the story. Journalists often find that these narratives give readers or viewers a way to identify with the issue and possibly diminish any stigma associated with it.

Data and statistics from medical research, which help impart credibility and explain risk factors, often surface in health stories. To help audiences understand data or other complicated medical ideas, stories will also include infographics or other visually informative elements (e.g., photos, graphs, charts, tables, illustrations). Journalists also try to reword or define technical terms and often use metaphors or analogies to get across a concept that may otherwise be difficult to grasp.

Many health journalism stories include mobilizing information, another term for the "how-to"

advice that offers directions for behavior or resources for additional information. The perception is that consumers want useful, practical tips they can use to take action. At times, health stories can be so condensed that the main focus is the "take-away" information as opposed to the background information. For example, text might read: "Drink tea—Recent research shows that drinking black tea on a regular basis can lower stress hormones." This kind of advice is focused on the take-away information and includes only a nod to the fact that research supports it.

Where journalists get their story ideas and what they choose to cover is a central factor in their work. They often locate story ideas in recent medical journals, news releases from the federal government (such as the Centers for Disease Control or the National Cancer Institute), newly published books, reader or viewer feedback, announcements from non-profit advocacy organizations, press releases from universities, and other media outlets. Some story ideas stem from recurring annual events (such as Breast Cancer Awareness Month). Health promoters have also found success in utilizing media outlets to advance certain health campaigns (such as smoking cessation). Pharmaceutical companies and for-profit health care organizations also jockey for coveted editorial space and airtime through publicists who seek source-initiated news coverage. Sifting the good science from the bad is a challenge for health journalists in that they receive constant appeals for coverage from so many types of sources.

Health journalists cover topics that range from the hard-hitting, such as fraud in medicine or hospital mortality rates, to the more personal, such as deciphering nutrition labels and recommended screenings for cancer. Medical information is continually evolving as new research emerges; therefore, potential story topics are nearly infinite. These topics include, but are not limited to, research findings, health care policy, wellness/prevention, patient care, diseases, public health, infrastructure, malpractice, pharmaceuticals, diet, and exercise.

How Health Journalism Is Consumed

Health journalism is a form of health communication to the public. Although early definitions of health communication restricted it to medical settings (doctor–patient communication) or public health campaigns, the focus has broadened to include mass-mediated health journalism messages.

What readers and viewers do with the information that health journalism provides is of paramount importance. Scholarship on how the audience evaluates and uses health reporting, however, is notably lacking. The extant research has shown that health journalism likely has its main impact in alerting readers to the existence of a health problem. It is much less likely that readers will make a health behavioral change based only on information they learn about through health journalism. Readers often don't fully recall health information they consume through news media and what they do recall and attend to is filtered through how it relates to them and whether it has a high level of sensation. Before making a behavior change, readers often seek more information and consult with an interpersonal source, such as friends, family, or a medical practitioner. In a 2002 Gallup poll, nearly half the respondents said they asked their physicians about subjects stemming from information garnered from media outlets. About the same percentage said they had asked medical personnel about information they found online in the National Cancer Institute's 2005 Health Information National Trends Survey (HINTS). The idea that health journalism could be a "magic bullet" for changing people's health behaviors is largely a myth, though it plays a cognitive role in supporting the decision-making process. The availability of substantial amounts of health information is not proof that readers or viewers actually act on it.

As in other fields, there has been a surge in web use for learning about health. The widespread use of the Internet has prompted new paradigms in health communication and information seeking. Most web health sources are not affiliated with journalistic outlets. This is a logical extension of the fact that many people who search online are motivated by a particular query, while those who read or see health journalism are often not seeking health information. People's individual health needs are too specific and time-dependent to coincide perfectly with a health journalism piece, which is one reason why most stories appeal to a general audience seeking prevention or wellness information.

Considering how health journalism is disseminated, electronic media excel at covering event-driven health news, while print may be better for

interpretations or more in-depth health information. That said, research has found that magazines tend to avoid controversial health information, both because of publishing lag time (research could change before publication) and because it prevents them from providing the bottom line on behavior due to a lack of consensus on the research (for example, recommendations about mammogram screenings have been controversial). A 2002 Gallup poll attempted to determine where Americans adults get their medical and health information. While most respondents said that television was their most frequent media source for health information, television and the Internet were then seen as less trustworthy than magazines and newspapers. The 2005 HINTS data show that trust in Internet health sources fell from 2003.

Challenges

There are several critics of health journalism who offer valuable comment about both process and product. Physicians and scientists have criticized journalists for misleading the public with incomplete, incorrect, oversimplified, or premature medical coverage. Some researchers believe that poor health reporting constitutes a public health threat. Many of the problems that are commonly cited, such as simplification, polarities of opinion, sensationalism, and lack of time, space, and scientific knowledge, exist because health stories appear in media that must abide by traditional news values, such as the rituals of objectivity. One reason why people heavily criticize health journalism is because the stakes are assumed to be higher with such reporting than with most other subjects. Inaccurate medical reporting can cause panic, cultivate false hopes, or profoundly affect an individual's health decisions.

Several studies have examined the quality of health journalism. Content analyses of accuracy, scientific evidence, and representations of risk have found health journalism to be lacking on each measure. The crux of the critique from those who seek to accurately present scientific findings is that health journalism is oversimplified. Original medical research is so attenuated by the time it reaches readers or viewers as to be often erroneous or misleading. Any caveats or expressions of uncertainty are downplayed or removed. Furthermore, because evidence of medical research rarely appears in full, consumers cannot weigh the quality of the information. This, however, presumes a reader or viewer who has a high level of health literacy, which might not be representative of much of the general public. A concept of health literacy, or a person's ability to obtain, understand, and act on health information, is percolating among health journalists whose ideas of the consumer are factored into nearly every level of reporting. Using the lens of a moderately health-literate reader, a health journalist would likely deliberately simplify health information to make it comprehensible.

Scholars have also argued that most commercial media outlets cannot adequately respond to public health problems for two reasons. For one, informing people about health problems is not the panacea that many idealize it to be; information alone cannot change issues of access and informing the public does not ensure attitude or behavior change. Also many health problems cannot be solved by individual action because they are related to socioeconomic status and environmental factors.

Essentially, there is a gulf between the democratic function of making medical information understandable and the scientific function of advancing knowledge. This gulf for some is surmountable, as researchers have shown much health journalism to provide accurate and reliable health information. Thus for many, journalism outlets are valuable vehicles for health communication.

Several attempts to address these critiques have been made. From summits on health journalism (such as the Mayo Clinic's National Conference on Medicine and the Media in 2002) to journalism courses on science and health writing, to ongoing workshops for professionals, to published field guides, there are numerous endeavors underway for improving health journalism.

Conclusion

Critiques help make clear why studying the production and consumption of health journalism is important to understanding the communication of complex issues. Sometimes derisively referred to as "soft news," it is clear health journalism should not be so easily dismissed. Another reason why health journalism is important is that some audience members do act on the behavioral advice they encounter. This possibility is part of what drives health journalists

to provide accurate information, and it also intensifies the significance of their work.

Health journalism, along with information received from family, friends, physicians, and other mediated sources, helps shape an individual's perceptions about what is normal and what is healthy. It also helps to cultivate social constructions of good and bad health behavior that can have immeasurable impact.

Amanda Hinnant

See also Hard Versus Soft News; Lifestyle Journalism; Rip-and-Read News; Risk and News; Science and Technology Journalism

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History of Journalism: Before 1861

During the 400 years between the introduction of Johann Gutenberg's moveable type printing press around 1455 and the beginning of the American Civil War in 1861, news reporting experienced significant philosophical, legal, and technical changes that set the stage for the practice of modern journalism. Although written and printed communication did not originate in Western Europe, most American journalism scholars begin their discussion of journalism history with Gutenberg because of the United States' origin as a British colony. Gutenberg's press was brought to England in 1476 by Englishman William Caxton, who proceeded to publish the first book printed in English, a history of Troy. Caxton's other printed English works helped unify England under a common language. As a British colony, Americans were subject to English law, which included the licensing of publishers and charges of seditious libel whenever someone criticized the crown or royally appointed officials. These legal restraints on freedom of the press and speech paved the way for the establishment of the First Amendment in 1791, the lively political debates that ensued during the party press of the 1820s, the sensational news stories of the penny press beginning in the 1830s, and the barely cloaked sectional hostility of the antebellum press leading to the Civil War.

Western European Heritage, 1455–1630

The process of moving from very ornate, hand-lettered and illustrated books to newsletters and then moveable type printing presses in fifteenth-century Europe slowly revolutionized life by making printed information available to more readers. Eventual results of the introduction of moveable type printing included growing education and thus a rise in literacy rates, the scientific revolution, and the Protestant Reformation and Renaissance. Before the printing press, information was primarily exchanged orally or in the written form of personal letters, and only the very wealthy or the clergy had access to (or could read) the elaborately handcrafted illustrated books. In 1568, the Fugger German banking family hired correspondents to gather and report political and economic news from across the continent in the form of handwritten newsletters. These "Fugger newsletters" became the leading news source across Europe through the late 1500s. Early forms of the modern newspaper appeared in Holland in the 1620s and were known as Corantos,

which translates as "currents of news." These were published irregularly in different cities and featured very little of timely news value.

British Journalism, 1509–1702

King Henry VIII in the early 1500s instituted a system of licensing printers that lasted until 1695. To publish legally in England, one had to have a license from the crown, and only those who published information favorable to the crown were granted licenses, making licensing an early form of censorship. Henry VIII used the Court of the Star Chamber to prosecute those who published without a license or published information deemed inappropriate. Taken together, licensing and the Star Chamber formed the basis of governmental prior restraint (control prior to publication), the first press philosophy practiced in England.

Mary I and Elizabeth I continued their father's practice. During her 45-year reign, Elizabeth controlled the press via the Stationer's Company, which had originated in the 1400s as a guild for printers, booksellers, and publishers. Under Elizabeth's control, Stationer's Company members had the power to search and seize all unauthorized publications, and the Star Chamber court enforced laws against such publications. Penalties were severe and could include torture, maiming, imprisonment, or execution.

Throughout the 1600s, the monarchy and Parliament struggled for control of the government, and typically some form of press control as well. In 1641 the Court of the Star Chamber was abolished by the Puritan-controlled Parliament, and three years later poet John Milton issued his call for the end of licensing through his seminal essay, *Areopagitica,* a call that failed. The first English semi-weekly newspaper (printed on both sides of one sheet) appeared in 1665 in Oxford, when printer Henry Muddiman founded the *Oxford* (later the London) *Gazette.* It was little more than a propaganda sheet for the government, as it was the only newspaper allowed to publish while the Licensing Act was in place. Illegal publications existed in pamphlets, broadsides, and books, but publishers of such materials lived in fear of search and seizure by members of the Stationer's Company. Licensing of printing and publishing finally ended in 1695.

Publication of the first English daily newspaper in the modern sense is credited to Elizabeth Mallett, who in 1702 began the *Daily Courant.* Samuel Buckley took over the paper two weeks after Mallett started it, and the paper lasted 33 years. It is historically important in that it established several practices still used by journalists today: the use of a dateline to indicate the location of a news story, and the separation of opinion from advertising, among other things.

American Colonial Press to 1765

The first printing press arrived in colonial America in 1638 and was installed at Harvard College, founded in Cambridge, Massachusetts, just two years earlier. Licensing was still practiced at this time, however, and the first colonial newspaper, *Publick Occurrences, Both Foreign and Domestick,* immediately fell victim to the law. Printer Benjamin Harris published his first issue in Boston on September 25, 1690, but it was immediately banned because it was published without permission of the royal governor and contained two stories critical of the governor. The first continuous newspaper published in the colonies was Boston postmaster John Campbell's *Boston News-Letter,* which appeared April 24, 1704, and because it was published with authority, or government approval (as prominently stated on the masthead), it lasted 72 years. It emphasized foreign news and regularly contained stories copied from other newspapers, but it too functioned primarily as a government mouthpiece. Typical of most newspapers published from this period through the penny press era, content was text-driven—woodcut illustrations were used sparingly and photography had yet to be invented.

Of the other newspapers to publish in colonial America, none was more challenging of English rule than James Franklin's *New-England Courant,* first published in 1721. It covered foreign and domestic news, but added editorials, and in June 1772 Franklin criticized the government for not doing more to stop pirates in the area from preying on commercial ships. He was jailed for three weeks but quickly returned to his criticisms of the government upon his release. This time, government officials ordered him to cease publication, so he arranged for his younger brother, Benjamin, to be listed as publisher of the *Courant* while James

continued secretly to run it. Benjamin Franklin soon moved to Pennsylvania, where he started his own paper, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. James's paper folded three years after Benjamin's departure, having made its mark in colonial newspaper history as a controversial paper that drew readers to its focus on local issues.

The most important newspaper in colonial America appeared November 5, 1733. German immigrant John Peter Zenger was hired by a group of wealthy New Yorkers to establish the colonies' first paper started for overtly political reasons, the *New-York Weekly Journal*. It gave voice to the many citizens who were unhappy with the rule of New York's royal governor. Lawyer James Alexander wrote most of the paper's articles using pen names, but as Zenger was listed as publisher, he was imprisoned by the New York authorities on the charge of seditious libel (criticism of the government). Zenger's case was brought to trial, and under British common law, the more accurate the criticisms of the government were, the graver the libel. But Alexander hired famous Philadelphia attorney Andrew Hamilton to defend Zenger, and Hamilton argued that truth should be a defense against libel. A runaway jury broke with the law of the time and acquitted Zenger, and though his case did not legally make truth a defense for libel, it did send a message to royal governors that the charge of seditious libel could no longer control criticism of government.

Revolutionary Press, 1765–1783

Perhaps the most important role journalism played during the Revolutionary era was one of consolidation. Newspapers and many pamphlets urged independence from or loyalty to England, depending on the publisher's political beliefs. One catalyst for independence lay in the Stamp Act of 1765, where Parliament required colonial newspaper publishers to print only on stamped paper (a kind of tax) and to pay a further tax on each advertisement printed. These taxes meant many editors would make little if any profit. Many newspapers stopped publishing as a result, but vigorously protested the Act, as did lawyers who were equally affected by the law's requirement to print legal documents on stamped paper. Protests were so successful that Parliament repealed the Act the following year. Encouraged by the success of their protests, and angry over England's acts of "taxation without representation," some colonists began to clamor for independent rule. Three of the most prolific writers in support of independence were Samuel Dickinson, whose 12 "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania" earned him the nickname of the penman of the revolution; Samuel Adams, a prolific writer who used at least 25 different pen names when signing his essays on independence to keep British authorities guessing as to his identity; and Thomas Paine, whose 1776 pamphlet "Common Sense" became one of the most widely read essays on the need for independence.

Once the Revolution began in 1775, newspaper editors took sides, becoming either Patriots, who supported independence, or Loyalists. Neutrality was not an option. Radical patriot groups regularly practiced mob censorship, or the destroying of printing presses and offices of any newspaper editor who took the British side. One such editor was James Rivington, who in 1773 began publishing the *New York Gazetteer*. At first he published both Patriot and Loyalist pieces, but because he dared print Loyalist views, critics hanged him in effigy and damaged his print shop. After that his paper became a staunch supporter of the Loyalist cause, even going so far as to print a letter critical of George Washington. The most prominent Patriot editor of the Revolutionary period was Isaiah Thomas, who on November 14, 1771, began publishing his incendiary *Massachusetts Spy*. He revived the "Join or Die" woodcut editorial cartoon first fashioned by Benjamin Franklin during the French and Indian War in the 1760s and used it as a symbol of the need for colonists to unite in their fight for independence. After the revolution, Thomas became a successful printer and author of the first history of printing in the colonies.

Party Press, 1783–1833

Given the system of licensing they had long suffered, Americans were more than ready to guarantee their freedom of expression with the First Amendment in 1791. The newly independent American press was partisan in its presentation of news, and played an important role in influencing the decision to adopt a strong central government in the Constitution as opposed to strong states' rights and a weak central government as advocated

by Thomas Jefferson's Republican Party. Stirring debates on the merits of the proposed Constitution were widely printed in American newspapers, as were essays against a strong central government. Historians recognize that the most influential essays supporting adoption of the Constitution were the series of "Federalist Papers," written by Alexander Hamilton (leader of the Federalist party), James Madison, and John Jay, under the common pseudonym of "Publius." These 85 essays, which appeared in the *New York Independent Journal* from October 1787 to April 1788, and were widely reprinted elsewhere, explained the political philosophy behind the Constitution and are considered among the most important contributions to American government ever published.

But the debate surrounding the adoption of the Constitution and the formation of the new government was complex. The leaders of both the Republican and Federalist groups recognized that they needed dedicated political organs to express the party line, and thus each began its own newspaper. The first was the Federalists' *Gazette of the United States,* originally published by John Fenno in 1789. The Republican's leading political machine was *The National Gazette,* which debuted in 1791, edited by Frenchman Philip Freneau. Other newspapers supported specific party allegiances during the crucial Constitutional debates, but Fenno and Freneau were the first editors tapped to lead official party organs.

In addition to the partisan debate, another type of discourse was common in newspapers during this period: the abusive personal attack. Two editors stand as examples of the personal attacks practiced: Federalist William Cobbett of *Porcupine's Gazette and Daily Advertiser,* and Republican Benjamin Franklin Bache, who was Ben Franklin's grandson and published the *General Advertiser* or the *Aurora*. The two battled over whether the country needed the Constitution, whether George Washington was a good leader, and whether the United States should support France during its own revolution. They attacked each other, trading insults about personal attributes such as appearance and honor, which eventually led to a street fight.

The second party era began in 1816 following the demise of the Federalist Party. Membership of the remaining Republican Party began splitting into factions. By 1828 there were two recognizable parties, the Jacksonian Democrats, which appealed to the masses, and the Whigs, which were typically former members of the Federalist Party and hard-line Republicans. Just as in the first party system, members of each group established official party newspapers to express the party line. For the Whigs, that paper was the *Evening Journal,* begun in 1830 by editor Thurlow Weed. The Jacksonian Democrats' official party paper was the *Argus of Western America,* published by Amos Kendall from 1824 to 1829. While each party utilized other newspapers, these two are recognized as the first political organs patronized by party leaders to build support among their few readers.

Editors of the Party Press era also witnessed the first major technological development in printing since the Gutenberg press: the rotary press, also known as the Hoe cylinder press. In the early 1820s Richard Hoe devised a machine that used a curved cylinder rather than a flat bed to print on continuous roles of paper, a process that significantly increased the number of pages one could print per hour.

Penny Press, 1833–1861

Starting in the 1830s, newspapers were sold on the streets for a penny a copy, which made their purchase possible for more Americans. With their sensational stories written in everyday language and printed in great numbers, circulation figures grew from hundreds into thousands of copies. The first successful penny paper was the *New York Sun,* published by Benjamin Day starting September 3, 1833. Day's paper was far cheaper than the existing business and political papers that sold for six cents a copy, and with its new emphasis on local, police, sports, and society news (and occasional made up stories designed to spike circulation), Day's paper quickly became the best-selling newspaper of the time.

Day's success was followed by James Gordon Bennett's *New York Herald,* which debuted May 6, 1835. The *Herald*'s straightforward language shocked and titillated many readers, as did its detailed coverage of crime and the courts. Bennett instigated many of modern journalism's topics and techniques, including coverage of Wall Street and religion, personals columns, and his emphasis on getting timely information published. Bennett also

made extensive use of domestic and foreign news correspondents, and pioneered coverage of sports and society. He hired Jane Cunningham Croly, who published under the pen name of Jenny June, to write about fashion, social gatherings, and beauty. Unfortunately, a number of readers did not care for Bennett's use of frank language and sensational news topics, and in 1840 a "Moral War" against his publication began. Other New York editors attacked Bennett's *Herald* and urged their readers to withdraw business from the paper. While the "War" did cause the *Herald* to lose some of its circulation, and Bennett to reign in some of his worst excesses, his publication remained the second most successful paper of the period.

The third important editor of this period was Horace Greeley, who on April 10, 1841, began publishing the *New York Tribune*. At this time there were already a dozen daily newspapers publishing in New York City, and Greeley decided there was room for a cheap, politically oriented paper. He hired Charles Dana as his city editor and Margaret Fuller to work as America's first female news correspondent. Greeley published a little of everything, including poetry, book reviews, and lectures, but he refused to cover police courts, murder trials, or the theater, which earned his newspaper the nickname the "Great Moral Organ." Also contributing to that nickname was Greeley's heavy use of the editorial to support his personal political positions. He was a strong supporter of prohibition, socialism, abolition, labor unions, and westward expansion and an equally ardent opponent of capital punishment.

In 1851, Henry Raymond, who had worked for Greeley during the first two years of the *New York Tribune*'s existence, decided the readers of New York needed a middle-of-the-road paper that provided fair and accurate reporting of foreign and domestic news (unlike Bennett and Day's papers) without overpowering readers with opinion (like Greeley's paper). His approach worked, and by 1860 *The New York Times*' circulation made it the fourth largest of the penny press era.

One other important development of this period was the illustrated weekly, a tabloid-sized newspaper that made liberal use of illustrations and sparing use of text. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly* (debuting December 15, 1855) and *Harper's Weekly* (January 3, 1857) are two of the more famous of these papers that used extensive woodcut illustrations based on drawings and, during the American Civil War, photographs, to tell "pictoral" stories.

Antebellum Press, 1820–1861

Cries for the end of slavery began appearing in American newspapers as early as 1817 and were especially pronounced in those of Benjamin Lundy and William Lloyd Garrison, two editors who advocated tirelessly for abolition. Lundy began publishing the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* in 1821, now recognized as one of the most influential early abolitionist papers. He traveled most northern states, carrying his newspaper equipment on his back, lecturing about the evils of slavery, and producing an issue of his newspaper whenever local printers would share their facilities. He would then mail the completed issue to subscribers. Eventually, he found that he needed a home office for regular publication and hired William Lloyd Garrison to be his editor. Although both were ardent supporters of abolition, they differed in their opinions on how to achieve this goal and eventually parted ways.

Garrison started his own abolition paper, the *Liberator,* which first appeared January 31, 1831, in Boston. He was a radical, supporting immediate emancipation for all slaves and their enfranchisement, positions which earned him numerous enemies. In 1835, a Boston mob attacked Garrison and he was jailed for his own protection, but despite threats to his paper and his life, Garrison continued to print the *Liberator* for 35 years, making it one of the most influential newspapers of its time.

The earliest black newspapers also sought to bring about the end of slavery. Two of the most influential black editors were Samuel Cornish and John Russwurm, who together in 1827 began publishing *Freedom's Journal.* Cornish was a Presbyterian minister and Russwurm was one of the first blacks to earn a college degree in America. Together the two committed to publishing a newspaper that would give blacks a voice in the debate over slavery. Unfortunately, like Lundy and Garrison, Cornish and Russwurm disagreed over how to bring about the end of slave holding and in 1829 parted ways. Cornish renamed the paper *Rights of All* and continued to publish it until 1830 when financial troubles caused its closure.

Perhaps the most influential black editor was Frederick Douglass, a runaway slave who started his work as a journalist with Garrison and later published his own newspaper. Douglass escaped slavery in 1838, traveling to relative safety in Massachusetts where he began to lecture about his experiences as a slave and to publish accounts of his experiences in Garrison's *Liberator*. In 1845, afraid his fame would lead to his recapture and return to slavery, Douglass fled to Great Britain where he spent two years traveling and speaking until supporters raised enough money to buy his freedom. Upon his return to the United States as a free black, Douglass began publishing the *North Star* on November 1, 1847. Four years later he merged his paper with another under the new title of *Frederick Douglass' Paper,* which continued publication until 1860 and the eve of the Civil War.

As dedicated as these and other abolitionist editors were to their cause of ending slavery, so were southern newspaper editors dedicated to the cause of maintaining the southern way of life, including slavery. One of the most influential southern editors was "Fire-Eater" Robert Barnwell Rhett, who owned the *Charleston Mercury* and forcefully advocated slavery and secession in his news pages. James DeBow, founder of *DeBow's Review,* and Ethelbert Barksdale, editor of the *Weekly Mississippian* in Jackson, vigorously defended slavery on moral grounds. Other influential southern newspapers of the time included the New Orleans *Picayune,* the *Nashville Republican Banner,* and the *Louisville Journal.*

The American Civil War was also known as the first visual war, meaning that images of soldiers, camp life, battles, and their aftermath were made available to the average citizen for the first time through the use of printed illustrations based on sketches of war scenes and engravings of photographs. Photography was in its infancy at this time, and the newspaper industry had not yet developed the technology necessary to reproduce photographs. One new technology that newspapers made extensive use of before and during the Civil War was the telegraph, which was patented by Samuel F. B. Morse in 1844 and used electricity to send signals over wires. Using the telegraph, reporters covering far-off battles could send stories back to their editors in mere minutes, as opposed to the days or even weeks it had taken to get news back to their editors in the past, a development that made news timelier for readers.

Conclusion

In the year before the start of the American Civil War, the newspaper industry was thriving. There were 3,725 newspapers being published, a 60 percent increase from just 20 years earlier. Of those, 387 were daily publications. Overall, daily and weekly newspapers combined had a total annual circulation of more than 885 million among a population of 31.4 million Americans, which translated into 28.2 annual newspaper copies per capita.

By the start of the Civil War in April 1861, American journalism had instituted a number of practices still associated with modern journalism: the use of domestic and foreign news correspondents; an emphasis on timeliness as an important news value (greatly aided by the appearance of the electric telegraph in the 1840s); coverage of business, sports, and society news; detailed coverage of crime, the courts, and religion; and a wider variety of advertising messages to support continued publication. By 1861, newspaper publishing was widespread and hotly competitive (major cities had numerous dailies), serving a growing readership. The Associated Press was pioneering the syndication of national and regional news for local papers. Newspapers were on the front line of growing North–South tensions over states, rights. They also backed the expansion of railways and other technology, encouraged business, and supported expanding education and other social change. But the most important contribution by the early American press to the modern practice of the journalism is our legal expectation of freedom of the press and speech, as guaranteed in the First Amendment.

Berrin A. Beasley

See also African American News Media; Associated Press; English Roots of Free Press; First Amendment; History of Journalism, 1861–1930; News Values; New York; *New York Times, The*; Printing; Telegraph

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History of Journalism: 1861–1930

Between the Civil War and those years marking the height of the Great Depression, every aspect of American life, including its news media, were transformed by dramatic change. From a nation loosely tied by slow travel, magazines, and newspapers, the country by the 1920s had developed telephones, globe-circling news agencies, radio broadcasting, and rapid urban transit as well as long-distance rail lines.

A Changing Country

Between the Civil War and the turn of the century, every aspect of American life, including its media, was transformed. Continuing trends of urbanization and industrialization were at the center of this transformation. In 1850, the country was largely rural, no cities had achieved a population of a million, and only two, New York and Philadelphia, had more than half a million. As a result of the Civil War (1861–65) and postwar industrialization, however, populations began to cluster in a growing number of cities. Starting in the 1890s, an immigrant wave pushed the nation's population to 76 million by 1900. Many of these newcomers lived in the teeming cities.

Modern America rose directly from the foundations laid by such moguls as Andrew Carnegie, an immigrant from Scotland who at the age of 13 was earning $4.80 a month as a bobbin boy in a Pittsburgh textile mill. By 1901 his steel empire assured him of a guaranteed retirement income of a million dollars a month for life. Oil baron John D. Rockefeller organized a second industry, the oil business. In the middle of the Civil War, he formed a partnership that would produce 3,000 barrels of oil a day, a tenth of the industry's output. Within a decade, his Standard Oil Company controlled nine-tenths of the nation's oil-refining capacity.

However, many Americans lived in urban squalor. Most obvious among the oppressed were immigrants, southern freedmen and blacks in the North, women and child workers, and mine and factory workers. Many families were able to survive only because their children could earn money in sweat shops, businesses with inferior wages and working conditions. Child labor and similar iniquities slowly disappeared from the American scene in the twentieth century, though only after organized labor became strong enough to push political and social reforms.

Political corruption was notorious in Washington and much of the country in the post–Civil War era, and particularly flourished during the administration of Ulysses S. Grant (1869–77). City political machines became instruments to bilk the public coffers and line the pockets of those in charge. None was more notorious than William M. Tweed, whose Tammany Hall controlled New York City during and after the Civil War. Indeed, his power soon extended to the state legislature and the governor.

A new crop of writers, the muckrakers, would expose these injustices, writing primarily in the nation's first national medium, magazines. Meanwhile, newspapers reflected the urban trends of American life and the problems—especially government inefficiency and crime—of urban America. Increases in literate populations allowed urban newspapers to flourish. By the end of the century about 1,600 newspapers were published in the afternoon and nearly 600 in the morning. Joseph Pulitzer, one of the many immigrants who helped to build the new America of the post–Civil War period, and his rival, William Randolph Hearst, would capitalize on problems of the period as circulation builders, culminating in the creation of a "new journalism."

At the turn of the century, America became the "can-do" nation. The dream that riches would reward hard work flowered in the United States and abroad as evidenced by the rising number of immigrants, nearly 9 million, who arrived in the first ten years of the twentieth century. With the era's wealth came leisure time, a new aspect of life that would have profound impact on consumption of media.

Love of gimmickry matched by inventive genius produced a welter of labor-saving devices and novelties, including the personal camera, motion-picture projector, and after 1920, radio broadcasting. By 1900 some 1.25 million telephones buzzed with business and social talk; 20 million incandescent lamps glowed; skyscraper buildings and their elevators rose to increasingly giddy heights.

Civil War Journalism

On the eve of the Civil War in April 1861, about 2,500 newspapers (only a minority of them dailies) were operating. Of these, nearly 300 dailies were in the North and 80 in the South. New York City alone had 17 dailies. The typical paper contained four or eight pages and offered few illustrations. Circulations were small, rarely exceeding a few thousand copies in most communities. Wartime reporting introduced the development of the "special correspondent" and widespread journalistic use of the telegraph to speed news transmission. These special correspondents could be sent anywhere at any time by their editors to gather and report war news in a timely and readable—but not necessarily accurate—fashion. The speed of their reporting was greatly aided by extensive railway networks, especially in the North.

Essential to effective wartime journalism was the electric telegraph. Some 50,000 miles of telegraph line, belonging to a half dozen companies, crisscrossed the country between the eastern border of Kansas and the Atlantic Coast by 1860. While it allowed rapid transmission of news, the telegraph was expensive. For example, a 2,000-word story transmitted from Washington, D.C., to New York cost about $100 (easily 20 times that in monetary values of 2009). That same story transmitted from New Orleans might cost $450, a hefty sum when one considers that a reporter likely earned less than $10 a week.

Some 350 correspondents accompanied the Northern armies to cover one bloody battle after another. These newspapermen were rough, rowdy, courageous, and hotly competitive. Correspondents were equipped with their standard tools—a revolver, field glasses, notebooks, blanket, a sack for provisions, and a good horse. They included some not-so-famous poets, preachers, school teachers, lawyers, and eventually famous celebrities such as Henry M. Stanley, a young Bavarian immigrant who after the war would be assigned by the *New York Herald* to search for missionary David Livingston in Africa. *The New York Times* publisher Henry Raymond assigned himself to cover the war, and his speed and accuracy in reporting stories became legendary.

In the South, about 10 percent of newspapers were dailies. The typical four-page papers, which varied from four to eight columns in width, were rarely profitable. As with the northern press, many of the papers were highly partisan, surviving solely because of party subsidies. The Southern press witnessed a shortage of ink and paper. Of the 555 paper factories in the United States reported by the census of 1860, only 24 were in the South. Meanwhile, blockades prevented paper shipments from the North. The result was that many of the weeklies reduced the size of their newspapers.

The Civil War had a tremendous impact on the nation's press. First, newspapers became big business. This was precipitated by improved methods of printing, with the introduction of stereotyping making it possible for the first time to create a printing plate the size of an entire page, curved to fit the cylinder, which sped production. Before stereotyping, pages were made up of individual lines of lead type strapped in a wooden box and printed one page at a time. Second, Sunday editions were inaugurated and with the practice of issuing afternoon "extras" (which many critics said were issued to contradict the lies that newspapers told in the morning). Third, news agencies, especially the Associated Press, developed. They provided war and other news, saving newspapers from having to pay for their own war correspondents. Fourth, the newspaper syndicate developed, distributing preprinted news and feature material on a subscription basis to smaller newspapers. Finally, the high cost of telegraphic news reports forced a more concise reporting style—the "inverted pyramid,"

in which the most important information was placed first.

Postwar "New" Journalism

The technological, social, political, and economic changes resulting from the Civil War brought about a different society and different media. Publishers and editors now saw their newspapers as public defenders, as watchdogs over government and business. They became more impartial in their coverage of news stories and more interested in investigative reporting, rooting out corruption in city politics and industry. Joseph Pulitzer exemplified this new journalism. In 1883, Pulitzer acquired the New York *World* and soon instituted dramatic changes, including a new concept of news that included widespread use of illustrations, sensational treatment, and news reporting as a social crusade.

His chief contribution to the business was the invention of the formula that rival publisher William Randolph Hearst later took up and made famous in his *New York Journal*—sex on the front page but an editorial page that demanded morality from politicians and businessmen. This approach took the form of an exaggerated sensationalism in news stories along with a steady self-advertisement of the newspaper and its latest deeds. Soon dubbed "yellow" journalism (so named over a cartoon character), techniques included use of provocative illustrations, larger and darker headlines, and incessant promotions of exclusive features. *The World*'s news columns also were peppered with illustrations, which were by the 1890s enhanced by color printing and the use of half-tone photographs. The cartoon would become a daily fixture in larger newspapers by 1890.

Pulitzer also created news—or stunts, as some critics called them. These were often entertaining, sometimes educational, and always attracted readers. His most ambitious was sending reporter Elizabeth Cochran ("Nellie Bly")—who in an earlier undercover exposé had exposed the horrors of an asylum at Blackwell's Island—on a world voyage in an effort to beat the record of Phileas Fogg, the hero of Jules Verne's popular novel, *Around the World in Eighty Days*.

Nellie Bly's 1890 reception in Jersey City upon completion of her 72-day, six-hour journey around the world, which she documented for Pulitzer's The World.

Source: Library of Congress.

Though he didn't invent the journalistic crusade, Pulitzer stimulated circulation by constant stunts designed to involve readers in social change. His most famous crusade was to collect funds to build a pedestal for the new Statute of Liberty after Congress refused to appropriate funds and a citizens' committee failed in the same task.

Hearst wanted to share the New York newspaper stage with Pulitzer. After he made the *San Francisco Examiner* one of the most profitable newspapers on the West Coast, the ambitious Hearst in 1895 moved to New York and initiated a hot circulation war with Pulitzer. The Hearst formula was simple. He adopted Pulitzer's ideas wholesale, having admired them from the beginning, and then carried them a step further in both extravagance and boldness. He could do this successfully because of his virtually unlimited resources and because he had a better sense of the mass mind than did Pulitzer. The collision of Pulitzer and Hearst brought about one of the most fascinating, if unseemly, periods in American journalism.

The crucial test of the new mass-circulation newspaper power came when the Pulitzer/Hearst struggle coincided with the tensions between the United States and Spain that in 1898 led to war. Hearst's coverage of the war exhibited his usual audacious style. He chartered a tramp steamer, installed a printing press and a small composing room big enough to lay out an edition of the *Journal,* and set sail for Cuba along with a crew of reporters and photographers.

In an era of widespread illiteracy, political cartoons grew to importance. New York City–based Thomas Nast was one of the first and most important figures, helping to pillory and finally drive from office the Tammany Hall machine of William Marcy Tweed, which had bilked the city for years. As Tweed himself acknowledged, "them damn pictures"—which caricatured his large nose, unkempt beard, and giant frame—were what did him in, far more than pages of angry newspaper stories. Nast went on to create the Republican elephant and Democratic donkey symbols still in use 125 years later.

Magazines and Muckraking

The Pulitzer-Hearst brand of journalism evolved by the early 1900s into a related and more useful but distinct form of reporting called muckraking. "Muckrakers"—nicknamed by President Theodore Roosevelt for their crusading style of journalism—were writers active during America's progressive era, the first decade of the twentieth century. Their investigations into corrupt businesses and governments shocked readers, who demanded reform in politics and industry. Their usual targets were leaders in business and finance—often tagged as "robber barons"—who controlled the nation's wealth and bought and influenced state legislatures and some U.S. senators as well.

Muckrakers sought to clean house by naming names, pointing to sore spots in business and politics. They investigated and wrote extensively about crooked politicians; criminal police; exploitation of children in mills, mines, factories, and sweatshops; malefactions of capitalists, such as John D. Rockefeller; food adulteration; fraudulent claims for patents; prostitution across state lines; and other unscrupulous business practices.

What distinguished the Progressive-era muckrakers was their reach; they commanded attention nationwide, thanks to the growing role of the first national medium—weekly and monthly popular magazines. The emergence of the ten-cent periodical as a powerful social force began with the founding of *McClure's* in June 1893. A flood of cheap periodicals followed, until publisher Frank Munsey estimated in 1903 that they comprised about 85 percent of the total circulation of magazines in America. Besides his own (*Munsey's,* naturally), Munsey guessed correctly that the biggest moneymakers were *Argosy, Cosmopolitan,* and *McClure's.*

The basis of the ten-cent magazine's popular appeal was its liveliness and variety, its many well-printed illustrations, and its coverage of world events. These magazines were quite a contrast from the traditional literary or political magazines that were genteel and sedate enterprises selling at 35 cents a copy. Publishers of such magazines as *Atlantic, Harper's,* the *Century,* and *Scribner's* were literary men who believed that magazines were really books in periodical form. While their circulations were far smaller than the popular muckraking titles, they reached the political and business opinion leaders of their time.

Film and Radio

This buoyant era of technology produced a welter of media innovations, including the camera,

In a cartoon by Thomas Nast, William "Boss" Tweed ("Reform Tweed") is depicted as a policeman wearing a prison uniform and threatening two boys in the July 1, 1876, issue of Harper's Weekly.

Source: Library of Congress.

motion-picture projector, radio, and (by mid-century) television. Despite the popularity of early silent black-and-white motion pictures, they took a backseat to newspapers when it came to First Amendment protections. Moral guardians saw film as a new enemy of social mores and demanded legislation to control the medium. Ohio authorities, for example, censored a film and then won the Supreme Court's blessing in 1915. In *Mutual Film Corp. v. Industrial Commission of Ohio*, the Court

set a precedent that stood for 37 years—movies were not protected by the First Amendment. Simply, the court dismissed them as frivolous entertainment and not a vehicle for significant ideas. Only in 1951 did the court have a change of heart, ruling in the case of *Burstyn v. Wilson* that films could be a vehicle for important ideas and affording them First Amendment protection.

During the first unhappy years of the Great Depression, the public sought recognizable images of their own problems on the screen—or, at the other end of the spectrum, total musical escapism. The popularity of Warner Brothers' *Little Caesar* sent the message that the public enjoyed a hard-hitting, naturalistic form of drama that took its themes from the headlines of the day. They got it in *The Front Page, The Public Enemy,* and *The Secret Six*. Some films even brought reforms. After the appearance of *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang,* based on an actual case, public clamor forced changes in the chain-gang system.

Radio would have a more profound impact on the nation, though it took some time to become apparent. Unlike other media, radio's history is a complex web of technological and scientific achievements that had to be tied together. Most of these achievements were not accomplished by scientists in corporate laboratories. Instead, individual inventors, or hobbyists, tinkering in their garages or basements, helped bring about radio's development, often ignorant of what others were doing.

Four ingredients were needed for radio's development. Samuel Morse, a painter of some renown, succeeded in developing the first ingredient in the 1840s—an electromagnetic telegraph. Practical applications of electricity (chiefly the light bulb, early recordings, and practical movies) developed by Thomas Edison in the late nineteenth century made up the second ingredient. In the late 1870s, Alexander Graham Bell developed the third ingredient—telephony—allowing transmission of the voice over copper wires. Finally, the fourth and most important ingredient was provided by Italian innovator Guglielmo Marconi, who perfected wireless telegraphy at the turn of the twentieth century.

By 1921, one-time Marconi employee David Sarnoff became general manager of the new Radio Corporation of America. He played a central role in shaping radio broadcasting as an industry. Through a series of negotiations, he founded the National Broadcasting Company (NBC, 1926) that would be responsible for national programming. He would soon be challenged by William Paley, who invested in the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). By 1928 he became president of the company and brought in the Paramount movie studio as a partner. The network lost more than $300,000 the year he took over, but under his shrewd management, CBS would soon overtake NBC in profits.

Sarnoff and Paley helped introduce America to radio drama, soap operas, situation comedies, talk shows, and variety and specialty shows. Many colleges experimented with educational programs. Political broadcasts had been a staple of radio since KDKA broadcast results of the 1920 Harding-Cox presidential election. Hans von Kaltenborn was the first to offer weekly radio commentaries, in 1923, at WEAF, the station that a year earlier had introduced the principle of radio advertising as a revenue source. In 1930 Lowell Thomas introduced his first daily 15-minute newscast on NBC.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt initiated the effective use of radio as a political instrument and probably best understood its potential and power, even though others had used it before him. During the Depression, Roosevelt's "Fireside Chats" soothed an often desperate nation. Approximately 50 million Americans tuned in to his first chat on March 12, 1933, when he attempted to stop a run on American banks. By then, radio had become an accepted part of America's media landscape, though regular news broadcasts were still to come.

Conclusion

From 1850 to 1930, newspapers and magazines proved powerful entities that contributed to the social and political fabric of the nation. The American newspaper was at the pinnacle of its influence: New York had no fewer than 15 dailies and more than twice as many weeklies, but even a town as small as Emporia, Kansas, had two dailies. The New York *World* was selling 374,000 newspapers in morning and evening editions. By the end of the century, technological achievements in printing and stereotyping helped spur newspaper competition.

Early in the twentieth century Americans had come to appreciate the writers known as muckrakers, who described the dangers of unrestrained

industrial capitalism. These writers of exposure were fueled by magazines, such as *Munsey's, Cosmopolitan,* and *McClure's,* with national circulations and huge resources, which exploited such innovations as printed photos and color illustrations. They also laid the foundation for the weekly news magazine, of which the first was *Time,* founded in 1923, by Henry Luce and Britton Hadden.

Over this 80-year period, newspapers and magazines became important and powerful media for the dissemination of news and entertainment. The telegraph and telephone also became important means of communications as America moved from an agrarian to an industrial nation. In the 1920s, radio was suggesting a journalistic promise that would grow in relevance in the coming decades.

Massive newspaper circulations pushed technological progress with the invention of improved presses, distribution syndicates, news agencies, and often aggressive news coverage. Growth in advertising, which supported the press and began to support radio, made publishers rich and their powerful newspapers provided them a platform in which to debate the most important issues of the day. By 1930, news media played a substantial role in setting both national and local agendas of political and social issues.

Anthony R. Fellow

See also Agenda Setting; Associated Press; Cables, Undersea; Free Expression, History of; Investigative Journalism; Muckrakers; Sensationalism; Social Movements and Journalism; Telegraph; Telephone; United Press International; War and Military Journalism; War Correspondents

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History of Journalism: 1930–1995

Development of journalism in the six decades from 1930 to 1995 saw the decline of newspapers and rise of radio and then television as the dominant purveyor of news. The 1930s began in the depths of the Depression when newspapers were the primary means of communicating news to most Americans. As it would all too soon become clear, economic reassurance from Washington would not be enough to protect journalism from the Depression's effects. After overall newspaper circulation dipped early in the 1930s, it remained fairly level through the rest of the decade. But an indicator of deeper problems was evident when, early in 1931, the owners of the New York *World* were forced by hard times to sell the paper for a mere $5 million to the Scripps-Howard chain. *Editor & Publisher,* the industry's trade journal, devoted six pages of its late February issue to the event, which threw hundreds out of work.

Such economic hard times led a group of reporters and editors in 1933 to establish the American Newspaper Guild, the first successful attempt to organize the nontechnical side of newspaper production. Three years later the guild affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. One of the nation's first white-collar unions, it sought to protect job security of members while agitating for higher wages and better working conditions. The rise of the guild was highly controversial and was accompanied by conservative charges that it was part of a communist conspiracy seeking to take over the nation's press. By the end of the decade,

however, the guild had become a permanent feature within at least major urban newspapers.

Minority Papers

The Depression was an especially difficult period for publishers of America's foreign-language press, as well as for newspapers devoted to concerns of African Americans and other minorities whose concerns were largely neglected by mainstream papers. The need for foreign-language newspapers declined as their readers were absorbed into American life and restrictive policies arrested the flow of immigration. By 1960, the number of foreign-language periodicals published in America had dropped to half those of 1914.

African American newspapers provided their readers with indispensable news and editorial commentary. One of the most widely distributed, the *Pittsburgh Courier* (1911–2002), reached its peak in the 1930s. A conservative voice, the *Courier* challenged misrepresentation of blacks in national media and advocated social reforms to advance the cause of civil rights. In the 1940s, the *New York Amsterdam News* (1922–93) reached the height of its influence. During World War II, its writers strongly advocated for desegregation of American military forces. In addition, its writers also covered the historically important Harlem Renaissance. The *Los Angeles Sentinel* (1934–2005) became the largest African American–owned paper in the west and eventually in the country. The *Chicago Defender* (1909–75) was another important black newspaper, with more than two-thirds of its readership outside Chicago.

Many smaller African American newspapers also published, although economic circumstances made their tenuous situations even more difficult. In Kansas, for example, more than 80 African American newspapers have appeared since the first one in 1876. Some lasted but a single issue. Among those whose publishers were more successful were the *People's Elevator* (1937–40), in Kansas City; the *Kansas Whip* (1934–55), in Topeka; and *The Negro Star* (1922–52), in Wichita.

At the same time, Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1932 election led to exciting times for journalists. His administration's New Deal recovery program precipitated tremendous debate through the 1930s, as did growing tension with totalitarianism regimes in Europe and the Pacific. All this helped strengthen newspapers as a center for political debate, and the burgeoning role of the Washington columnist underlined this. Before the early 1930s, newspapers' editorial pages largely excluded writers whose views differed from those of their publishers. Given Depression pressures, however, the writings of journalists with opposing views were increasingly featured. One of the earliest and eventually most influential was Walter Lippmann, whose *New York Herald Tribune* column "Today and Tomorrow" was eventually syndicated to hundreds of newspapers across the country.

Rise of Radio and the War Correspondent

Long-held competition between newspaper and radio owners came to a head. After the first commercial stations went on the air in the early 1920s, radio gradually cultivated huge audiences for its fare, which consisted largely of entertainment and advertising. The newspaper industry reacted with hostility, such as in 1922 when the Associated Press wire service issued a notice to subscribers that its news copy was not to be used for broadcasting, but as time went by, radio became so successful that even some newspaper owners started investing in stations. By the early 1930s, the economic threat posed by radio was so intense that the Associated Press (AP) and American Newspaper Publishers Association (ANPA) sought to restrict news availability to its owners. The April 1933 Biltmore Agreement was crafted by members of the leadership of the AP and ANPA to, among other things, require newspaper owners of radio stations to limit news broadcasts to twice-daily, unsponsored, short newscasts made up of 30-word stories. But these restrictive policies lasted only a few years before United Press and International News Service broke ranks to sell news to radio, and by 1940 the AP capitulated as well.

Despite these threats, radio experienced a golden era during the 1930s and 1940s, and part of its appeal grew from its expanding journalistic voice. In 1930, Lowell Thomas began a nightly news program for CBS. Thomas traveled the world to bring news to his listeners, who were captivated by the sense of adventure his broadcasts inspired. As other talented journalists, such as Hans von Kaltenborn of the *Brooklyn Eagle,*

joined Thomas on the air in the 1930s, radio's voices became etched in listeners' minds.

Beginning with the Spanish Civil War and Japanese incursions into China in 1936, journalists covered wars almost continuously throughout the last half of the twentieth century. By the time World War II ended in 1945, print and radio news media had reported an unprecedented amount of information from the battlefield. While advances in technology reduced the amount of time it took news to travel to the home front, governments attempted to control the flow of information, though generally working with media rather than mandating censorship.

World War II elevated the status of all foreign and military correspondents, although some stood out. One of the war's famous reporters was Ernie Pyle, a roving correspondent for the Scripps Howard chain until he was killed in action in 1945. The "Murrow Boys," CBS radio news correspondents who broadcast memorable stories from across Britain and Europe, all but created radio's journalistic status. Led by the iconic Edward R. Murrow, these reporters set high standards for later radio and television journalism.

Television

Though television had a limited start in 1941 in the United States (the BBC began regular telecasts in 1936 but stopped when the war began), the medium expanded only after World War II. The networks began service in the fall of 1948, and both CBS and NBC provided newsreel-like brief newscasts weekday nights for the few with television receivers. Television raided radio of its celebrities, including journalists. Edward R. Murrow, Fred Friendly, Douglas Edwards, and others began to utilize television, though many considered video but a passing fad and not "serious" in its intent. By the mid-1950s, radio began to transform from a network-dominated into a more local medium, including dissemination of local news.

While some of the 1950 to 1953 Korean War was seen on film in television newscasts, only with the 1960s' Vietnam War did war-related television coverage come into its own. Satellite and other technologies began to make it possible to transmit news more quickly over long distances than had been the case before. These reports and the general lack of censorship over the long conflict led to dissemination of stories that eventually helped precipitate a groundswell of public opinion against the war. By 1975, when the American role in the long war ended, the term "Living Room War" carried a somewhat pejorative connotation.

The half-century-long cold war after 1945 featured an intense rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States that was readily evident on television with reporting about espionage, propaganda, weapons development, and technological competition such as the "space race." A pivotal event in this process was television's highly inflammatory live coverage of the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962. President John Kennedy's announcement of a naval quarantine of Cuba made for gripping television—as did the subsequent Soviet withdrawal of its missiles that had initiated the crisis. Just over a year later, television pulled the nation together in the aftermath of Kennedy's assassination in Dallas. Four days of coverage (and the elimination of all advertising) solidified the medium's coming of age as a national news service.

Television became a vital means of covering the growing movement to achieve civil rights for African Americans. Journalistic coverage of such struggles climaxed in the years between the Supreme Court's school desegregation ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 and the assassination of civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. a dozen years later.

The 1970s saw a rise in the impact of televised international news coverage. In August 1970, coverage of thousands of women marching in U.S. cities to dramatize feminist concerns found its way to Europe. In solidarity, French and Dutch women staged their own marches. Television news also entered the world of global diplomacy. In 1977, CBS anchor Walter Cronkite used satellite technology to conduct interviews with Egypt's President, Anwar Sadat, and the Israeli Prime Minister, Menachem Begin. The result of this event was a breakthrough in Israeli-Egyptian relations.

In 1991, the continuing importance of television in world affairs was epitomized by the joint appearance by Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian President Boris Yeltsin on an ABC-sponsored town hall meeting that took place on September 7. Their appearances occurred in the midst of the disintegration of the Soviet Union and

the Communist system. Admitting the failure of the system, Russian television began its newscast with: "Today, September 5, 1991, we all began living in a new country: The Soviet Union is no more." After the fall of the Soviet Union, international terrorism replaced the cold war as the primary international topic covered by Western news outlets.

Magazines and Newsreels

Magazines were also popular disseminators of news during these years. A milestone in news magazines took place on November 23, 1936, when Time, Inc. published the first issue of *Life* magazine, a photojournalistic weekly that covered a wide range of topics. Publisher Henry Luce told readers in the magazine's first issue that he wanted them "to see life; to see the world; to witness great events; to watch the faces of the poor and the gestures of the proud; to see strange things" (quoted in Stephens 1998, 75).

Luce kept his promise by hiring a stable of talented photojournalists. Among those who rose to prominence at *Life* was Margaret Bourke White, the magazine's first woman photographer. Her photograph of Montana's Fort Peck Dam provided the cover of *Life*'s first issue. During the war, Bourke-White served as a war correspondent, working for both *Life* and the Army. She survived a torpedo attack while on a ship to North Africa and was with U.S. troops when they reached the Buchenwald concentration camp in April 1945.

The popularity of the weeklies *Time* and *Life* encouraged others to compete in the same market. Thomas J. C. Martyn first published *Newsweek* and David Lawrence began *U.S. News* in 1933. Notable for its thorough coverage of Washington, the latter often carried complete texts of speeches and documents. In 1945, Lawrence established *World Report* to cover international news, and in 1948, merged them to create *U.S. News and World Report,* which published until 2008. Gardner Cowles Jr. established the pictorial *Look* magazine in 1937.

One popular venue for news well into the 1950s was the neighborhood movie theater. Movies were so loved that people frequently went more than once a week. Among the shorter features shown were newsreels covering the previous week's events. Five newsreel companies predominated: Fox Movietone, Paramount, Universal, Warner-Pathé (owned by Radio-Keith-Orpheum [RKO] after 1931), and Hearst Metrotone. Each month, a newsreel titled *March of Time,* a program that resembled a news magazine, supplemented these. Newsreels remained a regular feature in American movie theaters until television squeezed them out in the late 1960s.

Issues

Women in Journalism

Newspapers discriminated against women who sought to become general news or political reporters. It would take World War II's demand for men in other posts for the newspaper industry to welcome women into journalistic positions previously earmarked for men. Before then, women were largely confined to writing "Women's Pages." A few managed to capture other positions, such as Lorena Hickok, who quickly tired of her society page position at the *Milwaukee Sentinel* and was able to shift to the city desk. In 1928, the Associated Press hired her to write feature stories for its wire service. During the 1930s and 1940s, Hickok's close ties to Eleanor Roosevelt provided her with a rare journalistic platform. During the war, she advised Mrs. Roosevelt to hold press conferences with only women reporters and encouraged her to resume her writing, most notably her monthly column "Mrs. Roosevelt's Page" and her daily newspaper column "My Day."

One northern Minnesota newspaper hired an all-woman newsroom staff for the duration of the war. As the war ended, however, a call went out for them to give up their positions to the returning vets. While some were glad to do so, others remained in journalism.

Radio was also largely a man's world into the 1960s. Men reigned supreme since the industry's leaders considered women's voices unsuitable for the medium. Despite this, a few women managed to break through. Indeed, many had worked behind the scenes for years. One of America's first female radio newsreaders, Fran Harris, started broadcasting news for Detroit's WWJ in 1943. Dorothy Thompson and Sigrid Schultz, among others, gained popularity through their reporting and commentary from Europe before and during World War II.

Changing Technology

Rapid technological change marked news reporting during and after the 1950s. Development of

videotape was an especially appealing tool for television news producers. Its first use for television news came in 1956, on Douglas Edwards's evening news program on CBS. Development of portable video cameras a dozen years later was another important milestone. Color transmission was increasingly common by the late 1960s. Communication satellites allowed for almost instant communication from anywhere on the globe. The first experimental satellites appeared in the mid-1960s, and regular use was common by the 1970s. In mid-1969, *Apollo 11* transmitted live pictures from man's first landing on the surface of the Moon.

Television enjoyed its dominance in national news for several decades. In control of the field of television news in the United States from the 1950s until the 1980s were the "big three": ABC, NBC, and CBS. During these decades, the popularity of newscasters Edward R. Murrow, Walter Cronkite, Chet Huntley, David Brinkley, and Douglas Edwards turned them into legends. In 1968, CBS aired *60 Minutes,* an investigative journalism television news magazine, for the first time. The news magazine became so popular that other networks launched clones, such as ABC's *20/20*. By the 1990s, critics of television news decried what they saw as the tabloidization of the field.

In June 1980, Ted Turner's Cable News Network (CNN) became the first 24/7 news channel, suggesting the competition to come. CNN served the growing number of cable systems in the United States, making clear cable's potential role as a journalism heavyweight. Eventually, Turner's CNN (ridiculed at first, in part because it was based in Atlanta, far from the traditional New York national news outlets) became so lucrative that many others invested in other cable news, weather, and sports channels. CNN's global reach was epitomized in its coverage of the 1991 Gulf War, when for the first time television broadcast live around the world from a war zone as bombs fell.

By the 1980s, newspaper owners were forced to adapt not only to the popularity of television news but also to competition from within the newspaper industry itself. Al Neuharth's 1982 launch of the controversial *USA Today,* with its color, graphics, and innovative layouts and headlines, shook the field. Many publishers responded by investing in color printing technologies, although some refused, largely because of the costs involved. By 1997, *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Washington Post* were the only major dailies without color on their front pages. Computer-assisted reporting was another technological innovation adopted by newspaper publishers. In a 1973 book on the use of computers in journalism, University of North Carolina professor Philip Meyer stated that computers were enabling journalists to become more scientific.

Ethics

Critics of American journalism questioned its owners' commitment to the nation's needs. A landmark in such criticism took the form of a 1947 report, *A Free and Responsible Press*. The so-called Hutchins Report was created by the Commission on Freedom of the Press and it charged publishers and broadcasters with five responsibilities:

1. Provide a truthful, comprehensive and intelligent account of the day's events in a context that gives them meaning.
2. Provide a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism.
3. Project a representative picture of the constituent groups of society.
4. Present and clarify the goals and values of society.
5. Provide full access to the day's intelligence.

The press, however, was largely unreceptive to these recommendations. Preoccupied with fixing other problems, publishers largely neglected to look at their responsibilities to their readers and the general public.

In the 1970s, the ethical standards of professional journalists were also on the minds of a group of reformers who established news councils made up of both news people and others. Designed to investigate complaints about lapses in journalism ethics, organizers of news councils held hearings where complaining parties could air their concerns about specific cases of journalistic inaccuracy or bias. The most successful of the councils was established in Minnesota in 1970 and still operates today. By the mid-1990s, five news councils were still operating in the United States, while dozens remained active around the globe. The National News Council, established in 1973, however, closed in 1983 after a

decade of struggling to unsuccessfully develop a base of support among journalism's leaders.

New Styles of Journalism

Following the tradition of earlier muckraking journalists, late twentieth-century investigative journalists exposed illegal and unethical conduct of government officials and business leaders. Among the most famous investigative journalists from this period were Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, who led *The Washington Post* in its 1972 to 1974 breaking of stories related to the Watergate political scandal that led to the first resignation of a sitting President.

A development in journalistic writing style—dubbed the "New Journalism"—emerged in both magazines and newspapers during the 1960s and 1970s. Those who wrote in this fashion applied fiction-writing techniques to news. The "new" style provoked intense criticism within the profession. Among early proponents were Tom Wolfe, whose first book, *The Kandy-Kolored Tangerine-Flake Streamlined Baby* (1964), demonstrated the style's techniques, and Truman Copote, whose chilling narrative of a murder case in *In Cold Blood* is considered a classic in this genre.

Another part of the movement to make journalism more accountable was the establishment of magazines devoted to responsible journalism. Notable examples include the *Columbia Journalism Review,* launched in 1971 by the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism; the *Chicago Journalism Review,* started after the 1968 Chicago Democratic National Convention to counter the negative effects of local journalists' overly cozy relationships with city officials; and the *American Journalism Review,* which began in 1977 as the *Washington Journalism Review*. These magazines cover issues of interest not only to news publishers, but also to members of the public with an interest in journalism.

By the early 1990s, another new form of journalism—public or civic journalism—began to develop. At the heart of the movement was a belief that journalists have an obligation to public life that goes beyond disseminating news and editorial opinion. Leaders include David Mathews, president of the Kettering Foundation; Jay Rosen, a journalism professor at New York University; and W. Davis Merritt, a former editor of the *Wichita Eagle*. This movement represented a departure from the trajectory of the "detached objective journalist," which the field of mainstream journalism had been on for nearly a century. Those who practiced public journalism treated readers and community members as participants in the process of journalism.

Conclusion

The period 1930 to 1995 was one filled with many challenges and changes for those in the field of journalism. The Great Depression and World War II tested the resilience of all producers of news during the period's first two decades. The popularity of first radio and later television threatened the health of the newspaper and news magazine industry, while rendering movie-theater newsreels extinct. Newspapers and news magazines maintained an important place in the overall news business throughout the period, but to do so, publishers were forced to adapt to hold on to their advertisers and readers. To appeal to consumers of news, publishers, among other things, created new types of newspapers, increased their attention to the concerns of women and minority groups, invented new styles of journalism, and invested in improved printing presses and other new technologies. Wars and global economic problems confronted news producers throughout the period, but the adoption of satellites for broadcasting starting in the 1960s made television journalism even more globally relevant. Ironically, at the end of the 1990s, the world's providers of news were once again poised on the threshold of a new technological challenge—the World Wide Web.

Patricia L. Dooley

See also African American News Media; Anchors, Television; Cable News; Civic Journalism; Ethics; International Journalism; Labor Unions; New Journalism; Newscasters, Radio; Newsreels; Newsweekly Magazines; *USA Today;* Women in Journalism

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History of Journalism: 1995 to Present

Since 1995, a complex mix of social, economic, political, and technological changes have combined to substantially reshape journalism. Several trends are of particular significance during this period: changes in broadcast industries, the acceleration of the decline of printed news, the emergence of the World Wide Web, developments in political news, and the events of 9/11 and the international battle against terrorism.

Broadcast Industry Transformations

Until the 1990s, CBS, NBC, and ABC largely predominated in the broadcast television business in the United States. But in 1985, their power began to wane when Rupert Murdoch started the Fox network. Over the next decade, Fox slowly developed a group of affiliates and debuted prime-time programming. In 1996, Fox's parent company got into the news business when it started Fox News Channel. Fox News grew slowly after its mid-90s debut, but by 2007 it was rated as the cable news network with the largest number of regular viewers.

Critics of Fox News accused it of being biased toward the political right and Republican ideologies at the expense of neutrality. Murdoch and his associates disagreed. Selecting "Fair and Balanced" as Fox's trademarked slogan, Murdoch claimed the channel's news and opinion were more balanced than those of its competitors.

Like the broadcast television industry, after 1995, radio was likewise forced to adjust to technological innovation. Emerging technologies allowed radio station owners to cut back on the number of people they employed, and much of the news aired on commercial radio was purchased rather than produced locally. AM radio grew in popularity among listeners eager to hear from conservative talk show hosts such as Rush Limbaugh and Don Imus. Public radio news programs remained popular among many Americans looking for fuller treatments of the events of the day.

With its 1997 decision to license satellite radio, new opportunities for radio news journalists were born. The first satellite radio leaders, XM and Sirius, started transmitting music, news, sports, and other content across the globe to its subscribers in late 2001 and early 2002. In 2004, XM began offering radio channels featuring local weather and traffic reports. The two companies merged in 2008 after the U.S. Department of Justice and Federal Communications Commission approved their request.

Web Revolution

The relationship between journalism and newer technologies starts long before 1995. During the 1980s, the development of many new media, including the Internet, accelerated thanks to computers and modes of transmission that increased speed, lowered cost, and expanded capacity.

By the mid-1990s, almost all aspects of newsroom operation, including production, layout, composition, circulation, and the newspaper archives, were computerized; and the potential of computer networking for journalism was increasingly recognized. In the 1980s, a handful of newspaper and broadcast journalists started dial-up bulletin board systems on the Internet. Most resulted from partnerships with budding dial-up platforms such as America Online, Prodigy, and CompuServe.

Standard journalistic fare on such bulletin boards included classified ads, business and entertainment listings, and a few headlines. In 1991, the Chicago Tribune Company invested in America Online. A year later, it launched Chicago Online on AOL with localized stories and other content.

Since the mid-1990s, the ability to transmit mail electronically has greatly aided reporters and editors in their reporting and fact-checking activities. While there are some drawbacks to using e-mail as an interview tool, such as the criticism that they are lulling journalists into laziness and susceptibility to hoaxes, there are many virtues. E-mail provides an electronic record that allows both reporters and sources to keep track of what has been said and written.

Surely the most dramatic technical development of the mid-1990s was the appearance of the World Wide Web, which is essentially a system of interlinked hypertext documents that can be accessed via the Internet. With a web browser, journalists can view pages that may contain text, images, and other multimedia and navigate among them using hyperlinks. The basic idea was developed in 1989 by Tim Berners-Lee, and first made available on the Internet in 1991. As use of the web expanded journalists became cyberjournalists.

The first online newspapers were usually digital versions of the printed publication. Better understanding of the web's unlimited capacity led publishers to include more information and visual material in expanded online editions of their newspapers. Over time, they began experimenting with design as they added hypertext and links. An early example was the 1993–94 appearance of the *Nando Times,* companion to Raleigh, North Carolina's *News & Observer*. The online edition quickly attracted attention as the first 'round-the-clock, regularly updated news and sports online venue. Initially its staff did some original news reporting, but soon settled into primary roles as news aggregators and enhancers.

While online newspapers offered more news and other content than did their print counterparts, publishers had difficulty selling online advertising or otherwise generating revenue. Only *The Wall Street Journal* developed a successful subscription model in the web world that most users presumed was a source of free information.

The late 1990s saw tremendous growth in online journalism. The National Newspaper Association noted that during 1996, the number of online newspapers nearly doubled; by July 1999, only 2 of the 100 largest dailies did not have online editions. Site traffic grew accordingly. From 1995 to 1998, in a growing number of cases, the number of users accessing online editions of newspapers began to rival their print circulations.

Advertising first appeared in online news operations in 1994. Over the next dozen years, as advertising on the web grew exponentially, solutions were developed for many problems, including pricing; creation of means of measuring effectiveness; and developing linkages to other media, both online and traditional.

By the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, most newspapers and broadcast organizations were firmly established in cyberspace. According to the authors of the Internet Society, the web had become "at once a world-wide broadcasting capability, a mechanism for information dissemination, and a medium for collaborations and interaction between individuals and their computers without regard for geographic location."

Web 2.0, the Blogosphere, and Citizen Journalism

One of the new century's most notable Internet developments was the emergence of blogs and the blogosphere. Blogs are websites maintained by individuals who regularly post entries of commentary, descriptions of events, or other content such as graphics or video. Since blogs are easy to create and cost little, if anything, to maintain, they have encouraged people without formal journalistic training to start publishing news and analysis. Called citizen journalists, such writers' forays into traditional professional journalism territory have touched off a storm of controversy.

Blogs are one of a cluster of new web tools made possible by the development of web 2.0 applications. Such tools offer users opportunities to pull information from multiple sites and deliver it on their own to achieve new purposes. In a web 2.0 world, streaming audio and video, podcasting, and the downloading and uploading of digital images proliferate. Within just a few years after free blogger software became available in 1999, the number of weblogs exploded. Numerous web 2.0 sites provide users with easy-to-use downloadable free software.

Regardless of bloggers' positive contributions, in the movement's early years, some news publishers forbade their staff from blogging, concerned that their blogs would expose them to potential lawsuits. Indeed, it would take some time for the courts to render decisions that would reveal whether they would afford bloggers the same First Amendment freedoms as traditional journalists.

Over time, more newspapers added blogs to their online editions. Meanwhile, television and radio news operations also moved into the blogosphere. One of the leaders is MSNBC, the 24-hour cable news channel launched in 1996 by NBC and Microsoft. The channel's online site, MSNBC.com, has become one of America's most popular web news providers. In 2002, the site operated seven blogs; by early 2006, the number was up to 21. Other news organizations similarly began to enlist the help of citizen journalists in news gathering.

Not long after blogging became popular, people began experimenting with blogs where video was the main component. The rise of interest in videoblogging, or vlogging, was linked with the launching of YouTube, a video-sharing website where users can upload, view, and share video clips. Vlogs are part of the open sourcing trend that has recently become an important component of citizen media and journalism. Operators of open-source journalistic media ask audiences to produce and upload content, including digital photos, audio, and video.

The first open-source all-podcast radio station was started in San Francisco in 2005 by Infinity Broadcasting, Viacom's radio division. Television was not far behind. ABC began offering a weekly 15-minute podcast titled *ABC News Shuffle* in mid-2005. By early 2006, many local television stations were also distributing podcasts and asking their users to upload their own content. Called crowdsourcing, the practice of accepting video or other content from the public became increasingly popular during this period. An offshoot of this is crowdfunding, where people pool their resources via the Internet to support projects initiated by people or organizations not connected to the mainstream journalism industry. A San Francisco website named Spot.us is testing journalistic crowdfunding at the local level. The site allows freelance journalists to suggest stories and get funding from the public in the Bay Area. Other citizen-initiated journalistic websites, such as Pro Publica, are funded largely through foundations.

Many say that the web, and web 2.0, are changing the face of journalism. The mixing of formats is becoming an increasingly popular journalistic practice, and some argue that multimedia journalism has greater impact on the public than either print or broadcast formats. Others contend that there are downsides to multimedia approaches—for example, users sometimes have problems using the complex features of news sites.

Decline of Newspapers

The appearance of web options accelerated problems of newspapers and magazines. Compared to broadcast news, print newspapers and magazines had some built-in advantages. Most newspapers were produced in their readers' communities, meaning their contents were closely related to local interests. In an attempt to compete with the visual appeal of television, print publishers spent huge amounts to purchase printing equipment that could provide more color and graphics. But other problems persisted, including rising labor, paper, and energy costs, and the appearance of web software that enables anyone to start publishing news. As blog publishing systems such as Blogger.com gained popularity, news blogs like Blogger News Network, which started on February 1, 2005, added to the problems experienced by print news publishers.

By 2008, some were suggesting that printed newspapers had entered their final stage. In the first quarter of 2008, print advertising sales fell by 14 percent, adding to losses of the previous eight years. Newsroom staffing levels were slashed at most major newspapers, including the country's largest. Plunging advertising revenues and other financial difficulties led the Tribune Co., owner of the *Los Angeles Times* and other media, to file for bankruptcy protection from its creditors in late 2008. And the media consolidation trend started much earlier in the history of American journalism continued unabated. Knight Ridder, one of America's largest news media companies and itself a product of media consolidation, was purchased by the McClatchy Company in 2006. And the *Christian Science Monitor* announced it would publish only an online addition starting in February 2009, presaging a move other papers were at least

considering. In 2009, the world's unfolding economic recession, the effects of which were noticeable in 2008, continued to pose problems for not only newspaper publishers but also all journalistic institutions.

Political News and Electoral Campaigns

The field of American political communication adapted to cyberspace as web-based news venues and eventually blogs proliferated after the turn of the twenty-first century. According to a 2006 report published by the Pew Research Center, the number of Americans turning to the Internet for news or other information related to politics had increased from 21 million to 26 million people per day. Responding to this trend, news organizations increasingly used the Internet and other new media tools in ways that they hoped would effectively engage audiences.

Political campaigners also turned to the new media for tools they hoped would attract supporters. Howard Dean's unsuccessful bid for the 2004 Democratic Party presidential nomination is notable for his unprecedented use of the web. Four years later, Barack Obama's use of instant text messaging, Facebook and MySpace, and other new technologies was touted as a watershed in American political history.

9/11 and Battling Terror

The attack on the United States by terrorists on September 11, 2001, had a lasting impact on journalism. Some researchers suggest that a new kind of journalism emerged in the post-9/11 world that is less frivolous and more connected to the serious concerns of people living in a complex and dangerous world. At the same time, however, critics decried the patriotic tone of much American and British news coverage, which was accused of credulously publishing prowar propaganda for their governments.

One major concern among journalists has been the chilling effect the U.S. government's post-9/11 antiterrorism strategies have had on free speech and privacy rights. Government threats concerning the shut down of some websites, like one in Virginia that posted unedited video of journalist Daniel Pearl's execution, and even Internet service providers, such as their shutdown of the nation of Somalia's only Internet service provider in 2001; removal of once-available information from government websites; and the closure of once available government documents and meetings were among the changes. In addition, pre-9/11 rules that limited use of electronic surveillance strategies such as wiretapping by government authorities have been abandoned in the fight against terror. Concerned about the chilling effect such surveillance was having on journalism, in 2008, the American Civil Liberties Union filed a lawsuit against the federal government to stop it from conducting unchecked tapping of international e-mails and telephone calls.

Conclusion

Journalism underwent a series of profound changes after 1995 as it was forced to adapt to new technologies, economic forces, and global political events. Already challenged by CNN, ABC, NBC, and CBS's news operations faced further competition when Rupert Murdoch launched his Fox News in 1996. The decline of large metropolitan newspapers continued unabated, as their publishers struggled to adjust to rising prices in a time of declining advertising revenue and the global economic recession that began to unfold in 2008. Web-related innovations, particularly blogging, had a profound impact on journalism by opening up the field to nonprofessionals with a penchant for news writing and videography. New media likewise affected the political world, as journalists and political candidates increasingly used blogs, social networks, and cell phones, among other things, to disseminate information during electoral campaigns. al-Qaeda's 9/11 attack on America was followed by a wave of patriotic journalism that lasted until the Bush administration's retaliatory War on Terror seemed to many to be lasting too long. The 9/11 attack on America also ushered in governmental antiterrorism security measures that have troubled journalists and civil liberties advocates ever since.

Much as it has since it first emerged in history, journalism will survive in coming generations as it continues to adapt to the changes that take place in society that are outside its control. In the near future, however, the decline of the large

metropolitan newspapers will continue—as will shifts in the field of journalism ushered in by new web tools and economics—and political campaigns will progress further in their web-and-other-technological transformations.

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See also Blogs and Bloggers; Internet Impact on Media; Mass Media, Decline of; News Aggregators; News Audiences, Decline of; Podcasting; Social Network Websites; Terrorism, Coverage of

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Hoaxes

Media hoaxes have existed as long as media have served the public. Hoaxes are generally intended to fool and to entertain. Many are parodies of some occurrence or play upon topics that are currently newsworthy. As such, their creators realize that the public will likely catch on to the joke as it unfolds, or they will reveal the fabrication in a subsequent story. Hoaxes of this type are not considered to be dishonest news reporting by those who create them since the entire scenario has been created purely as entertainment and is usually acknowledged. Other hoaxes, however, are intended to deceive the audience into believing what they read, hear, or see is factual.

Origins

The nature of information dispersal and news gathering that dominated media from the 1600s through most of the 1800s made the creation and dissemination of hoaxes relatively easy. In most cases, information was presented without comment. Readers were left to determine validity on what seemed plausible to them based on conventional wisdom, religious beliefs, or scientific discovery. Much of what was known scientifically, however, was built upon speculation, not upon scientific inquiry. As a result, what might be considered hoaxes based on present understanding was simply the passing on of information. When Benjamin Franklin, for example, reported in the October 17, 1745, *Pennsylvania Gazette* that a medicine made from a substance called "Chinese Stones" could cure rabies, cancer, and a host of other ailments, verification of the medicine's potency was based on personal testimony. A letter to the *Gazette* the next week, however, revealed that the stones were made from deer antlers and contained as much medicinal value as a tobacco pipe. Similar hoaxes passed regularly as news stories or in advertising for patent medicine until the creation of the Food and Drug Administration curtailed many of them in the early twentieth century.

Author Jonathan Swift used hoaxes to tell stories. *Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World* (1726), more commonly known as *Gulliver's Travel*s, purported to be the true story

of the travels of Lemuel Gulliver. In 1708, Swift predicted the death of a famous astrologer in an almanac using the fictitious name Isaac Bickerstaff. On the appointed day, Swift printed a black-bordered elegy to the astronomer. Two days later, he published a pamphlet extolling the prediction. The news spread through London. People who saw the astrologer that day thought he bore a striking resemblance to the deceased astrologer. Swift later said that he created the hoax to discredit the man's astrological predictions. Swift's hoax was set to coincide with April Fool's Day, and media have regularly created fictitious, nonharmful hoaxes for the day ever since.

Stories of human abnormalities and oddities regularly appeared in the news in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1765, a story that swept Britain and then America declared that "the Existence of Giants is proved." Examined by scientists, the story as it appeared in the *Maryland Gazette* of March 14 told of a tomb in France that contained "a human Skeleton entire, 25 Feet and a Half long, 10 Feet wide across the Shoulders, and 5 Feet deep from the Breast Bone to the Back."

Writers such as Edgar Allan Poe often employed the hoax as a tool for storytelling. When Poe became editor of the *Southern Literary Messenger* in Richmond, Virginia, in 1835, he used the magazine to publish the first of his several hoaxes, "The Unparalleled Adventures of One Hans Pfaall." In the story, which Poe presented as a news account, Pfaall flew in a hot-air balloon to the moon, stayed there for five years, and sent a "lunarian" back to Earth to announce life on the moon and Pfaall's impending return. On April 13, 1844, Poe created another hoax concerning balloons when the *New York Sun* printed the astounding news that a balloon had crossed the Atlantic in 75 hours.

The bases for creating hoaxes grew tremendously in the first half of the nineteenth century as Poe's stories demonstrate. In the eighteenth century, only two scientific societies existed in the United States. By the 1820s, dozens operated, 26 in New York City alone. These societies turned to the press to announce their discoveries. Twenty-four different societies regularly published findings in journals by the mid-1820s, and a number of these articles appeared in newspapers, too. Poe's balloon stories, for example, were supported by other news reports about balloons, one saying that a Philadelphia man had ascended 35,000 feet over the city.

Subject to widespread hoax treatment were astronomical "discoveries." In the 1780s, William Herschel discovered a new planet beyond Saturn. Over the next four decades, Herschel released accounts of further discoveries. Although what Herschel had to say cannot be classified as hoax, it was certainly misinformation. He announced that he had observed continents, islands, oceans, and volcanoes on the lunar surface. By 1793, Herschel guaranteed that life existed on the moon. Only time and further scanning of the satellite with Herschel's powerful telescopes were needed. Although Herschel never actually saw creatures on the moon, his son John would in one of the more cleverly crafted media hoaxes.

On August 21, 1835, a blurb on page two of the *New York Sun* remarked that "some astronomical discoveries of the most wonderful description" had been uncovered by Herschel with his 20-foot telescope. The British astronomer had taken it to the Cape of Good Hope in order to gain a better glimpse of Halley's Comet, which was set for its 77-year return to visibility. A *Sun* reporter cited Herschel as the authority in his hoax, reporting that Hershel had viewed all sorts of life on the moon, including winged human creatures about four feet tall, covered with short and glossy copper-colored hair.

The Moon Hoax was initially widely believed, according to New York newspaper the *Daily Advertiser*. It was the perfect hoax, as it was based in certain truthful elements—John Herschel and the *Edinburgh Journal of Science,* even though the journal had ceased publication six months earlier. The science of the day assured that extraterrestrial life existed; life on the moon was taken for granted by everyone. All major religious leaders accepted human life on other planets. For example, the president of Yale University said in a series of sermons that God had created many worlds inhabited by intelligent creatures throughout the universe.

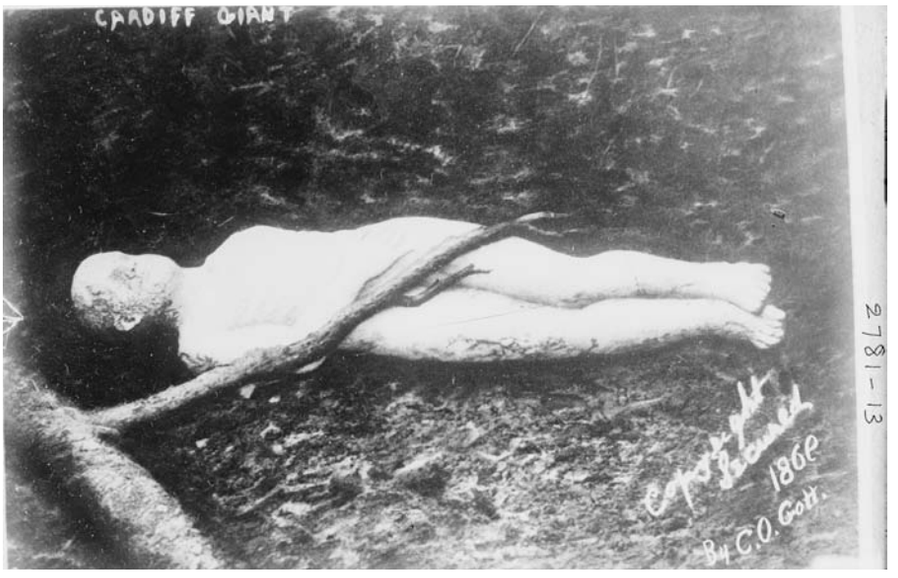
The moon life hoax was perfect in another way: it harmed no one. It was uncovered before it finished running in the *Sun* because its writer, out drinking with a reporter from another paper, told his compatriot not to write anything about the amazing discoveries yet because he had not finished writing it. Once the secret was out, people blasted

the *Sun* and its owner, Benjamin Day, for the elaborate hoax. Neither Day nor the *Sun* ever admitted that the story was fabrication, however. Indeed, Day published illustrated pamphlets on the topic a couple of months after the story first appeared.

Poe, who had written a similar account about Hans Pfaall, claimed that Richard Adams Locke, an acquaintance of Poe's, had plagiarized the concept from the *Southern Literary Messenger,* but no one bought Poe's charges. Later (in the October 1846 issue of *Godey's Lady's Book*), Poe would call the Moon Hoax "the greatest *hit* in the way of *sensation*—of merely popular sensation—ever made by any similar fiction either in America or in Europe."

Perhaps the greatest hoax in terms of human discovery occurred in 1869 with the unearthing of the Cardiff Giant in upstate New York. Reports described the Cardiff Giant as a complete man, "A human form of huge proportions, entirely petrified." The figure was 10 feet, 2½ inches tall, according to a story in the *Daily National Intelligencer and Washington* (D.C.) *Press* of October 22, 1869. In reality, the giant was the creation of George Hull. The story was, in part, an outgrowth of the growing debate on biblical literalism versus the evolutionary concepts introduced by Charles Darwin in *The Origin of Species,* published in 1859. The discovery, news reports said, proved Genesis 6:4, which said that at one time "the Nephilim (giants) were on earth." Hull sold his giant to a group of entrepreneurs who put it on public display. Scientists studied the remains, and many determined that it was made of limestone or some other soft stone. When the Cardiff Giant's owners displayed it in New York City, the hoax was revealed because P. T. Barnum had created his own version of the Cardiff Giant. With both giants on display in the same city, the owners of the original Cardiff Giant sued Barnum. In court, Hull admitted that he had created the giant in Iowa and had it buried on his cousin's farm in Cardiff. Thanks to the massive interest in the "discovery," the Cardiff Giant has been dubbed the greatest hoax in newspaper history. "All other attempts at humbugging sink into insignificance by the side of the 'Cardiff Giant.' Richard Adams Locke's moon hoax and Poe's story, 'Hans Phaall,' are simply moonshine when compared with the cool effrontery of this Cardiff hoax," opined the *Daily Cleveland* (Ohio) *Herald* on October 27, 1869.

Not all nineteenth-century hoaxes were harmless. On November 19, 1874, James Gordon Bennett Jr. ran a story on the front page of the *New York Herald* saying that animals had escaped from the city's zoo and had killed 27 people and injured hundreds. Most readers never finished the



An undated photo of the so-called Cardiff Giant, the subject of one of the greatest journalistic hoaxes in American history.

Source: Library of Congress.

story, which stated at the end that it was "pure fabrication." Instead, people ran into the streets with guns or fired them randomly from windows.

Nineteenth-century advertising created some of the most elaborate hoaxes, and most of them were the work of Phineas T. Barnum. When Barnum was 25, he purchased a slave named Joice Heth and promoted her as the 161-year-old nurse of George Washington. In 1842, Barnum presented the Feejee Mermaid by tricking dozens of papers to run stories about it simultaneously. In reality, the mermaid had been created by sewing the tail of a fish to a monkey's body. The stories tripled the number of people who paid to visit Barnum's New York City "Hippodrome."

Early in 1860, Barnum created another elaborate hoax, this one based in current events. Just months after the release of Darwin's *The Origin of Species,* Barnum introduced "What Is It?" Promoted as the missing link between ape and man, the exhibit really featured one William Henry Johnson, a native of Bound Brook, New Jersey. This so-called evolutionary missing link became a tool in the 1860 election with editorial cartoons claiming that the election of Abraham Lincoln would ensure that an African American would soon become President.

Advertising use of false images and statements received judicial support in 1946 in the case *Carlay. v. FTC.* The case centered on Ayds candy, which could help its eaters lose weight, according to Carlay's advertising. The Supreme Court ruled that the use of puffery in advertising was acceptable since people knew (or should know) that eating candy would not cause weight loss.

Media outlets have also used hoaxes in order to expose rivals who copy them. During the Spanish American War, William Randolph Hearst's *Journal* fabricated a story about the death of a famous soldier in Cuba, Colonel Reflipe W. Thenuz. Joseph Pulitzer's *The World* ran the story the next day. Hearst sued the embarrassed Pulitzer, pointing out that the name backwards created "We pilfer the news."

Broadcast hoaxes have been less common than those in print. In late October 1938 Orson Welles fooled many Americans with his fabricated radio news report about a Martian invasion. Even though *The Mercury Theatre of the Air* announced several times that the broadcast was a drama, Welles knew that people might be listening to a popular program on NBC and not tune in to his CBS program until a commercial break. By that point, Welles had Martians attack Grover's Mill, New Jersey, not far from Princeton. Later estimates suggested at least a million people believed the radio news reports were real. That the broadcast followed by a month the real Munich Crisis and radio reports about European diplomacy may also have contributed to audience belief in the realistic "news reports" of rampant Martians.

The rush to break important information, however, ensures that some hoaxes will be broadcast. On November 5, 1991, ABC Television's *World News Tonight with Peter Jennings* reported the impending sale of Lenin's corpse in a Russian effort to raise money. *USA Today* also ran the story, which was later discounted.

Internet hoaxes are easier to create than those on traditional media as anyone can create a webpage or post information to blogs. The rise in use of the online encyclopedia Wikipedia is one example. Even though much of the information on it is accurate, a February 2007 *New York Times* story stressed that misinformation can and is regularly posted there, sometimes intentionally, to misinform or fool readers. Countless posts on the Internet and sent via e-mail have carried inaccurate news stories and columns, let alone purposeful hoaxes.

David A. Copeland

Hoaxes Versus Fraud

Over the last century, however, most "hoaxes" have been created by people other than journalists to fool the press and its audiences. General use of the term "hoax" has been so nonspecific and inclusive that it includes what more rightly are frauds, although frauds with varying motivations. Widely published photographs or stories of the Loch Ness monster in Scotland, the oft-sighted "Big Foot" in the Pacific Northwest, strange crop circles in the Midwest, flying saucers, alien abductions, and ghosts have been called "hoaxes" even though the intent of many perpetrators was not to be discovered as faking it. People, including reporters, who truly believe these claims further complicate matters by offering support for and writing about them. In England in 1917, for example, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, author of the Sherlock Holmes stories, obtained pictures of two girls playing with fairies

and wrote persuasively about them as proof of a spirit world. The photos were debated for decades until the two cousins admitted they faked them to avoid punishment for getting their dresses dirty. Many people adamantly believed the Piltdown Man, the widely publicized "missing link" discovered in 1912 in a Sussex quarry, was real until the fraud or "hoax" was revealed 40 years later.

In something of a throwback to the more traditional media hoax, Alan Abel and Joey Skaggs, called "professional media hoaxers," have since the late 1950s perpetrated hoaxes on the media as detailed on their websites. They demonstrate that news media remain easy to fool in their quest for sensational and unusual stories. As in traditional media-originated hoaxes, both men eventually reveal their hoaxes as untrue and, at the same time, claim some higher purpose—demonstrating media and audience gullibility or drawing attention to some cause. Abel achieved news coverage of events he created involving an organization protesting animal nudity, former Junior League women who provided sex to help rehabilitate inmates, a man (Abel) with the world's smallest penis, and Citizens Against Breastfeeding proclaiming the practice immoral and perverted. "Multimedia artist" Skaggs excited the press with his "Cathouse for Dogs," which offered one-night stands for pets; a sperm bank auctioning off rock star sperm; a wonder drug made from cockroach hormones; and a Korean company offering to buy dogs from U.S. shelters to feed to Asians.

More recent "hoaxes" come from journalists less concerned with amusement or higher purposes than with creating "better" stories—and perhaps making their own reputations. Although they are often referred to as "hoaxes," because the reporters had no intent to reveal their stories as untrue, these should be considered fraud rather than hoax. More widely known examples come from reporters Janet Cooke of *The Washington Post,* Jayson Blair of *The New York Times,* Steven Glass of *The New Republic,* and Patricia Smith of *The Boston Globe,* all of whom embellished or created stories they passed off as real. Cook won the 1981 Pulitzer, later withdrawn, for "Jimmy's World," a purported investigative story about an eight-year-old heroin addict with "sandy hair, velvety brown eyes and needle marks freckling the baby-smooth skin of his arms." Cooke apparently combined elements of truth in her compelling story and resisted admitting her actions for some time. Blair wrote more than 35 stories, including about Iraq war veteran Private Jessica Lynch, in which he fabricated quotes and descriptions. Glass made up quotes, people, organizations, and stories in a number of publications and Smith also made up quotes, people, events, and stories. In the online publication *Slate* (June 2007), freelance writer Jay Forman wrote that Florida Keys "fishermen" took him to an island inhabited by monkeys that a cosmetics company used for testing. Keeping their boats offshore and baiting hooks with fruit, they cast lines to the island and hooked monkeys, even yanked them from trees, and eventually cut lines to free them. People immediately questioned the story, but *Slate* insisted its "Monkey Fishing" story was accurate, only to find months later that most of it was fiction.

In February 2008, the press was fooled by a Nevada high school football player who faked his own recruitment and signing ceremony to play football at a major university. Widely covered in the region, the player admitted after a week that he made up everything, because he wanted so much to play Division I football. For promotion or propaganda purposes, the U.S. military released a story about the fighting, capture, and rescue of Private Lynch (who had figured in Blair's faked stories) that was far more compelling than other versions, including Lynch's own.

In the late 1950s, *Twenty-One* television quiz show contestant Charles Van Doren, a Columbia University instructor, won money week after week, gaining enormous popularity until NBC admitted that he was provided with answers in advance. Several other quiz shows suffered the same fate—and all quickly disappeared from prime time.

In the current media climate, in which there is so much information, skepticism, and difficulty in determining what is true and what is not, the traditional media hoax seems almost quaint. Its ability to amuse having been diminished in a world of "reality" television, fake or fraudulent news, disinformation, and the Internet, the modern "hoax" appears motivated more by political, personal, or economic intentions. Many perpetrators aren't hoaxers at all, as their intent is neither to reveal their untruths nor to get caught.

Robert Dardenne

See also Advertising; Credibility; Deception; Ethics; Hard Versus Soft News; Infotainment; News Values; Plagiarism

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Hong Kong

Hong Kong, an economically developed Chinese coastal city with 7 million residents, has a vibrant and well-developed modern media system, in which journalism plays a core part. A British colony from the 1840s to 1997, the city was returned to China as a Special Administrative Region (SAR) governed under the formula of "one country, two systems." This formula was originally designed to stress that the capitalist system of Hong Kong shall remain unchanged until 2047. These days, the formula is often used more broadly to refer to Hong Kong's "right" to remain different from China in its political, economic, social, and legal systems.

The News Media Scene

According to the government's record, by the end of 2006 there were 22 Chinese-language daily newspapers, 14 in English, 8 bilingual newspapers (Chinese and English), and 5 in Japanese. However, some of these newspapers serve very small and specific minority groups, and a few focus solely on horse-racing (one of the most popular sporting and, more importantly, gambling events in the city). Excluding these, 18 dailies (16 in Chinese and 2 in English) can be considered as the major sources of social, economic, and political news for Hong Kong's residents.

As of 2008 there are three radio and two television broadcasters, and three pay television services in operation. All produce their own newscasts. The Hong Kong public is also served by numerous local gossipy infotainment magazines, regional satellite broadcasters, and the full range of news outlets in the online world. It is particularly worth noting that Hong Kong has one of the highest Internet penetration rates in Asia. According to a government survey in 2007, 70.1 percent of Hong Kong households had Internet access.

Nevertheless, local newspapers and local television broadcasters remain the most important news sources for the citizens. The four most widely circulated Chinese-language newspapers—*Oriental Daily, Apple Daily,* the *Sun,* and *Ming Pao Daily*—have a combined daily circulation of about 1 million copies. The main evening newscasts of the two television broadcasters—*Television Broadcasting Ltd.* (TVB) and *Asia Television* (ATV)—have an audience of about or more than 1 million people each. Moreover, since the middle part of the first decade of the 2000s the city also witnessed the emergence of three free daily newspapers distributed through key locations such as Metro stations. It is estimated that the three dailies have a combined circulation of about 1 million copies.

All Hong Kong newspapers are commercial operations, although the three leftist newspapers (*Wen Wei Pao, Ta Kung Pao,* and *Hong Kong Commercial Daily*) are also financially supported by the Chinese government. The co-existence of a large number of newspapers in one city means that survival can by no means be taken for granted. One result is the competitive phenomenon of tabloidization, discussed below.

Besides commercialism, the press in Hong Kong is also marked by a significant degree of political parallelism, that is, different newspapers support different political stances, and the spectrum of viewpoints largely corresponds to that existing in society. The nature of this political parallelism has changed historically. From the 1960s to 1980s, many newspapers in Hong Kong could be classified as either "rightist" or "leftist." The former supported the regime in Taiwan, and the latter supported the Communist regime in Beijing. Into the 1980s and 1990s, the rightist papers declined as they faced both financial and political difficulties in a city preparing to return to Chinese control. Currently, the surviving newspapers can be roughly located on a continuum, anchored by the *Apple Daily* on the pro-democracy side and the three leftist papers on the pro-China side.

Television broadcasters, in contrast, have long provided the impression of being professional and objective in reporting news. The television broadcasters in Hong Kong are also commercial operations. Radio Television Hong Kong (RTHK), the city's public broadcaster, has a division that produces public affairs programs to be aired by the commercial television broadcasters as it lacks its own television channel. It does not produce newscasts.

Historically, television journalism in Hong Kong did not exhibit any substantial degree of sensationalism or political bias. However, the situation may be changing. Commercially, the rise of pay television since the 1990s and its subsequent expansion have led to increased market competition, which may have implications on how television broadcasters approach news work. Politically, it is questionable whether television broadcasters can maintain their independence and professionalism in the face of Beijing's political pressure since 1997.

Professional journalists in Hong Kong are highly educated. According to a representative survey in 2006, more than 90 percent of Hong Kong news personnel have at least some college education, while 70 percent have formal university training. More than half (57 percent) majored in journalism or communication. However, journalists in Hong Kong are also relatively young and inexperienced. In the 2006 survey, 36 percent of Hong Kong journalists had been in the field for fewer than five years, and another 24 percent for up to ten years. The high turnover rate can be partly attributed to low pay, long working hours, and other unsatisfactory aspects of the job.

Politics and Press Freedom

Press freedom has been a serious concern for the Hong Kong media throughout the past two decades. In the transition period (1984–97), despite its colonial status Hong Kong's media enjoyed a high degree of press freedom due to the balance of power between the British administration and the Chinese government. Since 1997, China has been the sole power center, and the media have faced heightened political pressure.

Press freedom did not suffer an immediate decline, however. Constrained by the promise of "one country, two systems," the Chinese government did not impose the Mainland's prepublication censorship system in Hong Kong. Instead of direct and formal control, the Chinese government influences Hong Kong media through several indirect methods. First, it has defined a few areas as basic taboos for the Hong Kong press: there should be no personal attack on China's national leaders, and there can be no advocacy for Taiwan/Tibet

independence. Second, Chinese officials issue occasional criticisms of the Hong Kong press when they perceive news media as engaging in "politically incorrect" coverage.

Moreover, the Chinese government co-opted the Hong Kong media owners by distributing political appointments and presumably economic rewards to them. With very few exceptions (such as the *Apple Daily*), news organizations in Hong Kong are either wholly or partly owned by Mainland capitalists (such as ATV), are owned by Hong Kong capitalists who have formal political appointments in China (Charles Ho, owner of the *Sing Tao Daily,* is a member of China's Political Consultative Committee), or are owned by Hong Kong or regional tycoons with huge business interests in China (Malaysian tycoon Robert Kuok, whose Shangri-la Hotels and Resorts will operate 32 hotels in Mainland China by 2011, is the owner of the English-language *South China Morning Post*). Although the owners may not exercise direct control of daily news operations, the personnel and resource allocation decisions they make, coupled with the processes of newsroom socialization, can be effective in generating self-censorship and political conformity.

By the tenth anniversary of the Hong Kong handover, in 2007, most observers agreed that press freedom in Hong Kong had declined and that media self-censorship is a growing problem. A survey by the Hong Kong Journalists Association in January 2007 had 58.5 percent of the responding professional journalists regarding self-censorship as a more serious problem in 2007 than in 1997. However, many commentators also agreed that the decline in press freedom has not been straightforward or abrupt. Countervailing forces have prevented journalists from succumbing completely to political pressure. The most important such forces include professionalism, commercialism, and the journalists' own political beliefs. Professionally, Hong Kong journalists have largely taken up the liberal ideal of the press. They see themselves as independent actors in the political communication process and regard monitoring and criticizing holders of political and economic power as an important role. Commercially, many newspapers try their best not to give readers the impression that they are self-censoring, for otherwise they will lose credibility in the market. Politically, liberty, democracy, and the rule of law are presented as being among the "core values" of Hong Kong, and survey research has shown that many Hong Kong journalists indeed share those values.

The counteracting forces of professionalism, commercialism, and a liberal political culture are at their strongest when media have to cover issues which touch upon the concrete interests of Hong Kong society and people. On such issues, professional, commercial, and liberal considerations compel Hong Kong news media to stand by local interests, even if it means they have to criticize China (as happened during the outbreak of the severe acute respiratory syndrome [SARS] in 2003).

Tabloidization and Journalism Ethics

While commercialism prevents Hong Kong media from becoming the mere mouthpiece of the government, it also leads to the problematic phenomena of tabloidization, sensationalism, and trivialization of news contents.

"Yellow journalism" has existed in Hong Kong since at least the late 1960s. In fact, *Ming Pao,* which is currently the most widely circulated elite-oriented newspaper in the city, was a mass-oriented paper in its early years. Soft pornographic novels and photographs were also published in the feature sections of many Chinese daily newspapers throughout the 1980s. However, tabloidization and sensational news reporting became a prominent industry and public concern only since the mid-1990s, especially after the publication of *Apple Daily*. Besides adopting a critical and pro-democracy political stance, *Apple Daily* also adopted a highly market-oriented approach to news reporting, most conspicuously by its use of color printing, large and occasionally gory photographs, catchy headlines, and computer-generated graphics. It also had no qualms about putting celebrity-related news on the front page as headline social news, and it pushed newspaper soft-porn's challenge to social morality to a new level—by offering "guides to prostitute services" in one of its feature sections.

The success of *Apple Daily* forced many newspapers, including the elite-oriented ones, to adopt at least some of its methods of news reporting and presentation. The elite-oriented newspapers also seem to have their news agenda occasionally affected by that of the mass-oriented press.

The situation was exacerbated by the emergence of gossipy infotainment magazines. Besides their usual focus on entertainment celebrities, the magazines also covered public affairs while turning many of these stories into juicy scandals. Most notoriously, the infotainment magazines send out teams of reporters to follow and cover the private lives of celebrities. This has led to the term "doggy team" (*gou jai dui*) in local parlance, essentially the Cantonese phrase for paparazzi.

One result of the trend toward tabloidization is strong public discontent toward news media performance and ethics. University-conducted opinion polls since 1997 have consistently shown that between 60 percent and 70 percent of Hong Kong people believe the media have abused their freedom. The public is particularly concerned with how some media organizations encroach upon people's privacy in their news coverage.

In light of this public dissatisfaction with the press, in 1999 the Hong Kong government proposed the establishment of an official press council to regulate media ethics. Opinion polls showed majority support for the proposal. Predictably, the idea met strong resistance from both media organizations and professional journalists, including the Hong Kong Journalists Association, who argued that the official press council might morph into a political organ to curb press freedom.

In the end, an unofficial press council was formed in March 2000. It is made up of journalists, academics, and other social elites. It receives complaints from members of the public, conducts investigations, and issues reports and "orders" for the accused media organizations to follow. Unfortunately, without official power, the press council's capability in promoting changes remains limited. The paradox is that those news organizations that are willing to cooperate with the press council are not the main sources of media ethical problems to begin with, and those that are the sources of ethical problems are not likely to cooperate with the council. In fact, in 2007, 63 percent of the complaints received by the council were directed at newspapers that were not members. Journalism ethics thus remains a troublesome issue for the city's news media.

In sum, situated within a society that has a free market and a significant degree of civil liberties, and yet no fully developed democratic system, journalism in Hong Kong has been largely driven by the complex interplay between political pressures and economic forces. These forces work sometimes with and sometimes against each other, constricting or expanding the room for press freedom. This complex interplay will continue to shape the development of the Hong Kong press in the future.

Francis L. F. Lee

See also Censorship; China; New China (Xinhua) News Agency

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Houston

Houston, the largest city in Texas and the fourth largest in the United States, was incorporated in 1837. The city's future was assured when oil was discovered at nearby Spindletop in 1901; dredging of Houston's deepwater port was completed in 1914; and air-conditioning came to the Gulf Coast in the 1950s. The petrochemical industry is still strong in Houston, but today's economy includes aerospace, medical, biotechnology, technology, and transportation industries.

Print Media

Houston was served for more than a century by two dailies, the *Post* and the *Chronicle,* although

several dailies, most notably Scripps Howard's colorful and feisty *Press,* came and went. The *Press* stopped publishing in 1964, when its assets were acquired by the *Chronicle*.

The *Post* was published from 1880 to 1883, and then reappeared in 1885. It was purchased by William P. Hobby in 1939 and became the only Houston newspaper to win a Pulitzer Prize. It was sold in 1983 to the Toronto *Sun* and again four years later to Dean Singleton's MediaNews Group. The competition for readers and advertisers was strong during the 1980s and early 1990s. The *Post* and *Chronicle* competed aggressively for news, according to journalists at both papers, and both became more interesting and contemporary in appearance. Singleton sold the newspaper's assets in 1995 to the Hearst Corporation, already publisher of the *Chronicle,* and Houston became a one-daily town. Competition for news was greatly diminished following the *Post*'s demise. Some critics blamed the *Sun*'s stewardship and Singleton for running the *Post* into the ground, while others said if they gave the *Post* a dozen years, it would not have been otherwise.

The *Houston Chronicle* was born in 1901 when news reporter Marcellus E. Foster combined his own $5,000 with another $20,000 from investors to start the paper. Jesse H. Jones bought a share of the paper in 1908 and became the *Chronicle*'s sole owner in 1926. Jones left the paper to the Houston Endowment when he died in 1956. Hearst purchased the *Chronicle* in 1987.

Unlike many of America's biggest dailies, the *Chronicle* has never won a Pulitzer Prize. The newspaper flubbed perhaps its best opportunity when Enron, a global firm based in Houston and America's seventh largest company at the time, went belly-up. The *Chronicle* missed "a lot of red flags" signaling that Enron was in trouble, then managing editor Tommy Miller told the *Columbia Journalism Review*.

Chronicle management, probably under pressure from Hearst, has tried in recent years to maximize profit at the expense of quality journalism. Editors have published increasing numbers of soft features, sports stories, and promotions on a front page that once contained only hard news, and the editorial page has drastically reduced the space for op-ed contributions by non-syndicated writers.

Space for news in Section A, the *Chronicle*'s primary news section, also has been shrinking. The *Chronicle* devoted 106 pages in the third week (weekdays and Saturday) of November 2007 to Section A, compared to 124 pages during the same period just two years earlier. An average of three more pages were published each day during that 2005 week, and the percentage of space devoted to news in Section A pages did not expand appreciably in 2007.

When management announced in October 2007 a 5 percent cut in the workforce, publisher Jack Sweeney said in a memo that more resources would be dedicated to new technology and product development and that he would institute a "position elimination program." The *Chronicle* has devoted more resources to its website in a gamble the results of which may not be known for years.

The Houston *Press,* part of Village Voice Media, is the only other newspaper that has wide distribution (with a circulation of 300,000) in the city. The *Press* (not related to the Scripps Howard *Press*) is an alternative weekly that focuses mainly on Houston's cultural scene. It features entertainment news with occasional investigative stories about politics, government, and education. Suburban communities are served by Houston Community Newspapers, a group owned by ASP Westward LP. The group publishes 33 weeklies and two dailies (the Pasadena *Citizen* and *The Courier* of Montgomery County), all of which focus almost exclusively on local news. Baytown, with the *Sun,* is served by its own daily.

Broadcasting

Radio arrived in Houston in 1925 when the Hobby family established KPRC-AM. More than two dozen Houston stations broadcast today and more than twice that number broadcast from the suburbs into Houston. The program mix includes music, Christian, sports, news/talk, and Spanish stations—most of which do little quality news reporting. Even KTRH, 740 AM, once a solid all-news station, became a shadow of its former self when it was absorbed by the conservative Clear Channel Communications. KTRH reduced the time devoted to news and started filling the air with the opinions of conservative commentators such as Sean Hannity and Rush Limbaugh. News and alternative views

are available primarily on KPFT, 90.1 FM—one of the five Pacifica Network noncommercial stations—and KUHF, 88.7 FM—Houston's primary public radio station.

Houston is served by several major television stations, but the quality of local television news is uneven. Network affiliate Channels 11 and 13 typically produce the most highly rated newscasts, with Channels 2 and 26 trailing.

KHOU-TV, Channel 11 (CBS) started broadcasting from a Houston studio in 1958. KHOU was sold in 1984 to A. H. Belo Corporation. KHOU's investigative reports have won many national awards, including an Alfred I. duPont–Columbia University Award. The station's stories about problems with Firestone's radial 500 tire resulted in the recall of 6.5 million tires in 2000. Its stories about the flawed handling of DNA evidence by the Houston Police Department's crime lab in 2002 led to the release of individuals falsely convicted of crimes—and to changes in lab procedures and personnel.

KTRK-TV, Channel 13 (ABC) began broadcasting in 1955. Capital Cities Communications bought it in 1967 and KTRK became an ABC-owned station when Capital Cities bought the ABC network in 1986. Disney acquired Capital Cities/ABC through a merger in 1996. KTRK has an experienced staff, with several reporters and anchors boasting more than 20 years with the station. It also has a strong investigative team, which has garnered awards from the Associated Press, Investigative Reporters and Editors, the Academy of Television Arts & Sciences, and others.

KPRC-TV, Channel 2 (NBC) was purchased by the Hobby family, who owned the Houston *Post,* in 1950. It was one of NBC's first affiliate television stations. The Hobby family owned the station until 1994, when KPRC was sold to the Washington *Post.* Despite that ownership, KPRC is an also-ran among the big-three in local news. Even with strong anchors who are active in the community, its emphasis on sensational sex and violence stories has helped diminish its role in Houston.

KRIV-TV, Fox 26, first broadcast in 1971 as KVRL. The call letters were changed to KRIV in 1978 when Metromedia purchased the station. Media magnate Rupert Murdoch purchased Metromedia in 1986 and KRIV became part of the Fox television network. KRIV's evening newscast begins at 9 p.m., a disadvantage since it pits the newscast against popular prime-time programming on other channels. While KRIV occasionally passes KPRC in some ratings, it does not challenge KHOU or KTRK.

The University of Houston is the site of the nation's first public television station—KUHT-TV, Channel 8—which began broadcasting in 1953. KUHT was an early member of National Educational Television and helped form the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. KUHT has long provided access to lectures and other educational programming as well as nationally syndicated programs such as *Masterpiece Theatre, Sesame Street, Nature,* and the *NewsHour with Jim Lehrer.* Channel 8 airs stories about local events and people, but it does not offer comprehensive coverage of local news.

Houstonians have access to the usual array of Internet, satellite, and cable television services found in any major city. Time Warner Cable dominated Houston's cable industry until 2007, when Comcast Corporation assumed daily operations. Residents also can subscribe to services such as Dish Network, DirecTV, or AT&T's U-verse, which bundles Internet, television, and telephone services. Cable companies have provided some channels for local programming, but most have a troubled history. Houston MediaSource, for example, the nonprofit that runs the public access channel, lost most of its public funding after nudity and profanity were broadcast on some shows.

Key Figures

Jesse Jones and the Hobby family, both active in journalism and politics, are the major figures in Houston journalism, particularly in the 1950s and early 1960s when local journalism was feisty and aggressive.

The patriarch of the Hobby family was William P. Hobby, who served as a circulation clerk, city editor, and managing editor at the Houston *Post* before he purchased the paper. He also served as lieutenant governor and governor of Texas. Hobby's second wife, Oveta Culp Hobby (1905–95), commanded the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (1942–19); served as the first secretary of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (1953–55); and was editor and publisher of the *Post* for many years. William P. Hobby (1932–), son of Oveta and William, was president

of the *Post* for two decades before it was sold in 1983. He chaired the board of H&C Communications until retiring in 1996. He was elected lieutenant governor of Texas in 1972.

Jesse H. Jones purchased a share in the *Houston Chronicle* in 1908 and became the sole owner in 1926. Jones, appointed by Woodrow Wilson to head military relief for the American Red Cross (1914–19), was a board member and then chair of the powerful Reconstruction Finance Corp., the United States' primary economic investor. Named RFC chairman in 1933, he became one of the most powerful men in America. He was named to head the Federal Loan Agency in 1939 and served concurrently as Secretary of Commerce (1940–45).

Journalistic Importance

Houston journalism is not as influential nationally—or even in Texas—as one might expect given the role of oil in the economy and the size of the market. One reason is that the news media are parts of media conglomerates that appear to value profit over good journalism. Early-twenty-first-century cutbacks at the *Chronicle,* for example, have produced the inevitable reduction in quality and the emphasis in local television news is still on sex, violence, and tragedy.

Despite this, local news media maintain some distance from government, education, and business leaders. If journalists stumble over a story that will affect a local company or city department negatively, they will go with it—and probably do a decent job. The Houston Police Department, the Houston Independent School District, and other public and private organizations have been the targets of investigative stories. Such stories are rare, however, for a city of Houston's size and economic importance.

Michael Ryan

See also Dallas–Fort Worth

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Human Interest Journalism

The term *human interest* often appears on lists of news values—along with such criteria as impact, timeliness, prominence, and proximity—that ostensibly guide journalists in their decisions about news selection. Narrowly construed, human interest refers to an attribute of an event, issue, or topic that helps make that story deserving of news coverage. Stories involving cute children or animals, for instance, may be judged newsworthy primarily for their inherent appeal to human emotions. The attribute of human interest, on its own or in combination with other characteristics, often provides sufficient reason for journalistic attention.

From a broader perspective, human interest journalism may be seen as a genre in its own right.

Stories attempting to humanize subject matter that ordinarily seems dry or impersonal—for instance, an article that addresses problems of cost and access to medical care by relating the tale of an ill individual lacking health insurance—incorporate human interest not as an innate trait of what is covered but, rather, as an approach to coverage. In this more expansive view, the term refers not to specific subject matter but to how subjects are represented in the news. Human interest journalism is a mode of reporting that may be applied to a wide variety of news content.

Examples of human interest, as both distinct value and general approach, are not hard to find in news accounts across media, from print to broadcast to web outlets. A clear definition is harder to come by. However, most discussions of the concept—as value or genre or both—highlight several interrelated aspects. These include the commercial origins and impetus of human interest news; an emphasis on factors that accentuate audience appeal, whether in the service of entertainment for its own sake or for purposes of information and knowledge; personalization through a focus on individuals, who may be "ordinary" people, experts, or celebrities; and the blurring of public and private spheres.

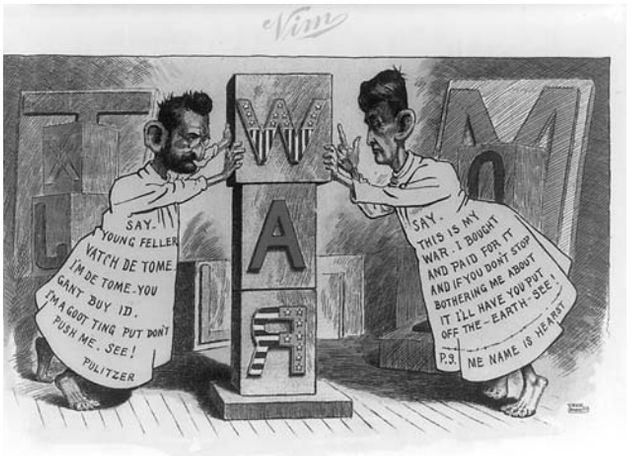
Development

Scholars trace the origins of human interest reporting to newspapers and magazines of the nineteenth century. The phenomenon, which emerged with the birth of the "penny press" in the 1830s and gathered steam in the "yellow journalism" of the 1890s, was part of a journalistic formula that emphasized entertainment, crime, sports, and other content catering to a mass readership in urban centers. The newly personalized approach to news, revolving around individuals, also provided opportunities for stylish writing that offered pictorial details of people's lives, appearances, feelings, and ideas in a conversational, even intimate tone. Improving technologies that facilitated use of illustrations and photography complemented this trend toward pictorial writing.

Another related development was the appearance of signed opinion and gossip columns that turned some journalists into personalities themselves. The human interest tradition also figures in the development of investigative and depth journalism, from emotion and vivid storytelling found in the work of the early-twentieth-century "muckrakers" to the sophisticated use of character, plot, and other narrative techniques of the "new journalists" in the 1960s.

Sociologist Helen McGill Hughes, whose 1940 book remains the definitive study, traces the specific origins of human interest journalism to the innovations of printer Benjamin Day, who founded the *New York Sun* in 1833 as a vehicle for "personal gossip, anecdotes, animal stories, and news of the police courts," preoccupations that proved an immediate success in the marketplace. The actual term *human interest* was first used at the *Sun* in the mid-1800s, Hughes says, in reference to "chatty little reports of tragic or comic incidents in the lives of the people." James Gordon Bennett followed suit with his *New York Herald,* founded in 1835, aiming to extend the news to additional "areas of life not hitherto reported."

Priced initially at a penny, such papers found a ready general audience; to cover costs, however, publishers were compelled to seek advertising, which required continued emphasis on stories with mass appeal. Publishing magnates Joseph Pulitzer, who purchased the New York *World* in 1883, and William Randoph Hearst, who bought the *New*



THE BIG TYPE WAR OF THE YELLOW KIDS.

Publishing magnates Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst, depicted here as rival sensationalizing "yellow kids" in an 1898 cartoon by Leon Barritt, helped pioneer the use of the "human interest" angle to bring in readers to their newspapers.

Source: Library of Congress.

York Journal in 1895, took the trend further with sensational stunts, campaigns, and crusades that drove newspaper circulation to new heights. Their brand of journalism consolidated the notion of news as a commodity, responsive first and foremost to its market, with human interest a central marketing device.

Although human interest journalism originated from presumptions about what common people share and are thus interested in, it also had a formative influence on celebrity journalism. In his 2002 scholarly study of the rise of the notion of celebrity from the 1890s to the 1940s, media studies researcher Charles Ponce de Leon shows how human interest reportage about movie stars, politicians, business titans, and athletes helped shape American thinking about public figures. Celebrity journalism incorporated democratic and individualistic values of the time, he says, to demonstrate the ways famous people were ordinary and flawed as well as outstanding, with the "master plot" about achievement of success and fame through talent and hard work foremost among the narratives arising from symbiotic interaction between journalists and celebrities after 1890.

Definitions and Variations

Although Hughes provides no single definition of human interest journalism, she describes it as "true stories of personal vicissitudes told with the exhaustive detail peculiar to gossip" and likens it to a "literature for the populace." Human interest stories are designed to provide diversion and generate excitement, she says; and their execution hinges on journalists' ability to capture ordinary people's experiences and resonate with readers' understandings of the world. Furthermore, she suggests, human interest stories are marginal to what might be considered serious or consequential news. Their news value lies not in any relevance to important public affairs or genuinely critical "interests" of citizens, but rather, in their ability to attract the largest audience of consumers.

Media researchers Gary Fine and Ryan White, in their study of how media covered the rescue of a man trapped in a cave in 1925, emphasize this quality of nonimportance, at least in the sense of bearing on specific public issues. In their definition, human interest stories "focus on the predicaments and circumstances of particular, but previously unknown, individuals in which the events are presented as irrelevant to public policy." They add that, although human interest may enter into any domain of reporting, from international relations to sports, "the archetypal human interest story involves an individual or group previously unknown to the media audience who must face adversity."

Hughes identifies a roster of "perennial stories" with human interest at the core, including "life's little ironies," hinging on quixotic and often amusing anecdotes; "changes of fortune," whether for good or ill; "the lost child," a particularly familiar trope that takes what once belonged solely to the domestic sphere into the public arena; "romantic adventure," with thrills and vicissitudes; stories about mysterious, unknown, uncontrollable, or unexplained phenomena; animal stories, ranging from the adorable to the amazing; and a fairly amorphous category she calls "the human side of the news," touching on experiences or emotions common to human beings generally.

Fine and White offer the motif of "entrapment stories"—be it a child trapped in a well, miners trapped in a cave-in, or beached whales—and explain the enduring appeal of such stories in terms that also help illuminate Hughes's categories. Such stories, first, evoke psychological fears or archetypes that are recognizable to a collective audience. Second, these stories offer a sequence of events and time duration that tend to accord with typical news cycles, thus matching the logistical needs of media outlets. Finally, entrapment stories, because they generally involve rescue efforts, respond to human hopes that actions can be taken to solve problems.

Another common story line is that of individuals struck by random forces—natural disaster, accident, illness, or other afflictions they cannot control. These human interest stories may revolve around victims, or around the heroic deeds of rescuers, or both. They often have trajectories of action that pose a clear moral duality between good and bad. Human interest stories have strong affective dimensions designed to provoke empathy and identification, even when the people in the stories are caught up in unlikely events.

Developing Human Interest News

In the space of a century, the human interest approach, with detailed characterization and

compelling storytelling aimed at producing an emotional response and a satisfying aesthetic experience, became widespread. What was once a journalistic novelty is now well established in print and electronic media. And the advent of "citizen journalism" on the Internet, which provides opportunities for individuals to share personal and community stories, has added new dimensions to the genre.

Books, periodicals, and websites offering advice for writers commonly identify human interest as a marketable category, distinguished by poignant narratives that tug at the heartstrings about subjects that readers are assumed to relate to. A typical theme is facing and overcoming adversity, as in stories of raising a physically or mentally challenged child, coping with cancer, or managing divorce. Stories of crisis and disaster in which ordinary people rise to the occasion are standard, as are stories in which famous people appear down-to-earth. The advent of *People* magazine in 1974, with contents centering on famous people in ordinary circumstances and ordinary people in extraordinary circumstances, stretched contemporary applications of human interest in both these directions.

A prime exemplar of the human interest formula's enduring power is the long run of *Reader's Digest,* which has specialized in real-life dramas and people-centered narratives since its inception in 1922, and by its one thousandth issue in 2005, had 48 different foreign language editions reaching a worldwide readership of 41 million. Categories enumerated on the publication's website exemplify stock story lines—Action Stories, Inspiring Stories, Survival Stories, and Amazing People. A section devoted to "Heroes and Stories of Bravery" celebrates "everyday heroes who risk their lives to help others…without expectation of accolades or even a thank-you." The heroes can range from people helping inner-city kids develop job skills to escape gang life to environmental activists cleaning up coastlines, and from parents who bust cyberspace porn rings to mugging victims who confront and overpower their attackers. Sometimes the heroes are pets that thwart burglars, rescue children from house fires, or save their owners from drowning.

Meanwhile, human interest strategies have become engrained in broadcasting as well as all varieties of print. On television, human interest is the premise for the light, fluffy pieces that appear as kickers in local newscasts; a key dimension of the softer, longer-form journalism in TV news magazines; and a driver of the popularity of "tabloid TV," including true-crime and other reality programming. Melodramas of everyday life have also become staples of talk shows such as *The Oprah Winfrey Show* that probe what once were invisible, private matters such as domestic abuse and drug addiction and give them quite public visibility.

Interpretations

Journalism scholars and critics agree that modern media are saturated with human interest accounts, and also agree that the phenomenon arises from commercial imperatives that may conflict with higher journalism ideals. In the U.S. context, journalism claims to perform the important political function of providing people with information they need to operate as citizens in a democracy. At the same time, journalism as a commercial proposition must address people in their roles as consumers. The extent to which human interest promotes one or the other objective is a matter of continuing debate.

Hughes portrays human interest in journalism primarily as a distraction from matters of public consequence. Fine and White, however, believe that human interest stories that might seem trivial actually can have far-reaching public import because they create a basis for public discourse. In particular, they argue, developing coverage of a human interest story over time can help forge a sense of community among audience members attending to and discussing the story.

Other analysts regard human interest as a double-edged sword that can either dilute or strengthen attention to consequential issues: At one extreme, when employed with the motivation of audience expansion—as seen, for instance, in the proliferation of reality crime shows that invite uncritical vicarious participation in police raids and other strong-arm activities—human interest journalism becomes gratuitous sensationalism, pandering to the most voyeuristic propensities of media consumers. On the other hand, when employed to expand on hard news or complex topics—seen in compassionate immersion coverage of AIDS patients and caregivers, for instance—a human interest strategy can enhance understanding and concern for widespread issues and problems by getting

readers, listeners, and viewers more fully engrossed, and thus empower them as citizens.

In a 2001 book, Committee of Concerned Journalists members Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel suggest that human interest can function as a point of articulation that simultaneously addresses consumer desires and citizen needs. In advocating a list of essential "elements of journalism," they include the necessity of striving to make "significant" stories "interesting and relevant"—in other words, even serious news must be presented in a manner that avoids boring or alienating audiences. In their formulation, human interest journalism is an integral part of the tool kit of public interest journalism.

Conclusion

Communications researcher Ib Bondebjerg, in a 1996 study of the human interest properties of tabloid television, analyzes how private life stories increasingly have moved into the public sphere in a process that has changed established forms of journalism. He offers mixed reviews of what he calls the "hybridization of public and private discourse," seeing these new hybrids as positive in the sense that they enlarge space and legitimacy granted to "common knowledge and everyday experience"; but he is also dubious about the development, since making all kinds of private fodder for public discussion doesn't necessarily foster more sophisticated understanding and critical perspectives on the world.

Clearly, the human interest rationale has illuminated many topics that used to be off-limits to mass media, from intimate traumas faced by ordinary people to personal peccadilloes committed by politicians and other celebrities. The fundamental issue may be whether human interest journalism has enhanced or attenuated journalism's public interest role. At its crassest, human interest treatment of grave issues such as crime, political corruption, poverty, unemployment, drug and alcohol abuse, domestic violence, or child abuse may merely simplify and stereotype social distress. At its best, however, human interest journalism can generate awareness of important social issues and problems, bring valuable new voices into crucial public debates, and promote popular involvement in civic affairs.

Judy Polumbaum

See also Celebrity and Fan Magazines; Hard Versus Soft News; Infotainment; New Journalism; News as Narrative; News Values; Sensationalism; Tabloid Newspapers; Tabloid Television

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I

Images, Ownership of

Ownership of a photograph is vested with the owner of the photo's copyright, which may be the photographer, his designated agent or an employer. Under American federal copyright law, an image receives copyright protection from the moment it is "fixed in a tangible medium of expression" and as long as it possesses sufficient originality. Since the advent of digital technology, federal courts have ruled that for the purposes of copyright, a digital image file constitutes a tangible medium of expression, and copyright law generally acknowledges digital works as copyrightable. According to *Nimmer on Copyright,* the authoritative legal treatise on copyright law, most photographs also contain sufficient originality—in legal terms—to support a claim of copyright.

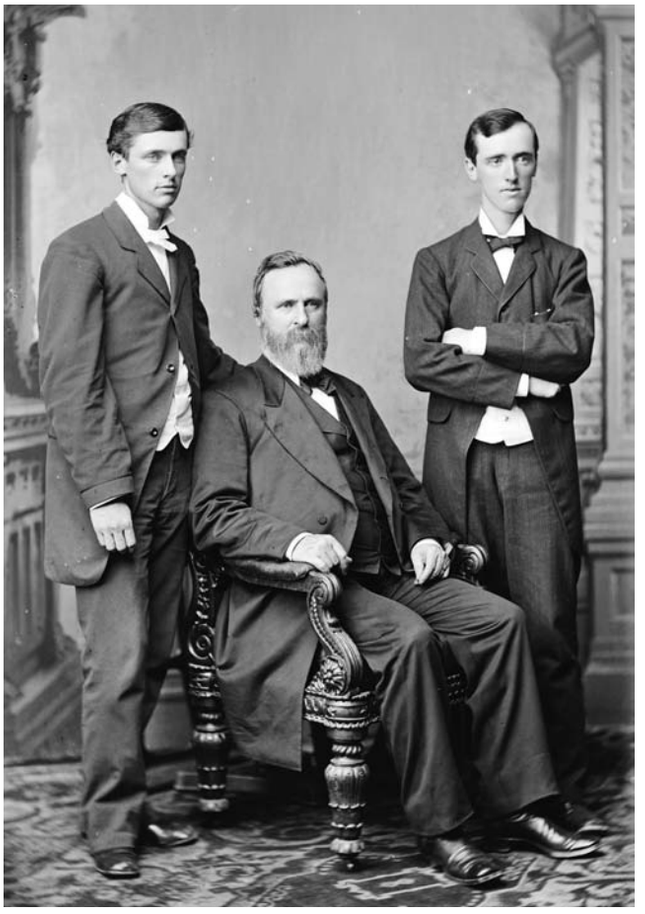
By receiving copyright protection of their images, owners of such works are entitled to all the rights awarded to other copyright holders, such as authors or composers. Those include the exclusive right to reproduction, making derivative works or copies, and performance and display of the copyrighted images. Thus, those who wish to use a copyrighted photograph must first seek permission from its owner, unless the use is a "fair use" as discussed below.

Early Photography Ownership

Claiming ownership in a photo was not always a given, particularly during the beginnings of photography in the late nineteenth century. While commercial photography existed as early as the 1830s, it wasn't until March 1865 that the U.S. Congress passed a law giving photos copyright protection. In amending the 1831 Copyright Act, Congress agreed that photographers should receive a copyright in their work "upon the same conditions as to the authors of prints and engravings."

Reasons for the delay in protecting photographs may never be fully understood. Increased post–Civil War commercial popularity of portraiture photography by suc h famous photographers as Mathew Brady (c a. 1823–96) led to widespread piracy and calls for protection. But painters and other artists criticized photography for its mimicry and inability to rise to the level of "true art." As Christine Farley noted, "at that time, the photograph was not seen as the product of an author, but rather the product of a machine. The photograph was seen as having the ability to represent nature; to produce an unmediated copy of the real world. The medium itself was transparent." Such views probably contributed to the delay. Indeed, the sense that photography merely reproduced life rather than interpreted it led some to conclude that photography lacked sufficient originality to warrant copyright protection.

Such was the heart of the dispute challenging Congress's amendment in the Supreme Court case *Burrow-Giles Lithographic Co. v. Sarony* in 1884. *Burrow-Giles* is frequently cited in copyright law for its discussion about standards of originality.



The abuse of rights to use formal portraits—such as this shot of President Rutherford B. Hayes and his two sons taken at the studios of Mathew Brady and Levin C. Handy (Brady's nephew)—encouraged the eventual congressional enactment of protections for unauthorized usage of photographs.

Source: Library of Congress.

Prominent portrait photographer Napoleon Sarony (1821–96) sued the Burrow-Giles lithographic company for violating his copyright on a photo titled "Oscar Wilde 18." While Burrow-Giles sold 85,000 copies of the photo without Sarony's permission, they argued that photographs did not deserve copyright protection because they did not involve authorship. They were, the lithographer argued, simply a result of a mechanical process: ". . . the mere mechanical reproduction of the physical features or outlines of some object, animate or inanimate, and involve no originality of thought or any novelty in the intellectual operation connected with is visible reproduction in [the] shape of a picture."

While the Court acknowledged that some photos may be so "ordinary" as not to be original, in the case of the Wilde photograph, it was a

> new, harmonious . . . and graceful picture, . . . that plaintiff made . . . entirely from his own mental conception, to which he gave visible form by posing the said Oscar Wilde in front of the camera, selecting and arranging the costume, draperies, and other various accessories in said photograph, arranging the subject so as to present graceful outlines, arranging and disposing the light and shade, suggesting and evoking the desired expression, and from such disposition, arrangement, or representation, made entirely by plaintiff, he produced the picture in suit. (111 U.S. 53, 55 [1884])

In cases since, courts have acknowledged two general principles: An author is someone who creates the work himself, and the author's work must result from creative choice, such as the selection and arrangement of lighting, costume, and other elements. Nineteen years after *Burrow-Giles,* the Court eliminated the distinction between the artistic and the ordinary in *Bleistein v. Donaldson Lithographing Co.,* finding that even a small expression of "personality always contains something unique" enough to qualify for copyright protection. The Court noted that future decisions might reject authorship in a work within "the narrowest and most obvious limits," but generally speaking, most photographs today are commonly accepted as original and creative works of expression. The Court's 1990 decision in *Feist v. Rural Publications* established that copyrighted works need only contain a "minimum level of creativity" to sustain the right.

Disputes Over Fair Use of Visual Images

While there is no single legal test for determining originality of photos, courts in cases since *Burrow-Giles* and *Bleistein* have found numerous creative elements in visual images: the arrangement of light, selected camera angles, the selection of cameras and film, the artistic talent selected and the pose struck, the timing of a photo, and the choice of subject matter, among others. Thus, in 1968, a federal district court found that Abraham Zapruder's (1905–70) film of the assassination of

President John F. Kennedy was copyrightable because Zapruder had selected the kind of camera, film, and lens, and he had selected the area and time in which the film would be taken. In 1986, a federal appeals court said the broadcast of a major league baseball game was copyrightable because of the decisions regarding camera angles, types of shots, and instant replays that went into the broadcasting of the game.

While a copyright extends to the photographer's print, it may not extend to the subject matter. For example, while a photographer's photo of a public building or a natural scene may be copyrighted, such a copyright does not prevent others from also photographing the same scene. Likewise, a telecast of a sporting or entertainment event may be owned by the organization producing the event, but the game or concert event itself cannot be copyrighted.

One exception to this principle is when a visual artist creates the scene or subject matter himself and the accused infringer re-creates that scene. Thus, in *Rogers v. Koons,* a 1992 federal court case, the court found that Jeff Koons's three-dimensional sculpture of a staged scene by photographer Art Rogers constituted copyright infringement. Koons re-created in sculpture a photo of a man and his wife holding eight puppies on a park bench. In this case, Koons not only copied the idea of a man and his wife holding puppies—which in itself was not protectible—but copied the exact expression represented in Rogers's photo. This the court found to be infringement.

Furthermore, some images may be protected by the Visual Artists Rights Act of 1990 (VARA) which gives some artists rights of attribution and integrity—essentially a moral right to their work. This right, however, is limited to paintings, drawings, prints, or sculptures, existing in a single copy, in a limited edition of up to 200 copies that are signed and consecutively numbered by the author. In the case of photos, the act applies to a still photographic image produced for exhibition purposes only, and meeting the same criteria. VARA grants several rights, including preventing the use of one's name on any work the author did not create; or on any work that has been distorted, mutilated, or modified in a way that would be prejudicial to the author's honor or reputation; and the right to prevent distortion, mutilation, or modification that would prejudice the author's honor or reputation.

An exception to the reuse of images that favors new users, however, may be found under the copyright fair use provisions. Section 107 of the Copyright Act of 1976 permits the use of copyrighted works without permission if the use has some social or public benefit. The section contains four factors for courts to weigh in a determination of a fair use, but to know for certain if a use is fair, a user must first copy the work and then seek a court's ruling. Critics of the fair use section find it highly subjective, open-ended, and difficult for users to determine in advance of a legal determination. The four fair use factors include the purpose and character of the use, including whether such use is of a commercial nature or is for nonprofit educational purposes; the nature of the copyrighted work; the amount and substantiality of the portion used in relation to the copyrighted work as a whole; and the effect of the use upon the potential market for or value of the copyrighted work. Courts must weigh each factor independently.

Much of the visual image fair use debate centers on the degree of "transformation." If, in the Supreme Court's words, the new use of the copyrighted work "adds something new, with a further purpose or different character, altering the first with new expression, meaning or message," the new work is then transformed, and deemed fair. Thus, new visual images that "transform" copyrighted images may be a fair use. For example, when artist Jeff Koons appropriated a photo for conversion to a sculpture in 2005, a federal appeals court said the new use was "transformative." In *Blanch v. Koons,* fashion photographer Andrea Blanch created a photo for a fashion magazine of a woman's lower legs and feet wearing Gucci sandals resting on a man's lap in an airplane. Koons copied the legs and feet and changed their orientation so that they pointed downward and then incorporated them into a collage with other pairs of women's feet and legs, all dangling over images of food and landscapes. In finding for Koons, the court wrote,

> Koons is, by his own undisputed description, using Blanch's image as fodder for his commentary on the social and aesthetic consequences of mass media. His stated objective is thus not to repackage . . . [the photo], but to employ it in the creation of new information, new aesthetics, new insights and understandings.

Images as Works for Hire

Authorship of images is another area in which disputes have arisen, particularly between photographers and those companies and others that have hired them as independent contractors. U.S. copyright law states that a protected work "vests initially in the author or authors of the work." But section 201(b) of the Act provides that "[i]n the case of a *work made for hire,* the employer or other person for whom the work was prepared is considered the author . . . unless the parties have expressly agreed otherwise in a written document instrument signed by them. . . . "

The work for hire doctrine is an exception to the rule that the copyright in a visual image vests with its creator. As such, according to law professors Rochelle Dreyfuss and Roberta Kwall, the United States is likely the only country that allows the employer of a work's creator to obtain authorship status. This is different from most European and Third World nations that recognize "moral rights" in a work, a doctrine that protects a creator's personal rather than economic rights in a work. Thus, U.S. owners and corporations wield significant intellectual property power in the permission scheme to reuse copyrighted works and garner significant profits, rather than the individual who necessarily created the work for the owner or corporation. U.S. copyright law defines a work made for hire as

1. a work prepared by an employee within the scope of his or her employment; or
2. a work specially ordered or commissioned for use as a contribution to a collective work, as part of a motion picture or other audiovisual work, as a translation, as a supplementary work, as a compilation, as an instructional text, as a test, as answer material for a test, or as an atlas, if the parties expressly agree in a written instrument signed by them that the work shall be considered a work for hire.

Determining whether a work is made for hire involves an examination of the relationship between the creator of the work and the entity requesting the work. Disputes arise when that relationship is not contracted, or the contract is vague, or when the nature of the creator's employment is not clearly either as a full-time employee or as an independent contractor.

In *Community for Creative Non-Violence v. Reid* (1989), the plaintiff was a nonprofit organization that sought to raise attention to homelessness by commissioning a sculpture of homeless people from artist James Earl Reid (1942–) who later claimed he owned the work, which led to the case. The Supreme Court held that to determine whether a work is made for hire, one must first determine whether the work was prepared by (1) an employee or (2) an independent contractor. If the former, the work is a work made for hire. If the latter, then the work is specially ordered or commissioned. To be a "work for hire," it must come within one of the nine categories listed in the second part of the definition above, and there must be agreement between the parties specifying that the work *is* one made for hire.

In ruling for Reid, the Court identified thirteen factors to help define the nature of the employer relationship to the creator:

> the hiring party's right to control the manner and means by which the product is accomplished . . .; the skill required; the source of the instrumentalities and tools; the location of the work; the duration of the relationship between the parties; whether the hiring party has the right to assign additional projects to the hired party; the extent of the hired party's discretion over when and how long to work; the method of payment; the hired party's role in hiring and paying assistants; whether the work is part of the regular business of the hiring party; whether the hiring party is in business; the provision of employer benefits; and the tax treatment of the hired party.

Thus, freelance photographers and other visual artists are particularly impacted by the work for hire relationship and are often advised to be clear in both their contracted relationship to the entity requesting their services and what the entity will own after the relationship is over.

This admonition has become particularly important after *New York Times Co. v. Tasini,* a 2001 U.S. Supreme Court case that ruled freelancers are entitled to negotiate the electronic rights to their work and that publishers may not assume those rights are part of the collective work of a publication for the

purposes of resale and redistribution. Prior to *Tasini,* much of the work provided by freelancers (both writers and photographers) was done on the basis of oral agreement with a publisher, and publishers mostly assumed all rights in the material once produced. Since the victory for freelancers in *Tasini,* however, the *Times* and other publishers have actively sought to retroactively license pre-*Tasini* works as well as arrange work for hire contracts with very detailed rights provisions:

> In addition to the foregoing, you hereby grant to *The Times* a perpetual, worldwide, royalty-free, paid-up non-exclusive transferable license under copyright to reproduce, distribute, display, perform, translate or otherwise publish your Prior Contributions in any form or media, whether now known or that may hereafter be developed, whether or not any such Prior Contribution may be individually accessed, perceived or retrieved from such form or media, and to authorize third parties to exercise such rights, provided that this license shall be limited to the use of Prior Contributions in forms or media that contain other articles from *The Times*.

Critics of the *Tasini* decision have argued that while winning the "war," freelancers lost the "battle" in *Tasini*. Such critics argue that, though freelancers were victorious in the Supreme Court "war," the effect was to put them into a daily "battle" with content providers, a worse position than they occupied before the case because they are forced to assign more rights than before or risk losing their freelance contracts.

Image Business Consolidation

Another factor in image ownership is the consolidation of image or photo stock houses. Several of the surviving companies have amassed image collections numbering in the millions. Many of these own rights to some of the most famous images of our time.

Until the 1990s, according to David Walker (2005), the stock photo business consisted of a series of small "mom-and-pop" agencies that published and distributed free printed catalogs to customers. Customers scanned the catalogs for photos and made requests for use by telephone. Legions of picture researchers found film negatives, reprinted the photos requested and sent the photos out by mail. Photographers sent their outtakes to stock houses from various assignments and split the proceeds 50/50 with the stock house.

The advent of digital photography and the digital darkroom drastically changed that paradigm. In the late 1980s, Microsoft CEO Bill Gates (1955–) started Corbis and envisioned it would be a "New Alexandria" (referring to the great ancient library) by collecting images that captured the entire human experience. Corbis collected and digitized 2 million images and funded photographers to take photos to add to the collection. It also struck deals with major museums such as the Hermitage in St. Petersburg and the National Gallery in London and with photographers such as Ansel Adams (1902–84) for digital distribution rights. In 1995, Corbis acquired the Bettmann Archive, an enormous collection of 16 million images, including some of the most famous news images of the twentieth century. Most of these had been acquired by Bettmann from United Press International in 1990. As the number-two player in the stock photo business, Corbis's total revenues for 2006 exceeded $251 million.

The top player in the stock photo business as of 2007 was Getty Images. Investment bankers Jonathan Klein and Mark Getty formed the company in 1995 after identifying an industry on the verge of technological change and opportunity. They first acquired Tony Stone Images, one of the largest collections of commercial stock images, and went on to acquire several other reputable stock houses including Hulton-Deutsch, Energy Film Library, The Image Bank, Visual Communications Group, and PhotoDisc (a pioneer in allowing customers to buy photos online). Getty spent tens of millions of dollars upgrading its online ordering site, and has opened it to competitors. In 2007, Getty revenues grew to $807 million just as Getty announced acquisitions of WireImage and Jupiterimages. Although Corbis and Getty focus primarily on commercial photography, they have challenged traditional journalistic outlets in editorial photography because of their size and their ability to provide so much choice so quickly to buyers.

Industry consolidation has affected the rights schema for photographers. Some photos are still sold under a "rights managed" (RM) structure,

where stock houses license use of images on a use-by-use basis and photographers and agencies both profit. Increasingly, though, more photos are being sold under a "royalty-free" (RF) structure, in which images may be used by a licensee multiple times for multiple projects without incurring additional fees. This, combined with the advent of free photo-sharing web consumer sites like Zoomr and Flickr, is impacting what additional revenue a photographer might make selling his or her photos to a stock agency. Where Getty and Corbis serve large media corporations in need of a high quality image quickly and legally, start-up sites like Zoomr and Flickr are providing more access to more photos for less money to more people and are challenging the high-cost, infrastructure-heavy business models of Getty and Corbis.

Summary

Ownership of images is intimately tied to changes in U.S. copyright law, which since 1865 has extended copyright protection to photography and later, digital images. Complicating the ownership paradigm has been whether photos are sufficiently original to qualify for copyright protection and whether some photos may be reused fairly, particularly in the age of digital manipulation. The assignment of image rights in "work for hire" relationships has also complicated the image ownership issue, and those disputes have routinely been battled out in court. Consolidation of the traditional photo stock houses has also challenged the livelihood of photographers who relied on the resale of photography for income. The ease with which photos are now uploaded to and downloaded from the World Wide Web nearly erases the search and delivery hassles of image delivery during the last century. What remains are rights clearance issues, which the photo stock houses continue to negotiate between photo taker and photo user. Ultimately, the market value of an image remains in the permission and cost to reuse it.

Victoria Smith Ekstrand

See also Copyright; Digital Photography; Freelance Writers and Stringers; Internet Impact on Media; Photography; Photojournalists

Further Readings

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Immigration, Coverage of

As a nation of immigrants, the United States' relation to the many waves of newcomers is complex, and the reaction that greets the recent arrivals varies. The role of journalism as it relates to immigration is multifaceted: immigrant news outlets help orient the newcomers; mainstream news operations seek to explain to the larger society the makeup of the immigrant community, the underlying forces that pushed those newcomers out of their country, and those that drew them here. Journalists covering the topic of immigration, whether working for immigrant or mainstream media organizations, strive to explore and analyze the impact of immigrant populations.

Development

Immigration is a perpetual subject of news stories in the United States. Mainstream outlets at times have embraced newcomers, and the labor and other capital they bring, while at other times the news media have characterized immigrants as spoilers who deprive Americans of economic well-being, and threaten to erode the "American way of life." More nuanced journalistic representations, particularly since 1980, have tackled fundamental issues, including how U.S. foreign policy has contributed to the arrival of refugees and asylum-seekers, the development of immigration reform legislation, and the impact of legal and

illegal immigration on local communities and industries.

An overriding contemporary theme has been the explosion in U.S. immigration. In 2005, foreign-born residents in the United States made up 12.4 percent of the population, according to Census figures, up from 4.7 percent in 1970. University of California, Irvine, demographer Frank D. Bean estimated that in 2001, there were 7.8 million illegal immigrants in the United States and that of those, 4.5 million were from Mexico. Researchers suggest that the illegal population has continued to grow since then.

Journalists have sought to address the presence of new immigrant populations in locations in states like Idaho, North Carolina, and Nebraska. One continuing challenge for journalists is attempting to quantify the numbers of residents who did not secure proper government authorization to enter the U.S. Census figures may address only the official record, and make only a broad approximation of the invisible, undocumented immigrants. Resourceful reporters know to cross-check those numbers with input from community institutions, such as churches, social service agencies, and schools.

News coverage of immigration challenges the ethics of journalism in several ways and raises important questions about the practice of journalism. Among these questions are whether journalists are too protective of their sources when they use pseudonyms for people who may well be deported if their true name is published; when and whether it is necessary to report the actions and reactions of a small group, such as the anti-immigrant Minute Men, for the purposes of offering an "opposing viewpoint"; whether Hispanic reporters identify too strongly with Latin American immigrants; and when the fact of a person's citizenship, or residency status, is relevant to a news story.

Immigrant Ethnic News Operations

It is commonplace for news publications to emerge from immigrant communities, serving as a bridge between the newcomers and their adopted country, providing news from back home, as well as orienting them to their new country's ways. These immigrant ethnic newspapers are often initiated to fill a gap in information provided by the mainstream news outlets in the same market. At various times, these ethnic immigrant presses have served other functions as well:

- to protest discrimination;
- to serve as a historical record of the contributions and challenges of that group;
- to provide news and information that might be censored by the government back home, as was the case of the Philippino exiles in the 1970s;
- to serve as a message-exchange service;
- as a way to lift the morale and raise the aspirations of a community; and
- to maintain the ethnic culture, and in some cases, its language.

Often published or broadcast in the native language of the group, the perspective on current events involving the group may be markedly different from the mainstream news operation in the same market. Mainstream journalists may find these ethnic outlets useful in understanding and keeping abreast of an ethnic immigrant community.

Mainstream Coverage

Since its early years, the United States has experienced several waves of immigration from different racial, ethnic, linguistic, and/or religious backgrounds. Each wave has ushered in a "nativist," anti-immigrant reaction, one that has been closely linked to the mainstream news coverage of that immigrant group—a kind of warning bell of the dangers that the group represented. At various points, mainstream media have carried fiercely anti-immigrant cartoons and news stories. One matter for journalists to consider is whether, or to what degree, biased news coverage merely reflects societal rejection of the immigrant community or whether, or how much, that negative news coverage shapes harsh attitudes toward immigrants.

The Statue of Liberty in New York harbor came to symbolize, particularly in political cartoons, the huge wave of immigration, from 1870 to 1920, when over 26 million people came to the United States, largely from Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Russia. Not all came through New York's Ellis Island entry station, however: Canadians and Mexicans were also arriving over their respective borders. The bulk of newcomers in the mid-1800s

were generally less skilled and educated than the general population. With large numbers of poor people, there is generally a backlash in the news media and in public opinion.

Around 1.5 million Irish left their homeland to escape the potato famine between 1840 and 1860. The newcomers, some of whom spoke only Gaelic, took low-skilled jobs, including building the 363-mile-long Erie Canal from Albany to Buffalo, and worked for as little as 50 cents a day. Irish Catholics were often resented and characterized as lazy, ignorant drunkards in the newspapers of the day. In the 1830s, for example, a nativist philosophy underlay the publication of several anti-Catholic and anti-Irish newspapers. These newspapers, which had names like *The Protestant* and the *American Patriot,* sought to create the impression that the Catholic church was infiltrating the United States and that the Pope would instruct his flocks on how to subvert the U.S. government.

Germans were also subjected to prejudiced coverage. One example was the 1886 Haymarket Affair, a Chicago riot in which 17 were killed after a protest organized by an anarchist group. Five of the seven men accused of involvement in the incident were German immigrants. The *Albany Law Journal* described the Germans as "long-haired, wild-eyed, bad-smelling, atheistic, reckless foreign wretches, who never did an honest day's work in their lives."

Chinese came under attack on the west coast in the 1880s. The *San Francisco Chronicle* ran negative stories about the large Chinese immigrant population. Two decades later, the targets of the negative coverage were Japanese immigrants. The *Chronicle* supported a boycott of Japanese businesses. Many other West Coast papers took similar stands.

But in times when there was a need for large numbers of laborers, the news media appeared to welcome arrivals from afar. For instance, after the Civil War, as the country began to expand, there was a need for more people to populate its western frontier. Some news media painted a glowing picture of what immigrants would find in the United States and how easy it would be to attract them. An 1864 *Chicago Tribune* editorial declared that Europe would "open her gates like a conquered city. Her people will come forth to us subdued by admiration of our glory and envy of our perfect peace. On the Rocky Mountains and still over to the Pacific our mighty populations will spread.... Our thirty millions will be tripled in thirty years."

But among the newcomers were people whose political ideologies threatened American capitalism. *Harper's Weekly* cartoonist Thomas Nast in 1874 used a top-hatted skeletal figure to indicate what communism would signify for Americans.

Mainstream journalists and cartoonists also defended the immigrants. English immigrant Bernhard Gillam became an influential cartoonist who showed particular sympathy for Chinese immigrants. In one cartoon, Gillam depicted a Chinese man in pigtail, traditional trousers, and tunic top, his pointy hat on the ground, being beset by a mob of white men wielding clubs on which are written their constituents: Democrats, Republicans, Independents. The title on the cartoon: "They Are Pretty Safe There. When Politicians do Agree, their Unanimity is Wonderful." Yet in cartoons about other immigrant groups, Gillam betrays his own prejudices, skewering Irish immigrants and depicting them as apes.

This period was important for its creation of immigration law. In 1882, for instance, Congress, hard pressed by West Coast interests that were reflected in emotional press coverage, passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, suspending new immigration of Chinese laborers to the United States for ten years; the law was later extended and was the first U.S. law to ban a group of immigrants based on race or nationality.

The Spanish-American War of 1898 encouraged further immigration, as the United States took control of Cuba, the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico, providing citizens of those four colonies easy entry into the U.S. mainland. Later wars effected immigration as well. After the United States left Vietnam in 1973, for example, over 700,000 Vietnamese were eventually given refugee status in the United States and news coverage of the Vietnamese refugees pointed to difficulties faced by the new arrivals. In Louisiana, news operations reported that the Vietnamese were perceived by the African American workers as competing for jobs. In the late 1970s, fishermen in Plaquemines Parish, 40 miles southeast of New Orleans, accused the Vietnamese of killing their pet dogs and cats for food and of wearing sleeping clothes as day wear—for the Vietnamese these "pajamas" were similar

to the clothes that they wore in their homeland. The media's depiction of Vietnamese integration ultimately may have overemphasized its "problems" at the expense of more positive and sympathetic stories.

Changing Policies

In modern times, mainstream journalism has generally sought to present fair coverage of immigrant issues. The National Association of Hispanic Journalists in 2006 offered guidelines to news organizations, urging them to drop the use of "illegal alien" which the NAHJ said, "dehumanize" those who arrive without legal permission. For journalists, the growing numbers of immigrants, and the varied government and private efforts to stymie the flow, has led to serious discussions about the ethics of covering those who chose to come without government authority. By 2008, it was standard practice for news operations to omit identifying characteristics of unauthorized immigrants, because to do otherwise will lead invariably to deportation. But some critics have wondered if the journalistic use of pseudonyms and otherwise protecting the identities of this vulnerable population ultimately serves to support their presence.

By the end of the twentieth century, immigration became a hot political issue, one covered at great length by the news media. Immigration also became a hot-button topic for conservative radio and television commentators who characterized the immigrant community as lawbreakers. Perhaps the most virulent to emerge was Michael Savage, who told listeners in August 2008 that "America is being overrun by an invasion force from Mexico that'll soon take over the country." Other conservative anti-immigrant commentators, including CNN's Lou Dobbs and talk radio host Rush Limbaugh, consistently denigrated immigrants as well. Audience members of anti-immigrant commentators often voice their approval of the message and register their own opinions with lawmakers, further politicizing the immigration debate. There have been some politicians who have used the immigration debate to garner media attention, energize an anti-immigrant vote and secure elections.

In 2006, after Congress attempted to pass harsh immigration restrictions, immigrants and their sympathizers held massive protest rallies across the country, coming out of the shadows in an unprecedented and astounding display of force. The rallies took place in the spring of 2006 and were largely organized by Spanish-language radio talk show hosts. Mainstream news operation managers were unaware of the buildup in the weeks before the rally until just a few days before—a fact that speaks to the disconnect between the mainstream news media and the immigrant community. The rallies themselves were page one, top-of-the-newscast events. One 40-year-old Peruvian immigrant who volunteered in the May 2006 rally in Philadelphia told the Associated Press that the protesters had succeeded in making the immigration debate—and the Latino immigrants' strong opposition to harsh measures—known to a broad audience.

Immigration has far-reaching policy implications, and several federal laws have had longstanding effects. For instance, after the 1959 takeover of Cuba by Fidel Castro's forces, Cuban immigrants became the beneficiaries of a major U.S. cold war policy shift. Cubans were dubbed "refugees" fleeing communism, and the federal government made available various programs to smooth their adjustment. Later Cuban immigrants faced resistance, in particular after the 1980 to 1981 influx of nearly 125,000 Cubans who were allowed to leave from the Port of Mariel. The American news media's characterization of the early Cuban settlers was sympathetic, and while the media was also sympathetic to the so-called Marielitos in the days following their arrival, the tone of news coverage changed when it was revealed that Castro had deported "undesirables," which included homosexuals, the mentally ill, and criminals. Researchers found that news coverage of the Marielitos turned public opinion against the newcomers.

Few immigrant communities have been as successful as the Cubans in Miami at affecting news coverage. Militant anti-Castro Cubans have been able to influence coverage by threatening journalists who are not strident enough in criticizing Fidel Castro. On January 21, 1992, Jorge Mas Canosa, who headed the Miami-based Cuban American National Foundation, told listeners of a Miami radio broadcast that the *Miami Herald* and *El Nuevo Herald* were siding with the Castro government and that the two papers were openly hostile toward Cuban exiles while simultaneously

benefiting from their support. The Foundation threatened the *Miami Herald* with boycotts and journalists received threatening phone calls. Critics of the Cuban American Foundation maintained that Mas Conosa had effectively silenced critics and declared himself and the Foundation as the only source for Cuban authorities.

In sum, immigration stories offer a rich array of story possibilities, including economics, demographics, coverage of various levels of government, the courts, and even, on occasion, sports, not to mention cultural and language concerns. Immigration experts note that as long as there is a pervasive disparity of wealth and opportunities between the United States and other countries, from faraway nations as well as immediate neighbors, immigration will continue to be an important issue for journalists to explore and explain.

Maggie Rivas-Rodriguez

See also Globalization, Coverage of; International Journalism; Labor Journalism

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Indecency and Obscenity

Who can say what about sex in print or on air is of enduring concern to journalists because every new means of communication is accompanied by some complaint about its misuse. Knowledge of the definitions of and laws governing obscene and/or indecent speech is thus fundamental to news stories about how or why any medium should be restrained. Moreover, and regardless of the mode, a familiarity with the restrictions is vital to journalists covering the entertainment industry. Rare is the occasion that some individual or group has not lodged a news-making objection to sexual content that film or television produces. But objectively reporting these stories can be challenging. Because a broad

interpretation of the First Amendment is the news industry's lodestar, the tendency is to report moral complaint as a statement of opinion or plea for censorship rather than an appeal for enforcement of existing law. Also, the jurisprudence governing sexual expression is complex, which makes the widespread circulation of speech that arguably violates the limitations all the more difficult to explain. Ironically, one of the keys to this mystery has been the consensual and long-reigning focus on preserving youth morality—a theme at the heart of obscenity and indecency law.

Obscenity

With the exception of child pornography, which is ipso facto obscene (*New York v. Ferber,* 1982), any printed or pictorial sexual expression that fails the test set by the United States Supreme Court in *Miller v. California* (1973) is not protected by the First Amendment. Sexual expression is obscene if *all* three parts of the *Miller* test are failed at once:

a. whether the average person, applying contemporary community standards, would find that the work, taken as a whole, appeals to the prurient interest;
b. whether the work depicts or describes, in a patently offensive way, sexual conduct specifically defined by the applicable state law; and
c. whether the work, taken as a whole, lacks serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value.

The story of how the Court arrived at this analysis begins in New York City at the twilight of the Victorian era, when trade in sex was a highly visible, lucrative industry that drew its players from all walks of life.

Enter Anthony Comstock, a Civil War veteran, determined Christian, and hardly the first one to try toppling New York City's prosperous commerce in sex. With limited housing making for expensive rents, and waves of immigrants standing in lines for low-paying jobs, prostitution evolved as a commonplace lifeline for women and children. Comstock's many reform-minded predecessors tackled the very public vice by trying to shut down brothels, concert saloons, and other venues of open assignation. The tactic failed repeatedly because the economic necessity remained. In the early 1870s, Comstock and his well-heeled benefactors at the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) decided on a different tack. A more effective reform, they reasoned, would be one that prohibited newspapers from running advertisements for brothel keepers and abortionists, for example, or that denied publishers the liberty to sell salaciously detailed guidebooks to houses of prostitution, like Butt Ender's (a clear nom de plume) *Prostitution Exposed.* An effective reform, in short, was one that put new teeth in the law against circulating obscene material in the United States mails and, not incidentally, appointed Comstock as Special Post Office Inspector in charge of its enforcement.

In the early hours of March 2, 1873, the U.S. Congress passed An Act for the Suppression of Trade in, and Circulation of, obscene Literature and Articles of immoral Use, which became known as the Comstock Act after its chief architect. Armed with the postal code amended to include much harsher punishment for circulation of obscene books, pamphlets, pictures, print, or other publications of a vulgar or indecent character, and the mailing of information about birth control, abortion, and other lewd or immoral literature found in newspapers, advertisements, circulars, books, or pictures, Comstock went to work. Like a modern-day undercover agent, Comstock boarded trains flashing his badge and pistol in pursuit of nefarious publishers, abortionists, madams, pimps, and gamblers—anyone, in short, who used the mails to support sexual commerce. By his account, he hauled in tons of obscene material, but not without a personal cost. According to a flattering biography, Comstock was forced to bravely withstand the bitter criticism journalists heaped upon him until his death in 1915. The New York press fomented a disdain for Comstock that survives to this day. Newspaper publishers complained bitterly at the time that the Comstock Act violated the First Amendment. They never mentioned, of course, that the new law also adversely affected their advertising revenues. In such enmity was Comstock held that the YMCA quickly disassociated itself from the reformer, founding the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice (NYSSV) and putting him in charge.

The first major test of the Comstock Act came in 1879 when a book dealer insisted he was at

liberty to circulate *Cupid's Yokes: Or, the Binding Forces of Conjugal Life,* written by Ezra Heywood, an anarchist, abolitionist, free lover, and feminist. A federal court disagreed, relying on what become known as the *Hicklin* test. The little tract was obscene, the court said, because it had the tendency to deleteriously affect the most susceptible member of the audience. It was no defense to say the material must be judged as a whole, or that a child, presumably the "most susceptible" character, could not possibly understand the complex thesis Heywood proposed (*United States v. Bennett*).

Hicklin stood for nearly 80 years but not without becoming a cumbersome roadblock for at least one of the social reforms Progressives of the early twentieth century had in mind. Excited by the promise that infant science held for society's betterment, many forward-looking Americans urged a new public discussion about sex as the means to eliminating divorce, adultery, and disease, and otherwise save the traditional family. This dialogue, which was to be based on the scientific "truth" about sex, would help adults overcome the insensible moral cant of old-world reformers like Comstock—or so the theory went. Few individuals were more enthused about the sex scientists' promises than Morris Ernst, a high-profile New York lawyer and one of the founders of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). Ernst, who single-handedly convinced the ACLU to join in the obscenity fight, was sure that the rapidly developing study of sex would reveal all its mysteries, freeing everyone of the ignorant and censorial habits of Comstock, and his successor, John S. Sumner. Never mind that all the moral reformers ever talked about was what it was about sex they did not want talked about, Ernst led the charge to finally liberate a discussion about sex. And worries about children's morality could not stand in the way of this frank new dialogue, or so he urged in the defense of literary artists James Joyce, Theodore Dreiser, and Radclyffe Hall; or the scientist, Alfred C. Kinsey. *Hicklin* had to go.

When the constitutionality of the Comstock Act finally reached the Supreme Court for review in 1957, Justice William Brennan Jr. wrote for the Court that the old law remained a good one but that *Hicklin* had to fall because the burdensome analysis stifled too much socially important artistic and scientific material pertaining to sex (*Roth v. United States*). The new test for the obscene must be whether "to the average person, applying contemporary community standards, the dominant theme of the material taken as a whole appeal[ed] to prurient interest," he wrote. In other words, sexual expression could no longer be deemed obscene simply because it might corrupt youth morality, and small sections of the material could not be extracted and found obscene.

If the Warren Court believed it had dispatched the obscenity problem in *Roth,* it was sorely mistaken. The Court's docket quickly grew jammed with appeals. Citizens for Decent Literature, which was founded two years before *Roth* by Charles H. Keating Jr., vowed to file briefs in support of the government in every obscenity case at the state and federal level. Worried about this new group, the ACLU came to the defense of publishers, writers, movie makers, and others, many of whom stretched artistic and scientific credulity. What did the Court mean by "community standards?" Did it mean the standards of the entire nation; or that of the local community (*Jacobellis v. Ohio*)? Were homosexual magazines prurient simply because they were designed for a homosexual audience (*Manual Enterprises v. Day*)? Was *Fanny Hill or Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure,* penned in 1749 as an intentionally pornographic novel, obscene? Did the book have some redeeming social value (*Memoirs v. Massachusetts*)? Did the police have the right to seize all of a bookseller's material when only a few magazines or books seemed to fall outside the *Roth* test (*Marcus v. Search Warrant*)? And was hardcore pornography protected expression (*Redrup v. New York*)? Demands that the Court clarify *Roth* seemed as endless as did headlines hailing the speech-friendly Warren Court.

To the dismay of moral groups, the Justices themselves reviewed much of the material that moralists and libertarians brought to them, often determining that the content fell within the law. Too, the Court often ruled on procedural issues, involving, for example, the way the contested speech was seized. In nearly all of the procedural appeals, the Court found the government in error. This left the impression, however incorrect, that scores of sex pulps, like William Hamling's *Wife-Swappers, Seeds of Sin,* and *No Longer a Virgin,* were reviewed and found not obscene. Moral groups complained bitterly that journalists rarely delved into the narrow

nature of many of the opinions, focusing instead on all the sexual speech the Court seemed to be liberating. Fairly or not, public displeasure with the Warren Court's views on sexual content in media grew virulent by the late 1960s.

So it is little wonder that a new moral group in New York City could easily stir up worries about children's moral welfare. It was one thing for the Court to clear *Fanny Hill* along with what seemed like an endless parade of "girlie" and "nudie" magazines for adults to read, but for children, too? By 1968, and clearly weary of what the Justices themselves referred to as the "intractable obscenity problem," the Court ruled that the state had not violated the First Amendment rights of booksellers when it prohibited the sale of certain material to children (*Ginsberg v. New York*). Operation Yorkville (later known as Morality in Media) had nurtured the case along and was, momentarily, delighted to finally have made headway in its war against sexual material it believed glorified the bacchanal.

The cost of a short-term win in a long-running battle was immediately evident. In effect, *Ginsberg* created two worlds; one for children, one for adults. Within days of the opinion, "Adults Only" signs sprang up in theaters, bookstores, and at magazine racks. The Motion Picture Association of America instituted its rating system, which meant bolder sexual portrayal in films that children were not permitted to see. The Adult Film Association of America, founded in 1969, boasted that its explicit films were intended for adults only. Although Operation Yorkville's clear intent was that of curbing the availability of certain sexual speech for adults, employing youth morality as its stalking horse paradoxically spawned the "adults only" world where the nature of sexual expression grew far more explicit, available, and arguably obscene.

Enter the new Chief Justice, Warren Burger, the purported nemesis of all civil liberties, particularly those governing expression. Charged with turning around the Warren Court's activism, his conservative supporters clearly expected him to tackle the "obscenity problem." And he tried. In 1973, the Burger Court decided *Miller v. California*. So doing, it refined *Roth* to say that the "community standards" by which the obscene was to be judged were those of the local or state, not national, community. And, it narrowed the "utterly without redeeming social value" part of the obscenity test to say that the contested material, taken as a whole, must lack serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value. In dicta, the Chief Justice wrote that hardcore pornography, or that portraying sexual conduct in explicit terms, was the type of sexual expression the Court remained willing to review. In the early twenty-first century, *Miller* remains the law.

Free-speech-minded journalists might have characterized the Chief Justice's opinion as exceptionally speech-friendly. After all, *Miller* returned the right to talk about what constituted the obscene to thousands of little communities around the country. But *Miller* gave reporters pause. Was it a bellwether for a "no-law-means-no-law" interpretation of the First Amendment that some Justices on the Warren Court championed? While libertarians called *Miller* the Burger Court's most constitutionally restrained decision yet, moralists said they had finally won the war. Both camps were no doubt surprised by the fact that hardcore pornography, like the film, *Deep Throat,* which was wildly popular in the 1970s, became far more widespread just as obscenity prosecutions fell markedly.

Although there is no evidence that moral groups were the instigators behind the state and federal child pornography legislation that swept the nation in the late 1970s, the fact remains that *Miller* failed dismally, and to some, there seemed no other recourse but to restage the fight in the name of children's welfare. The alarm coincided with newly enacted child protection laws at the state and federal levels, measures intended to shield youth from physical abuse. The worry also came at a time when pressure on law enforcement "to do something" about sexual expression in clear violation of the law was intense, often on newspaper editorial and op-ed pages. So police in Chicago and Los Angeles asked reporters to ride with them through the homosexual haunts of their respective cities, taking note of the young boys the adult men were said to be sexually abusing. Shocking stories about child pornography subsequently made front-page stories in the *Chicago Tribune* and *Los Angeles Times* for days. Calling the reporters to testify, Congress applauded them for discovering the new multimillion-dollar child pornography business and then quickly outlawed it as a violation of allowed speech.

In 1982, the Burger Court upheld a New York law that criminalized the sexual portrayal of children as ipso facto obscene; in other words, without the benefit of *Miller* (*New York v. Ferber*). Most child pornography, which constituted only a small part of the overall market at the time, quickly disappeared. By the next decade, however, some were creating sexual images of children using technology rather than actual children. Congress acted to criminalize the expression, but the Supreme Court struck the law as overly broad, reasoning that no child was actually harmed in the construction of such graphic images (*Ashcroft v. Free Speech Coalition*). Because the material at question is contraband, in-depth coverage on, say, the nature or availability of child pornography is a risky undertaking for journalists. Some academic research shows, however, that the market for sexualized images of youth has grown tremendously, and it is traded, rather than sold, using the Internet in extremely secretive ways.

Although the war over what sexual speech the First Amendment should protect continues, it is rare that an obscenity case reaches the Supreme Court. The reasons vary. State and local prosecutors are not always well grounded in obscenity law. Mounting an obscenity case is expensive and likely to bring community rebuke if taxpayers' dollars are spent on a lost case. But the leading explanation is that those with a moral opinion about sexual speech consistently project it through the child-morality lens—a fact not lost on the "adults only" trade organizations. If reasonable steps have been taken to protect children, and purveyors of explicit sexual speech are quite fastidious on that score, the government is hesitant to stir up a case, even though the Burger Court made it exceptionally clear that "adults only" venues provided no shelter for obscene speech (*Paris Adult Theater v. Slaton*).

Indecency

Worries about children's moral welfare also characterize the evolution of indecency law. In fact, the very definition of indecent speech is language that describes—when children are likely in the audience—sexual or excretory activities and organs in ways that would patently offend the contemporary community's standard for the broadcast medium (*FCC v. Pacifica*). The broadcast industry, journalists and entertainers alike, greeted this 1978 Supreme Court opinion as if the Justices had turned the clock back to 1878 when *Hicklin* seemed to silence so much adult talk about sex. Broadcasters troubled themselves unnecessarily. As the Court would have to make clear repeatedly, *Pacifica* is an exceptionally narrow restriction.

The facts are (a) indecent speech is protected by the First Amendment as long as it reaches an adult audience, and (b) *Pacifica*'s reach extends only to the broadcast use of the public airwaves. Knowledge of these rules is useful to reporters because virtually every television season is accompanied by moral complaint about one new program or another. Radio personalities, too, often provoke protest. Knowledge of *Pacifica*'s narrow nature is valuable for journalists who report about newer communication technologies, the competition for audiences they incite, and the moral complaint about indecent speech that predictably follows.

Considering the history of broadcast law, it is not surprising that the definition of indecent speech is that likely to corrupt children's morality. While Congress debated the Communications Act of 1934, anxious parents and school administrators warned lawmakers that certain radio programs, which were very popular with children, corrupted their innocence. Legislators apparently heard the complaints. As a part of the act, Congress created the Federal Communication Commission (FCC) and charged the regulators with granting licenses to those broadcasters who promised to use the airwaves in the public interest, convenience, or necessity of everyone. The FCC was also authorized to penalize those who broadcast indecent speech. Although it would take the FCC about 40 years to exercise its power to so punish, a child's moral welfare was at the heart of the case when the constitutional question of its authority to do so reached the Supreme Court.

One afternoon in 1973, a former Central Broadcasting System (CBS) executive, John H. Douglas, accompanied by his teenage son, tuned his car radio to a station owned by the Pacifica Foundation. In the context of a program on what constituted prurient speech, WBAI played comedian George Carlin's "Seven Dirty Words You Can Never Say on Television." Douglas complained to the FCC that the words "Shit, Piss,

Fuck, Cunt, Cocksucker, Motherfucker, and Tits" were hardly in the public interest, clearly offensive to children's moral welfare, and the station should forfeit its license. Its license was not revoked, but the FCC did order the station to broadcast such speech only during a "safe harbor" period, or when children were likely asleep, soon defined to be after 10 p.m. and before 6 a.m.

The Court agreed in the landmark case that the FCC had not engaged in rulemaking; that the Communications Act of 1934 did not prohibit the FCC from reviewing expression after it aired; that the law constitutionally prohibited the broadcast of indecent language; and, because the airwaves were limited and publicly owned, broadcast speech was subject to greater regulation, or less First Amendment protection. This latter thesis was particularly so because radio and television were easily accessed by children, the majority agreed.

For years following the *Pacifica* decision, moral groups pressed lawmakers and the FCC over how big the "safe harbor" ought to be and how old one had to be to get in it. Indecent speech may be legally broadcast over the airwaves between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. The age youth may safely enter the "safe harbor" has been defined rather arbitrarily as seventeen.

The Court has been quite unwilling to extend *Pacifica* to other media. For example, it would not uphold the Telephone Decency Act of 1988, which banned dial-a-porn in the name of children's innocence (*Sable Communications of California v. FCC*). *Pacifica* did not prohibit adults from accessing indecent expression, the Court said, reminding Congress that the telephone was not a scarce, publicly owned resource or an invasive medium. The same reasoning applied when the Court severely limited the reach of the Cable Act of 1992 (*Denver Area Educational Telecommunications Consortium v. FCC*). In 1997, the Court ruled that Congress tread upon the First Amendment rights of adults again when legislators treated the Internet as if it, too, was a limited and invasive resource (*Reno v. ACLU*). However pressing the public's interest in youth morality might be, the Court said upon reviewing the Communications Decency Act of 1996, the regulation of indecent expression must be narrowly tailored to suit that end. Congress tried two more times to regulate indecent expression on the Internet. The Child Online Protection Act (COPA) of 1998 was blocked by court order before its enforcement and later overturned. Finally, the Children's Internet Protection Act (CIPA) of 2000 was upheld by the Court in 2004.

For all the bickering, the First Amendment protects the right of telephone companies to deliver indecent expression, or dial-a-porn, at any time so long as the receiver is an adult using a credit card. Cable and satellite operators, who must provide lock boxes and other purportedly childproof devices, may deliver indecent speech regardless of the "safe harbor." Their services are perceived as different from over-the-air broadcasting because people must make a decision to subscribe to and pay for the service.

Few seem happy with this arrangement. In competition with cable and satellite concerns, network television programmers, seeking better ratings, persistently test the "safe harbor." Their ratings may rise but so do objections that indecent content is reaching the young. Unsurprisingly, Congress passed the Broadcast Decency Enforcement Act of 2005, which increased the fines the FCC may levy by tenfold (to more than $300,000 per incident). Meanwhile, some radio broadcasters, like longtime shock jock Howard Stern, took their shows off broadcast stations and into the largely unregulated (because listeners pay to subscribe) satellite arena.

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See also Advocacy Groups; Censorship; Federal Communications Commission (FCC); First Amendment; Free Expression, History of

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India

Indian media have served the world's largest democracy as an inexorable watchdog. The country's free press has helped sustain Indian democratic traditions in sharp contrast to some neighboring nations where military dictators have stifled the press and democratic values.

India's media inform, educate, and entertain a population of 1.2 billion, which is roughly one-sixth of the world's people. More than one-third (35.2 percent, 2001 Census) of India's population cannot read or write but are avid audiences of radio, television, multimedia programs, and Internet content. India's burgeoning media landscape encompasses nearly 65,000 newspapers and periodicals in 123 languages and dialects, more than 300 national and regional television channels featuring news and entertainment programs in English and 22 national languages, nearly 300 million mobile phone subscribers and a rising number of active Internet users.

Economy Fosters Media Boom

India's expanding media have been catapulted by its growing economy, the world's fourth largest after United States, China, and Japan defined in terms of gross domestic product at purchasing power parity per capita.

Despite impressive gains steered by sweeping economic reforms (and some deregulation) since 1991 and by growing international investment, there is a wide chasm between the rich and poor. For instance, in 2007, every fourth Indian lived below the poverty line even as India was home to 36 billionaires (defining assets in U.S. dollars). India faces other problems such as overpopulation, environmental degradation, government and business corruption, an extensive underground black market economy, ethnic conflict, religious riots, terrorism, and neglect of children. These problems have long been a staple of news coverage in India.

A vibrant economy has reinvigorated Indian media with increased advertising spending, rising international investment, growing income levels, and a surge in consumer spending. India's newspaper market is among the largest in the world. More than 150 million people read a newspaper in India every day compared to 97 million Americans and 48 million Germans.

In 2002, the Indian government eased a 1955 ban on foreign investment in magazines and newspapers. By 2008, it had approved 15 foreign investment bids for news and current affairs media besides approving publication of international newspaper facsimile editions. As newspaper readership stagnates in the United States and Europe, global companies such as the U.S.-based Blackstone Group; Britain's Pearson, publisher of the *Financial Times;* and Britain's Associated Newspapers, have invested in Indian media. Newspaper circulation in India has been growing and advertising increased by 15 percent in 2007. Such double-digit growth rates are projected to continue until 2014. India's print media recorded a growth of 16 percent over 2007, at nearly $2.9 billion and estimated to double in size by 2012.

In 2005, the Indian government relaxed restrictions and has since approved 189 Indian editions of foreign specialty, technical, and scientific magazines. Such opportunities have attracted prominent global magazine publishers including Condé Nast (*Vogue* and *GQ*), Time (*People*), Meredith Corporation (*Child*), Dennis Publishing (*Maxim*), Rodale (*Prevention*), and Axel Springer (*Autobild*). Indian editions have enabled publishers to target the Indian market with indigenized innovations and online features, helped readers subscribe to international magazines at affordable prices, and opened new avenues for advertisers. With a 17 percent growth in 2008, the Indian media and entertainment industry has emerged as among the fastest growing sectors of the Indian economy. The entertainment and media industry grew cumulatively at 19 percent over 2005–08 to an estimated size of $10.9 billion. While the advertising industry increased by 22 percent in 2007, online advertising

was up nearly 70 percent in that year. The entertainment segment of the animation, gaming, and visual effects industry grew by 24 percent at nearly $3.2 billion in 2007.

Indian media's prosperous times may be attributed to several factors such as government's liberal reforms inviting foreign investment in media, a focused media fare devoid of free content online due to low Internet penetration, a rising literacy rate, sophisticated print and broadcast technologies, increased purchasing power of the middle class, rise in advertising and consumerism, growing popularity of infotainment, and round-the-clock media content on television and the Internet.

Press Development

India's first English newspaper appeared under fortuitous circumstances. By the 1760s, the Indian empire of Britain's East India Company grew to paramount power. Despite such business and imperial power, there were no newspapers in Calcutta, the seat of British colonial rule for decades and second only to London in population. In 1780, James Augustus Hicky, an expatriate Irishman, published India's first English newspaper, the *Bengal Gazette* or *the Calcutta General Advertiser*. Hicky quickly realized that truly distinguished newspapers should serve society, even at the risk of official displeasure. His newspaper made interesting reading with its ample dose of scurrilous reporting, risqué advertisements reflecting low morality in society, and scandalous accounts of the misdeeds of British administrators. In 1781, British rulers charged him with libel. He was harassed, attacked, and jailed. Undaunted, Hicky continued to edit his newspaper from prison, though his publication did not survive long and Hicky died a pauper in 1802.

The early nineteenth century saw the birth of several newspapers, both in English and regional Indian languages. In 1818, the Baptist missionaries of Serampore published a Bengali newspaper, *Samachar Darpan* (The Mirror of Truth), and the English periodical *The Friend of India,* which were self-proclaimed organs of Christian thought and doctrine. Ram Mohan Roy, the Indian leader and social reformer, published in 1821 the Bengali newspaper *Sambad Kaumudi* (Moon of Reason), which propagated the radical Western Hindu viewpoint. By 1822, there were six Bengali papers in and around the Calcutta area with circulations of 400 to 800 copies and widespread influence among readers. In 1823, when the British tried to censor the Calcutta press, Roy, as founder and editor of India's earliest newspapers, organized a protest designating freedom of speech and religion as natural rights for the people. Founded in July 1822, the Gujarati publication *Bombay Samachar* has been the oldest continuously published newspaper in India.

The newspaper emerged as a powerful social and political force during the freedom movement in India. The British rulers enacted in 1878 the Vernacular Press Act to repress "seditious propaganda" in regional language newspapers. Lord Lytton, the British viceroy, denounced vernacular newspapers as "mischievous scribblers preaching open sedition" to end the British Raj. Faced with severe criticism and protest, the British rulers repealed the act in 1882. In 1880, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a social reformer and nationalist, founded the Marathi daily *Kesari* (Lion), which attracted widespread readership for its opposition to British rule. British officials jailed Tilak in 1897 for his writings.

Fewer than two decades later, Mahatma Gandhi, the architect of India's freedom from British rule, played a prominent role as editor of three newspapers—*Young India, Harijan* (meaning "child of God," coined as a euphemism for Untouchables by Gandhi in 1931) and *Navajivan* (New Life)—which became major vehicles for Gandhian thought and action. As an outstanding twentieth-century leader, Gandhi authored a prodigious number of words. Through his newspaper columns, he assiduously propagated his ideas as a prophet of nonviolence and *Satyagraha* (the firmness of truth). This empowered members of the meek Indian masses to fight against seemingly invincible British rule. In 1938, Gandhi's lieutenant Jawaharlal Nehru founded the English newspaper, *National Herald* and its sister Urdu publication *Qaumi Awaz* ("Voice of the Community") to uphold such national values as secularism and nonalignment. Nehru, who became the first prime minister of independent India in 1947, gained renown for his political acumen and scholarship.

Language Diversity

In the postindependence era, Indian journalism sustained its influential role on two fronts. First,

the urban elite relied on the English-language media, which was a dominant legacy of the British Raj. Second, the regional-language media played a vital role in educating and informing a significant section of Indians who prefer to read and view media in their native language.

India's language diversity extends beyond Hindi, the official language, and English, the subsidiary official language, to more than 22 officially recognized languages and hundreds of regional dialects. Such pluralism is richly represented in the print media, radio channels, news websites, blogs, wikis, and television programs that reflect multicultural heterogeneity, diverse social values, and an array of linguistic traditions. The Paris-based World Association of Newspapers' list of "World's 100 Largest Newspapers" features 17 Indian newspapers, including three English dailies, seven Hindi publications, and seven regional-language publications. Most of these newspapers publish color broadsheet editions printed simultaneously in several cities and maintain websites for their domestic and international readers.

Other media entities are also committed to language diversity. All India Radio's services cover 24 languages and 146 dialects. The Indian government plans to add 107 community radio stations to the 38 existing community radio stations to spearhead rural empowerment and dissemination of information with local language programming. India's two primary news agencies, the Press Trust of India (PTI) and the United News of India (UNI), provide news coverage and information in both English and Hindi. UNI's wire services are also available in Urdu.

The Indian government provides advertising support to regional language newspapers in Bodo, Dogri, Garhwali, Khasi, Kashmiri, Konkani, Maithili, Manipuri, Mizo, Nepali, Rajasthani, Sanskrit, Santhali, Sindhi, Urdu, and tribal languages. It extends similar concessions to newspapers published in remote hilly and border areas and in Jammu and Kashmir, Andaman Nicobar, and eight northeastern states.

News Agencies

Launched in 1961, UNI was the first Indian news agency to offer a financial service, a stock exchange service, and a national photo service. UNI also features specialized content services like Unidarshan (television news clips and features), UNIscan (news display on television sets for hotels, top government officials, and corporate clients), UNIDirect (for top executives in the government, corporate, and other sectors) and UNIgraphics (computer-designed graphics in ready-to-use form).

India's largest news agency, PTI, is a nonprofit cooperative owned by the country's newspapers. PTI subscribers include 450 newspapers in India and several media entities abroad. All major broadcast channels in India and abroad subscribe to PTI. Founded in 1949, PTI's origin dates back to 1910 when Keshab Chandra Roy, a political correspondent from India, founded the Associated Press of India in London as a news pooling arrangement with journalists. By 1919, Reuters became the sole supplier of foreign and domestic news to the government and to the newspapers of India.

PTI has collaborative arrangements with the Associated Press (AP), Agencies France Presse (AFP), and Bloomberg for distribution of their news feeds in India, and with the Associated Press for its photo service and international commercial information. PTI exchanges news with nearly 100 news agencies worldwide as part of bilateral and multilateral arrangements, including the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool and the Organization of Asia-Pacific News Agencies.

Broadcast Media

Radio broadcasting started in India with the Radio Club of Bombay's first broadcast in 1923. This was followed by regular Broadcasting Services in 1927 with two privately owned transmitters at Bombay and Calcutta. The Indian Government took over the transmitters in 1930 under the aegis of Indian Broadcasting Service, renamed All India Radio in 1936 and *Akashvani* (meaning the "Voice from the Sky") after 1957.

Doordarshan (meaning "View from Afar"), a public service broadcaster and one of the largest terrestrial television networks in the world, started in New Delhi as an experiment in 1959 with half-hour programs on education and development. Regular television service commenced in major Indian cities such as Delhi in 1965, Mumbai (Bombay) in 1972, Kolkata (Calcutta) and Chennai (Madras) in 1975. Television services were separated from radio in

1976. India introduced color television in 1982 coinciding with the Asian Games held in New Delhi. With the advent of color television, the state-owned broadcaster Doordarshan introduced in 1982 Doordarshan National programs that ushered in a major broadcasting revolution with national telecast of government events, sports, soap operas, and other programming that attracted nationwide viewership and advertisements. India's first long running television soap opera, *Hum Log* (We People), which began in 1984, was designed to promote women's status in Indian society with messages about equal status for women, family harmony, and smaller family size. Doordarshan commissioned a television adaptation of the ancient Indian religious epics, *Ramayan* (1987–88) and *Mahabharat* (1989–90). These mythological serials became instant television hits that cut across rural-urban barriers to attract advertisers and viewers across India and abroad, allowing Doordarshan to expand its programming exponentially and develop an array of programming innovations such as Indian soap operas, comedy shows, children's programs, and crime thrillers. In response to both political protests and popular demands that the government-owned broadcasters should be autonomous like those in other countries, the All India Radio and Doordarshan were merged in 1997 under Prasar Bharati (Broadcasting Corporation of India), a regulatory agency. Television ceased to be under strict government control by 1990 when transborder satellite channels such as Star TV and CNN began beaming programs. Jaded with Doordarshan's staid programming steeped in officialdom, urban residents installed receivers to access satellite programs. Some local entrepreneurs started offering television services, albeit illegal ones, that provided access to an array of international channels. The government's economic liberalization and deregulation of the 1990s led to a proliferation of international satellite television, global television channels, and cable networks. During the late 1990s, Indian television audiences enjoyed a plethora of channel choices comprising CNN, BBC, MTV, and other global television channels. Some pan-Indian television networks featured Indian movies, music prayer services, soap operas, and news programs in English and local languages. By 1998 several international television channels adopted programs with local flavor in response to waning interest in foreign television content. Indian entertainment television channels such as Zee TV, Star Plus, and Sony Entertainment introduced shows based on sociocultural themes, pluralism of ethnic and cultural norms, local language messages, and region-specific interests to compete with pan-Indian networks in localized markets.

India's broadcast media environment offers nearly 300 channels including program choices from Doordarshan as well as from domestic and global media companies such as News Corporation, Sony Entertainment, and Walt Disney. Today, such programs also attract a global audience. India's entertainment television channels such as Star One, Bollywood 4 U, TV ASIA, Sahara TV, and MTV India repackage their media content for the global south Asian diaspora across Europe, Africa, Australia, and the Americas. Besides exerting greater cultural influence with transforming television content, these media companies have led to increased journalistic independence and greater scrutiny of the government.

Faced with competition from private channels, Doordarshan, the public broadcaster, has reconfigured its programs with sports, news, and entertainment content and introduced a satellite television service with no subscription fees. Its programs now reach 90 percent of the population through a network of nearly 1,400 terrestrial transmitters and 65 studios. Doordarshan remains the most widely available network, especially in rural areas, where a majority of the population lives.

The Indian television industry is expected to grow annually at around 22 percent from 2009 through 2012. The direct to home (DTH) satellite television and broadcasting industry is expected to grow annually at 48 percent from 2009 through 2013. While DTH homes are projected to increase 525 percent from 4 million in 2007 to 25 million in 2012, the pay television homes are projected to increase by 55 percent from 74 million in 2007 to 115 million in 2012.

India's radio industry is set to grow by 200 percent from 2009 through 2012. India's FM radio industry plans to offer services in 275 cities across the world as part of government reforms that began in 2005. The FM radio industry seeks to fund this unprecedented growth with foreign direct investment limits of 49 percent for non-news channels and 26 percent for news channels. These services will act as a useful supplement to the radio

services of All India Radio, which served 99.14 percent of the Indian population in 2008 with 229 broadcasting centers supported by 148 medium-frequency, 54 high-frequency, and 168 FM transmitters.

Journalism and Communication Education in India

India's media boom has led to rapid developments in journalism and communication education. The number of institutions for journalism and communication education has increased from six in the 1940s to more than 86 universities with curricula for journalism and communication education. In addition, more than 283 private institutions offer training programs in various aspects of the media industry. Some universities now offer graduate programs in media and communications studies in India. This has led to a multifold increase in student enrollment in journalism and communication schools and a growing demand for journalism educators and teaching resources.

India has been a major seat of higher education for several centuries and its science and technology talent pool is among the largest worldwide. However, journalism and communication education in India has faced various challenges such as inadequate funding, shortage of well-qualified educators, lack of equipment, library resources and support staff. In addition, journalism and communication education is handicapped by dearth of institutional investment in exploring research issues that integrate and inform the media scholarship with theoretical perspectives and comprehensive methods. Most journalism and communication schools in India may benefit from encouraging their faculty and students to pursue erudite research on media trends from a scholarly perspective.

Press Freedom

The Indian Constitution provides for "the right to freedom of speech and expression" but stipulates the government can restrict those rights under some circumstances, such as maintenance of public order, state security, and public morality. In 1975, under controversial circumstances of political instability, India declared a "State of Emergency" to restore the security of India. During the 21-month "State of Emergency" (1975–77), Prime Minister Indira Gandhi imposed restrictions on the media, curtailed civil liberties, suspended elections, and resorted to severe misuse of power. Opposition leaders and journalists were jailed. However, the press in India survived the "State of Emergency" to report Indira Gandhi's defeat in the 1977 general elections. Unshackled from draconian excesses of the Emergency, people called for institutional reforms and greater government accountability. This led to a quantum jump in the number of newspapers and magazines, contributing to a media boom.

International organizations rate India's press as "partly free." The U.S.-based Freedom House ranked India seventy-seventh out of 195 countries in its 2007 *Freedom of the Press*. Reporters Without Borders, a news media advocacy organization, ranked India one hundred twentieth in its 2007 Worldwide Press Freedom Index, which tracks actions against news media.

In 2005, India introduced the Right to Information Act that authorizes citizens to request information from a "public authority," which has been stipulated to reply "expeditiously or within 30 days." The act also requires public authorities to computerize their records for wide dissemination and to proactively publish certain categories of information. With the crusading zeal of a perpetual adversary, the Indian media campaigned and influenced public demands for this right with fervent calls for a free flow of information.

Internet and Emerging Technologies

In August 1995, India began full-scale Internet service for public access through the Videsh Sanchar Nigam, India's overseas communications agency. That led to rapid diffusion of Internet communication nationwide (estimated 150 million Internet users in 2009). Despite a yawning digital divide, modern communication systems in Indian cities coexist with abysmal connectivity in the remote villages, where more than 70 percent of India's population lives. Compared to traditional landline phones, mobile phones have emerged as the dominant mode for telephony in rural areas, where fewer people own phones and it is easy to link distant villages with cost-efficient installation of mobile infrastructure. Mobile

phones also provide similar flexibility and convenience to the urban consumer.

India has the world's fastest growing mobile phone market. By 2012, India plans to double its phone subscriber base to 700 million users, covering nearly 70 percent of the country's population. India's teledensity, or the number of phone users for every 100 individuals in rural areas, stands at 13 percent and 72 percent in urban areas. The national average is 32 percent. Of the 364 million telephone subscribers in October 2008, 326 million were mobile phone users. In 2009, India adopted the third-generation (3G) mobile technology that provides users access to high-end data applications, including high-speed interactive gaming and Internet access, videoconferencing, video streaming, and other multimedia features on the phone.

The recent growth of the Internet in India has led to a spurt in online journalism comprising news websites, blogs, wikis, and some crowd-sourced citizen journalism that has permeated the national consciousness. Since 2000, online journalism in India has exposed a range of issues such as political corruption, misuse of state funds, and match-fixing in professional cricket, India's national pastime. A large section of the Indian news audience regularly access websites of mainstream media, Twitter, photo and video sharing sites, wikis, and blogs for breaking news and commentary. During the November 2008 terrorist attacks in Mumbai, more than 9 million people in India and abroad accessed the website of *The Times of India,* India's largest English-language newspaper. Page views on the *Times of India* website saw a fourfold increase from 4.5 million on November 27, 2008, the day after the attacks, to more than 17 million the next day. Breaking news of the terrorist attacks featured on blogs and Twitter messages.

India's burgeoning blogging community, comprising more than 150,000 blogs, covers topics like politics, social issues, Bollywood celebrities, Indian culture, and technology trends. Mirroring the success and influence of the Indian language media, Indian bloggers represent the rich diversity of regional languages and local issues. A significant number of Indian bloggers communicate in English to reach a global audience both in India and abroad.

With the imminent convergence of information, communication, and entertainment media, India plans to implement Internet Protocol Television (IPTV), a digital television service delivered through an Internet network infrastructure. IPTV provides viewers with a new visual digital experience enhanced by myriad value-added interactive services that meld infotainment and e-commerce. Such plans may lead to an augmented demand for broadband connectivity in India.

Conclusion

Checkered circumstances have transformed media in a developing nation like India where a sizable segment of the Indian population is illiterate and impoverished. Faced with major economic and social changes, India's media reflects diversity of content and growth. Exciting changes in entertainment media, phenomenal growth in emerging technologies, a plethora of broadcast media choices, a burgeoning print media, and a steady diffusion of innovations, such as improved telephony and Internet connectivity, have reshaped India's media.

India provides a captivating context for studying the relationship between media and democracy. Indian media have broadened and deepened democracy by acting as a bridge between the government and the governed. To this end, the media have galvanized civil society to campaign more vigorously for institutional reforms and greater government accountability by melding multiple democratic roles as an inexorable watchdog of democracy. In their best role, the Indian media have acted as a reliable source for news and information; a credible critic of the government; an active adversary; an investigator of corruption; an intellectual interpreter of events; and a forum for public expression of censure and praise. Thus, the Indian media have not only influenced democracy but also helped preserve it.

Debashis "Deb" Aikat

See also International and Comparative Journalism Law; International Journalism; International Journalism Organizations; Internet Impact on Media; Social Movements and Journalism

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INFOTAINMENT

Infotainment, formally defined by *Merriam-Webster's* dictionary as "a television program that presents information (as news) in a manner intended to be entertaining," is a neologism that refers to the blurring between information and entertainment in news and current affairs programming, whether it be in the selection of news stories (e.g., more emphasis on celebrity gossip, crime stories, and human interest pieces) or in their presentation (flashy graphics, sound effects, and sensationalism).

The media environment in the United States and around the world has undergone dramatic changes since the late 1970s and early 1980s. Not only have technological innovations changed the way citizens consume various media, but the structure of the industry has changed as well. Growing conglomerations of media companies have led to a dramatic increase not only in the amount of information available but also in competition for audiences. Newspaper readership is down as is viewership of the major network news programs. As audiences turn to Internet-based news sources, media companies are searching for ways to maintain if not expand their audience shares while increasing advertising revenues. News divisions of media companies, once treated by management as insulated from market pressures, are now considered additional sources of revenue. These economic challenges have helped blur the news-entertainment distinction as news producers rely on entertainment value to "sell" news stories.

Infotainment is a buzzword, first popularized in the 1980s, and commonly used by communications scholars and critics to describe the erosion of the line that once divided news (information) and entertainment. Historically, news organizations maintained a distinction between "hard" news and entertainment, or "soft" news, programming. Infotainment is generally used as a synonym for "soft" news, defined broadly as either

> a residual category for all news that is not 'hard,' as a particular vocabulary in presenting the news (e.g., more personal and familiar and less distant or institutional), and as a set of story characteristics, including the absence of a public policy component, sensationalized presentation, human-interest themes, and emphasis on dramatic subject matter, such as crime and disaster. (Baum 2003, 92)

So where does "soft" news, or infotainment, come from? It is often the result of standard journalistic practice combined with market influence. Researcher Doug Underwood describes five ways in which news and marketing goals interact. He argues that the "marketing and bottom-line influence" upon today's media can be seen in

> the tabloid techniques adopted by ratings-fixated local television stations and the network television newsmagazines . . . the embrace of splashy visual techniques and news-you-can-use items by newspapers desperate to stem a four decade long readership slide . . . the explosion of salacious

> copy and scandal coverage in traditional media outlets and on the Internet . . . the mixing of entertainment, crime, and gossip with the news by television organizations trying to hold onto their audience; and the 'synergy' of relentlessly expanding media conglomerates eager to treat the news as a 'product' to be recast for the publicity, promotional, and marketing purposes of their integrated media holdings. (Underwood 2001, 100)

Taken together, this mixture of market forces and journalistic practices begets infotainment.

Defined as such, infotainment includes daytime television shows such as *The Oprah Winfrey Show,* entertainment news programs like *Entertainment Tonight,* talking-head forums such as *Hannity and Colmes,* and late-night talk shows including political punchlines from late-night host David Letterman or the satirical stylings of *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart.* These types of programs convey political and public affairs information through humor, discussion panels, and feature stories, and try to do so in an entertaining, eye-catching manner. So do such news magazines as NBC's *Dateline,* which increasingly stress crime and human interest stories as opposed to hard news.

News programming and entertainment are not necessarily opposites, however. Entertainment television often has informative elements and news can often be entertaining in its presentation. It is now common for 24-hour American cable news channels and television network broadcasts to underpin stories using graphics, sound effects, and slogans. The presentation of news items in such a stylized, eye-catching manner is not new, nor is it limited to electronic media. *USA Today* has since 1981 packaged the news using graphics, charts, and flashy color photographs, putting as much or more emphasis on style than substance.

Media critics argue that by providing content in this manner, media are failing the public as a source of reliable information necessary to the democratic process. Others suggest that soft news and infotainment might actually be good for consumers. Researcher Matthew Baum claims that not only do large numbers of Americans consume soft news, but soft news programs also attract viewers normally not interested in political programming. By "piggy-backing" information about foreign policy and politics onto entertainment-oriented programs, these normally inattentive soft news consumers may actually gain information.

Media mergers promotes the atmosphere in which infotainment thrives. To take just one example, after America Online and Time Warner joined forces in 2000, the top executives at Turner Broadcasting, the parent company of CNN, were replaced by entertainment industry insiders with very little news experience. Large media conglomerates with diverse holdings including film production houses, magazines, book publishing companies, newspapers, and broadcast stations often use these outlets to promote their products. This cross-promotion of media holdings has made its way into news broadcasts. Celebrities are often interviewed by news anchors in order to promote their new films that are owned by the same parent companies.

Infotainment, while entertaining and good for the bottom line, takes up time and space that might otherwise be filled with more important ("serious," "hard") news items. Put another way, what is *not* making it on the air or into the press? One reason infotainment is so appealing to news editors is that it is unlikely to offend viewers. French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu concluded that "part of the symbolic function of television, in the case of the news, for example, is to call attention to those elements that will engage everybody—which offer something for everyone. These are things that will not shock anyone, where nothing is at stake, that do not divide, are generally agreed on, and interest everybody without touching on anything important." When viewers, and the advertising dollars they bring, matter, the temptation to air infotainment-oriented programming is heightened.

The rise of infotainment is a mainly result of market forces and pressure to constantly grab the viewer's attention and keep them tuned in. One reason for the increase in "news you can use" items, feature stories, and localized topics is the perception of news consultants and editors that this is what the public wants. CNN correspondent Christiane Amanpour once told a group of news executives,

> Think of how much more of a contribution we could make to this great society if we weren't so dependent on what I call those hocus-pocus-focus awful groups who tell us what people are not interested in.…time has proven that all the gimmicks and all the cheap journalism can only carry us so far. (quoted in Anderson 2004, 29)

Whether consultants, market researchers, and news "gatekeepers" are correct is debatable, but one result of the glut of infotainment is less coverage of government and the bureaucracy. Although their decisions may be vital to local citizens, city council or school board meetings rarely sell newspapers; scandals involving Hollywood celebrities do. If the role of the press in a free society is to give the public the information they *need* to be self-governing, in addition to the programming they may *want,* the implications of infotainment-saturated news content may be having large and lasting effects.

Gerard Paul Matthews

See also Criticism of Journalism; Entertainment Journalism; Hard Versus Soft News; Lifestyle Journalism; Sensationalism; Tabloid Newspapers; Tabloid Television

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Innovation Journalism

Innovation journalism refers to reporting about the people, processes, practices and politics associated with innovation, be they related to computer technology trends, health and medicine, or the development of new products, markets, and industries. Other examples of innovations covered by the media include new business models, business process improvements (such as Six Sigma), and intellectual property.

It includes coverage of risks and opportunities that emerge when money and innovations cross language, national, and industry sector boundaries. Innovation journalism can be quite broad in that it covers technical, business, legal, and political aspects of innovations as well as innovation systems. An innovation system refers to the flow of technology, information, interactions, and money between people, enterprises, organizations, universities and governments focusing on new technologies, products and services, or simply new ways of doing things. These systems may be local (such as universities, research institutes, and regulatory agencies), regional (such as Silicon Valley, California, or Research Triangle Park, North Carolina), national, and even sector based (for instance, nanotechnology).

Development

In the early twenty-first century, innovation journalism covers a wide range of audiences through scientific magazines such as MIT's *Technology Review,* industry publications such as *PC Computer,* and the business/technology sections of mainstream newspapers. Many national news media, like the *Wall Street Journal,* have opened local news offices in Silicon Valley. Venture capital magazines such as *Red Herring* and *Wired* are headquartered there.

The concept of innovation journalism is not new, however; reporting on entrepreneurship, free enterprise, new technologies, and so on has been around for a long time. The convergence of business, politics, and technology with entertainment to reach wider audiences beginning with the dot-com era of the late 1990s, however, marks a change in innovation journalism. Innovation has a lot more to it than just technology; it is about management systems that drive growth, social systems and cultural trends, and government management. Consequently, traditional newsbeats, which only focus on particular aspects of innovation, treat innovation as a subtopic and miss the full story.

Innovation journalism, on the other hand, is a newer beat that spans science and technology trends, intellectual property, research funding and finance, technical standardization, industrial production processes, marketing of new technologies, business models, politics, cultural trends and social impacts, requiring a greater range of news sources.

Innovation journalism brings news of technology commercialization to a diverse audience often neglected in traditional journalism. *Competitor organizations* use innovation journalism to adjust their own product and marketing strategies. *Potential investors,* including venture capitalists, use innovation journalism to receive timely information in order to direct their capital and resource investments. *Channels of distribution* use innovation journalism to anticipate changes in technology and to influence the way those changes come to market. When innovations are of great potential value, *researchers* often work in secret; without the information that innovation journalism provides, their efforts are duplicated or they fail to learn from the trials and errors of earlier innovations or competitors. In such an environment, systems operate less efficiently.

Challenges

Innovation journalism is not without its limitations. For one, whether news stories about innovation journalism are a product of hard-news reporting or information subsidies from analysts and marketers is debatable. Recent debacles such as the dot-com collapse in the late 1990s, the Enron scandal, and the mortgage crisis of 2008 have led to criticism of the media for overly optimistic reporting. Big business has historically complained that the news media have an antibusiness bias in their reporting. This is not so with innovation journalism, which reveals a positive media bias demonstrated by a consistently optimistic tone and focus. Consider that Enron was listed among *Fortune* Magazine's Most Admired Companies for years because of its innovative practices, and described by Nieman Reports as "the business media's poster child." Yet some have argued Enron's "innovative" business model and some of its financial innovations were at the heart of its failure. The Media Tenor Institute in Bonn, Germany, reports that out of all the attributes and news topics they monitor, innovation is consistently regarded as the most positive.

The goal of innovation journalism is to enhance public debate through better common knowledge and understanding of innovation issues. As previous diffusion research has shown, individuals do not evaluate innovations based on scientific evidence. Moreover, a particular innovation's effectiveness, efficiency, or superiority is no guarantee that individuals or organizations will adopt it. Rather, adoption is based on opinions conveyed by an innovation's users or the reports published in the news media. Moreover, innovation is an attribute difficult to observe, making the news media's reporting integral in public association of "innovation" with a firm whose internal decision-making and operating processes are hidden from view.

Innovation journalism can be observed at many levels. At the individual and routines level, reporters who cover innovation must be generalists rather than specialists. They cross over the desks and beats depending on the frame they build for their stories. Nevertheless, without specialized knowledge such as how to report on the financial sector, innovation journalists may overlook key aspects of the story, a common criticism made of the news media's failure to report meaningfully on the nuts and bolts of the Enron story in 2001.

Research is lacking on training of journalists who cover innovation. At the organizational level, editors and editorial boards demonstrate a vested interest in innovation. Focused on their community, editorial boards may publish editorials designed to entice businesses to locate in their cities. At the external level, a city's commitment to economic development influences the innovation reporting in community media, providing proof of a city's status as "pro-business." At the ideological level, there are visible differences among media systems in their approach to innovation coverage. For instance, reporting on nanotechnology in the United States has focused more on its benefits, while European reporting has focused more on its costs.

Impact

Innovation journalism is not without consequences. Research has shown that the news media confer status onto new firms they cover and in

some respects enable a self-fulfilling prophecy. Consider this scenario: Firm A, a relatively unknown firm, and Firm B, equal in status to Firm A except with an observable edge in innovation, are generally not newsworthy enough to sustain regular news coverage. The local media publishes one article about Firm A—thanks to Firm A's public relations strategy—linking the firm to innovation. This article could be the only one written about either firm for months. Firm A, judged to be innovative by the media and its audience, may actually become more innovative thanks to the media-driven linking of Firm A with the idea of "innovation." Consequently, venture capital firms may direct funding toward Firm A, banks may be more willing to lend it money, and an increasing number of MBA recruits may now want to work with Firm A thanks to the "social proof" offered by media coverage that the firm is, in fact, innovative. So, in successfully attracting coverage, Firm A, originally the less innovative of the two firms, may actually become more innovative, leading Firm B to be perceived as less innovative in the absence of social proof in the media. Employees of Firm B may begin to question their identity as an innovative firm. In turn, the firm may face an exodus of talent as well as recruitment difficulties, become less innovative as a result, and eventually fail.

Outlook

While research on innovation journalism training is lacking, programs to train journalists on the skills needed to report on innovation have begun to emerge. David Nordfors, who coined the term *innovation journalism* in 2001, launched a fellowship program for working journalists at Stanford University to help journalists acquire the skills they need in these areas. Nordfors has his PhD in molecular quantum physics where he worked with the Nobel Prize winner in physics. Many countries have begun to set up initiatives for the training of their journalists, including Sweden, Finland, Germany, and Pakistan.

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, innovation journalism is expanding. The First Conference on Innovation Journalism was held at Stanford University in April 2004. The University of Jyväskylä in Finland launched the first Innovation Journalism course for university students in September 2005.

Craig E. Carroll

See also Environmental Journalism; Health and Medicine Journalism; Science and Technology Journalism

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International and Comparative Journalism Law

Globalization of journalism has accelerated in recent decades thanks to borderless cyber technologies and expanding cross-border media operations. As a result, media law is no longer limited to domestic issues. International and comparative law is increasingly relevant as news media and journalists are subject to a wider range of legal and extra-legal restrictions.

In 2002, for example, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia recognized the

journalistic privilege of war correspondents to protect their sources under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This international recognition of journalist's privilege contrasts with U.S. law in which journalistic confidentiality varies by state. The High Court of Australia in *Dow Jones & Co. v. Gutnick* (2002) held that an American newspaper publisher was subject to Australian law because a defamatory article was "published" there when it was downloaded by a user in Victoria. The Australian court rejected Dow Jones's argument that U.S. libel law should apply since the offending article was uploaded in New Jersey. The Australian decision showcases comparative media law as a topic of growing practical importance.

International Law

International law is that which governs relationships among nations. It embraces not only nations but also international organizations, multinational corporations, nongovernmental organizations, and even individuals (including those who invoke their human rights or, conversely, commit war crimes). While international law has a long history, it became increasingly important in the twentieth century. Freedom of speech and press are but one aspect of such law.

There is no unified international legal system covering journalism. International law on journalistic practices derives from several sources of modern law under the governing statute of the International Court of Justice:

- International conventions, whether general or particular establishing rules expressly recognized by the contesting states;
- International custom, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law;
- The general principles of law recognized by civilized nations; and
- Judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified legal authorities of various nations.

The United Nations provides the global framework of international law on human rights, which applies to freedom of speech and the press. The UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948, guarantees everyone the right to freedom of opinion and expression that includes "freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and idea through any media and regardless of frontiers." Freedom of expression under the Declaration, however, is not absolute. It can be restricted to protect others' rights and freedoms and to meet "the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society."

Nor is the Declaration legally binding in and of itself. It is primarily hortatory and aspirational. Still, it is cited by many international and national courts in their decisions on freedom of the press. In a 1991 access to information case, for example, the Constitutional Court of South Korea, drawing partly upon the Declaration, stated that the public's right to know is "naturally included in the freedom of expression."

In 1976, the Declaration was made legally binding by the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), a supranational treaty. States that have ratified the ICCPR must adhere to its human rights provisions. The freedom of expression under the ICCPR is almost identical to that under the Declaration. In ruling on a possible conflict between the right of reply and freedom of the press, the Hungarian Constitutional Court in 2001 took into account the ICCPR's dictates, which allow restrictions on freedom of the press in order to protect an individual's reputation.

There are three regional human rights conventions, each significant with regard to the rights of journalists: the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR, 1953), the American Convention on Human Rights (ACHR, 1969), and the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (1981). The ECHR, the oldest of the world's human rights treaties, recognizes freedom of the press as a right to free expression in a similar way that the Universal Declaration does. In mid-2008, the ECHR had a membership of 47 nations. The European Court of Human Rights, which interprets the ECHR, is the most respected international court. Its rulings guide various courts in construing human rights treaties and national constitutions and laws. In *Goodwin v. United Kingdom* (1996), for example, the European Court upheld the right of reporters to shield their sources. This seminal decision persuaded the International Criminal Tribunal for the

former Yugoslavia in 2002 to accept the reporter's privilege for war correspondents.

The American Convention on Human Rights, which was adopted by the nations of the Americas in Costa Rica in 1969, reflects the Universal Declaration, the ECHR, and the ICCPR. But it differs from the latter two in its explicit prohibition against prior restraint on the press by government (censorship) and indirect restriction of freedom of expression. It also allows a right of reply for anyone injured by inaccurate or offensive statements published by the "legally regulated" media. The Inter-American Court of Human Rights, established under the ACHR and located in San Juan, Costa Rica, has issued important decisions on freedom of the press. The Inter-American Court has rejected the compulsory licensing of journalists as incompatible with freedom of expression. The Court also ruled that the right to freedom of expression under the ACHR includes a right of everyone to access government records.

The African Charter on Human and People's Rights has no express provision for a right to receive ideas or to disseminate information: "The rights and freedoms of each individual shall be exercised with due regard to the rights of others, collective security, morality and common interest." Significantly, the African Charter is bereft of any explicit restrictions on the individual's rights and freedoms. Thus far, it has rarely been applied. An African Court on Human and People's Rights was established in 2004 and first met two years later.

Comparative Law

Comparative law centers on analytical comparison of different national legal systems. Modern comparative law emerged in the nineteenth century as the interaction among countries grew exponentially, thanks in part to the rise of global telegraphy. Comparative law is different from foreign law, which offers no specific comparative reflections on the foreign law.

While comparative law (that of individual nations) is different from international (or transnational) law, their interactions are substantial. The conflict of national laws as an international legal concern is a case in point. It is highlighted when U.S. courts refuse to enforce foreign judgments they consider antithetical to the First Amendment. In order to discover whether U.S. courts can accept or reject content-liability judgments from abroad, as when a New York court in the early 1990s was asked to enforce an English court's libel judgment against an American newspaper, one must conduct a comparative study of the relevant U.S. and foreign laws. The fundamental principle of comparative law is "functionality," that is, what can be compared in law is limited to provisions that fulfill the same function. Comparative law is both substantive and process oriented. That is, it deals with law as its subject and comparison as its method. Law carries little significance if it is disconnected from its sources and its interpretational methods. Comparative law is impossible without knowledge of which sources of law are recognized and which methodological approaches are used in the legal systems concerned.

Several major sources have formed the basis for comparative law. Most prominent is constitutional law. Communication technologies have enhanced access to material about foreign constitutions and court cases, providing impetus for comparison. Meanwhile, comparative lawyers have paid most of their attention to statutes and case law, and various methodological issues relating to them. Not surprisingly, comparison of media statutes has attracted more attention than other sources of law since 1941, when a U.S. media law commentator lamented that few had explored newspaper law for its comparative legislation and jurisprudence. One of the earliest comparative press law studies, Ignaz Rothenberg's 1948 book *The Newspaper,* examined press legislation in various countries to interpret and compare newspaper journalists' rights and duties.

Considering that defamation is the chief occupational hazard for journalists, libel law has been a frequent topic of comparative study. More recently, privacy, access to government information, hate speech, advertising, copyright, journalist's privilege, and broadcasting law have all been analyzed critically, which speaks to a diversity of issues facing international media.

Comparative media law focuses on comparisons of common with civil law. Anglo-American legal systems are often compared with major European countries, though few non-Anglo European systems have been assessed. This results from the Eurocentric approach of comparative law as a whole, the still formidable language barrier

and limited access to source materials, and the challenge inherent in comparing the law and methods of a Western legal system with those of a non-Western country.

Few administrative regulations concerning news media have been treated comparatively, though they significantly impact on electronic media in many countries. If the American experience with broadcasting regulation is any guide, administrative law often evolves so rapidly that it is not easy to keep up to date.

Conclusion

As journalism becomes more international, journalists will have to confront international and foreign media law issues. Although freedom of the press is accepted as a human right around the world, its status still remains the product of a nation's sociocultural, political, and legal traditions. Regional human rights conventions such as the ECHR and ACHR are of more practical value to news media.

Ahran Park and Kyu Ho Youm

See also Access to Media; Censorship; Comparative Models of Journalism; English Roots of Free Press; Free Flow of Information; Libel; Media Accountability Systems; News Councils; New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO); Privacy; Self-Regulation; Supreme Court and Journalism

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International Herald Tribune

The International Herald Tribune (*IHT*), a Paris-based newspaper now owned by *The New York Times* but rooted in France since its founding in 1887, has often styled itself as "the world's first global newspaper." The claim has a great deal going for it. Printed, as of 2007, in 33 cities around the world and with a paid circulation of some 250,000 copies in more than 180 countries, the *IHT* is indeed a global newspaper presence. No more than 15 percent of its readership is located in any one "home" market—although roughly two-thirds of the copy sales are in Europe and the Middle East—with much of the remaining distribution coming throughout Asia.

What also makes the newspaper "global," however, is the fact that it is edited from an international perspective. Its typical reader is thought to be a "citizen of the world," a business or professional leader with broad international interests—who often reads the newspaper as a supplement to his or her own local or national press. While both news and advertising content vary to some degree from edition to edition, the *IHT*'s principle purpose is to present an international overview that will place the news of any region in a broader, global context. What this often means, of course, is that readers must turn elsewhere for deeper local coverage.

Many of the readers of the *International Herald Tribune* are international travelers or expatriate residents—with a strong command of

English—the language of globalization. But most of these readers (at least two-thirds are other than Americans) have come to regard the paper as their own "letter from home" while they live or travel abroad. The audience is affluent and well educated. Household income averages well above $150,000—and over 90 percent of the readers have a university degree. *IHT* journalists face the stimulating challenge of writing and editing for one of the world's most sophisticated, cosmopolitan audiences. Such an audience also allows the newspaper to realize a larger-than-normal portion of its revenues from circulation—most of its copies are sold on newsstands, at a price equating to more than US$2 a copy. The *IHT*'s demographics also allow the paper to charge an unusually high price to advertisers, who prize its influential readership.

At the same time, the broadly scattered nature of this audience means that distribution costs are much higher than is normally the case. This fact, combined with the often-sluggish nature of international advertising markets, has made it difficult for the newspaper to achieve dependable profits in recent years—and, in some years, has experienced substantial operating deficits—though it has been a steadily profitable enterprise at other stages in its history.

Compounding the *IHT*'s business challenges has been the growth of alternative sources of quality international news. Daily competition for readers comes principally now from the European and Asian editions of both the London-based *Financial Times* and New York's *Wall Street Journal*. At the same time, local and national newspapers have become increasingly able and inclined to present quality news coverage of the global scene. In addition, competition for large multinational advertising campaigns comes from a host of weekly and monthly magazines which now circulate aggressively across international borders.

All of these traditional publishing competitors have been joined over the past decade by new online, digital information sources—which are especially attractive and effective for the *IHT*'s sophisticated core readers. In response, the paper has been developing its own news website as an important method for serving many of its constituents.

Development

The *Herald Tribune* is building on a long history as a pioneer in applying new technologies to gathering and distributing news. The newspaper's founder, James Gordon Bennett, Jr., had been an investor in the first undersea telegraph cable project connecting the United States to Europe. Bennett was then the owner of the fabled *New York Herald*—founded by his father in 1835 and one of the country's very first widely circulated newspapers. With such a strong news institution on one end of the new cable system, Bennett thought it sensible to establish a counterpart newspaper on the other end—both as a way of distributing newly available material from the Western Hemisphere and as a collecting point for transmitting such material to America. The decision was made easier by the fact that Bennett found Europe to be a more tolerant setting for his flamboyant lifestyle—and because of his special affection for France, where he had spent a part of his childhood—and where he principally resided from the 1870s until his death in 1918.

On October 4, 1887, Bennett launched the *New York Herald*'s European edition from a small print shop in the Les Halles district of Paris—it quickly became known as "*The Paris Herald.*" At the time, it was one of many small English-language newspapers circulating in the principal cities of the Continent. But as other such efforts came and went, Bennett's persisted and grew. His enthusiasm for technology was one of the reasons. He brought to Europe new developments such as the linotype, color comic strips, and half-tone photo engravings. His newspaper was among the first to bring information into its newsroom by radio and to distribute copies by automobile and, later, by airplane.

When World War I forced some Paris newspapers to suspend publication, Bennett, then in his seventies, took personal command of his editorial staff and continued to publish. He died just as the war ended—and his company passed, through an intermediate owner, into the hands of the Reid family—who merged the *Herald* with another nineteenth-century publishing giant, the *New York Tribune,* creating, in 1924, the *New York Herald Tribune*. When the Reids bought out the *Chicago Tribune*'s storied Paris edition a decade later, the word "Tribune" also made its way onto the nameplate of the now-well-established *Paris Herald.*

The years which immediately followed marked a low point in the newspaper's history. Its New York owners gave it a long leash, and the management in Paris took a quieter attitude toward the rise of European fascism than did their State-side counterparts. This tendency was particularly clear when tourism sections about Germany were being planned—holding on to the advertising revenue they produced was something of a priority at the paper's Paris offices for a time. Nonetheless, a good deal of superb reporting continued to appear in the *Herald Tribune*'s pages—and the experience was central in the determination of the Reid family following the war to bring the Paris edition under much tighter control.

The *Paris Herald Tribune* was the last free newspaper in any language to publish in Paris before the Nazi occupation of June 1940. It then closed for four dark years. But it reopened late in 1944 with new energy and discipline and the 1950s brought a great surge of success. Its New York parent, however, fell into difficult straits with the advent of television and the growing success of its chief competitor, *The New York Times*. John Hay Whitney, then U.S. ambassador in London, bought the Herald Tribune Company in 1959—in an expensive effort to save the New York paper, but he finally gave up the project amid the 100-day New York newspaper strike of the mid-1960s.

Having closed down the New York parent, however, Whitney was determined to save the Paris child. To this end he brought, first, *The Washington Post* and then *The New York Times* into the newspaper's ownership. On May 22, 1967, the Paris paper appeared for the first time under its new name, the *International Herald Tribune*.

The new nameplate signaled a new era. Under its tripartite ownership, the publication flourished in the 1970s and 1980s, steadily improving its profit, more than doubling its circulation, expanding its advertising sales, and consistently employing to great advantage the extraordinary journalistic resources—domestic and international—of the two leading American newspapers of the era. Their far-flung networks of correspondents and contributors became the *IHT*'s networks as well, while the art of editing—sifting and winnowing, digesting and condensing, polishing and presenting incoming news—was honed into a distinctive art form by the editorial team in Paris. The paper also slowly assembled a small group of its own reporters, though this development was often a matter of some dispute among the three owning companies.

On the whole, however, the three-way ownership worked harmoniously, partly because the paper had a debt-free balance sheet—and, for a long time, did not represent any drain on the owning companies' financial resources.

Technological innovation was again an *IHT* watchword in the last third of the twentieth century. It became an early model of high-tech innovation in Europe when it computerized its editing and typesetting system in 1978. A bit earlier, in 1974, it had pioneered the electronic transmission of facsimile pages across international borders as it opened a remote printing site in London. A similar operation in Zurich followed in 1977. By the time of its worldwide centennial celebrations in 1987, the *IHT* was opening a new print site once every year on average—reaching both old and new markets earlier and a lower cost. The most dramatic of these steps came in 1980 as the paper launched a successful new Asian edition, printed in Hong Kong using page images which had been faxed via satellite from Paris. It was the first time that a daily newspaper had published simultaneously on two continents—available to readers over breakfast on opposite sides of the world.

The *International Herald Tribune*'s three-way ownership became a two-way partnership in 1991, as the Whitney interest was sold to *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. In the late 1990s, however, as global newspaper economics began to change, so did the owners' patience with divided control. In 2003, the *Times* purchased the *Post*'s 50 percent ownership, and became the sole proprietor. (Some at the *Post* felt that it had been forced out of the partnership by a *Times* threat to start a competing enterprise if the *Post* insisted on remaining a co-owner.)

After a period of intensive study (and anxious uncertainty) in the Paris offices, the *Times* moved to strengthen the paper on several fronts. Among other steps, a more distinctive Asian edition was created, in part through a more autonomous Hong Kong newsroom. The *IHT*'s own corps of independent reporters was expanded—writing from an *IHT* point of view on *IHT* deadlines. And a stronger business and financial report was launched, designed to meet head-on

the intensifying competition with both the *Financial Times* and *The Wall Street Journal*.

At the heart of the *IHT*'s continuing popularity, however, are the qualities which have characterized it from birth, an emphasis on credible and relevant information, skillfully reported and edited, attractively and efficiently presented. In an age of information overload, the paper's relative compactness has also remained an important asset.

But most importantly, in news environments around the world in which media traditions are often those of subjective comment and political advocacy, the *IHT*'s effort to separate news and opinion—to pursue objectivity as a professional ideal—continues to be a stimulating breath of fresh air. "I read my local paper to find out what I am supposed to think," a European reader once told a friend at the *IHT*. "And then I read the *Herald Tribune* to find out what happened."

Lee W. Huebner

See also Bloomberg; Distribution; Editing, Newspaper; Europe; Facsimile; Foreign Correspondents, Print; France; Havas; *New York Times, The*

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International Journalism

International journalism refers to the production of news media around the world and reporting about foreign countries. Frequently it denotes coverage by Western correspondents of countries other than their own. This is of special concern because news travels unevenly across borders. This flow of news is dominated by large corporations and news agencies based in the United States and Europe, even as the Internet offers new opportunities for sharing and disseminating information.

Four Theories

News media operate under varied conceptual frameworks that help explain the character of journalism in different countries. One of the earliest scholarly assessments is found in the influential work of Fred Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm in their 1956 book, *Four Theories of the Press,* which divided the world's news media into four categories: authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility, and Soviet communist. In the half century since, their model has been criticized, expanded, and updated by others. The need for revision was clear in the face of the collapse of Soviet communism and the rapid advance of globalization. However, their fundamental research questions—"Why is the press as it is?" and "Why does it apparently serve different purposes and appear in widely different forms in different countries?"—remain fundamental. The authors' contention that "the press takes on the form and coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates" remains at the heart of international journalism.

In their pioneering formulation, the authors based their approach in the political, social, and historical development of Europe, the United States, and the Soviet Union. Writing at a time dominated by the cold war's bipolar balance of power, they applied their formula globally. Their "four theories" remain a starting point for discussion of international journalism. Under an authoritarian system, which they conceived of as the oldest and most common, media are controlled from the top and serve the state and ruling elite. The subsequent development of science, capitalism, and

Enlightenment philosophy ushered their second "theory," the libertarian. This made journalism part of a democratic process in which information was put to the test in a "marketplace of ideas." Readers and journalists were seen as rational citizens who relied on news to participate in political and social decision-making. The authors saw this system functioning most clearly in the United States where it was characterized by a laissez faire approach to media ownership and regulation.

The social responsibility theory arose in the West in response to criticisms that journalism served big business, was controlled by a single class, was not inclusive, and was often superficial. The development of broadcasting stations made regulation in the public interest necessary due to spectrum limitations. As opposed to a strictly libertarian approach in which only those with economic resources control media, in the social responsibility model, media should strive to include the greatest spectrum of views and sources. Finally, with the Soviet theory of the press, the authors saw a new variant of the authoritarian model, where the tightest control of media was applied to support an ideologically based totalitarian system.

The two root systems—authoritarian and libertarian—remain the basis for much of the discussion of international journalism, which often centers on which media are "free" or "not free." Press freedom has been an enduring focus of such international media watchdog groups as Freedom House, the Committee to Protect Journalists, the World Press Freedom Committee, and the World Free Press Institute. International press freedom also plays into U.S. foreign policy, which sees free news media as essential to democracy.

Other scholars have developed later designs to describe international news media systems. For example, William Hachten suggests the categories authoritarianism, Western, communist, revolutionary, and development. The first three owe much to the original formulation. The revolutionary concept describes a temporary cause-oriented news media. The development concept sees media as tied to national goals of economic, social, and political development. Hachten notes that friction between developmental and Western policy is crucial to debates about international journalism. Western foreign policy sees the unhindered flow of information as paramount, while developing states often feel that tighter media regulation can help nation-building and economic development.

Even when analysis remains restricted to the West, the "four theories" have been adjusted. For instance, Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini divide Europe and the United States into a polarized pluralist, democratic corporatist, and liberal models. Still, they see stable connections between political and media systems.

Cold War Patterns

Frequently the relationship between media and politics has been addressed at the level of the nation-state. However, following the reach of imperialism, the contests of the cold war, and the rapid development of globalization, attention has also focused on a global news media system.

International news is a staple of developing globalism. Indeed, the earliest American newspapers were filled with items pertaining to shipping and reprints from the London press. A capillary system of news media linked European colonies. These links were strengthened by development of undersea telegraph cables and later radio that extended the speed and reach of older communications. News agencies grew as Britain's Reuters, France's Havas, and Germany's Wolff initially dominated global news flow. Thomson Reuters retains a leading position, and the Associated Press and Agence France-Presse also play central parts. National news agencies became a mark of state legitimacy, a symbol of modernization, and a means to offset the frames presented by global news agencies.

The Soviet Union's TASS became an important distributor of news in its zone of influence and to a lesser degree globally (primarily by restricting the access of outside journalists). Soviet efforts to block news from the West by electronic jamming, among other actions, resulted in state-backed cultural and media thrusts from the West during the cold war. These efforts sought to establish the "free flow" of information and assure that Western interpretations of events and issues would be available to the East. Thus, propaganda and politics helped international broadcasting become an important part of world journalism.

During the cold war, the role of journalism was also an important and contentious subject among the nonaligned states of the so-called Third World.

Many governments in developing countries sought greater control over how they received and transmitted news. Western news values that privilege conflict and reporting patterns in which journalists descend on many locales only at times of crisis often led to a diet of news that presented much of the world as threatening and chaotic, a formula typical to this day. Critics charged that this hindered nation-building and development efforts of many newly independent states. This debate found its greatest platform at the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) call for a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO), and in efforts to promote "development journalism" as the kind of reporting that responded to the unique realities and needs of developing countries.

Wilbur Schramm noted in his1964 *Mass Media and National Development* that little attention was paid to developing countries in international media. When they were covered, the news could be unflattering or misleading. In 1977, Sean MacBride, former Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations, was named to direct UNESCO's new International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems. The 16-member commission made its final report in 1980. Their report asserted that the world was divided into media rich and media poor countries, and that the latter were dependent (to their detriment) on the former. This undermined sovereignty and nation-building efforts. The MacBride report recognized an imbalance of news flow, inherent biases in Western-based international journalism, inequality in the means of media production, technological disparities, and professional difficulties in reporting. Both the United States and Britain took exception to these conclusions as threatening unhindered international news gathering and distribution and both withdrew from UNESCO membership, rejoining the international body only years later.

Post–Cold War Changes

In the debates about news flow and "media imperialism," the Soviet Union sought to diminish Western dominance in international journalism. With the demise of the USSR in 1991, however, policy debates about the issue subsided, but did not disappear. The terms of the debate shifted away from politics and ideology toward economics and the broad phenomenon of globalization.

The driver of world news is now media capitalism in an age of deregulation and conglomeration. International journalism is subsumed in what is sometimes called a global oligopoly of Western media giants purveying news and entertainment. Rupert Murdoch's News Corp. the largest media company, held assets worth $62 billion in film, television, cable, satellite, magazine, newspaper, book publishing, and other enterprises.

Extensive corporate control of news media has reignited debate about news flows, dependency, development, and cultural and media "imperialism." Journalism products tied strongly to corporate profits result in overcommercialization of news. Audiences may be treated more as consumers than citizens. News and entertainment products too often blend. Superficial and sensationalist news that sells well anywhere may supersede serious news aimed at creating an informed public. Market-driven media globalization also results in standardization of media. Western, and particularly American, professional conventions have become widespread. Critics contend that such conventions as neutrality, objectivity, and reliance on narrow sets of officials and experts, coupled with the need to sell news to large audiences for profit effectively shuts out a wide range of interpretation, critical analysis, and subject matter crucial to the functioning of civic life. They charge that the profit motive undermines the social responsibility of journalism and that this has reached global proportions.

Defenders of media globalization counter that capitalism ensures that audiences get what they want as well as what they need. If they do not, they will vote with their wallets against what they receive. Further, Western media exports carry universal values or cater to local contexts, rather than promoting alien norms. Further, only giant corporations can bear the expense of efficiently conveying news promptly and globally. They have been so successful at this that one expects to find information about any event of major significance virtually instantaneously, especially in English.

Although few argue for the creation of a New World Information and Communication Order any more, many of the continuing debates about international journalism hark back to those 1970s UNESCO debates. Whereas concerns then focused

on availability of newsprint and satellite access, recent worries center on the "digital divide" between rich and poor countries. This argument rests on the observation that while some countries are racing ahead to an era of technologically driven cornucopia of media, others are falling behind. News of the developed North continues to outweigh that of the developing South and poorer countries still get more news from the developed West than they give. Western news media continue to define the developing world as chaotic.

Twenty-First-Century Challenges

International journalism is one part of an era of media plenty in some areas. Privatization along with technological developments and diffusion in cable, satellite, and the Internet, has brought many people into contact with more and faster channels of information. For instance, Latvia, with a population of less than 3 million in 2004, had four national television channels among a mix of 28 terrestrial and 36 cable services. One could flip from local news to the BBC or MTV, then surf the web with radio playing in the background before reading a newspaper on the tram on the way to work. The increase in media abundance is uneven across countries and people. In many places literacy remains low and access to media technology is limited. Media globalization has varied in different places. Further, big Western news enterprises are cutting their international budgets and bureaus, banking on lighter, cheaper-to-produce local fare, rather than costly, challenging foreign coverage. Consequently there is concern about isolationism in media, and not only in the United States. One recent study showed that many countries devote more attention to themselves and their immediate region than distant locales. This shows a turn away from stories judged most relevant by the big news agencies even though they continue to dominate global news flow.

While international news may fall victim to profit seeking, interest in international news has not consistently diminished. A study by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press showed that nearly as many Americans (52 percent) were interested in international news as national (55 percent) and local news (55 percent). But critics charge that audience and market research should not guide news judgments. They argue that international news is important in an interdependent global environment. This has particular relevance in the United States, which finds itself engaged in myriad international issues as the world's sole superpower. Moreover, as U.S. power is preeminent globally, how Americans understand the rest of the world may affect other countries. Therefore, U.S. foreign correspondence is important to international journalism.

Audiences are particularly dependent on news media for their understanding of places with which they have few sources of knowledge. Yet journalists and editors are often little more knowledgeable of issues, places, and context than are their audiences. Problems of language acquisition, source development and access, bias, stereotypes, deadline pressure, and financial expense compound the difficulties of foreign correspondence. Television, long the most popular news source, is problematic for international news coverage because of its dependence on captivating visuals and limited time devoted to each story. The medium is good at creating powerful and emotional imagery, but poor at conveying complexities and thoroughly exploring issues and contexts.

Most regions of the world are not reported on consistently in American media. There are fewer overseas news bureaus each year. International journalism largely follows Western news values of what gets covered and how. Conflict and "deviance" are preeminent among these values, thus the news cliché "If it bleeds, it leads." Too often foreign locations become news sites when there is unrest or discord. Journalists drop in (or "parachute") on places when conflict flares and depart as the fire dies down. Such visits do not allow reporters to become well educated about the context of a situation. They leave audiences poorly informed and with the impression that chaos and trouble is the dominant reality around the globe.

Journalists also bring their own preconceptions to their task. Foreign correspondents are usually foreigners in the lands about which they are reporting. While this may give them a certain objective detachment from the issues they cover, it also limits their framework for understanding what they learn. Western foreign correspondents frequently huddle around expatriate communities as well as form their own. They often do not know

local languages, especially when in more remote locations. Often they cultivate relationships with Westernized elites with whom they feel comfortable and whom they can more easily understand. This insularity may compound cultural biases and narrow the lens through which places and issues may be viewed. The lens is often brought from home and the foreign locale or story is measured against home-based foreign policy positions. Different social and political realities are difficult to comprehend and explain, all the more so under the conditions in which foreign correspondents frequently operate. Consequently journalists often fall back on stereotypes, simplistic labels (e.g., "tribal areas," "ethnic cleansing," "Islamic extremism," "economic transition") or simply fail to grasp or convey the complexities of places and events. Africa is one huge zone of incomprehensibility in which a picture emerges in the Western press of impenetrable confusion and often brutality. Storylines without clear good and bad guys are difficult to deliver. Without the old cold war frame that wrapped much of international news, journalists have frequently experienced difficulties delivering clear explanatory narratives. A foreign correspondent coming into unfamiliar territory must also guard against reliance on local public relations and official sources. Separating truth from spin may be more difficult than at home. It may be easier to manipulate a journalist who is just passing through and has little knowledge of the area.

The Foreign Correspondent

Despite the challenges and frequent shortcomings of international journalism, foreign correspondents are still the most prestigious positions in the profession. Therefore, understanding who foreign correspondents are is relevant to understanding international journalism. Based on research in the 1990s, Stephen Hess put together a portrait of U.S. foreign correspondents. Most often, they came from upper-middle-class families, went to selective private colleges, and commonly graduate school. They often spent periods abroad in various capacities, though less with the military. They often possessed weak foreign language skills. They were mostly men (about a third were women) and mostly white (only 8 percent were not). The foreign correspondent received good pay, particularly since many expenses were handled by the employer and some taxes could be avoided working abroad. Therefore, they are neither representative of their home population nor the populations they cover.

Stringers and freelancers make up a significant portion of foreign correspondents. Many are married journalists working abroad. Commonly such foreign correspondents keep children in tow while on assignment. Hess divided freelancers into six categories, including spouses seeking their own work while their partner was posted to a foreign bureau. Second were experts who were "wedded to a country or region rather than to journalism," who report to make use of their special interest in and knowledge of a foreign place. Third were adventurers out for the thrill of the foreign experience. Fourth came the "flinger," who with little journalistic experience goes on mini-adventures to build clips and learn the craft. Fifth was the ideologue who was seeking to get a particular interpretation of events into mass media. Last was the resident, often a native or expatriate journalist permanently living abroad.

A hierarchy exists among foreign correspondents, with reporters for elite media at the top and freelancers at the bottom. Working for *The New York Times* not only offers better working conditions and salary but also better access. Overseas reporters include experts and generalists, the latter being good at collecting information and getting a story out, but more likely to "parachute." Television journalists drop in and out of hot news spots more often than do print reporters. Media outlets vary in how they treat their foreign correspondents. Some media outlets may see the job as a journalistic specialization and circulate correspondents around the globe. Others see it as a potential rung in the ladder toward advancement in the news organization. In either case, foreign correspondence is a place of prestige in the world of journalism. Georgie Anne Geyer, a longtime foreign correspondent, quotes Ernie Pyle, a revered World War II reporter, on the point, "We correspondents could go anywhere we pleased being gifted and chosen characters." She expresses the romanticism tied up with the culture of foreign correspondence, such glory often being bound up with war reporting. International journalists often

have real war stories to tell from their work and not just around the water cooler.

Professional war reporting is often traced to British foreign correspondence during the 1850s Crimean War, although some military reporting occurred earlier. War reporting is what made stars out of Ernie Pyle, Martha Gelhorn, Edward R. Murrow, David Halberstam, and Christiane Amanpour. The detached "noncombatant" position of the foreign correspondent is anything but sacrosanct. War reporting is dangerous, difficult, and vitally important, but it also generates criticism. Critics charge that such singular devotion to conflict in foreign correspondence leaves us only partly informed and with a picture of the rest of the world in a state of barbarism. No one denies the importance of war reporting, but many warn against its exclusivity. Thus, international journalism too often becomes a prisoner of Western news judgments and cost-benefit analyses within large profit-driven companies.

The impact of Western journalism in the post–cold war era of globalization may not be limited to its influence over what gets reported as news and then circulated internationally. Journalism researcher William A. Hachten has written of the "triumph of Western journalism" claiming that its conventions have gone global. However, significant differences still exist among journalists and the news they create. Some variation is created by circumstance such as the political situation of a particular region and its effect on press freedom. There are differences based on professional values and how journalists conceive of their role in society, which affect professional practices and ethics. These differences affect whether a journalist will pay for information, whether he or she will be willing to go "undercover," whether anonymous sources can be used, and whether one can be a "watchdog" on government or business.

Differences are widespread among foreign correspondents on whether they should contribute to political agendas and lead public opinion, or be detached and neutral conveyors of dispassionate information. Some have gone so far as to call media globalization a "myth" in part because news is still largely reported from national rather than universal viewpoints. The global reach of international journalism has been intensified by technological innovation and diffusion and the rise of giant media companies, though journalism is practiced differently in different places for different aims. Debates about the intersection of politics, economics, and news gathering and the impact of news on international affairs and development continue.

Janis Chakars

See also Associated Press; Comparative Models of Journalism; Development Journalism; Foreign Correspondents, Electronic; Foreign Correspondents, Print; Free Flow of Information; Globalization, Coverage of; Havas; History of Journalism: Before 1861; History of Journalism: 1861–1930; History of Journalism: 1930–1995; History of Journalism: 1995 to Present; International Journalism Organizations; International News Service; News Values; New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO); Reuters; TASS and Russian News Agencies; United Press International; U.S. International Communications; War Correspondents; Wolff

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International Journalism Organizations

International journalism organizations are those groups, associations, institutes, and societies concerned with journalism issues on a global or regional basis. Most are nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). They work in more than one country, often focusing on a specific region of the world (the many national groups are not covered here). Many of them promote education and training in journalism and meld efforts of academics and professionals. Such organizations include those focused on academia, print journalism, broadcast journalism, and organizations/associations with international divisions or participation.

Article 19

Article 19 (London, http://www.article19.org/index.html) is a human rights organization with a mandate to promote freedom of expression and information worldwide. It takes its name from Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states that everyone has a right to freedom of opinion and expression. Founded in 1987, it works with more than 50 national organizations in some 30 countries. Among other things, Article 19 scrutinizes threats to freedom of expression, offers legal standards to ensure free expression, and advocates for the implementation of freedom of expression. For example, following the controversy and hostility generated by the publications in Europe of cartoons depicting the Prophet Mohammed in 2006, Article 19 continues to campaign against the introduction of blasphemy laws as a justifiable answer to the problem. Moreover, as many countries implement new legislation to fight the global terrorism threats, Article 19 is continuously keeping a close watch on new occurrences and intervening, where necessary, to ensure that there is an appropriate balance between the need for security and value for freedom of expression. With its headquarters in London, Article 19 is a registered U.K. charity that is supported by contributions from individuals, foundations, and governments worldwide who are dedicated to the concept of freedom of expression.

Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union

Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union (ABU, Kuala Lumpur, http://www.abu.org.my/public/compiled/p657.htm) is a nonprofit, nongovernment, professional association of Asian broadcasting organizations. It was created in 1964 to assist in the growth of broadcasting in both Asia and the Pacific. It encourages regional and international cooperation between broadcasters and is the third largest of the world's eight regional broadcasting unions. It also exchanges information on the most recent developments in broadcasting with many international organizations and engages in activities that are geared towards enhancing the skills of its members. With 194 members in 57 countries, the ABU is funded primarily by annual subscriptions from its members.

Asian Media Information and Communication Centre

The Asian Media Information and Communication Centre (AMIC, Singapore, http://amic.org.sg) was established in 1971 with the support of the Government of Singapore and the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung foundation of Germany, to expand media and communication expertise in the Asia-Pacific region. It is a premier center for information, research, and promotion of mass communication in the region. Members include academics, practitioners, and policy makers from the Asia-Pacific region as well as other areas. AMIC's mission, according to its website, is to

"nurture and promote media and communication research, capacity building, knowledge management and dialogue among academia, industry, government and civil society." In June 2007, AMIC hosted a Journalism Education Congress in Singapore, attended by over 450 educators, journalists, and policy makers. AMIC houses a large collection of research materials in its Asia Communication Resource Centre, a comprehensive data communication service with over 65,000 books, journal articles, conference papers, and news clippings. AMIC also disseminates vast amounts of information on mass communication in the Asia-Pacific region through its newsletter, a quarterly magazine, and a biannual research journal, in addition to books and monographs.

Committee to Protect Journalists

The Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ, New York, http://www.cpj.org), a nonprofit organization, was founded in 1981 by a group of U.S. foreign correspondents to protect the rights of threatened journalists in authoritarian regimes and elsewhere and to promote press freedom throughout the world. CPJ also shares information on breaking cases with other press freedom organizations through a global e-mail network. It is funded by contributions from individuals, corporations, and foundations.

Commonwealth Broadcasting Association

Commonwealth Broadcasting Association (CBA, London, http://www.cba.org.uk), founded in 1945 as Commonwealth Broadcasting Conference with six members, has made considerable progress over the years. It now consists of more than 100 broadcasting organizations in over 50 countries. Among other things, the mission of CBA is to advance the concept of public service broadcasting and promote freedom of expression and the right to communicate. It also provides networking facilities and training opportunities to its members. An all-Commonwealth General Conference is held in alternate years in addition to regular conferences held in different Commonwealth countries every year. CBA is funded by subscriptions from members of the major public service broadcasters of the Commonwealth.

Commonwealth Press Union

Began before World War I as the Empire Press Union, the Commonwealth Press Union (CPU, London, http://www.cpu.org.uk) has approximately 750 members in 49 countries, including numerous newspaper groups, more than 1,500 newspapers, and news agencies throughout the Commonwealth. The mission of CPU is to advocate the ideas and values of the Commonwealth, to promote understanding and goodwill among its members, and to enhance the interests and welfare of the Commonwealth press and those working within it. To support its mission, CPU has engaged in several activities over the years including the offering of legal support programming, lobbying on behalf of journalists who have been harassed or intimidated, providing regular updates on press freedom issues, and offering workshops and seminars on media law, ethics, and self-regulation.

European Broadcasting Union

The European Broadcasting Union (EBU, Brussels and Geneva, http://www.ebu.ch), founded in 1950, has 75 active members from 56 countries plus 45 associate members. It is the largest regional association of national broadcasters and works to ensure its members' participation in the global debate on media policy in addition to representing its members on European Union audiovisual policy matters. Eurovision, said by some to be the world's largest television contribution network, transmits live sports and news events, and is managed by EBU. For the news network and sports services of EBU, customers pay a fee.

Institute for War & Peace Reporting

The Institute for War & Peace Reporting (IWPR, London, http://iwpr.net/index.php), a journalist training and news media support organization, serves as a global system for media development, with not-for-profit divisions in Europe, the United States, and Africa providing training and competence programs for local journalism, including field courses in more than 24 countries. IWPR is headquartered in the United Kingdom and has offices in, among other places, the United States, South Africa, the Netherlands, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and the Middle East.

International Center for Journalists

The International Center for Journalists (ICFJ, Reston, Virginia, http://www.icfj.org/mission.html) is a nonprofit, professional organization whose mission is to promote quality journalism throughout the world in the belief that autonomous, dynamic media are critical in improving mankind. The programs of ICFJ span the globe and offer seminars and fellowships for media professionals. ICFJ has worked directly with more than 30,000 journalists from 176 countries in the past 22 years. It receives most of its funding from sponsoring foundations and agencies in the form of program grants and fees for its services.

International Consortium of Investigative Journalists

Launched in 1997 as a project of the Center for Public Integrity, the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ, Washington, D.C., http://www.publicintegrity.org/icij) is a Washington-based collaboration of approximately 100 renowned investigative reporters from 50 countries who generate long-term, transnational investigations. The team of ICIJ journalists investigate major global issues that affect everyone and release their findings in media around the world.

International Federation of Journalists

The world's largest journalism organization, the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ, Brussels, http://www.ifj.org) was first established in 1926, then relaunched in 1946 and again in 1952 in its present form. IFJ serves as a voice for journalists within the United Nations as well as within the international trade union movement whose primary functions are to defend, maintain, and advance (by collective bargaining) the professional, ethical, moral, and material rights of journalists. Among other things, the aims and objectives of the federation are to protect and strengthen the rights and freedoms of journalists; to respect and defend freedom of information, media freedom, and the independence of journalism; to uphold and improve professionalism and to promote high standards of journalistic education; to improve and defend the social and working conditions of all journalists; to promote and maintain editorial democracy; and to promote the social role of journalists and the profession of journalists, particularly its contribution to democracy and freedom. The federation has a half million members in more than 100 countries. It is partly supported by membership fees, collected according to the number of regular members declared by unions.

International Institute of Communications

The International Institute of Communications (IIC, London, http://www.iicom.org/frames.main.htm) is an interdisciplinary network of scholars, senior policy makers, regulators, technologists, industrialists, and content providers embracing broadcasting, telecommunications, and new media in approximately 70 countries. Among other things, the goal of IIC is to provide a global framework for dialogue about trends in communications, including the Internet, telecommunications, broadcasting, and print and new media, and their impact on society. It is a registered charity and not-for-profit membership organization whose funding comes primarily from subscriptions, donations, and projects.

International Journalists' Network

The International Journalists' Network (IJNet, Washington, D.C., http://www.ijnet.org) is an online service for journalists, media professionals/managers, educators, or anyone with an interest in news media around the world. It helps connect journalists with the opportunities and information they need to upgrade themselves and raise journalism standards to subscribers in more than 150 countries. IJNet is supported by the International Center for Journalists and various foundations.

International Press Institute

Formed in New York in 1950, the International Press Institute (IPI, Vienna, http://www.freemedia.at/cms/ipi) is made up of editors, media executives, and leading journalists. In several countries, IPI members have established National Committees that support IPI in its work to improve the situation for the media. Being the world's oldest global press freedom organization, the IPI is active in

more than 120 countries. IPI enjoys consultative status with the UN, UNESCO, the Council of Europe, and other intergovernmental organizations and can issue letters of appeal to these bodies when press freedom is threatened. IPI organizes an annual World Congress in conjunction with the annual IPI General Assembly. IPI publishes an annual *World Press Freedom Review*. In addition to these activities, IPI has two major funds that are responsible for countering threats to press freedom—the IPI Press Freedom Fund and the IPI Emergency Response Fund. Both of these funds are financed primarily through contributions from individuals, organizations, and corporations.

International Telecommunication Union

The International Telecommunications Union (ITU, Geneva, http://www.itu.int/net/home/index.aspx) is the leading United Nations specialized agency for information and communication technologies. Initially founded in Paris in 1865 as the International Telegraph Union, the ITU is the global focal point for governments and the private sector that provides efficient telecommunication services worldwide. The ITU is an intergovernmental agency, issues technical standards for telecommunications and information, and assists developing nations to improve their communications. It issues extensive publications tracing global telecommunication developments, including regulatory trends.

International Webcasting Association

The International Webcasting Association (IWA, Washington, D.C., http://www.webcasters.org) was formed in 1996 to provide a forum to promote webcasting and streaming media via teleconference calls, websites, listservs, Internet webcasts and regular meetings. Over the years, IWA has grown considerably and is now the largest worldwide nonprofit organization. Its membership includes portal websites, streaming service providers, content creators, educators, entrepreneurs, and user companies. As a service to its members regarding advice on legal and regulatory issues as well as investment strategies, IWA initiates meetings with the FCC and presents to Congress and the National Telecommunications and Information Administration. Headquartered in Chantilly, Virginia, IWA serves its members throughout the United States, Europe, Asia, Canada, and Australia.

International Women's Media Foundation

Launched in 1990, the International Women's Media Foundation (IWMF, Washington, D.C., http://www.iwmf.org/about) has built a network of more than 5,000 women journalists from approximately 130 countries, providing them an opportunity to form associations and partnerships worldwide to improve the status of women in the media. Its mission is to strengthen the role of women in the news media around the world, based on the premise that "no press is truly free unless women share an equal voice." IWMF holds numerous programs that are designed to advance women into key positions in the news media. IWMF also has an online training center that offers comprehensive training courses online to assist women journalists in honing professional skills and managerial abilities. Compiled from IWMF publications and other resources, its *Studies and Reports* document the opinions of women journalists, scrutinize how women are portrayed in the media, and gauge how many women work in the worldwide media and what types of jobs they hold. For funding, IWMF mostly relies on foundations, corporations, and individuals to carry out its programs.

Reporters Without Borders

Since its inception in 1985, Reporters Without Borders (Paris, http://www.rsf.org) has been fighting against censorship and laws that undermine press freedom and strives to improve the working conditions and safety of journalists, especially those reporting in war zones. Registered in Paris as a nonprofit organization and with a consultant status at the United Nations, Reporters Without Borders has branches in all five continents. The organization's publications are available online in Arabic, English, French, Spanish, and Farsi at its website, which keeps a daily record of journalists killed or imprisoned around the world. Its funding comes mostly from private groups, North American and governmental organizations, and from sales of photo albums, T-shirts, and other artifacts.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNESCO (Paris, http://portal.unesco.org) is a United Nations specialized agency formed originally in late 1945. An organization with a wide remit, its Communication and Information Sector (CI) was established in its present form in 1990. Its programs are rooted in UNESCO's Constitution, which requires the organization to promote the "free flow of ideas by word and image." Besides its staff at UNESCO headquarters, the CI Sector is represented in 27 UNESCO field offices. The three principal strategic objectives of its programs are to promote the free flow of ideas and universal access to information, to promote the expression of pluralism and cultural diversity in the media and world information networks, and to promote access for all to information and communication technologies.

World Intellectual Property Organization

World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO, Geneva, http://www.wipo.int/portal/index.html.en) is a UN specialized agency formed in 1970 to encourage development of fair and balanced regimes of copyright, patent, and other modes of intellectual property protection. It is concerned with melding the interests of those who create (for example) media content with the demands of users and the capabilities of changing and increasingly digital technology.

World Press Freedom Committee

The World Press Freedom Committee (WPFC, Reston, Virginia, http://www.wpfc.org), formed in 1976, is an international umbrella organization that includes 45 journalistic groups—print, online and broadcast; labor and management; journalists; editors; publishers; and owners on six continents. WPFC administers the only global program for systematically monitoring press freedom issues at UNESCO, the United Nations, and other intergovernmental organizations on behalf of press freedom groups. It also set out global press freedom principles in its 1981 Declaration of Talloires, followed in 1987 by the ten-point Charter for a Free Press. WPFC provided the first analysis of post–cold war code words that can mask censorship practices and in 1985 produced the first comprehensive survey of killings, arrests, and harassment of journalists, showing that licensing would not protect journalists.

World Press Institute

The World Press Institute (St. Paul, Minnesota, http://www.worldpressinstitute.org/mission.htm), a private, nonprofit organization, is dedicated to promoting press freedom throughout the world. It is supported by numerous foundations, local and national media, individuals, and multinational U.S. corporations. Its mission is to advance, support, and fortify a free press in its role as an opponent of cruelty around the world. It works with local journalism organizations to provide training in ethics, advertising, and circulation growth techniques, and marketing and strategic planning, among other things. Every year, it brings ten foreign journalists to the United States to expose them to U.S. journalistic practices and standards through seminars, briefings, and visits to the newsrooms.

Anju Grover Chaudhary

See also Audience Research Organizations; Editors' Organizations; Electronic Media Organizations; Special Interest Journalism Organizations; U.S. International Communications

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International News Service

The International News Service (INS) was an American news agency founded by newspaper publisher William Randolph Hearst in 1909 to serve his own growing chain of papers as well as other subscribers. Always a distant third to its larger rivals, the Associated Press and the United Press, INS combined with the latter in 1958 to become United Press International.

Origins

In 1903, the Hearst publishing organization leased a telegraph line from San Francisco to New York, running through Chicago to allow its expanding newspapers in the three cities to share content. Some stories were also provided to other newspapers. This process of serving both Hearst and non-Hearst newspapers (no membership was required, as with Associated Press) became the Hearst News Service in 1904. Five years later, in May 1909 (by which time he published seven morning newspapers), Hearst established the American News Service with headquarters in New York. Just a few months later, this entity was divided into two separate entities serving morning and evening newspapers, with the International News Service furnishing overnight reports for morning newspapers seven days a week. Foreign news coverage was added in August 1909.

In 1911, the morning and evening services were recombined under the INS rubric. Further changes again focused INS on serving only evening papers from 1917 to 1928, after which time it always served morning and evening. While serving as a news agency, INS was also a "news marketing and distribution arm of the Hearst combination" and was widely perceived as such (Rosewater 1930/1970, 358). It carried many features and columns, which were later spun off to a separate Hearst features syndicate.

Heyday

In an attempt to gain attention (and ideally subscriptions) from the country's more than 2,000 dailies, INS emphasized colorful writing (and sometimes seamier news stories) over careful fact checking. Indeed, the agency was accused on the eve of World War I of inventing most of its foreign correspondents, its reportage striking some as just another example of Hearst fakery. The accusation—and numerous others of the same tone—hit INS personnel hard, and from all reports, morale plummeted. Finally, in 1916, British, French and Portuguese (and later Japanese) news services denied INS exchanges of news and access to their cable links, claiming Hearst (and thus his INS) favored Germany and were distorting war news. This lockout may have been one factor that led to a landmark court case concerning news piracy.

In 1916–17, the Associated Press accused INS of stealing its early reports, rewriting them, and delivering the result to INS subscribers with no attribution to their AP origin. INS obtained the reports either by bribing AP newspaper employees for access (though some Hearst papers were AP members and therefore received AP feeds), or by simply copying early East Coast published versions. After losing at the lower court level, AP appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court which in December 1918 largely upheld AP's complaint. The court (though with three dissenting votes) concluded that while actual news events themselves could not be copyrighted, specific stories about those events most certainly could be. Put another way, there was a legal property right to news. It took INS years to recover its image.

Barry Faris became editor in 1916, serving for the next 40 years later. Moses Koenigsberg headed overall INS operations until 1931. Under his direction, starting in 1923, INS began to serve foreign papers. By the late 1920s, INS was delivering 20,000 to 30,000 words per eight-hour day to its American subscribing papers using leased telegraph lines. Some papers received "Public News Telephone" called in reports, and others got abbreviated summaries by messenger. Special sports and financial wires provided additional services. International News Photos began in 1930. Although INS joined in the press-radio "war" of 1932 that briefly denied most agency new reports to radio stations, the constant pressure for revenue quickly caused it to cave in and, in 1935, resume service to radio stations.

A number of famous reporters worked for INS over the years including adventurer Floyd Gibbons, Jack Lait, Bob Considine (later a columnist), Pierre

J. Huss, Irving R. Levine (later an NBC economics reporter), Anna Louise Strong, and Jack Singer. Lait achieved perhaps the biggest scoop in INS history. Thanks to a tip from a Chicago policeman, he was standing only a few feet away when, in the summer of 1934, FBI men shot one of their most wanted fugitives as he came out of a theater with Ana Cumpanas, later nicknamed "the lady in red," a brothel owner who fingered him for the FBI. Lait's lead was written in classic INS style: "John Dillinger, ace bad man of the world, got his last night—two slugs through his heart and one through his head. He was tough and he was shrewd, but he wasn't as tough or as shrewd as the federals. . . . Their strength came out of his weakness—a woman." Assigned to cover the Pacific war in the early 1940s, INS correspondent Richard Tregaskis spent two months (today we might say "embedded") with the U.S. Marines during their pivotal battle with the Japanese for the island of Guadalcanal. His book *Guadalcanal Diary* became a best-seller.

Despite such highlights as well as substantial investment in facilities and personnel, however, INS remained a weak third-place holder in the competition with the Associated Press and the second place United Press. INS served just over 13 percent of American dailies in 1934; that number crept up to 19 percent by 1948. But they are placed in perspective with AP's percentages for the same years (61 and 68 percent) and even those of United Press (44 and 51 percent). INS client totals ranged from about 400 at the end of World War I, rising to 600 by 1930, more than a thousand after World War II, and about 3,000 at the time of the 1958 merger with United Press.

In 1948, INS became the first American news agency to enter television when it combined efforts with Telenews Productions Inc. to provide a daily service of newsreels, still photos, and news copy. By 1952, more than 80 percent of American television markets were served, along with stations in Canada, Mexico, Cuba, and Brazil. By 1950, the main INS news feed went to more than 900 foreign clients, most of them added since 1945. By the early 1950s, INS was providing some 125,000 words of news and features daily. Radio stations were served by a script service of some 40 weekly feeds, in addition to the standard INS feed. Teletype service began in 1951.

Merger

Despite all its efforts, INS faced two problems—the poor image of the Hearst press (even after the founder died in 1951) and the dominance of news agency service by the Associated Press. The Hearst company had been in weak financial shape since at least the late 1930s. Furthermore, the number of American daily newspapers was already in slow decline by the middle of the twentieth century, making it even harder to gain clients. All of these factors squeezed the agency's budget for both technology and personnel.

As the second-place United Press was facing similar issues (though from a stronger competitive position vis-à-vis the AP), talks were initiated on a merger, and agreement was reached to create what became United Press International on May 24, 1958.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Associated Press; Telegraph; Teletype; United Press International

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Internet Impact on Media

The Internet has had a tremendous impact on the traditional news media, especially in bringing about convergence (a blending of media forms). Virtually all news media have a web presence. Some of the key factors influencing online news media are personalization and interactivity, the reduced importance of geography, and the rise of the 24-hour news cycle, which puts pressure on all media outlets to cover breaking news.

Personalization allows users to select content that meets their interests and shifts the balance of power away from editors and reporters. Web users also have the opportunity to customize delivery of content of interest in the form of news feeds and e-mail newsletters and alerts. Interactive features such as discussion boards allow audiences an opportunity to be part of the conversation and sometimes even shape the content of news sites. In a sense, the Internet has made news media more democratic. But there is also concern that it isolates users by limiting their exposure to topics and points of view divergent from their own.

A major influence of the Internet has been to remove geographical limits on the reach of media outlets. No longer are news media restricted to one city or region; the Internet allows them to reach audiences nationwide and internationally—the online version of a local newspaper may find audiences all over the world. For example, when Hurricane Katrina hit the American Gulf Coast in 2005, online viewers could get up-to-the-minute information directly from the website of New Orleans's *Times Picayune,* which continued to publish online editions even when the hurricane made print editions impossible. This extended reach can also influence changes to news media content; editorial decisions may strive to make the content more appealing to secondary audiences, such as emigrants or members of diasporic communities.

Newspapers

Newspapers began to establish a presence online after Netscape launched its Navigator browser in 1994. By 1997, about half of the dailies in the United States had a webpage. Initial newspaper websites were rather rudimentary, served mainly to introduce the newspaper, and in many instances were not updated more than once in 24 hours. As newspaper readership among those under 30 was declining, operating a website became one way to attract younger users.

By the early twenty-first century, online newspapers had evolved into constantly updated publications that are often richer in content than the print versions. News is usually presented in a series of layered pages, with the first containing headlines and news capsules and the second and third layers offering more in-depth content. Online newspapers vary from one another in their depth of content and degree of interactivity. They also vary in presentation: some retain the look of the print edition (such as the newyorktimes.com) while others have crafted a unique web identity (like washingtonpost.com). In most cases, the general concepts of newspaper organization have not changed in the online versions, with special sections devoted to topics such as arts and sports, as well as editorial pages. Even the traditional organization of the printed front page, with the most important stories being presented "above the fold," is maintained in most website designs; however, some sites take advantage of web technology to present a series of top stories in rotation.

Online presence has enabled newspapers to become much more interactive. For example, many newspaper sites have their own blogs written by journalists on staff. Readers are invited to respond to journalists and offer feedback and express opinions about stories. This interactivity allows readers to participate in a conversation about news. Such interactivity both limits and expands the kind of reporting done by newspapers: local issues tend to get more coverage, at the cost of national or international issues.

Online newspapers also use multimedia—such as audio and video clips—to make their content livelier and less text based. As audio and video streaming technology improves and household broadband connections become more widespread, such multimedia applications will continue to expand. The blending of audio, video, and text allows for multiple levels of reporting as well as for the ability to link to original documents, which can make for greater transparency in reporting. The

use of multimedia has the potential to engage younger readers more comfortable with an audio-visual culture than a purely text-based one.

Newspaper webpages can provide greater depth of information than print, with links to original documents, related stories, and background materials. Because there is no online space constraint, newspapers can post stories and features that did not make it into the print version. The ability to search through the newspapers archives gives online readers an opportunity to trace the development of an ongoing story.

Many newspapers have developed community sites such as philly.com (*The Philadelphia Inquirer*) and mysanantonio.com (*The San Antonio Express News*) that drive traffic to their sites from those seeking information about events in the community, thus keeping visitors on their sites for a longer period. Such websites provide a portal for arts and entertainment, as well as community and neighborhood news and information. This emphasis on "local" is also part of the strategy at Cox Newspapers (publisher of the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution*) whose online newspapers target specific demographic groups like young mothers and local sports fans who may be underserved by the printed newspaper. As online newspapers recognize that web users seek news from multiple sources, they are making it possible for users to aggregate this information in one place. *The New York Times*' "My Times" feature allows readers to create a personalized page containing their favorite blogs, pictures, and headlines from multiple news outlets.

Recognizing that there is a significant online readership has led some newspapers to reorganize their newsrooms to facilitate the creation of more online content This shift has given newspapers the ability to emphasize local news and events with interactive features that are updated throughout the day while leading to a greater reliance on wire services for some content such as arts reviews, features, and sports. The Gannett newspaper group is redefining newsrooms as "local information centers" that can gather and distribute information across a variety of media outlets including handheld electronic devices and mobile phones.

As with the printed edition, the main source of revenue for online newspapers is advertising. In the mid-1990s when newspapers were first going online, some experimented with charging readers for online content, but this subscription model did not succeed, mainly because Internet users had access to many sources of free news. The only newspaper that has been successful with the paid content model is *The Wall Street Journal*. This is possible because its readership sees a tremendous value in current and deep business news and is therefore willing to pay to access this content. In 2005 *The New York Times* tried a hybrid business model with some content available free, but *Times Select,* which included a search capability as well as current commentary by editorial writers, at a cost. Two years later the *Times* reverted to providing all content free, finding that advertising revenues more than made up the loss of subscription income.

The Internet has also led to experiments with new business models such as Politico.com, which is a hybrid of a print newspaper and an online news service. Moving away from a generalized product for a mass audience, it provides specialized coverage for an audience of lawmakers, lobbyists, and strategists on Capitol Hill. The print edition of the paper has a limited print circulation of about 25,000 and is available free in the Washington, D.C., area.

Magazines

The Internet has impacted magazines in two ways—existing magazines have, like newspapers, established a presence on the Internet, while new web-only magazines like Salon.com and Slate.com have appeared.

For newsweeklies the challenge is finding a way to continue to be meaningful to readers at time when there are a plethora of more current news sources on the Internet. Known for their analysis and lifestyle pieces, magazines such as *Time* and *Newsweek* are finding themselves competing with newspapers that are increasingly offering similar content. While most magazines have websites, the key issue remains determining what they can offer on a weekly basis that remains relevant in a 24-hour news environment. Related to this is the issue of deciding how much original content to offer on the website. Most weekly and monthly magazines offer more online content while at the same time offering multimedia features.

In 2007 *Time* announced changes in the way it determined its total readership by including online readers in its totals. This was accompanied by a change in its publication day for the print edition from Monday to Friday, in recognition that it was moving away from breaking news to more review and analysis. In January 2007, the website underwent significant redesign with continuously updated news, more prominence given to blogs and interactive features and less space given over to content from the print version of the magazine. The intent was to allow *Time* to have a presence in the 24/7 news space, while distinguishing itself from news aggregators like Yahoo and Google. The magazine seeks to combine more context (rather than just headlines) by relying on a stable of high-profile writers.

In 2007, *Newsweek* was the largest newsmagazine on the web (in terms of unique web visitors to its site), providing both original content and that from its partners MSN and MSNBC.com, as well as blogs authored by its correspondents. *Newsweek*'s editors believe that the website should provide readers with a perspective on news as well as online exclusives in addition to breaking news. The magazine is in the process of trying to figure out what editor Jon Meacham in an interview with the *American Journalism Review* called the "polished narrative writing of the 21st century online." The seriousness of *Newsweek*'s investment in maximizing the interactive and visual value of the Internet is evident in the magazine's investment in a video studio so that it can create multimedia content in-house.

The smallest of the newsweeklies, *US News and World Report,* has also turned its attention to the web. USNews.com showcases the magazine's famous college and hospital rankings, as well as similar reports, keeping some of the content available on a premium paid basis. At the same time the website carries the usual breaking news and analysis. Reporters are being trained to add audio and visual elements to their web stories in a move to make the website more appealing.

An important creative way the Internet has impacted magazines is with the emergence of webzines, also known as e-zines or zines, magazines published exclusively online. Two early entrants are *Salon* and *Slate,* which began in 1995 and 1996, respectively. *Salon* was launched with seed money from Apple, while *Slate* was funded by Microsoft. Each has established a unique identity, offering both political and cultural criticism, commentary, and exposés that have been both lauded and criticized. When *Slate* was launched, then-Editor Michael Kinsley made it clear that at some point readers would have to pay and thus share the cost of producing the magazine. This point came in 1998 but lasted only a year, as it did not gain sufficient subscribers to attract advertisers. After facing a decline in advertising revenues, in 2001 *Salon* created two tiers of content, a free version that is supplemented with advertising revenue, and a premium version, available by subscription.

The Internet has saved some struggling print magazines from disappearing. Some print magazines that face difficulty earning advertising revenues have turned to the Internet to continue to reach readers but to eliminate the huge costs of printing and distribution.

Radio

Radio has been less dramatically impacted by the Internet than other media. Internet Radio station websites, webcasting (broadcasting over the Internet), and podcasting (syndication of digital files for replay on computers and portable media players) are all evident. Some stations use their websites primarily to list programs, while others offer primarily local news. Most websites offer streaming, which enables audiences to listen to the station's content online in real time.

The greatest impact of the Internet has been to remove the limits of geography that radio stations previously faced. Through webcasting, stations can reach listeners across the world. Not only have existing stations adopted webcasting, there are many web-only radio stations, whose content is almost always music. Web radio has made a much wider variety of content available to listeners, particularly for those living in rural areas. Unfortunately, problems with copyright have rendered the existence of many web radio stations precarious.

Another important development in radio's relationship to the Internet is podcasting, in which specific "shows" can be created, posted to the Internet, and downloaded for listening later. With podcasting, limits of both geography and time can be overcome. National Public Radio is the leader

among radio stations in the United States in providing podcasts of a variety of its programs.

Internationally, major radio providers like the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) have shifted their attention online. In 2001 BBC Radio replaced its shortwave broadcasts to the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand with an online audio stream stating that in the developed world radio listening is in a decline. A few months later Deutsche Welle radio made a similar move. Early in 2008, the BBC ceased over-the-air English broadcasts to Europe, relying instead on Internet services.

Television and Cable

Network news divisions continue to explore ways of using the Internet to hold on to their audiences and attract new viewers. By establishing a presence on the Internet they hope to attract audiences to their website during the hours when they are not on the air while broadening their appeal to younger audiences. As with other media, their websites are another way to overcome limits of traditional media—in this case their evening newscast. Stories that are kept short for broadcast can be offered at greater length online and those that didn't make it to the broadcast can find an audience on the website. At the same time there is also a push to create content that is made exclusively for a web audience.

The major television networks have increased the web-only content available on their websites and also offer blogs by their correspondents and anchors. In 2005 nbc.com began posting the *Nightly News* online after it had aired on the network. CBS News also makes its newscast available online in the hope of reaching viewers who may not have access to the broadcast when it airs. ABC News produces a separate webcast called World News. This 15-minute program is distinctly different in style and content from the on-air broadcast and is meant to appeal to a younger audience demographic. All news divisions recognize the potential for a new type of storytelling and are looking for ways to make content relevant online.

The website of each news organization is rich in content with breaking news headlines accompanied by videos, photo galleries, and comments. Stories on the CBS and NBC sites are flagged as exclusive to the web. With continuing topics like "Planet Earth" and "The World," online visitors are given an opportunity to customize their news experience. Unbundling the newscast into individual stories as well as making news programming available as downloads on digital clearinghouse sites like iTunes is a another way of giving greater control to the viewer. Blogs by correspondents and anchors (in the case of NBC and CBS) occupy a prominent place on each network's website. Some of these, such as NBCnews.com's "Daily Nightly," offer a look at what goes on behind the scenes in putting together a newscast while at the same time promoting it.

The Internet was the impetus behind the formation of a hybrid news outlet, MSNBC, in 1996, the first online news outlet linking a traditional network and a software company (Microsoft) to create a cable news channel. The goal was to use NBC's news-gathering resources to attract web users to the site and to create a cable channel that harnessed the interactivity of the Internet. MSNBC's website has been very successful at incorporating elements of the new media. The "community" tag links visitors to a variety of blogs. The site makes it very easy for visitors to load and share pictures, video, and news. In 2007 MSNBC bought Newsvine.com, a website that combines traditional news content with user-ranked news stories and user-generated content, as a way to strengthen its online presence.

Cable news outlets such as CNN and Fox News have seen their round-the-clock advantage over broadcast network news erode with the availability of news on the Internet. Their websites provide breaking news, links to programs, and some ability to customize news while allowing viewers to generate content in the form of photos and videos. Both CNN and Fox allow viewers to upload unfiltered content in the form of videos that do not get evaluated by their editors. In 2008, Fox lagged behind CNN and MSNBC in terms of web viewers and announced a digital strategy that included an increase in videos and in Internet exclusive content as well as the opportunity for viewers to rate and recommend videos.

Their websites also allow them to feature content from media partners. For example, cnn.com has a link to *Time* magazine (both are owned by the same conglomerate) while MSNBC provides

links to NBC's news programs. Increasingly, these companies see themselves as news providers that use more than one platform to make their content available to PDAs, cell phones, and in the form of RSS feeds that can be picked up by news aggregators.

Blogs and Citizen Journalism

Of all that the Internet has brought about, the change that maximizes its democratic potential is the formation of weblogs, or blogs. Most observers agree blogs first appeared in 1998. By early 1999, there were 23 blogs online, the result of free software that made it possible for individuals to upload content. Since then, blogs have grown exponentially. The blog search engine Technorati estimated that there were over 100 million blogs worldwide in 2008.

Blogs have been described as diaries or journals written by individuals who want to establish an online presence. The authors of most early blogs were people who wrote highly personal material rather than news. The key characteristics of a blog include content that is updated frequently and that centers on a theme, while providing a user-friendly interface, discussion threads, and links to other webpages. This last feature—the interlinking of sites—is a distinguishing aspect of most blogs.

The huge and growing number of blogs has led to sites, such as the Huffington Post, Technorati, Slashdot, and Digg, that help users navigate the blogosphere. In addition to providing original content, Huffington Post serves as blog portal, organizing blogs by content category and providing links to the most popular ones. Technorati.com functions as a blog search tool and lists blogs in order of the attention they are getting on the web. Slashdot focuses on science and technology stories, and while the site provides links to the stories, its greatest value is in the editorial function it performs by choosing relevant material to feature. By contrast, there are no editors on Digg; users rate news stories and blog posts, and the ratings determine what appears on the home page.

One aspect of blogs many find exciting is their potential to counterbalance the power of mainstream corporate media by creating free-flowing electronic communities. The tremendous popularity of blogs suggests that news gathering and commentary can be successfully democratized. By linking to other sites, blogs demonstrated their ability to gather information from a variety of sources in order to form an opinion or reach a conclusion. Even as blogs have grown in popularity, however, there is considerable debate over whether bloggers are journalists. Many see bloggers' lack of objectivity or editing as a serious drawback.

While many in traditional media are fascinated by what blogs offer, there are others who question blog authority and credibility. But bloggers have showed their ability to go after unreported stories and make news in a number of high-profile instances. For example, bloggers focused attention on remarks made by Republican Senator Trent Lott in 2002, in which he reminisced with apparent fondness about a segregationist presidential campaign. Although traditional news media initially ignored the story, blog stories led to more widespread coverage and to Lott's ultimate resignation as Senate Majority Leader. Similarly, bloggers' questions about the authenticity of documents used by CBS news in 2004, which suggested President George W. Bush had avoided service during the Vietnam War, led to closer scrutiny of those documents and to CBS ultimately retracting the story. In a 2006 Virginia campaign for the U.S. Senate, blogging about a video of Sen. George Allen making an ethnic slur cost him an expected reelection.

Starting around 2002, traditional news media outlets began to add blogs to their sites. These blogs tackle a range of subjects and encourage ongoing dialogue to drive more traffic to news sites. Many of these blogs are written by journalists and columnists at news organizations but others are provided by freelancers and special guests.

Blogs make it possible for the average citizen to highlight issues that he or she feels are important and thus to become a part of a more widespread public debate. Blogs have transformed the news business by giving any individual the power to be a reporter, thus creating the citizen journalist. Citizen journalism aims to connect journalism directly to issues that the public is interested in debating. Citizen journalists have often played a central role in situations where professional journalists have had limited access to the news scene

(at least initially) such as in the London terrorist bombings of 2005 and in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in the same year.

YouTube, with its user-generated videos, has developed into a key site for citizen journalism. Videos of events that are politically significant and that document important trends contributed by citizens enter the public domain and can be accessed by the millions of users of the website. As a testament to the impact of YouTube journalism, some repressive governments have blocked access to the site. Podcasts that deal with politics and news are also a form of citizen journalism. With a minor investment in equipment anyone can create a podcast and reach a wide audience over the Internet without needing an established news outlet to carry it.

Citizen journalists have joined to form groups like ePluribus Media and the Independent Media Center (IMC or Indymedia) that aim to counter mainstream reporting and shift to a bottom up rather than top down model of news gathering and production. ePluribus is a cooperative of citizen volunteers who are interested in similar issues and who are committed to the ethical practice of journalism. Indymedia is a news collective composed of a range of independent media organizations and professional and amateur journalists who are committed to social change. Its mission statement on its website states that it is a "democratic media outlet for the creation of radical, accurate and passionate tellings of truth."

Another citizen journalist success, Korea's OhMyNews, calls on citizen journalists to provide reporting for an online newspaper that serves as an alternative to mainstream conservative media. The site has become a household name in Korea and in 2004 added an international edition in English that draws on the service of "world citizen reporters" for its content.

Conclusion

It is clear that the Internet has transformed the media while at the same time giving rise to new forms of news media. Some traditional media formats like newspapers have seen considerable alteration because of the Internet while others are only beginning to use the Internet to extend their audience and their brand. The Internet has made media producers think differently about what constitutes news and journalism and about how it can best be practiced and presented. Audiences can now access most media content irrespective of place or time and now can customize content—this has made media more democratic by giving users the opportunity to define their own news agenda and by providing content. The impact of the Internet continues to evolve as technologies develop and as legacy news media experiment with the possibilities the online world provides.

Seema Shrikhande

See also Blogs and Bloggers; Cable News; Chat Rooms; Citizen Journalism; Computers in Journalism; Convergence; Desktop Publishing; Digital Journalism Tools; Discussion Boards; History of Journalism: 1995–Present; News Aggregator; Newsweekly Magazines; Podcasting; Social Network Websites; Streaming Media

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INTERVIEWERS

People are infinitely fascinated with other people, and therein lies the central appeal of being an interviewer on radio, television, or cable. Getting people to talk revealingly about themselves, their lives, interests, and motivations is the chief task facing any interviewer. Being able to accomplish that without getting a subject defensive or angry is something of an art. And doing it with important political or other news figures can be a tricky proposition.

Most of the interviewers noted here differ sharply from radio or television talk-show hosts of the present. The modern-day on-air figures take up most of their own air—they aggressively present their opinions and thoughts, rarely those of others (save for callers who usually agree)—and many go on for hours every day. The interviewers included here were far more interested in showcasing their guests, though they were often deferential and discreet in a way that would appear old-fashioned by the early twenty-first century. Still, many interviewers on commercial television appear reluctant to look or sound offensive to the viewer. That makes it harder to ask probing questions and almost impossible to demand quality responses. Insisting on specific answers to allegations makes any reporter look rude, perhaps insolent, certainly discourteous, and obviously disrespectful. Striking a balance between decorum and determination to get responses is a difficult thing to accomplish.

Most broadcast and cable interviewers tend to focus either on journalistic topics or the world of entertainment, though some meld the two. This entry emphasizes the former though many interviewers deal in both.

Radio Interviewers

In at least one way, radio has always been a natural forum for interviewing. After all, the listener's entire focus is on voices and what people say (and often how they say it), and radio delivers that well. There are no disconcerting pictures. On the other hand, for decades, radio shied away from using women on the air, let alone as interviewers. It was largely a man's medium for many years—save for Mary Margaret McBride. Only in the past few decades has that barrier slowly dissolved such that women are now some of the best-known and most effective broadcasting interviewers.

Terry Gross (1951–)

Gross has hosted *Fresh Air* for decades on National Public Radio. Born in Brooklyn, New York, Gross earned a bachelor's in English and a masters in communications from the State University of New York at Buffalo. She briefly taught school in the inner city before beginning her radio career in 1973 at Buffalo's public radio station WBFO. Two years later she moved to Philadelphia, joining WHYY-FM as producer and host of *Fresh Air*. She covers contemporary arts and issues on the weekday magazine program. According to its website, *Fresh Air* provides interviews as much time as needed and has won numerous awards for its "probing questions, revelatory interviews and unusual insights." Gross's approach to interviewing combines empathy, genuine curiosity, and sharp intelligence. Part of her technique is to ask guests to explain something they have previously said. Most times, the discussion goes well and her guest stays on for the entire interview. In a few instances, for example when Gross spoke with FOX News Channel's Bill O'Reilly in 2003, things have not gone to the guest's liking, they have and terminated the interview.

Mary Margaret McBride (1899–1976)

McBride was one of radio's most important and versatile interviewers for several decades. Born in Missouri, she graduated from the state university with a degree in journalism in 1919 at a time when women in the field were fairly rare. Through the 1920s, she worked as a writer/reporter for a series of newspapers and magazines. She broke into radio as "Martha Deane" on New York's WOR in 1934. Three years later she began her first network program with CBS, staying with the short format (15 minutes) until 1941. During the 1940s she reached her peak audiences with an early afternoon 45-minute program on NBC. She broadcast with ABC in the early 1950s, and returned to NBC from 1954 to 1960. A postwar attempt to shift her program to television, however, failed in a few months. For the rest of her life, she syndicated her program and its

interviews. She had a relaxed and homespun style (she was Mary Margaret to everyone) that encouraged informal conversation with her broad range of guests, from politicians to generals to movie stars; she never announced her guests in advance, so the audience tuned in with no idea what they would get. They often heard everyday people with interesting roles who were as likely to appear as the famous. She was one of the earliest national radio figures to include African American guests during World War II. Long before Oprah Winfrey, Mary Margaret's positive mention of a book could sell thousands of copies. She developed an advertiser policy early on of not accepting commercials unless she could attest to the product's quality or value herself. Her fifteenth anniversary of being on the air was celebrated at Yankee Stadium, which could barely hold all the attendees.

Edward R. Murrow (1908–65)

Born in North Carolina and raised in the Pacific Northwest, Murrow attended Washington State College in Pullman for his degree. After a brief period with national student organizations, he was hired by CBS radio in 1935 as their director of talks. He became a reporter starting in 1938 in Europe and was made famous by his broadcasts from London in the 1940 Blitz of the city by the Germans. While he would often interview people in his role as a foreign correspondent, Murrow's interview style came into its own after the war on both his radio broadcasts and the 1950s television documentary series *See It Now* (1951–58) and *Person to Person* (1953–61). The former often included a live or filmed interview. The latter was a light weekly informal (but well-planned) interview of two celebrities for each program, televised inside their own home. Some of these subjects were show business figures, but many were important political, cultural, or scientific people. Murrow retired from the network and headed the U.S. Information Agency under President Kennedy in the early 1960s.

Diane Rehm (1936–)

Rehm was born in Washington, D.C., and began her radio career in 1973 as a volunteer at American University's WAMU (FM). She soon became host and producer of two health-oriented programs, and (after a brief attempt at a television show plus some freelance work for AP Radio) in 1979 she returned to WAMU to host the station's morning talk show, *Kaleidoscope*. In 1984 it became *The Diane Rehm Show,* and National Public Radio began its national distribution in 1995. Three years later, however, Rehm was diagnosed with spasmodic dysphonia, a neurological condition that causes a strained and slow speech pattern. After a short time off the air for treatment (which is repeated every few months), she returned to the program which remained on the air into the early twenty-first century. Rehm interviews a wide variety of guests, ranging from political figures to authors of all kinds.

Lawrence E. Spivak (1900–94)

Born in Brooklyn, New York, Spivak's first journalism work was in print media and he became the publisher of the monthly *American Mercury,* the conservative journal created by H. L. Mencken. Intending to promote readership, he and Martha Rountree created the idea of *Meet the Press* on the Mutual network in 1945. He served as one of the journalist panelists as the program (always asking the first question) began to appear on television in 1947, becoming moderator for a decade, before retiring in 1975. Spivak sought to confront newsmaker guests on the program with straight and often provocative questions rather than expressing his own opinions. Some critics argued he was intrusive and abrasive in his questions, but as he made clear over the years, he didn't want anybody on the program who withheld information.

Television Interviewers

Interviewing on television is harder than on radio, as making "talking head" material interesting is harder without the use of supporting visuals. At the same time, television can underline the discomfort of those being interviewed—their changing expressions, nervous sweat, or shifty eyes. Eye contact becomes important to the interviewer, his or her subject, and the viewer.

William F. Buckley Jr. (1925–2008)

Born in New York, Buckley graduated from Yale into a career of conservative journalism and

commentary. He founded and long edited the *National Review* as a vehicle of sensible conservatism, and was a syndicated columnist for decades, known for his expansive use of the language. Put another way, he was a "public intellectual," a role often assigned to important academics. From 1966 to 1999, he hosted most weekly programs of the *Firing Line* series of news commentary and interview programs on public television. He demonstrated a light touch in his interviewing, often sparked with humor and insight.

David Frost (1939–)

Frost was born in England and graduated with a First (top-rated degree) in English from Cambridge University. He initially became famous as host of the satirical news program *That Was the Week That Was* on the BBC in the 1960s. Starting in the late 1960s, he became known for lengthy and often revealing political interviews on *The David Frost Show,* among other venues. Frost is said to be the only person to have interviewed all six British prime ministers serving between 1964 and 2007 and the seven U.S. presidents since 1969, including four 90-minute 1977 programs with Richard Nixon (who was paid $600,000) after he left office. He also interviewed the leading candidates on *The Next President* during the campaigns of 1968, 1988, and 1992. His approach to his political interviews is quiet in style but probing in substance.

Larry King (1933–)

King was born in Brooklyn as Lawrence Harvey Zeiger and changed his name to Larry King when he was 23 and started doing morning drive-time radio in Miami in 1957. Soon he was doing interviews from the front window of a Miami Beach restaurant. By the late 1960s, King was hosting a radio and television show, providing play-by-play for Miami Dolphins football games, and writing a column for the *Miami Herald*. By 1975, he was hosting a nightly talk show on Miami radio. And in 1978, the *Larry King Show* debuted on the Mutual Broadcasting System. Within four years, his midnight to 5:30 a.m. show was carried nationally on more than 250 radio stations. In 1985 CNN founder Ted Turner recruited King for a prime-time talk show which became *Larry King Live* and features interviews with political leaders, pop culture stars, citizens thrust unexpectedly into the spotlight, and even convicts. Leaning into the microphone, and toward the interview subject across the desk, King is easily recognizable in his large eyeglasses, colorful shirts, and suspenders. In his 1988 book *Tell It to the King,* he says that being curious, listening well, and being sincerely interested in what people have to say are qualities of good interviewers. He likes to ask short questions beginning with "why" or "how." King is generally nonconfrontational because he does not believe that a verbal attack in an interview results in anything useful. He provided extensive interview coverage of the 2000 postpresidential vote recount in Florida, the 2001 terrorist attacks on New York and Washington, the 2003 American invasion of Iraq, and Hurricane Katrina in 2005. His post-Katrina disaster programming included interviews with more than 250 guests.

Ted Koppel (1940–)

Koppel has often been considered television's best interviewer by many critics. Born in England, he moved to the U.S. in the early 1950s. After earning degrees from Syracuse and Stanford universities, and working briefly as a radio news writer, he was hired by ABC television news in 1963 as a reporter. He spent considerable time reporting from overseas and for two years in the mid-1970s anchored the network's Saturday evening news report. His interviewing skills came to the fore with the 1979–80 *America Held Hostage* nightly report on the fate of more than 100 American hostages in Iran. In March 1980, with the hostages safely home, the program became *Nightline,* which Koppel would host for more than two decades. The program would typically center on an issue or event, and would include a discussion among guests with Koppel moderating and asking probing questions. He retired from the job after 25 years, turning to hosting duties on the Discovery Channel and appearances on public television.

Brian Lamb (1941–)

Lamb was born in Indiana and graduated from Purdue University before serving with the

U.S. Navy. He then served with several federal agencies in Washington, D.C., during the Nixon administration, and as a press secretary to a U.S. senator from Colorado. In the mid-1970s, he published a media policy newsletter in Washington, D.C. He was the founder in 1977 and is still the CEO of C-SPAN, the cable industry-supported public affairs network which first aired in 1979. It is on that network that he has gained a following for his interviewing, first on *Booknotes,* with nonfiction authors, and starting in 2004 on the wider-ranging *Q&A*. He is a low-key but incisive interviewer, pulling out his subjects on their writing, careers, interests, and viewpoints. He uses a nonconfrontational style and tries not to "get in the way" of his interview subject.

Bill Moyers (1934–)

Moyers was born in Oklahoma and raised in Texas, graduating from the University of Texas in 1956. After obtaining a divinity degree and serving as a Baptist minister for two years, he found himself in the political world of Lyndon Johnson, serving on his White House staff in the mid-1960s and as his press secretary from 1965 to 1967. During the 1970s, he worked for the new Public Broadcasting Service and began *Bill Moyers' Journal,* which ran until 1981. In this and other programs, he developed his "conversations with" style that worked well across a variety of fields and guests. In 1976 he moved to CBS, where he worked with the *CBS Reports* documentary until 1980, then as senior news analyst and commentator for the evening news until 1986 (he was the last regular commentator for the network broadcast). He worked briefly for NBC, then, frustrated with the limitations of commercial television, struck out on his own, producing more than 100 syndicated programs, many featuring interviews. He eventually returned to PBS with *Bill Moyers' Journal* in 2007. His role as an interviewer (an "entrepreneur of ideas") was most evident in the *Journal* and included often quite cerebral discussions with notable intellectuals as well as political, social, or scholarly newsmakers.

Charlie Rose (1942–)

Born in North Carolina, Rose graduated with a degree in history from Duke University and went on for a law degree. After working for a time in New York banking and as a weekend reporter for a local television station, Rose was hired by Bill Moyers to work on his various public television news programs. He began doing interviews, and began *The Charlie Rose Show* on a Dallas station in the late 1970s (it was syndicated on NBC for two years). From 1984 to 1990 he anchored the CBS network late-night newscast as well as an early morning interview program, *Nightwatch*. His PBS *Charlie Rose Show* began from New York's WNET in 1991 and was carried nationally on PBS within two years.

Tim Russert (1950–2008)

Russert was born in Buffalo, New York, and attended college and law school in Cleveland, Ohio. He worked as an assistant to New York Governor Mario Cuomo and then as chief of staff for Senator Daniel Moynihan (D-NY) before shifting to journalism by joining NBC News in 1984. He moderated NBC's *Meet the Press* from 1991 until the time of his unexpected death in 2008. Prior to his death, he was senior vice president and Washington Bureau Chief of NBC News. *The Washington Post* credits him with coining the "red state" and "blue state" terms to explain the nation's political divide. And when the electoral votes were being tabulated on election night, he was known to use hand-held legal tablets and dry-erase boards to simplify and visualize the math of the projected final tallies. Russert said he tried to be objective and nonpartisan. But some said he could move quickly from objective questioner to overzealous prosecutor while he developed a reputation for penetrating questions and tough follow-ups.

Bob Schieffer (1937–)

Schieffer is a native of Austin, Texas, and grew up in Fort Worth where he graduated from Texas Christian University in 1959. After three years in the Air Force, he joined the Ft. Worth newspaper as a reporter, just in time to cover the assassination in Dallas of President John Kennedy in November 1963. Two years later he reported from the growing Vietnam War for five months. He became the evening news anchor at the local NBC affiliate, before joining CBS in 1969. He has covered the

four major beats in Washington: the White House, the Pentagon, the State Department, and Capitol Hill. He has covered presidential campaigns and been a floor reporter at the national political conventions since 1972. Schieffer has called moderating CBS's *Face the Nation,* a post he has held since 1991, the best job he's ever had because he gets to interview everyone who is anyone—and they come to him. He describes the network Sunday morning interview programs as one time on broadcast television where serious people can have serious discussions about serious things. Schieffer anchored the network's evening news from March 2005 until August 2006 and remains a regular contributor to the program.

David Susskind (1920–87)

Born in New York City and educated at the University of Wisconsin and Harvard, Susskind became a talent agent and producer after service in World War II. He began hosting *Open End* in 1958 on a New York City television station (the program began at 11 p.m. Sunday evening and lasted until topic and/or participants were tired), began to syndicate it in 1961, and rebranded it in 1967 as *The David Susskind Show*. Guests, usually several at a time, would generally focus on one topic per program and subjects varied widely. Susskind was a tough-minded interviewer and often pushed his panelists hard to get a strong give-and-take response.

Mike Wallace (1918–)

Wallace was born May 9, 1918, in Brookline, part of Boston, the son of Russian Jewish immigrants. After high school, he graduated from the University of Michigan (which now holds his papers) and began his broadcasting career at stations in Grand Rapids and in Detroit. In 1941, Wallace was hired by a Chicago station as a newscaster, but wartime service as a naval communications officer interrupted his career path. He returned to Chicago as a news reporter for station WMAQ, joined CBS in 1951, but left four years later. He first became widely known for his intense interviewing approach in the late 1950s on *Night Beat* in New York and, on ABC, *The Mike Wallace Interview*. He returned to CBS in 1963 when he was named a CBS correspondent and anchor of *The CBS Morning News* (1963–66). Wallace was political correspondent and a floor reporter at the political conventions of the 1960s and 1970s. In 1968, he was one of the original reporters on the new *60 Minutes* weekly news magazine that over the next three decades often featured his interviewing style of homing in on the key issues and staying with his questioning until he gets answers. He retired in 2006.

Barbara Walters (1931–)

Walters was born in a Boston suburb and grew up around celebrities and show people in Miami and New York as her father ran a nightclub. She studied theater and literature at Sarah Lawrence College and found work in the publicity department of WNBC-TV in New York. In 1961, she landed a job as a freelance writer for the network's morning *Today Show*. It was her work for that program in 1963, when she covered the funeral of President John F. Kennedy, that first put her in the national spotlight. By the fall of 1964, she was a program regular and had broken out of covering what were then called "women's stories." In 1971, she launched a gossipy NBC talk show called *Not for Women Only*. By 1974, Walters was co-hosting *Today* as the program's first female co-host and was becoming known for news interviews and what were then called the "Washington interviews" with key political figures. She often did interviews–with both celebrities and people in the news—on location. In 1976, third-place ABC coaxed Walters away from NBC for $1 million a year and the opportunity to co-anchor its evening newscast. Her one-hour prime-time *Barbara Walters Special,* including interviews and "chats" with celebrities, often come across as affectionate visits rather than probing journalism. The taping of her interviews may continue for five hours or more and then be edited down at her direction to a 20-minute piece.

Oprah Winfrey (1954–)

Winfrey was born in Kosciusko, Mississippi, in 1954 and grew up shuttling between her mother and father and grandmother. She was still a student at Tennessee State University when she began

anchoring news at a Nashville station from 1973 to 1976. She moved to Baltimore and did news anchoring for two more years. But her interviewing strengths of combining empathy and charisma really started to shine in 1978, as she began hosting *People Are Talking,* featuring celebrity guests, local news, and service segments. Her 1984 move to Chicago to host *AM Chicago* on WLS-TV launched her into national prominence as her interviewing skills turned that faltering local program into a success. Within a year it was renamed as *The Oprah Winfrey Show* and she signed with King World to put the program into national syndication. She owns HARPO, a production company; owns a multimillion-dollar studio; is editorial director of *O, The Oprah Magazine*; and is a partner in Oxygen Media.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Network Interview Programs; Public Radio Journalism; Public Television Journalism; Reporters, Radio; Reporters, Television

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Investigative Journalism

Investigative reporting is a journalistic specialty that uses fact-gathering to expose wrongdoing by powerful individuals and institutions. This form of reporting has also been called advocacy, adversarial, crusading, watchdog and public service journalism, or muckraking. Experts have offered varying definitions: some emphasize in-depth reporting that is more time-consuming than traditional daily journalism; others claim that the very phrase "investigative reporting" is redundant since all reporting involves investigation of some kind. According to the nonprofit group Investigative Reporters and Editors, America's leading organization of such journalists, it is "the reporting, through one's own work product and initiative, [of] matters of importance which some person or group want to keep secret" (Shapiro 2003, xv).

Nonetheless, despite these varying definitions, the core of investigative reporting throughout American history has been its use of evidence to challenge authority and oppose entrenched power—political, governmental, corporate, or religious—on behalf of ordinary citizens. This "journalism of outrage," as one researcher has characterized it, "is a form of storytelling that probes the boundaries of America's civic conscience" (Protess et al., 1991, 5). According to another writer, the job of investigative reporters is "to speak documented truth to lying power" (Shapiro 2003, xv).

Investigative reporting has taken place in all forms of news media: newspapers, magazines, radio, television and, most recently, online. Investigative journalists conduct research using interviews and documents, including databases

mined for hidden facts in computer-assisted or "precision" reporting that uses the rigorous techniques of social scientists. Sometimes, investigative reporters work "undercover," with or without cameras, to witness and report about abuses firsthand. Given the nature of their work, many investigative reporters have been injured or killed in pursuit of stories.

Unlike traditional journalists, investigative reporters often do not abide by the journalistic principle of objectivity; by definition, their work is frequently subjective, even moralistic. Investigative reporters are "custodians of public conscience" whose "reporting yields stories that are carefully verified and skillfully narrated accounts of special injury and injustice . . . with a meaning that always transcends the facts of the particular case. Their stories call attention to the breakdown of social systems and the disorder within public institutions that cause injury and injustice; in turn, their stories implicitly demand the response of public officials—and the public itself—to that breakdown and disorder" (Ettema and Glasser 1998, 3).

To be sure, the line between fair-minded investigative reporting and partisan witch-hunting or sensationalistic gossip-mongering can be a fine one, and that line has been repeatedly crossed over the years. Right-wing critics have complained that investigative reporting undermines authority while leftist detractors protest that such journalism reinforces the status quo. The truth is probably somewhere in between. "Investigative reporters are reformers not revolutionaries," one researcher has noted. "They seek to improve the system by pointing out its shortcomings rather than advocating its overthrow. By spotlighting specific abuses of particular policies or programs, the investigative reporter provides policy makers with the opportunity to take corrective actions without changing the distribution of power" (Protess 1991, 11).

While significant and substantive public service journalism is often high profile, even famous, it is also relatively rare. This is true in part because wrongdoing in high places is difficult to uncover. Investigative reporting can be time-consuming and expensive to produce and can generate costly lawsuits and alienate powerful authorities, from government officials to advertisers. However, by providing a check on abuses by authorities, investigative reporting is important to democracy. It helps mold public opinion, shape policy, deter wrongdoing, and reinforce society's key values.

Although only a small minority of journalists are true investigative reporters, they have been prominent—even household names—from colonial times in America to the present day. What follows is a discussion of the historical evolution of investigative reporting in the United States. For more detailed treatment of important twentieth- and twenty-first-century investigative reporters, see the entry "Investigative Reporters."

Rise of American Investigative Reporting

The amount of investigative reporting has waxed and waned in periodical cycles throughout history. The roots of such journalism are deep, going back almost to the days when the printing press was invented (1447), although it has steadily grown and evolved in style and technique.

The earliest known investigative reporting on American soil can be traced to the first colonial newspaper published in 1690. Benjamin Harris (c. 1660–1720), a London printer who was driven out of England in 1686 under threat of imprisonment for producing pamphlets that offended British authorities, produced North America's first English-language newspaper, *Publick Occurrences Both Foreign and Domestick*. The Boston newspaper was a pioneer in both the noble and lowbrow traditions that would become associated with investigative reporting in America. In his first issue, Harris exposed allegedly "barbarous" human rights abuses of prisoners-of-war and a supposed royal sex scandal in which the king of France "used to lie with" his "Sons Wife." Four days later, British authorities shut down the newspaper. The paper's first issue was also its last—an early warning of what could happen to investigative reporters who challenged authorities.

A generation later, James Franklin (1697–1735), the older brother of America's founding father Benjamin Franklin, used his Boston newspaper, the *New England Courant,* to attack the Massachusetts Bay colony's Puritan leaders for failing to put an end to piracy on the Atlantic Ocean. In retaliation, colonial authorities imprisoned Franklin and banned his newspaper. His younger brother Benjamin fled to Philadelphia, where he established his own printing press in a more hospitable

political climate. Meanwhile James Franklin, unrepentant, defended himself by quoting the Roman philosopher Cato that "exposing publick Wickedness . . . is a Duty which every Man owes to his country."

In 1734, John Peter Zenger (1697–1746), the printer of the *New York Weekly Journal,* was jailed for seditious libel—criticizing the government—after he assailed the colonial governor of New York, who was alleged to have engaged in financial impropriety and abuse of power. But Zenger was freed in a landmark legal case after a jury ruled that there could be no libel if a news story was truthful. In his successful defense of Zenger, his lawyer articulated what would prove to be the investigative reporter's creed for more than two centuries afterwards: "the liberty of exposing and opposing arbitrary power . . . by speaking and writing truth."

In the 1760s and 1770s, during the years leading to the American Revolution, newspapers and pamphlets frequently challenged colonial authorities by exposing their misdeeds, although such efforts were typically accomplished through slashing partisan attacks rather than objective reporting. Samuel Adams (1722–1803) helped stir up Revolutionary sentiment in the *Boston Gazette* by exposing alleged atrocities of British soldiers. By contemporary standards, Adams was less an investigative reporter than a political activist, the leader of the Patriot faction in Massachusetts. Nonetheless, by using the press to uncover abuses of the government, he and other writers of his era helped plant the seeds of investigative reporting that would flower in future generations.

After the Revolution, exposé journalism was used largely as a partisan weapon during bitter disputes between the nation's new rival political factions, which began to fund newspapers as party organs. *The National Gazette,* the paper of Thomas Jefferson's Republican Party, exposed corruption in the office of rival Federalist leader Alexander Hamilton; as a result, several Hamilton aides at the Treasury Department were convicted for insider trading of government bonds. Benjamin Franklin Bache (1769–98), grandson of U.S. founding father Benjamin Franklin, used his newspaper, *American Aurora,* to expose secrets of Presidents George Washington and John Adams. Bache published confidential Cabinet minutes and drafts of treaties that were leaked to him, possibly by Jefferson himself, in an attempt to influence politics and government policy. In response, the Adams administration jailed Bache on sedition charges, and he died in prison from yellow fever before he could be tried. Two years later, his ally Jefferson was elected President and helped eliminate the 1798 Sedition Act that put Bache behind bars in the first place.

James Thomson Callender (1758–1803), another Jeffersonian journalist imprisoned under the Sedition Act, was America's first true political scandalmonger. A Scottish-born pamphleteer who had attacked British corruption and fled to the United States afterward, in 1797 Callender exposed Hamilton's extramarital affair with a woman who had blackmailed the Treasury Secretary to keep it secret. Callender's attacks on President John Adams led to Callender's jailing until his patron Jefferson defeated Adams for the presidency. Callender expected Jefferson to reward his loyalty with a federal job in the new administration. But Jefferson did not appoint Callender to such a position and the journalist got revenge in 1802 by writing an article in the *Richmond Recorder* exposing the President's sexual affair with his African American slave, Sally Hemmings. "By this wench Sally, our president has several children," Callender wrote. Nearly 200 years later, DNA testing would confirm the rumor.

With a few notable exceptions, early-nineteenth-century investigative reporting was generally infrequent and had little impact. The partisan nature of newspapers limited such journalism to exposés of the opposition party whereas businesses, churches, the military, and other important institutions went unexamined. Investigative reporting was further restricted by newspaper dependence on state or federal government contracts for printing as well as limited circulation due to widespread illiteracy, dispersion of the population in rural areas, and technological limits to printing. The awarding of government contracts to favored printers was a particularly potent form of political patronage in Washington, D.C., where transcribing congressional debates was so lucrative that it essentially underwrote the cost of the partisan press. Thus, most journalism in the nation's capital was from the beginning a curious blend of partisanship and stenography, a trend that would continue.

In the 1830s and 1840s, writers working for Democratic newspapers uncovered pay-offs involving the National Bank, which was supported by the rival Whig Party. Abolitionists, early union organizers, and other activists established their own crusading newspapers, although their polemical exposés were largely propagandistic in nature and their circulation and influence was minimal.

William Lloyd Garrison (1805–79) crusaded against slavery in *The Liberator,* an abolitionist newspaper that he founded in 1831. An advocate who also started the American Anti-Slavery Society, Garrison was seized by an angry white mob and led around his hometown of Boston with a noose on his neck; authorities in Georgia also offered a $5,000 reward for his arrest. Although Garrison's newspaper circulation never exceeded 3,000, he exposed the cruelty of slavery with a mix of investigative reporting and fiery rhetoric. As Garrison stated in the first issue of his newspaper, "I am aware that many object to the severity of my language: but is there not cause for severity? I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject, I do not wish to think, or speak, or write with moderation. No! no! . . . I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD" (Serrin 2002, 174).

Elijah Lovejoy (1802–37), an abolitionist writer who crusaded against slavery and lynching in the *St. Louis Observer,* was assassinated in 1837 in retaliation for his unyielding articles. A Presbyterian minister and antislavery activist, Lovejoy saw his printing press destroyed by proslavery mobs on three separate occasions. Although he refused to temper his views, in 1836 he relocated to Alton, Illinois, where he edited the abolitionist *Alton Observer* newspaper. The next year, he was fatally shot during a riot by slaveholders who stormed his printing press and threw it in the Mississippi River. After his death, Lovejoy was lionized not only for opposing slavery but also as America's first martyr for press freedom.

After the Civil War, the practice of investigative reporting increased slowly but steadily. *The New York Times* uncovered graft by Boss Tweed in New York City's Tammany Hall in 1871, and the *New York Sun* exposed the Crédit Mobilier scandal of the Grant administration in 1872. Still, there was a distinct partisan flair to these exposés; the *Times* was a Republican newspaper targeting a Democratic machine while the *Sun* was a Democratic paper targeting Republicans.

By the late nineteenth century, most newspapers had evolved from partisan to commercial entities. Urbanization helped concentrate populations in locales where large circulation could be established. Technological improvements—linotype, telegraph, illustrations, and mass production—increased demand while decreasing the price of production. One-cent "penny newspapers" were cheap enough for large numbers of an increasingly literate population to buy. And because these new mass circulation newspapers were economically self-sustaining, they were not dependent on political parties for subsidy. In fact, since profit was tied to circulation, nonpartisanship made economic sense so as to avoid antagonizing supporters of either political party. Publishers began replacing a more narrow partisan outlook with a broader concept of social responsibility to the community at large.

Mass circulation newspapers appealed especially to immigrants and rural workers who had moved to urban areas and were trying to learn how to cope in their new environment. Journalistic exposés proved popular with these readers, and such aggressive publishers as Joseph Pulitzer (1847–1911) and William Randolph Hearst (1863–1951) began specializing in sensational scandal coverage.

Nellie Bly (1864–1922), the pen name of Elizabeth Cochrane, became famous in 1887, when she exposed mistreatment of the mentally ill for Pulitzer's New York *World* by going undercover and feigning insanity to get committed to New York's Blackwell Island asylum for women. Bly described how "nurses beat me with a broomhandle and jumped on me. . . . Then they tied my hands and feet and, throwing a sheet over my head, twisted it tightly around my throat, so I could not scream, and thus put me in a bathtub filled with cold water. They held me under until I gave up every hope and became senseless. At other times they took hold of my ears and beat my head on the floor and against the wall. Then they pulled my hair out by the roots" (Serrin 2002, 144–45). Bly's exposé led to a grand jury investigation and a cleanup of the asylum. It was the first of many stunts—including a trip around the world in less than 80 days—that made Bly the most famous of the "sob sisters" hired by competing New York

newspapers in their fierce circulation wars of the late 1800s.

Another female investigative reporter, Ida B. Wells (1862–1931), exposed lynching and other forms of racial violence in the African American press. Born into slavery in Mississippi a year before Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, Wells was galvanized into investigative reporting in 1892 when three black friends were lynched in Memphis, Tennessee. Wells's exposés about the murders in that city's black newspaper, *Free Speech and Headlight*, led a white mob to destroy her newsroom. She fled to Chicago, where for years she continued to expose the waves of lynching around the country, which the white news media largely ignored.

During the late 1800s, other writers exposed previously taboo subjects such as prostitution and slum tenement conditions. Political reform groups found large-circulation newspapers valuable allies, particularly since such activists had no political machine of their own to spread their message. For all its aggressiveness, however, this investigative reporting was still largely infrequent and local in scope.

Muckraking Investigative Journalism

By the beginning of the twentieth century, however, exposé journalism had become widespread and national in reach. Ironically, this proliferation of investigative reporting was made possible by the very industrialized capitalism that these journalists exposed. In particular, the transcontinental railroad led to national distribution and marketing, which in turn created a demand for nationwide advertising and thus the first mass-circulation national news publications. Newspaper chains began to reach from coast to coast, the beginning of a century-long evolution toward consolidated corporate media. National magazines started to flower, made more popular by their unprecedented ability to reproduce gripping photographs. Total circulation climbed into the tens of millions as these new, slick national publications became the primary delivery system for the muckrakers.

In 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt invented a word to describe these investigative dirt-diggers: muckrakers, journalists who raked out the muck of society.

The years between 1902 and 1912 were the glory decade for muckraking, the "golden age of public service journalism." These muckrakers soon became famous: Lincoln Steffens (1866–1936), exposing municipal corruption in *The Shame of the Cities;* Ida Tarbell (1857–1944), documenting the crimes of John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil in *McClure's* magazine; and Upton Sinclair (1878–1968), working undercover in Chicago meat-packing plants to write his epic work *The Jungle*. In general, the muckrakers targeted corporate wrongdoing, government misbehavior, and social injustice; they viewed all three as interconnected to each other and to systemic problems spawned by the U.S. industrial revolution.

The golden age of muckraking came to an end by the time the United States entered World War I in 1917. Historians have offered various explanations for the end of the muckrakers' era: that the reforms they produced solved the industrial revolution's worst abuses and thus the need or appetite for muckraking; that the decline of the Progressive political movement inevitably meant the decline of muckraking because the two were so closely linked; that World War I turned the public's focus abroad and increased public respect for authority at home; that media consolidation eliminated magazine outlets for muckraking; that individual journalists turned inward to narrow careerism; and that irresponsible muckraking alienated the public, which had already grown weary of journalistic negativity.

The half century after the muckrakers—from World War I to the Vietnam War—was a kind of "dark age" for investigative reporting. Even the enormous public alienation from the economic and political turmoil brought on by the Great Depression in the 1930s failed to rekindle aggressive exposé journalism, although President Franklin Roosevelt's government-funded writer's project did produce some notable documentary efforts. A few journalists, mostly on the left of the political spectrum, continued the lonely crusade: socialist Upton Sinclair (1878–1968) attacked the conservative media; columnists Drew Pearson (1897–1969) and Jack Anderson (1922–2005) specialized in political corruption and scandal; George Seldes (1890–1995), I. F. Stone (1907–89), and Jessica Mitford (1917–96) challenged cold war politics; and Edward R. Murrow (1908–65) used the new medium of television to

attack Senator Joseph McCarthy's Red-baiting demagoguery. But these were aggressive exceptions to the rule of journalistic conformity. "By 1950 investigative journalism ebbed to its low point of the century," one researcher wrote. "Objectivity and deference to authority had become dominant journalistic norms" (Protess 1991, 45).

Investigative Journalism Reborn

By the 1960s, however, a new muckraking age was born as a younger generation of crusading journalists challenged segregation, the Vietnam War, political corruption, and corporate misconduct. The legal climate for aggressive journalism improved with the enactment of the Freedom of Information Act in 1966, which provided reporters with greater access to government documents, and pro-media court rulings, such as the landmark 1964 Supreme Court case, *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan,* which made libel suits from public figures harder to win. National and local investigative reporting teams sprouted around the country in alternative, mainstream, and elite publications alike. Magazines introduced a "New Journalism" with a heavy investigative emphasis while television turned muckraking into dramatic morality plays as popular programs like *60 Minutes* generated huge profits. The invention of the copying machine helped whistle-blowers leak evidence documenting wrongdoing and nonprofit organizations devoted to watchdog journalism, such as Investigative Reporters and Editors, the Center for Investigative Reporting, and the Fund for Investigative Journalism, took root.

Investigative reporting grew particularly fashionable after President Richard Nixon resigned from office in 1974. *Washington Post* reporters Bob Woodward (1943–) and Carl Bernstein (1944–) were mythologized for their work helping uncover the Watergate scandal that toppled Nixon. The 1976 Hollywood movie *All the President's Men,* with its dramatic portrayal of the young investigative reporters' mysterious source "Deep Throat," led to an upsurge in investigative reporting as well as journalism school enrollments. Other investigative reporters, such as *The New York Times*' Seymour Hersh (1937–) and CBS News's Mike Wallace (1918–), became household names as investigative reporters became American folk heroes.

The "new muckrakers" of the 1960s and 1970s resembled their predecessors of the early 1900s: educated middle-class urban professionals who believed in the importance of truth as a check on wrongdoing. Like the turn-of-the-century muckrakers, 1960s journalists believed in individualism and equality of opportunity and were instinctively critical of business, politics, and bureaucracy. Yet, they were also different in some important ways, focusing more on government misconduct than corporate misdeeds. The new muckrakers were more objective in tone, less blatant in their political advocacy. Secular careerists rather than religious crusaders, their belief in journalistic neutrality discouraged any open affiliation with political movements or leaders. These modern muckrakers were less radical than their forbearers, their indictment of society more limited and less far-reaching.

The frenzy of investigative reporting soon began to wear off. As in the Progressive era, the explanations were varied: the end of the 1960s to 1970s political turmoil, media mergers, adverse legal rulings, and public weariness. As in the last years of the muckrakers, irresponsible scandal coverage overshadowed substantive public service journalism. This trend has arguably continued into the twenty-first century, although the globalization of media and the rise of the Internet have already begun to push investigative reporting in new directions. In particular, the ability of journalists in repressive societies to avoid government censorship and spread their investigative reporting worldwide by posting their exposés online promises a new dynamic to an old tradition.

What has accounted for the waxing and waning of investigative reporting throughout history? Such journalism seems to reach a critical mass when there is a combination of two distinct trends: strong public demand, usually caused by some combination of political, economic, and social turmoil; and increased media supply, frequently the result of new technologies or journalistic competition. Otherwise, while the occasional journalistic dissident can be counted on to expose and oppose those in authority, investigative reporting is generally the exception rather than the rule. Nonetheless, substantive investigative reporting remains one of the most vital functions of a free press, a bulwark

of democracy that can bring about important and peaceful changes in society.

Mark Feldstein

See also Agenda Setting; Blogs and Bloggers; Books as Journalism; Civic Journalism; Muckrakers; Investigative Reporters; Literary Journalism; News as Narrative; *Publick Occurrences*; Risk and News; Violence Against Journalists

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Investigative Journalism Organizations

Investigative journalism organizations include those that sponsor and do investigations and others that act as professional associations and train journalists in investigative techniques. Investigative journalism organizations are a relatively new phenomenon. The first one, Investigative Reporters and Editors, began in 1975, while the Center for Investigative Reporting, which does investigations itself, began in 1977. Both are nonprofit and nonpartisan institutions. Over the next three decades, associations and centers expanded in the United States and into other countries, increasing to more than three dozen. The advent of investigative journalism organizations signified the institutionalization of the practice as an integral part of everyday journalism.

The professional associations have thrived because they provide extensive training and a basis for dialogue among journalists that the news media do not. A 2002 study commissioned by the Knight Foundation found that the news media provided much less training to its employees than other businesses. Training in investigative journalism is especially necessary because it often calls for more intensive research and better interviewing, organizational, and presentation skills. The need for training increased even into the mid-1990s with creation of the World Wide Web and the need to analyze computerized databases in investigative reporting. At the same time, many investigative journalism organizations and centers produced stories filling gaps left by newspaper and broadcast newsrooms that did not have the interest, budget, or staff to carry out more substantial inquiries.

Charles Lewis, the founder of three nonprofit journalism organizations, said in a 2007 paper that the increase in investigative reporting centers is part of a larger trend toward nonprofit journalism. He argues that nonprofit centers that do public service stories or encourage investigative journalism by others are needed because market pressures are causing most news media organizations to reduce resources for investigative journalism.

Initial Investigative Associations

In the early 1970s, the only relevant organization was the Fund for Investigative Journalism, created in 1969 to support freelance journalists undertaking investigations. The fund was first widely noticed when it gave $2,250 to reporter Seymour Hersh to complete his expose on American soldiers

committing atrocities in the hamlet of My Lai during the Vietnam War. But the fund was note intended to be a membership organization or to carry out investigations itself.

In 1975, a handful of veteran investigative journalists established Investigative Reporters and Editors (IRE) with the purpose of developing a network of journalists in the United States who could assist each other on news stories. IRE also wanted to raise and maintain high standards of investigative journalism and provide conferences and seminars in which reporting and editing techniques would be taught. The organization has served as a model for associations subsequently created in other countries.

IRE grew quickly to hundreds and then thousands of members who were, or wanted to become, investigative journalists. Part of IRE's momentum was produced by the Watergate scandal, during which two young *Washington Post* reporters, Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, wrote a series of stories on corruption in the 1972 re-election of President Richard Nixon (1969–74). The stories helped lead to Nixon's 1974 resignation and was chronicled in their book *All the President's Men,* which inspired many students and reporters to pursue investigative journalism.

In its second year, IRE undertook a major investigation named "The Arizona Project." It was mounted in reaction to the murder of one of its members, Don Bolles, who had been working on stories in and about Arizona involving public corruption and organized crime. A team of nearly 40 reporters and editors came to the state to complete and expand on Bolles's work with the purpose of showing that murdering a reporter cannot kill a story.

The resulting 23-part report gave IRE a high national profile because at least parts of it were published throughout the country. But the series also led to numerous lawsuits, and the legal costs put IRE in serious financial straits and distracted the organization from its major goals. IRE has since assisted and sometimes financed other newsroom or freelance journalist investigations but not undertaken further investigative stories by itself.

Despite the legal battles, IRE began an annual contest for investigative reporting; formed a resource center for investigative journalists that consisted of newspaper clippings and broadcast videos of investigative stories; initiated the publication of *The IRE Journal* that published how-to articles; and started a series of regional training programs. During the 1980s, the training expanded to in-house newsroom seminars and began to attract international journalists.

By the 1990s, the organization grew to more than 4,000 members and had integrated into its curriculum training in computer-assisted reporting (which involves data analysis and the use of social science methods). The National Institute for Computer-Assisted Reporting (NICAR), a joint program of IRE and the University of Missouri School of Journalism, conducted much of the data analysis training and work for newsrooms. In the early twenty-first century, IRE and NICAR's training included seminars in more than a dozen other countries and numerous resources and tutorials on IRE's website.

The organization structure of IRE consists of an elected, volunteer board of directors that oversees a staff of professional journalists and administrative employees. The board formulates policy, standards, and educational direction, and the staff performs the necessary tasks to carry out the organization's mission.

Throughout its history, IRE has struggled to secure adequate funding for its operations. Its revenue comes from membership dues, training and research fees, and contributions limited to a restricted set of donors, and through investment income from a growing endowment fund. Although exempt from federal taxes, IRE's funds barely cover its annual operating costs.

Models for Investigative Journalism Centers

In 1997, journalists in the San Francisco Bay area formed the Center for Investigative Reporting. Its purpose was to investigate issues and institutions that news media were not covering. The center recognized that investigative journalism often requires months of work and substantial expenditures and set out to raise money in donations and fees to support such long-term in-depth investigations. The investigations were performed by the small center staff or in collaboration with freelance journalists or other news organizations. Since its inception, the center has produced hundreds of investigative reports on a wide array of issues, individuals, and institutions.

A similar investigative journalism organization, the Center for Public Integrity, began in 1989 in Washington, D.C. Again, it was formed by a small group of journalists who sought to undertake investigations overlooked by the mainstream media, particularly those focused on the federal government. Since 1990, the center has released more than 275 investigative reports and 14 books. In 1997, it created the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, a network of more than 90 investigative reporters and editors in 48 countries. Another offshoot was the Fund for Independent Journalism, whose purpose is to provide legal defense funds and endowment support for the center and possibly for other organizations.

Given the continuing shortage of substantial investigative journalism in most news media, two more organizations formed. The World Security Institute, a nonprofit organization, established the Pulitzer Center on Crisis Reporting in 2006. The organization states on its website that its purpose is "to sponsor the independent reporting that media organizations are increasingly less willing to undertake on their own." And in 2007, a third nonprofit organization, Pro Publica, began with funding from a married couple who had made their fortune in banking. Pro Publica plans to sell long-term investigative projects on wrongdoing in government and business institutions to media newsrooms.

Recently, other centers, with the support of private donors, have sprung up at such schools as Columbia and Brandeis Universities as a way to encourage training of journalism students in investigative reporting methods through practical instruction and work on investigative projects.

International Associations and Centers

With the U.S. associations as models, journalists in other countries began to form investigative reporting organizations in the 1980s. First to appear was Föreningen Grävande Journalister in Sweden in 1989. After attending conferences in the United States, a group of Swedish journalists formed the organization (with the title translated as "digging journalists") with an elected board and staff. The organization held conferences and training seminars and began a resource center and an awards contest.

Over the next decade other IRE-like organizations formed in other European countries including Denmark, Norway, and Germany with the real growth in international investigative associations taking place since 1990.

In a 2007 study for the Center for International Media Assistance, investigative journalist David Kaplan wrote that the number of nonprofit investigative reporting groups has had increased from only three in the late 1980s to about 40 in 2007. Kaplan found, however, that while some organizations were well structured (such as the Swedish group), others had only two or three journalists trying to build an organization.

Prominent among international investigative reporting centers was the Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism, founded in 1989 and supported by donations and fees. It distinguished itself with its investigative stories on the corruption of Philippine President Joseph Estrada. That reporting in 2000, later turned into a book, *Mistresses, Mansions and Money,* detailed the wealth Estrada had accumulated by plundering public funds. The stories led to Estrada's resignation. The Philippines Center has done hundreds of stories for print and broadcast and produced documentaries and books. It has also provided extensive training to journalists—both in the Philippines and throughout Asia.

Other centers developed in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union despite threats and attacks against journalists. The Journalism Development Group's Center for Investigative Reporting, based in Sarajevo, Bosnia, which involves both U.S. and Eastern European journalists, conducted an award-winning investigation in 2006 along with two other regional centers into corruption involving utilities and exorbitant electricity rates.

Unlike American associations and centers, funding for European centers often came from governments, particularly the European Union and the U.S. government. The centers maintained they could keep their independence despite these grants, and in Denmark, a nonprofit organization investigating questionable farm subsidies did award-winning work on government programs. Other European centers received substantial funding from the Soros Foundation, which has supported a number of advocacy programs in addition to media centers.

In South America, a number of investigative journalism associations have formed with the encouragement and support of U.S. journalists and foundations. The first to form was Periodistas de Investigacion in Mexico City in 1996, which was supported by IRE and a grant from the McCormick Tribune Foundation. In the following decade, Brazilian journalists established Abraji (Associação Brasileira de Jornalismo Investigativo) after a leading investigative broadcaster was killed by drug lords in 2002. The journalists were helped significantly by a Knight Foundation grant. Other organizations have formed across the continent, including groups in Colombia, Chile, and Argentina.

In Africa, investigative journalism centers and associations have been established and received funding from American foundations, the U.S. and European governments, and international institutions including the World Bank. Among the associations and centers is the Forum for African Investigative Reporters, which has a part-time staff but is enabling journalists to network on their efforts of journalists through its online work and has helped organize conferences.

With the growth in investigative journalism organizations, the need to form a network of support and communication became clear. In response, the Global Investigative Journalism Network, formed in 2000, held its first conference, in Copenhagen in spring 2001. A website, www.globalinvestigativejournalism.org, helped maintain the network after the conference, and three more conferences have been held. The conferences have brought together more than 2,000 journalists from nearly 40 journalism organizations and spurred the creation of more organizations throughout the world.

Sustainability of funding for many international investigative journalism organizations continues to be a primary issue. In some cases, foundations or governments have ceased their support because the foundations have changed interests or have unrealistically expected the organizations to create a steady stream of revenues and fees. Centers cannot charge sufficient fees for their training or work because of the low pay many journalists receive in addition to the lack of media industry support for the organizations' efforts. In recent years, Periodistas de Investigacion in Mexico and the Caucasus Investigative Reporting Center have gone dormant because of the lack of support by journalists, foundations, and the news industry.

Nonetheless, major efforts are underway to coordinate funding and support for investigative journalism organizations, especially as the news industry goes through a major transformation from print and broadcast to web-oriented presentations.

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See also Investigative Journalism; Investigative Reporting: Muckrakers

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Investigative Reporters

Investigative reporters are journalists who gather facts to expose wrongdoing by powerful individuals and institutions. These journalists have also been called advocacy, adversarial, crusading, and public

service reporters, or muckrakers. Like enterprise reporters, investigative journalists require more time than daily news reporters to produce their stories. But unlike enterprise journalists, the specific mission of investigative reporters is to uncover misconduct by those in authority—political, governmental, corporate, or religious.

Investigative reporters work in all forms of media: newspapers, magazines, radio, television, and online. They conduct research using interviews, documents, and personal observation, sometimes going "undercover" to witness events firsthand themselves.

Because their crusading brand of journalism can be expensive to produce and often generates costly lawsuits or angers powerful authorities from governments to advertisers, investigative reporters are relatively few in number. Yet they tend to be high-profile figures, often working in dangerous circumstances. Many investigative reporters around the world have been injured or killed in pursuit of their stories about wrongdoing. By providing a check on abuses by authorities, investigative reporters help protect democracy, mold public opinion, shape policy, deter wrongdoing, and reinforce society's key values.

The number of investigative reporters has waxed and waned over time. Exposé journalism tends to increase in periods of turmoil, such as the foment leading up to the American Revolution in the 1760s and 1770s, the industrial revolution of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and upheavals during the Vietnam War and Watergate scandal of the 1960s and 1970s. New media technologies and journalistic competition have also spurred investigative reporters, such as the development of the penny press in the 1830s, mass market national magazines in the early 1900s, and the rise of broadcasting and digital media in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Government censorship, more common in wartime, hampers investigative reporters; restrictive legislation such as the World War I Sedition Act of 1917, and its 1950 sequel during the McCarthy era, discouraged such critical journalism. In contrast, investigative reporters thrive during periods of free expression, such as that following the expansive 1964 Supreme Court ruling in the case of *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan.* The number of investigative journalists in the United States reached an all-time high in the early twenty-first century when membership in the nonprofit group Investigative Reporters and Editors neared 5,000 journalists.

The earliest investigative reporters in America were partisan advocates, financed by political parties or ideological movements such as abolition or women's suffrage. But by the early twentieth century, most investigative reporters were employed by commercial media outlets and began to adopt a more objective style of storytelling. Investigative reporting was spurred by urbanization, increased literacy, and technological improvements in production, which made newspapers and magazines affordable to average consumers. As this journalism became economically profitable, publications ran exposés to increase circulation and began developing a broader concept of social responsibility to the community at large.

But while political parties no longer dictated coverage, advertisers sometimes did. Growing corporate ownership of media outlets sometimes discouraged investigative reporting out of timidity or a bottom-line focus on profit. Still, investigative reporters are a hardy breed and have persisted even in inhospitable climates.

Although its roots go back to the earliest days of the United States, investigative reporting, properly speaking, is largely a twentieth-century practice. This entry is limited in its coverage to notable investigative reporters active in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. For detailed coverage of the origins of American investigative reporting, including such groups as the muckrakers, see the entries "Investigative Journalism" and "Muckrakers."

Noted Investigative Reporters Since World War I

Jack Anderson (1922–2005)

Anderson is the only known investigative reporter whose assassination was plotted by White House aides. A crusading syndicated columnist in Washington, Anderson's exposés ruined numerous politicians during the second half of the twentieth century. He began as the "legman" for Drew Pearson's "Washington Merry-Go-Round" column, which he inherited upon Pearson's death in 1969. Published between 1932 and 2004, it was the longest-running and most popular syndicated column in the nation. In 1972, two of President Richard Nixon's top operatives secretly plotted to murder Anderson in retaliation for his anti-Nixon

reporting, but the plan was cancelled after the conspirators were arrested a few weeks later during their notorious break-in at Democratic Party headquarters in Washington's Watergate office complex, which led to Nixon's resignation as President two years later. Anderson's unorthodox news-gathering techniques included bugging, blackmail, and rifling through trash; but although he was often viewed with scorn by Washington officials, he was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 1972.

Paul Y. Anderson (1897–1938)

Anderson was an investigative reporter for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and was called "the last of the muckrakers" for his crusading exposés of Washington corruption during the 1920s and 1930s. He began uncovering wrongdoing in St. Louis in 1917. Two years later, he returned to his newsroom in blood-splattered clothes to report how city police were abandoning black victims to a mob of rioting whites; his stories sent 20 men to prison and received accolades from Congress. But Anderson's greatest work came in the 1920s when he helped uncover the Teapot Dome oil scandal of President Warren G. Harding's administration. Unable to get his own newspaper to cover the story, Anderson published his exposés in the New York *World, The Nation,* and *The New Republic* and maneuvered behind-the-scenes to help Senator Thomas Walsh (D-MT) investigate the scandal. Anderson's relentless probing helped send Harding's Interior Secretary, Albert Fall, to prison for bribery and also won a Pulitzer Prize. Other Anderson exclusives forced the resignation of a federal judge and led to a congressional investigation of the Ku Klux Klan. But the high-strung reporter became an alcoholic and committed suicide at the age of 45.

Scott Armstrong (1945–)

Armstrong, a *Washington Post* investigative reporter and co-author with Bob Woodward of *The Brethren,* a 1976 exposé of the Supreme Court, founded the National Security Archives, a nonprofit organization that uses lawsuits and the Freedom of Information Act to declassify government documents. A former investigator for the Senate Watergate Committee, Armstrong helped discover President Richard Nixon's secret tape recordings of Oval Office conversations that ultimately led to Nixon's resignation.

Donald L. Bartlett (1936–) and James B. Steele (1943–)

This two-man investigative team pioneered the use of social science methods, including computer-assisted reporting, in exhaustive exposés for the *Philadelphia Inquirer, Time,* and *Vanity Fair*. During more than three decades of collaborative work, the journalistic pair tackled systemic inequities in American medicine, taxes, border security, job outsourcing, and income inequality. Their work has produced two Pulitzer Prizes and five books, including *Critical Condition: How Health Care in America Became Big Business and Bad Medicine* (2004) and *America: Who Really Pays the Taxes?* (1994).

Lowell Bergman (1945–)

Bergman is one of a legion of investigative broadcast news producers who in the late twentieth century supplied the off-camera reporting for on-camera television stars and uncovered misconduct by the tobacco industry for the popular prime-time CBS newsmagazine *60 Minutes*—only to be censored by cautious network news executives. Bergman leaked his findings to other news outlets and quit CBS in protest, a drama later immortalized in the Hollywood film, *The Insider*. He later became an investigative reporter for *The New York Times* and an on-camera correspondent for the PBS series *Frontline*.

Don Bolles (1929–76)

Bolles, an investigate reporter for the *Arizona Republic,* specialized in uncovering organized crime. In June 1976, he was murdered in Phoenix when a bomb exploded underneath his automobile. Before dying, Bolles's last words included a tip about his assassins: "The Mafia." His assassination led dozens of other investigative reporters from around the country to swarm to Arizona to expose his killers. The newly created nonprofit group Investigative Reporters and Editors coordinated a year-long probe among journalists who

usually competed against each other but were now working in collaboration on behalf of their martyred colleague. The result was an exhaustive investigative series published nationwide that exposed more than 200 people throughout Arizona for their mob ties. This orchestrated response was intended not only to avenge Bolles's death but also to prevent future journalistic murders by sending a message that killing an investigative reporter would guarantee more rather than less media scrutiny.

David Burnham (1933–)

An investigative reporter from the 1960s to the early twenty-first century, Burnham first achieved fame in 1970 by exposing municipal police corruption for *The New York Times* with the help of a whistle-blowing detective source who was immortalized by actor Al Pacino in the movie *Serpico*. Burnham's stories led to the appointment of the Knapp Commission to reform New York City's police department. Another Burnham source, nuclear activist Karen Silkwood, died in a 1974 car crash while on her way to a meeting with him to provide information about faulty fuel rods manufactured by the Kerr McGee Corporation where she worked. The Hollywood movie *Silkwood* chronicled the case, including unproven allegations that Silkwood was murdered to silence her from talking to Burnham. Burnham went on to found a nonprofit investigative group called the Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse (TRAC), a data-gathering research organization affiliated with Syracuse University that mines public records to hold government agencies accountable for their performance.

Mark Dowie (1939–)

One of the earliest investigative reporters for the fledgling left-leaning *Mother Jones* magazine, Dowie exposed how Ford Motor Company's Pinto automobile exploded on impact when hit from behind. Dowie's 1977 article, based on internal company documents, revealed that 500 people had burned to death in the dangerous car and that Ford paid millions of dollars to settle lawsuits after an internal "cost-benefit analysis" found that this was cheaper than changing the design of the auto. The article led Ford to recall more than 1 million Pinto cars and helped launch *Mother Jones* as a significant muckraking magazine of the late twentieth century.

Robert W. Greene (1929–)

Greene founded the nation's first permanent newspaper investigative reporting team at *Newsday* in 1967, a lead that was followed in the next two decades by other media outlets across the United States. A one-time investigator for the Senate Rackets Committee, Greene taught other journalists how to systematically conduct reporting projects by imitating the techniques of professional criminal investigators in law enforcement—developing databases, reconstructing chronologies, and pooling information—in ways that soon became standard for large media probes. Greene's own investigative work made him the preeminent investigative reporter in New York State during the 1960s and 1970s as he exposed political corruption, organized crime, and judicial misconduct. His probe of President Richard Nixon's finances led the White House to order a tax audit on the newsman, just one of many retaliatory efforts against the media by Nixon's men. Greene also led a team of 34 journalists who descended upon Arizona after the 1976 murder of investigative reporter Don Bolles, leading to a 23-part series exposing Mafia influence in Arizona to avenge Bolles's death and discourage other mob killings of investigative reporters.

Michael Harrington (1928–89)

Harrington, a left-wing activist and onetime editor of *The Catholic Worker,* focused national attention on the plight of the poor with his 1962 best-selling book *The Other America*. The book was credited with influencing President John Kennedy and the "War on Poverty" begun by his successor, President Lyndon Johnson. A democratic socialist, Harrington was more of an activist than a journalist, a pacifist intellectual who turned from Catholicism to Marxism.

Seymour M. Hersh (1937–)

Hersh achieved national attention in 1969 when he exposed the massacre of more than 100 Vietnamese civilians by a U.S. Army unit in the

village of My Lai. The atrocities Hersh uncovered soon became a symbol of American guilt during the Vietnam War and helped hasten calls for the war's end. Hersh won the Pulitzer Prize for these revelations and was then hired by *The New York Times,* where he revealed illegal CIA spying on Americans that led to far-reaching reforms in the intelligence agency. Hersh's investigative books, *The Price of Power* (1983) and *The Dark Side of Camelot* (1997), exposed abuses of power by, respectively, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and President John F. Kennedy. In 2004, he again uncovered U.S. atrocities in wartime, this time involving torture of Iraqi prisoners at the hands of American soldiers and government operatives at the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq. Once more, Hersh's disclosures—this time published in *The New Yorker* magazine and accompanied by trophy photos that soldiers took of their brutality—led to criminal prosecution and hastened calls for U.S. withdrawal from its foreign war.

Michael Isikoff (1952–)

Isikoff uncovered President Bill Clinton's sexual affair with White House intern Monica Lewinsky, a scandal that eventually led to Clinton's impeachment after the President falsely denied the liaison under oath. Isikoff's 1998 scoop first appeared not in the publication for which he worked, *Newsweek* magazine, but in an online website, the *Drudge Report,* when the story was leaked to cyber gossip Matt Drudge after *Newsweek* hesitated to publish the controversial story. In 2005, Isikoff wrote that Americans interrogating suspected Muslim terrorists in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, flushed a copy of the Koran down a toilet "in an attempt to rattle the suspects." Widespread anti-American riots in the Islamic world followed. Although the Pentagon denied Isikoff's report, its own investigators later acknowledged that the Koran had indeed been desecrated at the military prison.

Charles Lewis (1953–)

A onetime producer for ABC News and the CBS newsmagazine *60 Minutes,* Lewis founded the Center for Public Integrity, a Washington-based nonprofit investigative organization that has issued more than 300 reports and 15 books uncovering corporate and government wrongdoing since 1989. Funded by foundation grants, Lewis's center has focused on the corrupting influence of money in politics, especially in the White House, Congress, federal agencies, and state governments. Lewis also created the first global website devoted to international exposés, hiring nearly 100 of the world's top investigative reporters under the auspices of the Center for Public Integrity's International Consortium of Investigative Journalists.

Morton Mintz (1922–)

Mintz was perhaps the first reporter in the United States to investigate consumer issues. At the *Washington Post* in 1962, he exposed how the drug thalidomide caused thousands of children to be born without limbs. He also revealed safety defects in the Dalkon Shield intrauterine birth control device for women. In 1966, Mintz uncovered how auto giant General Motors was spying on a then-obscure critic named Ralph Nader, launching the young lawyer's career as a national consumer advocate. Mintz began his career as a reporter in St. Louis during the 1940s, where he wrote the first newspaper series ever on the plight of the mentally retarded for the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* in 1955.

Jessica Mitford (1917–96)

A British aristocrat who became an American communist, Mitford exposed price gouging by the funeral industry in her tart-tongued 1963 best-seller, *The American Way of Death*. Her book led to congressional hearings and some reforms in funeral practices. Witty and irreverent, Mitford went on to critique the U.S. prison system and birth control practices in other books and articles. "You may not be able to change the world," she said of her muckraking, "but at least you can embarrass the guilty."

Clark R. Mollenhoff (1921–91)

Mollenhoff, the Washington bureau chief of the *Des Moines Register,* exposed organized crime and political corruption from the 1950s to the 1970s. "Everyone has his price," Teamsters Union boss Jimmy Hoffa told Mollenhoff. "What's yours?"

(Ritchie 2005, 224). But Mollenhoff persuaded Senator John McClellan (D-AR) to hold congressional hearings on both the Teamsters and the Mafia, and then worked behind-the-scenes with Senate counsel Robert F. Kennedy to orchestrate the probe. Mollenhoff introduced Kennedy to other journalists who investigated the mob—John Siegenthaler, Pierre Salinger, Ed Guthman—and Kennedy in turn hired them for his various senatorial and presidential campaigns. But Mollenhoff was equally aggressive when Kennedy's brother was elected President and exposed a German call girl, Ellen Rometsch, who had a sexual relationship with Kennedy. A hulking and aggressive lawyer, the argumentative Mollenhoff was told to sit down at a White House news conference by a scolding President Eisenhower. In 1969, President Richard Nixon hired Mollenhoff to be a White House ombudsman but the obstreperous reporter resigned a year later and became one of Nixon's fiercest journalistic critics. Mollenhoff's 1981 book, *Investigative Reporting: From Courthouse to White House,* was one of the first primers published on how to conduct exposé journalism.

Bill Moyers (1934–)

A one-time minister and press secretary to President Lyndon Johnson, Moyers was a television commentator for CBS and PBS from the 1980s to the early twenty-first century. His eloquent documentary broadcasts championed the plight of the poor and dispossessed, attacked corporate greed, and exposed bureaucratic indifference. Moyers's progressive views made him the target of conservative Republicans and a hero of liberal Democrats, some of whom tried unsuccessfully to persuade him to run for President.

Edward R. Murrow (1908–65)

Murrow was television's first prominent investigative journalist. He originally gained fame for his dramatic radio broadcasts from Europe during World War II, but it was as a television correspondent for CBS News in the 1950s that he introduced in-depth advocacy reporting. In early 1954, on his *See It Now* program, Murrow presented a devastating indictment of Senator Joseph McCarthy's bullying tactics, shown largely through filmed clips of the Senator's own behavior. Murrow's final CBS documentary, *Harvest of Shame* (1960), depicted the plight of migrant farm workers, giving a human face to rural poverty that was seen in living rooms across America. Murrow quarreled with network news executives who did not share his high sense of purpose and left CBS in 1961 to work for President John Kennedy's administration. For decades after his death, Murrow continued to be regarded as a broadcasting icon. The film *Good Night, and Good Luck* (2005), taking its title from Murrow's well-known closing line to each broadcast, carried his legacy into the twenty-first century.

Jack Newfield (1938–2004)

Newfield was a crusading New York City columnist and investigate reporter for the *New York Daily News, New York Post, New York Observer,* and *New York Sun* from the 1960s to the early twenty-first century. In 1964, he helped pioneer advocacy journalism at the alternative *Village Voice* newspaper, where he championed the poor, excoriated the powerful, and dismissed journalistic objectivity. The author of several investigative books, Newfield wrote his exposés with "a hammer," one colleague said, "pounding one nail at a time."

Drew Pearson (1897–1969)

A crusading liberal columnist in Washington, D.C., Pearson exposed conservative political foes ranging from Senator Richard Nixon (for financial impropriety), General George Patton (for striking soldiers) to Father Charles Coughlin (for having sex with a married woman). In 1932, Pearson began the "Washington Merry-Go-Round," which became the nation's most popular and longest-running syndicated column. A Quaker pacifist with a pugnacious sense of righteousness, Pearson was one of the few national newsmen to champion Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal during a time when most newspapers were published by conservative Republican businessmen. He frequently plotted with liberal allies in Congress and the White House, trading favorable columns for legislative votes and ghostwriting political speeches to advance his favorite causes. He was sued more than 275 times for more than $200 million but had to settle only a single case out of court; a 1934 lawsuit by

Douglas MacArthur nearly bankrupted Pearson until he acquired love letters the General wrote his teenage mistress, which the columnist used to blackmail MacArthur into withdrawing the suit. After his death, Pearson's column was taken over by his underling, Jack Anderson.

David Protess (1946–)

A journalism professor at Northwestern University, Protess began directing student investigations of wrongdoing in the Illinois criminal justice system in 1996. His classroom projects helped free innocent men who had been wrongly imprisoned for murders they did not commit. This led to a moratorium on executions and clemency for death row prisoners in the state. A former research director of Chicago's nonprofit Better Government Association, Protess co-founded the Innocence Network, a national consortium of more than 40 journalism and law schools devoted to uncovering similar miscarriages of justice across the United States.

Brian Ross (1944–)

A network television investigative correspondent, Ross began his career exposing corruption in the Teamsters Union in the 1970s. In 1980, at NBC News, he first broke the story of the FBI undercover bribery sting called "ABSCAM" that targeted members of Congress. He subsequently uncovered child labor in sweatshops and sexual crimes by United Nations peacekeepers. His 2006 stories about Congressman Mark Foley sending sexually explicit e-mails to underage Capitol Hill pages led to Foley's resignation from the House of Representatives.

Daniel Schorr (1916–)

Schorr, a correspondent for CBS News, was arrested on trumped-up charges and expelled from Moscow in 1957 after angering the Soviet Union's secret police, the KGB. He irritated President Richard Nixon in the early 1970s and was investigated by the FBI and placed on a list of White House "enemies." In 1976, Schorr made public a secret government report about CIA misconduct. Congressional hearings followed and Schorr was ordered to reveal the name of the source who leaked him the document. He refused and narrowly avoided being jailed for contempt of Congress. Schorr left CBS News in 1976 and was hired by Ted Turner in 1979 to report for his fledgling all-news cable network, CNN. He left CNN in 1985 and became a senior analyst for National Public Radio, where he broadcasts piercing radio commentaries past the age of 90.

George Seldes (1890–1995)

Seldes was a liberal gadfly whose reporting was repeatedly censored by the conservative newspapers that employed him, beginning in 1914 when he discovered sexual harassment by one the largest advertisers for the *Pittsburgh Post,* where he began his career. During World War I, U.S. Army General John Pershing killed many of Seldes's dispatches from the European front. In 1922, the Soviet Union expelled him after his stories in the *Chicago Tribune* displeased the country's Communist leaders. Seldes then traveled to Italy, where he wrote stories implicating dictator Benito Mussolini in the murder of a political rival. Seldes was soon expelled once again from his host country. In 1927, the conservative publisher of the *Chicago Tribune,* Colonel Robert McCormack, censored Seldes's articles from Mexico that criticized U.S. corporations there. The writer then turned to books and to an investigative newsletter that he started in 1940, *In Fact,* which published criticism of establishment media. Seldes's newsletter earned a sizable following for more than a decade but died after Senator Joseph McCarthy accused Seldes of Communism in 1953. The charge was false, and Seldes continued writing books and outlasted almost all of his enemies before dying at the age of 104.

Neil Sheehan (1936–)

Sheehan, an investigative reporter for *The New York Times,* obtained a classified Defense Department analysis of the secret history of America's involvement in the Vietnam War. The secret study, which became known as the Pentagon Papers, chronicled a pattern of government deceit in the conduct of the war, which the *Times* exposed in June 1971. It soon became a landmark case in both journalistic history and media law when the Nixon administration went to court to

try to prevent the *Times* from publishing additional stories about the scandal. Ultimately, the Supreme Court found that the Pentagon Papers did not endanger national security and ruled that the *Times* could publish the documents. But before the Court issued its verdict, Sheehan's source, whistleblower Daniel Ellsberg, leaked other copies of the Pentagon Papers to *The Washington Post, The Boston Globe,* and other media outlets, which began publishing the documents as well. The Nixon Justice Department brought criminal charges against Ellsberg for the leak but they were dismissed in court because of government misconduct. Sheehan's story earned *The New York Times* a Pulitzer Prize. In 1989, he won another Pulitzer for his biography of an influential Army intelligence officer in Vietnam, *A Bright Shining Lie*.

I. F. Stone (1907–89)

Born Isidor Feinstein, Stone was a radical journalist who wrote for such left-leaning publications as *The Nation, PM,* and the *New York Post* during the 1930s and 1940s. In 1953, inspired by the equally iconoclastic guerilla reporter George Seldes, Stone began his own newsletter, *I. F. Stone's Weekly,* which he published with his wife out of his home in Washington, D.C. Stone attacked racial segregation and the red-baiting of Senator Joseph McCarthy. He also pored over obscure government documents, uncovering hidden stories that other, less patient, reporters missed. In 1955, a Senate subcommittee accused Stone's newsletter of being a Communist "front," and he was frequently under surveillance by federal agents, who rifled through his trash in an effort to uncover evidence of subversion. But Stone continued publishing his newsletter, which peaked at 70,000 subscribers. Failing health forced him to close it in 1971 but he continued writing books until his death

Bob Woodward (1943–) and Carl Bernstein (1944–)

Woodward and Bernstein helped uncover the Watergate scandal of President Richard Nixon for *The Washington Post* between 1972 and 1974. Guided by a top FBI official who served as Woodward's secret source, the reporters helped keep the story in the news when the Nixon White House was trying to cover it up. Their two best-selling books about the scandal, *All the President's Men* and the *Final Days,* along with a top-rated Hollywood movie that glamorized their role, transformed them into the most famous investigative reporters in history and inspired a generation of aggressive journalists who followed in their wake. After Watergate, Woodward authored more than a dozen other books while continuing to report for *The Washington Post*. Bernstein also wrote books and reported for ABC News and *Vanity Fair* magazine.

Pam Zekman (1944–)

Zekman dominated investigative journalism in Chicago for a generation, beginning in the 1970s. In 1978, in an undercover investigation for the *Chicago Sun Times,* she helped establish a phony bar, the "Mirage Tavern," to expose systemic payoffs to city inspectors. Three years later, she moved to WBBM-TV, the CBS affiliate in Chicago, where she spent more than three decades using hidden cameras and uncovering virtually every kind of wrongdoing at the local level: police corruption; unsanitary restaurants; Medicare and Medicaid fraud; unsafe subway cars; loopholes in drunk driving laws; dangerous taxicab drivers; delays in ambulance service; and loafing by city workers. Her investigative reporting has won two DuPont-Columbia Awards, two Peabody Awards and 18 local Emmy Awards.

Mark Feldstein

See also Agenda Setting; Blogs and Bloggers; Books as Journalism; Civic Journalism; Muckrakers; Investigative Reporters; Literary Journalism; News as Narrative; *Publick Occurrences*; Risk and News; Violence Against Journalists

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Israel

Israel's population in 2008 was about 7 million, some 80 percent Jews and about 20 percent Arabs and other minorities. While the official language of Israel is Hebrew, its residents speak dozens of languages. Israel is a parliamentary democracy, with elections to its parliament—the Knesset—conducted every four years. Freedom House lists Israel among nations enjoying freedom of the press.

Development

Israel's printed media date to the nineteenth century, when Palestine was part of the Ottoman Empire. The first two Hebrew newspapers, *Halevanon* (The Lebanon) and *Havatzelet* (Sand-Lily), both of them monthlies, began publication in 1863, but authorities closed them down about a year later, on the grounds that they lacked a license. The Hebrew press developed very slowly under Ottoman rule, the number of newspapers and periodicals increasing only gradually. The development of the press in Arabic was even slower, primarily due to the low level of literacy among the Arab population of Palestine. With the outbreak of World War I almost all newspapers were closed down and only resumed publication after Palestine was occupied by the British Army in 1917–18. British rule in Palestine lasted for thirty years, mostly under a mandate from the League of Nations, until the establishment of Israel on May 14, 1948.

Shortly after the occupation of Palestine, the British Army began publishing a weekly, *The Palestine News*—in Hebrew and in Arabic—whose purpose was to supply information to the local population (another edition, in English, was intended for the troops), but also supplied some of its communication needs. About a year and a half later, the military authorities decided to transfer publication to private hands, but only the Hebrew edition was revived and became a cornerstone of the Israeli media. In 1919 the Hebrew daily *Ha'aretz* (The Land) was established as the military's official periodical and continues to appear today. Privately owned, *Ha'aretz* is the newspaper of Israel's elite with a daily circulation of 65,000 copies.

Over the next few decades the number of printed media gradually increased, including daily newspapers—primarily belonging to political parties—and many journals. After World War II, the printed press flourished, and within a few years, 12 new newspapers began publication. The Jewish population of Israel at the time of independence in 1948 was only about 600,000, yet the region produced about 150 papers and periodicals of various types

and in diverse languages, including 23 dailies (16 morning and 7 evening papers). One reason for the multiplicity of the printed media lies in the waves of emigration from Europe. The Jewish immigrants, many of them Holocaust survivors, were accustomed to reading periodicals in their former countries and continued to do so in their new home. Another cause was the division of Israel's Jewish society along ideological and party lines, which meant that each political party sought a newspaper or journal of its own. The blurring of ideological differences and the subsequent decline in the power of political parties has led, as in many European countries, to the demise of party journalism. In the first decade of the twenty-first century, only the religious and ultra-Orthodox parties in Israel maintain separate newspapers.

In 1936 the British Mandate authorities established the first radio station in Palestine, called "The Voice of Jerusalem." Under government control, the station was patterned after the BBC with the help of advisers from that broadcasting system. With the establishment of Israel, the radio station (as "The Voice of Israel") was transferred to the prime minister's office, an indication of the importance attached to the medium. Under the Broadcasting Authority Law of 1965, The Voice of Israel became a public broadcasting corporation, like similar bodies in Europe, and with the establishment of Israel Television (now Channel One) in 1968, it too was subordinated to the Israel Broadcasting Authority.

Since the late 1970s there has been considerable development in printed journalism, with the first appearance of local newspapers. Within a decade or two almost every city or town in Israel had at least one. By the early twenty-first century, local newspapers number about 350, but most of those with large circulation are owned by the three leading Israeli dailies (*Yedioth Aharonot, Ma'ariv,* and *Ha'aretz*), each of which has its own network of local newspapers, nearly all distributed free of charge.

Broadcasting has also changed a good deal since the early 1990s. Privately owned cable TV networks were established; two commercial television channels (Channels Two and Ten) operated by private concessionaires joined the single publicly owned Channel One; and about 15 local and regional private radio stations, also began transmitting alongside the state-controlled Voice of Israel. Channel One's monopoly of television news came to an end when the two commercial channels were obligated to operate news broadcasts, the first (Channel Two) in 1993 and the second (Channel Ten) in 2002.

Technology and Training

Hiring of journalists without formal training was and remains a characteristic of Israeli media. Although the press nurtured the growth of many political leaders, Israel had no formal journalism education program until the early 1990s. Indeed, the academic and media worlds were often at loggerheads, expressing mutual contempt and mistrust. Only in the late 1990s and early 2000s did the first signs of change in journalist training become evident. Some colleges offered journalism studies and attempted to develop a suitable professional training curriculum, although all courses were provided under the broad umbrella of media (or communication) studies. The programs consisted of courses on essentials of field reporting, investigative reporting, news and magazine editing and writing, Internet journalism, and practical local newspaper work. Instructors were highly experienced professionals. The outcome of this training was evident: gradually recruitment began to include graduates of these programs alongside others who received their training on the job.

Israeli news media make good use of modern Internet and mobile communications technologies. As a Western state with a stable economy and a highly developed industrial infrastructure, Israel possesses a modern mass media industry equipped with modern technologies. A few of these technologies, especially in the field of computerization, were developed in Israel, which is considered a world pioneer in this sphere. Surveys indicate that Israel is also characterized by a high level—when compared with other countries—of adoption of technological advancements, including PCs, Internet, and cellular phones—all are now integral part of the journalist's tool kit.

Law and Policy

Although freedom of the press has existed since the establishment of Israel and has been affirmed by court decisions, it has not been anchored in

legislation (indeed, Israel has no written constitution). Effectively, the British Mandate left Israel with several legal legacies capable of restricting the press, such as the 1933 Press Ordinance that required a license for publication of a newspaper and accorded the Minister of the Interior the authority to close papers suspected of disrupting public order. In 1953, the nation's High Court of Justice laid the foundations that ensured freedom of the press by severely restricting the Minister's authority to close newspapers solely to cases of "proximate certainty" of a threat to public order. In succeeding years, the Court reinforced de facto freedom of the press by upholding the right of journalists not to reveal their sources. The Ministry of the Interior has largely ceased enforcement of the need to apply for a license to publish, so that many local newspapers and periodicals are published without licensing.

While there is no regulator for printed media, electronic media operate within the framework of specific laws: the Broadcasting Authority regulates public television and radio, the Second Authority for Television and Radio Law of 1990 regulates commercial television and regional radio stations, and the Communication Law of 1982 regulates cable and satellite TV broadcasts. Although the commercial outlets are obliged to provide news, there are hardly any provisions concerning news broadcasts.

Journalists Associations

Local journalists associations are active in Israel's three largest cities—Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, and Haifa—and are linked to the National Journalists Union, an umbrella organization of the press community and effectively its trade union as well.

The oldest journalists association was established in Jerusalem in 1933, with two more founded two years later in Tel Aviv and Haifa. Each has sections for journalists in specialized fields (such as military affairs, the Knesset, agriculture, economics), dealing mainly with professional issues or coverage procedures in these respective fields, as well as organization of seminars and enrichment programs.

The power of the National Journalists Union, established in 1948, was derived for decades from its status as the journalists' representative in negotiations over wage agreements, all of which were collective for national media. Over the years, the union's representative status decreased, primarily as the result of two developments: (a) changing hiring patterns and a gradual shift from collective work agreements to individual contracts, virtually eliminating the former for press employees by the late 1990s, and (b) the rise of local periodicals and alternative media, many of whose reporters are not members of press unions.

As their authority as representative professional organizations attenuated, the journalists' unions gradually turned into members' clubs, primarily concerned with cultural and social activities, speaking out only on perception of threats to freedom of the press or to the practice of journalism.

Professional Ethics

In 1957 the Journalists Association in Tel Aviv produced a draft of "Professional Ethical Regulations for Members of the Journalists Association" that was circulated among newspaper editorial boards and journalists for comment. A few months later, the association approved what was later described as the "legislative platform that journalists will observe henceforth, maintaining compatibility between professional practice and ethics" (Limor 2002).

When the Israel Press Council was established in 1963, one of its functions was to formulate ethical principles and see to their observance. These principles were based, at the explicit request of journalists, on regulations already drafted by the journalists' trade union. The code was updated several times (major revisions were made in 1973, 1986 and 1996), including the addition of many new sections, such as recommendations on how to cover war events.

The Israel Press Council is composed of three types of representative: public (40 percent of members), journalists (30 percent), and owners and editors (30 percent). The council is headed by one of the representatives of the public, generally a retired Supreme Court judge or senior attorney.

Contemporary Trends in Israeli Journalism

While journalism in Israel was initially based on the newspaper tradition of Eastern Europe, from

where the first waves of immigrants had come, the profession later adopted patterns customary in Britain such as editing or layout techniques. More recently, mainly in the 1980s and 1990s, norms of American journalism (such as the "New Journalism" style) became more dominant.

Media Market

Israel's media market is marked by two parallel processes: concentration and decentralization. While a small number of media barons control an ever-increasing number of outlets, there are always new ones (most quite small) not under their control. These have resulted from technological innovations and low production costs.

All dailies are national newspapers, though many local papers appear on a weekly or monthly basis. There are no evening papers in Israel. Evening newspapers gradually moved up the time they hit the streets during the 1980s, until they became morning papers. One reason is that the country lacks an extensive infrastructure of railroads and metros, and thus, potential readers must drive to work and therefore cannot read papers while commuting.

Free distribution, which began with local papers, has gradually entered the dailies market. Such free dailies have cut into the income of traditional dailies and pose a threat to their economic stability.

The Israeli New Agency ITIM (a Hebrew abbreviation for United Israeli Press), founded in 1950, was closed at the beginning of the twenty-first century as the daily newspapers preferred to rely on their own staff and refused to finance the agency.

Employment

For many years a characteristic of the Israeli media was low employee mobility, first and foremost because of the collective work contracts which effectually prevented payment of compensation by the employers when an employee left of his own free will. With the introduction of personal contracts in the 1980s, there has been much greater mobility as is the case in other Western countries. The media industry has slowly but surely undergone feminization. This has included the highest administrative and editorial levels. Surveys indicate that early in the twenty-first century about one-half of the employees in Israeli media are women.

Toward the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, Israel has a variegated media: three television channels, many cable television and satellite channels, about 20 dailies, some 350 local papers of varying frequency, dozens of radio stations (about 40 of them educational stations in schools, colleges, and universities), and a very active and lively Internet. There are also hundreds of foreign journalists present in Israel at any given time. Such ongoing contact with the international media has contributed to the development of professional standards among Israeli journalists.

Yehiel Limor

See also Arab Countries

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Japan

Contemporary democratic Japan enjoys a relatively high degree of free speech. Under the country's constitution, freedom of speech and press are guaranteed without censorship. However, journalistic practice and the press system are significantly different from those in the United States, reflecting Japan's historical experience and societal values and systems. Media technology has grown considerably, and Japan has become one of the world's biggest producers and consumers of media-related products.

By 2008 Japan had a population of about 127 million people living in 49 million households. Roughly 14 percent were children below the age of 15, 65 percent were between 15 and 65, and 21 percent were older than 65. In 2008, the population growth was –.14 percent, and life expectancy was approximately 82 years. The speed of aging of Japan's population was much faster than other developed countries in Western Europe or the United States.

The nation is composed of 47 prefectures, and its capital, Tokyo, the political and economic center of the country, has a population of 8,490,000. Japan is considered ethnically homogeneous since 98.5 percent is of the Japanese-Yamato race; Koreans (.5 percent) and Chinese (.4 percent) are the two largest the minority groups. The average annual household income was around $50,000. According to the United Nations, poverty is not a major issue in Japan.

Education through junior high school is compulsory for children between the ages of 6 and 15, and 97 percent of junior high school graduates go on to high school. Nearly half of high school graduates continued to college, 6 percent to junior college, and 16 percent to technical or vocational schools. The adult literacy rate in Japan is estimated to be 99 percent.

Newspapers

During the late feudal period in the nineteenth century, community newsletters were published, but the government restricted publications that offended social values derived from traditional Asiatic doctrines; therefore availability of information, especially about the West, was limited. By the mid-nineteenth century, the Meiji Restoration initiated the modernization of Japan, and new knowledge and technology from the West came to influence the growth of the country. Publications similar to contemporary newspapers soon became available. In 1871, *Yokohama Nikkan Shinbun* (Yokohama Daily Newspaper) was published near Tokyo, followed by *Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun* (Tokyo Daily Newspaper) in 1872, *Yomiuri Shinbun* (Yomiuri Newspaper) in 1874, and *Asahi Shinbun* (Asahi Newspaper) in 1879. Under the Meiji Constitution, which did not allow freedom of either speech or the press, a Newspaper Ordinance was issued in 1875 to restrict antigovernment speech and activities. The ordinance was revised in 1909 as the Newspaper Law, which imposed prior restraint on newspaper content until 1945.

Although Japan's current population is less than half that of the United States, Japanese newspaper circulation is much larger. In 2005, total daily circulation of Japanese newspapers was nearly 53 million. Of this, 47 million were general daily newspapers, and 5 million were sports and entertainment newspapers. The total average circulation of daily newspapers per 1,000 inhabitants in 2004 was 551.2, which is second only to Iceland (551.6).

By 2006, there were 120 daily newspapers, including the five national papers: *Asahi, Yomiuri, Mainichi, Nihon Keizai,* and *Sankei.* Among these, *Asahi, Yomiuri* and *Mainichi* are considered the "Big Three," composing the world's top three largest circulations of daily newspapers. Among the "Big Three," *Yomiuri* publishes 10 million copies per month, considered to be the largest in the world, followed by 8 million of *Asahi,* and 4 million of *Mainichi* as of 2006. In addition to the national papers, there are regional newspapers called *burokku-shi.* These include such titles as *Hokkaido, Chu'nichi,* and *Nishi-nihon,* distributed throughout several prefectures (districts). Another type of regional paper is *chihou-shi,* which is circulated in only one or two prefectures. *Tokushima,* and *San'in -chuo Shinpo* are examples, providing vicinity-specific information. Some newspapers publish both morning and evening editions in large cities, such as Tokyo and Osaka, while regional newspapers often publish only in the morning.

Owners of newspapers are less active in their newspaper's content than in the United States, with the exception of Tsuneo Watanabe, the owner of *Yomiuri* Newspaper, who is known for his tyrannical personality. Watanabe, a former reporter, is also chairman of the Yomiuri Giants Baseball Team and the president of the Japan Newspaper Publishers and Editors Association. *Asahi* Newspaper is owned by two individuals, Chieko Murayama, a granddaughter of the founder of *Asahi,* and Shoichi Ueno, a son of the former owner of the newspaper, who together own half the stock in the company.

The "Big Three" are not merely newspaper publishers but also media conglomerates that have expanded their business from media into real estate and travel agencies. For instance, *Asahi* Newspaper Company has 300 branches within the country and 30 foreign offices. It also owns 15 subsidiary companies that publish specialized newspapers, including sports and English papers. *Asahi* also owns 23 printing offices and some 3,000 sales offices that employ roughly 82,000 people to deliver newspapers to individual households. The *Asahi* Fellowship Program provides scholarship support and sponsors cultural and educational groups. Among the "Big Three" newspapers, *Asahi* is seen as more liberal when compared with *Yomiuri* and *Mainichi.* While *Yomiuri* is more conservative *Mainichi's* position is more moderate. *Asahi*'s liberal journalism was targeted in 1987 by an unidentified militant group in which two reporters were shot in the newspaper's *Kansai* branch office.

The sports daily newspapers, such as *Nikkan Supotsu* (Daily Sports), *Supotsu Nippon* (Sports Japan), and *Supotsu Hochi* (Sports Hochi), are one of the most popular formats in Japan. Their focus is on sports news and entertainment gossip, featuring big and colorful banners and photos on the front page, and in some papers, centerfold photos of naked young women that make clear the papers' appeal to male readers, especially those who commute by train. Major newspaper companies, both national and regional, publish sports as well as general daily newspapers.

Magazines

Ippan Shukan-shi, weekly general interest magazines, are the most popular format, and contain a variety of articles from political news to entertainment gossip. Weekly magazines such as *Shukan Asahi* (Weekly Asahi), *Shukan Shincho* (Weekly Shincho), and *Shukan Bunshun* (Weekly Bunshun) deliver political, social, economic, and entertainment news with photographs. These occasionally provide in-depth reporting, and seek to raise awareness about political corruption and social problems. On the other hand, they have also been criticized for sensationalism and overtly sexual content. *Shukan Bunshun* has the highest weekly circulation at 80,000, followed by *Shukan Shincho* at 67,000.

Keizai-shi is a type of magazine that focuses on economic issues. The major titles in this category are *Shukan Ekonomisuto* (Weekly Economist), *Shukan Toyo Keizai* (Weekly Asian Economy), *Shukan Daiamondo* (Weekly Diamond), and

Nikkei Bijinesu (Nikkei Business). Other types of popular magazines include *Josei-shi* (women's magazines), which are published biweekly or monthly: the biweekly tabloid style magazines are priced between $2 and $3 and are aimed at housewives; the monthly fashion magazines are priced between $5 and $10 and directed toward college students and young business women.

Photojournalism

During the 1960s, three Japanese photographers received the Pulitzer Prize. In 1961, Yasushi Nagao (1930–) of the *Mainichi* newspaper was awarded the 1961 prize for his photograph showing the moment of the assassination of Inajiro Asanuma, then leader of the Japanese Socialist Party. In 1966, Kyoichi Sawada (1936–70) received the award, and Toshio Sakai (1940–99) was the recipient in 1968, both for their work in Vietnam.

In 1981, photojournalism began a new trend in Japanese print media with the publication of a weekly and trendsetting photo magazine, *Fokasu* (Focus). The magazine featured sensational photographs of current news events, candid female nudity, and collages of cultural and political satire, accompanied by brief articles. Photographs of news events sometimes included crime-scene photos, some with explicit images of violence. The success of *Focus* was followed by similar magazines, *Furaidei* (Friday), *Furasshu* (Flash), *Enma* (Emma) and *Tacchi* (Touch), creating a new approach to journalistic publication, in which photo-centered reports replaced traditional articles. The popularity of these magazines prompted criticism that sensationalism had displaced traditional serious journalism. In addition, competition among photo magazines drove them to make their content more shocking and scandalous, one result of which being that several public figures filed lawsuits charging invasion of privacy. Readers also complained that the content was becoming depraved, and the popularity of these magazines began to decline by the 1990s. While *Friday* and *Flash* were still published in 2007, *Focus, Emma,* and *Touch* had ceased to appear by 2001. Both *Friday* and *Flash* publish spin-off photo magazines, *Fraidei-Dainamaito* (Friday-Dynamite) and *Furasshu-Ekisaiteingu* (Flash-Exciting), which follow the same format but with stronger sexual content. Among these four currently available weekly photo magazines, *Flash-Exciting* circulates to almost 46,000 a week, followed by *Friday* to 40,000.

Radio and Television

There is one public broadcasting network, and five commercial television networks in Japan. These six networks each have local affiliates throughout the country. Nationwide, there are 129 television and 101 radio stations (48 AM and 53 FM).

There is one public broadcasting network, NHK (*Nippon Hoso Kyokai*), which is an influential news source for the Japanese public because of its availability and popularity. NHK is not a commercial broadcasting company but a special public corporation, or semigovernmental corporation. According to the Broadcasting Law, the objective of NHK is to contribute to the welfare of the public through the nationwide distribution of diverse and quality programming as well as the development of broadcasting technology. As a public media institution, it is considered more trustworthy than commercial broadcasters. On its television channels NHK General and NHK Educational, fully half of all programming is news. In addition, NHK also distributes programs through NHK World and World Premium for overseas television viewers via a satellite system, and NHK World Radio via shortwave in 22 languages. NHK also uses the Internet to distribute its news service.

The most watched news program on NHK is *News 7,* broadcast at 7 p.m. and *News Uocchi 9* (News Watch 9) at 9 p.m. daily, which focus on political, economic, and international news as well as information on societal issues, sports, and weather. *News 7* is followed by a reportage program, *Close-up Gendai* (Today's Close-up) on weekdays, which provides an analysis of specific political, economic, international or cultural issues. In addition to regular news programs, NHK also provides news for special audiences. For instance, *Shukan Kodomo News* (Weekly Kids' News) is aired on Saturday evenings. NHK also provides regular programming for sign language news, *Shuwa News 845* (sign language news 845) during the week, and *Shukan Shuwa News* (weekly sign language news) on Saturday evening.

While 96 percent of NHK's revenue is supported by subscription fees, NHK's annual budget

has to be ratified by the Japanese Diet (parliament), according to the Broadcasting Law. The Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications oversees licenses for broadcasters, which are renewable every five years as long as the broadcaster does not violate criteria established by the Broadcasting Law. Because the Diet has been dominated by the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) since 1955, a common criticism is that NHK avoids investigating the LDP's political leadership, focusing on neutral reportage in order to maintain a good relationship with the government. As a result, NHK's role to serve the public has been criticized as lacking critical reporting and political analyses. Commercial networks include TBS, Fuji-Sankei, Nippon, Asahi, and Tokyo. Each of these offers their own morning and evening news programming to attract audiences. Among those competing for the evening news, *News 23* on TBS, and *Hodo Station* (Journalism Station) on Asahi are often cited for their popularity as well as their critical tone. In general, however, commercial network news programs have been criticized for providing news programming that resembles variety shows. In addition to news, the Asahi Network airs programs of political debate including *Asa Made Nama Terebi* (Live TV Until Morning). Assigning well-known journalists as hosts, *Live TV* is a three-hour panel discussion program, in which panelists debate specific political or sociopolitical topics.

News Agencies

There are two major Japanese news agencies, *Kyodo Tsushinsha* (Kyodo News), and *Jiji Tsushin* (Jiji Press), and two specialized agencies, *Rajio Puresu* (Radio Press) and *Tokyo Nyusu Tsushinsha* (Tokyo News Agency). Kyodo is a nonprofit cooperative organization whose members include 63 newspapers and NHK, and is funded by membership fees and subscription revenues. Kyodo World Service plays a role of gatekeeper to the world since it provides links and support to foreign media that do not have correspondents in Japan or that need backup service. Compared with Kyodo News, Jiji Press focuses on delivering financial information and enjoys joint agreements with such foreign agencies as Reuters, Xinhua, and Tass.

Radio Press was originally founded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as an agency to collect information from overseas. In 1946, it became a foundation that monitors foreign mass media and distributes information to both government agencies and domestic media companies. Tokyo News Agency used to specialize in the distribution of information in English, but currently its service is limited to the distribution of TV and radio schedules to newspaper companies. It also publishes weekly television guide magazines.

Education and Training for Journalists

The first college department of journalism was established in 1932 at Sophia University in Tokyo. During the U.S. occupation of 1945 to 1952, journalism programs were established in various universities in Tokyo, Osaka and Kyoto with the support of the Allied Powers' General Headquarters (GHQ). Currently, Sophia University, Waseda University, Keio University, and the University of Tokyo are the most recognized universities for journalism education. In addition, Keio houses an Institute for Media and Communications Research, and the University of Tokyo includes the Interfaculty Initiative in Information Studies, in which research on journalism has been conducted from political, economic, technological, and cultural perspectives.

Legal Issues

Historically, the Japanese press has experienced a significant level of governmental censorship. The first modern constitution, issued in 1889 and in force until 1945, did not guarantee individual rights, including free speech rights. Under this constitution between the early Meiji period and the end of World War II, press restriction was exercised through both prepublication censorship and postpublication punishment. Under the Publication and Newspaper laws, publishers were required to seek permission to publish. However, a significant part of the censorship was conducted privately, through personal threats, pressure, and persuasion designed to force editors and publishers into voluntary self-censorship.

Under the occupation, Japan began enjoying freedom of speech and of the press. At the same

time, the office of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) exercised the right of censorship during the occupation. An order issued in September 1945 claimed that although there should be a minimum of restrictions upon freedom of speech, it forbid discussion of Allied troop movements. News, commentary, and informational broadcasts were limited to Radio Tokyo. If the information distributed from other radio station was false, SCAP could suspend the station. Supplementary censorship provisions further restricted who could distribute information regarding the current condition of Japan. These orders remained in effect until 1949.

The new constitution, issued in 1947, was written by the Japanese with American assistance and approval. Article 21 explicitly protects freedom of speech, but the public welfare requirement in Articles 12 and 13 allows the courts to consider individual right of speech to be applicable only when they are not abused. In other words, although the new constitution guaranteed freedom of speech, postwar courts obtained constitutional permission to restrict speech if it impinged on public welfare.

The Role of the *Kisha Kurabu*

While the Japanese press seems to enjoy considerable freedom of gathering, reporting, and disseminating information in Japan, the role of the *kisha kurabu* (press club) has been a main focus of the debate over press freedom. The press club is an association for journalists through which various kinds of press conferences are held, but it has an unchallenged monopoly on the flow of news and information within the country. The most representative press club is *Nihon Kisha Kurabu* (Japan National Press Club), located in Nagata-cho, Tokyo, the Capitol Hill of Japan, but there are more than a thousand smaller press clubs throughout Japan, providing information regarding political organizations and parties, governmental agencies, economic institutions, and the Imperial Palace.

The press club was formed in 1890 when reporters gathered to demand that the Imperial government reveal information about its activities. Although the suppression of the press before and during World War II forced the end of this club, it was refounded in 1969 by the presidents of *Nihon Shinbun Kyokai* (Japan Newspaper Publishers and Editors Association), *Nihon Minkan Hoso Renmei* (National Association of Commercial Broadcasters in Japan), and NHK. By 2007, 147 media companies and 1,644 reporters belonged to this club.

The press club in Japan allows reporters to obtain information more easily than they would be able to by conducting their own independent investigations, since the conferences at the club are intended to feed reporters the basic information they need. But it also restricts reporters from probing scandals because reporters and news sources maintain a mutual dependency whereby both benefit from obtaining and disseminating news. This dependency leads reporters and their sources into a close relationship that biases reporting. As a result, reporters may censor their own work, and the press fails to function as an effective check on government. In addition, because reporters associated with the club gather information from the same source, the diversity of news content is reduced.

In addition, there was concern regarding foreign reporters' lack of access to these press clubs, a concern addressed in October 2003 by the European Union Delegation of the European Commission in Japan in the EU Priority Proposals for Regulatory Reform in Japan. In the press club system, only reporters who are members of the club are allowed to participate in the press conferences, while nonmembers, such as foreign and freelance reporters, may be excluded. The EU's proposal requested that foreign reporters have equal access to the news source and recommended the abolition of the club system. In December 2003, Kisha Kurabu Mondai Kentou Shoiintai (the Committee of the press club problem), a subsidiary committee of the Japan Newspaper Publishers and Editors Association, responded to the EU's proposal, upholding the press club's objective to provide fair and equal access to information in order to maintain freedom of the press as well as the public's right to information. It also claimed that the EU's view of the press club system was the result of misunderstanding, bias, and, because the proposal ignored the historically developed systematic ways of practicing journalism in Japan, a factual misrepresentation of the press club system. The committee also emphasized that the press club was open to nonmembers, and the so-called lack of foreign access was merely the result of a lack of effort on

the part of foreign reporters. Within a week, the EU Commission countered the committee's response, denying that its perspective was the result of ignorance or misunderstanding, and further appealing for the abolition of the press club. In 2004, the committee issued a request that the press club make additional efforts to allow foreign reporters who possess foreign reporter ID cards issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs into its press conferences.

Technology

Japan has become one of the world's most technologically advanced nations. The use of electronic media by news organizations has expanded with the availability of the commercial Internet since 1995. More than 100 national and local news distributors in Japan are operating 179 websites to disseminate information.

NHK has played a large part in the development of broadcast technology. High-definition television service, first developed as an analog technology during the 1970s, has been available in Japan since 1989. In the beginning, the service was experimental, airing only a few hours per day, but since 2000, one satellite channel has been dedicated to digital high-definition system. By 2011, analogue broadcasting will end in Japan and will be replaced by digitized signals delivered to all homes and businesses.

Technology has also been applied to develop fast and accurate information distribution systems, especially when disaster strikes. The One-Seg broadcasting system inaugurated in April 2006 allows mobile phones to receive video and audio segments without distortion through the digital broadcasting system. Beginning in October 2007, One-Seg offered a service called Emergency Earthquake Warning, which reports a possible large earthquake just before it occurs. The warning will be transmitted through all NHK channels in both television and radio networks between a minute and several seconds before such an earthquake occurs.

By 2007, the number of Internet users in Japan was 88,110,000, which is approximately 70 percent of the entire population. More than 70 million users access the Internet from mobile phones. Major newspaper companies as well as broadcasting networks host websites providing constant news updates. The circulation of hard copy newspapers has been in steady decline since 1997 due to the increasing migration of newspaper readers to the (largely free) online versions.

Conclusion

While journalism in Japan has been influenced by political and historical change as well as technological development since World War II, the audience enjoys a significant free flow of information. Media literacy is not yet a widely accepted part of compulsory education. People's lack of interest in politics is quite apparent in contemporary Japan—one reason why journalism is not an important check on government. Availability of information regarding matters sensitive to the cultural identity of Japan, such as that regarding the royal family, is restricted by bureaucratic organizations. Thus, limits on the free flow of information have become increasingly evident.

Yuri Obata

See also Asia; China; Comparative Models of Journalism; Hong Kong; Pacific Area; Singapore; STAR News (Asia)

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Joint Operating Agreements

A joint operating agreement (JOA) in the United States is a contract that allows competing daily newspapers in the same market to share their production and distribution facilities while keeping their reportorial and editorial functions separate and independent. JOAs are designed to ensure a diversity of information and opinion by maintaining head-to-head competition between daily newspapers amid an ever-increasing number of one-newspaper towns. This stands in marked contrast with many industrialized countries in Europe and Asia, which rarely recognize such government-sanctioned arrangement for newspapers. JOAs are granted under the Newspaper Preservation Act (NPA). Since Congress passed the NPA in 1970, 28 JOAs have been approved. But JOAs have not been a success story. Each year, there are fewer JOAs and fewer cities with competing newspapers.

History

The JOA is often perceived as a relatively new development in the American newspaper industry, though it is more than 70 years old. The Depression led several newspapers to consider reducing their production costs by combining business operations with their competitors. In 1933, the *Albuquerque Journal* and the *Albuquerque Tribune* in New Mexico entered into a joint operation except in their editorial functions—this was the first JOA in the United States. Into the 1960s, newspapers in about 20 cities had agreed to operate as partners, though many critics argued this was a violation of U.S. antitrust laws.

In 1964, the U.S. Justice Department challenged the JOA between two Tucson, Arizona, newspapers as a private contract in restraint of trade. The JOA between the *Tucson Daily Citizen* and the *Arizona Daily Star* mandated price fixing, profit pooling, and market allocation. At the same time, the agreement required that the papers maintain separate news and editorial departments. The Supreme Court in *Citizen Publishing v. United States* (1969) found that the JOA of the *Citizen* and the *Star* violated the Sherman Act, the key federal antitrust law passed in 1890. The Supreme Court deemed the JOA of the Tucson newspapers a business cartel to foreclose publishing competition in their newspaper market. The Court stated that operating such a JOA enjoyed no support from the First Amendment, for it did not concern news gathering or news dissemination, but rather restraints on the newspapers' monopoly of business practices. Nonetheless, the Court did not ban the Tucson JOA altogether. Instead, it asked the JOA to be revised in such a way as to avoid violating the antitrust laws.

In defense of their JOA, the Tucson newspapers unsuccessfully invoked the "failing company" doctrine, a judicially created exemption to the Sherman Act. The doctrine authorizes an otherwise illegal merger when one of the two companies is on the verge of bankruptcy and no one is willing to acquire the failing company. The Supreme Court in *Citizen Publishing* rejected the failing company defense as there was little evidence that, when the JOA was contemplated, the *Citizen* was on the brink of collapse and that no effort had been made to sell the newspaper to any purchaser other than its sole competitor, the *Star*.

Newspaper Preservation Act

The *Citizen Publishing* decision placed all the existing 22 JOAs in jeopardy. The newspaper industry lobbied Congress for a special legislative exemption from federal antitrust regulations. To overcome the Court's holding, Congress passed the Newspaper Preservation Act (NPA) in 1970. It "grandfathered" the JOAs then in existence and authorized the creation of new ones. "In the public interest of maintaining a newspaper press editorially and reportorially independent and competitive in all parts of the United States," the NPA aimed "to preserve the publication of newspapers in any city . . . where a joint operating

arrangement has been heretofore entered into because of economic distress or is hereafter effected" under the law (15 U.S.C. § 1801).

The NPA codified, in a merger-friendly way, the failing company doctrine that the Court had found inapposite in *Citizens Publishing*. A "failing newspaper" under the NPA is a newspaper that is "in probable danger of financial failure," not necessarily one facing imminent bankruptcy. In mid-March 2009, the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* ceased print publication and became a web-only newspaper, effectively ending the JOA.

Prior to entering a JOA, the newspapers must obtain the written approval of the U.S. Attorney General. In considering the JOA application, the Attorney General is required to determine whether one of the newspapers is in probable danger of economic failure and whether the JOA, if approved, would serve the NPA's "purpose and policy." A valid JOA under the NPA allows two newspapers to combine their business-related operations, while keeping their independent editorial functions intact.

As a statutory exemption for newspapers to antitrust regulations, the NPA protects the newspapers against price-fixing and profit-pooling restrictions. Nonetheless, the JOAs are barred from violating antitrust laws with impunity. Newspapers cannot commit predatory pricing practices that would be unlawful if engaged in by a single newspaper.

The NPA addresses few possible issues relating to termination of JOAs, whether good-faith or pernicious. It also pays little attention to what could be done to a JOA party that might violate the Act after the JOA had been approved.

JOAs Under the NPA

The passage of the NPA in 1970 did not lead to a sharp increase in the number of JOA applications. Of the eight JOA applications in the years since, the U.S. Attorney General reviewed and approved seven, and one was withdrawn. One of the more widely known JOAs under the NPA involved the financially troubled *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* (*P-I*) and the *Seattle Times*. In 1981, the two newspapers entered into a JOA, which the Attorney General approved after finding that the *P-I* was a "failing newspaper" as defined in the NPA. The 1981 JOA required the *Times* to provide the newsprint, presses, and labor and to print, sell, and distribute both newspapers. The two newspapers, however, were to maintain independent news and editorial departments. Also, they were to remain separately owned and managed.

In 1999, the two Seattle papers amended their JOA, which allowed the *Times* to change to a morning publication and to compete directly against the morning *P-I*. Also, the amended JOA contained a "loss operation" clause that permitted either party to terminate the agreement after three consecutive years of operation losses. In the early 2000s, when the *Times* tried to end the JOA, Hearst Corp., owner of the *P-I,* sued to keep the agreement in effect. In 2005, the Washington Supreme Court ruled in favor of the *Times*. In April 2007, the *Times* agreed to pay Hearst $24 million to cancel key provisions of their JOA while agreeing to continue publishing.

Judicial Interpretations

Over the years, the NPA has been challenged on constitutional grounds, but it has been upheld each time. As a federal district court held in 1972, for example, the Act did not violate the First Amendment on freedom of the press because it selectively carved out exemptions to the antitrust laws to preserve independent editorial voices. More recently, the 9th U.S. Court of Appeals *Committee for an Independent P-I v. Hearst Corp.* (9th Cir. 1983) rejected a claim that that the NPA impaired the First Amendment rights of smaller newspapers as applied. "It is obvious," the 9th Circuit reasoned, "that the Newspaper Preservation Act's antitrust exemption will not affect the *content* of speech of these smaller newspapers. The Act is an economic regulation which has the intent of promoting and aiding the press. At most, the Act *may* affect the number of 'readers' a newspaper has. But that the Act may have such an effect is not different . . . than any other economic regulation of the newspaper industry" (704 F.2d 467, 483).

JOAs Not a Viable Option

Since the early 1990s, 13 JOAs have terminated. Most recently, the JOA between the *Cincinnati Enquirer* and the *Cincinnati Post/Kentucky Post* expired at the end of 2007 with the closure of the 126-year-old *Post* papers. In March 2008, there

were still ten JOAs in force, a dozen fewer than in 1970, when Congress enacted the NPA.

According to a 2007 study of JOAs, "leading papers in these cooperative arrangements are now regularly seeking to escape their unions with secondary papers" (Picard 2007, 41). What causes the termination of JOAs? The end is often precipitated when one of the JOA parties is no longer economically viable or when one or both parties have neither a wish nor an obligation to continue with their joint operations. Further, the NPA has been of limited value to the Justice Department in that it provides for no governmental authority to investigate newspaper owners when they violate the provisions of their approved JOAs.

The fundamental problem with the JOAs lies with the shifting economic challenges facing the newspaper industry as a whole. Two-paper cities are now anomalous, and all the JOAs can do for the "failing" newspapers tends to be more cosmetic than structural. Some JOAs help weak newspapers in one way or another by prolonging their lives for a while. But metropolitan daily newspapers, whether with or without JOAs, are less likely to compete with each other, simply because fewer cities will have more than one newspaper. Hence, the death of the remaining JOAs is only a matter of time unless the NPA is substantially revised. This is all the more true, given the changing media landscape and the NPA's questionable efficacy as a mechanism to keep a newspaper press editorially independent and diverse.

Kyu Ho Youm

See also Antitrust; First Amendment; Media Ownership; Newspaper Preservation Act

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Journalists' Privilege

See Shield Law

Juvenile Offenders, Coverage of

Crime news makes up a large segment of journalistic reportage. Juvenile crime is of special interest because it can affect changes in government policy and public perceptions of the nation's youth. Bundled into this issue are people's worries about their own children, generational fear and mistrust (i.e., older people are often afraid of younger people), and a tendency toward sensationalism on the part of the news media. Coverage of juvenile offenders includes broadcast and print news stories of crimes committed by minors (often defined as those 16 years of age and younger). This coverage is affected by the routines of news gathering (e.g., deadlines, reliance on sources, limited time/space), does not reflect social reality (i.e., the amount of *coverage* of juvenile crime does not reflect the actual *amount* of juvenile crime), and, according to early-twenty-first-century research, is increasingly affected by race and ethnicity.

Juvenile Offenders in the News

Little research appears to have been conducted on news coverage of juvenile offenders until the late 1990s. Research since then indicates that when youth are covered in the news it is generally in the context of violence, and particularly murder. About half of all coverage of youth is related to crime and violence, despite strong evidence that juvenile crime arrests have been stable or in decline since the 1990s. This holds true for both broadcast and print reports.

According to the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), part of the U.S. Department of Justice, since 1994, most arrest

rates have seen a steady decline. Murder arrest rates, for example, were 74 percent lower in 2000 than they were in 1993. About half of all juvenile arrests are made for theft (the greatest single cause), simple assault, drug abuse, disorderly conduct, and curfew violations.

Such news coverage of juvenile offenders does not reflect social reality in a number of ways. For example, media coverage of juvenile crime tends to increase as juvenile crime rates decline. A commonly noted problem with news media is that only news with blood and violence—"if it bleeds, it leads"—is covered. This trend clearly affects coverage of youth issues. Violent crime by youth in 2005 was at its lowest point in the history of the National Crime Victimization Survey (which provides statistics back to 1973) yet, according to David Doi of the Coalition for Juvenile Justice, more than two-thirds of coverage of violent crime was focused on juveniles while youth were actually responsible for less than 15 percent of the violence. Further, most youthful offenders are not violent. In 2003 the Annie E. Casey Foundation, established to foster human service reforms to meet the needs of vulnerable children and families, estimated that 77 percent of incarcerated juveniles are nonviolent offenders.

Journalists also tend to cover juvenile crime episodically. They focus on individual crimes as isolated events instead of reporting the important context of overall trends. Major events—such as shootings or other violence in public schools—tend to receive heavy coverage. So do drive-by shootings and carjacking crimes. News coverage of juvenile offenders also connects race and crime, particularly violent crime and especially on television. Pictures of African Americans or Latino youth (including reports of gang warfare) dominate portrayals of youth violence, especially broadcast or photographic visual images. These portrayals have been shown to lead many who watch and read such news to worry more about their own safety. Television coverage of African American and Hispanic youth offenders raises levels of fear among viewers, increases their support for more stringent crime policies, and promotes racial stereotyping.

Legal Issues

In the 1960s the U.S. Supreme Court decided a series of landmark cases that changed the character and procedures of the juvenile justice system. In 1966, in *Kent v. United States,* the Court listed several factors for judges to consider when deciding whether to transfer a juvenile case to adult court. This included the alleged seriousness of the offense. It was at this time that juvenile courts became more concerned for the interests of the juvenile. To this point, youth offenders were rarely afforded the legal protections usually granted to adults (such as the right to counsel). Most states limited news access to juvenile courts, largely to protect offenders from a lifelong stigma for what was often a single mistake. Limits also encouraged rehabilitation efforts. Journalists followed suit, and became less likely to run stories culled from the juvenile court system. News organizations and journalism groups counseled caution in identifying juvenile suspects of crime.

Six states enacted new laws that opened juvenile court hearings to the public in 1996–97 for specified violent or other serious crimes. At the end of the 1997 legislative session, 30 states required or permitted open juvenile court hearings of cases involving either juveniles charged with violent or other serious offenses or juveniles who were repeat offenders.

Three states passed legislation giving the general public and news media access to the names and addresses of minors convicted of specified serious or violent crimes. As of the end of the 1997 legislative session, 42 states permitted the release of a juvenile's name, address, and/or picture to the media or general public under certain conditions. Connecticut, District of Columbia, Maryland, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, and Virginia do not permit the release.

In states that limit access to juvenile proceedings, news media cannot be penalized for revealing a juvenile's identity if they lawfully obtained the information. When a juvenile defendant's identity has already been revealed (as in public court records or open proceedings) news media may disseminate that information.

Some recent examples of how the media has been affected by juvenile offender laws, as reported by the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press, include the following:

- The Mississippi Supreme Court overturned the contempt conviction of a newspaper reporter

who had written about a discussion of a criminal defendant's juvenile record that had taken place in open court.

- An Alabama state court overturned the conviction of two newscasters for violating a state law that prohibits disclosure of information in juvenile records. An anonymous source provided the name to the stations, and having received the information legally, they broadcast it.
- Illinois courts may only suppress revealing the identity of a juvenile if that information was obtained from a closed juvenile court proceeding.
- The Connecticut Supreme Court has held that statutes mandating the confidentiality of juvenile records and proceedings do not prohibit news media from disclosing information about the case but only restrict press access to proceedings and records.
- Even secret court records can be published in Maine if a reporter has lawfully obtained access to those records.
- If a news media organization learns a juvenile's name from sources outside court proceedings in Rhode Island, it may publish the name and attend the proceedings.

Given public desire for the information, journalists will continue to concentrate on juvenile offenders in their routine coverage of crime. That coverage can have an effect on public policy as well as individual perceptions of criminal reality. Journalists must know the relevant laws governing such coverage in their own state or community, however, and the laws are often changing. Further, the amount of news coverage allowed is often up to individual court or judge discretion.

Cristina Azocar

See also Crime and the Courts

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K

Kansas City

The development of journalism in Kansas City parallels the development of the city itself. The first fledgling newspapers were influenced by the forces of national western expansion and the approaching Civil War. As the two Kansas Cities (Kansas and Missouri) grew in population, media consolidation occurred, and one newspaper company dominated print media by the early part of the twentieth century. With radio and television, the number of media outlets grew, but more recent events have led to nonlocal ownership and journalism that mirrors the national trends.

Origins

Situated at the confluence of the Kansas and Missouri Rivers, the twin cities of Kansas City, Kansas, and Kansas City, Missouri, grew both in population and physical size from initial settlements in the mid-nineteenth century. Early beginnings were influenced greatly by the larger context of the escalating western national expansion of the 1850s as well as the remnants of the fight over the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, which opened the Kansas and Nebraska territories to statehood with an option of allowing slavery based on popular sovereignty. The term *border ruffians* was coined by newspaper editor Horace Greeley to refer to proslavery activists from Missouri who crossed the border into Kansas in an attempt to vote on the issue. While voting irregularities were common, it was skirmishes along the border between Missouri and Kansas that led to the term "Bloody Kansas."

A number of weekly newspapers began operation in the 1850s and 1860s, many of them ceasing publication within a few years; others were purchased and their names changed with new ownership. Notable among early newspapers was the *Quindaro Chin-do-Wan* (1857), a Free State publication that ceased publication during the Civil War. Another prewar newspaper, the *Wyandotte City Register* (1857) became *The Citizen,* and then *The Western Argus,* which in 1861 became *The Wyandotte Gazette. The Kansas City Enterprise* started in 1854 and survived for 88 years, although the name changed several times before ceasing operation as *The Kansas City Journal-Post.* Reportage in these very early Kansas City newspapers consisted of anecdotal renderings of a variety of topics, including chronological accounts of local occurrences, especially border skirmishes. Occasionally, even some European social events were covered. Provisions for overland trips to the west were also conspicuous in advertising.

Following the Civil War, the two cities expanded rapidly, and a manufacturing sector grew up along the river. With the added population media became more formalized, with one newspaper, *The Kansas City Star,* growing in readership, advertising, and influence.

The Kansas City Star

In 1880, William Rockhill Nelson and Samuel E. Morss sold the *Ft. Wayne New Sentinel* in Indiana

and moved to Missouri where they began publication of *The Kansas City Evening Star*. Competitors then included the *Evening Mail, Times,* and the *Journal*. Morss soon left the newspaper due to ill health and Nelson continued the business until his death in the 1915 (at which time the *Star* was operated by Nelson's wife and daughter). Within two years of the founding of the *Evening Star,* Nelson acquired the *Evening Mail* and combined it with his paper, which became *The Kansas City Star*. Nelson purchased the morning *Times* in 1901. The remaining competing daily, the *Journal,* ceased operation in 1942. Nelson's newspapers were sold to employees in 1926 upon the death of Nelson's daughter, whose husband was editor. The fortune amassed by the family was donated to create a museum of art at their grand mansion.

The Kansas City *Star* newspapers, which included the *Times* and the Sunday newspaper, together held a dominant position during their first 70 years, with circulation many times greater than that of their competition. Later ownership of WDAF radio (1922) and television (1949) broadened the company's position. But this domination of the market led to a government antitrust case in 1953. The charges involved anticompetitive practices that included combination buying where advertisers were required to purchase space or time in more than one medium to gain access to any one of them. The government claimed that predatory pricing led to the elimination of competition. The *Star* alleged that the suit, brought in the waning days of the Truman administration, was a result of the paper's questioning of Truman's association with local political boss Tom Pendergast. Pendergast had long dominated a local political machine that paved the way for Truman's winning of a county judgeship in 1922 and his election as U.S. senator in 1934. Pendergast's reign came to an end in 1939 when he was convicted of income tax evasion and several of his lieutenants were found guilty of vote fraud.

The case against the *Star* was litigated during the Eisenhower administration. Criminal charges were dropped just prior to the trial, and the civil case was settled through a consent decree that forbade certain monopolistic practices. The decree also led to sale of the *Star*'s radio and television stations.

Ernest Hemingway was a reporter for the *Star* for about six months in 1916 to 1917. He later credited the newspaper's style book for his own style: "Use short sentences. Use short first paragraphs. Use vigorous English. Be positive, not negative." *Star* reporters have won eight Pulitzer Prizes, including one in 1954 for Alvin Scott McCoy's reporting of a scandal involving the Republican National Chairman. This award was given scant attention by the newspaper itself, perhaps due to the editor's active involvement with the Republican Party.

Following a half century of employee ownership, the *Star* was purchased by Capital Cities/Disney in 1977. In 1990, the morning and evening newspapers merged to become a morning-only newspaper. The holdings were sold to Knight Ridder in 1997 and to the McClatchy Company in 2006.

The Kansas City Call

The Kansas City Call was founded in 1919 as a newspaper for and about African Americans. Its first editor and publisher, Chester Arthur Franklin, operated the newspaper until his death in 1955, at which time his widow continued to publish it in association with the newspaper's managing editor, Lucile H. Bluford. Upon the death of Mrs. Franklin in 1993, Bluford became the publisher of the newspaper. She was well known for her work in advancing integration of the University of Missouri's School of Journalism. She was admitted to the school in 1939, but was denied registration; she subsequently attempted to enter the University of Missouri several more times. A court case, *Bluford v. Missouri* found against her, citing a separate but equal logic. A half century later, the University of Missouri presented her with an honorary doctorate in the humanities in 1989. As a longtime journalist, Bluford was known for asking tough questions and for seeking the truth to tell her readers, even if it meant scolding black leaders. She also sought to build relationships between whites and blacks in the area.

Suburban Newspapers

As the two Kansas cities have grown, encompassing many smaller, once-rural areas, some of the weeklies continue to provide local news for a limited geographic area. Other newspapers have begun operation twice or more each week, either

as local news providers or shoppers. With an increasing population of Hispanic residents, at least two bilingual weekly newspapers have begun operation. Several weekly religious newspapers serve the greater Kansas City Metropolitan area.

Radio and Television

Early Kansas City radio stations included WHB, WOQ, WPE, and WDAF in the early 1920s. WHB radio, begun in 1922, was financed by an automotive and electrical school. John Schilling, who had been involved with ham radio in the teens, later serving in the radio division of the U.S. Navy, and as an engineer with de Forest Radio in New York, returned to Kansas City to partner with Sam Adair to begin broadcasting in April 1922. After obtaining a license the following month, the station became WHB and operated an extensive daytime schedule until 1948 when nighttime hours were added. In 1954, WHB was sold to Mid-Continent Broadcasting. Just a year earlier WHB joined with KMBC-AM to operate KMBC-TV. WHB purchased KMBC-AM the following year. As an early version of media convergence, a magazine called *Swing* served as an advertising tool for WHB. It contained features about entertainment and biographical sketches of Kansas Citians, as well as information about the station. It was published monthly at least through the early 1950s. In 1985, Midcontinent sold WHB to Shamrock Broadcasting, and in 1993, Kanza Inc. purchased the station.

In 2007, with a population of more than 1.7 million in the greater metropolitan area (including both Kansas and Missouri), the community is served by nine local television signals that penetrate all areas of the metropolitan Kansas City area. Most of these stations are owned by corporate entities, including Fox TV, Meredith, Hearst-Argyle, Paxson Communications and Scripps Howard, among others. Stations are affiliated with a number of networks, including ABC, CBS, CW, Fox, Ion, MyNetwork, and NBC. The cities also are served by strong PBS and independent signals. The area is served by at least 24 FM radio station signals and 27 AM radio station signals. Other signals from outlying communities serve certain parts, but not all, of the metropolitan area.

Randy Weckman

See also African American News Media; Antitrust; Convergence; Presidents, Coverage of

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L

Labor Journalism

Over the last 200 years, the role of labor journalism has evolved with ebbs and flows of the labor movement, both in the United States and throughout the developed world. The rise of factory employment in America early in the nineteenth century resulted in class distinctions not apparent at the founding of the country late in the eighteenth century, and substandard working conditions led to discontent that needed a media outlet. Although expression of some of this discontent was reflected in coverage of the working class in the mid-nineteenth-century penny press, a ready market also existed for serious investigative journalism geared specifically for workers and their political allies.

Types

Throughout their history in the United States, three types of labor publications have predominated. The first are trade union periodicals published with union money and circulated mainly to union members. They serve as mouthpieces for union officials. Rather than independent labor publications, most labor journalism consists of magazines that individual unions publish. They serve as mouthpieces for their labor unions although they dispense information to other media that can lead to wider coverage. Among these publications are *Solidarity,* the national magazine of the United Auto Workers, *The UMW Journal,* a bimonthly publication of the United Mine Workers, and *The American Educator,* published by the American Federation of Teachers.

The second are party papers, published by political parties and intended to promote a social agenda connected with progressive politics. These publications were strongest in the early twentieth century, when political parties advocated worker reforms often influenced by world events.

The third type of publication was the independent newspaper unaffiliated with any political party and dependent on subscriptions for their survival. However, the close connection between worker rights and political activism has often blurred distinctions between the second and third types of labor publications. Today, independent labor newspapers, which rely on ideological fervor but depend on subscriptions and advertising for a profit, still survive, but not at the local level. Although they thrived for a time in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these local publications eventually disappeared due to lack of advertising support and the co-optation of many of their issues by the mainstream press.

Development

Labor journalism in this country began with the rise of publications concerned with reform in working conditions that depended on subscriptions and donations for their survival. Perhaps because of this content-advertising dichotomy, many of these publications proved short-lived. During the 1820s and 1830s, some 50 labor weeklies appeared,

most of them in the rapidly industrializing northeastern United States. These not only advocated for better working conditions but also expanded to social commentary on topics such as the need for universal education. The *Mechanic's Free Press,* founded in 1828, in Philadelphia was the first labor newspaper. It folded after three years, though it did reach a circulation of 2,000. Other early papers included the *Free Enquirer,* published in New York from 1828 to 1835, and *The Working Man's Advocate,* published in New York from 1829 to 1849. The *Advocate* supported a ten-hour working day, universal suffrage, and improved public education. The paper also was critical of mainstream media, which it said had grown "fat" by oppressing the working class.

These publications emerged during the 1830s coinciding with expansion of American democracy and growth of immigration. They also served as a form of early labor solidarity. Since many workers were illiterate, they would gather on street corners to listen to others read the publications aloud.

The papers also served as a way of encouraging political activism. In 1828, *The Mechanic's Free Press* became the official organ of the Working Men's Party, which that year elected 21 candidates to public office in Philadelphia and surrounding communities. The party expanded its efforts into other areas of Pennsylvania. In New York, *The Free Enquirer* and *The Working Man's Advocate* advocated political action as well. In 1830, the entire labor ticket won in Syracuse, and all but one labor candidate was victorious in Troy and Albany. The labor political movement, supported by labor media, also gained a foothold in this period in local and state offices in Delaware, New Hampshire, and Connecticut. In the 1830s, responding to the threat by this potential national third party, the two major political parties, the Whigs and Democrats, adopted many of the suggested reforms into their party platforms.

Independent labor newspapers continued their expansion throughout the middle and latter part of the nineteenth century. In Canada, the labor press movement also thrived between 1870 and 1900 due to a perceived need to rein in unbridled capitalism. During this period, Canadian trade unionists founded more than 100 journals, mainly in Ontario and Quebec. Canadian labor journalism was hostile to both the Protestant and Catholic churches, which tended to side with capitalistic interests rather than workers. The first major Canadian labor journal, *The Ontario Workman,* published from 1872 to 1874, arose out of a dispute following a strike at the *Toronto Globe*. *The Workman* was published with financial assistance from the federal Conservative Party, which believed it to be in its own interest to harness support from the growing ranks of industrialized labor.

In the United States, relations between labor and government in the same era did not proceed quite so smoothly. The Haymarket affair (also known as the Haymarket riot or massacre) in Chicago in 1886, proved to be a temporary setback for the labor press. An unknown person threw a bomb at police as they were dispersing a labor protest. The incident led to the death of seven police officers and an unknown number of civilians and came to symbolize an anarchistic labor movement threatening American capitalism.

A New Era

Following the Haymarket affair, a new era of labor journalism emerged, with a stronger tie to political parties and worldwide working concerns. This second era came to be dominated by papers published by political parties and intended to promote a social agenda connected with progressive politics. A good example of this type of journalism were the "wobbly" papers, published by the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) beginning in 1905. They shared disgust with the American Federation of Labor's conservative domination of trade unionism, and many saw their publications as a vanguard of a Socialist revolution. Among the Wobbly papers were *The Industrial Union Bulletin,* published in Chicago from 1907 to 1909; *The Syndicalist,* published in Lakebay, Washington, and Chicago in 1913; *The One Big Union Monthly,* published in Chicago from 1919 to 1921; *The Industrial Pioneer,* published in Chicago from 1921–1926; and *The Industrial Unionist,* published in Portland, Oregon, from 1925 to 1926.

Mainstream media also spoke with a more progressive labor voice during this same period. The New York *World* and *St. Louis Dispatch* newspaper publisher Joseph Pulitzer championed the cause of working men and women in his papers at the end of the 19th and beginning of the twentieth century. Pulitzer's New York newspaper war with

rival publisher William Randolph Hearst added to this focus on the working class reader's interests.

That era saw the emergence in mainstream journalism of Eva Valesh, a prominent turn of the twentieth-century voice of progressive labor journalism. Recruited in 1887 to write for the *St. Paul Globe,* Valesh (writing under the pseudonym Eva Gay) got herself hired as a working girl in different shops in order to illustrate an the life of the working poor. Valesh went on to become an advocate for labor rights and other Populist causes.

The early twentieth century proved a high water mark for socialist labor journalism, coinciding with muckraking journalism by reformers such as Ida Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens, and Upton Sinclair. Between 1905 and 1919, the IWW published more than 70 newspapers and periodicals. The Socialist weekly *Appeal to Reason* had more than 760,000 readers in 1913. Daily labor newspapers before World War I included the *Cleveland* (Ohio) *Citizen, The New York Call,* and *The Milwaukee* (Wisconsin) *Leader.*

Labor in the Age of Bolshevism

After 1920 came a decline in the socialist labor press, as it became identified by the American public with the rise of Bolshevism. Indeed, the Communist, Socialist, and Communist Labor parties all competed through the labor press for predominance. The intensity of this struggle was reflected in postwar journalism, when Bolsheviks seeking violent overthrow of capitalist regimes withdrew from the Socialist Party. *Class Struggle,* a left-wing socialist publication published in New York from 1917 to 1919, was a pre-Bolshevik publication that argued that socialism could not be achieved through reform or at the polls. *Class Struggle* called for the victory of the proletariat over the capitalist bourgeoisie and regularly published articles by leaders of the Russian Communist Revolution, such as Lenin and Trotsky. Other worker oriented political publications of the Bolshevik Revolution era included *The New York Communist,* published in 1919 in New York, *The Revolutionary Age,* published in Boston and New York in 1918 and 1919, *The Socialist,* published in New York in 1919, and *The New Justice,* published in Los Angeles in 1919 and 1920. Growing American anti-Red fears drove many of these papers either underground or out of business.

After the expulsion of Communists from its ranks in 1919, socialism went into a gradual decline after World War I, though the socialist movement did recover for a time during the Depression of the 1930s as new worker-oriented papers spread that served as voices for reform. Socialist publications of this period included *New Day,* published in Chicago and Milwaukee between 1920 and 1922; *Socialist World,* published in Chicago between 1920 and 1926; and *American Appeal,* published in Chicago from 1926 to 1927. Three New York–based publications of the period included *American Socialist Quarterly* (1932–35), *American Socialist Monthly* (1935–37), and *Socialist Review* (1937–40). By the 1940s, the Socialist labor press was in a weakened state, though *Challenge!*, the periodical of the Young People's Socialist League, managed to publish between 1943 and 1946 in New York. This publication had an influential role in shaping post World War II sentiment through shaping the postwar generation's attitudes toward international and social issues. The Young People's Socialist League members who read *Challenge!,* with its virulent anti-Hitlerism, its promotion of peace "strikes" on college campuses, and its support for labor demands would go on to become some of the nation's leading liberals, intellectuals, and trade union leaders. For this reason, the League was probably more influential in this period than the Socialist Party itself.

In the New Deal and World War II years, the Communist workers press also served to promote labor rights. In an era when support for the Soviet Union fit American foreign policy aims, publications such as *Communist International,* published in New York from 1919 to 1940, and *The Daily Worker,* published in Chicago and New York from 1924 to 1958, had influence in labor and left-wing political circles.

Labor Broadcasting

Organized labor's attempts to get involved directly in broadcasting during the 1920s and 1930s met with mixed results. Organized labor attempted to establish and operate radio stations but gained little headway. One exception was WLCF in Chicago, owned and operated by the Chicago Federation of Labor, which began in the 1920s and continued to operate as a voice of labor until 1979. In the 1940s and 1950s, the American Federation of Labor,

later the AFL-CIO, sponsored evening newscasts and aired public service announcements made possible by Federal Communications Commission guidelines. In the 1950s, the AFL-CIO attempted to get into television broadcasting, but high production costs thwarted these efforts.

Modern Labor Press

The independent labor newspapers that launched labor journalism early in the nineteenth century survived into the early twenty-first century, but in a much diminished state. Although they thrived from the nineteenth and, in some cases, into the middle of the twentieth century, local labor publications eventually disappeared due to lack of advertising support and the cooptation of many of their issues by the mainstream press. On the other hand, their progeny at a national level, including *The Union Democracy Review,* published since 1972, a bimonthly publication of the Association for Union Democracy; and *Labor Notes,* published since 1979, a monthly magazine published by the nonprofit organization with the same name, still promote workplace and grassroots democracy. Both publications have websites and continue to rely on contributions and subscriptions for their survival.

With the decline in the independent labor press, covering organized labor has fallen to mainstream media. While some communities with a strong union tradition (such as Detroit and Chicago) have media that incorporate labor coverage into their news agenda, this is the exception. Network television in its heyday in the 1960s and 1970s exposed few viewers to people who worked in factories, and this situation has not improved much since. Few newspapers or television stations assign reporters to a labor beat. What coverage exists tends to focus on strikes or potential strikes. Cutbacks in reporting staffs and ownership consolidation in the first decade of the twenty-first century have not improved things. However, covering labor is a matter of refocusing and filtering labor news and trends into a broader news context. As a result, each medium tends to focus on a labor union stereotypes, such as the movies' frequent focus on connections between organized crime and labor. Television, in turn, tends to portray the union bargaining goals as petty or foolish, with good local labor leaders led astray by their national unions.

The American labor movement through its history has assumed hostile coverage from print, television, and film. At best, media concerns have been peripheral to those of organized labor. As a result, however, organized labor has had to work hard through its history to get its points across, often turning to advertising and advocacy.

Although the fortunes of organized labor may appear to be waning, labor journalism has played an important role in promoting progressive change. Labor publications have championed reforms such as child labor laws, workplace safety, improved public education, and universal suffrage. To some extent, the decline of labor journalism is because organized labor, in winning many of its goals for working people, has become a victim of its own successes.

Christopher Burnett

See also Advocacy Newspapers; Bias; Social Movements and Journalism; Muckrakers

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Labor Unions

Audiences for newspaper or electronic news media rarely pay attention to union organization of the people that produce and distribute that news—until a strike intervenes and stops news flow. As with other industries, news media owners nearly always hold a more negative view of labor unions than their employees. The changing national economy has led to upheaval in union organization and considerable recent consolidation. Indeed, by the last quarter of the century, membership began to decline in many newspaper and broadcast unions as the country steadily shifted from a manufacturing to a services economy.

Generally speaking, labor unionization has been a more important factor in larger markets. Closed shops (where union membership is required as a condition of employment) are common in larger newspapers and broadcast stations (and especially networks), while less restrictive situations (open shops or even a lack of unionization) are more the norm elsewhere.

Media unions tend to divide into "above the line" and "below the line" categories, using traditional theatrical terms. The "aboves" include creative and performing personnel—such as writers, newscasters, and announcers. The "belows" emphasize the technical and engineering trades so essential in getting mass news into the hands of consumers. Traditionally, the latter has been organized earlier. Such distinctions have sometimes led to protracted jurisdictional disputes over which union will represent which workers. The potential revenue and bargaining power for the winner of these battles made them especially bitter.

This entry focuses on American labor unions—there are many others in most developed—and some developing—nations.

Origins

The earliest known labor strike at a newspaper took place in Philadelphia in 1786 against a management plan to reduce printers' wages. But after succeeding in its aims to uphold existing wages, the union dissolved. Two New York attempts to organize printers around 1800 lasted for a few years in each case, as did several other false starts there and in other cities. Most efforts to organize centered on the control of wages and working conditions (including hours). Attempts to organize printers in multiple cities in the 1830s sputtered out in the face of firm publisher opposition and an economic downturn that made any job dear.

Only in 1848 did printers succeed in organizing in a lasting fashion, beginning in Boston, and create the National Typographers Union (NTU) in 1852. The NTU had 34 locals and some 3,500 members by 1860. It was one of only three unions (in any field) to survive the Civil War. By 1869, it had more than doubled in size (and changed the first word to International), one indicator of the expansion of newspapers across the country. Women were admitted as of 1870 (there had briefly been a separate union for them). Development of inexpensive stereotype plates in the 1870s marked one of the first "new" technologies that impacted printer employment and thus the role of their union. Introduction of the linotype in the late 1880s led to agreements on higher pay and shorter hours to allow the mechanization to continue. Operators of such devices usually became union members, and the ITU was one entity contributing to the American Federation of Labor on its formation in 1886.

While the ITU attempted to include other trades (even reporters), separate and more specialized unions began to develop by the late nineteenth century. Photoengravers and mailers organized in 1902. Contracts for an eight-hour workday were becoming common about the same time, though the 40-hour work week took until the 1930s to nail down. In the mid-1930s, the ITU was centrally involved in the creation of the umbrella Congress of Industrial Organizations.

In the early 1930s, pushed partly by Depression pressures, broadcasting became a new focus of union activity with both performer (and news personnel) and engineers organizing on the network and then station level. Actors Equity initially tried to organize the radio business, but gave way in 1937 to the new American Federation of Radio Artists (AFRA). News personnel and commentators were soon included among its members.

With the postwar rise of television, unions expanded their scope and membership to include that and related fields. AFRA, for example, merged with The Television Authority, the representative entity for television personnel, and formed AFTRA, which went on to engage in numerous jurisdictional battles with the Screen Actor's Guild over representation of television personnel. And political blacklisting afflicted several "above the line" unions including AFTRA, which nearly split over the issue. Additionally, some news personnel—notably Chet Huntley (who was in the late 1960s co-anchoring NBC's evening network newscast)—argued that journalists had no business organizing into unions and striking against employees.

Print Media Unions

By the early twenty-first century, there were but three surviving national newspaper unions, the result of considerable consolidation over the previous three decades. All three have been subsumed as parts of much larger unions with broader representational interests. Two of them serve the technical trades. Some markets—notably New York City—had additional separate local unions for different newspaper trades—such as printers, mailers, and newspaper delivery personnel. A massive strike by several unions against publishers of the nearly dozen New York dailies in the early 1960s led to the end of many of those newspapers—only three survive today.

Graphic Communications Conference of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters

The GCC (http://www.gciu.org/index.shtml) is the result of a 2005 merger of the formerly separate International Photo-Engravers Union (1904–64), which organized the half-tone photoengravers, the subsequent Lithographers and Photoengravers International Union (1964–72), and the Graphic Communications International Union (1983–2005). In the late twentieth century, new technical advances in printing, including offset lithography, screen printing, and (most recently) digital printing, greatly reduced the number of workers needed in newspaper composing rooms.

The many organizational changes that led to the GCC formation are an indicator of upheaval in newspaper graphics and printing. The wide-ranging council of some 60,000 members also includes magazine and book publishing personnel. An earlier merger brought the mailers (also once a part of the International Typographer's Union) into the Teamster fold as well.

The Newspaper Guild—Communication Workers of America

TNG (http://www.newsguild.org) grew out of a Depression-era struggle for recognition. There had been many attempts to organize news writers and reporters, many of whom had suffered low pay for decades. With new Depression pressure, Heywood Broun, a New York columnist, spearheaded the rise of what became the American Newspaper Guild in late 1933. The guild had its first newspaper contract the next year and initiated its first local strike. The guild had soon organized more than 60 newspapers. By 1937 it branched out to include other categories of newspaper employees, including those in advertising. Canadian and other members helped prompt dropping the "American" in the union title in the 1970s. By 1987 the guild had nearly 35,000 members, including reporters, editorial assistants, photographers, editors, paginators, editorial artists, correspondents, typographers, advertising sales and marketing people, information systems specialists, commercial artists, technicians, accountants, customer service reps, drivers, maintenance, mail room, pressroom, telephone operators, and circulation and distribution staff. The guild also includes independent translators and interpreters, nonprofit organization staff members, public relations staff, and technical workers. Members, including online writers and designers, work at news agencies, newspapers, magazines, labor information services, broadcast news outlets, public service organizations, and dot-com companies. In 1997 the guild merged with Communication Workers of America, becoming one sector of the larger union.

Printing, Publishing, and Media Workers Sector of the Communications Workers of America

PPMWS (http://www.cwa-ppmws.org) resulted from the 1986 CWA takeover of the declining International Typographers Union, the oldest newspaper union (indeed, the oldest American labor union in any field), and its 70,000 members. By the early twenty-first century, the sector represented women and men in a diverse range of occupations in daily newspapers, commercial printing and mailing operations, graphic design, specialty manufacturing, publishing, and distribution as well as employees of the U.S. Government Printing Office, the official federal government outlet.

Electronic Media Unions

Unions in the electronic media focus heavily on engineers and the technical trades that underpin broadcast and cable journalism. These organizations have seen less consolidation than those serving print journalism—only one has become part of a larger general organization. Only those unions having some impact on journalism are included here—there are several others (including both the Writers and Directors Guilds, and the Screen Actors Guild) that focus more on the entertainment side of the business. There is no broadcast journalism union per se.

American Federation of Television and Radio Artists

AFTRA (http://www.aftra.org/aftra/aftra.htm) began as the American Federation of Radio Artists in 1937. The union signed their first agreement with the NBC and CBS networks in mid-1938, representing "above the line" performers: actors, announcers, disc jockeys—and news personnel. Initial representation of television personnel fell to The Television Authority, a separate entity that merged into what then became AFTRA (adding television to the title) in 1952. The union called its first national strike in March 1967, and many well-known network television journalists disappeared from the air for 13 days. The union struck ad agencies for several days in 1978 in only its second national strike. AFTRA, though often in negotiations about a possible merger with the Screen Actors Guild, expanded to cover cable network employees in 1997. By the early 2000s, AFTRA represented some 70,000 people in broadcast, public, and cable television (news, sports, and weather; drama and comedy, soaps, talk and variety shows, documentaries, children's programming, reality and game shows); radio (news, commercials, hosted programs); sound recordings (CDs, singles, Broadway cast albums, audio books); "nonbroadcast" and industrial material as well as Internet and digital programming. (Generally speaking, those involved in entertainment television were members of the Screen Actors Guild.)

Broadcasting and Cable Television Workers Sector of the Communication Workers of America

CWA (http://www.nabetcwa.org) was created in 1994 when the National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians (NABET) merged into the CWA. The formation of the union began in 1934, when the Association of Technical Employees started representing employees at NBC's Red and Blue radio networks. The union became NABET in 1940. When the Blue network became ABC, NABET representation continued. The union organized members as part of the new Fox Network in the 1980s. In 1987, NABET suffered a five-month strike at NBC and lost some key bargaining ground. NABET tried a one-day strike over medical benefits at ABC—and suffered a long management lockout in 1998. Nationally, NABET represents over 10,000 workers employed in the electronic media.

International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Motion Picture Technicians, Artists and Allied Crafts

IATSE (http://www.iatse-intl.org/home.html), formed in 1893 to represent Broadway stage personnel, represents many technical workers at television stations and production houses. IATSE has had jurisdictional issues with both NABET and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) in the past—indeed, the battle over representing film production and exhibition workers continued well into the 1940s, with IATSE coming out on top. The union represents some 12,000 broadcasting technicians (including production personnel, makeup artists, set and scene designers, cameramen, sound personnel, and electricians), though less than 10 percent of television stations employ IATSE-represented personnel.

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers

IBEW (http://www.ibew.org) began in the 1890s to represent workers in the electrical industry. IBEW tried to organize motion picture projectionists in 1914, but lost out to IATSE. The two unions continued to battle over representing the growing motion picture technical trades in the early 1920s. IBEW began to organize radio station engineers in 1931 and soon represented those at the CBS radio network. By the 1960s, the IBEW included some 12,000 broadcasting employees, largely engineers and technicians.

The technical unions active in the electronic media appeared to be losing their dominance by the late 1990s even as more cable networks (and thus employment options) appeared. Equipment automation was the key issue (as it was in print unions), as far fewer people were needed to operate increasingly computer-controlled devices. But so was the growing trend of using part-time "contingency" workers hired only when needed. Furthermore, the newer cable networks were often not unionized. Local stations were also reducing technical staffers for many of the same reasons.

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See also Automation; Blacklisting; Diversity: Employment; Labor Journalism

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Latino News Media

Latino news—journalism that is purposefully and strategically created for U.S. residents of Latin American descent—offers a distinct worldview. Whether offered in Spanish, English, or bilingually, this journalism creates a world in which Latinos are virtually everywhere: as victims, witnesses, and perpetrators of crime; at all levels of government; in the professions; and in fields and factories. Like other national and regionally distributed U.S. journalism, its ownership is concentrated, and in most cases is not owned by Latinos. Many Spanish-language media carry Mexican-produced content, but most Latino-oriented news today is produced in the United States, with ongoing contributions from Latin America. Latino news weekly tabloids proliferate at the local level, especially throughout the southwestern United States, California, Florida, and urban centers like Chicago and New York.

This type of journalism has expanded as the U.S. Latino population has grown. Latinos are the largest

ethnic group in the United States, surpassing African Americans for the first time in 2002. They are the largest minority population in Los Angeles and New York and make up the majority populations of Miami and San Antonio. The growth of the Latino populations has been attributed equally to continuing immigration from Latin America, and a slightly higher than average birth rate.

About two-thirds of Latinos trace their origins to Mexico. Fidel Castro's 1960 revolution in Cuba spurred millions to immigrate to the United States. Puerto Ricans have been U.S. citizens since the 1898 U.S. military victory in the Puerto Rican campaign of the Spanish-American War. Their immigration to the U.S. mainland increased in the 1960s and has remained a constant flow since. The Latin American civil wars of the 1980s prompted yet other flows of immigrants to the United States from El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Guatemala. While these disparate Latino groups have distinct histories and U.S. settlement patterns, in media terms they share one key defining trait, the Spanish language.

Development

The first Latino news media were not newspapers, but an oral cultural form called *corridos*. These nineteenth-century topical ballads spread word of Mexican politics as well as the heroic exploits of men resisting U.S. law enforcement. The best known of these is the "Ballad of Gregorio Cortez." Before recordings, *corridos* were distributed by word of mouth and through community meeting places in Mexican American neighborhoods, or *barrios*.

After the United States annexed one-third of Mexican territory in 1848, dozens of Spanish language newspapers were created in the future United States. The largest number were concentrated in the southwestern region of the country, though Spanish-language newspapers were also established in New York City and in Florida in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Most of these publications exposed atrocities of the U.S. military and demanded public services from the U.S. government, all the while urging their readers to fight back against American mistreatment of Mexicans in the United States. Readership for Spanish-language newspapers continued to grow during the latter half of the nineteenth century, as civil and political unrest escalated in Mexico and people fled in larger and larger numbers to the United States. Ultimately, more than 1 million Mexicans fled to the United States to escape the tumult caused by the Mexican revolution.

The largest of the Latino newspapers of this period, Los Angeles's *El Heraldo de Mexico* (1916–20), ran headlines such as "Exploiters Beware! Mexicans Beware!" Owned by Cesar Marburg, it regularly ran advertisements from employers throughout the southwest who were seeking laborers. Other newspapers such as *Regeneración,* also of Los Angeles, were concerned with relating the ongoing Mexican Revolution to the lives of Mexicans in the United States. For instance, the editors of *Regeneración* drew parallels between the corruption of government officials in the United States and those in Mexico.

In contrast to the working class orientation of the Los Angeles immigrant newspapers, San Antonio's *La Prensa* (1913–57) called itself an *exile* newspaper. *La Prensa*'s ownership represented a different facet of Mexican immigration resulting from the Mexican revolution, that of the privileged and the educated. When Mexican-born Ignacio Lozano founded *La Prensa,* he also created *Editorial Lozano,* a book publishing company. The newspaper published poetry and serialized novels, as well as reporting on Mexican and U.S. government affairs. While its editorial stances shifted over time, remaining constant was *La Prensa*'s commitment to being a profitable Mexican-American enterprise. It folded in 1957, when editor and publisher Lozano noticed that immigration from Mexico to the United States had shifted westward.

Beginning in the 1920s, Lozano's *La Prensa* was in great demand in Los Angeles, as that city surpassed San Antonio as the U.S. city with the largest concentration of Mexicans. He founded *La Opinion* in Los Angeles in 1926. Within two years, it was turning a profit and was distributed in Texas, New Mexico, Oregon, Kansas, Arizona, Utah, and Illinois in addition to California. While the newspaper was critical of abuses of Mexicans in the United States, overall it gave little coverage to Mexican Americans, focusing instead on Mexican news.

Early U.S. Spanish-language radio, while dominated by live musical and drama performances, also contributed to the journalism of the 1920s,

1930s, and 1940s. Emblematic of this type of service was a radio program called "Los Madrugadores" (The Early Risers), which began broadcasting from KELW in Burbank, California, in 1927. It was hosted by Mexican musician and radio producer Pedro Gonzalez and mixed live performances with information about jobs, community services, and interviews with prominent public figures like the Mexican consul general in Los Angeles. Gonzalez's program was sponsored by Folgers's coffee as well as other general market advertisers. His response to the social and political events of the 1920s and 1930s transformed him into one of the best-known Mexican American political figures of his generation.

Following World War I, growing isolationist feelings and the onset of the Great Depression in 1929, the U.S. government deported tens of thousands of Mexican immigrants. Gonzalez's popular program advised his audience, many of whom were longtime U.S. residents, as well as U.S. citizens, of their rights. He was arrested in 1934 on trumped up rape charges brought by the Los Angeles Police Department and deported. Decades later he was exonerated, and returned to the United States to resume his radio career.

Spanish-language radio, and soon television, blossomed in the latter half of the twentieth century due to the commercial acumen of the Azcárraga family of Mexico. Emilio Azcárraga created a radio network for the growing Mexican American audience. These were enormously profitable enterprises because they had no production costs. Rather, the U.S. Spanish-language networks rebroadcast what was broadcast in Mexico on Azcárraga-owned networks. This included the rebroadcast of the news. Although these stations flouted the Communications Act of 1934, which bars "any alien or any representative of any alien" from holding a U.S. broadcast license, and the Federal Communications Commission prohibition on foreign ownership of U.S. broadcast stations, they were never prosecuted.

Contemporary Latino News

The (re)discovery of the Hispanic market in the final decades of the twentieth century laid the foundation for the proliferation of Latino journalism. Once the sheer size of the Hispanic market was recognized by advertisers and marketers as a profitable sector of the U.S. media economy, Latino-focused English, Spanish, and bilingual journalism blossomed. Crucially, this created a national audience for Latino news media. Previously, the Latino audience was seen as three significant but separate audiences: following immigration and settlement patterns, these included Puerto Rican audiences in the Northeast, Cubans and Cuban American audiences in Florida, and Mexicans and Mexican American audiences in the Southwest. While these national origin distinctions have not been completely erased, as is evidenced by local and regional Latino journalism, the differences have been muted as part of the purposeful commercial construction of a national Hispanic market. Contemporary Latino news is predicated on the notion of Latino panethnicity; that is, while key differences remain, the audiences for Latino news in, say, New York and Los Angeles, have more in common than not.

The publisher and CEO of Los Angeles's *La Opinion* in the early twenty-first century is Monica Lozano, the granddaughter of the newspaper's founder. As further illustration of the maturation of the Spanish-language newspaper industry, Lozano is also the creator of Impremedia, an eight-newspaper, nationally distributed Spanish-language newspaper chain. Impremedia publishes *El Diario* and *Hoy* in New York; *El Mensajero* in San Francisco; *La Raza* in Chicago; *La Prensa* in Orlando and Tampa; *Rumbo* newspapers in Houston, San Antonio, and the Rio Grande Valley in Texas; and *Vista,* a glossy bilingual Sunday newspaper insert. The company also owns *La Vibra,* a youth-oriented, bilingual newsprint magazine distributed in six markets. Impremedia describes itself as a "Spanish language newspaper and online news publisher." The newspapers are each locally edited and supported by local as well as national advertisers. The leading Spanish-language newspapers in their respective markets, they look like traditional English-language newspapers with national and international sections, as well as local news, sports, fashion/lifestyle, and classified sections. Impremedia newspapers have a collected audited circulation of half a million readers.

The content of this journalism closely tracks the interests of its audience of recent Latin American immigrants to the United States and bilingual Latinos. These media produce extensive coverage

of Latin American governments, politics, and economies. Sports news includes coverage of World Cup soccer matches as well as U.S. major league baseball stars, many of whom are Latin American. Similarly, entertainment and cultural news, such as that covering music and film, emphasizes Spanish-language productions. This focus, however, does not exclude coverage of Hollywood cinema, which is after all a global industry.

Univision is the largest U.S. Spanish-language television network, and the parent company of the cable television Telefutura and Galavision networks. Univision owns and operates 62 television stations. In addition, it owns and operates 73 radio stations, most of which carry news and public affairs programs. *Noticias Univision* (Univision News) both the local and national programs, are regularly the highest rated in Los Angeles, San Antonio, and Miami, surpassing the English-language broadcasts in their respective cities, as measured by AC Nielsen. Telemundo, the second largest U.S. Spanish-language television network with some 20 stations, also produces local and national newscasts, talk shows, and entertainment news programs.

The format of U.S. Spanish-language television news is much like that of the general market. Reporters stand in front of iconic government buildings like the White House, a state capitol, or local city hall narrating brief sound bites of government officials. Of course, the sound bites are voiced over in Spanish. Language isn't the only difference between this journalism and that of the general market. Like their print counterparts, U.S. Spanish-language broadcast journalists offer their audiences a distinct world view and mapping of the United States.

While the U.S. general market embraces a global East-West axis, with Europe at one pole, and Asia at the other, U.S. Spanish-language journalists have a North-South orientation, with the United States at the north and Central and South America at the southern poles. Univision, for instance, has news bureaus in Mexico City and Lima, as well as Washington, D.C., and New York. International news is oriented to countries of origin of the recent immigrant audience, and the family heritage of those Latinos who are third- and fourth-generation Americans. A comparative content analysis of ABC's *World News Tonight* and *Noticiero Univision* shows that while ABC typically allots about 20 percent of its airtime to foreign news, about half of Univision's nightly newscast concerns events occurring outside the United States.

Acculturated Latinos make up a smaller part of the Hispanic market, perhaps 30 percent; they consume Latino news in English and bilingually. While smaller in number, this niche market within a niche market has more disposable income and is therefore attractive for advertisers. English-language news media targeting the Latino audience include *Latina, Hispanic,* and *Hispanic Business*. Another example is *Ciudad,* a Los Angeles glossy magazine whose target audience is young Latinos with an annual income of at least $75,000. The use of English in these magazines is proxy for economic success and stability. While Spanish-language Latino journalism typically carries advertising for Chevrolet cars and salsa, English-language Latino magazines have ads for automobiles such as the Hummer 2 and BMW and Chivas scotch. The articles range from celebrity profiles to advice on how to get a promotion, or in the case of *Latina,* how to make low-fat enchiladas.

Latino Objectivity

The vast majority of U.S. Latino journalists, whether they are employed by English, Spanish, or bilingual firms, were educated in U.S. universities and journalism schools. While they see their work as a public service to Latino communities, they are also adamant that they are not advocacy journalists but traditional U.S. journalists like any other. What distinguishes Latino news from the general market, they say, is that Latino journalism includes Latinos and Latin America in its worldview. The people of east Los Angeles or the Pilsner section of Chicago, for example, as well as Mexico City and Havana, are part of this media world. Therefore, what happens in those areas (rarely covered in general market news) is of special importance.

For example, while the English-language news networks such as CNN rarely cover Latin American news other than natural disasters and maintain only stringer reporters south of the Rio Grande, Univision has news bureaus in Mexico City and Bogota. Similarly, when doing "vox" or "man-on-the-street" interviews, *El Diario-La Prensa* reporters seek out

residents of predominantly Latino New York City neighborhoods, not only for their ability to speak the Spanish language but also because of their particular perspectives on, for example, a bill pending in city hall. Latino journalists absorb the objectivity ideal into their public service orientation.

The future of Latino news will be shaped by two interacting social dynamics: continuing large-scale immigration to the United States from Latin America and the integration—or, alternatively, the isolation—of many Latinos from mainstream U.S. society. Put another way, Latino news is specialized journalism produced for a particular segment of U.S. society, one that is regularly overlooked by much of general market, English-language journalism. As long as immigration and news media isolation continue, the demand and viability of Latino journalism will continue.

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See also Advocacy Press; Alternative Press; Cable News; Central America and the Caribbean; Diversity; Ethnic Minority Networks; Immigration, Coverage of

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LAYOUT

Layout includes the arrangement of text and illustrations on a page, whether editorial content or advertisements. Effective layout is like a map, guiding readers through content and graphics to make stories visually clear to follow and assist readers in finding what he or she is looking for. After articles are written and edited, and necessary photographs prepared, layout is what brings all of these elements together on a page. All print publications utilize layouts in the final steps of the production process. Since the advent of movable type, designers have been challenged by the need to integrate typography and imagery into a visual product that will attract readers. Layout differs from medium to medium based on the purpose of the publication. Newspaper layout is designed to communicate visually and easily the important and current news of the day, while magazine layout, particularly on its cover, is designed to attract readers to open its magazines and subscribe to or purchase them.

Layout is expected to vary from page to page in order to give the print publication variety and diverse visual interest on each page. Graphic designers, sometimes referred to as "information managers," are typically responsible for the layout and design of pages in print publications. It is important for graphic designers and other individuals who work with layout to understand the basics of and current trends in print publications' page design. Trends tend to be driven by advancements in technology, such as laser systems for printing plates and video display terminals for layout of news.

Layout must be carefully planned. Graphic designers and art directors must first visualize the space, thinking through key elements of layout. One of these key components is proportion, which refers to the relationship of one element on a page—a block of text, a piece of art—to another or of one element to the whole. Balance is another

fundamental element of layout. Balance is achieved when the elements are in equilibrium.

Based on an items' placement on the page, its information value can be assessed. For instance, information has differing value based on whether it is placed on the right, left, or in the center of the page, as well as if it is in the upper or lower portion of the page. Therefore, it is important to realize that the different elements of layout attract the readers' attention to differing degrees through myriad means, including size, color, sharpness, placement in the foreground or background, and so on.

Development

Layout has been said to reflect the culture and society in which it is produced. As cultural shifts occur, layout and page design shift as well to accommodate the current needs of readers. One thing that always stays consistent is the public's thirst for knowledge, and newspapers, magazines, and media help fulfill that need.

The first newspaper in the American colonies was *Publick Occurrences Both Forreign and Domestick,* founded by Benjamin Harris in 1690. The colonial government cancelled it after just one issue. The first regularly published newspaper, *The Boston News-Letter,* was established by John Campbell in 1704. By 1765, the colonies had more than 30 newspapers.

Newspapers continued to develop rapidly during the 1800s—the United States had nearly 1,000 papers by 1830. In 1833, Benjamin Day started the *New York Sun,* the first penny newspaper. With a surplus of papers, the competition for readership was fierce. To stay competitive, newspapers tried to outdo each other with sensational reports of crimes, scandals, and disasters—filling the front pages with countless bold headlines and images. Two of the most sensational and successful newspapers late in the nineteenth century were William Randolph Hearst's *Journal* and Joseph Pulitzer's *World*. The number of newspapers peaked in 1909, with approximately 2,600 daily newspapers and about 14,000 weekly papers.

Early broadsheets were jammed with text-filled columns in small fonts; numerous large, bold headlines; and black-and-white illustrations. Newspapers were printed on inexpensive, off-white paper. Since the 1980s, the newspaper industry has largely moved away from lower-quality letterpress printing to higher-quality, four-color process, offset printing.

In the 1920s and 1930s, newspapers in the United States developed more modern designs than those of the previous century, transitioning from overcrowded pages to a more streamlined, structured look. Although the world was historically struggling through turbulent times due to such events as World War I and the Great Depression, a new systematic organization of the layout in American newspapers was introduced that presented readers with a sense of rational, accessible information and knowledge. Rather than overcrowded front pages packed with one sensational news story after another, newspapers began to streamline their look with fewer items on the front pages and sections to separate news into categories, such as business, lifestyle, and real estate, making its pages easier to navigate and information more readily accessible. Horizontal layouts made stories wider rather than taller. New space in newspapers came from streamlined type and upper- and lowercase headlines, whereas headlines in the nineteenth century were typically all in uppercase.

The modernization of newspapers led to significant changes in the appearance, presentation, and organization of the news. Major changes to modern layout include fewer columns, prominent illustrations, and simplified typography. To explain, primitive newspapers used myriad typefaces, or fonts, in headlines, whereas more modern newspapers use consistent typographies throughout for an easy-to-follow, streamlined look. The size and scale of images changed with the times. When first introduced, images such as photos, graphics, and maps, were a novelty and were prominently featured, often in entire-page spreads. The need for newspapers to outdo one another led them to print bigger, bolder images. However, the shift away from sensationalism and the turn toward modernization led to an increase in the number of images and a decrease in their size or scale. What made this change possible was the accessibility of and ease of reproducing images, particularly photographs. An increase in the number of photographers and advancements in photo equipment, such as digital photography, made more pictures available, easy to use, and drove costs down.

Advancements in technology have changed the look and feel of newspapers. One major advancement was in color technology that allows printing to be done in full color. This added a new dynamic to newspapers, as images could now tell a story as fully and as vibrantly as text. One popular newspaper founded in 1982 took color technology to new heights. *USA Today* became the country's most colorful newspaper, prominently featuring graphics such as large diagrams, charts, and photographs. It contrasted other relatively colorless newspapers, including *The Wall Street Journal* and *The New York Times*. *USA Today* deviates from the traditional newspaper layout in other ways as well, including using the left-hand area of each section as reefers (brief front-page synopses of stories that appear inside the paper) and employing a unique font, Gulliver, for its headlines and stories.

Newspapers

There are two formats of modern newspapers: broadsheet and tabloid. Broadsheet is the largest and most popular of the various newspaper formats, characterized by long vertical pages typically 22 inches in length and a foot or more wide. Full broadsheets are a single sheet of paper folded vertically to form four pages, or a spread, and are then folded horizontally down the center. The horizontal fold is necessary to accommodate display stands. Broadsheets must go up or down in increments of two, four, or eight pages to be published, requiring more extensive layout across broadsheets than is required in tabloids. Examples of United States newspapers that retain this format are *The Wall Street Journal* and *The New York Times*. Half broadsheets form two pages and lack a vertical fold; however, they are still folded horizontally in the center and are usually inserted within full broadsheets. The half broadsheet is usually an inside page or an advertiser's circular inserted into a newspaper. In uncommon instances, an entire newspaper, such as college publications, can be a two-page (front and back) half broadsheet.

The tabloid is a magazine-like format with a smaller spread, with typical dimension of 17 inches by 11 inches. The paper folds vertically like a book, but the paper size does not accommodate or require a horizontal fold as in the broadsheet format. The tabloid differs from a broadsheet in its front page philosophy (one feature story encompassing the entire page, use of teasers or synopses of stories rather than placement of entire copy, etc.); sectionalizing (white space and typography are used to signal a change in section); spreads (facing pages can be treated as a single unit and the gutter can be used on the spread in the middle of a section or between pages); sizing (size of photographs relative to the dimension of the overall publication, meaning photos in tabloids are larger relative to the size of the paper than those of broadsheets); typography (the display type is different because there tend to be fewer headlines per page than in a broadsheet by virtue of the smaller page size); and its limited use of "jumps," or the continuation of a story on another page (writing is typically tighter in tabloids to avoid the necessity of "jumping").

The tabloid format is popular in the United Kingdom, yet there are numerous American newspapers that use this format as well, including the *Boston Herald* and the *Chicago Sun-Times*. Tabloids are an increasingly popular format, as the size is more convenient for readers to handle and content is easier for editors to spread throughout the entire issue compared to broadsheets, which require many stories on various subjects to be placed on a single page.

There are certain consistencies in the layout of modern newspapers. For instance, in a daily newspaper, the reader will typically find the name of the publication, the date, and the page number at the top of each page, serving as a common header. Other consistencies include the use of common typography throughout rather than varied fonts that were once intended to indicate significance or catch readers' attention. Similarly, headlines in modern newspapers highlight the important points of the story to follow rather than presenting an outline of the story, as they would in primitive newspapers. Headlines also vary based on the weight or significance that editors want to give to a story. For instance, many newspapers use a bolder, larger head or different typeface on the lead story. Another way to make headlines stand out is to vary the density of the color. A bold, black headline will draw the eye more quickly than a simple gray one.

The most popular form of newspaper layout is the broadsheet, as illustrated in this image, in which the material is printed in columns on long sheets of paper. When the sheets are assembled, the newspapers are then folded horizontally for easy delivery and selling at newsstands. The tabloid format, by contrast, is narrower and shorter, allowing for the publication to open much the way a magazine does.

Source: istockphoto/narvikk.

The front page is valuable real estate—an exclusive neighborhood in a highly desirable location, and as such, modern American newspapers present the most significant news and features of the day on this page. Therefore, fewer items occupy more space, creating a hierarchy of importance that highlights the significant news of the day. However, full articles rarely appear complete on the front pages—they will reference a jump page. Successive pages typically contain full articles in one place, though jump pages can be utilized throughout the publication. For example, the *USA Today* has color-coordinated sections that organize its stories into categories such as News, Money, Sports, and Life. When their stories move onto jump pages, they typically follow on the next page within the same section.

Magazines

Unlike most newspapers, many magazines are printed in color on glossy paper. The pages are significantly smaller than the pages of a newspaper, which lead to different challenges in layout. Magazines differ from newspapers in form—for instance, they have covers and are bound by a spine—and content—they typically have less concern with daily, rapidly changing events than do newspapers. Typically printed weekly or monthly, magazines have a longer shelf-life than newspapers, and some people preserve them as they would a book, leaving them on the shelves for months or even years.

The earliest magazines developed from newspapers or from bookseller catalogs, which first

appeared in France in the 1600s. Pamphlets published in regular intervals appeared in America in the 1700s. The first magazine published in America, *American Magazine* or *A Monthly View,* was published in 1741. Today, the United States has more magazines than any other country, with more than 16,000 titles. Two of the most prominent American magazines, *The New Yorker* and *Time,* were started in the 1920s. *The New Yorker*'s signature display typeface, used for its nameplate and headlines and the masthead above *The Talk of the Town* section, is Irvin, named after Rea Irvin, the publication's creator, designer, and illustrator. *The New Yorker* is unique from other American magazines in its inclusion of short stories, literary reviews, and single-panel cartoons featured throughout the pages of each issue. These unusual elements present unique challenges to the design and layout of the publication. *Time* was the first weekly news magazine in the United States. Historically, the magazine's cover features a single person and is famous for its single red border framing the cover. In 2007, *Time* received a style overhaul. Among other changes, the magazine reduced the red cover border to promote featured stories, enlarged column titles, reduced the amount of featured stories, increased white space around articles, and accompanied opinion pieces with photographs of the writers. This shows that even the most classic, successful magazines go through redesigns to modify layouts and make their pages more current and appealing.

Some magazines, particularly large newsstand titles, redesign every three or four years. The Internet has raised the overall level of visual literacy and created an expectation for freshness and variety among readers. *Wired,* a full-color monthly American magazine that reports on technology and how it impacts culture, the economy, and politics, is an example of a modern magazine that has an innovative approach to layout—including use of fluorescent and metallic inks. Each department (or section of the magazine) in *Wired* has a logo that has the same typography to maintain consistency throughout the publication, but the logos vary in color to easily guide readers to different sections of the magazine. Each page within the publication differs in layout. Page dimension is determined first, followed by type areas (or how much space is used by the type, or margins), columns, and the depth of the column grids (total depth of the page divided up horizontally). These innovations in layout and design make *Wired* a unique magazine with a fresh approach to page presentation.

Implications and Issues

For readers, layout can tangibly affect their attention to and comprehension of the information presented. As the arrangement of articles and images naturally draws the eye to certain parts of the page over others, or asserts "visual power," it gives a certain amount of power or weight to layout decisions. Studies have shown that visual cues signaled by design and layout, such as prominent photos or graphics (diagrams, maps, charts, graphs, tables, or directories), are what guide readers' attention processes.

Redesign of newspapers and magazines continually brings new, creative ideas that change and advance layouts, driving change in the overall aesthetic of publications. Controversy arises as graphic designers push to increase the size and/or quantity of pictures within a newspaper for aesthetic reasons. In order to make space for these changes other elements must go. Therefore, the question becomes: if artists hold control of the overall design, then what will happen to the content? There needs to be a balance between editorial concerns and those of the art director and designers.

As many publications migrate to the web to supplement or supplant their printed versions, more questions are arise about how layouts will evolve and adapt the values of the print medium to the more dynamic and changeable online world. Convergence to online technology allows newspapers and magazines to be more interactive, allowing readers to easily link to other articles, post comments on message boards, or send an e-mail to an article's author. Moreover, online versions of print publications offer alternative sources of revenue and additional advertising dollars.

Conclusion

Layout—the spatial arrangement of texts, pictures, and other graphic elements—is a critical component of the publication process and of the transmission of messages to an audience. At its best, layout can bolster the written content and arrange it in a way that is visually appealing, accessible, and informative to its audiences. As the media

landscape changes, layout continues to evolve to fit the needs of the society and culture that utilizes it.

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See also Automation; Computers in Journalism; Digital Photography; Graphics; Magazine Design; Newspaper Design; Photography; Type and Typography

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Leaks

See Secrecy and Leaks

Legal Journalism

See Crime and the Courts; Supreme Court and Journalism

Letters to the Editor

Dating to colonial times, letters to American newspaper editors have given ordinary citizens a way to publicly express their views on issues of the day—and to offer opinions on how those issues are covered. Published letters from readers enliven and personalize the news; they are among the most-read items in newspapers. Broadcasters, too, may air letters that illustrate both the relevance of their programs and the public spiritedness of their audiences. Skilled and dedicated letter writers are so valued that some editors regularly host them at get-togethers to celebrate their contributions to public debate.

Although it may be tempting for political leaders to consider letters to the editor a rough gauge of public opinion, letters fall well short of representing any scientific measure of what a community is thinking. Some people simply are more inclined and able than others to voice their opinions to the news media, and editors may be highly subjective in choosing which letters to run. On controversial issues, for instance, audiences cannot know whether a set of published letters reflects a cross section of opinions received, or if letters were printed in any representative proportion to the views expressed. Even so, letters to the editor link the past and present in offering an enduring outlet for the first-hand expression of personal sentiments on public matters. Arguably a newspaper's letters page comes closer to providing a broad-based community forum for the civil exchange of ideas than any other readily available tool of democracy.

Letters and Their Writers

Who writes letters to the editor? Who does not? What do they illustrate about the thinking of citizens? These and other questions concern researchers who consider letters to the editor a window offering a unique view of public life. Unlike opinion polls, which ask specific questions of sample populations, letters to the editor express what individuals think is important in their own words. Editors of small newspapers may run nearly all the letters they receive. But larger outlets, including national news magazines, often must be highly selective in choosing what to use. How are letters

picked? How heavily are they edited? Are potentially offensive comments removed or published anyway? Journalistic websites such as poynter .org, run by the Poynter Institute, and trade publications such as *Masthead,* the journal of the National Conference of Editorial Writers, suggest that editors who receive and relay letters wrestle with these questions in the spirit of fostering a marketplace of ideas and civic engagement.

People who write letters to the editor tend to be older, better educated and wealthier than those who do not. People disgruntled over something are more likely to write than those who are satisfied. The views of letter-writers may be more strongly held and more extreme than those of the population as a whole. Letter-writers also may be people who, simply put, feel compelled to take some civic action. Roderick P. Hart of the University of Texas finds that people who write to editors are more likely to demonstrate what he calls "political irrepressibility." For instance, he found, letter-writers to newspapers in medium-size communities were more likely than nonwriters to offer unsolicited comments to the researchers who surveyed them, to donate to political causes, and to volunteer for political campaigns. Letter-writers also are more likely than nonwriters to be white males. Most newspapers at least since the mid-1990s have required published letters to include the real names of the authors. Some critics believe this may inhibit some women and members of minority groups from submitting letters, for fear they could be harassed by others in their communities. Political parties and other ideological beliefs do not seem to make much difference in who writes to editors.

Because mainstream journalism idealizes giving both sides of a story, editors may run letters critical of their organizations' news coverage as a matter of fairness. Other letters, however, may be published because they are concisely argued, well-written, interesting, and concern topics that are in the forefront of the local news. Rejected letters may make personal attacks that risk libel, come from outside a media outlet's circulation area, or fail to include identifying information about the author. Karin Wahl-Jorgensen of Cardiff University found that impassioned letters that convey personal stories may carry greater weight with editors than professionally written missives that advocate positions on campaigns or issues.

Letters typically are edited for length to allow space for as many letters as possible; most published letters are less than 250 words. Deciding whether a potentially offensive letter should be selected or discarded, however, can be touchy. John McClelland reports in *Masthead* that some editors will not publish bigoted letters, but others will. Many make decisions on a case-by-case basis, believing it can be valuable to relay what others are saying even if their views are disturbing.

Published letters do offer enduring and meaningful glimpses into what was said in bygone eras. Brian Thornton of Northern Illinois University has tracked the sentiments expressed in thousands of letters to the editor regarding historic events and American social changes. Although the 1950s are remembered as a tranquil time in American culture, for instance, he found that many letters to magazine editors in 1952 reflected a "simmering rage" against McCarthyism, racial inequality, and the demeaning treatment of women. Because these sentiments were expressed by letter-writers in their own words, of their own volition, they offered insights into the era that opinion polls missed.

Given that letters may be heavily edited, they perhaps don't always accurately convey the precise sentiments of their authors. Karin Raeymaeckers of Belgium's Ghent University sent 101 letters on news-related topics to Flemish newspapers, which published about 25 percent of them. Editing sometimes changed the nuance and meaning of published letters, she discovered. Words or sentences were cut even from letters that originally were very short, making them seem more radical than intended. Sometimes arguments were exaggerated by editing. Raeymaeckers suggests that more before-and-after research is needed and believes researchers should have access to the unpublished letters that editors receive to learn more about unheard opinions.

Contemporary Correspondence

In the early twenty-first century, readers typically e-mail their views to editors, rather than "snail mailing" missives via postal service as in earlier times. Online letters offer newsrooms a stream of readily formatted material, typically increasing both the volume of correspondence and the ease

with which edits can be made and details clarified with authors.

A downside of online correspondence is that mass-produced messages can be sent in sweeping Internet crusades, sometimes orchestrated by campaign websites, to multiple news outlets under the guise of individual letters. Submitting identical petitions to government that are signed by multiple authors may be a staple of democratic representation, but letters to the editor are expected to be original, individual, and authentic. Printing identical letters from different signers in different newspapers has become a professional embarrassment that the industry works to thwart, notably through a listserve sponsored by the National Conference of Editorial Writers.

Conclusion

Individual voices in letters to the editor, and the role of the letters themselves, have proved timeless since the country's earliest days. Published letters offer a forum for the rational debate that democratic theorists consider a hallmark of self-governance. They give voice to a news organization's readers. They enable an audience to criticize its news sources. They confirm that public issues, news stories, and media coverage are worthy of considered discussion and debate. Perhaps most importantly, they enhance the rhetorical power of ordinary citizens. Even after the voices of letter-writers have been stilled with the passage of time, long-ago views can be reread in news archives to ascertain how everyday people perceived the issues that they believed mattered.

Stamped envelopes and handwritten letters to newspaper editors have given way to e-mailed correspondence and website postings. Readers can leave comments on media blogs under the near-anonymity of their online screen names, a far cry from the real names required on the opinions printed on letters pages. Absent the gatekeepers who determine what is fit to print, postings on news sites may appear in raw form, perhaps artless, error-ridden, or potentially offensive. Published letters may be more civil than posted discourse, but some might argue that posted discourse is inherently more democratic than edited opinion. Media gatekeepers who screen letters for publication may enhance the quality of public debate. But perhaps they detract from its meaning. Like the topics of the letters themselves, these issues merit pondering as the Internet age advances.

Whether conveyed by pen, typewriter, or text messaging, then, the views of readers hold a firmly established place in American journalism's quest to help ensure an informed and engaged democracy. A free press is a cornerstone of American self-governance, and the words of ordinary citizens help keep it that way.

Rebecca LaVally

See also Audience; Citizen Journalism; Criticism and Critics; Discussion Boards; Editing, Online and Digital; Internet Impact on Media; Plagiarism; Free Expression, History of

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LIBEL

Defamatory statements are those which harm an individual's reputation in the eyes of the community. The law distinguishes between *slander* (spoken defamation) and *libel* (written or broadcast defamation). Libel law attempts to balance the interests of journalists and others with the rights of individuals and organizations to protect themselves against false and injurious attacks. American libel law has changed significantly since the 1960s, offering greater freedom to journalists to criticize public figures. At the same time, libel law has also become more complex, creating ongoing uncertainty about when journalists are on safe ground. Libel lawsuits are still the most common legal complaints filed against the news media. Defense against these can be time-consuming and costly; suits occasionally result in large monetary damage awards and can be abused by the powerful to divert attention from their own wrongdoing and muzzle their critics. Despite these problems, attempts to reform libel law have rarely succeeded, in part because of opposition from news organizations.

Development

Greek myths, the Bible, Shakespeare's plays, and other classic texts are filled with stories of individuals seeking to avenge their honor by violent means. The law of defamation arose in part to help individuals more calmly resolve conflicts provoked by insult to one's reputation. American libel law emerged from English Common Law, a set of customs that developed over centuries. Seditious libel concerns criticism of government or its officials.

Common Law prohibited strong criticism of government and the laws. This type of libel law has been slowly weakened, but not entirely discarded. In sixteenth-century England, the written word was thought to pose a greater threat than speech because pamphlets and newspapers could reach farther and endure longer than conversation. Therefore, English printers had to obtain licenses from the government and faced prosecution for criticism of that government. The United States inherited this tradition. Although the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, adopted in 1791, states that "Congress shall make no law abridging freedom of speech or of the press," the extent of journalists' right to criticize the government remained unclear. Just seven years later, amidst partisan rivalries between President John Adams' Federalist Party and Thomas Jefferson's Republican Party, the Federalist-dominated Congress passed a Sedition Act, which banned false and malicious statements against the state as well as calls to resist the laws. The act aimed in part to silence newspapers associated with Jefferson's party, which had criticized Adams and the Federalists. The law expired three years later, and Jefferson, then President, pardoned those who were convicted under it.

However, laws against seditious libel have been revived several times. In 1918 (during World War I) and 1940 (before American entry into World War II), Congress passed laws that limited criticism of government. Not until 1969, in *Brandenburg v. Ohio,* did the Supreme Court significantly restrict prosecutions for seditious libel to statements that aim to spark immediate violence against the government. The court noted that advocating the use of force against the state or breaking its laws could not be punished, "except where such advocacy is directed to inciting or producing imminent lawless action and is likely to incite or produce such actions." Yet some critics of the USA Patriot Act—an antiterrorism law passed after the attacks of September 11, 2001—saw a weakening of these free speech protections in the act's ban on any "attempt to intimidate or coerce a civilian population" or alter "the policy of the government by intimidation or coercion." Given the history of increased restrictions on speech during wartime, it is unlikely that prosecutions for seditious libel will entirely disappear in the future.

Libel is mainly a matter of civil law, in which private individuals or organizations sue for damage to their reputations, rather than criminal law, in which government prosecutes attacks on public order and well-being. Libel is also an example of tort law, which governs offenses against persons or property that do not involve contracts. For most American history, states almost entirely controlled defamation law. Important differences among state laws remain, but the Supreme Court has stepped in to standardize important elements of libel law across the country beginning with its

groundbreaking decision in 1964 in *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan*. In it, the Court determined that state laws must balance the interests in protecting individual reputations with the U.S. Constitution's free speech protections for public (or media) discussion. More particularly, media have a right to criticize how public officials conduct their official functions. As a result of this and later decisions, it has become very difficult for a public figure to successfully bring a libel case as they must prove that the media acted with "actual malice" in making derogatory remarks. This has created greater protections for the press reporting about individuals in public (government, business, entertainment) life.

Product disparagement, or trade libel, has become more important to news media. Trade libel involves comments questioning the reputation of a product rather than the individual or organization responsible for producing or selling it. In the 1990s, many states passed laws to enable banks, insurers, and food producers to defend against attacks on the quality of their products or services. Many of these laws were inspired by a 1989 story by the CBS news magazine *60 Minutes* that suggested Washington state apples were unsafe because they were treated with a chemical suspected of increasing the risk of cancer. Apple sales plunged briefly after the story aired, prompting farmers to sue CBS for $100 million in lost revenues. Similarly, in 1998 Texas cattle ranchers sued talk show host Oprah Winfrey when beef sales declined after she aired a segment in which a guest alleged that many U.S. cows were infected with mad cow disease and Winfrey responded that she planned to stop eating hamburgers. Neither the apple growers nor the beef ranchers succeeded in court because they could not prove the statements about their products were false. Product disparagement remains an area of unsettled law. Yet the high costs of these trials and potential for plaintiffs to win enormous damages have made some news organizations more cautious about criticizing the quality and safety of products.

Elements of Libel

To bring a successful libel lawsuit against a news organization, five elements must be proved by the plaintiff (one who files a suit against a defendant).

Publication

To prove that a libelous statement has been published, plaintiffs must show that at least one person besides the speaker and the plaintiff received the communication. This is fairly straightforward in cases involving news media, where it is presumed that anything in a newspaper, broadcast, or posted to the Internet has been seen by others. Both news stories and editorials can be sources of libel. In some circumstances, news organizations can be held responsible for republishing defamatory comments. Journalists are not protected simply by attributing a libelous statement to a source—if the reporter decides to include it, he or she can be held to account. News organizations can also be held liable for material supplied by an outside speaker, such as an opinion piece, letter to the editor, advertisement, blog posting, or comments made on television or radio. Even internal communications, such as company newsletters, can trigger a lawsuit.

With some exceptions, almost anyone who is involved in publishing an alleged libel may be sued, including reporters, editors, and the news organization itself. However, vendors who merely distribute copies—such as newsstands, bookstores, and libraries—are not responsible unless it can be shown that they had reason to know that they were disseminating libelous material. Similarly, Internet service providers (ISPs), such as America Online, are considered vendors of material that others post to their systems (e-mails, chat room comments, news articles, and the like), and are thus not responsible for transmitting defamation unless they do so knowingly. Because the Internet reaches beyond national borders, however, it is unclear whether U.S.-based ISPs can be sued for defamation in other countries where laws do not protect online providers as fully as in the United States.

Indeed, the increasing reach of mass media means that publication can occur across a wide range of legal jurisdictions. A plaintiff may sue in any state in which the potential libel was circulated, even if the plaintiff does not live there. Publication of stories on the Internet has subjected U.S.-based news organizations to suits in other countries where plaintiffs lived or had personal or business associates. Significant differences in libel law among states and countries allows some plaintiffs to "shop

for venues," filing a suit in a jurisdiction where law is most favorable to complainants.

Identification

Plaintiffs must also show that a libelous statement is indeed about the plaintiff. To win damages, plaintiffs need to demonstrate that a significant number of people recognize the defamatory statement as being about the plaintiff. Although the exact number of people who can identify the plaintiff from the remarks at issue is unclear, it must be more than one or two persons to show that one's reputation has been damaged in the community.

Identification does not occur only when a plaintiff is named directly in a news story. Defamatory material about a person with a similar name as the plaintiff's that creates the impression that a story is about the plaintiff may count. So might an image of the plaintiff, even if it is not accompanied by a caption naming him or her. Describing a person by their job title, such as "the city dog-catcher," is often enough. Even providing enough clues to a person's identity to allow a large number of the person's associates to identify him or her may be sufficient. For example, a story that falsely alleged that police were seeking a rape suspect described as a "middle-aged white male driving a white Dodge van with a 'Question Authority' sticker on the rear bumper" could constitute identification if the article led a man's family, neighbors, and friends to see him as the suspect. The courts have found that members of small groups may sue when the group is defamed even if its individual members are not named. Thus, if a journalist falsely claimed that "the city council has been taking bribes," each member of the council may be able to bring a libel complaint.

Defamation

Libel plaintiffs must also demonstrate that the material at issue disparages their reputations. Some statements, called libel per se, are clearly defamatory on their face, such as claims that a person is a "drunkard" or a "liar." Other claims, called libel *per quod,* are only damaging if the reader can connect them with additional information in a way that harms reputation. For example, mistakenly reporting that a famous athlete was seen on "a date" with a movie star can be considered libelous if it is widely known that the athlete is married to someone else. Courts assess whether the statements at hand would diminish the complainant's reputation in the eyes of reasonable people in their community. Changes in social values and the meaning of words are taken into account in determining whether material is defamatory. Thus, a claim that a woman wore a "short skirt, red lipstick, and a tight shirt with the words 'Hot Stuff' on the chest," which might have been considered an attack on her sexual modesty a century ago, might not be considered defamatory by today's fashion standards.

The kinds of statements that most commonly provoke libel suits involve accusations about criminal activity, sexual behavior or victimization, honesty, financial condition, health (including drug or alcohol addiction), business dealings, and professional competence.

Falsity

Libel plaintiffs who are public figures must prove that a statement about them is false, while private figures do not have to prove falsity unless the claim is about a matter of public concern. Public figures include those who have willingly thrust themselves into the public arena, such as elected officials, celebrities, leaders of campaigns to affect public policy or behavior, and highly visible leaders of major institutions (businesses, religious organizations, and so on). Because public figures may enjoy power, fame, and more access to the media to respond to allegations, they must meet higher standards of proof in libel suits. Private figures need only prove that a statement about them is false when it touches on an issue important to the public, although the courts have not defined such matters clearly. In cases involving reports on private matters of a private plaintiff, the defendant bears the burden of proving that the claim is true.

Not every word of the disputed report must be shown to be true or false, only the gist of the report that concerns potentially defamatory material. However, a story that contains no false claims still may be libelous if it creates a false view of the plaintiff by omitting key facts. For example, a story that stated that a wife "attacked her husband with

a hammer and he died six weeks later in the hospital," may be libelous if the husband in fact died of a heart attack not related to his encounter with his wife because the report falsely suggests that the wife was responsible for her husband's death.

Fault

All plaintiffs must prove that the defendant was at fault in publishing a libel, although the standards for doing so differ dramatically depending on who sues. Private figures must prove that the defendant was negligent, failing to exercise reasonable care. Public figures must meet a higher standard, showing that defendants acted with "actual malice," which means either publishing a statement despite knowing that it was false or exhibiting reckless disregard for the truth.

Negligence arises from how a reporter prepares a story. The overarching question is whether a journalist made a reasonable and competent effort to establish the truth or falsity of the report. Common causes of negligence include relying on untrustworthy sources, failing to consult obviously relevant sources (such as the subject of the disparaging story), ignoring or grossly misinterpreting evidence that would challenge the libelous statement, and careless editing (dramatic alteration of the meaning of quotes from sources, misattribution of quotes, misidentifying the subjects of photos, and so on).

Actual malice may be proved in either of two ways. Plaintiffs may demonstrate that journalists knew a claim was false but published it anyway. However, the Supreme Court has ruled that altering a source's quotes does not necessarily count, "unless the alteration results in a material change in the meaning conveyed by the statement." Plaintiffs may also show that journalists showed reckless disregard for the truth. The Supreme Court has ruled that proving such disregard involves establishing that journalists had "a high degree of awareness of probable falsity" of a claim (*New York Times Co. v. Sullivan*), or that "the defendant in fact entertained serious doubts as to the truth of his publication" (*St. Amant v. Thompson*). Courts sometimes use a three-part test devised by Supreme Court Justice John Harlan in his opinion on two 1967 cases (*Curtis Publishing Company v. Butts* and *Associated Press v. Walker*) to help assess whether reporters act with reckless disregard. The test involves asking (a) whether publication of the story was urgent or if there was sufficient time to check the facts fully, (b) how reliable was the source of the story and the journalist who produced it, (c) whether the story was probable or highly unlikely. Breaking news that relies on trusted sources reported by professional journalists that involve credible events are likely to escape findings of actual malice. Because journalists rarely admit to negligence or disregard for truth, it is difficult for plaintiffs to prove, requiring extensive examination of how a story was produced and the reporter's state of mind at the time.

Defenses

News organizations may rely on one of several defenses to seek dismissal of a libel claim.

Statute of Limitations

All states have limits on how long a plaintiff can wait to bring a libel suit. Depending on the state, a suit must be filed within one to three years of publication of the alleged defamation. However, each time a radio or television station rebroadcasts a program it is considered a fresh publication.

Truth

Defendants in cases involving private plaintiffs on matters of private interest may dismiss a libel claim by proving the truth of their statements, using similar criteria for assessing falsity discussed above. In cases regarding matters of public concern or public figures, defendants need not prove truth, but may do so in response to plaintiffs' cases.

Privilege

To protect the conditions for free and open debate in a democracy, certain kinds of communication are protected from liability for defamation, or "privileged." The comments of participants in legislative forums, judicial forums, and the administrative and executive branches of government enjoy an absolute privilege against libel claims. This immunity from libel extends to remarks by lawmakers, witnesses at public hearings and in

court, reports issued by government agencies, and other communications made in a government forum (although officials' comments outside these forums can form the basis for a libel claim).

In recognition of the news media's valuable role in disseminating news of governmental affairs, journalists have a qualified privilege when they report a fair (balanced) and accurate summary of what was said in a privileged (official) proceeding or document, even if the comments reported include libel.

Opinion

Expressions of opinion rather than fact are generally not considered defamatory. Opinion has long been a staple of journalism that contributes to public discourse about everything from politics to art to food. Another reason for exempting opinion from libel is that opinion cannot be proved false or true. If a television talk show host calls a guest "an ugly fool," there is no cause for libel because one cannot prove or disprove objectively that someone is ugly or a fool—both qualities are in the eye of the beholder. However, the host cannot claim an opinion defense if he says the guest is "an ugly fool whose wife left you because she couldn't stand the sight of you," and the guest can show that his wife did not leave him because of his looks. In this case, there may be cause for libel because the question of whether and why the wife ended the marriage is factual.

When distinguishing fact from opinion, many courts go beyond considering whether a statement can be disproved to consider other factors outlined by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit in *Ollman v. Evans* (1984). The *Ollman* test also includes asking about the common, ordinary meaning of the words used. Some apparent statements of fact are often used to express opinion, as when a person is accused of being "an animal," and thus should not be cause for libel. The test also inquires into the journalistic context of the statement. Claims made in places where audiences have come to expect opinion, such as the editorial page of a newspaper or a comedy program that satirizes the news, are more likely to be viewed as opinion. Finally, the test considers the social context. Coverage of remarks made in protest rallies, for example, are more likely to appear as opinion than those made at a medical conference about the findings of a recent study on the safety of a particular drug.

Similarly, hyperbole (exaggerated statements about someone or something) is also not considered libelous because reasonable people could not take such claims to be literally true. Overstatements, epithets, and satire often fall into this category. For example, a court found that television journalist Geraldo Rivera used hyperbole and so was not liable for defaming a man by calling him an accomplice to murder for creating a website that revealed the personal contact information of doctors who performed abortions—information that could be used by prolife extremists to find and kill physicians.

Other Defenses

Several other defenses have been passed down from Common Law and are therefore not recognized by all courts and less likely to be used today. The Fair Comment defense protects opinions about a matter of public interest that are based on true facts. The Consent defense absolves those who can show that the plaintiff acquiesced to publication of the statement beforehand. The Right of Reply defense, or "self-defense," protects a speaker's libelous remark made in response to an initial libel against her or him as long as the response is not more severe than the claim that provoked it.

Damages

News organizations must pay close attention to the four kinds of damages a successful plaintiff may win in a libel case because the scope of damages can threaten the organization's survival. *Actual damages* compensate victims for harms suffered as a result of the libel such as mental suffering or diminished standing in the community, which are difficult to estimate in financial terms. *Special damages* are specific monetary losses that can be precisely documented, such as wages lost by someone who is fired because of the libel. *Presumed damages* (also called general or compensatory damages) may be awarded without requiring proof of harm. *Punitive damages* are designed to punish the defendant and deter others from similar wrongdoing. Juries can sometimes make large awards of actual and punitive damages. Complaints

about excessive punitive damages awarded in some cases have convinced several states to ban them and others to consider capping them.

Libel Reform

Dissatisfaction with libel law is widespread for several reasons. First, determining libel has grown increasingly complex in the post-*Sullivan* era. Judges and jurors struggle to interpret and apply concepts such as actual malice, public versus private figures, fact versus opinion, and the array of damages that can be awarded. Mistakes by judges and juries must be reheard and corrected through appeals to higher courts.

Second, this complexity means that cases can be protracted and expensive for all involved. One cannot mount a major libel suit or defend against one without paying expert lawyers hundreds of thousands or even millions of dollars to prepare and argue these complicated cases. *Sullivan* was supposed to give journalists more room to foster criticism of public officials by requiring public figures to surmount the obstacle of proving actual malice in court. But establishing knowing or reckless disregard for truth requires extensive attention to journalists' state of mind and work process as they prepared their stories. From the plaintiff's standpoint, these costs mean that individuals and organizations with few resources are unlikely to be able to vindicate their reputations in court. Even powerful plaintiffs rarely succeed in restoring their reputations in a timely manner (the average libel suit lasts four years). From the media's point of view, important news may be squelched if media defendants fear that reporting it will spark a lawsuit from a well-heeled individual or corporation. The increasing costs to the media of defending against libel suits, of damage awards, and of libel insurance, raise concerns about chilling critical coverage of the powerful. Although media defendants succeed in getting most libel cases dismissed before they go to trial, juries are more likely than not to find the media guilty in cases that do proceed to trial, which can result in millions in damages. Small media organizations can be especially vulnerable to bankruptcy if they lose. They may avoid risky features such as police blotters, letters to the editor, or investigative reporting rather than face a crippling libel suit.

Third, libel lawsuits are sometimes abused by powerful plaintiffs who aim to silence critics. Strategic Lawsuits Against Public Participation (SLAPPs) refer to suits that have little legal merit but are brought to intimidate citizen groups to stop speaking out to government and the media against real estate developers, polluters, and others. Sometimes these suits aim at the media themselves. Even if plaintiffs rarely win these cases, and at least twenty states have passed laws against them, these costly suits can muzzle legitimate contributions to public debate.

In response to these problems, several proposals have been made to reform libel law. One reform would allow the news media to publish a retraction, acknowledging inaccuracy in a story and apologizing for it, in exchange for removing the threat of damages at trial. A majority of states have adopted laws to this effect. Although retraction laws differ, and some have been ruled unconstitutional by the courts, they typically share several features. The potential plaintiff must request a retraction from the publisher before a libel case can be filed. If the news organization complies by publishing the retraction as prominently as the libelous statement was featured, the plaintiff can only seek limited damages, or none at all, in court. Such laws aim to give the media an incentive to admit inaccuracy or negligence when they are wrong by removing the fear that the admission could be used against them later in court. Plaintiffs may be more likely to avoid going to court because they can clear their names more quickly and cheaply. Practice in many European countries suggests another model in which those who have been attacked have a right to reply in the journalism outlet that criticized them. Others have suggested moving libel out of the courts by referring cases to trained arbitrators who would focus primarily on questions of truth and falsity, such as news councils made up of journalists and citizens. But these small-scale arbitration programs have not been widespread. Some news organizations have begun to counter-sue libel plaintiffs for malicious prosecution or abuse of process, but the courts have not been receptive to these suits for fear of deterring legitimate libel plaintiffs.

Although many agree that some libel reform is desirable, it has not been very successful. Many news organizations oppose offering frequent

retractions, either because they believe their stories are correct or fear losing credibility. Libel lawyers have a financial stake in continuing the present system, which brings them business defending or suing the media. And no other organized constituency has stepped forward to demand change.

Conclusion

The law of defamation arose to protect public order and individual honor. Prosecutions for seditious libel—attacks on the government—are rare, but still pose a danger to vociferous critics of the state in wartime. Today, libel is mainly a civil tort used by individuals and organizations to defend themselves from assault, especially in the news media. Since 1964, the courts have recognized that protecting reputations must be weighed alongside the often conflicting interest in robust and freewheeling debate on public issues. The law has expanded journalists' freedom to publish negative information, especially about public figures. However, this freedom has come at a price. Libel lawsuits have become enormously complex, costly, and time-consuming. They can be used as weapons to deter the media from publishing valid critique of powerful people and institutions. Few small plaintiffs can command the resources needed to bring a successful lawsuit against a large media organization. Courts do not often render verdicts on the truth of an alleged libel in a timely manner, leaving the public in the dark. Yet attempts to simplify libel law in order to serve the interests of news organizations, plaintiffs, and the public have foundered because of resistance from those most involved in libel suits.

Chad Raphael

See also Censorship; First Amendment; Free Expression, History of; Investigative Journalism; Muckrakers; News Councils; Sensationalism; Supreme Court and Journalism

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Lifestyle Journalism

Lifestyle sections generally were introduced into American daily newspapers in the 1970s and typically evolved from what had been styled as women's pages. Despite an assumption that we can all identify what "lifestyle" might mean, most newspaper definitions are still in flux as editors seek to define what it is that readers might want to read (and what advertisers will support). Some papers have lifestyle sections that could be defined as entertainment or celebrity driven—not much of a change in philosophy from the old women's/society sections which concentrated on the doings of the local rich and influential. Lifestyle sections themselves are sometimes listed separately and sometimes classified as part of feature pages. Sometimes they are not included in current staff listings at all; indeed, it is instructive to see how newspaper structure has changed by studying the listings in *Editor & Publisher Year Book*. In 1976, in the middle of the decade introducing much of the change, out of 1,325 daily newspapers listed, only 48 included features editors, and lifestyle sections were represented in just nine papers (three as lifestyle and five as life/style). In contrast, during the same year, there were 706 society editors listed and 758 women's editors.

These figures suggest that change and experimentation with the old structures were just beginning, as the names of new editor categories also illustrate: Viva, Scene, View, Today, People, Accent, and of course Style, the section at *The Washington Post* that has been credited with leading the lifestyle revolution in newspapers. That what resulted was no "revolution" is clear by looking at the

Editor & Publisher daily newspaper listings 30 years later in 2006. Even though the accepted historical view is that lifestyle sections have replaced women's and society pages, this is true only in major metropolitan areas or cities closely linked to these areas. For example, in 2006, only 152 of 1,245 dailies listed a "lifestyle" section editor, with an additional 42 listed as "living/lifestyle" editors. Two more offered the reverse "lifestyle/living," another 10 were listed as "living" editors, and 17 were listed as "life" section editors, bringing this group to a total of only 221 lifestyle-type editors. Women's and society editors show a real decline, however they are still present with 265 entries. Going back decade by decade suggests that the transition came for most papers around the turn of the century and that the real change has been in the number of features editors—from 48 in 1976 to 431 in 2006, but still not as many as the 691 women's and society editors listed in 1976.

Origins

With the exception of some lifestyle, technology, and expanded entertainment sections, the basic structure of the metropolitan daily newspaper has been in place for more than a century. Typically urban papers have had separate areas or sections for news, sports, opinion, and business. Feature material has frequently been sprinkled throughout these various sections and has only recently come to dominate its own section by name. Some shifts have come fairly recently; for example, there is increased attention to entertainment and lifestyle material and a corresponding decrease of social and local celebrity news. As is clear from reading the staff listings, each of these newspaper units typically has its own hierarchy of staff writers and editors involved in creating and presenting material for the different audiences that read the paper. Each section is supported by advertising that is related to the general section topic—and indeed, some historians have argued that it is the advertising that has driven and controlled the creation of these different sections. They point out that women as an audience became of interest to editors when more advertisers wanted to reach those women with money to spend, an argument bolstered by advertisers' general acceptance that women are the buyers for most families.

Society news offered an early addition to the broader newspaper editorial mix and was important to the development of popular mass-appeal dailies, a necessary step on the way to what is today called "lifestyle" coverage. These popular newspapers began publishing daily in the 1830s with a fuller range of stories on sports, criminal trial stories, and society news items. Social coverage had its first "on the scene" reporter when James Gordon Bennett of *The New York Herald* sent William H. Attree to a costume ball given by Mr. and Mrs. Henry Brevoort in 1840. Another early society writer was William Bininger, again for *The New York Herald*. A new interest in women readers helped open the door to women writers who were best able to write about their own lives. More than one chronicler of a newspaper's history has remarked that women were believed to be more socially adept at fitting into higher social circles. There was also a shift toward elaborate descriptions of what society matrons wore to events, and again, women were believed to be more able to provide these verbal illustrations.

Joseph Pulitzer is credited with creating the first women's page, but in 1886 it began as a special column devoted to women's interests. An issue of *The World,* May 25, 1884, page 11, shows this precursor of the woman's page—the "World of Women" column. By the 1890s, women's pages were a definite feature of larger papers, publishing information about clubs, society, and other topics of interest to women. And in 1895, a phenomenon of "women's editions" of newspapers brought something new into the mix. Around the country, community women began taking over their local newspapers for a day. The power of the popular press and the importance of women's work in the community were being paired to showcase women's talents and abilities. It was the first time many women saw their names in print, and it was the beginning of a love affair with the newspaper world for many. One of the women to get a break in one of these editions was Elizabeth Meriwether Gilmer, who was to become America's highest paid female journalists (as Dorothy Dix) by the time of her death in 1951.

By 1900, women's pages or sections with "women's" topics were part of most large metropolitan dailies, and smaller newspapers throughout the country were quick to join. For more than

a half century, the common elements of these pages were related to fashion, food, household hints, society, and advice. But not everyone was happy with the change. Women journalists wanted to write serious articles and women readers frequently discussed the women's pages as banal. One bit of evidence is that writers for the women's editions in 1895 were penning sardonic, patronizing columns "for our male readers." And as early as 1901, women and intellectuals were complaining that the women's pages were a "hopeless case," filled with useless trivia and social news, notes historian Marion Marzolf. These pages may have been hopeless, but they were money-makers and advertisements located on them commanded high prices.

Despite complaints about the "drivel" contained in women's pages, they were an institution throughout the twentieth century in most daily newspapers. The insistence of Eleanor Roosevelt to work only with women reporters was a boon to both women editors and women with aspirations for front-page reporting. Articles about serious social topics began to appear in the 1940s, as did items written by professional women. Some of these changes were bolstered by the increased professional activities of women during World War II, though the 1950s were to see a return to stories on beauty, cooking, society, and fashion. A decade later, women's pages became the center of newspaper and social change. Because the women's movement began to make news and because women began demanding rights for equal pay, child care, and so on, women's pages began to run more controversial stories and interviews. While some women's editors were pleased by the increase in "real" news, some seemed to ignore these cultural happenings. Newspapers had hired increasing numbers of women, but many of them had been placed on the women's pages. They, too, were eager to change the nature of women's news. At the same time, a few courageous women's page editors began what might be called campaigns to change their pages from predictable sections into columns of issues-centered reporting about equal rights, childcare, and spousal abuse. Conflict arose when advocates for women such as Gloria Steinem fought to keep news about the women's movement from being buried in the women's pages.

Unisex "Lifestyle" Coverage

The late 1960s and early 1970s saw the impetus for most of the dramatic changes. As Kay Mills put it, "The evolution of the women's pages marked a belated recognition that all parts of a newspaper should be prepared for all people," adding that the changes were occurring partly because of social pressures and partly because of economics. At *The Washington Post*—one of the early claimants to journalistic lifestyle development—the "Style" section, Ben Bradlee's major structural change, was introduced on January 6, 1969. The change came as longtime women's editor Marie Sauer was retiring. Instead of replacing her and continuing the women's section, Bradlee was seeking to ride the wave of social change.

Bradlee's idea was to create a section that gave cultural news and reviews a place of their own. It was to include food, fashion, fun, and culture—all directed to a unisex audience interested in an upscale lifestyle. His criticisms of women's pages mirrored those of the women in the women's movement who were trying to fight for newspaper changes. He spoke for many when he said that traditional women's news was boring and that most newspaper editors had been listening to highly intelligent women who were vocal in their criticism of women's pages with what seemed like endless information about diets, teas, and society gatherings. But the "Style" section itself was experiencing growing pains, and even when Thomas Kendrick, who became editor two years later, was able to bring order to journalistic chaos by setting editorial standards, there were problems. A memo from Bradlee underscored some of the change. Admonishing his reporters to avoid words like *pert, dimpled, cute,* or *vivacious,* he wrote that stories about the achievements of women should be written "without a trace of condescension." But the problems were still not solved. One of them resulted from a letter to publisher Katharine Graham signed by 59 women at the paper who were unhappy with what they described as discrimination at the paper. This act was quickly followed by a lawsuit in 1972 filed by the same women. In her 1998 autobiography, Graham wrote, "Since the new 'Style' section had replaced the old women's pages, women had lost four jobs." Besides Graham, Meg Greenfield was the only woman in upper management at the paper.

A few editors had applauded and supported the women's-news momentum, but they were in the minority. Although there was talk and plenty of activity at a handful of papers, rarely are the stories of women's page editors presented as part of the history of newspapers. For example, although Marjorie Paxson won the highest honor at the Penney-Missouri awards for a women's page editor while at the *St. Petersburg Times,* neither her name nor an entry for "women's pages" appears in a recent biography of Nelson Poynter and the *St. Petersburg Times*. Likewise, the story of Maggie Savoy, a leading women's page editor in the 1960s, is absent from a history of the *Arizona Republic*.

Women's Editors Oppose Changes

One of the first to pioneer change in women's news within the existing structure was Dorothy Jurney, an editor who had been encouraged to expand the coverage of women's activities at the *Miami Herald*. Like Colleen Dishon of the *Chicago Tribune,* she was an advocate for retaining women's sections and making them relevant to women's lives. Jurney, who was hired at the *Detroit Free Press* to change the women's pages and direct a "family section," has addressed what happened during the change in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Women's advocates such as Gloria Steinem, she said, "got on their soapboxes and said that women's news should not be confined to a women's section. It should be throughout the newspaper" (Jurney 1989). Applying what happened at the *Post* to newspapers throughout the country, Jurney then explained that what really happened throughout the country was that the women's editors lost their jobs to men who knew nothing about women's basic interest in social issues. Women's advocacy and news for the women's pages just disappeared.

Jurney was not the only one unhappy with a looming, much-discussed shift to lifestyle reporting from women's sections. Writing in *Editor & Publisher* in 1973, June Almquist, women's editor of the *Seattle Times,* wrote that some women's sections of the country jumped out of the window too quickly: "In their eagerness for change, they lost their identity—becoming, at best, general-feature sections and, in some cases, hodgepodge sections" (28). One trap, she noted, is that women's sections had become dumping grounds for other areas of the newspaper—bridge columns, coin-collection columns, travel stories, etc. On the opposite side of the coin were women's sections that "went overboard" on social issues such as rape, poverty, and venereal disease. But as Alquist noted, "the biggest fattest ads in the newspaper are the grocery ads, the fashion ads, the home furnishings ads. And we know full well why those advertisers want to be in the women's sections: because the major buyers of consumer goods are women" (28).

Earlier that same year, the Penney-Missouri workshop sessions at the University of Missouri tackled the problems facing women's editors at this time of change by honoring Judith Anderson of the *San Francisco Chronicle*'s "People" section with the first Paul L. Myhre Award for Excellence in Reporting. These influential Penney awards were instrumental in changing the face of women's news and inadvertently promoting the lifestyle impetus.

Lifestyle can today be defined as a universally accepted descriptive with the categories of gendered, feature, cultural, and even entertainment writing. Because it is less commonly used as an indentifying label for editors throughout the newspaper industry—only 152 lifestyle editors of 1,325 daily newspapers in 2006—it must be understood as a description of feature material that is usually gender-neutral, that is, "family" instead of "women's" articles. Even though one commonly thinks of "lifestyle" sections as having superseded women and society sections, the indications are that at some papers women's and society editors are still firmly entrenched. In fact, a recent return to women's news at the *Chicago Tribune* has been widely imitated and is still being evaluated for possible industry change by newspaper trend writers.

Jean Ann Colbert

See also Entertainment Journalism; Food Journalism; Hard Versus Soft News; Human Interest Journalism; News Values; Social Movements and Journalism; Women in Journalism; Women's Magazines

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Literary Journalism

Scholars and observers of American journalism have spent considerable effort attempting to define a form of expression that many have come to call literary or narrative journalism. As the terms suggest, this journalistic form occupies a space between the imaginative nature of fictive literature on one hand, and the empiricism of the objective, inverted pyramid style of news report on the other. Since the New Journalism movement of the 1960s and 1970s reinvigorated an American tradition of literary journalism dating at least to the nineteenth century, the form has generated substantial professional, scholarly, and popular interest, not to mention debate. Narrative journalism can be found in magazines, books, newspapers, radio shows, broadcast news, and Internet reports. It is used to tell timely stories about actual people and events in topical areas ranging from human interest stories to business reportage to the explanation of complex medical and scientific phenomena as well as international events. Journalism schools and English departments across the United States teach courses on the form; anthologies are flourishing, as are professional and scholarly conferences attending to the form.

Historian John C. Hartsock defined "narrative literary journalism" as "those true-life stories that read like a novel or short story" while acknowledging the problematic nature of defining such an approach. Such stories, he suggested, are often allegorical, embracing the subjectivity of the author and promoting the "understanding of the social or cultural Other" (2000, 22). Thomas B. Connery preferred the term *literary journalism* to identify a kind of nonfiction writing that depends on traditional news gathering and reporting techniques, such as interviews and documentary review, at the same time that it values writing style and interpretation. At issue in the conversations over the appropriate definition and naming of the form is anxiety over what the terms *literary, narrative,* and *journalism* mean in the first place. Must all literary, or narrative, journalism use narrative techniques, such as scene setting and dialogue? Must it incorporate, as New Journalist Tom Wolfe has suggested, immersion reporting (the writer's deep, prolonged engagement in the world about which she is reporting)? Should it be called literary nonfiction, creative nonfiction, narrative nonfiction, journalistic nonfiction, the literature of fact, literary journalism, or narrative journalism? Despite the lack of consensus regarding the most appropriate term and definition to identify this particular kind of journalistic expression, literary journalism is a recognizable and robust historical tradition within the professional practice of American journalism.

Origins

American literary journalism is part of a larger Western tradition of narrative news dating back,

according to some scholars, to ancient Rome and Greece. At the very least, the tradition has roots in the literary news writing of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in England (for example, Edward Ward's narrative profiles of London in the *London Spy* and Joseph Addison and Richard Steele's more essay-like reports in the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*). In the United States, the tradition can be traced to the 1830s birth of the penny press and the resulting emergence of two distinct news styles: the objective report and the more subjective personal report. Throughout the nineteenth century, the Enlightenment ideal of progress through the accretion of scientific knowledge gained ascendancy in American social thought. In the latter part of the century, American literature turned toward realism (a representational form that assumed a one-to-one correspondence between language and the world language intended to portray). In the context of this societal transformation, the two forms of news report became more fully distinguishable and defined. By the 1890s, it was clear in American journalism that two distinct news forms existed: what sociologist Michael Schudson has called the information model (the objective report) and the story model (the narrative subjective report).

The information model emphasized the clear, hierarchical reporting of facts about current events in a neutral, detached manner. It was a form owing much to the scientific spirit of the age in which verifiable facts were valued as essential to the production of objectified knowledge. The story model, on the other hand, emphasized the use of novelistic techniques in rendering the author's subjective interpretation of such events. This journalistic story developed simultaneously with other realistic literature. An important distinction between the information and the story forms of journalism is that in the first, the reader was generally left to create meaning out of the reported facts for himself; in the latter, the writer suggested, if not conclusively, a possible range of meanings.

In the 1890s, New York newspapers like Charles Dana's *Sun,* Joseph Pulitzer's *World,* and William Randolph Hearst's *Journal* popularized the story model in what was known then as "the new journalism"—a kind of dramatic reportage that intended to entertain. In the late 1890s, *The New York Times* emerged as the model of informational, objective journalism. While these two forms peacefully coexisted then, by the early twentieth century the objective report began to gain dominance as the preferred form of news expression in American journalism. This dominance lasted into the early twenty-first century. In the wake of widespread public discomfort with the Wilson administration's World War I propaganda machine, in which many journalists participated, political commentator and theorist Walter Lippmann encouraged journalists to use a quasi-scientific, or objective, method of gathering, verifying, and reporting facts. The idea was to professionalize the work of journalists, thereby separating their effort to inform citizens so they could intelligently participate in American democracy, from the propagandists' or publicists' work of persuading readers to embrace particular ideologies or to take particular action. Lippmann's call for a professional objective journalism that separated facts from opinion, and stressed the relaying of information over persuasion and entertainment, built on and strengthened the informational model of journalism of the nineteenth century, devaluing story model.

The growth of journalism education in American universities and colleges also supported the privileging of the objective report in the news profession. Early professors tended to associate the story model with the excesses of the "new" and "yellow" journalism of the late nineteenth century—war-mongering, falsifications, sensational crime reportage, and questionable invasions of privacy. To clean up and professionalize journalism was to teach would-be reporters how to gather and report facts—that is, how to write the objective, informational report as a kind of quasi-scientific practice. Both the academy and the newsroom embraced the objective report as the ideal form of press expression.

Literary Journalism in the Twentieth Century

The story model survived, however, and from the 1890s to the present has assumed different forms in distinct periods. Over the past century, literary journalism arose, some have theorized, to fill the breach left by objective reports in their failure to provide adequate explanations and interpretations of confusing, complex social changes. The muckraking magazine article, popular from the 1890s to the 1910s, investigated and reported social injustice, political corruption, and conflicts

between capital and labor, among other topics. Notable practitioners included Ida Tarbell, who published a series of articles exposing the unethical practices of the Standard Oil Company in *McClure's Magazine* (1902–04) and then as a book, *The History of the Standard Oil Company* (1904), and Lincoln Steffens, whose articles on political machines in American cities, also published in *McClure's*, became the 1904 book *The Shame of the Cities*. The muckrakers were closely associated with the reform impulses of the Progressive movement.

Various types of documentary nonfiction and narrative magazine articles flourished during the social, economic, and political turmoil of the 1930s and 1940s. The Federal Writers' Project (FWP) of the Depression-era Works Progress Administration produced a range of documentary works, including the American Guide Series (travel and cultural guides for each of the states and many cities) and oral histories. The extent to which FWP projects can be considered "literary journalism" is an unsettled question, although Hartsock mentions favorably African American writer Zora Neale Hurston's account of her hometown in the Florida travel guide. During this period, the image became an important part of narrative reporting, particularly in the work of James Agee's and Walker Evans's *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (1941), an account of the lives of Alabama sharecroppers. *The New Yorker,* among other magazines, distinguished itself by publishing a narrative literary journalism for which the magazine became known. Notable *New Yorker* writers of the 1930s and 1940s include Janet Flanner, John Hersey, A. J. Liebling, and Joseph Mitchell.

Literary journalism flourished again in American journalism with the New Journalism movement of the 1960s and 1970s (not to be confused with its progenitor, the "new journalism" of the late nineteenth century). The precise origin of the term *New Journalism* to refer to this period is unclear, although it is most closely associated with Tom Wolfe and his 1973 book of republished articles by the same name. While some view 1965 as the year the New Journalism emerged, Gay Talese had been writing literary journalistic pieces for *Esquire* since 1960. That acknowledged, 1965 was a watershed year for New Journalism, ushering in a revival of the literary form. In 1965, Truman Capote famously published *In Cold Blood,* what he called the first "nonfiction novel," as a series of four articles in *The New Yorker* and then as a book. *In Cold Blood* told the harrowing story of the murder of an entire Kansas farm family. In 1965, Tom Wolfe, who had been writing for *Esquire* and the *New York Herald Tribune,* published a book of linguistically innovative articles titled *Kandy-Kolored Tangerine-Flake Streamline Baby,* which took its title from an *Esquire* piece on hot rod culture in California. The article's original title gives some sense of Wolfe's verbal inventiveness: "There Goes (Varoom! Varoom!) That Kandy-Kolored (Thphhhhhh!) Tangerine-Flake Streamline Baby (Rahghhh!) Around the Bend (Brummmmmmmmmmmmmm)…." Also in 1965, Joan Didion was publishing articles on life in California in a range of magazines, including the *Saturday Evening Post.* These articles would be collected in 1968 in *Slouching towards Bethlehem.* Other notable New Journalists include Jimmy Breslin, Norman Mailer, and Hunter S. Thompson (also known as a Gonzo journalist).

What made the New Journalism of the 1960s and early 1970s different from what came before was the self-consciousness and public awareness of the movement. It was a journalism that called into question the assumption underpinning the traditional objective report: that reality was readily knowable through the neutral reporting of facts. As traditional reporting on the cultural and social dislocations of the 1960s demonstrated—from civil rights violations to political assassinations to the Vietnam War to the drug culture—an accretion of reported facts did not always make the changing world more intelligible to readers. The subjective storytelling of the New Journalism attempted to make sense of a society in the throes of great change, not through proposing a grand, unifying narrative but largely through telling the varied stories of the lived experiences of everyday people. By the 1970s, a scholarly and professional literature on the New Journalism began to develop, and thus marked the beginning of sustained scholarly and professional interest in literary journalism.

Since the New Journalism movement, literary journalism has flowered across almost all forms of news media in America, though most has been published in magazines and books. Robert S. Boynton has called the writers of this latest period the "New New Journalists" and has suggested that

their writing, while less linguistically experimental than that of the New Journalists, has experimented more with "the *way* one gets the story" (xiii). Of particular note, he argues, is the way in which these contemporary literary journalists have so immersed themselves in the lives of their subjects that "the public/private divide [has] essentially disappeared" (xiii). They often write about race and class, focusing on telling the stories of subcultures as a means for engaging America's social and cultural problems. These contemporary practitioners include, among many others, Ted Conover, Leon Dash, Tracy Kidder, Alex Kotlowitz, Adrian Nicole LeBlanc, and Susan Orlean.

Controversies

Literary journalism has often been the subject of both professional and scholarly controversy. In a *New York Times* review of *Kandy-Kolored Tangerine-Flake Streamline Baby,* critic Dwight McDonald attacked Tom Wolfe's work as "parajournalism"—a "bastard form" appropriating the techniques of both journalism and fiction with little regard for accuracy and too much regard for entertainment. Some critics have questioned the use of interior perspectives and re-created events in certain works of literary journalism, viewing these narrative techniques as appropriate only in fictional representations. Others worry that the straightforward subjectivity of much literary journalism will open the door to partisan, ideological reporting. Still others suggest that literary journalists often arrogantly present their interpretation of reality and external events as reality rather than a point of view. A number of critics have blamed several high profile cases of journalists fabricating stories—Janet Cooke at *The Washington Post* in the early 1980s, Stephen Glass at *The New Republic* in the late 1990s, and Jayson Blair at *The New York Times* in the early 2000s—on the supposed negative influence of the New Journalism.

Apologists for literary journalism, as well as its many practitioners, tend to reject such causal arguments. Mark Kramer, former director of the Nieman Program on Narrative Journalism at Harvard and co-editor of the anthology *Literary Journalism,* has suggested that the form has developed certain identifiable conventions since the New Journalism movement. Among these, he wrote in his introduction to *Literary Journalism,* are "no composite scenes, no misstated chronology, no falsification of the discernible drift or proportion of events, no invention of quotes, no attribution of thoughts to sources unless the sources have said they'd had those very thoughts, and no unacknowledged deals with subjects involving payment or editorial control" (Kramer 1995, 25).

Conclusion

Literary, or narrative, journalism has a long and rich history as a form of expression in American journalism and literature. In the twenty-first century, the form is not nearly as controversial as it was in the past and appears to be more robust than it has ever been. It may be that news producers, consumers, and theorists have largely accepted the postmodern realization that all reports of the world are culturally conditioned. In other words, many now believe that no reporter or writer—or reader, for that matter—can entirely escape her own perspective and somehow present an entirely objective report. It is not that verifiable facts do not matter, for most would agree that they are the foundation of all journalistic reports. It is simply that many Americans have come to believe that other kinds of reports beyond the objective can present, explain, and interpret these facts and the world of human experience they represent.

Kathy Roberts Forde

See also Books as Journalism; Hard Versus Soft News; Muckrakers; New Journalism; News as Narrative; Objectivity; Sensationalism

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Los Angeles

Situated between the Pacific Ocean and the Hollywood Hills, Los Angeles boasts a near-perfect climate, celebrity-laden streets, and palm-tree lined beaches. The self-proclaimed entertainment and creative capital of the world is the second-largest media market in the country (behind New York). The music industry, radio, television, and motion pictures all have deep roots in the greater Los Angeles area. More than a dozen major television and motion picture studios, including Paramount, Warner Brothers, Universal, Disney, Fox, and MGM, are based in the region and the city plays host to nationally broadcast performing arts awards shows such as the Emmys, Grammys, and Oscars.

Journalistically, the *Los Angeles Times* enjoys the highest circulation of any newspaper west of the Mississippi and boasts dozens of Pulitzer Prizes. The broadcast market also is strong; each major television network owns and operates affiliate stations that serve as West Coast bureaus. CNN has a presence as do numerous entertainment news programs and tabloid shows. But the glittering Southern California city is not without challenges and historic struggles.

The City of Angels, which began as a Spanish settlement in the late 1700s, has the nation's largest population of minority residents. According to 2007 census figures, 71 percent of Los Angeles County residents were nonwhite. Because of the city's proximity to Mexico, the number of Hispanic residents is higher than in any other region of the country. As a result, immigration and racial issues have dominated local politics and law enforcement. African Americans sparked racial riots in Watts during the civil rights protests in the 1960s. In the 1990s, more riots broke out after the acquittal of four white police officers who were accused of beating an innocent black man, Rodney King. The *Los Angeles Times* earned Pulitzer Prizes for its coverage of both racial uprisings.

Los Angeles also wrestles with air quality problems, traffic congestion, water shortages, fires, and the threat of earthquakes along the San Andreas fault. Still, its location, weather, and glamour make it a favorite destination for vacationers and those wanting to relocate to warmer climes.

Newspapers

Since winning the rivalry with its closest competitor, the *Herald-Examiner,* in 1989, the *Los Angeles Times* has consistently ranked among the top three largest metro daily newspapers in the country. By 2008, the *Times* had won nearly 40 Pulitzer Prize awards for international, national, and public service journalism. But the once family-owned newspaper wrestled with corporate mergers, massive staff layoffs, declining readership, and management shakeups during the first few years of the twenty-first century.

The *Times* was a relative latecomer to the American newspaper industry scene. It began publishing in 1881 as the *Los Angeles Daily Times* when the city was but 30 years old. The first newspaper, the *Los Angeles Star,* begun in 1851 as a weekly published half in Spanish and half in English under the name *La Estrella de Los Angeles.* After taking highly controversial editorial stances—such as calling for Southern California to form a separate state and heavily criticizing the federal government during the Civil War—the *Star* stopped publishing in 1879 due to financial problems.

Like many newspapers of the era, a printing company, the Mirror, ran the *Daily Times*. The paper did not do well financially, partly because of competition from other publications including the *Los Angeles Daily News*—the first daily newspaper in the city—and the *Los Angeles Herald,* which would continue to compete through most of the twentieth century. The Mirror hired former military officer Harrison Gray Otis, a silent partner, to become its editor. Otis turned the *Los Angeles Daily Times* into a success and by 1886, he had become full owner and publisher. Otis bought and formed the Times-Mirror Company in 1886 and removed the word "daily" from the paper's masthead, making it the *Los Angeles Times*.

During the first half of the twentieth century, the *Times* secured its position as the dominant newspaper in the market. In the early 1900s, at least five morning and afternoon newspapers competed in the metropolitan area. Aside from the *Herald* and *Daily News,* the *Los Angeles Examiner* appeared in 1903. San Francisco publisher William Randolph Hearst started the *Examiner* in L.A. to counter the conservative leanings of the *Times* and promote Hearst's own national political aspirations. In 1922, Hearst bought the *Herald* and merged it with the *Evening Express,* making the *Herald-Express* the largest afternoon paper. The *Times,* still competing with the *Examiner* in the morning, countered with an afternoon tabloid, the *Mirror,* which later absorbed the *Daily News*. The *Mirror* folded in 1962 after Hearst countered by merging the *Herald-Express* with the *Examiner*. The *Herald-Examiner* remained the afternoon leader while the *Times* held the morning slot. But after bitter labor disputes, the *Herald-Examiner* stopped publishing in 1989, leaving the *Times* to reign as the sole large metro daily in the region.

In the early 1900s, Harrison Otis fiercely opposed organized labor and often was accused of using his paper as a political pulpit. That stance made the *Times* the target of union terrorists who blew up the newspaper's building in 1910, killing 20 employees.

The newspaper rebuilt, and Otis remained owner and publisher until his death in 1916. Somewhat of a real estate tycoon, Otis used his newspaper to encourage the city's growth and supported expansion of the city's water supply—an effort that was fictionalized in the movie *Chinatown*. After he died, his son-in-law, Harry Chandler took over the *Times* and began hiring a strong team of investigative journalists. The Chandler family dynasty continued to control the paper with Harry passing the torch to his son Norman in 1936. Norman Chandler continued his father's more conservative editorial policy, even publicly endorsing the encampment of Asian Americans in California after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. The *Times* won its first Pulitzer in 1942—a public service medal for the newspaper's campaign to clarify first amendment rights for freedom of the press.

Norman and Dorothy's son, Otis, became the fourth and final Chandler publisher of the paper in 1960. Otis Chandler focused on diversifying the Times-Mirror company, turning it into a national media powerhouse with a more centrist editorial policy. The company already had extended into broadcasting, forming KHJ—the area's first commercial radio station—in 1922, and KTTV, a television station jointly owned with CBS, in 1948. Chandler sold KTTV in 1963 to Metromedia, however, and focused on a news service partnership with the Washington Post Company. Chandler helped the *Times* fight off an attempt by *The New York Times* in the early 1960s to start a West Coast edition.

The *Times* would continue to expand, adding Orange County and San Fernando Valley editions. By 1990, the paper was the largest metro daily in the country; two decades later, the *Times* ranked among the top five newspapers in national circulation figures and was by far the highest-selling paper on the West Coast.

Economic pressure hit the *Times* at the turn of the twenty-first century because of competition from the Internet. In 2000, the Chicago-based Tribune Company bought the *Times* as part of an $8 billion acquisition of the Times Mirror Company. After eliminating 2,500 jobs from the *Times,* the Tribune Company continued to trim staff. Chicago real estate tycoon Sam Zell took control of Tribune in late 2007—and continued the cuts in Los Angeles and his other holdings. But even Zell could not keep the Tribune Company afloat. Faced with declining advertising revenue and $13 billion in debt, the company became the first major news organization to file for bankruptcy protection. Zell told reporters that the

December 2008 filing would allow the company to restructure its debt and move forward.

Alternative Newspapers and Magazines

Because of its diverse population, an ethnic press has thrived in the greater Los Angeles area. Specialty publications include the Spanish-language *La Opinion,* once owned by the *Times,* and *Hoy,* owned by the Tribune Company. The *Jewish Journal of Los Angeles Magazine* and the *Asian Journal* are also published in Los Angeles, along with a number of other small ethnic newspapers.

Regional papers also vie for readership with the *Times,* the largest of those being the *Orange County Register, Long Beach Press-Telegram*, and *The Daily Breeze* to the south, and the *San Gabriel Valley Tribune, Pasadena Star-News,* and *Ventura County Star* to the north. Los Angeles Wave Publications target neighborhoods as well with the *L.A. Independent* covering Hollywood news; the *Wave* also prints east, west, and northeast editions and the *Culver City Star*. *City Beat,* an alternative weekly newspaper, provides news, arts, and entertainment coverage in the greater Los Angeles area.

National publications focusing on the entertainment industry include *Variety* and the *Hollywood Reporter,* while business affairs are the focus of the *Los Angeles Business Journal* and *Daily Journal.* The magazine industry is not large in Los Angeles; however, glitzy monthlies targeted to wealthier residents include *Los Angeles Magazine* and niche publications such as *Bel-Air View, Beverly Hills 90210,* and the *Santa Monica Sun,* owned by Westside Today.

Hollywood and Celebrity Journalism

In the early 1900s, the fledgling film business began to relocate from the east coast to Hollywood, an area just north of Los Angeles previously known for its deserts, tar pits, and mountain ranges. Rogue independent filmmakers helped establish the region as the film capital after leaving the control of corporate studio owners in New York. The independents wanted an area with good weather, varied scenery, and a nearby border in case they had to flee lawsuits filed by studio executives.

By 1926, those filmmakers either had formed their own studios or merged with existing corporations. Hollywood became the location for 90 percent of the country's movies, and the film industry was a growing economic force. Universal City opened the same year five miles north of Hollywood on the Los Angeles River and became a popular location for shooting movies. Later, television shows would be taped there "on location" and Universal Studios would open as a popular tourist attraction about the movie and television industry.

The free-spirited, high-partying antics of Hollywood celebrities became notorious during Prohibition (1920–33) and were not viewed kindly by the print media. When comedian Fatty Arbuckle was arrested for the mysterious death of actress Virginia Rappe in San Francisco in 1921, Hearst instructed his reporters from both his San Francisco and Los Angeles *Examiner* newspapers to play up the alleged sordid details of the crime. The *Times* covered the Arbuckle incident but did not go into as many details as the *Examiner*. Those details proved to be false, however, as Arbuckle was acquitted for the murders. Nevertheless, the hunger for celebrity and tabloid style journalism had begun and many media outlets rushed to Hollywood to provide continuing gossip about the stars.

Celebrity journalism increased steadily throughout the century, reaching frenetic proportions after the rise of television and the proliferation of cable networks in the 1980s. Stars were easy to spot in L.A., and the audience seemed insatiable for news about their lives, lifestyles, and romances. What was once considered tabloid journalism went mainstream as Los Angeles became the base for popular entertainment news shows including *Entertainment Tonight, Access Hollywood, E! Entertainment,* and *TMZ,* which claims to cover Hollywood "as it really is . . . and celebrities as they really are." Paparazzi working for print publications such as *People* magazine and *Us Weekly* jostle for position on the streets as they try to catch incriminating shots of Britney Spears, Paris Hilton, or Lindsay Lohan out on the town.

Just as the Fatty Arbuckle case made headlines, celebrity trials continue to draw hundreds

of reporters to the courthouse in downtown Los Angeles. A near-circus atmosphere surrounded the murder trials of former football player O. J. Simpson in 1995 and actor Robert Blake in 2002, who were both later acquitted of killing their spouses.

The audience shows no sign of getting tired of celebrity news online. Gossip bloggers behind PerezHilton.com and Defamer.com have huge followings—in 2006, the *Los Angeles Times* named Defamer's Mark Lisanti one of the 50 most influential people in southern California.

Radio and Television

"This is the city," intoned *Dragnet*'s Sergeant Joe Friday at the start of the popular television show in the early 1950s. *Dragnet* was one of many television shows that originated on radio in Los Angeles and then moved to television. As home to the film industry and many movie stars, Los Angeles was a natural place for radio and television to blossom. The movie studios soon spawned television sound stages; the region's architecture, mountains, and beaches provided optional scenery.

When radio began most shows aired live from New York; with television in the 1950s, many shows were filmed on location in Los Angeles. The time difference between the East and West Coasts made broadcasting national shows live from the West impractical; some shows had to be performed again until recording methods (audiotape in the 1940s and videotape a decade later) were developed.

Nearly 100 AM and FM radio stations can be found in Los Angeles—ranging from Spanish-, Korean-, and Iranian-language formats to wider-appeal rap, adult contemporary, religious programming, news, sports, and talk.

In 1922, the first radio stations in Los Angeles were KFI, KNX, and KHJ, the latter owned by Times-Mirror for five years (it is now a Spanish-language station). KNX was purchased by CBS in 1938 and became its West Coast production headquarters, forming the site of what was to become Columbia Square on Sunset Boulevard. The station debuted an all-news format in 1968 and remains known for its traffic and weather "on the fives."

Clear Channel owns many stations in Los Angeles, including three of the top stations, KIIS, KOST, and KFI-AM—now a news and talk station that airs syndicated shows.

Los Angeles is the number one market for Hispanic radio programming; KSCA and KLVE, two of the top-ten radio stations overall, are owned by Univision, the nation's largest Spanish-language broadcast company. Univision's flagship West Coast television station, KMEX, consistently ranks among the highest of all stations in the market, regardless of language. KMEX-TV premiered in 1968 and paved the way for Spanish-language programming on television and features news, talk shows, dramas, and movies. Telemundo, an NBC enterprise, also operates an affiliate in Los Angeles.

Disney-owned KABC-TV dominates the local news market. Other television network affiliates include KCBS, KNBC, and KTTV (Fox). Los Angeles is one of the few cities where locally produced newscasts have thrived on independent TV stations. KTLA, the first commercial television station licensed in the western United States, began broadcasting in 1947, then owned by Paramount Pictures.

The station changed hands several times and was sold to the Tribune Company in 1985. A year later, KTLA became part of the CW network and in 2007 received its own star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame, marking its sixtieth anniversary. KTLA news anchor Hal Fishman, known as the dean of the Los Angeles media, died in 2007 after 47 years of reporting in the market. Other popular on air personalities include KNBC-TV evening anchor Paul Moyer, who has broadcast in the city since 1972, and KABC-TV meteorologist Dallas Raines, who began forecasting Los Angeles weather in 1984.

Conclusion

Los Angeles is home to the most powerful print and electronic media outlets west of the Mississippi. The film and television industries are key contributors to the national and regional economy, but the once influential *Times* has less impact on state and local politics than in the days of Chandler family control.

Even as the Internet provides increased competition for news audiences, the Los Angeles print and broadcast media continue to dominate the western United States and play a key role on the national stage.

Rebecca Coates-Nee

See also San Francisco

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M

Magazine Design

Magazines have personalities. Like people, they can be edgy, colorful, organized, friendly, authoritative, or elegant. A magazine expresses its personality through its editorial slant—the kinds of stories it runs, the actual words these stories use—and also through its design—its use of typefaces, art, photos, colors, space, paper, and even its binding. *Vanity Fair,* with artful celebrity photos running across spreads, art deco cover type, and use of red borders, says it's sophisticated but willing to take risks. *Esquire* magazine's design says it's masculine and stylish. *People* magazine's design says it's friendly and newsy. Even magazines covering the same general subject—sports, for example—have differing personalities: *ESPN,* with its larger-than-typical size, bold type, and strong cover portraits, says it's a sports magazine with an attitude. *Sports Illustrated,* with its smaller format and mostly action-shot covers, says it's about news.

These distinctions are important because magazines want to occupy unique niches so as to appeal to readers, and design is a key way magazines distinguish themselves from each other. Even so, magazines in the early twenty-first century are designed using the same elements and many of the same techniques as they did in the 1930s. Modern magazine design—design that weaves type, art, and space—is a product of the twentieth century and advances in printing technologies. In the 1800s, magazine formats were smaller, and pages featured one- or two-column layouts with titles centered on the page and illustrations made from woodcuts—art engraved in wood and pressed onto paper. Twentieth-century printing made it easier and less expensive to reproduce color and black-and-white photos and illustrations. It also allowed two design movements that took shape in Europe to make their way to America: modernism and Dadaism.

Early Influences

Modernists created the cohesive look of magazines. They saw stories as packages inside the larger package of the magazine. They were the first to design stories across spreads of multiple pages instead of just on individual pages; they reinforced story themes with art and type, and they used different type sizes on a page to create a hierarchy that would lead readers through a story.

While the modernists advocated order in design, the Dadaists (related to the art movement of the same time: 1914–20) advocated flexible, even chaotic, uses of type and art. The Dadaists invented the use of collage and photomontage in magazine design, and they were the first to place photos in a storytelling sequence, the essence of photojournalism.

Modernism was born in the Bauhaus design school in Germany. Founded in 1919, the school preached "form follows function," which means a magazine's visual personality should grow out of its editorial purpose and audience. The Bauhaus school promoted utilitarian design that featured

only the elements necessary to tell a story. Adolf Hitler shut down the school in 1933, but not before its influence had spread beyond Germany.

Parisian designer Mehemed Agha brought modernism to the United States in the late 1920s when Condé Nast hired him to reformat his two premier fashion magazines, *Vanity Fair* and *Vogue*. Agha did more than just design magazines: he exercised editorial and artistic judgment, which, in effect, made him the first magazine art director in America. He simplified the design of *Vogue* and *Vanity Fair* to emphasize the photos, and he ran photos and designed layouts across two pages.

Agha's work inspired other magazines to hire their first-ever art directors; the two most prominent in the 1930s were T. M. Cleland at Time, Inc. and Alexey Brodovitch at Hearst Magazines. Cleland was hired to design *Fortune,* which debuted in 1930. Like Agha, Cleland promoted an aesthetic that emphasized big, dramatic photos and unadorned layouts.

Brodovitch came to Hearst to design *Harper's Bazaar,* and his work there made him perhaps the most influential art director in American history. A Russian-born Parisian designer, he pioneered the use of bleed photographs (photos that print to the edge of pages) in magazines. He encouraged his photographers, including Irving Penn and Richard Avedon, to design pages through the camera lens and to put subjects on plain backgrounds so headings and stories could be printed directly on top of photos. Brodovitch wanted his magazine designs to have a musical feel.

Mid-Century Design

Through teaching and mentoring, Brodovitch and Agha educated the most important designers in the mid-1900s. This collection of designers became known as The New York School and heralded a period that historian William Owen has called the golden era of magazine design, from about 1945 to 1968. Brodovitch's and Agha's notable heirs included Cipe Pineles, art director of *Glamour* and *Seventeen;* Bradbury Thompson, art director at *Mademoiselle;* and Henry Wolf, who served as art director of *Esquire, Harper's Bazaar,* and *Show* magazines, and Otto Storch, who redesigned *McCall's*. Designers of this era used many of the same techniques: shaping type to look like objects, merging type with image on full-bleed photography and creating visual metaphors. For example, in a 1961 *McCall's* layout for "The Forty-Winks Reducing Plan," Otto Storch placed a photo of a sleeping woman on the top of text made to look like a sagging mattress.

In the 1960s and 1970s, magazine design headed in a new, less inspired direction, particularly in the 1970s. The economy began to struggle in the early 1970s and so did magazines, as advertising and readership dropped. Magazines became more commercial, seeming to shout louder to attract newsstand buyers. They amplified their cover designs with multiple sell lines pushing different stories and clashing colors, just as companies reduced the size of magazines to make them more economical to produce.

Even so, magazine design had its bright spots in this era, among them the work of Herb Lubalin, who designed or redesigned *Reader's Digest* and the *Saturday Evening Post,* among others. He also launched a magazine, *Avant Garde,* which gave birth to a still-popular typeface of the same name. Lubalin's work reflected the modernists' use of the spread and modular layout of photos, but emphasized type design more than the modernists did. Where golden-era designers might use one typeface for an entire magazine, Lubalin would change the typeface for every story. Like many designers today, Lubalin believed type should reflect story themes.

Walter Bernard and Milton Glaser also broke new ground in 1968 with their design of *New York,* a regional weekly magazine that combined activist journalism with strong visual expression. With the Vietnam War, the civil rights and women's rights movements, and the rise of television, Americans had a lot competing for their attention in the late 1960s. Glaser said he designed *New York* for the television generation, for readers with an attention span of seven minutes, the length of commercial breaks during TV programs. He gave the magazine a more functional design, putting advertising throughout, not just in the front and back; placing a lot more text on the pages; adding more interruptions such as subheads to help cue readers; and halting the practice of jumping stories to the end of the magazine.

Another magazine making waves during the 1970s was *Rolling Stone,* a music and counterculture monthly magazine. Its content wasn't new among so-called underground magazines, but its

design departed from the psychedelic style of other underground magazines. Perhaps more than any other magazine of this era, it emphasized type design over art, an aesthetic the magazine has continued throughout its history. Other magazines in the 1970s that featured strong design included *Psychology Today; Ms.,* which served the women's movement; and *Texas Monthly,* which was designed by Fred Woodward, who later became art director of *Rolling Stone.* All of these magazines had different visual styles: *Psychology Today* was known for its use of metaphorical imagery to explain science and technology, *Ms.* for its polished design, and *Texas Monthly* for its precise typography.

During the 1980s, the magazine industry began to regain its financial and editorial balance, which helped revive good taste and experimentation in magazine design. The U.S. edition of the fashion magazine *Elle* was among the most successful and best-designed magazines in the 1980s. Modernist, like its mid-century ancestors, and colorful, it used full-bleed photography, primary colors, and only one typeface, Futura. During the late 1980s, magazines began to rebel against the modular, spare layouts of the modernists and to revive the multilayered design of the Dadaists. Magazines such as *Spy,* a humor magazine; *Egg* and *Wigwam,* culture magazines; and *Esquire, Metropolitan Home,* and *New York* were more textured in their use of both typefaces and art and photographs.

The Computer Age

The advent of computers made the experimentation going on at many magazines easier. Apple introduced its first Macintosh in 1984, and by the late 1980s, the computer had transformed the design process at most magazines, although not always for the better. The late Henry Wolf once said the computer was "a seductive piece of equipment that too easily facilitates excess" (interview with author, 1994).

Excess certainly seemed to be the prevailing design principle at many magazines in the 1990s. While mid-century art directors believed that good design was the result of editing—of subtracting elements not essential to a story—many magazines in the 1990s seemed to believe that the best way to succeed was to try to spin faster than their competition. Covers featured as many as ten sell lines (headlines designed to attract readers) and six colors on top of a photograph. Inside pages also used abundant colors, decorative borders and typefaces, overlapping titles, and photos laid out at angles.

A few magazines did make a design impact in the 1990s, and key among them was *Ray Gun,* a wildly postmodern music and culture magazine. *Ray Gun's* then–art director, David Carson, created a magazine for a video-game generation of readers that was more interested in visual stimulation than readability. Carson was a rebel. He overlapped type, ran small text over photos, put type on its side, upside down, and backwards. He made every page completely different.

With the revival of Dadaist design in magazines such as *Ray Gun* alongside the modernist bent of magazines such as *Dwell* and *Real Simple,* no particular aesthetic dominates the twenty-first century. Roger Black, a pre-eminent art director in the latter part of the twentieth century (he has designed or redesigned such varied titles as *Rolling Stone, Newsweek, Reader's Digest, The New York Times Magazine, McCall's, The New Republic, Fast Company, Foreign Affairs, Advertising Age,* and *Esquire*) has said that since the 1967 launch of *Rolling Stone,* which inspired legions of young designers, no magazine has had a major impact on design.

Celebrity Covers

What have had an impact on magazine design in the view of Roger Black are celebrities, who, since the 1990s, have replaced the models that once dominated magazine covers. In 2007, entertainment/celebrity and fashion magazines accounted for about a quarter of magazines sold in the United States, and about a third of magazines' circulation revenues came from newsstand sales. Magazine newsstand sales are dependant on covers, and no one sells a magazine more effectively than a celebrity, some much better than others—Brad Pitt and Jennifer Aniston, to name two. Their marriage and breakup dominated the covers of magazines such as *People, In Touch Weekly, Life and Style,* and *US Weekly* in the early 2000s. As of 2008, *US Weekly's* highest-selling cover in its history was the February 7, 2005, issue, titled "How Jen Found Out," that sold 1.25 million copies.

Because it sells newsstand copies, a cover is considered a magazine's most important page.

Although their designs will differ, covers of most magazines have similar time-tested formats. Typically they feature one large photograph with sell lines that promote anywhere from four to ten stories inside. Designers believe the single image attracts the shopper's attention, but sell lines are what actually get someone to buy the magazine. Magazines keep track of newsstand sales rates for different cover subjects and often test cover concepts to see which will generate the most interest. Magazines will sometimes put different covers on newsstand issues in different regions to see which attract the most sales.

While designing covers is more an art than a science, magazines have learned a lot about what appeals to newsstand shoppers. A panel of experts in 1986, which included John Mack Carter, who had been editor-in-chief of *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Good Housekeeping,* offered a list of tips for creating successful covers: photos sell better than artwork; sex sells better the politics; timeliness is critical; solutions sell better than problems; and subtlety and irony don't sell.

Magazines in the twenty-first century still follow this conventional wisdom. Contemporary techniques also include using bright colors, plus signs, and numbers ("697 ways to kick-start your style"; "27 terrific summer reads"). Numbers are a graphic device that make magazine covers stand out. Magazines have learned that big numbers sell better than small ones, and odd numbers sell better than even ones because they seem more authentic to readers.

Ultimately, a cover's design—the typefaces, kind of image used, and logo design—depends on a magazine's editorial mission. A title like *Dwell,* a modern home design magazine, would feature a picture of a home, inside or out, often with a person or people in it. *Time* or *Newsweek* would feature an image related to a key news story or feature. These images often are conceptual photographs or illustrations. Since its start in 1925, *The New Yorker* has used only graphic or cartoon illustrations on its covers. Most men's and women's magazines such as *Esquire, GQ, Good Housekeeping,* and *Marie Claire* typically feature a celebrity. When people are used as cover subjects, they are nearly always looking directly at the reader because their eye contact draws attention.

A magazine's logo is positioned at the top of the cover where it will show above other magazines on the newsstand. Most logos consist of one or two words made large enough to be visible from 10 feet. A magazine logo is a brand much like a corporate logo; as a result, magazines rarely change them, although they may touch them up—adjust the spacing between the letters or type size, for example—to keep them looking current. *The New Yorker* has precisely the same logo it started with in 1925 and *Esquire* still uses a variation of its original cursive typeface. Occasionally, a magazine may create a new logo as part of a major redesign as *BusinessWeek* did in 2007. *BusinessWeek* replaced its serif logo (serifs are the strokes that extend from the ends of a letter) with one without serifs, a significant shift from a more conservative aesthetic to a more modern one.

Redesign

While a magazine's logo is designed to stand the test of time, magazine content and layout typically get redesigned every three to five years to stay current. Some redesigns are rejuvenations and others are major overhauls. Magazines redesign to attract new readers or keep existing ones, to show advertisers that the magazine is up-to-date, and to reflect changing editorial content. Major redesigns are done from the inside out; they involve changing a magazine's editorial content such as adding or eliminating departments, as well as creating a new or refreshed format. A new format may mean changing a magazine's typefaces, the kinds of art and photos it uses, and how it uses space.

Both *Time* and *Newsweek* redesigned in 2007 for the typical reasons: Newsweeklies have been losing subscribers and advertising to the Internet. *Time* underwent an extensive change to simplify the magazine's look and organization. It broke the magazine into four identifiable sections, revived use of Franklin Gothic, a sans serif typeface the magazine featured earlier in its history, and put more space on the pages, which the magazine's editor said had become cluttered. *Newsweek,* on the other hand, added to its print version, creating more space for longer stories and more photography.

Magazines on the Web

Magazine design is to the web as print is to a computer screen: an entirely different medium.

The challenge for online magazines is differentiating themselves from each other and from other websites. Most web magazines, whether they are online-only such as Salon.com or companion sites to print magazines such as *The New Yorker,* are designed using the same format as news and information sites. They feature a logo on the top, a list of links on the left, and content in the middle and top of the page.

What differentiates these publications from each other primarily is use of colors and typefaces, which are selected to match the magazine's personality. Salon.com, for example, uses red as its signature color, with black and gray for contrast. Nerve.com, another freestanding magazine, varies its format slightly: It has an illustration of a cityscape at night framing its content, and its home page uses photos with titles on the left to link to blogs and an index of other content down the middle. Print magazines design companion sites so they will have the same brand. They will use similar fonts and colors. *The New Yorker,* for example, has the same logo, accompanied by the illustration of Eustice Tilley, the tall-hatted character featured on the magazine's first print issue in 1925. *The New Yorker* home page is white, with black type and red spot color, and has the same cultured feel as the print magazine.

A breed of fashion webzines is designed to look like their glossy print counterparts, with pages that a reader "turns" by clicking on the screen. Titles in 2008 included Luxuryculture.com, Hintmag.com, and Fashion156.com. Some of these webzines have home pages similar to other websites, but their feature stories open in separate windows that look like magazine pages. Unvogue.com opens onto what looks like a magazine spread. One key difference, though: these magazines are a multimedia experience encompassing music, still photography, and videos.

All online magazines are designed to take advantage of the web's key attribute—interactivity. A 2008 story in Smashing magazine, a blog for web developers and designers, said usability, not visual design, determines the success or failure of a website. That's why the online version of *Domino* magazine, which focuses on home décor, invites readers to submit photos of their own spaces to be featured in an ever-expanding gallery, or why *Mother Earth News* asks readers to vote on covers and articles that will appear in its print version. And it's why virtually every online magazine has chat rooms and message boards so readers can interact. Smashing magazine suggests that good website design has white space, creates a focal point, and strives for simplicity and continuity, the tenets of good magazine design, regardless of medium.

A magazine's design ultimately is about connecting with readers and creating a visual connection with its editorial content. *Dwell* magazine, for example, looks very much like the modern homes it features on its pages—cool and open—and likely matches its readers' aesthetic. *Good Housekeeping,* with its busy pages and colors and photos of families, mirrors the lives of its readers, or at least the lives readers aspire to. Successful magazines reflect the way life is and the way readers want life to be. They try to capture the zeitgeist—the spirit of the times—and seek inspiration from the past. As Estelle Ellis, who helped launch *Seventeen* in 1944 and worked as a design consultant for 50 years, once advised, "Design on the basis of what you know and understand, but don't underestimate looking back to what was great in an earlier time. You have to drive with a rearview mirror. You have to design the same way."

Carol Holstead

See also Graphics; Layout; Newspaper Design; Photography; Printing

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Maps in Journalism

Maps are important to journalism because location is a key part of many newsworthy events. Local stories on home invasions, road closures, and zoning disputes have geographic elements for which words alone are often inadequate—readers want to be able to visualize where an event occurred as well as know what happened. And for stories about natural disasters and terrorist attacks in unfamiliar locations, maps can satisfy the editor's need for an illustration as well as the reader's thirst for details. In addition to small, straightforward displays relating a single location to a geographic framework of boundaries, place names, and nearby landmarks, maps describing multiple locations can enrich feature stories covering phenomena as diverse as rare-bird sightings, contaminated wells, and school attendance zones. And in addition to decorating the page or television screen while highlighting the report, a map can reveal potentially meaningful patterns as well as help readers assess the likely effect on themselves and loved ones. The best example of this ability to engage audiences while communicating efficiently is the weather map, which has well-established roles in print and electronic journalism.

Scale, Distortion, and Generalization

Maps work by condensing information about places and distances into comparatively small, highly generalized graphic representations. The ratio of map distance to ground distance is called *scale*. Sheet maps and atlas maps typically report their scale as a ratio or fraction such as 1:24,000 or 1/24,000, which means that an inch on the map represents 24,000 inches, or 2,000 feet, on the ground. Small-scale maps, with relatively small fractions like 1/100 million, require considerable generalization to reduce a large country, a continent, or the entire world to a display less than a foot wide. By contrast, a large-scale, 1:2,000 newspaper map two columns wide can show individual land parcels on a city block. Because viewers might not readily grasp ratio scales, large- and medium-scale news maps typically state their scale graphically, with a horizontal bar perhaps a half-inch long and a label indicating the corresponding distance. Bar scales on news maps generally represent a single distance, always in miles in American newspapers.

However appropriate on maps of neighborhoods or states, bar scales are potentially misleading on small-scale maps, where scale varies significantly from place to place as well as with direction. Flattening the spherical earth is a complex process, which requires drastic distortion of distance and shape. (On a rectangular world map, with a grid of evenly spaced meridians and parallels, north-south scale is constant while east-west scale approaches infinity near the poles—stretched from mere points into lines as long as the equator.) Although stretching is unavoidable on large-scale maps of neighborhoods or counties, geometric distortion is not noticeable if the map author selects an appropriate map projection. These maps are typically framed with a *conformal* projection, the type used for topographic maps and nautical charts. Because scale at a point is the same in all directions on a conformal projection, circles and complex curves can retain their characteristic shapes. And because the area shown is not large, distances and areas are not noticeably distorted. By contrast, conformal projections like the Mercator, used for nautical charts to portray constant sailing directions as straight lines, are not recommended for small-scale maps, on which they can severely distort area. The classic example of an

inappropriate map projection is the widely used Mercator world map, which portrays Greenland as roughly the same size as South America. Numerous projections suitable for whole-world or continental maps either preserve relative area or offer an appropriate compromise between distorted areas and distorted shapes and angles.

Generalization is unavoidable because map symbols are almost always proportionately thicker than the features they represent. Exaggerated width is blatantly obvious for boundary lines, which have no measurable width, and potentially troublesome for roads and streams. On a column-width news map covering a multi-county region at a scale of 1:1 million, a reliably visible line 1/50 inch thick requires a cartographic corridor nearly a third of a mile wide. To avoid clutter and confusion, the map author must separate nearby features as well as exaggerate some kinks and eliminate others—a meandering stream must look like a meandering stream, after all, even if the mapmaker must dampen curvature and reduce the number of bends. Which features are retained depends on the map's purpose. Good design requires a geographic framework of carefully selected background features as well as a graphic hierarchy in which essential features are more visually prominent than background details. Addition of a simple *locator inset* at a smaller scale can relate the main map to a wider, more familiar geographic frame of reference. A *detail inset* at a larger scale might be added to show part of the region more precisely.

Because of space limitations and the need to highlight relevant details, news maps are simpler and more focused than conventional reference and atlas maps, and complex map keys are rare. Instead of the environmental scientist's arcane symbolic codes, significant features might be identified with text-balloons similar to those in cartoons. (A prominent text-balloon at the top of a simple locator map can even substitute for a caption or headline.) Readily interpreted symbols include miniature highway shields to mark Interstate 95 and U.S. 40, interlocking brushstrokes to suggest tree cover, and color symbols that rely on familiar associations of green with vegetation, blue with water, and red with danger. Weather maps have their own readily understood conventions—simple pictograms predict rain, snow, or cloudy conditions for selected cities while spectral hues running from cold blue to warm red describe temperatures across the country.

History

Technological impediments explain the slow development of journalistic cartography. News maps were rare until the early twentieth century, when photographic engraving provided an efficient way to combine their idiosyncratic arrangement of lines and labels with words organized in lines and columns. In contrast to commercial cartography, for which comparatively intricate maps were engraved elegantly on copper plates or lithographic stones, newspaper maps were crafted by removing the non-ink areas from smooth blocks of soft metal or dense, durable wood to leave a "type-high" printing surface. Labels were either engraved crudely, letter by letter, or composed by inserting type characters in small troughs cut into the metal or wood. Town names on the famous Gerrymander map-cartoon (see next page), used to ridicule a purposely contorted election district and published in the *Boston Gazette* on March 26, 1812, were engraved individually, as were labels on the election-district map that inspired it, published three weeks earlier in the *Boston Weekly Messenger*. During the American Civil War (1861–65), daily newspapers met the demand for timely battle reports by having multiple artisans work on separate sections of large maps.

Mass-circulation daily newspapers, which became prominent in the late nineteenth century, could afford full-time illustrators as well as photo-engraving departments adept at supplying their high-speed presses with high-contrast line images, drawn in black ink and captured on film. (Halftone photographs, pioneered in the early 1880s by the New York *Daily Graphic,* were not common until the late 1890s.) Further down the urban hierarchy, small daily and weekly newspapers relied on news syndicates for maps, cartoons, crossword puzzles, and other illustrations as well as feature articles, short stories, and mass-market advertisements. Dispatched by train from a central engraving plant, thin metal stereoplates were integrated with local material from the newspaper's own typesetter—received as "boiler plate" and "edited with a saw," this inexpensive filler encouraged an explosion of local newspapers in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Some syndicates

Elkanah Tisdale's classic Gerrymander map-cartoon, a take-off on a previously published election-district map. First printed in the Boston Gazette *on March 26, 1812.*

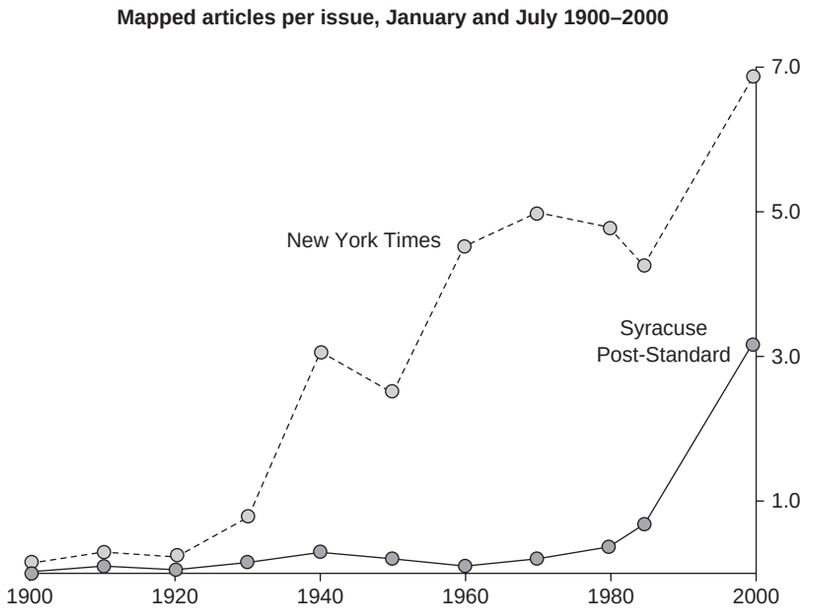
Source: Illustration from James Parton, *Caricature and Other Comic Art* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1877), p. 316.

delivered features and serialized fiction, others transmitted more timely news by telegraph. News maps were infrequent, and rarely addressed local events. A feature syndicate might embellish a story about colonial activity in Africa or a forthcoming eclipse with a crude, hand-drawn map captured photographically, while an enterprising editor with a supply of stereotyped reference maps might add an X or Maltese cross to illustrate a wire report about a natural catastrophe on another continent.

In January 1935 the Associated Press launched its WirePhoto network, which opened opportunities for more timely news maps. Although the facsimile transmission system was designed for continuous-tone photographs, rather than line drawings, AP artists learned to create graphically stable labels and line symbols. Separate weather maps for morning and afternoon newspapers were among the 50 or more images transmitted daily. One of the system's first news maps focused on the Saar Basin, site of a forthcoming plebiscite. Although the map situated the Saar between France and Germany and included portions of five other countries, lack of a bar scale made it difficult to judge the area's size and proximity to Paris and Frankfort. During World War II and the Korean War wire-service maps provided eager readers with a carefully censored, at-a-glance picture of the fighting. Several AP competitors entered the facsimile-photo business in the late 1930s, but few small daily newspapers were connected to a news-photo network before the 1950s, when the Fairchild Camera and Instrument Corporation introduced a comparatively inexpensive receiver/engraver.

Competition and new technology continued to transform journalistic cartography. After television, traffic congestion, and more hectic lifestyles killed off most big-city afternoon newspapers in the 1960s and 1970s, the surviving morning dailies repackaged their content in a multitude of sections with specially designed front pages and abundant graphics. The Associated Press and United Press International encouraged this "design revolution" by increasing the amount and quality of graphic artwork offered subscribing publishers. In the 1980s smaller newspapers responded to the perceived threat of *USA Today,* a national newspaper with a brilliantly colored, full-page weather package, by investing in color presses, while larger newspapers retrofitted their letter presses for run-of-press color. Maps helped art directors enliven a section front with a controlled splash of color, but the most prominent beneficiary was the weather map. For example, at the Syracuse *Post-Standard,* a medium-size daily that replaced its presses in 1998, color enhanced only 30 percent of the 3.2 nonweather maps printed on an average day in 2000—up markedly from .7 in 1985. And at *The New York Times,* where the same rate rose from 4.3 in 1985 to 6.7 in 2000, only 13 percent of the millennial year's maps were in color (Monmonier, "Pressing Ahead"). The "Old Gray Lady" had capitulated to weekday color in 1997, largely to appease advertisers, but the most obvious cartographic impact was its delicately colored weather map.

Of the diverse factors underlying the increased prominence of newspaper maps, electronic computing was the most influential. The catalyst was the Knight-Ridder-Tribune (KRT) syndicate, which began distributing MacDraw graphics over a dedicated network in 1985, a year after Apple introduced its Macintosh computer. In 1987 the Associated Press encouraged subscribing



Mapped articles per issue

Source: Tabulated and created by author.

newspapers to download Macintosh graphics over an 800-number telephone line. Smaller newspapers that purchased a Macintosh and laser printer for downloading and customizing AP or KRT graphics quickly learned to illustrate local news with maps. Because subscriber loyalty hinges on detailed local coverage, it's hardly surprising that in the year 2000, local or regional events accounted for 87 percent of the Syracuse *Post-Standard*'s maps.

Maps in Contemporary Journalism

Driven by events, deadlines, and intense competition for readers' attention, news maps are functionally different from their counterparts in commercial and scientific cartography, and require a distinctive terminology. A key division separates *fact maps,* which include most simple location maps, from *explanatory maps,* which are inherently more complex, and might even be used (perhaps with a caption) as sidebars or self-contained, "stand-alone" graphics. *Anticipatory maps,* which address forthcoming events as diverse as local marathons or overseas invasions, enjoy a comparatively generous lead time, often reflected in engaging designs and elaborate details. Small and largely decorative maps serve as *factoids* or "fever charts" (a term coined by Nigel Holmes while art director at *Time* in the 1980s) or as "standing sigs" (signature graphics) used daily to identify regional or world news briefs. Larger, more elaborate illustrations that combine geographic information with aesthetic appeal qualify as "flavour graphics" (a term introduced by Harold Evans, who edited *U.S. News and World Report* in the late 1990s), a genre especially common in travel magazines, the Sunday travel sections of large metropolitan newspapers, and weekly news magazines.

A newspaper's cartography has a distinctive look because the design specifications that standardize its typography, headlines, and page layout include the type, symbols, and frames of its maps. Style guidelines for maps not only contribute to an integrated visual appearance but also minimize delay and confusion when breaking news requires a map. Because cartography is a prominent part of a newspaper's overall design, some art departments impose the house style on maps from syndicates and wire services like the Associated Press, which has its own distinctive cartographic style.

Despite advances in desktop mapping software, which would empower reporters as mapmakers, news publishers tend to treat maps like photographs and other images—as illustrations developed by specialists working in an art department outside the news room. Some newspapers have a

separate graphics department that is responsible for maps and other information graphics or a "graphics editor" who mediates between the news desk and the art department. Elsewhere the integration of illustrations and art relies on informal alliances—inviting the art director to the daily editorial meeting is a common concession. Because reporters and editors are rarely trained in graphic design and mapmaking, this division of labor is likely to persist. Even so, some newspapers committed to investigative reporting acquired a geographic information system and made the software available to reporters covering crime, elections, or the environment. The resulting maps are often team efforts involving reporters, editors, and graphics specialists.

Electronic journalism also uses maps. Despite poor resolution and troublesome receivers, television broadcasters had used maps sparingly since the 1950, mostly for weather reporting. Electronic graphic systems developed in the 1970s could generate simple locator maps—now in color, with improved contrast—as well as animated sequences with few labels. Dynamic cartography became the backbone of local and national weathercasts, where on-camera meteorologists interpreted an otherwise confusing mélange of animated forecast maps and Doppler radar displays. The Weather Channel, launched in 1982, combined a region-by-region canvass of weather and its effects with customized updates, advertised relentlessly as "Local on the Eights." Traffic reports and war news also benefited. Animated maps crafted with guidance from retired military officers helped network newscasters cover the run-up to the Gulf War of 1991 and the Iraq war. Google Earth, a web-based mapping tool introduced in 2005, merged fly-over animation with satellite imagery, and was quickly adopted for dramatic introductions to unfamiliar locations. Newspapers, which saw Internet distribution as essential for survival, enhanced their websites with interactive election maps and other dynamic displays.

Conclusion

News maps demonstrate that location matters. Their increased frequency and expanded role reflect changes in publishing economics and information technology as well as growing awareness of geography as news and of information graphics as visual decoration. The Internet's prowess in disseminating interactive, customized news reports has opened new opportunities for journalistic cartography.

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See also Associated Press; Computers in Journalism; Feature Syndicates; Graphics; Internet Impact on Media; Newspaper Design; Printing; Travel Journalism; *USA Today*; War and Military Journalism; Weather Journalism

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MARKETING

Marketing is the customer-oriented process of creating, pricing, distributing, and promoting goods or services. Over the years marketing has evolved from its dedicated, process-oriented roots to become a distinct and integrated component that drives the output of every organization. The American Marketing Association defines marketing as "an organizational function and a set of

processes for creating, communicating, and delivering value to customers and for managing customer relationships in ways that benefit the organization and its stakeholders."

For news media organizations, marketing accomplishes three important and interrelated functions: (1) to identify and create, distribute, and promote their products and services to answer to the informational, educational, and entertainment needs of their audiences; (2) to market their products and services to advertisers and third parties; and (3) to increase brand awareness and develop strategies to promote organizational growth.

Both journalists and marketing practitioners use media channels to deliver information to their audiences. This proximity, combined with the need for media organizations to actively compete in the marketplace, has blurred to some extent the differences between marketing and journalism yet at the same time, has diversified and modernized both fields. The advent of new communication channels since 1990 has made it even more difficult to draw a clear distinction, at least from an applied perspective.

Marketing forces continuously shape the journalist's world as the consumer's need for news and informational channels dynamically change. Traditional print media outlets, such as newspapers and magazines, major employers of journalists, have been relatively slow in adapting to modern business models, and to recognize and accept the power of marketing. In an era of troubled media and general economics, marketing becomes even more important.

Journalism deals with information and has a duty to present accurate, factual, and balanced reporting and analysis of news events to its audience. Marketing, on the other hand, and especially the "promotion" component, deals with persuasion, with the need and duty to generate or increase brand awareness and brand recognition, increase product or service recognition and demand, and ultimately increase sales. Journalism at its roots is descriptive, marketing is persuasive. By the end of the twentieth century, information had become a commodity requiring effective packaging to be attractive to its intended audience. Today, content must resonate with audience needs and values. Given the quest for earnings, journalism cannot survive without marketing.

To complicate the picture, news media organizations make a significant portion of their revenues not only by selling information to readers (or indirectly to viewers), but by selling audiences to advertisers. Thus, as news media compete for customers for their advertising time or space, they must provide a news product which, using marketing terminology, must be tailored to the needs of the business (advertising) audience, with a competitive price structure, and adequately promoted. Thus a conflict arises between the need to be objective, tell the truth, and inform, and the need to have a profitable business model and play a part in delivering third-party marketing-driven persuasive messages to readers or viewers that seek the media product because of its perceived informational value.

Business entities, on the other hand, employ journalism techniques to enhance the appeal of their public relations releases so they are more likely to be selected for inclusion in the news. Research in 2005 estimated that about 44 percent of news editorial decisions in the United States are influenced by public relations practitioners. This is a significant figure that adds to the pressure news media get from their advertising clients. This relationship reflects the balance of power between journalism and marketing in news media organizations. According to data from a survey of marketing professionals conducted in 2008 by Millward Brown for *PRWeek,* 19 percent of senior marketers confirm their organizations have bought advertising space in media outlets in exchange for coverage in news stories; furthermore, about 10 percent of the same marketing professionals state they had a verbal agreement with reporters to buy advertising space in anticipation of positive news coverage of their company. These findings highlight another concern: the ethical dimension. As pressure on news media from market forces increases, journalists have to walk a continuously thinning line between sound journalism principles and coping with increasingly demanding organizational pressure to deliver a "sellable" product.

In order to respond to the demand of increased competition among traditional and newer news outlets, media organizations apply marketing principles not only to promote their products, but to the basic core of how news and editorial content is written and collated. The trend at the beginning of the twenty-first century is changing from "delivering information" to "making information resonate

with the audience," or packaging news to best meet the needs and values of advertisers and consumers. The change can also be seen with the increasing number of journalism schools now offering marketing courses, and teaching news and information from more of a "market oriented" perspective.

Origins

The development of marketing can be traced through two distinct dimensions, one academic and the other functional.

According to Robert Bartels (1988) the academic evolution of marketing went through eight decade-long periods, starting in 1900. The academic evolution of marketing is important as research and education provided an understanding of market forces.

The early years to 1910, or the discovery period, saw the first marketing courses in American colleges and the first published reports on price and distribution of agricultural goods, a first in utilizing the scientific method to explore the existence and interaction of market forces. The second decade of the twentieth century, or the conceptualization period, focused on researching and understanding of basic marketing processes and institutions and the role of products in the market. The period of integration in the 1920s was a time of assimilation of knowledge from sales management and advertising, thus creating the premises for further development of marketing. During the 1930s (the development period), the first comprehensive marketing theories were postulated and the *American Marketing Journal* was first published in 1934. The 1940s was a period of reappraisal, marking theoretical development, and evolution of marketing from individual processes to a more integrative and systematic approach. The following decade built upon previous development, and saw a refining of marketing knowledge with new theoretical work and development of modern marketing perspectives. The main achievements of the period of differentiation during the 1960s were the incorporation of quantitative research methods into marketing research and the extensive development of marketing models. The period after 1970 was marked by a realization that, at any societal level, interaction between organizations and their stakeholders may profit from implementation of marketing techniques; this period also witnessed development of social marketing as a distinct component.

The early twenty-first century development of communication technologies and the increased utilization of online social networks (with millions of users, no geographical boundaries, and intimate targeting potential) may mark another period in marketing's evolution. To further underline parallels between marketing and journalism, the same determinants irreversibly influence the way consumers seek information: user-generated content, almost nonexistent 15 years ago, represents over half of the media consumption of young people. Message boards, blogs, instant messaging, and the like are but a few of the new outlets where people seek news and may trigger a revision of the position of the journalist in society.

According to Robert Keith (1960) the real-life business impact of marketing can be segmented into three main periods. Some marketing scholars have questioned this historical perspective, although it is widely accepted and included in many marketing textbooks.

The first period (product oriented), triggered by the industrial revolution, extends to the beginning of the twentieth century. In an age of newly discovered mass production means and high demand, the main orientation of organizations was to design new products and make these quickly available to the market. The sales oriented period lasted from the 1920s to the early 1950s and was defined by the Depression and all the market turmoil that it generated. Diminishing purchase power and an abundance of products generated a sharp decrease in demand, forcing organizations to concentrate on sales. This is the great era of personal selling and the golden age of advertising.

The marketing oriented period of the past half century has been fueled by the realization that, in order to be successful in a market saturated with products and sales pitches, you must deliver to your customers what they want. This reorientation of the functional marketing philosophy has consumer characteristics and present and future needs as the focal point. This has, indeed, been a golden era of consumer research.

The Marketing Mix

At the core of any marketing plan resides the concept of marketing mix. This notion is as important

for a news media organization as it is for a retailer or manufacturer. Although perhaps not perceived consciously, the marketing mix is what drives how news is gathered, packaged, promoted, and distributed, thus influencing company policies and procedures, and in the end, the journalist. Postulated by Harvard Business School professor Jeremy McCarthy in the 1960s, the marketing mix comprises four elements: product, price, place, and promotion.

Product represents the actual specifications of the goods or services offered to the customer and the congruence of these specifications with the consumer's needs and values. Some of the most important variables that must be considered are brand and quality, functionality and design, packaging and warranty, and postsale service and support.

Price represents the perception of exchangeable product value for the customer and the process of determining that value, including any financial incentives that may be associated with the actual selling process. Variables that must be considered include list price, gross and point of sale (POS) discounts, financing and leasing options, and allowances.

Place denotes the process of bringing the product or service in contact with the customer, at the right time, in the best place, and in the required quantities. This component of the marketing mix is sometime called "placement" or "distribution." Variables that must be considered include locations and logistics, distribution channels, and market coverage.

Promotion refers to the process of informing, educating, and persuading selected target audiences about the organization, the product or service, and the brand. It uses a complex arsenal of research, communication tools, and strategic thinking. Some of the major variables that must be considered include message development, advertising and public relations, media plans, and media channels.

The Extended Seven P's

The development of the service industry during the final decades of the twentieth century influenced changes in the marketing mix, which needed to adapt to new market realities. A departure from the traditional four P's marketing concept is the seven P's marketing mix, which adds people, process, and physical evidence to the traditional blend.

People. This concept has dual significance. On one dimension, it stands for any representative of an organization or its affiliates, distribution chain representatives, or service personnel who comes in direct contact with the consumer and may influence the overall satisfaction or perceived value of a product or service. Additionally, it means the consumers of a product or service, for their perception of the value of their purchase may influence other potential customers. The increased use of online discussion groups during the first half of the first decade of the twenty-first century and the exponential increase in users of online social networks during the second half of the same decade underscores the power of individuals in influencing the marketing of a product or service. This is of extreme importance to the journalist. As people migrate from traditional news media, accounting for how people seek news from the multitude of available outlets influences how a journalist prepares a story and how it gets distributed. Furthermore, the explosion of user-generated content is threatening the core of the journalism profession. A strong trend of personnel downsizing at news media companies has been evident since 2004, with much of the former content being replaced by news generated freely by news consumers.

Process. This concept, specific to the service industry, addresses customer satisfaction from the perspective of the service process itself. This approach takes into account the intermediary steps needed to obtain the desired outcome, especially as customer interaction may be significant during the process. From a journalist perspective this translates into transparency and responding to consumer questions and comments.

Physical Evidence. This concept is a direct complement of the "promotion" found in the classical four P's model, and it is also particular to the service industry. Demonstrations, endorsements, testimonials, and case studies highlight the fact that a service is intangible and its value is hard to evaluate prior to its delivery. Nothing could be more relevant for a journalist, especially for stories posted online: the story has a comments and a ratings field; any reader can post a comment and leave a rating. Major news search engines may rank their stories based on user reviews; endorsement by a member of

an online social network may stimulate further distribution of the story within the network.

Integrated Marketing Communications

As noted, communication is an integrant part of marketing. Diversity of media channels and audiences and interaction between the two has created the need for organizations to present a consistent and coordinated message. Integrated marketing communications can be defined as the process of coordinating promotion with all other marketing efforts in order to deliver the maximum persuasive and informational impact on targeted audiences. Integrated marketing communications practitioners take advantage of any new medium that may enhance and/or focus the delivery of their message—such as the usage of highly targeted promotional materials via online delivery or database marketing. The overall businesses' openness to communication plus the need to interact with news outlets in a language and a format they understand has created a need for experienced journalists—many of them currently working as communication officers in businesses.

Conclusion

Marketing and journalism both serve audiences' need for information, and their strategic congruence has assisted the survival of news media organizations during economic downturn and increased competition. Perceiving the needs and values of the consumer as essential determinants for news reporting and information delivery, thus implementing modern principles of marketing in the daily activities of media organizations, has increased the quality and appeal of reporting and editorial content.

Mugur Valentin Geana

See also Advertising; Advertorials; Business Journalism; Business Magazines; Mass Media, Decline of Media; Spin

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Mass Media, Decline of

The term *mass media* refers to the channels and institutions of mass communication that produce and deliver media messages to a large, heterogeneous, and scattered "mass audience." The term originated in the 1920s with the creation of countrywide radio networks, mass-circulation newspapers, and magazines. In the twenty-first century, the term *mass media* is used to describe a much broader array of both print and electronic media, including television, film, radio and sound recording, books, and magazines, as well as so-called new media, such as the Internet and video games. However, as new media proliferate, three interconnecting trends—audience fragmentation, specialized media content, and content customization—are challenging and reshaping conceptualizations of the terms *mass media* and *mass audience*.

Audience Fragmentation

Audience fragmentation is often described as the process through which large, heterogeneous audiences are divided into smaller groups who consume specialized media content from an increasing array of media outlets. Today's overall audience is not smaller but is far more divided up among a vast range of individual media, outlets, and messages. In turn, some scholars argue that the

audience is becoming less "mass." For example, prior to the onset of cable television, there were but three national networks (e.g., ABC, CBS, NBC) from which to choose. During this period—well into the 1960s at least—the term *mass audience* indicated a vast and heterogeneous group of people, consuming more or less the same television content at the same time, and thus sharing a similar viewing experience. Four decades later, however, with the growth of cable and satellite television, the number of video entertainment and news choices has skyrocketed, thereby making it increasingly difficult for any single message to capture a mass audience. Furthermore, relative to broadcast television and radio, entertainment and news content on the Internet operates in an environment that is especially conducive to audience fragmentation.

Specialized Media Content

As our media options multiply, many of them are becoming increasingly specialized in content. At the start of the twenty-first century, we are witnessing a transition where legacy broadcasting is being supplemented and may be replaced by narrowcast services, where specialized media content attracts a smaller and more specific audience demographic. For example, cable television has entertainment channels that appeal specifically to African Americans (e.g., BET), sports fans (e.g., ESPN), and preschoolers (e.g., PBS Kids Sprout), among others. Cable news service has grown increasingly specialized as well, with CNN offering 24-hour news coverage, C-SPAN covering the U.S. Congress and related hearings, and Fox News known for its more conservative coverage. The Internet, even more than cable television, provides a seemingly infinite number of media choices, both entertainment and news, targeting highly specialized audiences.

Content Customization

Perhaps more than any other mass communication technology, the Internet makes a seemingly unprecedented amount of content available to the user. At the same time, the Internet offers the user more control over both content creation and selection (let alone time of use) and typically does so at little or no cost to the average person. Thus, not only does the Internet's sheer volume of specialized online content further fragment audiences, but it also offers the user the possibility to create their own messages (via blogs, message boards, personal websites, and so on), thereby giving the user an extraordinary level of control. At the same time, the Internet and other technological advancements (e.g., iPods, heavily featured cellphones) allow for an exceptional level of user customization. The Internet, for example, affords users the ability to personalize their online news services to receive only those items that conform with their preferences. Furthermore, most online news websites include features (e.g., menu, hyperlinks to related stories, searchable archives of content) that enable users to locate further information to suit their individual needs. This huge menu of service options often renders it easier for the user to seek specific issues online than in legacy news media outlets.

Implications for News Consumption

Audience fragmentation, specialized media content, and content customization have important potential implications on general media consumption, and more specifically, news. For instance, while some media scholars celebrate audience fragmentation and specialized media content for their democratic potential (i.e., more voices, more perspectives, etc.), other critics view these trends as two of the most significant obstacles to the media's role in contributing to a national identity. In other words, as we become increasingly fragmented into smaller demographically targeted groups, what may become of our sense of national culture, society, or politics? Other critics argue that fragmented audiences are highly unlikely to consume a common intake of news content, thereby potentially leading the vast majority of the public to be underinformed about vital issues facing the country and the global community. Many critics posit that with the growth of increasingly specialized cable channels and the Internet, people will select only news content that conforms to their own specialized interests and biases; in fact, there has been some research showing evidence of this trend. In 1996, sociologist Elihu Katz argued that specialized media content and individualized use "seems to be fast displacing national comings together, and pleasure seems to be pushing public affairs even more out of sight." These trends, critics suggest, may jeopardize the

very foundation of government based on citizen awareness and political involvement.

While many online news readers welcome the once unprecedented level of news customization, many critics view this as a trend with potentially damaging consequences. Such a tool runs the risk of limiting readers to very specific points of view and makes it harder for them to discover new viewpoints or topics of interest. Such concerns are real. Research shows that college students who read customized online versions of *The New York Times* read fewer international and national political reports than readers of the traditional printed version. A leading voice in this discussion is Cass Sunstein (2001), who has suggested that Internet users' growing ability to customize their political information may have a polarizing effect, with people becoming less likely to encounter arguments and information that challenge their political opinions. Thus, much like the fears surrounding audience fragmentation and specialized media content, content customization raises concerns about the future of national culture and political awareness.

Given the growing trends of audience fragmentation, specialized media content, and content customization, some observers wonder whether these changes signal the decline of mass media. Clearly, the abundance of media options, coupled with the unique characteristics of newer services, are challenging and reshaping our conceptions of both "mass" media and "mass" audiences. Yet others steadfastly argue that the terms *mass media* and *audience* still apply on the grounds that both traditional media and newer services are reaching relatively large, heterogeneous audiences. One must consider that even a television show that "fails" in the ratings can still reach three million households. Likewise, a video posted on YouTube holds the potential to reach an unprecedented portion of the global Internet community. There are, no doubt, cases in which current events reported in the news have captured the attention of a truly mass audience. The news coverage of the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, is a prime example of media's ability to pull seemingly fragmented audiences together. Clearly, while the explosion of specialized content renders it increasingly difficult for any one media message to reach a sizable portion of the population, the potential still exists for a powerful message delivered by the right medium in any given context to reach a mass audience.

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See also Audience; Audience Research; Internet Impact on Media; News Audiences, Decline of; Polls and Public Opinion

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Media Access

See Access to Media

Media Accountability Systems

A media accountability system (M*A*S) is a relatively recent concept. It gathers a wide diversity of

existing non-governmental organizations (NGOs) whose unifying purpose is to improve news media. Among the better known variations are correction boxes, press councils, news ombudsmen, and even books attacking press misbehavior. An M*A*S can be an individual (such as a media reporter) or a structured group (like a television viewers' association). It may consist of a single document (such as a code of ethics), a critical report, or a censorious blog on the Internet. It can also be a process, either short (like an ethical audit) or long (like a university education).

Although the terminology is recent, forms of M*A*S have existed since the press was born. Why, then, pay more attention to them now? For the same reason that there are more of them: it is widely believed that news media are not yet good enough for democracy to function well, though the survival of civilization may be predicated on the extension of democracy. So a crucial issue is how to help news media to better inform the public. Both a free market and limited legislation that avoids abuse of freedom are indispensable, but neither can deliver a quality press. Worse, either one can be dangerous: consider what state tyranny did to Soviet media, and what near total deregulation has done to American media since the 1980s.

A third force is developing in journalism, called "media accountability." That concept embraces "ethics," an individual journalist's sense of right and wrong; "media ethics," guidelines drawn up by the profession in order to better serve the public; and "quality control," the techniques used by a manufacturer to satisfy and retain his customers. Media accountability involves the public and in that way is quite different from "self-regulation," which has rarely proved efficient. Media users are also voters and consumers: they can wield great influence on media but they have rarely done so.

The basic M*A*S, media codes of conduct, started being drafted at the turn of the twentieth century when "mass media" and commercialization spread. Today, probably no nation on earth is without some kind of media code. In the United States, most major newspapers have one of their own. Reading hundreds of them from around the world leads to the conclusion that they all essentially agree. With few exceptions, what is wrong and right in journalism are the same in every democracy. So the main problem is not in defining the principles or justifying the rules of journalism, but in getting media owners and journalists to respect them. And since history teaches us not to trust the government, its police, and its courts, the focus has to be on *non-governmental* means to enforce the rules—M*A*S.

The purposes of the existing M*A*S are not limited to the enforcement of code rules, however. The situation may be summarized in six points:

1. The goal is quality information, sorely needed for democracy.
2. Quality information depends largely on the quality of journalists.
3. The quality of journalists requires that they resist both political and economic pressure.
4. To resist, they need to bring two forces into play: solidarity within the profession and public support of the profession.
5. Public support will only be made available if the public feels trust and esteem toward the profession.
6. Trust and esteem require three conditions: that quality services be provided, that journalists listen to the public, and that journalists feel accountable to the public for what they do.

Many argue that journalism needs to be redefined. Input from consumers, researchers, and academics needs to correct the old-fashioned kind of news coverage still widely practiced. Those old approaches include such distorting practices as "iceberg journalism," which covers only the small visible part of reality while generally ignoring the much larger part under the surface, the quiet trends and processes that are transforming society. Another practice is "negative journalism," which focuses on the coverage of conflict, violence, failure, disaster, death, and suffering. And a third problem is the generation of "infotainment," or covering that which is interesting and ignoring what may be far more important. Law and the marketplace can do little, if anything, to correct such failings. M*A*S can.

Evaluation: Positive

While their purpose is the same, M*A*S use one or more of four approaches. Evaluation is one:

media criticism is as old as media, rarely appreciated by newspeople but indispensable just the same. Education is another, both that of the public and that of professionals. Journalists should never stop training, through courses, conferences, publications, and on the job—to become both more competent and more aware of their responsibilities toward society. Monitoring is a third approach: rank-and-file media users, independent experts, and academic researchers should provide long-term examination of media, reliable in-depth analyses, and serious studies of media effects. Last is public participation or intervention. There are many paths for this including "Letters to the Editor," an op-ed page for minority voices, online message boards annexed to published stories, meetings with professions that may conflict with the media (such as the police), and questionnaires sent to people cited in news stories.

M*A*S are amazingly diverse (see table). They can be internal to media organizations, such as an editor's memo to his staff, or external, such as a "journalism review" based on a campus (*The Columbia Journalism Review* is a renowned example), or they can involve cooperation of profession and public, such as a regularly consulted panel of readers or listeners.

One may also distinguish between M*A*S that function at local or regional or national or international level—or even on all four (as with some press councils). Or one can distinguish between those that produce an immediate effect (such as a correction box), a short-term result (like an awareness-raising session), or a long-term impact (such as higher education).

M*A*S are flexible and can easily be adapted to circumstances. Some ombudsmen, for example, write a regular column about the complaints they receive and consequent action they take, though many do not. Critical blogs come in all shapes and sizes. M*A*S complement each other: while none is sufficient alone, a few can be strikingly efficient, and all are useful. And they can function with one another, forming a vast though loose network for quality control. The best approach is not to choose among them but to incorporate all, much like weapons in a war. There is no alternative.

Last but not least, experience shows that, contrary to frequent accusations, M*A*S are

Table 1 Three Types of Media Accountability Systems

*1. Internal M*A*S*	
Correction box, column	Code of ethics
Media page/program	Ethics committee
Letter from the editor, sidebar	Disciplinary committee
Behind-the-scenes blog	Training to organize
Newsletter to subscribers	Whistle-blower
Media reporter	Newsroom committee
Consumer reporter	Media observatory
In-house critic	Order of journalists
Daily self-critical report	Company of journalists
Investigative panel	Assoc. of specialized reporters
Media weblog by journalist	Assoc. of publishers & editors
Evaluation commission	International defense org.
Filtering agency	Publishing foreign material
Internal study of issues	Foreign views on own country
Readership survey	Nonprofit newspaper
Ethical audit	[Public broadcasting]
Ethics coach	[International broadcasting]
Internal memo	[Quality service-oriented media]
Awareness program	

*2. External M*A*S*	
Media-related website	Public statement by VIP
Readers' info blogs	Higher education
Critical blogs	Required ethics course
Blog by sources	Nonprofit research
Alternative media	Opinion survey on media
Satirical news show	Media-at-school program
Daily report on media	Media literacy campaign
Journalism review	Media literacy website
"Darts and laurels"	Consumer group
Critical book/report/film	Association of militant citizens
Guides to influence	Monitors for profession. groups
Watchdog's watchdog	Media-serving NGO
Petition to pressure media	[Royal commission]
Ad hoc federation	[Indep. regulatory agency]
*3. Co-operative M*A*S*	
Letter to the editor	Citizen on board
Online message board	Club of readers/viewers
Outside media columnist	Local press council
Ombudsman	Annual conference
Complaints bureau	Seminar on media criticism
Listening session by editors	Training foreign bloggers
Accuracy & fairness question.	Yearbook on media crit.
Annual self-audit report	National press council
Grading the news	National ombudsman
Media barometer	Liaison committee
Paid advertisement	Occasional demonstration
Encounter with public	Media-related association
Website for public reaction	International cooperation
Panel of media users	Training NGO
Inviting in readers	Multipurpose center
Readers choosing Page One	Continuous education
Citizens journalism	Bridge institution
Radio clubs	Prize or other reward
Journalists' e-mail and phone	

Source: Compiled by author.

harmless—which cannot be said of the law or the marketplace. This is a crucial point.

Evaluation: Negative

In spite of these assets, M*A*S often seem to be largely ignored or rejected. Many large democracies including Brazil, France, and Japan lack a press council. Very few have journalism reviews or periodicals mainly devoted to media evaluation. Over half of all countries (Germany is but one) report "no ombudsman here." There are fewer than 300 journalism reviews for the tens of thousands of media outlets (again, Germany, for instance, has none).

Given their potential, why are there so few M*A*S? A chief obstacle is ignorance. Most people, even many inside the media, have never heard

of an M*A*S. And if they have, they may dislike them simply because they are new and seemingly offer a threat to media independence. Another problem is that M*A*S are focused upon rendering accounts to clients (the general public), which few professionals appreciate.

Generally speaking, what are M*A*S accused of? They are said to be purely cosmetic, more a matter of public relations than real effect. But if that is so, why should media decision makers be hostile to them? Paradoxically, M*A*S are also considered dangerously radical, a leftist conspiracy against freedom of expression and free enterprise. The real fear is that governments will use them to censor the news media. That has never happened. Indeed, when in 1975 Prime Minister Indira Gandhi suspended democracy in India, one of her first moves was to terminate rather than utilize the press council.

Some journalists judge M*A*S unacceptable on principle. According to the code of the International Federation of Journalists (1954), for example, "the journalist recognizes, in professional matters, the jurisdiction of his colleagues only; he excludes every kind of interference by governments *or others*" [emphasis added]. These days, however, journalists need just those "others" to help retain their independence.

A very common criticism is that M*A*S are unrealistic. It is often said that good media do not need quality control while the bad will never accept it unless government forces it upon them. Real power is in the hands of media owners for whom sales are a sufficient measure of public satisfaction. If media consumers are truly angry, let them stop reading or listening—or let them go to court. As for journalists, they cannot afford to antagonize their employers by insisting on observation of ethical rules.

Admittedly, some M*A*S are costly, though most are not. An ombudsman needs to be an experienced and respected journalist, and thus entitled to a good salary. A press council needs a sufficient budget to do its job well, fully, quickly, and visibly. While many believe it is better not to seek government funds, reporters lack money; and media owners are reluctant to pay to be criticized or even lose some of their power.

Protagonists

Ignorance about M*A*S needs to be overcome. Publishers and journalists, when told about M*A*S experiments, often react with great interest. M*A*S need to be promoted. All the protagonists in social communication should be involved. Politicians can help pressuring reluctant media owners and journalists into acting in a more ethical fashion, mainly by threatening to pass restrictive laws—which is how most press councils got created. The same result can be achieved by giving money with few or no strings attached, as the Finnish treasury did when providing the country's PC with half its budget.

What of the public? Contrary to conventional wisdom, the media user is rarely stupid or easily manipulated, but it lacks the knowledge, motivation, time, or the organization to become effectively involved—and thus feels powerless. The public needs to be informed and stimulated, mobilized, made to trust the M*A*S potential and to support the idea. The public absolutely must be involved for M*A*S to be fully effective.

Any rapid success of ethics and M*A*S is predicated on the cooperation of media owners and managers because they possess both authority and money. They can authorize, encourage, publicize, fund, and participate in many M*A*S. And they have legal, social, moral, and, most importantly, economic reasons to support such "quality control," though many may not be aware of it. Quality pays.

Lastly, journalists can benefit most directly from M*A*S, since quality public service can provide them with credibility, influence, and social prestige. Yet recent history shows that media staff is often more opposed to M*A*S than management. Professionals argue that they are not independent, hence they cannot be held responsible. Media ethics focuses on journalists since companies do not have a moral conscience. Imposing ethics can turn journalists into scapegoats, although they often commit only minor sins, while media companies commit the mortal sins. This is why media ethics and M*A*S should not seek only the improvement of media but also restoration of the bond of trust between journalists and public so that the latter will support the former in their fight for autonomy.

Conclusion

Considering the great number of M*A*S, some in operation for more than a century, their harmlessness, their diversity in meeting paramount needs of our time, one may wonder about their relative rarity.

Yet the picture is not as dark as it may seem. Many M*A*S have become such a normal part of the media environment that they are barely noticed anymore. The less spectacular, less controversial M*A*S include codes of ethics, letters to the editor, university training, required courses on media ethics, non-profit research, correction boxes, regular pages or programs devoted to media, media reporters, associations of specialized journalists, readership surveys, alternative media, and public service broadcasting.

Even though rare compared to the tens of thousands of media outlets, M*A*S are more numerous than ever. In the United States, ombudsmen serve over 40 newspapers, including *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*. The best dailies in Britain, France, Italy, Portugal, and Spain each have one. The majority of existing press councils have appeared since 1990, more than a third since 2000. All are signs of a change of climate, but they have also played a major part in the change. Media are now far more concerned with the public than they used to be. Many better understand the need to forge closer links with their customers. Journalists understand that citizens, too, are entitled to "a voice in the product," that their support is vital.

Together with improving technology, M*A*S have thus contributed to better media, certainly not yet good enough but indisputably better than they were 50 or 100 years ago. M*A*S could have contributed more if they had been used more. What is needed at the beginning of the twenty-first century is a wider, clearer awareness of what media accountability can mean for journalists everywhere.

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See also Alternative and Underground Newspapers; Books as Journalism; Criticism of Journalism; Ethics; Freedom of Information Act (FOIA); Labor Journalism; Letters to the Editor; Media Literacy; News Councils; Professionalism; Self-Regulation

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Media Hoaxes

See Hoaxes

Media Literacy

The term *media literacy* is drawn from an analogy with reading literacy: just as the latter refers to an ability to read, write, and understand words and phrases, the former refers to an ability to analyze, evaluate, and produce various kinds of media texts. *Media literacy* is often used interchangeably with *media education*, which technically speaking is the creation, primarily by school teachers, of the

necessary conditions for the development of media literacy. The relative uncertainty surrounding the definition of media literacy also characterizes the movement associated with it, as various media educators base their work on different theoretical perspectives. Virtually all media literacy schools of thought, however, agree that media pervade people's everyday lives, thus creating a need for an educational diet of analytical and critical thinking skills that can be specifically applied to their content. Alongside commercial messages carried by the media, news and public affairs stories receive increasing attention.

Basic Assumptions

As it is a relatively new intellectual concept, media literacy is still in the midst of developing its principles. In the past two decades, however, something akin to an action program has slowly developed around several commonly held beliefs. Arguably the most important is that all media messages are *constructed:* TV commercials, newspaper news items, captioned photographs, and billboard slogans are all created by someone working within a discernable set of social, political, historical, and economic institutions, and seeking to achieve a particular effect on the targeted audience. Assuming that most people seek exposure to at least some media messages, media educators seek to deconstruct them. The importance of this mission is underlined by the fact that mediated messages largely define people's sense of "reality."

In traditional communication theory, a mediated event (such as Joe Smith watching a newscaster on TV) has been seen to have three main components: sender (the newscaster), receiver or audience (Joe Smith), and the message (say, the latest news about the Middle East peace process). The vast majority of media researchers and teachers seek to educate the receiver/audience, but the other two elements are also included in media literacy programs. While focusing on helping people understand where (as well as how and why) media messages come from, many media literacy researchers hope to influence the process so that entertainers and journalists might modify their messages to accommodate a more informed and critical audience.

While most media literacy efforts take place in educational institutions, supporters stress the importance of other venues, such as community events and, most importantly, everyday family life. In keeping with the twin assumptions that the media have a strong (mostly negative) influence on people and that young people are most susceptible to be influenced, the most elaborate media literacy programs are centered on elementary and secondary schools. The elementary schools are receiving more attention, as it is increasingly believed that children must be familiarized with media systems as they become regular consumers of mass media. In the absence of a nationwide media literacy program, American media educators are often generalist, English, or social science teachers working at their own initiative or at the behest of individual schools.

The media examples examined in a classroom range from contemporary music and movies, to social interaction websites such as Facebook or MySpace, and the front page of *The New York Times*. Elementary school students, for example, might watch five minutes of a *Tom & Jerry* cartoon reel and count the instances of violence (such as Jerry pulling on Tom's whiskers) and note the consequences (or lack thereof). The children's observations can then be used as a springboard for a wider discussion of violence as a solution to social conflict, media representation of "reality," and so on. High school students might watch a 20-minute segment of the day's TV news and then identify how newscasters identify people in terms of ethnicity. Indeed, media representations of violence and race relations are two of the most frequent themes addressed in media literacy programs, alongside images of the "ideal" male/female body type, consumer values, and messages related to sexual and gender norms.

Different Approaches

Media literacy has its roots in British literary criticism of the 1930s and the subsequent intellectual tradition known as "cultural studies." As part of their efforts to examine relationships among various institutions of power and sociocultural products, cultural studies scholars of the 1970s began paying special attention to film and television. Britain remains a media literacy powerhouse, with the country's telecommunications regulatory body responsible for the promotion of nationwide media literacy programs. In North America, the media

literacy movement was spear-headed in Ontario, which in the late 1970s created and implemented wide-ranging media education curricula. Various American school districts followed suit throughout the 1990s. Because of the great autonomy that individual educational entities enjoy in the United States, no one media literacy program has been applied consistently across the nation.

All schools of thought agree on the necessity to assist people, especially children, in the development of analytical and critical skills to apply to any media messages. The main differences lie in how media educators use their classrooms. One of the prominent pioneers, Renée Hobbs, outlined some of these differences.

The first, and most often quoted, debate centers on the relationship between media teachers and students. American instructors tend to warn about the negative effects of prolonged media consumption (an approach often referred to as "protectionist"). In contrast, the British "cultural studies" perspective favors a companionship model, whereby students are invited to discover how media work at their own pace. Protectionist media literacy seems to assume that all young people consume media messages the same way, and therefore require the same antidotes to nefarious media influences. Such an approach has come under fire for being both elitist and clueless. The competing perspective on media literacy has had its share of criticism as well, mainly for its emphasis on the pleasure associated with media consumption, to the detriment of media criticism.

Media Production and Activism

A second important difference in media literacy approaches concerns the desirability of including a hands-on media production component. Should students be encouraged to conceive and produce such things as documentaries and websites or should they simply analyze and evaluate existing media texts? On the one hand, while ostensibly learning nothing more than how to work a camera or build a website, students run the risk of reproducing the dominant discourse that permeates their society. Such a media literacy program might easily end up reinforcing the very hegemonies it purports to fight. On the other hand, supporters of media production point to the necessity of students experiencing first-hand the processes by which media messages are crafted, if they are to genuinely appreciate their "constructed-ness."

A third point of contention among media literacy researchers centers on the nature of the media studied in the classroom. An analysis of *The New York Times*' coverage of national elections, for example, tends to be privileged over a similar analysis on a Facebook site. Granted, the reason for that may have more to do with the teacher's unfamiliarity with the component parts of sites such as Facebook, but it is often that very inability to manage the newest forms of media that leads to their ideological dismissal.

Another one of Hobbs's issues in media literacy concerns the form such learning should take within the educational system: as a stand-alone discipline akin to history or math, or as a supplemental program incorporated into the study of other disciplines? The proponents of the first option argue that media literacy programs will only be taken seriously by students if they benefit from the symbolic capital associated with an autonomous academic discipline, while the supporters of the second option argue that contemporary globalization processes absolutely require that subjects such as history, health, and English include a media literacy component, rendering a stand-alone literacy module superfluous. It is another kind of controversy, however, that has for years given rise to the most acerbic disagreements among media educators: the question of whether to promote a sociopolitical agenda as part of the media literacy program. Do the teachers have a mandate to go beyond developing their students' analytical and critical skills, or, conversely, do they have a moral obligation to stop short of imposing any one particular set of moral and ethical imperatives on their students? Will analytical and critical skills translate into a desire and an ability to change the world for the better or will minimalist media literacy simply breed smarter and more efficient bureaucrats? Unlike with some of the other controversies mentioned here, the question of activist media literacy does not look likely to be resolved in the near future.

Conclusion

Both as a concept and an educational concern, media literacy is still in its infancy. Priorities have

Table 2 Media Literacy Concepts and Questions

Five Core Media Literacy Concepts:
1. All media messages are constructed.
2. Media messages are constructed using a creative language with its own rules.
3. Different people experience the same messages differently.
4. Media have embedded values and points of view.
5. Media messages are constructed to gain profit and/or power.
Five Key Media Literacy Questions:
1. Who created this message?
2. What techniques are used to attract my attention?
3. How might different people understand this message differently from me?
4. What lifestyles, values, and points of view are represented in or omitted from this message?
5. Why was this message sent?

Source: Center for Media Literacy (CML). http://www.medialit.org/pdf/mlk/14A_CCKQposter.pdf.

not been agreed upon, controversies have not been settled, and the various teaching approaches have not been harmonized. For all that, a growing number of politicians, parents groups, scholars, and young people themselves have become convinced of the need for some kind of media literacy learning.

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See also Advocacy Groups; Audience Research; Bias; Credibility; Criticism of Journalism; Deception; Ethics; News Councils; News Values; Objectivity; Spin

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Media Ownership

For more than a century scholars, critics, politicians, and advocacy groups have argued about the influential role that the news media owners play in determining what news the public receives. The extent of this influence, as well as the means available to owners to influence news content, has been the subject of extensive debate and inquiry. They have implications not only for understanding the role of news media in a democracy, but also for our understanding of the nature of the First Amendment, the ethical dimensions of journalistic practice, and policymaking related to the media industries. These issues become further complicated when we also consider the variety of forms and structures that the ownership of news outlets can take, and how these have changed over time.

Background

The earliest incarnations of news media in the United States were the heavily partisan newspapers of the early to mid-1800s. They were financed primarily by political parties, and thus were tightly—and publicly—associated with specific political perspectives. There were then multiple political parties that could viably influence the political process, and the newspapers controlled by these parties were an essential means of exerting that influence. These papers were overtly, and unapologetically, partisan. They practiced a style of journalism that many would argue was very different from contemporary standards, in which objectivity and balance are more often given priority. These "partisan

press" outlets were explicitly devoted to advancing the political interests of the parties that controlled them.

The newspaper business underwent a wide range of changes in the mid-1800s, including a shift from political party to advertiser support and a changing economic profile of newspaper readers. The end result was a more commercialized industry—but one that still maintained the capacity for substantial political influence. Reflecting these altered characteristics of the journalistic field and of news consumers, the nature of newspaper ownership began to change as well. Newspapers were owned and controlled by individuals primarily interested in generating profits, but also in some cases still interested in asserting a particular political agenda.

Following this change, news outlets frequently became part of family dynasties, passed down through generations. The history of the American news media is filled with well-known families who for years steered some of the country's most well-known and influential news outlets. The Ochs-Sulzberger's have for more than a century controlled *The New York Times*. The Chandler family controlled the *Los Angeles Times* for nearly as long. The Bancroft family controlled *The Wall Street Journal* for more than a century before the paper's 2007 sale to News Corp. And many smaller newspapers similarly were long associated with individual family ownership.

As the news business continued to expand in the twentieth century, first into radio and then television, the commercialization of the industry intensified. As a result, family ownership went into decline, as many news organizations become part of large, publicly traded companies eager to reap the profits associated with the various media sectors. In the early 2000s, the traditional notion of the family-owned newspaper (or broadcast station, for that matter) is disappearing, as most news media outlets—large and small; print and electronic—are becoming a part of large, publicly traded companies, with a wide range of individual and institutional stockholders. It is also important to note that these news outlets frequently have been integrated into larger corporate structures that often have little to do with journalism.

These changing patterns in news media ownership raise many concerns, some of which involve the potential tensions inherent in news outlets' twin identities as commercial business operations and as key participants in, and contributors to, the democratic process. Consequently, extensive discussion has focused on which kinds of media ownership structures best serve profits as well as public informational needs.

Ownership and News Influence

All of the ownership structures discussed above have been accompanied by questions regarding how they impact the nature of news. A variety of concerns have arisen about the "media baron"—the owner of one or more powerful media outlets who uses his/her media outlets to advance economic or political agendas. Such concerns perhaps began in the early twentieth-century days of William Randolph Hearst, and extend to the present, with concerns over the political and economic influence wielded by such well-known American media owners as Rupert Murdoch (1931–) and Ted Turner (1938–), and internationally by such controversial figures as Conrad Black (1944–) in Canada, and Silvio Berlusconi (1936–) in Italy.

Berlusconi is particularly interesting in that he was Italy's largest media magnate, who subsequently became the country's prime minister in 2001. The concern raised involved how he might utilize his vast media holdings to skew news in ways favorable to his administration. Some critics argued that this was the kind of integration of political power with media ownership that is a fundamental conflict of interest. Rupert Murdoch also frequently has been criticized for utilizing his control of a wide range of media outlets both in the United States and abroad to advance his conservative political agenda. Murdoch's Fox News cable channel has, in recent years, received much criticism for advancing his conservative agenda, and thus, for example, providing a distorted picture of the war in Iraq to foster support for the war effort.

Some researchers have suggested that such notions are exaggerated and overly simplistic. Direct ownership influence certainly undermines notions of autonomy or independence for individual journalists, and may potentially also run counter to the economic interests of the news outlet's owner, given the extent to which profitable news enterprises would presumably need to present news in ways that are appealing to a broad spectrum of

the citizenry. The contemporary media environment has conditioned news consumers to expect a level of apparent objectivity and balance in their news. This raises questions as to whether any news media owner can provide news that supports a particular political agenda without alienating a significant portion of the audience.

Questions have also been raised about the extent to which any owner can maintain firm editorial control over what have become vast organizations, with dozens or even hundreds of outlets, and thousands of widely scattered employees around the country and the world. Within organizations of such size, it would seem likely that individual journalists and editors would be able to maintain some autonomy to use their own judgments about how best to present the news. At the same time, researchers have identified a variety of indirect mechanisms allowing owners to potentially influence news content. These range from personnel hiring (seeking like-minded individuals to serve in leadership positions) to incentive systems (i.e., establishing types of behavior or professional practice that are rewarded with promotions) to the organizational culture established within news outlets (which can condition news workers to behave in particular ways).

Public Versus Private Ownership

Reflecting ownership patterns discussed above, researchers also have addressed the significance of the shift from private to public ownership, where news organizations become investment commodities traded like any other publicly held corporate entity. As the control of news outlets increasingly has fallen within large, publicly traded media corporations, some have questioned what this pattern means for journalism—is journalism helped or harmed? Perhaps the most frequent question is whether different types of ownership exhibit different priorities in balancing profits against public service.

Research supports the idea that public ownership correlates with better financial performance. However, critics contend that with public ownership comes an increased emphasis on short-term profitability and less willingness to invest the resources necessary for rigorous news gathering. A number of critics have asserted that when, in the 1980s and 1990s, the major American television networks became part of corporate conglomerates, these new owners increased emphasis on achieving profitability in the network news divisions. The result was significant budget and staff cuts and a diminished emphasis on hard and foreign news, let alone investigative reporting.

And, perhaps equally significant, several critical analyses have asserted that such ownership creates incentives for the news outlet to be less critical when covering the activities of the corporate parent. Thus, for instance, NBC News has been criticized for shying away from coverage of the wide-ranging activities of General Electric, its corporate parent. Similar criticism has argued these news outlets provide excessive coverage of stories or issues beneficial to the corporate parent. For instance, when Disney/ABC bought a stake in the Internet pet supply company Pets.com, ABC's morning news program, *Good Morning America,* and the network's evening news program, *Nightline,* subsequently ran segments featuring the sock puppet mascot used in company commercials. Examples of such "synergy bias" suggest its potentially damaging effects on journalism and help illustrate the challenges to journalism that can arise when ownership of a news outlet is integrated into a larger firm.

Critics of public ownership frequently contend that when a news outlet is publicly owned, journalistic quality and commitment suffer. That is, local owners of news outlets are more likely to be aware of, and sensitive to, the informational needs and interests of the community—and that this will be reflected in the journalism provided. From this perspective, the move toward public ownership increases the separation of news outlets from the communities they serve.

Multiple- and Cross-Ownership

A defining trend in media ownership over the past three decades is the growth of large firms that own multiple outlets, often across multiple platforms. Group ownership is common in broadcasting, where companies may own dozens of television and hundreds of radio stations while in cable television, individual firms may own hundreds of local systems and/or dozens of networks. In the newspaper industry, "chain" ownership refers to large groupings of newspapers owned and operated by companies such as Gannett, Newhouse, and Knight

Ridder. These large chains have largely replaced the family ownership that characterized news media in decades past.

Of course, these changing ownership structures raise the question of whether bigger is in fact better, whether for financial success or journalistic performance. Here again, we see widely divergent perspectives. Group or chain owners can realize economies of scale in the production and distribution of news. Some have argued that larger news organizations are more resistant to external, potentially corrupting, influences. A news outlet forming part of a larger media conglomerate may be better able to resist pressures from advertisers or special interest groups. Further, these larger organizations may be better able to devote the resources necessary for thorough news gathering, or to invest in new technologies for news gathering and distribution.

On the other hand, critics contend that exploitation of economies of scale undermines journalistic performance, as it creates incentives to "repurpose" news content across multiple news outlets and thereby reduce the amount and diversity of news received by the public. Critics further contend that allowing control of news media to reside in fewer hands is antithetical to the appropriate role of journalism in a democracy. Group or chain ownership raises concerns about the disconnect between media owners and the communities their outlets supposedly serve.

Ownership Regulation

In the United States, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) long maintained limits on the number of broadcast outlets that could be owned by a single entity. These limits have controlled the number of radio or television stations that a single entity can own in a single market, as well as the proportion of the national audience that can be served by any owner of television stations. Similar national limits in radio station ownership were eliminated in 1996. While ownership of stations and cable systems has historically been subject to regulation at both the national and local levels (though relaxed or eliminated in recent years), newspapers are exempt from such control. Newspaper ownership has been limited only to the extent that the FCC has limited broadcast licensees from owning daily newspapers in the same market, largely out of a concern for the lack of diversity if two major news sources in a community were owned by the same entity. These "cross-ownership" rules were under reconsideration in 2007 and may be eliminated. Otherwise, large-scale concentration has taken place with individual newspapers increasingly becoming part of large chains.

Most limits on media outlet ownership have been premised in part on the notion that democracy is best served when citizens can access diverse viewpoints—a rationale that clearly relates to the production and dissemination of news. The trend over the past three decades has been to relax such ownership limits. Rules have been subject to detailed reexamination in light of the dramatically changing media environment in which new technologies provide a presumably wider range of choices than was possible when many ownership regulations were instituted. Consequently, the Telecommunications Act of 1996 directed the FCC to reassess its media ownership limits every two (now every four) years, with a presumption that most such limits may no longer be necessary in an Internet world.

Some have questioned whether differences in ownership structure have any real bearing on the quantity and quality of news provided by individual outlets. Does ownership matter? And if not, does this undermine the logic of maintaining ownership restrictions? Others argue that rules that maintain a diverse array of owners of our media outlets are a fundamental reflection of democratic principles, and thus should not even be subject to empirical assessment (Baker 2007). Under this perspective, the value of ownership diversity is self-evident in the same way that the value of freedom of speech is self-evident. These questions were being debated within the FCC, Congress, and the courts early in the twenty-first century.

Most nations have restrictions on foreign ownership of media outlets. These reflect the potential political impact of news outlets in both domestic and international affairs, and policymakers' concerns about whether foreign owners might incorporate propaganda. Australian media mogul Rupert Murdoch became a U.S. citizen in 1985 primarily to circumvent FCC restrictions on foreign ownership of broadcast licenses.

Some American media policies have sought to foster ownership of media outlets by ethnic

minorities. Women and minorities have been the focus of policies designed to bring greater diversity to the ownership of U.S. electronic media outlets under the assumption that they would likely program their stations differently, and would thus be likely to provide—in both news and entertainment—viewpoints that might not otherwise be found on the air. Here again, however, debates have focused on whether *demonstrable differences* in content can be found that justify according women and minority owners special status.

Ownership and the First Amendment

In 1960, well-known American journalist and critic A. J. Liebling (1904–63) famously stated that "Freedom of the press is guaranteed only to those who own one." His statement captures the essence of the tensions that exist between the First Amendment and media ownership. That is, concerns about the abuses of the enormous power over public opinion that owners of news outlets can wield represent a difficult challenge for policymakers or advocacy organizations concerned about such abuses—as the First Amendment traditionally has been interpreted as providing powerful protections of speech rights, regardless of whether the speaker is an individual standing on a street corner or a large multinational conglomerate.

The First Amendment has sometimes been marshaled to protect the public from private restrictions on speech. What set of speech rights should receive priority? Government controls on the number of media outlets owned by a single entity can be seen as an abridgement of that entity's free speech rights. Yet allowing concentration of media ownership undermines the First Amendment right of the public to diverse sources of information. In this argument, issues of First Amendment free speech rights become inextricably intertwined in debates about the ownership of news outlets.

Conclusion

Today's media environment is one in which questions about the ownership of media outlets are becoming increasingly complex. Some argue that, with the advent of the Internet and growth of blogs, anyone who wants to provide news can do so. From this perspective, Liebling's pessimistic statement regarding who can enjoy freedom of the press becomes obsolete. There is no longer a dividing line between us (the audience) and them (owners of news media). Others, however, argue that this represents an oversimplification and that, even with newer technologies, the actual *sources* of most news remain highly concentrated, regardless of how many different channels there are through which this information can now be received. In any case, debates over the nature of media ownership and its impact on the practice of journalism are no doubt going to continue, as the technological environment in which the news media operate continues to change and as research on the relationship between media ownership and journalistic performance continues to advance.

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See also Criticism of Journalism; Federal Communications Commission (FCC); First Amendment; Joint Operating Agreements; Newspaper Preservation Act

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Medical News

See Health and Medicine Journalism

Mergers and Acquisitions

See Antitrust; Media Ownership

Meteorology

See Weather Journalism

Mexico

Mexico's journalism, like its politics, has changed enormously since the mid-1980s. Yet as journalism and other key institutions in Mexico reform, many of their defining characteristics are rooted in the country's long period of single-party rule. Mexican politics and society are in a process of gradual transformation and journalism reflects this pattern of uneven change.

In the 2000 presidential elections, Mexicans peacefully ended 71 years of federal rule by the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) during a gradual political transition that dates at least to the mid-1980s. Mexico's hegemonic party system, presidentialist governing structure, and state-led economic development model garnered decades of legitimacy for the PRI regime. Until the economic crash of 1982, the political system's legitimacy generally was premised upon appeals to the ideals of the Mexican revolution, resolution of the problem of presidential succession, corporate and clientelist control of organized groups, targeted cooptation and repression of opposition leaders, and concrete material gains for urban dwellers. Control of media messages and cooptation of media owners and journalists were also central to regime survival until the 1980s, when an expanding segment of the press interacted with civil society to push political elites toward a set of pacts that eventually led to free and fair elections in 2000. Radio in the period occasionally acted as a public plaza, airing complaints against the regime in call-in talk shows, but television changed very late in the transition, similar to what happened in Brazil with TV Globo.

Moving from a relatively uniform institution that supported a single-party state for seven decades, several models of journalism now coexist in Mexico. The country's hybrid media system includes market-driven, civic-oriented, and holdover authoritarian elements. Ethnographic research and work by journalists' organizations suggest that journalists' values, ethical orientations, and desired norms of conduct have moved furthest since the breakdown of the authoritarian government, but actual practices vary greatly across news organizations, media types, and geographic regions. Journalists' expressed values tend to reflect a civic-oriented or public-interest model, but actual news coverage mixes civic, market-driven, and authoritarian style journalism.

The distance between expressed values and actual journalistic output is the result of hierarchical power relations in news organizations. Journalists labor with relatively little autonomy over their work product. Because of that, media owners (or, alternatively, politicians' directives in the less common state-owned media sector) ultimately determine the journalism practiced by a particular news organization. The longer-term structural conditions within which journalists

operate include a semi-authoritarian legal framework that is beginning to open, growing violence against journalists, heavily concentrated broadcast ownership, the supremacy of ratings over public interest broadcast journalism, and weakness in the country's media regulation.

The legal framework has changed most since Mexico became a more competitive electoral democracy in the early 2000s. The country created Latin America's most effective federal law allowing access to government information and a federal protection of journalists' confidential sources. It also weakened federal criminal defamation charges as a way to control the press, although criminal defamation still exists in most states. On the other hand, violence against journalists, which has been increasing since the mid-1990s, partly reflects the growing influence of narcotics trafficking, but also the weakness of Mexico's judicial system and the fact that earlier means of controlling the press no longer work as well. As of mid-2007, an effort to open up broadcasting to greater competition and ownership diversity was part of the antimonopoly reforms under consideration by the new presidential administration.

Alternative Approaches

Several different models of journalism developed in the decades after the transformation of Mexico's 1910–17 Revolution into a semi-authoritarian state that lasted from 1929 until the end of the twentieth century. Today's hybrid media system has its roots in each of these journalistic models, but also expresses society's greater political pluralism, weak partisan allegiances, highly concentrated wealth, oligopolistic economy, and concentrated social power.

Despite occasional political uprisings, the PRI regime (1929–2000) co-opted dissent rather than ruled by sustained repression. This approach stemmed from legitimacy earned until the 1980s from economic growth for urban residents, political patronage that was rotated between competing factions, and control of key mass media. Rather than being only a case of corruption, where media owners and reporters traded news coverage for material benefits, Mexico's media owners and journalists considered themselves part of a legitimate governing system. The country's authoritarian media system remained intact for about five decades, from roughly the mid-1940s to the mid-1990s, and its associated behaviors, values, and ways of interpreting reality became so pervasive that they could be called an institution of similar organizations and individuals. This meant that the messages of the PRI regime were replicated without contestation across the media spectrum, as journalists typically acted more like stenographers than reporters.

The early PRI conception of journalism viewed media as a support for the state in order to promote economic growth and stability within a semi-open political regime, similar to the developmentalist model of journalism. This concept appears to have been present only briefly, however, and may never have been practiced in any sustained way, although some journalists continued to voice similar norms into the 1980s.

Instead, newspapers and radio chain ownership coalesced around elite families in the 1940s and 1950s, and Mexico's media structure took on a more oligarchic form. This served to subordinate journalism to the state, but also to the mutually beneficial agendas of media owners and politicians. The few elite families that controlled most of Mexico's broadcasting used it to further group interests by supporting the ruling PRI, with which they were allied. The country's current television giant, Televisa, is the direct descendent of these early state-granted concessions, as are some of the largest radio chains. The network's dominance in the market is one legacy of its early political connections. TV Azteca, its only national competitor, was created from the privatization of a state-owned network in 1993. Reports link the second network's sale to the brother of the sitting President, although he was a minority player. The administration of President Felipe Calderón (2006–12) announced it might create a third national commercial television network, as well as regional networks, in response to criticism about media ownership concentration and the lack of content diversity. Strategic partnerships using both foreign and national capital were expected to compete. Coupled with measures to strengthen non-commercial radio (which was left in a legal limbo while media reforms in 2006 remained under court challenge) Calderón's six-year administration could increase the diversity

of owners, perspectives, and styles of broadcast journalism.

The highest circulation newspapers in the country during the PRI era were not primarily connected to the political class by family, but by material exchange and usually by conviction. Instead of concentration, newspapers proliferated above market capacity. State support through advertising, subsidized newsprint, tax breaks, and sometimes direct payments to owners and journalists meant few newspapers actually had to survive on the market alone. Such dependency produced a stenographic form of journalism where politicians' speeches or curbside interviews were the story of the day. Criticism of the President, the Catholic church, or the military was taboo. Closely read political columnists were often paid to criticize the political opponent of a particular benefactor. Readers learned to decipher these coded messages in order to gauge the comparative power of the competing political factions known as *camarillas,* as well as the head of the *camarillas*: cabinet secretaries and ultimately the President himself.

By the early twenty-first century, many newspapers survived on shoestring budgets or were rumored to be backed by those seeking a political mouthpiece. Most newspaper readership is concentrated in just a few publications in each major city, including market powerhouses such as the *Reforma* Group, the *Milenio* Group, the *El Universal* company, Healy newspapers in Northwest Mexico, and a few other regionally strong publications. *La Jornada,* while never financially powerful, is unique because it serves a left- to center-left audience and has editions in several Mexican states. These newspapers also practice the most civic-oriented form of journalism in the country, and during the period of political liberalization from the 1980s to 2000 they reflected the increasing demands of civil society and the political opposition to press democratization.

Variants of the former authoritarian journalism still survive. Close reading of television and newspaper coverage, especially outside the capital, sometimes suggests an underlying allegiance to the oligarchic class as well as to corporate media interests. Within government-owned television, where newsroom personnel are appointed by state governors, a propagandist model often exists. Public broadcasting, in the sense of editorially and financially independent state media, does not operate, with a few partial exceptions, including the Polytechnical University's Channel 11, Radio UNAM at the National University, and the small Mexican Radio Institute, all of which transmit from Mexico City. All have small audiences that nevertheless are influential because they include the intelligentsia and more-critical members of society. In some states, governors have distanced themselves from editorial decisions of state-owned media, but only protests from journalists, opposition legislators, or media audiences might stop a future governor from again using the media for propaganda since there is no structural protection of state newsrooms.

Toward the end of the twentieth century, new forms of journalism emerged as politics opened up and the economy liberalized. Civic-oriented journalism in a growing number of newspapers became more autonomous, politically diverse, and assertive than the former passive, narrow, and subordinate style. Responding to market demand, market-driven journalism as practiced on nightly commercial network newscasts also became somewhat more diverse politically, but only to the degree that other corporate interests were not jeopardized. Reportorial assertiveness on commercial TV followed the same pattern, usually taking on tabloidized forms. Political coverage became more personalized and combative, and less issue oriented. Non–prime time political roundtables offered more analysis, although conflict also permeated many of those programs as well.

Mexican-style civic journalism offered a contrast to old-style authoritarianism in a sustained way beginning in the 1980s. Led by publishers or key editors who held new ideas about journalism, political values opposed to continued PRI rule, and decision-making power in their newsrooms, a few newspapers began to cover politics more broadly by including voices beyond state-sanctioned political and civic groups. They greatly legitimized opposition to the old regime. When Mexico's economic crises and market-based economic reforms shifted economic power from the state in the 1990s, economic incentives for media, including stronger private sector advertisers and greater public funding for political campaigns, also shifted. At the same time, political assassinations, financial scandals, and the Zapatista uprising of indigenous people

further delegitimized the state and its supporters. All of these convinced more newspapers to transform their journalism.

While the first civic-oriented newspapers arose early in the political transition, before the full onset of economic liberalization, market-driven television news only joined the democratization process later as a new generation of managers took control of the major networks. With the large national networks, this shift in the late 1990s was a double-edged sword for democracy. On the one hand, it meant that executives in Mexico City ordered subordinates to give equal time to opposition candidates across the country. On the other, an extreme form of sensationalism took hold, personalizing politics and treating social problems such as crime, poor health, and weather disasters exacerbated by unrestricted development as episodic, de-contextualized events. For a time, politicians used television to strategically leak compromising videos of opponents.

Journalists during the PRI regime had the options of following orders and working within the confines of owners' directives, or quitting. Working conditions for journalists are much the same in the early twenty-first century. Journalism as a professional career with widely accepted ethical and technical standards is in its earliest stages. In 2006, the two-year-old Quality Journalism Network (www.periodismodecalidad.org) made up of journalists' organizations, educators, and industry representatives called for creating "clauses of conscience" and independent media monitors to reinforce reporters' ability to act freely when a supervisor's order contradicts their values and ethical norms. This call to professionalization from below, instead of the organizationally dictated transition from above, will take time to develop and requires support from civil society and the steadfastness of journalist organizations and academia.

Laws, Violence, and Impunity

The legal arena for journalists in Mexico has improved since the PRI lost power in 2000, but progress is uneven and threats or attacks on journalists continue. A federal access-to-information law was enacted in 2003, the most wide-reaching democratization reform since the conservative National Action Party obtained the presidency. The law applied only to the federal executive branch, but other federal branches passed access laws, as did state and municipal governments. The federal law clearly defined limited exceptions to the presumption of access, set a mandatory deadline for response to petitions, applied sanctions for non-compliance, and created an autonomous entity to review denials of petitions for information. In its first years of operation, the Federal Access to Information Institute (IFAI) consistently ruled in favor of access. Journalists have begun to incorporate access-to-information requests into their reporting, although use remains uneven. State-level application thus far has been less successful.

Congress voted to end criminalization of defamation at the federal level in 2007, but several state-level laws remain problematic and are used to jail journalists for critical work. Politicians usually lodge the criminal complaints in these cases. In 2005, for example, a politically connected businessman conspired with the governor of Puebla state to harass and assault an investigative journalist who had been jailed. Journalist Lydia Cacho (1963–) was released after journalists' networks and media outlets quickly publicized her disappearance at the hands of state police agents. The Supreme Court threw out the case on a technicality, but also ordered an investigation into the detention. The investigative commission recommended the court urge the federal attorney general's office to press charges against public officials, but could not get a majority vote from the justices. The case seems to have ended there. In 2006, a journalist was jailed in Chiapas state under that state's criminal defamation statute and two lawmakers in Michoacán filed criminal defamation charges against a journalist.

On a more positive note, Congress also passed a federal shield law allowing journalists to protect confidential sources in 2007. Once reporters became more assertive and independent in their reporting in the 1990s, federal and state police increasingly cited journalists to testify about their stories and sources during public corruption investigations.

Threats and violence from drug traffickers, organized crime, and corrupt police remain the biggest obstacles faced by journalists in Mexico. Several media rights groups have documented wide-scale self-censorship in areas of the country where drug trafficking is prevalent. Initial attempts by news outlets to jointly investigate drug-related

attacks stalled due to fear of violent reprisal. Large swaths of the country are left without insightful coverage of this important issue, which is complicated by corruption of local public officials.

Under the Vicente Fox government (2000–06), 27 journalists were killed and three disappeared. None of the investigations into these cases were solved by 2007. A new federal prosecutor position created to investigate crimes against journalists in March 2006 never received authority to investigate crimes with drug connections, and the first prosecutor quit after less than a year in office. Journalists in smaller news organizations outside of major cities are most vulnerable.

These trends have continued under the Calderón administration. Especially outside of Mexico City, journalists who cover drug trafficking and associated corruption face legal and physical intimidation more than those in any other Latin American country except Cuba, Venezuela, and Colombia.

Because Mexico remains a transitional society, its media system continues to evolve at a more rapid pace than that of the United States and other developed countries. This offers an opportunity for consolidating a more diverse, assertive, and citizen-serving news media than elsewhere on the planet, at least in the medium term. Two steps that indicate such a media system is still possible occurred in 2007.

First, the Supreme Court threw out sections of a Televisa-backed reform of the Radio and Television Law that had the potential to shore up the current broadcasting oligopoly well into the digital age, as well as leave noncommercial media financially weak and operating in legal limbo. The "Televisa Law," as it became known to critics, had been passed one month before the opening of the presidential campaigns, when political parties were most in need of fair treatment in television news and advertising. Broadcasting giants essentially were able to undermine the state's regulatory role. The Supreme Court's action opened up the way for wholesale congressional reform of the new law.

On another plain, Mexico's elections have become some of the most expensive in the world, which belies the approximately 40 million Mexicans who live in deep poverty. A year after the 2006 presidential elections, the federal Congress and the required number of state legislatures passed an election reform requiring all electoral advertisement on broadcast media to be run during air time that by previous law is reserved for state use; in other words, for free, as currently occurs in Brazil and Chile. Hundreds of millions of dollars would be saved, and the bargaining chip of discounted advertising would be removed from commercial broadcasters as Congress re-enters the debate on how best to further broadcast reform. While some critics believe that the reform curtailed freedom of expression because wealthy individuals and lobbying organizations would no longer be able to buy political ads on broadcast media, the majority of lawmakers and independent academics thought the move would lower the exorbitant cost of elections and help raise the quality of public discourse about electoral politics. As one federal Senator said before the lopsided vote in favor of electoral reform, "Let's start thinking more about the constitution and less about television."

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See also Central America and the Caribbean; Development Journalism

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Miami

Miami's media landscape has undergone substantial change since 1960. For decades, the city's major media outlets were predominantly English language. But media industry development shadowed the social and demographic transformations of the city, and by the end of the twenty-first century, Miami was an international center of English- and foreign-language media catering to diverse audiences. Because of this heterogeneity, media in Miami serve many different functions beyond simply being means of disseminating information. They have served, among other roles, apparatus for cultural assimilation (helping exile groups adjust by learning more about host country characteristics), or conversely, instruments for cultural maintenance (when immigrants seek information from their home countries in order to remain distinct from host cultures); networks of communication and assistance for members of émigré communities; arenas of conflict between and within groups; and instruments for accountability for a city with historical problems of corruption and lax oversight. The transformation of Miami's population also presents compelling challenges for journalists working in the city. Media professionals in Miami must be aware of issues not only relevant to very culturally heterogeneous audiences but also of those in global news that have import for large immigrant communities.

Development

Development of Miami's modern media scene began with the incorporation of the city in 1896, pushed by growing investor interest in the then-sleepy Southern outpost. The *Miami Metropolis* (later, the *Miami Daily News* and then *The Miami News*) was founded that year. Frank Shutts, backed by railroad magnet Henry Flagler, bought the *Miami Morning-News Record* (an earlier version had been established in 1903) in 1910 and changed its name to the *Miami Herald*. Frank Stoneman became the editor, after a stint at a newspaper in Orlando. By 1913, Shutts was able to buy Flager's portion of the paper and the purchase proved to be financially fruitful, as a thriving real estate sector poured advertising dollars into the newspaper and circulation soared. Devastation wrought by a powerful hurricane in 1926 and the subsequent Great Depression curbed investor enthusiasm in the area to a certain extent. But the lure of beautiful beaches, exotic nightlife, cheap land, and little regulation continued to draw many. Indeed, Miami's later reputation as a sun-drenched Sin City had deep historical roots. Researcher Aurora Wallace (2005) characterizes Miami in the early part of the twentieth century as a glamorous tourism center lined with pristine beaches and steeped in a balmy climate, but stricken with corrupt governance, lawless behavior such as gambling, smuggling and prostitution, deep poverty, and racism.

Nevertheless, the regions' seemingly endless financial opportunities continued to beckon investors and spur industry development. A newspaperman from Ohio, John Knight, acquired the *Miami Herald* in 1937 for $2.25 million. Broadcasting began with the first radio stations in the early 1920s. Television operations first aired after World War II. WTVJ began broadcasting as a primarily CBS affiliate in 1949, the first local news station in South Florida (later becoming an NBC affiliate). South Florida's beautiful natural resources spurred

change in terms of covering the environment: Frank Stoneman's daughter, Marjory Stoneman Douglas, had begun writing for *The Herald*. In 1947, she published her famous work *The Everglades: River of Grass,* which brought much publicity to Florida's lush natural life and made Douglas famous as one of the country's most-recognized environmental journalists.

By the late 1950s, however, Miami media audiences were beginning to change. The city's proximity to Cuba and the rest of Latin America made it first a favorite vacation spot for wealthy Latin American tourists, and then a convenient destination for exiles fleeing political and economic turmoil in many of those countries. The trickle of immigrants became a flood in the coming decades, especially of Cubans seeking political asylum from Fidel Castro's revolution. Latin American banks and businesses established offices in Miami, not only to cater to the increasing number of Hispanic residents but also to take advantage of the proximity to Latin American clients. John Sinclair (2003) describes many of the economic, political, and cultural advantages Miami afforded to Latin American businesses including geographical location, cold war politics, low cost of labor, lax government oversight, tax breaks, relative economic and political stability, and cultural networks and ready-made markets afforded by earlier waves of migrants.

Miami's demographics began to shift from what had originally been a primarily Anglo population with a small black minority, to predominantly Hispanic with smaller white and black populations. The magnitude and speed of the changes are impressive. According to the U.S. Census, in 1960 the population of Miami-Dade County was approximately 5 percent Hispanic, 15 percent black, and 80 percent white non-Hispanic. By 2000, Miami was 57 percent Hispanic, 19 percent black, and 24 percent white non-Hispanic.

Media Melting Pot

The composition of Miami's Hispanic population is different from other cities with large Hispanic populations. While Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans form the largest slices of the Hispanic populations in other regions, Miami features more diverse subgroups. As of 2000, Cuban Americans were the majority in Miami-Dade County, but there are growing communities from Argentina, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Peru, and Venezuela. Haitians and Brazilians have also established substantial communities in Miami.

Therefore, foreign-language media, once a minimal presence, became major players, and Miami evolved into a hub not only for Hispanic media but also an important destination for international media groups interested in reaching audiences throughout the Western Hemisphere. From humble beginnings in the late 1960s—Humberto Delgado and Lorna Veraldi describe the "surprise" that met a local channel that was considering broadcasting a weeknight newscast in Spanish—Spanish-language television expanded in Miami from the 1970s. Univisión, Telefutura, and Galavisión have units in Miami; Telemundo and its cable channel, mun2, are headquartered in South Florida. Various other Spanish-language broadcast and cable channels, distribution companies for Spanish-language programs, and many Hispanic media advertising companies and marketing also operate in the area, creating incentives for Latino creative talent, news professionals, and media managers in Miami.

As Miami's Hispanics live in an increasingly bilingual environment, programming that mixes English and Spanish is also on the rise. Sinclair (2003) discusses the advent of "Spanglish" and bilingual programming aimed at younger Hispanics on Galavisión and mun2, in particular.

Creole- and French-language media reflect growth in the city's Haitian American population in recent decades, particularly in radio. As Haitian immigrants poured into Miami to escape political and economic turmoil since the 1970s, numerous Creole-language radio shows have started offering information to their growing audiences.

Spanish-language print media has also found a receptive home in Miami. Among the area's first was *Diario las Américas,* begun in 1953. Many Spanish-language magazines are headquartered in Miami and cater to both local and international publics. In 1987, Knight-Ridder began carrying an independent "sister" publication to *The Herald, El Nuevo Herald,* in order to reach the city's Cuban population, who had traditionally not been consumers of English-language print media.

Cultural Tensions

However, relations between exile communities and the Miami English-language press have been contentious at times. Emigré communities often have very different ideas of the role of media than has been traditionally espoused elsewhere in the United States. Some Latin American exile communities, as researcher Gonzolo Soruco (1996) discusses, brought with them the idea that responsible journalism can or should be openly partisan or supportive of ideals or perspectives that the community holds in high regard, as is accepted for various Latin American and European media. This differs from the traditional U.S. norm of an objective, neutral, information-oriented press. This schism is illustrated in the tensions among various communities and the Miami press over what responsible journalists should do.

For example, the *Miami Herald* and the Cuban American community have clashed over the paper's coverage of American actions in Central and South America such as CIA involvement during the 1970s and 1980s; crime in Miami following the 1980 Mariel boatlift; or cases of corruption involving Hispanic officials. In 2007, *El Nuevo Herald* fired several journalists for accepting payments from the U.S. government to appear on state-sponsored radio programs that had a decided bias against Castro's regime. The firings provoked anger in the Cuban exile community, many of whom saw the move as unfair and harsh. Eventually, citing an ambiguously worded code of ethics, the publisher of the paper resigned and offered to rehire the fired journalists, as debate raged in the newsroom regarding ethical conflicts of interest.

Media and Accountability

Local media have also played a role with accountability in governance in a city historically associated with weak oversight and enforcement, particularly in terms of bringing attention to instances of official corruption. In 2007, journalists at *The Miami Herald* won a Pulitzer (the paper has 19 as of early 2008) for their investigation of egregious mismanagement of taxpayer funds supposed to have gone to build affordable housing for the area's poorest residents. The series of articles resulted in the resignations and firings of officials, arrests of several developers, as well as the scrutiny of many other public and private entities involved. Eight years earlier, the paper won another Pulitzer for its investigation into voter fraud in a city mayoral election. According to their reports, thousands of illegal absentee ballots had been included in the election.

Juliet Gill Pinto

See also Central America and the Caribbean; Comparative Models of Journalism; Émigré News Media; Latino News Media; Mexico; South America

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Middle East

See Arab Countries; Israel; North Africa

Military and the Media

The armed forces and the news media always have been crucial to American democracy. The Constitution's Preamble underscores the importance of a strong military by declaring the need to secure liberty and provide for defense. The First Amendment enshrines free speech and free press as cornerstones of a representative government. Other than ensuring civilian control of the armed forces, however, the Constitution leaves unspecified how

to resolve conflicts between the military and media. Conflicts spring mainly from the public's need for security versus its need for information. Secrecy protects against enemies. News that compromises wartime security risks death and destruction, or threatens democratic government by turning the tide of war. It is no surprise, then, that government and military officials have often pushed for restrictions on the news media since 1798, when Congress passed the Alien and Sedition Act to curb the open expression of public opinion during a time of international tension. On the other hand, restrictions on the media's ability to report on military action, as well as on the larger reasons to declare and end war, limit the robust debate required for civilian control. Military affairs unchecked by public scrutiny raise the likelihood that incompetence, waste, recklessness, and a host of other abuses pass unnoticed. These tensions between the military and the media range back more than 200 years.

The Nineteenth Century

Journalism posed little threat to American troops during the Mexican-American War (1846–48), the first U.S. military action covered by full-time correspondents. Handwritten dispatches describing the combat traveled by ship, train, and horse, with some completing their journey home via the newly installed telegraph service along the Eastern Seaboard. Most took days or weeks to reach the offices of American publications, the only forms of mass communication. Delays provided little chance for a carelessly written item to undermine operational security. Visual reportage also began during the invasion of Mexico but had virtually no impact on public opinion. Photographers made only a handful of daguerreotype images, which measured a few inches square and could not be reproduced.

When the American Civil War (1861–65) began, however, much had changed. The telegraph had spread across a 50,000-mile network of lines. Telegraphy allowed eyewitnesses to send battle news across the country at high speed. Furthermore, the handful of combat journalists active during the Mexican-American War had expanded to about 500 by the 1860s. They generally moved easily among the troops, although some officers, including Union General William Tecumseh Sherman, complained about their presence as a security threat. The news they sent home affected morale on both sides, in turn prompting the first widespread wartime censorship in American history when the Union War Department cracked down on military reports filed by telegraph. In order to help shape public opinion, Secretary of War Edwin Stanton censored and delayed publications and briefly jailed journalists who displeased him. The Union army also temporarily shuttered some newspapers.

By the end of the nineteenth century, professional American war correspondents had emerged. Foremost was Richard Harding Davis (1864–1916). He and others considered the late 1890s to be a golden era for wartime journalists as they had great freedom to observe and write, with minimal military restriction. They produced compelling stories that newspapers ran under large headlines. Davis's account of Theodore Roosevelt leading a charge in Cuba during the Spanish-American War (1898) is credited with cementing Roosevelt's image as a man of action and helping launch him toward the White House.

Early Twentieth Century

Unfettered war reporting ended in 1904 when fighting between Japan and Russia broke out in the Far East. The Japanese army expected the war to be difficult and instituted a broad range of information controls to soften public reaction at home. Although the Japanese routed the Russians, the restrictions remained in place until war's end in 1905. They included accreditation, a sort of contract between journalists and military commands; battlefield chaperones, which required Western journalists to have Japanese military escorts if they left their press compound; news conferences that revealed little of value; mandatory military censorship; and press pools, in which one journalist collected officially sanctioned news and shared it. Combined with upbeat reports issued by the army and government, the rules allowed Japan to produce war news for public consumption as it saw fit. Other nations realized that just as war news could affect the home front, so too could an orchestrated information campaign of censorship and propaganda.

The Allies instituted a Japanese-style model of military-press relations early in World War I

(1914–18). This was the first total war, involving millions of citizen-soldiers and civilians, mobilization of industry, and widespread information controls. Britain and France severely restricted civilian journalists in 1914 and 1915, when both nations suffered a string of defeats. At one point in 1915, Britain accredited five British and only one American reporter for the entire Western Front. The accredited American, Frederick Palmer (1873–1958), submitted his dispatches to military censors, who then sent them to the three main American news agencies. Thus American media relied on one journalist for news of the biggest war in history to that time, until protests by journalists and politicians loosened the restrictions. After the United States entered the war in 1917, the number of accredited Americans rose to 31. Hundreds more stayed near military headquarters and cities near battle zones, seeking news. Despite their increase in number, journalists did little to crack the official silence about the horrors of trench warfare. Censors eliminated unpleasant details or inspired journalists to censor themselves, resulting in a blackout on photographs of dead American soldiers—not one appeared in print during the war. Nor did journalists puncture the official propaganda of belligerent governments. Disillusion over news management in World War I led to widespread skepticism when initial reports of atrocities in Nazi Germany appeared two decades later.

On the home front, George Creel's (1876–1953) Committee on Public Information (CPI), which opened in the spring of 1917, sought to increase support for the war through publicity and propaganda, as well as control news through a voluntary code of censorship. Through censorship and widespread distribution of propaganda, including much that targeted citizens directly, the CPI attempted to weaken the news media's ability to challenge the ways in which the military and government shaped perceptions of the war. The federal office distributed thousands of speeches, booklets, and press releases to newspapers and magazines as well as citizen groups. In order to avoid a showdown over the First Amendment, it also sent out lists of sensitive war news topics and asked journalists to avoid them. These rules proved effective, as most newspapers joined the information campaign supporting the war.

World War II

World War II (1939–45) witnessed the largest bureaucracy of information control in American history. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who had served as assistant secretary of the navy in World War I, moved away from a single, centralized office and decided to separate censorship from publicity and propaganda.

The Office of Censorship, led by former Associated Press Executive Editor Byron Price, supervised domestic news censorship. Like the earlier CPI, the Office of Censorship distributed lists of war news topics, such as troop movements and location of war factories, and asked journalists to avoid publicizing them. According to Price, journalists knew that some form of compulsory censorship would arise if voluntary censorship failed. The system worked. During the entire war, only one journalist deliberately violated Price's "Code of Wartime Practices." That journalist, a radio station manager in New Mexico, briefly fought the request to monitor foreign-language programs. Major secrets kept by journalists during World War II included the program to develop an atomic bomb, which investigative reporter Andrew Russell "Drew" Pearson (1897–1969) uncovered months before the first atomic test at Alamogordo, New Mexico.

The Office of War Information (OWI), headed by radio commentator Elmer Davis (1890–1958), coordinated the release of war news and supervised propaganda directed at most other countries. The OWI struggled with the reluctance of military officers to release complete, accurate, and timely information. In particular, Davis fought with Chief of Naval Operations Ernest Joseph King, who suppressed news of losses in the Pacific early in the war. The OWI also suffered from internal and external differences of opinion on what information it should publicize overseas. Congress slashed its budget over concerns that the OWI had become politically partisan.

In the combat zones, some 1,650 accredited American journalists roamed almost at will along the front lines. Their reports and photographs received lighter censorship than they had in World War I. Novelist John Steinbeck, who covered the war in Europe for the *New York Herald Tribune,* explained, "We edited ourselves much more than

we were edited." He said that journalists bought into "a huge and gassy thing called the War Effort" (Steinbeck 1958, xvii, xi). Self-censorship stretched to include photography and radio broadcasts. War photographers avoided shooting much of the worst violence, knowing it would never clear military censorship. Photos of American combat deaths submitted to military censorship were routed to a Pentagon file known as the "Chamber of Horrors." The federal government did not release any such photos until the fall of 1943, when the war turned in the Allies' favor and OWI and military decided that such images might bolster public support. Radio broadcasters who first covered combat during the Spanish Civil War (1936–39) faced stricter military censorship because of the medium's immediate, widespread distribution. However, radio journalists demonstrated sympathies similar to their print colleagues. "I pray you to believe what I have said about Buchenwald," CBS reporter Edward R. Murrow (1908–65) told his listeners after visiting the liberated concentration camp. "I reported what I saw and heard, but only part of it. For most of it, I have no words" (quoted in Persico 1988, 229).

Korea and Vietnam

In the Korean (1950–53) and Vietnam (1959–75) wars, journalists again got close to the action. In Korea, press–military relations followed the pattern of World War II, with journalists reporting from front-line units. Combat journalists avoided outright military restrictions on news except for a few weeks after the Chinese intervened in Korea late in 1950. The journalism of the Korean War, while full of grim realities, continued a measure of self-censorship. For example, journalists knew of the massacre of South Korean civilians at No Gun Ri but either ignored it or treated it as insignificant. While tensions between journalists and the military increased during the Korean War, the press mostly remained supportive—in part because the conflict began with a communist invasion at the height of the cold war, and ended only three years later.

Coverage expanded to include starker images and stories during the longer Vietnam War, especially after the advent of daily television coverage. Official censorship would have been difficult, if not impossible, to impose in Vietnam. America fought without a formal declaration of war, and initially under the pretense of merely advising South Vietnamese troops. Any formal censorship would have required the approval and participation of South Vietnamese officials, but American advisers opposed allowing the notoriously heavy-handed Saigon government to shape the news. Furthermore, according to Vietnam War historian Clarence R. Wyatt, formal censorship would have had political repercussions in America. In addition, attempting to keep journalists from seeing the realities of war, or to force them to submit their dispatches and photos to military review, would have proved impractical in a largely guerrilla conflict scattered over a wide area. The military did provide transportation to combat zones, but correspondents found it easy to hitch rides without formal permission. Still, the American government quietly attempted to restrict journalists' movements. Cable 1006, a 1962 State Department communiqué to the American ambassador in Saigon, urged downplaying the limited American role in the war and not taking correspondents "on missions whose nature [is] such that undesirable dispatches would be highly probable" (quoted in Wyatt 1993, 92). Candor increased in the mid-1960s as America's military role expanded and its confidence briefly rose. However, coverage of the enemy's massive Tet offensive of 1968, which starkly conflicted with public pronouncements of success, damaged hopes that the war could be easily won. In response to the Tet offensive, *CBS Evening News* anchorman Walter Cronkite (1916–2009), one of the most influential journalists in America, broadcast in an editorial that he foresaw no future but stalemate in South Vietnam. Cronkite's conclusion added to the growing doubts of President Lyndon B. Johnson (1963–69), who announced five weeks later that he would not seek re-election.

Television news crews filmed close-up views of Americans in combat for the first time during the Vietnam War. To save costs, most TV crews sent their film by plane to the United States instead of transmitting it by satellite. Thus, most televised coverage depicted events that had occurred days earlier. Nevertheless, news broadcasts supplied the most powerful images of the war. These images included fighting during the Tet offensive, the street execution of a guerrilla, and the burning of civilian villages by American forces. Such televised images

brought home the chaos and violence more poignantly than words or still pictures ever could. Together with information gathered in the field by determined print journalists, TV images undermined the military's professed optimism. Journalists came to distrust daily American military briefings, which they called "The Five o'Clock Follies." What they saw and heard in the field often conflicted with what both government and military leaders told them, leading to a "credibility gap." After war's end, an article in the army's *Military Review* suggested that the power of television's undeniable images shifted American public opinion against the Vietnam War. Other historians, such as William M. Hammond, blamed flawed strategy and body counts more than adverse press coverage.

Gulf and Iraq Wars

During and after the Vietnam War, military officers, particularly those who sparred with skeptical journalists, came to distrust the press, and television in particular. At the same time, many journalists grew increasingly leery of government and military pronouncements. They learned a greater appreciation for verifying information independently. Thus, the military and media relationship became more fractious. When the military could impose control of battle zones (for example, during minor invasions of Grenada and Panama in the 1980s and during the Gulf War in 1990–91), it often severely limited news media access.

American military planners took their cue from the brief British war with Argentina over the Falkland Islands in 1982. The Royal Navy controlled access to the islands as well as the transmission of stories and photos, which underwent censorship and thus delay. An American naval lieutenant commander, Arthur A. Humphries, applauded the British approach. In order to get what he called "favorable objectivity" in news coverage, Humphries called for controlled access to future battle zones, strict censorship, the exclusion of unsupportive journalists, and a flood of prowar publicity.

American armed forces employed something similar to Humphries' vision during two brief conflicts, the 1983 invasion of the island of Grenada and the 1989 invasion of Panama. In both cases, the military prevented journalists from witnessing significant combat. The military instituted an even broader and more bureaucratic system of information control during the 1990 to 1991 Gulf War to liberate Kuwait from Iraq. Rules governing press access to the war zone came from the top military command. Within weeks of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in the summer of 1990, rules known as "Annex Foxtrot" required military escorts for all journalists accompanying troops into battle. Pools and military censorship also were instituted, bringing the American military back to the 1904 Japanese model of press control. Of 1,200 journalists in the Persian Gulf when fighting began, only 130 initially received pool membership. Those pool reporters, whose numbers later grew to 192, said they sometimes found their military escorts, or "minders," intimidating soldiers during interviews. Pool reports also commonly suffered delays before being released. Given the controls placed on correspondents accompanying American troops, it is small wonder that the war's most memorable—and controversial—reporting came from a CNN team operating without censorship from Baghdad.

Between the end of hostilities in the Persian Gulf War and America's invasion of Iraq in 2003, both military and civilian communication technology made huge leaps. Correspondents used Internet connections and satellite uplinks to report live back to the United States. No longer could the military impose total control over the channels of communication from the front lines to the rear, and to the home front, making World War II–style censorship obsolete. Replacing it was a largely voluntary system of self-censorship, coupled with the "embedding" of accredited journalists in military units, which was a form of controlled access. Embedding, one of the most important developments in the long history of the relationship between military and media, required journalists to stay with their units until they opted out. It minimized the risk of compromising operational security since any breach would put a journalist's own unit at risk.

The decision to embed 600 journalists as part of the 2003 invasion arose out of both military and media frustrations with the reporting of the Persian Gulf War. Independent news coverage from embedded, front-line reporters was expected to accurately portray combat, support America's claims that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction, and counter any claims the Iraqi government might make

about American military abuses. Some of those roles were not realized. The invading forces found no weapons of mass destruction, and what arguably were the most significant abuses, at the Abu Ghraib prison where captured Iraqis were tortured and humiliated, came to light through American sources. However, embedding did meet expectations through expanded coverage, as journalists let Americans see war in real time. Embedding had its critics. "The most common criticism of the embedded reports is that they are only isolated pieces of a larger mosaic, and that relying too heavily on them would thus skew the picture viewers get," concluded the Project for Excellence in Journalism (Project for Excellence in Journalism 2003, 11). Observers also suggested that the close reporter/soldier relationships promoted by embedding served to bias news reports in favor of the military. Some 2,100 unembedded journalists, known as unilaterals, maintained their independence. They wandered through Iraq without accreditation until guerrilla violence made their reporting activities too risky.

Conclusion

Throughout history, the military and the media have sought balance between the people's right to know and the armed forces' need for security. This balance has shifted in response to changes in communication technology, public opinion, and the vulnerability of troops in the field. The military always will require some measure of wartime secrecy. Experience has demonstrated, however, that extreme secrecy affects public opinion and thus civilian oversight.

Faced with the power of ubiquitous, rapid modes of communication that journalists can carry into battle zones, the military opted in 2003 to reenergize the World War II system of putting correspondents in front-line units. The embedding program modified the old system by requiring journalists to stay with their units for the duration of combat, instead of wandering nearly at will. Embedding generally was well received. Journalists achieved access on par with coverage of the Civil War or World War II. The military, in turn, received generally positive coverage that did not compromise security. Nevertheless, the military and media are likely to continue to face challenges concerning appropriate levels of news coverage, particularly as communication technology becomes even more powerful and as warfare continues to evolve from conventional combat to more guerilla and terrorist forms.

Michael S. Sweeney

See also Censorship; Embedded Reporters; Peace Journalism; Press and Government Relations; Press Pools; Secrecy and Leaks; Terrorism, Coverage of; Violence Against Journalists; War and Military Journalism; War Correspondents

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Milwaukee

Wisconsin's largest city (more than 600,000 people in the early 2000s) and the country's 33rd-ranked market by the early 2000s, has long been dominated by one media company, which includes holdings in print, radio, and television. But neither the city nor company started out that way.

Milwaukee's first newspaper appeared with the 1837 birth of the weekly *Sentinel,* published by Solomon Juneau, a one-time fur-trader, successful businessman, and later mayor. It became a daily in the mid-1840s, about the time the city of Milwaukee was formally incorporated. The city expanded rapidly, drawing many European immigrants to its nascent manufacturing and brewing industries. It soon had a heavily German population and an active political scene.

Newspapers

When Lucius Nieman, who had become managing editor of the *Sentinel,* decided he wanted a paper of his own, he purchased the three-week-old *Daily Journal* in 1882. He faced competition from four other English-language dailies, plus four German- and two Polish-language dailies. One indicator of the vibrant competitive newspaper market the city had become is that the Milwaukee Press Club was formed in 1885 (and is now the oldest continuously operating such group in the country). Soon renamed *The Milwaukee Journal,* in 1891 Nieman's newspaper became the first to use "run-of-paper" color when it printed red and blue stripes across its first page to mark the inauguration of a governor.

The *Journal* covered a city dominated by an active Socialist Party (which controlled the mayor's office for most years through 1960). Throughout Nieman's long editorship he maintained a generally liberal but independent stance for the newspaper, sometimes supporting Republicans, but more usually Democrats. It won its first Pulitzer in 1919. By this time, most of the foreign-language papers had closed down. Two years after his 1935 death, a small bloc of *Journal* stock was given to Harvard by his widow; this endowment initiated funding for their Nieman Fellowship program for promising journalists.

Following several owners, the *Sentinel* was sold to the Hearst Corporation in 1924. Operations were joined to Hearst's afternoon paper, the *Wisconsin News,* and a joint Sunday edition was published as the *Sunday Telegram*. The *News* closed in 1939, leaving the morning market to the *Sentinel.*

In 1937, Journal Company president Harry Grant assured a stable future for the firm he had

just taken over by creating an employee-ownership plan. Employees purchased a one-quarter interest in the company (a proportion that expanded over the years to come). Any sale of the publisher would require approval from two-thirds of the stock voted by active employees (those who retired had to sell their stock back to the employee pool). The rules also allowed any who opposed a buyout the first right to buy the stock of those seeking the sale—and at a "formula" price, not that offered by the buyer. (As Journal Co. stock was not then publicly traded, it was priced according to a formula that took account of company assets and earnings over the previous five years.) Grant's descendants still owned 10 percent of the company 70 years later.

The *Journal* demonstrated considerable independence in the early 1950s when it opposed Wisconsin's red-baiting junior senator, Joseph McCarthy, though he enjoyed considerable support across the state. Following a long and costly strike, in 1962 Hearst announced the closing of the *Sentinel,* which had lost money for years. The Journal Company, then at the peak of its circulation (about 400,000 weekdays and half again more on Sundays) and concerned about how its dominance of the Milwaukee media market might look to policymakers, agreed to buy the *Sentinel* name and subscription list, with Hearst retaining ownership of its broadcast stations (WISN-TV remains with Hearst-Argyle, while the radio station by the early 2000s was owned by Clear Channel). The *Sentinel* became a Monday-through-Saturday paper, leaving the Sunday market to the parent *Milwaukee Journal.*

During the 1960s, the *Journal* won two Pulitzer prizes and modernized its content and appearance. It also began its first expanded metropolitan coverage through zoned editions that offered news and features for specific areas of the city and suburbs. After running both papers as separate publications for three decades, the Journal Co. merged them in 1995.

A decade later, the combined newspaper had the 35th largest circulation in the country, just under a quarter million daily and 430,000 on Sundays. The Journal Communications company continued to expand. By the mid-2000s, it owned over 90 community newspapers and shoppers in eight states, 38 radio stations and seven television stations in 11 states, a regional fiber optic network in the upper Midwest providing integrated data communications, and commercial printing and direct marketing services. The more than 14 million shares outstanding in the mid-1990s were controlled by some 2,600 shareholders. In 2003, the company made the first public offering of part of its stock.

Radio

The first radio stations aired in the city in the early 1920s, and as elsewhere, many were short-lived as there was little economic stability in the business. The Hearst operation purchased a radio station in 1927, calling it WISN (after their newspaper) several months later. In 1955 the Hearst company purchased a local television station and it became WISN-TV (Channel 12).

The Journal Company also branched into broadcasting, after sponsoring programs on other stations starting in 1922. In 1927 it purchased a station that became WTMJ (the letters standing for the owner). A middle-of-the-road station for decades, and by far the most popular AM radio station in the city, it began broadcasting 24 hours a day in 1974, and was by the early 2000s known as "Newsradio 620." It competes with several other news-talk stations including WISN.

In 1940, the Journal Company's W9XAO (later W55M and WTMJ-FM) became the first FM station to air west of the Alleghenies. Broadcast operations were consolidated in the handsome Art Deco "Radio City" on East Capital Drive in 1942, a building designed with future television operations in mind and said to be the first such purpose-built radio-TV facility in the country. The FM was taken off the air (the transmitter given to the University of Illinois) when the medium appeared to be fading. In 1958, WTMJ-FM returned to the air. The AM outlet has long been a news/talk operation while the FM station became WKTI in 1974 and has moved through different musical formats.

Most of the other FM operations in the city broadcast some type of music—including one largely devoted to polkas, a reminder of the city's German heritage. By the early 2000s, thanks to radio ownership consolidation, Clear Channel owned six radio outlets in Milwaukee, and Entercom three more including all sports WSSP, the station long known as WEMP. Public radio outlets were long operated by Marquette University,

the state educational network (since the late 1940s), and since 1964 by the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee's WUWM.

Television

The Journal Co. broadcast technicians experimented with television beginning in 1929 and lasting to 1938. The company applied for a commercial license in 1941, but construction was delayed by the war. In 1947, WTMJ-TV signed on the air as the state's first (and until 1953, only) television station—and only the eleventh station in the country. Originally on Channel 3 (shifted to Channel 4 in 1953), the NBC affiliate was an immediate financial winner and was the only station serving the city until 1952.

By the early 2000s, there were nine other commercial outlets in the market (including six affiliates of national television networks), including two stressing religious programs. Two public television stations are operated by the city's vocational school (the first aired in 1957) and there are several others, including one operated by the state network.

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See also Chicago; Minneapolis–St. Paul

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Minneapolis–St. Paul

Minneapolis and St. Paul have always been disparate sibling rivals—as have their media. St. Paul and its newspapers came first, capturing the state capitol and early lead in communications, but Minneapolis and its newer media soon surpassed its sister city in size and prestige. By the early twenty-first century, the Twin Cities metropolitan area had 3 million people, making it the sixteenth largest U.S. media market, and it was resurgent St. Paul that could claim safer streets, more recent Pulitzer Prizes, and many of the nation's leading public broadcast personalities.

Newspapers

Minnesota's mass media history began in St. Paul on April 28, 1849, when James Madison Goodhue published the first issue of the *Minnesota Pioneer* weekly. He had taken the first steamer up the Mississippi as soon as word came from Washington that Congress had established the Minnesota Territory. Statehood was still nine years away.

In January 1851, Goodhue got into a duel over some of his editorials against Whig Party territorial officials; he often accused the "recumbents" of drunkenness, graft, and incompetence. Goodhue used his pistol to wound Joseph Cooper, whose brother David was running for territorial chief justice, but Cooper stabbed him twice with a bowie knife. Blood flowed liberally, but both men survived.

As St. Paul's population grew, Minnesota's first four daily newspapers all began publication in May 1854: the *Daily Minnesota Pioneer* on May 1, the *St. Paul Daily Democrat* that same evening, the *Daily Minnesotian* on May 11 and the *St. Paul Daily Times* on May 15. A year later, the *St. Paul Daily Free Press* became the city's fifth daily—even though the telegraph didn't make it to St. Paul until 1860 and the railroad didn't arrive until 1862. The *St. Anthony Express* weekly had begun publication in 1851 in what was to become Minneapolis, but the younger twin city didn't have a daily newspaper until the *Minneapolis Tribune* launched on May 25, 1867.

On April 11, 1875, the *St. Paul Press* took over the *Pioneer,* giving the city one powerful morning

paper. The *Pioneer Press*' main competition was a Democratic afternoon daily begun in 1868, the *St. Paul Dispatch*. In 1876, the *Minneapolis Tribune* suffered the ignominy of being bought by the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*. But in a matter of months, a dozen prominent Minneapolitans bought back the *Tribune* to be an evening paper, which became the *Minneapolis Journal* after they relaunched the morning *Minneapolis Tribune* in May 1880. In March 1891, William J. Murphy bought the *Tribune* for $450,000. By 1895, its circulation reached 37,453, while Minneapolis had a population of 200,000, many of whom still read the area's Swedish-, Norwegian-, or German-language newspapers.

In St. Paul, the evening *Dispatch*'s circulation passed the morning *Pioneer Press'* in 1906, and the *Dispatch* bought its last St. Paul rival three years later. In 1927, the *St. Paul Pioneer Press-Dispatch* became the first acquisition in what would be a coast-to-coast chain of papers owned by the Ridder brothers: Bernard, Joseph, and Victor. The Ridders would run St. Paul's paper and own at least half of it for the next 80 years.

Meanwhile at the *Minneapolis Tribune,* Murphy died of pneumonia in October 1918. Having fancied himself the Pulitzer of the Midwest, Murphy bequeathed $350,000 to establish the University of Minnesota's school of journalism, which has resided in Murphy Hall since 1940. Murphy's younger brother, Frederick, became publisher of the *Tribune* on September 1, 1921, after working his way up through the paper for 28 years. Under him, the *Tribune* continued to champion agriculture and Republicans. North Dakota farm advocates started the evening *Minneapolis Star* in 1920, but their brand of socialism did not catch on, and they sold out four years later. The new managing editor, the ironically nicknamed Basil "Stuffy" Walters, deployed sensational headlines and circus layouts to capture the city's largest evening circulation. What really sent shockwaves through the Twin Cities journalism scene came in June 1935, when *Des Moines Register* owners Gardner and John Cowles bought the *Minneapolis Star* and instituted the same nonpartisan editorial policy and distribution excellence that made the *Register* a lucrative award winner.

The *Star* bought out the evening *Journal* in 1939. Frederick Murphy, the *Tribune*'s publisher, died in 1940. And Minneapolis' newspaper circulation wars ended on May 1, 1941, when the Cowles bought their once-dominant morning rival and formed the Minneapolis Star Tribune Co.

Cowles and his top executives became intricately involved in Minneapolis civic affairs, serving in more than 100 organizations and fulfilling more than 300 speaking engagements a year. But at the same time as they were pursuing parochial interests, John Cowles and his successor, John Cowles Jr., expanded their readers' worldview by opening one-man bureaus in London, Beirut, Hong Kong, and Rio de Janiero. The Cowles' Washington correspondents won Pulitzer Prizes in 1947, 1954, and 1957, followed by a Pulitzer for a *Star* photographer in 1958. In 1961, a *Saturday Review* survey of journalism professors rated the *Tribune* one of the nation's top 15 papers, and in 1964, *Time* magazine put it among the top 10. But then as in many cities, the evening paper's circulation began to drop, and in 1982, the papers merged into the morning *Star Tribune,* forcing painful layoffs and reorganizations. The *Star Tribune* won its most recent Pulitzer in 1990, but the Cowles era of expansive budgets and civic involvement ended in 1998, when Sacramento, California–based McClatchy Co. bought the *Star Tribune* for $1.2 billion. In an attempt to stave off further readership and revenue losses to new media competition, McClatchy launched *startribune.com,* which quickly became one of the highest penetration and most award-winning newspaper sites on the web.

Across the river, the *St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch* thrived throughout the 1940s through the 1960s by forging a gentlemen's agreement with the *Star* and *Tribune* to not solicit advertising, news, or readers from Minneapolis. But a third generation of Ridders forced Ridder Publications Inc. to go public with its stock in 1969 and to merge with Knight Newspapers Inc. in 1974, giving Knight-Ridder the largest daily collective circulation of any newspaper group in the nation.

At first, the stock offerings and merger yielded more resources for the St. Paul newsroom, especially after it dropped the *Dispatch*'s evening editions in the mid-1970s. The *Pioneer Press* won Pulitzer Prizes in 1986, 1988, and 2000. But readership losses also hit that paper, forcing the St. Paul and Minneapolis papers to compete—with each other and with other media—for advertising, news, and audiences.

The unthinkable for Twin Cities journalists, the ownership merger of the Minneapolis and St. Paul newspapers, happened again in 2006, but it was short-lived as in 1876. McClatchy Co. bought Knight-Ridder, but to ease antitrust concerns, it quickly sold the *Pioneer Press* to Dean Singleton and his Denver-based MediaNews Group. Then on December 26, 2006, McClatchy decided to pay off its capital gains tax bill by selling the *Star Tribune* to Avista Capital Partners in a leveraged buyout valued at $530 million. Almost immediately, MediaNews and Avista offered buyouts that cut the newsroom staffs in St. Paul and Minneapolis by almost 20 percent, following patterns seen in other cities.

Broadcasting

By 2008 there were nearly 50 radio stations in the Twin Cities market, but throughout the twentieth century, one station dominated: WCCO-AM, the self-styled "Good Neighbor to the Northwest." In fall 1962, for instance, WCCO had a 68.1 percent share of Twin Cities area listeners—twice the audience of all the other stations combined. In 1966, its morning audience was larger than any Twin Cities TV station's prime-time audience. In 1973, *The Wall Street Journal* proclaimed that WCCO commanded its listening area like no other station in the nation. WCCO remained the top-rated AM station in the Twin Cities, but by 2006, some of the music-dominated FM stations were matching its share of the market.

The station began as WLAG, going on the air from downtown Minneapolis on September 4, 1922, a few months after the University of Minnesota's WLB became the state's first radio station. WLAG died in less than two years. Just six weeks later, however, the Washburn Crosby Co. revived it as a marketing tool in its flour milling war with Pillsbury and renamed it after itself, WCCO. In 1928, a group of St. Paul businessmen banded to counter WCCO's gambit in Minneapolis, and they formed KSTP. They appointed Stanley E. Hubbard to run KSTP, and he eventually bought them out before going on to found KSTP-FM and KSTP-TV along with his son, Stanley M. Hubbard.

Just before the stock market crash of 1929, CBS founder William Paley paid $150,000 for a one-third interest in WCCO. Radio's emergence as a news source in the 1930s led the *Minneapolis Tribune* and *St. Paul Pioneer Press-Dispatch* into a rare cooperative venture whereby they bought a radio station in 1934 and named it WTCN, which stood for Twin Cities Newspapers. The papers also owned WTCN-TV when it took to the air in 1948. CBS bought WCCO-TV and radio from the newspapers in 1992.

WCCO-TV has won seven Peabody Awards for news excellence, while WCCO radio has won six, compared to two for KSTP-AM, one for KSTP-TV—and six for Minnesota Public Radio, plus two for Minnesota Public Television. KARE-TV, an ABC affiliate that Gannett owns, has not won a Peabody, but the National Press Photographers Association named it national station of the year six times between 1985 and 2008. KARE also remained the ratings leader for most of the 2000s. For example, its 10 p.m. news held a 21 percent share of the audience in mid-2008, compared to a 13.7 share for the runner-up, WCCO-TV.

In 2007, St. Paul–based KSTP-AM reignited its rivalry with Minneapolis-based WCCO by outbidding it for the rights to broadcast the Minnesota Twins games—a contract WCCO had held for 45 years.

Conclusion

By 2008, the Twin Cities journalism industry had hit a new low. WCCO-TV shed its high-paid meteorologist, Paul Douglas, and asked the rest of its anchors to take a 10 percent pay cut in order to stanch layoffs. The *Star Tribune* sought another 25 buyouts from the newsroom at year's end, missed its payments to creditors, and filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection in January 2009. The *Pioneer Press*'s circulation was holding steady, but its owners were strapped for cash and credit, too. A return to 1876 and the unpopular merger of the Minneapolis and St. Paul newspapers seemed economically inevitable, but journalists held out hope that wealthy local patrons would buy the papers, keep them competing, and lead them into a new era of profitable multimedia convergence.

Michael Dorsher

See also Chicago; Milwaukee

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Monopoly

See Antitrust

Morning News

Tuning in to news on the radio and/or television is a staple of the morning routine for millions of people across the United States. From minute-long headline briefs to four-hour blocks, morning news on broadcast, cable, and satellite outlets provides a wide range of news and information, traffic, weather, and entertainment. Most morning news on radio and television is rigidly formatted to time, so viewers and listeners not only get the information but can gauge whether they are running ahead or behind in their morning schedule. More than any other news program, morning news is focused on the things the audience needs to know immediately to progress with their day—that is, "Do I need a coat or umbrella?" "Is there an accident on my driving route?" "Is the kids' school delayed or closed by weather?" "What was the score of the game last night?" "What hot stories will everyone be talking about over coffee this morning?" Over time the role of news in the morning has grown on radio and television to the point where both local and network broadcasts offer up to four or more hours of morning news programming starting as early as 4:30 a.m.

Before detailing the history and current status of radio and television morning news, it is important to understand the difference between local and network programming. In the United States, broadcast stations are licensed by the government to broadcast in local communities. Those stations produce some of their own programming locally, especially news. Television stations usually affiliate with networks (a few radio stations still do as well) that provide programming to many stations across the country. In news, networks typically cover the world and national stories that local stations do not have the resources to cover on their own. So in the morning, an all-news radio station in Columbus, Ohio, might do local news, traffic and weather, and then air *CBS Radio World News Roundup* or CBS Radio newscasts on the hour. A television station in Columbus might air local news from 5:00 to 7:00 a.m., followed by the networks' the *Today* show or *Good Morning America* from 7:00 to 11:00 a.m.

Radio

Local Radio

The Scripps family (founder of the Scripps-Howard media dynasty) lays claim to the first radio news program on its unlicensed Detroit station 8MK (now WWJ-AM), August 31, 1920. But there were several experimental amateur stations "broadcasting" weather reports, news, and music for other amateur receivers from 1907 through 1917 when the government shut down all amateur radio stations because of wartime restrictions. The first commercially licensed radio station was KDKA-AM in Pittsburgh, which started broadcasting November 2, 1920, with election returns from the Harding versus Cox presidential race. Both 8MK (WWJ) and KDKA went on the air initially with a mix of programming, but ended up decades later with news/talk formats (WWJ in 1973 and KDKA in 1990). Ironically both were bought by CBS Radio (WWJ in 1989 and KDKA in 1996) and the former rivals for "firsts" in radio entered the twenty-first century airing similar morning news programming.

These two stations were fairly typical in their early local programming, especially in the morning, and serve as a good example of the development of local radio morning news. While there was little news or any other programming in morning hours at first, by the 1930s through the 1950s, news coverage was more event-driven than regularly scheduled. Indeed, newspapers were quick to point out that radio was not a good medium for news because, editors argued, it was too fleeting, and events were presented live with no context or "reporting." In 1932 KDKA-AM started a morning show that would run for more than three

decades, the *Uncle Ed Schaughency Show* (though it lasted to1980, it shifted to an afternoon slot in 1954). As was then typical of local radio programming, it offered a mix of popular big band and jazz music, some news, and when warranted, live event coverage, such as the 1936 St. Patrick's Day flood that drowned downtown Pittsburgh under several feet of water. In 1941 KDKA added the *Farm Hour* (1941–59) in the mornings, which again mixed entertainment and news. The newsy farm reports were accompanied by country music from a local band that became the top country music act in Pittsburgh. In 1954 KDKA pioneered the modern "morning team" radio format with *Cordic & Company,* which featured less music and more comedic banter and skits, supported with plentiful advertising. Short newscasts were interspersed at regular time slots, but news was not the focus of the "morning mayhem." This is still a very popular format for morning "drive time" (typically defined as 6:00 to 10:00 a.m.) radio, and the newscaster is typically expected to join in the banter. Many such newscasts mix local, world, and national news, and end on a lighter story to facilitate that cross-talk with the hosts. Traffic and weather reports are usually also a part of the morning mix on these more entertainment-based local radio shows.

Radio stations did not seem to get serious about producing their own local news in the morning until the early 1960s, when the first All News and News/Talk format stations went on the air. KFAX-AM in San Francisco was reportedly the first to try changing from a music format to all news in 1960, but the experiment failed when lack of advertising support cost the station a quarter of a million dollars in just the first four months. So the credit for the first successful 24-hour all news station goes to Arthur Arundel, who began programming in 1961 on his Washington, D.C., station, WAVA-FM. The success of news programming in Washington was due in large part to a capitol city audience hungry for political and other local news. The modern all-news radio format can be traced to innovative radio programmer Gordon McLendon, who also created the popular "Top 40" and "Beautiful Music" (the radio designation for "elevator music") formats. His all-news format started each half hour with world and national news, usually from a radio network (CBS, NBC, or ABC), then extended local news, and closed the half-hour with sports, business news, and features. It was first broadcast in the early 1960s on XETRA, a Tijuana, Mexico, station that reached Los Angeles listeners, and then on WNUS in Chicago. This format with the addition of weather and traffic is still used today by many all-news radio stations in the morning.

Network Radio

The growing world tensions in the years just before World War II jump-started radio news at the network level sooner than at stations. As CBS and NBC (ABC was not created until 1943 when the FCC forced NBC to sell one of its two networks) battled competitively in the late 1930s for the strongest coverage of European news, the first broadcast news "stars" were born. Edward R. Murrow, William Shirer, Robert Trout, and Eric Sevareid dominated CBS Radio coverage of the war in Europe after 1939 and started the longest running radio news broadcast, the *CBS Radio World News Roundup*. CBS maintains the *World News Roundup* started March 13, 1938, with Edward R. Murrow's first broadcast from Europe that utilized short wave to link reporters from several European capitols with an anchor (though he wasn't called by that title then) in New York. But historians point out that the March 1938 broadcast was a one-time report with no title. It was CBS's answer to the competitive frustration caused by NBC's Max Jordan, who was reporting live from Vienna during the Austrian crisis with incredible access; a strong, clear signal; and ongoing scoops. And even though Jordan and NBC had tried a similar report, linking reporters from multiple European capitals in 1936, CBS got the credit and publicity for doing it first with the 1938 broadcast. CBS's sporadic "Tour of European Capitals" reports continued with Murrow's and Shirer's fame increasing, and quickly eclipsing Max Jordan and his crew despite their regular scoops of major developments in Europe during the late 1930s. It was the strong voices and dramatic writing of the "Murrow Boys," as they became known, that overshadowed the work of NBC and dominated radio news in the early years.

In September 1939, as war began, the *CBS Radio World News Roundup* developed into a daily news program airing from 6:45 to 7:00 p.m. At the same time CBS started a morning version of the *World News Roundup* that aired from 8:00 to

8:15 a.m., starting the longest running morning news program on radio or television. In 2008 the *World News Roundup* celebrated its seventieth anniversary, as a ten-minute news program airing at 7:00 a.m. and 7:00 p.m. EST, Monday through Friday, on more than 1,500 CBS-affiliated radio stations. The format includes world and national news reported by CBS reporters from overseas and in New York. Many local stations air the first eight minutes, and then take the option CBS offers to cut away and provide two minutes of local news.

If CBS's *World Roundup* is the oldest national network radio morning news show (and as with any such claim of a "first" there is controversy here), then the most popular in the early 2000s is National Public Radio's *Morning Edition*. National Public Radio (NPR) was a latecomer to the radio networks, created in 1970 from federal legislation that instituted and partially funded the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. In November 1979 NPR started *Morning Edition,* which is broadcast live from 5:00 to 7:00 a.m. EST, and then is repeated with updates as needed until noon. Local public radio stations typically air two to four hours of *Morning Edition*. The program in 2008 averaged 13 million listeners a week from more than 800 local public radio stations across the country and was the second highest rated national radio program of any type.

Morning Edition is a combination of short newscasts on the half-hour, longer (up to six or seven minutes) reports providing in-depth coverage of national and world news, interesting profiles, and feature reports, plus interviews and commentary. Local public stations can break in after the newscasts with two to four minutes of local news and get two additional cut-ins per hour for weather and/or traffic, community calendar events, and promotion for upcoming programming.

As with most morning news programs, *Morning Edition* follows a rigid time schedule. Looking at the program format broken down by timing provides a good example of how network morning news formats work, allowing local stations to integrate their own news and information with the national programming. The format is the same for each hour: (as of 2008)

5:00:00–:01:00	Headlines promoting upcoming stories, an anniversary, or a birthday
5:01:00–:06:00	National and world news newscast
5:06:00–:09:30	Continued national and world news newscast—local stations often cut away and do local news and weather/traffic during this time
5:09:30–:10:00	30-second signature music bridge
5:10:00–:19:00	Segment A: two to three long stories on the big news of the day
5:19:00–:21:00	Local station break for weather, traffic, community events, promotion
5:21:00–:28:50	Segment B: long feature stories, interviews, and commentary
5:28:50–:29:30	Sponsorships and funding credit
5:29:30–:30:00	Local station break for identification
5:30:00–:30:30	Humorous news item called a "return"
5:30:30–:35:30	National and world news newscast (local stations may cover the last two minutes for local news, sports, and/or feature stories)
5:35:30–:39:30	Segment C: Three- to four-minute cultural or news feature story (local stations often cover this segment too and do a longer local newscast, with sports, weather, traffic, or a single longer news or feature story)
5:39:30–:40:00	30-second signature music bridge
5:40:00–:49:00	Segment D: two to three longer stories on health/consumer news, international stories, or updates on national stories
5:49:00–:51:00	Local station break for weather, traffic, community events, promotion
5:51:00–:58:20	Segment E: business stories (in the second hour this segment is usually a feature story)
5:58:20–6:00:00	Closing music bed—local stations may cover some part of this time for station identification

Source: Compiled by author.

CBS, NBC, ABC, NPR, and CNN Radio Networks also offer hourly news broadcasts to which local stations can subscribe. They may be as short as one minute and update the top world and national stories with a mix of reporters, and short (10–15 seconds) interview segments (sound bites) from newsmakers.

In the first decade of the 2000s, radio morning news is the dominant choice for news and information for morning commuters on their way to work or school. But for those at home during the mornings, television news was the dominant source for American news consumers.

Television

Local Television

Morning programming on television began at the local level, but would not develop fully until the 1970s and 1980s. The first television morning program appears to have been *Three to Get Ready,* produced by WPTZ-TV in Philadelphia from 1950 to 1952. The program aired from 7:00 to 9:00 a.m. and was primarily entertainment-oriented, though it also included news and weather segments. It also provided the television debut of comedian Ernie Kovacs and was so successful in a time period when few thought people would watch television that it led NBC to develop the first network morning program, the *Today* show, in 1952.

One of the most successful and long-running local morning news programs was *The Morning Exchange,* which aired on WEWS-TV in Cleveland for more than 25 years, from 1972 to 1999. During the 1970s, on any given morning from 7:00 to 9:00 a.m., more than two-thirds of the Cleveland audience was tuned in to *The Morning Exchange,* or *MX*. *MX* broke new ground in several ways. It was the first morning show to move from a "news desk" to a living room set, and it created the now popular format for all the network morning programs, of news and weather on the half-hour and then a mix of discussion and interviews on various topics of general interest and entertainment (dealing with career choices, relationships, death, sexuality, etc.). Morning news pioneers like longtime *MX* host Fred Griffith laid the groundwork for ABC's *Good Morning America,* which first aired in 1975. Ironically ABC's success with *Good Morning America* led the network to pressure WEWS-TV to replace *MX* with the network feed. The station pushed back *Morning Exchange* to later morning hours and in 1999 canceled it.

Until the late 1970s, few local television stations were doing anything as ambitious (or expensive) in the morning. The typical station morning news was a 15-minute or half-hour segment that led into the network morning shows. The ABC, NBC, and CBS morning news programs also allowed time for stations to insert brief local news and weather segments at the end of each half hour. But changing life schedules brought new demands and opportunities for more content in the morning. People started getting up earlier to head to work, and subsequently went to bed earlier, many times before the late news, which had been the big station program for audience and profitability. Stations slowly started expanding their morning news, first to an hour and then 90 minutes, and then two hours. By the 2000s some local stations started their local newscasts at 4:30 a.m.

As station morning newscasts expanded, they also changed to more closely match what radio news had long been doing in the morning. In fact some news consultants encouraged television stations to basically "do radio" in the morning. The formats stuck to a rigid time schedule, similar to the one presented above for NPR's *Morning Edition,* and assumed that most viewers watched for a maximum of 45 minutes, but more likely only 20 to 30 minutes. That meant short news blocks, regular traffic and weather reports, and features or sports at the end of the half-hour. In the early 1990s several stations adopted a format that put traffic and weather reports together, airing every ten minutes. This format was regularly branded using the station's channel number, for example "Traffic and weather together on the 5s" for Channel 5, or "Traffic and weather every ten minutes on the 8s" for Channel 8.

In addition to format changes for television morning news, the new longer morning news blocks also changed content. With longer newscasts and more viewers, resources also came to local morning news, often including one or two reporters who would be out reporting live during the morning, and overnight videographers to shoot fresh video news for the morning programs. The modern format for local morning news does not just recap the stories from late news the night

before, it provides fresh stories. Much of the content looks forward to what is ahead for the day. There is also more health, consumer, and business news. All the content is neatly packaged in a strict time format bracketed by traffic and weather. Despite schedule rigidity, morning news anchors actually have more flexibility in their presentation than do their evening counterparts. There is more room for personality among television morning news talent, and usually more time for "chat" among the news, weather, and traffic presenters. If sports is included in local television morning programming, it is rarely live. Typically the sports anchor from the late news records a two- to three-minute sports segment that is played back on tape during the morning program.

In the 1990s, many stations expanded their morning news to weekends, replacing what had traditionally been children's programming. These weekend morning programs range from an hour to as long as four hours. The weekend content typically has no traffic reports, and more feature segments such as cooking or gardening, mixed in with the news and weather segments. The weekend morning news programs also might rebroadcast special health or consumer reports, as well as investigative reports from weekday evening newscasts.

As morning television news expanded, it stole much of the in-home audience from all-news and news/talk radio stations. This trend accelerated as stations' technology allowed them to focus on providing information such as school closings and delays in bad weather, and very specific traffic information. While radio morning news still dominates during the actual "drive time" for people, until they get in their cars to head to work or school, they "listen" to television morning news. Unlike the evening television newscasts, most morning news producers assume their viewers are really listeners while they go through their morning routine, so they produce programming that is more for "the ear" than for "the eye" than is traditionally the case for television news.

Television Networks

The most popular television morning news programs, NBC's *Today* show, ABC's *Good Morning America,* and CBS's *The Early Show,* got their start by copying local morning news success stories. The oldest of network television morning news programs is NBC's *Today* show. It was first broadcast January 14, 1952, and since that time has been consistently dominant with viewers, except for a period in the late 1980s when ABC's *Good Morning America* grabbed the most viewers for a few years. But *Today* rebounded and has been the ratings winner every week since 1995.

The original *Today* show was hosted by easygoing Dave Garroway and blended national news headlines and in-depth newsmaker interviews, with lifestyle features and entertainment gimmicks such as the *Today* mascot, a chimpanzee named J. Fred Muggs. From the very beginning, the *Today* show also offered local stations time for short local news and weather updates. *Today* started as a two-hour program that NBC affiliated stations aired from 7:00 a.m. to 9:00 a.m. It was live on the east coast, and tape delayed in other time zones. The program experimented with five hours of live broadcast in 1956, so as to be live for all time zones, but in 1958 the network switched back to tape-delayed broadcasts for all time zones except the Eastern. In 2000 *Today* expanded to three hours, broadcasting until 10:00 a.m. and in 2007 a fourth hour was added. Not all stations air the additional two hours, as some produce their own late-morning programs.

Garroway hosted the *Today* show for nearly 10 years, during which time NBC had only token morning competition from ABC and CBS. When Garroway left, host or anchor duties fell primarily to news people and became a launching pad for careers at NBC news including those of John Chancellor, Hugh Downs, Barbara Walters, Tom Brokaw, Jane Pauley, Bryant Gumbel, and Katie Couric. While the program was originally produced in a functional newsroom within a studio, eventually the "news gathering set" was replaced by a more informal scene. An early version featured a large streetside window, so people could "look in" while the program was on the air. In 2006 *Today* returned to those roots with a new set that included an outside venue.

While the hosts and sets have changed, the basic idea of the *Today* show has remained remarkably the same. It still provides a mix of news headlines and newsmaker interviews, with lifestyle and entertainment features, weather, and local news cut-ins before the top and bottom of the hour.

During the first two hours, the program follows the same time format as local television and radio morning news, giving viewers those time benchmarks to support their morning routine, but the additional two hours tend to be more flexible, and the interviews and longer stories become lighter and more feature-oriented as the program moves through its final two hours. The *Today* show also expanded to weekends, adding a Sunday morning program (from 8:00 to 9:00 a.m.) in 1987 and a Saturday morning version (from 7:00 to 9:00 a.m.) in 1992. NBC also produces a business and news morning program, *Early Today,* which some stations air for 30 minutes or an hour before their morning news programs.

ABC only entered the network morning news race, more than 20 years after NBC, on January 6, 1975, with *AM America,* which aired from 7:00 to 9:00 am. But NBC's *Today* show was so well established that the new addition to network television morning news was no competition. So ABC sought a different format and style, and, as mentioned previously, found a local morning program on one of its affiliate stations that was wildly successful against the *Today* show. WEWS-TV's *The Morning Exchange* had a more relaxed approach, offering hard news and weather updates only at the top and bottom of the half-hours, and in between offering discussion and interviews on high-interest feature and entertainment topics. The program put together a group of regular guests who were experts in a variety of areas such as health, consumer news, travel, entertainment, and personal relationships. The program was broadcast from a set that looked more like a suburban living room than a newsroom. Using an episode of *The Morning Exchange* as a pilot program, ABC debuted its revamped *Good Morning America* (*GMA*) in November 1975 with David Hartman and actress/singer Nancy Dussault as co-hosts.

Good Morning America enjoyed a slow but steady climb in viewership during the 1980s, especially as the *Today* show lost some of its top talent, including Barbara Walters and Tom Brokaw. *GMA* really gained in popularity when co-host Joan Lunden was paired with Charlie Gibson in February 1987 after Hartman retired. For the first time *GMA* regularly beat *Today* in the audience ratings. But when Lunden and Gibson left *GMA* in the mid-1990s, viewers switched back to *Today* and remained there well into the 2000s. Despite talent changes, *GMA* has remained steady with its format of news and weather updates at the top and bottom of the hour, feature stories and interviews in between using expert guests, and local news updates at 25 and 55 minutes after the hour. *GMA* also introduced a weekend edition on Sundays that aired from 1993 to 1999, and was brought back both Saturdays and Sundays in 2004 as an hour-long program airing on ABC affiliate stations from 8:00 to 9:00 a.m.

CBS has experienced the most difficulty establishing a successful morning news program. The latest version, *The Early Show,* debuted in November 1999, airing in the traditional morning news period of 7:00 to 9:00 a.m. CBS's first venture into morning programming, *The Morning Show,* started in 1954, just two years after the debut of NBC's *Today*. The original host was Walter Cronkite, but in its two-year run other hosts included Jack Paar, Dick Van Dyke, and Will Rogers Jr. The program, which started out as two hours, was shortened to an hour in 1955 to make way for the children's show, *Captain Kangaroo*. When *The Morning Show* failed to gain an audience, it was finally dropped in 1956 in favor of a 15-minute news update called the *CBS Morning News,* which aired before the popular children's show.

CBS would not try another serious attempt at a full-length morning news program until 1963, when a revamped *CBS Morning News* went on the air as a half-hour, hard news newscast airing at 10:00 a.m. CBS moved the program to 7:00 am and expanded it to an hour in 1965 after realizing the 10:00 a.m. slot was not really a "news" time slot. The program was still a traditional newscast similar to the evening network newscasts. CBS finally gave up the pure news format in 1979 and reformatted the program to resemble its popular *CBS Sunday Morning* program with Charles Kuralt, who took over as host of the weekday as well as his Sunday morning program in 1980. Despite critical acclaim, CBS's morning news program remained dead last in viewership. Through the 1980s and 1990s, CBS changed program names, formats, and talent multiple times, trying to find a mix that would be competitive with *Today* and *Good Morning America,* but nothing worked.

The most recent version debuted in November 1999 as *The Early Show*. CBS recruited *Today* host

Bryant Gumbel and teamed him with newcomer Jane Clayson, but still the ratings did not improve, so the team was replaced, bringing back longtime CBS morning news host Harry Smith and adding three co-hosts instead of just one, plus a news anchor and weather person. Into the 2000s *The Early Show* remained third in the ratings behind the ABC and NBC programs.

The Fox network does not produce a daily morning news show for its affiliates but does produce the Sunday morning *Fox News Sunday*. The 24-hour cable networks also offer news in the morning—*American Morning* on CNN, *Fox and Friends* on Fox News Channel, and *Morning Joe* (named for host Joe Scarborough) on MSNBC—but those programs tend to be more focused on news and are less likely to have human interest or feature segments.

Conclusion

Morning news on radio and then television has expanded steadily since its early years on the air. The programs combine local, national, and world news updates with traffic, weather, and features presented in a "news you can use" type format that helps viewers and listeners prepare for their day. Usually the later in the morning, the more likely it is that the content will be lighter, and more feature-oriented, than the hard news-centered early morning hours. The programs combine short news briefs with longer stories and interviews to give more depth on various topics. Their hosts and anchors are given more flexibility to share their personalities with the audience than evening news anchors. No matter what the content, however, most morning news shows are rigidly formatted to time to ensure the viewer or listener knows how well they are staying on schedule. While many other news programs on network and local radio and television were losing audience into the 2000s, the morning news programs have remained steady or gained viewers and listeners, becoming an important part of America's morning routine.

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See also ABC News; Anchors, Television; Cable News; CBS News; Fox News; NBC News; Newscasters, Radio; Public Radio Journalism; Reporters, Radio; Reporters, Television

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Motion Pictures, Journalism in

Stories about journalists and journalism have been a Hollywood staple since the silent era. The movies have addressed tensions and contradictions long at journalism's core while expressing a pronounced ambivalence toward the press. By

continually focusing attention on journalism, however, films have helped underscore that news media play a central role in democratic society.

Prototypes

Cinematic depictions of journalism grew out of similar depictions in fiction and on stage, many written by journalists themselves. Novels in the early twentieth century told stories of idealistic young reporters confronting hardboiled editors in big-city newsrooms. The neophytes either proved their mettle by getting a big story or were broken by the newsroom's unrelenting cynicism. Plays such as Maurine Watkins' *Chicago,* produced in 1926, continued the theme of wisecracking reporters covering urban crime and corruption. Silent movies exploited that theme as well.

Ben Hecht and Charles MacArthur's *The Front Page* (1931) proved the most influential work of this type; indeed, its influence is felt to the present day. The authors were onetime Chicago reporters, and they drew upon their experiences in writing their play that premiered on Broadway in 1928. *The Front Page* tells of reporter Hildy Johnson's desperate attempts to escape his Chicago newspaper and his tyrannical editor Walter Burns for a supposedly better life as a newlywed and New York City advertising executive. The scoop of a lifetime disrupts Hildy's plans as a convict escapes from jail on the eve of his scheduled hanging. At the end, it is unclear whether Hildy ever will successfully leave journalism or whether he would be better off if he does. *The Front Page* in many ways paints a damning picture of journalism; Walter and Hildy hide the escaped convict for the sake of an exclusive and reporters hound a woman to the point that she jumps out a window. Nevertheless, Hecht and MacArthur said they wrote their play as a fond remembrance of their reporting days, and they made the frenetic excitement of the newsroom outshine the dreary alternative of matrimony and the business world.

Scores of movies of the era seized upon the big-city journalistic archetypes. Some, such as 1931's *Five Star Final* (itself drawn from a Broadway play), explicitly attacked the tabloid news ethos; the movie depicts an editor's growing pangs of conscience as his newspaper publishes a series on a woman's sordid past and eventually drives her and her husband to suicide. Others such as *Picture Snatcher* (1933) were more cavalier toward questions of journalistic ethics while reveling in the breathless fun of scooping the competition.

Prewar Movies

Screwball comedies of the 1930s and 1940s presented tales of romantic couples who expressed their mutual attraction by exchanging witty insults while enmeshed in an outlandish plot based upon lies and misunderstanding. Again, the journalism world offered a fruitful backdrop for such films. In *Libeled Lady* (1936), a newspaper hires a man to frame a wealthy woman who is suing the paper for sullying her name; the man and woman (William Powell and Myrna Loy) fall in love. In *Nothing Sacred* (1937), written by Ben Hecht, a newspaper turns the phony story of a young woman allegedly dying of radium poisoning into a media frenzy. The paper's star reporter falls for the young woman, which does not prevent him from slugging her in the jaw and her knocking him out in return. *His Girl Friday* (1940) remade *The Front Page*, turning Hildy into a woman. In casting Cary Grant as Walter and Rosalind Russell as Hildy, the movie made journalistic sensationalism seem powerfully romantic and the female reporter look exceptionally sharp and capable.

Director Frank Capra (who with 1934's *It Happened One Night* had himself made a pioneering screwball comedy featuring a journalist) was more skeptical toward strong female reporters and the urban tabloid press. *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936) depicts a journalist posing as an impoverished young woman to get the inside story of a simple small-town man who has inherited a fortune; after falling in love with him, she recants her lies and quits her job. *Meet John Doe* (1941) shows a female journalist writing a phony column about "John Doe" who purportedly will commit suicide to protest social conditions. The woman's newspaper hires a man to play the part of Doe. A nationwide Doe movement is born promoting neighborliness and self-sufficiency, only to be coopted by the fascistic publisher of the paper. Once more, the woman journalist confesses her sins and devotes herself to the man playing Doe, with the publisher's evil schemes apparently thwarted.

Orson Welles's celebrated *Citizen Kane* (1941) incorporated some of screwball's farcical elements

along with a more pointed press critique in telling of a William Randolph Hearst–like publisher whose youthful idealism gives way to megalomania and defeat. The movie shows up the press's glib attempts at trying to reveal the ultimate truth about a man's life as well as its vulnerability to manipulation and demagoguery. At the same time, in portraying Kane's wit and savoir-faire, it indicates that it can "be fun to run a newspaper," as Kane himself says in the film. Despite attempts by Hearst to suppress the film, and initial poor box office, this movie is often seen as one of Hollywood's best ever.

Wartime Movies and Film Noir

Responding in part to pressure from press associations for more positive portrayals of journalism, wartime movies typically presented journalists as patriots backing the war effort. Examples included *Objective, Burma!* (1945) and *The Story of G.I. Joe* (1945), the latter of which dramatized war correspondent Ernie Pyle's dispatches from the front. Some films immediately after the war continued the theme of the journalist as a conscientious professional; *Gentleman's Agreement* (1947) showed a magazine writer exposing anti-Semitism, whereas *Call Northside 777* (1948) drew upon a real-life incident in which a reporter fought to exonerate a man wrongfully imprisoned for the murder of a Chicago police officer.

Call Northside 777 is considered an example of postwar film noir, which stylistically and thematically presented dark tales of alienation and corruption. Movies of this type that targeted journalism's seamy underbelly included *Ace in the Hole* (1951), in which an utterly amoral reporter keeps a man trapped in a cave for the sake of an exclusive with fatal consequences, and *Sweet Smell of Success* (1957), in which a Walter Winchell–like columnist destroys the lives and careers of all who cross him. *Deadline, USA* (1952) deals with similar themes of violence and vice, but is much loved by journalists for Humphrey Bogart's portrayal of an upstanding editor who stops at nothing to expose a murderous gangster. The movie does not escape the darkness entirely, however; at the end, the editor's paper is sold and closed.

Conspiracy Pictures

Journalism movies of the 1960s tended to be either froth, such as the sex farce *Sex and the Single Girl* (1964), or cult pictures such as Samuel Fuller's *Shock Corridor* (1963), in which a reporter goes undercover at an insane asylum only to go mad himself. By the end of the decade, *Medium Cool* (1969) was directly addressing the social turmoil of the times while exploring the hazy line between reality and illusion. Haskell Wexler's film combined documentary footage of the 1968 Democratic national convention with a fictional story of a television photographer who finds his professional detachment increasingly challenged by the tumult surrounding him.

The long Vietnam and bitter Watergate crises helped give rise to what have been described as conspiracy films, in which individuals confronted vast conspiracies enmeshed in menacing bureaucracies. Two such films from 1976 that seemed diametrically opposed in their depictions of journalism were *Network,* a bitter satire, and *All the President's Men,* a more traditional drama. In *Network,* a television news anchor takes to the airwaves to decry the madness and decay in American society and television itself, imploring his viewers to proclaim, "I'm as mad as hell, and I'm not going to take it anymore!" When he threatens the network's financial interests, its executives coolly have him assassinated on the air.

In contrast, *All the President's Men* functions as a heroic tale how young reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein and *The Washington Post* overcame steep odds in uncovering the Watergate scandal. The movie has been criticized for exaggerating the press's role in the downfall of President Richard Nixon. Regardless, it as much as any other movie espoused the ideal that the press could and should expose abuses of power and serve as the people's guardian. As editor Ben Bradlee (played by Jason Robards) tells Woodward (Robert Redford) and Bernstein (Dustin Hoffman) in the film, "Nothing's riding on this except the First Amendment to the Constitution, freedom of the press, and maybe the future of the country."

Post-1980 Movies

Films in the post-Watergate era continued to present a mixed portrait of the press while recycling many of the storylines of previous years. Depictions of newspaper journalists included *Absence of Malice* (1981), in which a reporter writes a story falsely

implying that a man is a murder suspect and then writes another story that makes the man's best friend kill herself. In *Street Smart* (1987), a magazine writer's fabricated story about a Times Square pimp leads to bloodshed. However, in *The Paper* (1994) and *True Crime* (1999), print journalists successfully help free people who have been jailed for murders they did not commit.

Television journalists were the subject of savage satire in *To Die For* (1995), in which a young woman's hunger for TV stardom prompts her to seduce a teenage boy into murdering her husband whom she sees as standing in her way, whereas in the romantic comedy *Broadcast News* (1987), a newscaster fakes tears on camera to make himself seem more empathetic and hence advance his career. On the other hand, *Up Close and Personal* (1996) transformed the lurid real-life story of television anchor Jessica Savitch (who fell prey to drugs and domestic violence before dying in a car accident) into a slick romance featuring a jaded male journalist being redeemed by the love of his younger female protégé. In *The Insider* (1999), a television news producer sticks by his whistleblower source in the face of corporate threats and coercion.

Several films depicted the trials of Western correspondents covering overseas conflicts, often with a cynical reporter gradually being converted to a person or cause. Among those pictures were *The Year of Living Dangerously* (1983), in which a radio journalist's pursuit of an exclusive threatens to bring harm to the woman he loves; *Under Fire* (1983), which shows a photojournalist faking a photo to help the rebels in the Nicaraguan civil war; *The Killing Fields* (1984), which relates the true story of the friendship between *New York Times* reporter Sydney Schanberg and his Cambodian assistant Dith Pran; and *Welcome to Sarajevo* (1997), which tells of a broadcast reporter rescuing a young girl from the bloodshed in Bosnia.

Films of the early twenty-first century carried on these familiar themes. There were more war correspondent movies such as *Live from Baghdad* (2002) and *Blood Diamond* (2006). There were tales of journalistic malfeasance such as *Shattered Glass* (2003), which told of young writer Stephen Glass's deceptions at *The New Republic,* and *Capote* (2005) and *Infamous* (2006), both of which depicted Truman Capote exploiting a convicted killer while writing his book *In Cold Blood*. Finally, there were stories of heroism such as *Good Night, and Good Luck* (2005), which told of television journalist Edward R. Murrow and producer Fred Friendly's early 1950s crusade against McCarthyism.

Conclusion

Through their stock characters and situations, journalism movies constitute their own distinct genre, and like other movie genres they address enduring cultural conflicts. In journalism films, those include clashes between home and work, cynicism and idealism, objectivity and subjectivity, the public interest and institutional interests, and the press's interest and individuals' interests.

Regarding home versus work, the movies indicate that it is difficult if not impossible to enjoy both a happy personal life and a satisfying professional life, with female journalists particularly at a disadvantage. If that implies that journalism is not for normal people, it also suggests that it is a uniquely exciting and challenging occupation. As for cynicism versus idealism, films depict journalists as a street-smart lot who see through the sordidness and sanctimony surrounding them. However, their cynicism can become debilitating when they stop believing in the ideals of their profession and the ability of the individual to make a difference in the world; in such cases, the journalists are either made to rediscover their idealism or suffer the consequences for failing to do so.

Objectivity has long been a principle of professional journalism, but in journalism movies, the model of scientific, impartial reporting often does not work. Although journalists' painstaking investigations occasionally do reveal truth (as in *All the President's Men*), other times their efforts lead nowhere; sometimes they are taken in by fakes or they make up stories entirely. Furthermore, their recurring propensity for falling in love with their sources mocks their supposed ability to remain detached.

The press's attempts in movies to serve the public interest regularly butt up against the interests of government (again, as in *All the President's Men*) and of big business. In particular, media owners are often seen trying to pressure journalists into

dumbing down or sleazing up the news or into suppressing the truth altogether. The press's interest in breaking big stories and peddling product also can make it run roughshod over the interests of innocent individuals, as in films dating back to 1931's *Five Star Final*.

Such depictions long have triggered complaints from real-life journalists, who say the movies grossly exaggerate their shortcomings and give the public a distorted view of how they really work. They express the fear that public confidence in the press may be undermined. At the same time, a number of journalists have confessed that they joined the profession precisely because of the picture of the press offered by the movies. Whatever criticism can be leveled at these depictions of journalism, they cannot be accused of being dull. On screen, the press is always at the heart of things and always makes a difference for better or for worse. As such, movies secure journalism's place in the public imagination.

Matthew C. Ehrlich

See also Books as Journalism; Entertainment Journalism; Infotainment; News as Narrative; Newsroom Culture; News Values

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Movies

See Motion Pictures, Journalism in

Muckrakers

Muckraker is a somewhat pejorative term for an investigative reporter: someone who digs up dirt or rakes muck. It is associated with a period of crusading American journalism—called muckraking—during the first dozen years of the twentieth century, although the phrase can also be used to refer to investigative reporting in general.

Origin of the Term

The word *muckraker* was first coined by President Theodore Roosevelt in a speech on March 17, 1906. Roosevelt was angered by a recent political exposé published by his enemy William Randolph Hearst in *Cosmopolitan* magazine. In an address to the Washington Gridiron Club, Roosevelt complained about a dangerous new breed of journalist whose inflammatory writings were sweeping America. "The man with the Muck-rake," Roosevelt said derisively, "the man who could look no way but downward with the muck-rake in his hands" only wanted "to rake to himself the filth on the floor" and "consistently refuses to see aught that is lofty, and fixes his eyes with solemn intentness only on that which is vile and debasing." Such a journalist, the President said, "speedily becomes, not a help to society, not an incitement to good, but one of the most potent forces of evil" (Weinberg and Weinberg 2001, 58–59).

Although Roosevelt's use of the word *muckraker* was negative, the muckrakers themselves embraced the insult as a badge of honor. The term stuck and would thereafter be used to refer not only to the crusading journalists of Roosevelt's time but to later investigative reporters as well. In fact, Roosevelt's denunciation was surprising in some ways because he was personally sympathetic to the muckrakers' reform agenda and because his political career had been helped tremendously by positive publicity from muckrakers, some of whom he befriended. But the muckrakers' targets also included some of Roosevelt's fellow Republican politicians whom the President tried to appease with his attack on these journalists.

Rise of Muckraking Journalism

Prior to 1900, investigative reporting in America was rare and mostly local in nature. By the beginning

of the twentieth century, however, muckraking became national in scope and seemed to flower everywhere in the United States almost at once. The decade between 1902 and 1912 is generally regarded as the heyday of muckraking, the "golden age of public service journalism" (Protess 1998, 35). In general, the muckrakers targeted corporate wrongdoing, government misbehavior, and social injustice; they viewed all three as interconnected to each other and to systemic problems spawned by the U.S. industrial revolution of their time.

The muckrakers were a uniquely homegrown American phenomenon, championing optimism, personal responsibility, individualism, and the inherent goodness of man. For the most part, the muckrakers were white, middle class, and Protestant, and their writings bore an unmistakable religious influence. Earnest and righteous, they viewed their work as a moral crusade. They believed in equality of opportunity, certain that truth would prevail if given a fair chance in the marketplace of ideas. They focused on domestic, usually urban, issues, tinged with a hint of American nationalism. Their solution for the many abuses they uncovered was a simple one: the Golden Rule. "Their criticisms of American society were, in their utmost reaches, very searching and radical," Historian Richard Hofstadter noted, "but they were themselves moderate men who intended to propose no radical remedies. From the beginning, then, they were limited by the disparity between the boldness of their means and the tameness of their ends" (Hofstadter 1955, 196).

Historians have traditionally linked muckraking to the politics of the Progressive Era. "To an extraordinary degree, the work of the Progressive movement rested upon its journalism," Hofstadter wrote. "The fundamental critical achievement of American Progressivism was the business of exposure, and journalism was the chief occupational source of its creative writers." The "Progressive mind," Hofstadter continued, "was characteristically a journalistic mind and . . . its characteristic contribution was that of the socially responsible reporter-reformer" (Hofstadter 1955, 186).

Supply and demand helped spur muckraking, too. "The historical pendulum swung toward muckraking as two mutually reinforcing phenomena converged," one researcher observed: "the demand for information about societal ills from an alienated, literate population of consumers; and a fiercely competitive national media that sought to supply it" (Protess 1991, 36).

In particular, the transcontinental railroad began supplying national distribution and marketing channels, which in turn created nationwide advertising and the first mass-circulation national news magazines. Technological improvements—linotype, telegraph, illustrations, and mass production—also increased the supply of this media while decreasing the price of production. *McClure's* and other magazines became especially popular because of their unprecedented ability to reproduce arresting photographs. Total circulation climbed into the millions as these new, slick national publications became the primary delivery system for the muckrakers.

Demand for muckraking articles was also fueled by the many abuses stemming from the industrial revolution: sweatshop labor, slum tenements, and rapid urbanization, as well as increased immigration. At the same time, rising literacy rates created more readers. Journalistic exposés proved popular with consumers, and aggressive publishers began catering to the new demand for sensational scandal coverage. Moreover, political reform groups discovered that muckrakers could be valuable allies, since reformers had no political machine of their own to spread their message. Ironically, this proliferation of investigative reporting was made possible by the very industrialized capitalism that the muckrakers exposed.

Demise

The celebrated golden age of muckraking came to an end by the time the United States entered World War I in 1917. There were many reasons for the demise of muckraking: The reforms they brought about had curbed the worst excesses of the industrial revolution, reducing the need for such journalism. The decline of Progressive politics also hurt muckraking because the two were so closely tied together. In addition, World War I turned the public's focus abroad and increased public deference to authority at home. Many muckrakers simply grew tired of such confrontational journalism and turned to other careers. For its part, the public seemed to grow weary of the negativity of muckraking, in part because some irresponsible reporting discredited the muckraking movement.

At the same time, some of the muckrakers' powerful targets exerted pressure on national magazines to get rid of such crusading reporting. The consolidation of corporate-owned media also eliminated some of the magazine outlets that had once published the muckrakers. This proved to be the beginning of a century-long evolution toward media monopolies. In the words of one researcher, "as technology widened the reach of communications, increasing costs of acquiring and starting media enterprises and expanding the potential profits, the news business in the twentieth-century followed some of the same tendencies toward greater consolidation that [could] be seen in other major industries, such as automobile and oil" (Hess 1996, 7). The creation of such media monopolies was an ironic conclusion to an era that began with the muckrakers' exposés of similarly rapacious monopolies such as John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil.

Historical Legacy

In the century since the muckrakers' heyday, historians have debated their political and journalistic legacy. The earliest scholarly interpretations were mostly positive, linking the muckrakers to important Progressive-era reforms: the Pure Food and Drug Act, child labor laws, federal income taxes, the direct election of senators, and the antitrust prosecution of Standard Oil, among others. Later historians, writing in the middle of the twentieth century, criticized the muckrakers for racism and viewed them as elitists who wanted to preserve the status quo and their own social position from assault by industrialization and ethnic immigrants. By century's end, historians reached a position somewhere in the middle, noting the limits of muckraking while praising its "exposure of the underside of American capitalism" (Shapiro 1968, 29–33).

By and large, the muckrakers were reformers, not radicals. Ida Tarbell, for example, focused on how Standard Oil's ruthless tactics against competitors led to higher prices for the consumer, largely ignoring the corporation's exploitation of workers or proposals to nationalize the giant company. Although some of the muckrakers became socialists—most famously, Upton Sinclair—most of them believed in reforming capitalism, which they realized had not only spawned the many injustices that they decried but also the reform journalism that made it profitable to document these abuses in the first place.

Noted American Muckrakers

Ray Stannard Baker (1870–1946)

Baker was one of the few muckrakers to write about racism against African Americans. His 1908 book *Following the Color Line* and subsequent articles made him the first prominent white journalist to expose lynching and Jim Crow segregation in mainstream nationwide publications. In addition, Baker's exposés of railroad corruption for *McClure's* magazine were credited with passage of federal laws to regulate the industry through creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Baker's support for presidential candidate Woodrow Wilson in 1912 led him to join Wilson's administration as a press secretary. In 1940, Baker won the Pulitzer Prize for his writing on Wilson's presidency.

Samuel McClure (1857–1949)

Samuel McClure, better known as S. S. McClure, was the founder and publisher of the most important muckraking magazine in the United States, *McClure*'s *Magazine,* which dominated American publishing from 1893 to 1911. McClure hired Lincoln Steffens, Ida Tarbell, Ray Stannard Baker, and other talented journalists, paid them well, and gave them the time and resources to dig up compelling stories of wrongdoing that created a national following. He also published high-quality fiction by Willa Cather, Rudyard Kipling, Jack London, and other writers. In addition, in 1884 McClure created the McClure Syndicate, which distributed material to newspapers.

David Graham Phillips (1867–1911)

Phillips was the journalist whose sensationalistic exposés of Senate corruption in 1906 led to the invention of the word "muckraker" by an angry President Theodore Roosevelt, who was defending Phillips' target, Senator Chauncy Depew, like Roosevelt a Republican politician from New York. Afterwards, Phillips compiled his collection of congressional exposés into a book, *The Treason of the Senate,* which was

laced with purple prose. "Treason is a strong word," Phillips declared, "but not too strong, rather too weak, to characterize the situation in which the Senate is the eager, resourceful, indefatigable agent of interests as hostile to the American people as any invading army could be, and vastly more dangerous" (Serrin 2002, 106). Phillips also wrote numerous novels until he was murdered by a man who claimed that Phillips had libeled his family.

Jacob Riis (1849–1914)

Riss pioneered the use of photography to expose the plight of the urban poor. A Danish American immigrant, his 1889 depictions of Manhattan slums in *Scribner's Magazine* came to the attention of then–police commissioner Theodore Roosevelt, and the two men became lifelong friends. The next year, Riis published his collection of poverty photos in the book for which he would become famous, *How the Other Half Lives*. Riis was unusual for his time in viewing poverty as caused by social conditions rather than defective character. His work helped spur laws against child labor and create urban playgrounds, settlement houses, and improved public schools.

Upton Sinclair (1878–1968)

Sinclair was probably the most famous of the muckrakers. His 1906 novel, *The Jungle,* based on Sinclair's previous undercover reporting, denounced unsanitary conditions in Chicago meat-packing plants. The book became an international best-seller and with the backing of President Theodore Roosevelt helped lead to passage of the 1906 Pure Food and Drug Act, which established federal inspections to protect the public from tainted food and unsafe patent medicines. Sinclair was invited to the White House, where the Republican President solicited his advice and, while disagreeing with the muckraker's socialist politics, admitted that "radical action" was necessary to combat "arrogant and selfish greed on the part of the capitalist." Sinclair continued writing provocative novels and turned to politics, repeatedly but unsuccessfully running for public office. In 1934, in the midst of the Great Depression, he was nearly elected governor of California on a socialist platform. By the time of his death at the age of 90, he had published nearly 100 books and won the Pulitzer Prize for his fiction.

Lincoln Steffens (1866–1936)

Steffens was the foremost muckraker of the early twentieth century. The affluent son of a California businessman, he began his career as a crime reporter for the *New York Post,* where he befriended an up-and-coming police commissioner named Theodore Roosevelt. But it was at *McClure's* magazine that Steffens truly blossomed, uncovering municipal corruption in cities throughout America: Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Pittsburgh, and New York City. "[B]ribery is no ordinary felony," he declared in his 1904 book *The Shame of the Cities,* "but treason," so widespread as "to change the form of our government from one that is representative of the people to an oligarchy, representative of special interests" (Steffens 1957, 17). Two years later, his exposés of corrupt state governments were published as a book in *The Struggle for Self-Government*. In 1906, Steffens and other muckrakers founded their own short-lived muckraking periodical called *American Magazine*. But he soon despaired that reform journalism was not enough and that more radical steps were necessary to stop the excesses of capitalism. He moved further to the left politically after covering the 1910 Mexican Revolution, which he supported. In 1921, Steffens traveled to the Soviet Union and proclaimed of the new Communist government there: "I have seen the future and it works." But he grew disillusioned with Communism as well, as recounted in his 1931 autobiography, and died five years later.

Ida Tarbell (1857–1944)

Tarbell was the leading female muckraker of her day whose detailed exposés of John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil helped lead to the passage of anti-trust legislation and the break-up of Rockefeller's powerful oil monopoly in 1911. Tarbell grew up in western Pennsylvania when oil fields were first developed there by Standard Oil; her father was one of the many early victims of Rockefeller's ruthless rise. In 1902, Tarbell began a series of 19 crusading articles in *McClure's* magazine documenting the predatory practices of Rockefeller's empire and two years later combined her findings into a

devastating book-length indictment, *The History of Standard Oil*. So tarnished was Rockefeller by Tarbell's exposé that he hired one of the first public relations consultants in American history and began handing out dimes to schoolchildren in a largely unsuccessful effort to improve his image. Tarbell continued writing and lecturing on other subjects in subsequent decades but she disliked being held up as a female role model and rejected women's suffrage out of the belief that early feminists belittled the role of homemakers.

Mark Feldstein

See also Investigative Journalism; Investigative Reporters

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Mutual Broadcasting System

The Mutual Broadcasting System was an American commercial radio network for 65 years, operating from 1934 until 1999. Strongest in rural areas, it began as a cooperative venture and provided some competition for the more established national networks.

Origins

On September 29, 1934, four AM radio stations—WXYZ in Detroit, WGN in Chicago, WOR in New York, and WLW in Cincinnati—agreed to form a cooperative program sharing radio network. WGN and WOR controlled the operation (at first dubbed the Quality Group) and contracted with AT&T for telephone lines to link Chicago and New York, with all four stations agreeing to share the costs. The Mutual Broadcasting System was incorporated in Illinois a month later. When WXYZ (which had contributed the popular western adventure program *The Lone Ranger* to begin the network) withdrew to join the NBC network, Canadian station CKLW in Windsor, Ontario (serving the Detroit market), replaced it. *The Lone Ranger* remained on Mutual until 1942.

After a year on the air, the new network carried 40 hours of sustaining (nonadvertiser supported) programs and 20 hours of commercial programming per week. The first coast-to-coast Mutual broadcast came in September 1936, and by 1940 the network served 160 stations, about 20 percent of those then on the air, though some were also served by other networks. Most of Mutual's stations were in rural areas and had less power than the affiliates of the older national networks. Indeed, many held primary affiliations with CBS or NBC and only a secondary relationship with Mutual. Still, Mutual had more affiliates than any other network—a record it held into the 1980s, long after the demise of most network programming.

When Mutual won the rights to carry the 1938 and 1939 baseball World Series broadcasts, CBS and NBC would not allow their affiliate stations to contract with Mutual for the popular sportscasts. Mutual's competitive problems and complaints to the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) contributed to the latter's investigation of "chain"

or network radio from 1938 to 1941. The FCC's new network rules were upheld in a landmark 1943 Supreme Court decision, helping to even the playing field for Mutual.

Mutual was the first national network to include FM stations as affiliates after World War II, by which time the network reached nearly 85 percent of the nation's homes. Yet it still operated as a cooperative, without a keystone station or headquarters in New York as the other networks featured. Most programs were produced by WOR or WGN.

Mutual News

Mutual began to carry more news as the European political crisis worsened in the late 1930s. Listeners heard correspondents via shortwave during the Munich Crisis of 1938, including London representative John Steele and Berlin correspondent Sigrid Schultz (who may have been the first woman to serve as an overseas radio news correspondent). Mutual also picked up reports from various news agency stringers including Walter Kerr of United Press.

Mutual took advantage of a cost-saving technique when, beginning in early 1938, WOR recorded English-language news broadcasts transmitted by European shortwave stations (especially the BBC Empire Service), and Mutual rebroadcast them unedited, often juxtaposing opposing sides. This technique drew considerable praise from radio critics as a way of allowing listeners to hear all the points of view on the news of the day, and enabling them to judge the propaganda for themselves without the commentary offered on CBS and NBC.

Yet Mutual also presented some very high-quality news analysts, including Raymond Gram Swing and Quincy Howe. Mutual affiliate WOL provided many of Mutual's public affairs and commentary programs, including that of conservative commentator Fulton Lewis Jr., the public affairs panel *American Forum of the Air,* and similar offerings. Mutual soon became known for controversial news commentators, including columnist Drew Pearson, Gabriel Heatter (who covered the trial and execution of the kidnapper of the Lindbergh baby in the mid-1930s), and Raymond Clapper (who replaced Swing). Pickups from other Mutual stations were usually confined to special events. The local affiliate was expected to feed any major event to the whole network. Mutual was the first on the air with the news of the 1941 bombing of Pearl Harbor by the Japanese, six minutes ahead of CBS and NBC. By 1945, Mutual's newscasts were a 24-hour operation.

By the mid-1940s, Mutual was also offering more sportscasts, including boxing matches, the World Series, the Cotton Bowl, and many other football contests. Sports continued to be a Mutual mainstay for decades. By the 1970s, Mutual had radio rights for several golf tournaments as well as tennis. By the mid-1980s the network carried five weekday sportscasts plus nearly 40 weekend reports.

In 1978, interviewer Larry King inherited the nightly Mutual talk show slot that had been pioneered by Herb Jepko and taken over by "Long John" Nebel until his death. King was on for 90 minutes and listeners could call in for another 90. The program ran until 1994, airing in the afternoon for its final years. Jim Bohannan, who had worked for Mutual's WCFL in Chicago in the early 1980s, filled in for King on occasion. When King's show shifted to daytime, the nighttime show became Bohannan's.

Decline

Mutual ended its cooperative operation in 1952 when the network was purchased by General Tire and set up in New York. In the late 1950s, network ownership changed several times, often within months. On at least two occasions, a shortage of funds threatened to close network operations (it did file for bankruptcy once) and the number of employees dropped to only 50 compared to 350 at its peak in the 1940s. A scandal ensued when it turned out one short-term owner had secretly accepted money from a Caribbean nation in return for favorable comment on the air. None of the several owners had sufficient funding to move Mutual (which had about 500 affiliates in the 1950s and 1960s) into television.

Ownership changes continued as the network shifted its headquarters from New York to Washington in 1971 (the New York news bureau closed three years later). In 1972, Mutual began special network feeds to black and Spanish-programmed stations with news and sportscasts.

In 1977, then-owner Amway bought Mutual's first station—WCFL in Chicago—and soon thereafter bought a New York station, the network's first owned-and-operated outlets.

In 1977, Mutual signed a contract with Western Union to use its satellite facilities, the first radio network to employ satellite distribution. Aided by its satellite network, Mutual served 950 affiliates by 1979 but the number declined slowly from then on. Its Operation Newsline provided close-circuit feeds of news and features to affiliates.

Mutual was purchased by Westwood One in 1985. In its last 15 years, Mutual largely produced newscasts, eventually from its headquarters in Crystal City, Virginia, just south of Washington, D.C. Westwood closed Mutual on Sunday, April 18, 1999, and its newscasts continued under the marketing name of CNN Radio.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Talk and News Radio

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Narrative Journalism

See Literary Journalism; News as Narrative

National Public Radio

National Public Radio (NPR) is an American noncommercial radio network that produces and distributes news and cultural programming through its member (affiliate) stations around the country. Its flagship newsmagazine programs *All Things Considered* and *Morning Edition* reach an estimated audience of 20 million listeners a week who are characterized as highly educated and socially conscious. With close to 40 news bureaus in the United States and overseas, NPR has an extensive news-gathering operation that provides in-depth news and analysis that have helped establish it as a dominant player in the field of journalism.

Origins

NPR originated out of a view of radio as having an educational and cultural purpose. Following the early 1967 recommendations of the Carnegie Commission, which was appointed by President Lyndon Johnson (1963–69) to examine the future of educational broadcasting, Congress passed the Public Broadcasting Act in October 1967 that created the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB). The term *public* was coined by the Carnegie group and the new law to stress the role of public participation in the developing noncommercial broadcasting system. Over the next year or so, CPB would, in turn, create and oversee both NPR and the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS). Although the radio did not appear in the original Carnegie recommendations, the concerted efforts of advocates of noncommercial radio helped get radio included in the act.

NPR was formed in 1970 to improve the quality of public radio by improving programming and strengthening local public radio stations known as affiliates. A mission statement written by William Siemering, NPR's first head of programming operations, said that NPR would "serve the individual" and celebrate the varied nature of the human experience, thus offering an alternative to what was available on commercial radio.

The first NPR news program to air was *All Things Considered* (*ATC*), a 90-minute news magazine that was heard on over 80 member stations around the country at 5 p.m. (EST) May 3, 1971. This first broadcast included a lengthy report on the May Day protests against the ongoing Vietnam War by college students and veterans, a piece on a heroin-addicted nurse, and a story from the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation that combined antiwar poetry with songs and sounds of battle from World War I.

In its early days, *ATC* exhibited little structure and varied from day to day depending on what staff members offered to fill the time slot. When Jack Mitchell became the show's producer in 1972, he imposed a more conventional journalistic

format on the program, placing a newscast at the top of each hour, with stories ordered based on their newsworthiness. He also added a co-host when he hired Susan Stamberg, who would become the voice of *ATC* for the next 15 years.

The 1970s were a period of dramatic growth and program development at NPR. The opening of a London bureau was a signal that the network was serious about covering international news. Because NPR had limited resources, the program emphasized analysis and interpretation over breaking news coverage. Jack Mitchell says, "the reports gave listeners background, viewpoints and perspectives" from a variety of sources—academics, journalists and the common man (Mitchell 2005, 72). Over the years this was to change as the network added more reporters like Robert Zelnick, Linda Wertheimer, Cokie Roberts, and Nina Totenberg to cover the White House, Capitol Hill, and the Supreme Court, beats that were essential to a mainstream news organization.

When Frank Mankiewicz took over as CEO in 1977 his goal was to make NPR better known to both listeners and policy makers. To this end he arranged for live coverage of debates over control of the Panama Canal in the U.S. Senate. The gavel-to-gavel coverage—over 37 days—raised the profile of NPR and became a precedent for future broadcast coverage of both Senate and House hearings. Mankiewicz also negotiated an increase in federal funding for public radio and put in place a satellite distribution system that improved the technical quality of its national programming, which made it possible for programs to be distributed from various places in the country, not just Washington, D.C.

NPR took another important step towards becoming a major player in radio with the launch of a matching morning news magazine, *Morning Edition*. The program made its debut at 5 a.m. on November 5, 1979, with Bob Edwards as its host and aimed at attracting listeners during morning "drive time" when radio audiences are at their peak. Although they had needed some convincing initially, within a week of the new program going on the air, half of NPR's 222 member stations decided to carry the program (or portions of it). Within a year, 90 percent of NPR stations were airing some or all of the program and finding that their audiences were growing as a result.

Funding

From the outset, funding was a challenge for the organization. Federal funds for public broadcasting were given to CPB, which allocated these between public television and NPR. In the early years NPR's share was between 17 and 20 percent of the CPB budget; under Mankiewicz this increased to 25 percent, which led to an increase in staff, more programming, and more affiliate stations.

In 1982 a 25 percent cut in the CPB's federal fund allocation by the Reagan administration combined with a series of business ventures that required cash investments but which did not quickly yield returns, led to a debt crisis at NPR that brought the network to the verge of bankruptcy. By mid-1983 the projected budget deficit was $9 million. NPR was saved by a series of loans from the CPB that were guaranteed by some affiliate stations—and Mankiewitz departed.

The debt crisis resulted in a change in the financial structure of public radio. Officials realized that federal funding would always be uncertain and that NPR needed to raise funds from other sources such as corporations, foundations, and directly from listeners. Under the new funding plan launched in 1985, the CPB would provide the funds earmarked for radio directly to local stations, which would in turn pay NPR for whatever of its programming that they aired. The stations wanted NPR to unbundle its programming so that they could select programs piecemeal. This last request was not part of the new NPR business plan but was eventually incorporated into its business model. The new business plan also included a Radio Program Fund that would provide seed money and expansion money to local stations to develop promising programs. The restructuring plan helped put NPR's financial house in order so that it was able to retire its debt in 1988.

Building a News Focus

In the post–debt crisis years, NPR moved away from the vision many had for it at its inception. Bill Siemering's vision for NPR, articulated in the mission statement he wrote, was of a service that would "enhance intellectual development, expand knowledge," and in so doing make listeners "more responsive human beings and intelligent responsible

citizens of their communities and the world." His hope was that NPR would serve audiences from varied backgrounds, religions, races, and with varying levels of education.

Instead, during the 1990s, NPR focused on growing its overall audience, as there was a recognition that it would have to focus its appeal if it was to develop a loyal following. NPR increasingly focused on news and began to take on mainstream commercial stations in terms of the news stories it covered, with an increasing emphasis on covering breaking news and analysis rather than relying on analysis as had been its hallmark. NPR programs also gradually changed their style of reporting. In its early years, news and feature stories on NPR had been distinctive in their use of natural sound as an integral part of the story and in the way sound and words combined to create vivid radio pictures. As NPR moved to become a major player in radio news, it moved toward a more hard news approach with sound as a supplement rather than central part of the story.

With stations now helping cover NPR's costs, there was a greater need to pay attention to what stations said their audiences wanted. Stations also began focusing on increasing contributions from nongovernment sources—from their listeners and from corporations which could not advertise but which could underwrite the costs of a program in return for a brief on-air mention. In the opinion of some NPR staffers, this meant providing radio programming that was bland and safe rather than innovative and cutting edge.

As the network moved toward financial stability two more programs were added—*Weekend Edition* Saturday (in 1985) hosted by Scott Simon and a year later *Weekend Edition* Sunday hosted by Susan Stamberg. In the realm of cultural programming, NPR created *Performance Today* to showcase classical music performances recorded by member stations combined with reviews, interviews, and features covering all of the arts. NPR also began to distribute programs produced by its affiliates. The most popular among these are *Fresh Air, This American Life,* and *Wait, Wait . . . Don't Tell Me.*

During the Gulf War of 1990–91, NPR sent more reporters to cover it than any other radio news organization in the world. Some saw this as a mark of NPR's stature as a broadcaster. But there were those who felt that such expensive coverage was not in keeping with NPR's mission, and rather than competing with other news organizations, it should focus on fostering public debate and offering its listeners analysis and a context for understanding these and other news events. *Talk of the Nation,* a call-in program started during this period to offer such an opportunity for debate, eventually became another staple of NPR's programming.

Despite efforts to cut federal funding for public radio by some Republican lawmakers in the mid-1990s, NPR news programming continued to grow though half of its cultural programs were dropped in response to anticipated funding cuts. Increasingly, its news programming defined the network's identity with more news bureaus being opened at a time when commercial broadcasters were closing theirs. Audiences began to expect that NPR would be there to cover breaking news whether it was happening in China or the Middle East or New York City. When two terrorist-piloted passenger jets crashed into New York's Twin Towers on September 11, 2001, NPR expanded the hours of *Morning Edition, Talk of the Nation,* and *All Things Considered* to cover the crisis continuously for the next two and a half days.

A Changing Network

The new century has brought further changes at NPR. Both of its long-running news programs have seen a change in hosts. In 2001 *All Things Considered* initiated a slate of three hosts—Melissa Block, Michelle Norris, and Robert Seigel—who would rotate studio assignments with more reports from different locations. Bob Edwards, host of *Morning Edition* for nearly 25 years, was replaced in 2004 by Steve Inskeep and Renee Montagne in the hope that a two-host approach might allow for better coverage of breaking news. While Inskeep broadcasts from NPR's studio in the Washington, D.C., headquarters, Montagne is located at NPR's studios in Culver City, California, known as "NPR West." Established in 2002, NPR West is the network's first major production center outside Washington and allows the network to cover more stories that originate west of the Mississippi and to add more diverse sources and perspectives in its reporting.

In 2002 a bequest of over $225 million by Joan Kroc, heiress to the McDonald's fast-food fortune,

gave NPR a huge boost in revenues. While $190 million was to be placed in its endowment fund, part of the remaining money was used to expand news operations, including opening new bureaus and training investigative journalists. This financial security has also made it possible for NPR to embrace the potential of digital media, making it the biggest organization in the audio download business. It has also established a presence on satellite radio with two satellite channels, *NPR Now* and *NPR Talk*.

One of the challenges facing NPR is attracting younger audiences as most of its programs skew toward older listeners. The median age for *All Things Considered* and for *Morning Edition* is 49. In recent years, NPR has undertaken a number of initiatives to draw in both younger and more diverse audiences. The *Tavis Smiley Radio Show* first aired in 2002 as a collaboration between NPR and a consortium of African American public radio stations. With an audience including nearly 30 percent African American listeners, it had a more diverse audience than other NPR programs. Despite this, in 2004 host Tavis Smiley decided to end his program claiming that the organization was "not aggressive enough in courting minority listeners." NPR has continued to try and reach out to blacks, Hispanics, and others who have been underrepresented in its audience. In April 2007 it launched an hour-long show, *Tell Me More,* that focuses primarily on issues facing African Americans and other minorities and on international stories.

Another initiative, *The Bryant Park Project,* launched in October 2007, is a new two-hour morning news program targeted to people in their 20s and 30s. It takes a more conversational approach to news and continues through the day on the website, on podcasts, and on blogs. By making listener commentary a crucial part of the program and creating a less studied and more informal sound, the network hopes to appeal to a post-boomer audience. The *All Songs Considered* online multimedia program, as well as the song-of-the-day and live concert downloads on the website, are also indicative of a concerted effort on the part of NPR to draw in younger listeners, especially since the bands covered are generally college radio favorites.

NPR's audience profile is the envy of many commercial broadcasters. An audience study concluded in 2003 that a college education is the best predictor of whether someone will listen to public radio. Fully 60 percent of the public radio audience holds a college degree, and listeners are four times more likely to have a graduate degree than the average American. Some 27 percent hold professional jobs (compared to 10 percent in the general population). As to income, 17 percent have a household income between $75,000 and $100,000 per year, 13 percent above $150,000 and they are more likely to read prestige magazines like *The New Yorker* or the *Atlantic Monthly*. The typical audience member for NPR programming is described in an NPR audience study, *Profile 2004,* as someone with an active lifestyle and a take-charge attitude who is receptive to new ideas and technologies and is involved in civic and political life.

Almost from its inception, NPR has faced criticism from both the political right and left. Conservatives who believe in the free market are philosophically opposed to federal funding for a public radio network, arguing that if there is an audience for its offerings, then NPR should be able to find funding from private sources and its listeners. Such criticism (and the repeated threat of ending federal funding) has, in fact, pushed the network to develop alternate funding sources. Critics on the right also object to NPR's seeming liberal bias as evidenced by the opinions expressed and the people invited on the air to express those opinions.

Critics on the left believe that NPR has not lived up to its promise and has failed to program for a diverse audience because it serves only a narrow slice of the population and does not reach out to the disadvantaged. For many on the left, the pressure from market forces, as NPR increasingly relies on corporate funding, means that the network is not very different from its commercial counterparts.

While there is some validity to this criticism, the fact remains that NPR has served as a sane and increasingly valued voice in radio. Its programs cover a broader range of topics than commercial radio and better reflect the complexity of contemporary life. From its beginnings as an alternative to commercial radio, National Public Radio had moved into the mainstream. Indeed, many argue that NPR has become the dominant presence in radio news. Its newsmagazine programs are among the top three most listened to radio programs in

the country and it draws the largest audience of any program in morning "drive time." NPR is a reliable source of news that provides nuanced and unexplored perspectives as well as depth and context in its coverage of events.

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See also Podcasting; Public Broadcasting Service; Public Radio Journalism; Reporters, Radio

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Native American News Media

Native American journalism has been active on the American political and cultural landscape for more than 150 years, and current tribal and pan-tribal media efforts are fostering ever greater degrees of professionalism and influence. From newspapers and radio stations to sophisticated online multimedia packages, Native media outlets continue to play both a watchdog role at home and an advocacy role throughout the world.

The realm of Native media has consistently been dominated by newspapers. Hundreds of tribal publications provide local and tribal information to their readers, and new newspapers sprout up as quickly as old ones fade away. A few pan-tribal newspapers offer information of Native interest to readers throughout the United States.

Development

The *Cherokee Phoenix* remains among the largest and best known of the tribal papers. It was founded in New Echota, Georgia, in 1828, at a time when the federal government was working hard to expel all Native people from the eastern part of the country. The founding editor of the *Phoenix*, Elias Boudinot (1800–39), launched the newspaper by raising funds during a speaking tour of New England. He delivered rousing orations to church groups and other organizations, urging them to support the creation of a tribal newspaper that would allow the Cherokee nation to demonstrate its ability to function in an increasingly information-oriented world.

The creation of the newspaper also was made possible through the efforts and vision of Sequoyah, the man who invented the Cherokee syllabary (a form of writing that uses one symbol per syllable, as opposed to alphabets that use one symbol per sound). Sequoyah (ca. 1776–1843)—also known as George Guess, Guest, or Gist—had noted the advantages that a system of writing gave to the white settlers and soldiers in Georgia, and he worked to develop a method of capturing the oral Cherokee language on paper. He tried several approaches before developing a syllabary that is simple and easy to learn. Within months of its invention, the percentage of Cherokee people who could read began to rise, and growing literacy made the creation of a newspaper feasible.

The *Phoenix* was founded initially to fight federal efforts to force the Cherokee off their land in Georgia. Over time, however, Boudinot became convinced that the removal of the Cherokee Nation to Oklahoma was inevitable, and he began to argue that a smooth and peaceful relocation offered the best hope for the future of the nation. That change of position incensed many members of the Cherokee nation and its government, and amid the clamor, Boudinot submitted his resignation from the

Phoenix on August 11, 1832. He eventually moved to Oklahoma to build a new life for the Cherokee, but many people considered him at least partly responsible for the disastrous Trail of Tears; in that slow, undersupplied march from Georgia to the area now known as Oklahoma, 4,000 Cherokee died and thousands more suffered horrific misery. Boudinot was stabbed to death in 1839. Back at New Echota, the newspaper was destroyed by the Georgia Guard.

The Cherokee revived the *Phoenix* once they were settled in Oklahoma. The paper has been forced to suspend publication at times since then, and it has gone through a few name changes before returning to the original—but it survives to this day. Previously a quarterly publication, it is now published monthly in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, and boasts a circulation of 67,000 in Oklahoma and 106,000 worldwide.

Another prominent Native newspaper, the *Navajo Times,* was founded as a newsletter in 1959 and published its first issue as a newspaper in 1960. Publishing weekly, the newspaper covers the entire 27,000-square-mile reservation and includes national and world news of interest to Navajo readers. The paper is based in Window Rock, Arizona, and serves a paid circulation of 22,500.

Numerous other tribal newspapers populate the American mediascape. The *Sho-Ban News,* for example, publishes on the Shoshone-Bannock reservation in Idaho. *Smoke Signals* is the newspaper for the Grand Ronde Tribe in Oregon. *One Feather* is published by the Eastern Band of the Cherokee. The *Pequot Times* covers the Mashantucket Pequot Tribe. Alaska Newspapers, Inc., publishes six weekly papers and a statewide magazine, in addition to other more targeted publications. And there are numerous other Native newspapers throughout North America, most of them published and overseen by tribal governments, but some operating on an independent status.

Newer Media

Radio stations are second in number to Native newspapers. They are relatively inexpensive to develop and operate, and they are highly effective at transmitting information and entertainment over a relatively large area. Approximately 40 tribes have at least one radio station; these stations are for the most part small, low-budget, noncommercial FM operations that function with funding from the tribal governments. In addition, some Native programs are syndicated to multiple stations. *Native America Calling,* for example, is broadcast by 52 stations throughout the United States and Canada, and it is carried on the web as well. It reaches a half million listeners each week.

Newspapers and radio stations are the biggest segments of the Native news world, but online journalism is growing rapidly in Indian Country. Many tribes have at least a static website that offers information and links for tribal members, and some offer additional background information and news to outsiders. Some tribes, however, have elaborate and highly informative websites that present the news, history, culture, and philosophy of the tribe. The Navajo (www.navajo.org) and Cherokee (www.cherokee.org) websites, for example, convey a great deal of information and are updated often.

Some of the websites function beyond the borders of individual nations. *Native Youth Magazine,* for example, offers a website focused on young Natives throughout the country. The magazine offers news, profiles, and other features of interest to Native teens regardless of tribal affiliation.

Lagging behind newspapers, radio stations, and websites are media forms that require more money for creation and distribution. Only a few Native print magazines, for example, exist in the country, and many are recent start-ups. One of the most respected and longest-running Native magazines, *Akwesasne Notes,* was published by the Mohawk nation at the Akwesasne reservation in upstate New York and Ontario. In the late 1990s, the magazine suspended publication for financial reasons, and plans for its revival are uncertain.

Very few tribes own and operate television stations as the cost of television operation and programming prevents all but the most wealthy tribes from venturing into TV broadcasting. Still, some tribes—including the Seminole Nation in Florida—have television stations that broadcast both original and purchased programming. Four reservations in the Seminole Tribe of Florida operate closed-circuit broadcasting systems to households in their jurisdictions. In addition, the Alaska Native Media Company operates a statewide television network and a website to facilitate the broadcast of programming helpful to

Inuit and other Native groups in Alaska. Beyond specific television stations and networks, the Native American Public Telecommunications (NAPT) organization funds the formation and distribution of Native-made documentaries; NAPT also provides training for Native producers and works to heighten awareness of Native media nationwide. NAPT's VisionMaker service offers Native videos and DVDs for sale to individuals and educational organizations.

Some Native journalism outlets are merging media to deliver messages to multiple audiences. In the Oneida Nation in New York state, for example, Four Directions Media (FDM) publishes *Indian Country Today,* a weekly newspaper of interest to Natives throughout the United States. In addition, FDM publishes a quarterly magazine, with each issue devoted to one of four themes: Pow Wow (which offers information about pow wow schedules, history, and news), Destinations, Education, and Business. FDM also publishes a website—indiancountry.com—and podcasts, e-mail news alerts, and RSS news feeds.

In addition, Native American Television offers an online information service that features news, commentary, and history from a Native perspective. Founded in 1990 by Native and non-Native broadcasters in the Washington, D.C., area, NATV offers a television/radio/web/podcast multimedia site (www.natv.org) that reports on national issues that affect Native peoples throughout the United States.

Challenges

The greatest struggle facing Native media outlets is the constant concern over finances. This concern takes several forms, depending on the relationship of the outlet to its audience and to tribal governments.

The vast majority of Native media outlets are owned by tribal governments. In most of these cases, the newspaper functions as part of the tribal government's overall public-information effort; the paper is used to get important news and information out to the members of the tribe. This ownership also offers the advantage of at least partial financial stability. Governmental ownership is essential in most cases because the circulation of the paper, coupled with the demographics of the readership, usually makes the publication unattractive to major advertisers. Many Native communities are among the poorest in the nation, and that poverty conspires with the low and scattered populations to make it difficult to attract advertisers.

With tribal ownership, however, comes tribal control. Countless Native editors have been fired or laid off because their positions were "redefined," when their coverage of tribal leaders and activities became too critical. In 1987, for example, the entire *Navajo Times* staff was dismissed—and the newspaper closed for two months—because the Navajo administration was unhappy with its critical coverage. In 1997, *Times* editor Tom Arviso Jr. was threatened with dismissal again for publishing articles that accused Navajo President Albert Hale of mismanagement and an illicit affair with his press secretary. Also in 1997, Dan Agent, the editor of the *Cherokee Advocate* (later reverted to its previous name, the *Cherokee Phoenix and Indian Advocate*), was fired for publishing articles that alleged misconduct by Cherokee Principal Chief Joe Byrd.

In both of those cases, the editor was reinstated. Ultimately, Arviso became the publisher of the *Navajo Times,* and the newspaper began operation under a constitutional guarantee of press freedom. (In October 2003, it also achieved some built-in financial distance between itself and the tribal government, making it one of the very few tribal newspapers to function with both constitutional and financial independence.) And in 2001, Dan Agent once again became the editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix,* which is owned by the tribal government but enjoys a model degree of protection in the Cherokee constitution.

Tribal media outlets of all kinds struggle to balance two roles: the objective reporting of news and advocacy for their tribe and its heritage. On one hand, most tribal newspapers strive to maintain credibility and authority by offering factual, substantiated information that impacts the lives of their readers. On the other hand, most also try to defend against the continuous erosion of their culture, history, and heritage as a result of the racism, misunderstanding, benign neglect, and occasional malice that they experience from the dominant society around them. That defense often requires a degree of boosterism that classic, "neutral" journalism typically avoids. But Native news outlets

function in two worlds, and they often must embrace both roles in their effort to serve their readers and nations.

Within that struggle lies the ongoing challenge that all Native nations face. In non-Native media outlets—movies, books, magazines, newspapers, television shows, radio programs—American Indians are often seen as trapped in the past, like an insect ensconced in amber. They are shown wearing buckskins and feathers, living in tipis, riding horses, hunting game, and launching raids against the encroaching white settlements. Few media show American Indians in modern settings: going to school, working at jobs, driving Toyotas, watching satellite television. In their advocacy role, many Native news outlets strive to show the rest of the United States that American Indians have a present and a future, not just a past. That goal pulls them closer to the advocacy end of the spectrum, but it is a mission that many Native journalists embrace.

Another challenge that Native journalism faces involves language. On one hand, editors want large readerships, and many Native languages are dying out. That logic dictates publication in English. On the other hand, however, English is the language of the dominant society that has done so much damage in Native communities and to Native peoples. In addition, newspapers are often seen as a tool through which the decline of Native languages can at least be slowed, if not reversed. That logic dictates publication in the Native language. But much of the material published or broadcast in Native media appears in English. Some tribal publications offer articles in both English and the Native language, though some articles appear in both languages, and others are printed in whichever language the editors feel is most appropriate for the topic and readership. Publications written entirely in the Native language are rare.

The Road Ahead

Native news operations continue to function in a state of flux. Chronic problems—tight budgets, changing governmental priorities on both the federal and tribal level, low salaries that result in high turnover of personnel, minimal opportunities for journalism education, and others—present daunting challenges to Native media. On the bright side, several changes are bringing about new opportunities for Native journalists in both Native and mainstream outlets.

The Internet offers numerous opportunities for Native media. Online publications cost dramatically less to create and distribute than do their paper-based counterparts, and that lower cost can mean greater odds of survival for small-circulation Native news outlets. Hampering that progress, of course, is the ongoing difficulty of extending easy Internet access to small and often financially strapped communities. The news outlets can produce and distribute material more freely on the web, but their target audience often cannot access it. As costs continue to drop and as the network of fiber-optic cables continues to expand, this situation is slowly improving—although some parts of Indian Country will not see handy Internet access for years to come. The advent of satellite links for Internet access eliminates the need for physical linkage to the cluster of computers that form the Internet, but prohibitive costs and ongoing maintenance challenges still thwart many attempts to link remote communities to the Internet.

The web presents other opportunities as well. For example, *Reznet* is an online news and opinion publication created by and for Native students. Headquartered at the University of Montana School of Journalism, *Reznet* hires about thirty Native college students as writers and photographers and accepts freelance material from Native students throughout the country. Founded in 2003 by former *Washington Post* foreign-affairs editor Dennis McAuliffe (Osage), *Reznet* is well known among Native students coast to coast.

Another opportunity for student journalists is the Freedom Forum's American Indian Journalism Institute. Held for three weeks each summer at the Al Neuharth Media Center on the University of South Dakota's Vermillion campus, the institute gives Native college students an opportunity to learn journalism skills in a classroom setting. The best graduates of the program are given six-week internships at daily newspapers and the Associated Press. The Freedom Forum also sponsors the annual Native American Journalism Career Conference at the Crazy Horse Memorial in South Dakota; the workshop gives high school and college students interested in journalism a chance to learn more about their potential careers.

And the Native American Journalists Association (NAJA) is working to improve tribal journalism and increase the number of Native journalists in the mainstream media. With an enrollment of more than 600 individual and institutional members, NAJA hosts an annual convention of Native journalists and offers several awards for outstanding journalism in tribal media. Based at the University of Oklahoma in Norman, the organization also offers workshops to both established journalists and to journalism students.

American Indian journalism has gone through several expansions and contractions since the *Cherokee Phoenix* first distributed its inaugural issue. With the advent of the World Wide Web and the independence of increasing numbers of Native outlets, the future looks promising—but difficult and deep-seated challenges will remain for a long time to come. Financing will persist as a challenge for Native American news media, and press freedoms will continue to be debated and negotiated. With such organizations as the Native American Journalists Association and the increasing number of workshops and programs aimed at training future generations of Native journalists, however, the impact of Native media is likely to grow well into the future.

Michael Robert Evans

See also Advocacy Newspapers; Censorship; Diversity: Employment; Ethnic Minority Networks; Free Expression, History of

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Natural Disasters, Coverage of

Disasters are catastrophic events that share five characteristics: they involve the destruction of property, injury and/or loss of life; they adversely affect a large number of people; they have identifiable beginnings and endings; they are relatively sudden; and they receive extensive news media coverage. Frequently a distinction is made between "natural" and "man-made" disasters with "natural" disasters attributed to climatological phenomena (e.g., hurricanes, floods, fires, and earthquakes) and the cause for "man-made" disasters attributed to human error (e.g., nuclear power plant explosions and chemical spills). This distinction, however, is sometimes hazy. Consider, for example, Hurricane Katrina in 2005, which resulted in the displacement of more than 500,000 families. The hurricane was natural, but the hurricane's effects were aggravated by human errors that allowed floods to submerge nearly 80 percent of the city after Katrina made landfall.

News media play a pivotal role in preparing the public for disasters and assisting the response to them. News media are the public's primary and often only source for important disaster messages. Before a disaster occurs, news reports help the public determine whether the disaster will directly affect them and what they should do to prepare for it. After a disaster occurs, news media inform the public about the extent of damage caused and provide critical recovery information (e.g., shelter locations, financial aid opportunities, and donation/volunteer opportunities). Essentially, journalism serves as an interpreter of disasters, helping the

Images such as this of the destruction caused by Hurricane Katrina in 2005 were common on many media outlets during and after the disaster; without a single person in the frame of the shot, it evokes the emotional context of much of the coverage.

Source: © iStockphoto.com/PattieS.

public make sense of what would otherwise seem incomprehensible. In this interpretation role, news media face several unique challenges, including (a) providing accurate and timely information in chaotic environments, (b) selecting reliable sources, (c) assigning disaster responsibility, (d) balancing the government watchdog role with reasonable expectations of authorities, and (e) balancing their function as journalists with their possible role as disaster survivors.

Providing accurate and timely information is by far the journalist's largest challenge in covering disasters. There is huge demand for information after disasters because they so adversely affect many people. Those directly affected need to know first where they can find shelter, food, and water, and later who will help them rebuild their lives. Even those not directly involved want to know about those affected, the extent of the damage, methods to locate and contact loved ones, and actions they can take to aid disaster victims. Given the high demand for timely information, journalists feel pressure to provide information about disaster effects during and immediately after disasters. For example, when in October 2007 wildfires rapidly spread across Southern California, resulting in the evacuation of a million people, news agencies filed stories within hours of the first fires being reported. Quick packaging and dispersal of news content can give rise to problems when journalists allow demand for information, rather than facts, to guide their reporting.

Journalists often rely on a predetermined set of disaster "myths" (often made operational through a series of news routines) as they report disasters and their aftermath. Common disaster myths

(which are often true) include panic and looting, disaster shock, mass shelter utilization, mass evacuation, emerging heroes, and victim helplessness. While these myths are useful frameworks for quickly telling disaster stories, they nearly always fail to adequately portray the real complexity of events. At worst, they can misrepresent disaster impact. For example, media outlets reported "widespread" looting in New Orleans immediately after Katrina made landfall. In fact, the level of looting after Katrina was low during the first week after landfall and that which did take place was associated with necessities (e.g., food and water) rather than the luxury items as reported. After a massive 2004 Asian tsunami, Western media emphasized the victim helplessness motif by covering displaced children, when the reality was that orphans were taken care of by the community and few were placed in orphanages. Therefore, when meeting voracious demand for disaster information, journalists need to avoid the temptation to apply stereotype disaster myths as a basis of reporting.

Time constraints often make it difficult for reporters to utilize a variety of disaster story topics. As only limited information is initially available, there is a tendency to repeat that information which is on hand. After the 2001 terrorist attack on the World Trade Center in New York City, broadcast media replayed the collapse of the Center's twin towers for more than 24 hours. This repetition of story types and information has several negative consequences. Constant repetition of disaster images can compound the stress experienced by disaster victims and often leads to disaster fatigue. Such fatigue is especially detrimental for widespread disasters in which continual public interest is vital to long-term recovery. Just weeks after Hurricane Katrina, the American public had lost interest in media stories about survivors' struggles to recover. Yet more than two years later, nearly 275,000 survivors were still living in temporary shelters.

Another challenge created by the demand for timely disaster information is that journalists may be pressured to report news before they have adequately checked their facts, resulting in erroneous reporting. This is most common when journalists report statistics about damage caused by disasters such as the number of fatalities, injuries, and displaced disaster victims. For example, after a Bangladesh cyclone in 2007, media outlets first reported 1,000 fatalities, but later reported that between 5,000 and 10,000 could be dead. When reporting statistics about damage, journalists should use cautionary statements (e.g., *early reports indicate* that *as many as* 1,000 people *may* have died).

Selecting reliable sources poses a second challenge for news media covering disasters. Typically journalists obtain information from emergency operation centers, where government officials place their command and communication posts. By relying on official government sources, including police and fire personnel, reporters may ignore other important sources such as volunteers, community coalitions and neighborhood response teams. These nongovernment sources typically are not part of the "beat" system of journalistic coverage. Yet journalists need to seek information from a variety of nonofficial sources to help portray a more complete disaster picture.

Assigning disaster responsibility is a third challenge that journalists face. After the initial shock wears off, the public demands to know what "caused" the disaster and who is "responsible." It is tempting for journalists to meet this demand as soon as possible, especially since stories about blame attract readers and viewers. Such stories also fit into existing journalistic storytelling norms by answering the questions of who, what, when, where, why, and how. But journalists also have a responsibility to not prematurely assign causes and blame, especially since the true story is often not immediately apparent. In the days after wildfires erupted across southern California in 2007, journalists first blamed government for not being prepared for the disaster, partly because too many resources were diverted to the Iraq war. In fact, arson was the cause of the largest fire. Yet only two of the 148 television reports logged in the first four days of the wildfires even addressed arson.

Balancing the watchdog role with reasonable expectations of authorities constitutes a fourth challenge for journalists. One primary function of American news media is to monitor government decisions and activities. During disasters, this is amplified as reporters scrutinize every decision made by the government: Did the government wait too long to respond? Was the government prepared for the disaster? How effective is

government assistance to disaster survivors? This scrutiny goes hand in hand with assigning blame and responsibility for disasters, and, as with that challenge, journalists should not overplay their watchdog role. It may not be reasonable to expect government to answer all the media's questions immediately after a disaster occurs. Government officials may prioritize providing assistance to disaster survivors over responding to media requests for information. However, after the immediate response phase is over—typically a couple of days to a week—journalists should expect, and even demand, answers to their questions, expecting officials to be transparent and honest. Misleading acts—such as a faked news conference a FEMA official held to publicize the agency's response to the 2007 California wildfires—are fortunately rare.

Balancing reporter and potential disaster survivor roles is a final challenge journalists must confront. Media management must be cognizant of the fact that journalists from local media outlets are likely to also be disaster survivors. And just like other disaster victims, reporters need to deal with practical issues like finding food and shelter, recovering damaged items, and locating loved ones. Reporters covering disasters may experience emotional and psychological trauma, especially reporters who are survivors. Therefore, management should closely monitor reporters' mental health for signs of extreme stress and trauma, such as intense and unpredictable feelings, difficulty concentrating, and increased interpersonal conflicts. Management also should try to keep reporters' families informed of their safety, especially when journalists report from dangerous disaster zones where they may have limited access to communication links.

Finally, management should consider that reporters who are disaster survivors may inadvertently introduce bias into their coverage. It may be harder for journalists to remain objective after they have been directly affected by disaster. Disaster stories may need to be more carefully reviewed and edited for bias. After Hurricane Katrina, New Orleans's daily newspaper, the *Times-Picayune*, instigated a more rigorous process for evaluating evidence of bias when the paper carefully matched reporters' skills with the most appropriate stories and had editors check other editors.

In conclusion, disasters pose many journalism challenges though they may also see rewards. Disasters are one of the few instances when the information journalists report immediately influences the well-being of a mass public. Without news media, the public often does not know how to prepare for, respond to, and recover from disasters. Disasters provide a rare opportunity for journalists to captivate a wide national, and often international, audience, but with this power, comes the obligation to responsibly cover disaster stories.

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See also Agenda Setting; Civil Unrest, Coverage of; Framing; Objectivity; Press Pools; Risk and News; Sensationalism; Sound Bites; Terrorism, Coverage of

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NBC News

The National Broadcasting Company (NBC), since 1985 a subsidiary of General Electric, is one of four U.S. national television broadcasting networks. It began as the first American radio network in 1926, has played an important role in the development of both radio and then television journalism, and more recently has become involved in various cable and Internet ventures.

Radio Origins

The formation of NBC was formally announced by its then owner, the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) in September 1926 as the first national radio network in the country. By early 1927, NBC was operating two "chains" or networks of stations, dubbed Red and Blue. Each covered most of the country by contracting with independent stations to act as local affiliates. It took years for programming to fill much of the day and early evening. Much of the network's eventual public affairs programming aired on the Blue network and lacked advertiser support. But news was not initially a part of NBC's programming strategy, which developed only slowly.

Honors for the first daily network newscast belong to journalist and adventurer Floyd Gibbons (1887–1939), whose *The Headline Hunter* half-hour program began on NBC in 1929 on a sustaining (no advertising support) basis, then moved to six nights a week in a 15-minute format sponsored by General Electric. *Lowell Thomas and the News* began on September 29, 1930, with NBC carrying it in the East, and CBS in the West (it soon reverted to NBC exclusively until 1947). The newscast by Thomas (1892–1981) would become one of the longest running radio programs, lasting into the 1970s on CBS.

A. A. "Abe" Schecter (1907–89) brought his print journalism background to NBC in 1932, first as a publicity agent, and starting in 1938 he directed the nascent news operation until departing in 1941. Under him, NBC News began to develop, though at first it was heavily reliant on feature stories that often were more entertainment than news. Virtually all of the broadcasts from overseas, carried by shortwave, were of educational or cultural interest rather than breaking news. There were no network foreign correspondents.

One early NBC hire was Max Jordan (1895–1977), who joined NBC part-time in 1931, serving as the network's representative in Europe, and becoming a full-time employee in 1934. Born in Germany, Jordan used his language abilities and widespread contacts to provide on-the-spot coverage of Germany's merger with Austria in 1936, and the Munich Crisis two years later. At 7:45 on the evening of September 29, 1938, NBC interrupted regular programming on its two networks, and Jordan provided the first report of the agreement between German, Britain, and France that dismembered Czechoslovakia. Other NBC reporters or stringers broke the early war news of the December 1939 sinking of the German battleship *Graf Spee* off Montevideo and the May 1940 German invasion of the Netherlands.

With growing military tension in Europe and in the Pacific, radio commentators came into their own. Listeners could tune to NBC to hear Hans von Kaltenborn (1878–1965) offering commentary five nights a week in prime time as of early 1939, sponsored by Pure Oil, or the conservative Upton Close (1894–1960), who broadcast from San Francisco during the early 1940s. At the end of the war, Max Jordan again achieved a major scoop when on the afternoon of August 14, 1945, he broadcast the first word that the Japanese had accepted the Allied surrender terms. The news was unofficial and would not be confirmed for three hours, but NBC's Jordan aired the first announcement. He went on to head the network's religious programming before becoming a Catholic monk in his final years.

During the war, NBC news programming would more than double from about 1,300 hours a year on both of its networks to 2,800 hours by 1944.

While the total amount of news dropped off during and after 1945, the tradition of network news was well established by wartime reporting, and regular newscasts as well as special radio feature programming continued into the early 1950s. Most radio journalists initially ignored television as mere show business that would take years to develop given its high costs.

Turning to Television

America's first television newscast was aired by NBC on February 21, 1940, anchored by long time radio newsman Lowell Thomas and airing on week nights at 6:45 p.m. This was seen by only a few in New York City some 18 months before the inception of regular commercial television service. In 1949, the *Camel News Caravan* anchored by John Cameron Swayze (1906–95) began its weeknight network broadcasts, continuing until 1956. Swayze, an announcer with only limited reporting experience, had a breezy style of narrating the combination of news film and live coverage of personalities and events that made up the 15-minute broadcast. When the program was first telecast in color in 1954, viewers discovered his trademark lapel carnation was red. Swayze later served for two decades as a pitchman for Timex watches.

In November 1947, NBC began offering weekly television broadcasts of its long-running news and interview program *Meet the Press*. It had begun on the Mutual radio network two years earlier as *American Mercury Presents: Meet the Press,* and was produced by Lawrence E. Spivak (1900–94), who would serve as an interviewer into the 1970s. The first television host was Martha Rountree (1911–99), in an era when few female journalists were seen on television or heard on radio. Each Sunday morning program featured reporters quizzing a political figure in the news. The other networks developed their own similar programs which often created headlines in Washington. By the early 2000s, *Meet the Press* was television's longest-running program. (Tim Russert [1950–2008] became host in 1991 and the program expanded to an hour a year later.)

During the 1950s, several NBC news innovations were credited to Sylvester "Pat" Weaver (1908–2002), who served as the network's chief programmer from 1949 to 1953 and as president for two more years. Weaver expanded the network's television schedule into early morning by introducing *Today* in 1952. Still on the air 55 years later, the program has grown to four hours, offering a combination of news, interviews, and features.

For the radio network, Weaver's team created *Monitor,* a weekend-long program with free-flowing news, features, entertainment segments, humor, and bits and pieces broadcast live from all over the world. *Monitor* was scheduled from 8 a.m. on Saturday morning to midnight on Sunday (it first aired on June 12, 1955, and lasted until 1975), offering a meld of content in an attempt to lure listeners and advertisers to moribund network radio. Following a unique sound beacon indicating its start each week, it originated from a new "Radio Central" facility in the RCA building in New York City.

Former ABC president Robert Kintner (1909–80) took over NBC's programming in 1956 (and served as network president from 1958 to 1965). It was on his watch that expansion of NBC news began. Noticing how well they had covered the 1956 political conventions (then aired for hours a day), Kintner decided to pair journalists Chet Huntley (1911–74) and David Brinkley (1920–2003) to anchor the network's evening news program. Within a few years, Kintner had also launched an extensive network documentary presence, in part because of government dissatisfaction with the networks in the aftermath of a quiz show–rigging scandal late in the 1950s. The expanded news offerings became part of the widely promoted identity of NBC. And for the first time, the notion that network news might make money became apparent, thanks chiefly to the popularity of the nightly news.

News Documentaries

NBC's first venture into news documentary didn't come from the news division, but from a producer who had been a classmate of NBC film programming chief Robert Sarnoff (not coincidentally the son of parent firm RCA's chairman David Sarnoff). What became *Victory at Sea* was broadcast in 26 half-hour shows on Sunday afternoons during the 1952–53 season, and featured music by Richard

Rogers. Using official film of the naval war, producer Henry Salomon Jr. (1917–58) sought to avoid any strong point of view, hewing to a dramatic narrative stressing the role of individuals to retain audience interest. Despite strong network efforts, no advertising support was forthcoming, ironic given how successful the series was in syndication and in recorded form over the half century after the initial run. Indeed, it became one of the most widely broadcast programs in early television history.

Growing out of the success of *Victory at Sea,* Salomon stayed with NBC News and created the *Project XX* series, which began airing a wide variety of occasional documentary programs in 1954 and continued for two decades. The second program, for example, "Nightmare in Red," told the story of communism's rise in Russia and created considerable ratings and critical interest. Donald Hyatt continued producing the series after Salomon's death and

> sought to combine commercial viability, high-toned rhetoric as to its mission, and avoidance of contemporary controversy. Its methods included the compilation of previously-created visual material, a reliance on fast-paced editing and a musical score to convey mood, an omniscient narrator and absence of interviews, and a concentration on public affairs and public life. (Marcus 1997)

The series emphasized the past and thus avoided most potential controversy as it appealed to advertisers and critics—and viewers. Later programs used historical photos and developed the process of "moving" about such images. Most programs were repeated and a considerable aftermarket in Europe and on the educational market helped bring in revenues. In their content and promotion, the programs emphasized entertainment angles as well as their serious content.

Another major series of documentaries ran under the title of *NBC White Paper,* many of them produced by Fred Freed (1920–74) who joined NBC from rival CBS in 1955, departed briefly, and returned in 1961. Programs dealt with Joseph Stalin, Khruschev's Russia, Castro's Cuba, organized crime, summer race riots in large cities, pollution, the decision to drop the atomic bomb on Japan in 1945, and the developing war in Vietnam. The list of topics underlined the era's cold war fears, which underlay many of the programs. Others took a lighter note—such as a study of comedian Shelly Berman at work. Freed's programs won numerous prestigious awards, including several Peabodys and Emmys. But the pressure to produce them, pulling together the many strands of people, research, film, and narrative, led to his early death of a heart attack.

Evening News

The News Department's "bread and butter" program was the 15-minute weekday evening news program, which enjoyed a wide following. After Swayze's departure, from 1956 through 1970, NBC's *Huntley-Brinkley Report* was anchored by the team of Chet Huntley broadcasting from New York and David Brinkley in Washington. Its audience soon exceeded that of chief rival CBS News. The pair's nightly sign-off of "Good night, Chet; good night, David" became a national catchphrase. It had been the brainstorm of producer Reuven Frank (1920–2006), who had joined the network in 1950. He helped shape the early *Huntley-Brinkley Report* and produced NBC's extensive coverage of many political conventions. He eventually rose to head NBC News twice—from 1968 to 1973, and again in 1982 to 1984.

The Huntley-Brinkley coverage of the exciting 1960 national political conventions (that selected John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon) attracted half the television audience and reflected their appeal. Huntley appeared serious and avuncular, rarely smiling, while Brinkley could be counted on to find some interesting tidbit or comment that would brighten the moment. The two balanced each other perfectly as they sat in the network booth perched high above the convention floor, pulling in various reporters for reports from state delegations or candidates. It often made for gripping television.

The two anchors also offered insightful coverage of the growing number of American-manned space missions in the successive Mercury, Gemini, and Apollo programs in the 1960s and early 1970s, when space missions rated continuous network coverage. Indeed, the entire Studio 8H was configured for this coverage, complete with models and

mockups of rockets and spacecraft, maps of the earth and moon to show orbital trackage, and stages on which animated figures were used to depict movements of astronauts before on-board spacecraft television cameras were feasible.

Sponsors flocked to the popular newscasts, special coverage, and documentary programs, and the news division generated profits. The early evening newscast expanded to a half hour in late 1963 and extended to seven nights a week in 1970. Attempts to expand it to an hour failed at NBC and the other networks as local stations wanted to keep control of the time for their own news offerings. NBC's evening news ratings lead began to slip after 1967, and fell sharply when Chet Huntley retired in 1970. His loss, along with a reluctance by the network to fund the network's news effort at a level to match that of CBS, left the NBC operation drifting for several years. The network first tried a platoon of different anchors but nothing seemed to click with audiences.

Despite the efforts of the lead anchor from 1970 through 1982, the articulate and slightly professorial John Chancellor (1927–96), NBC News would not recover its earlier high viewing levels for two more decades. Even perennially third-place ABC News would soon have as many viewers as NBC. Chancellor had joined the network's Chicago station in the late 1940s and after joining the network news department in 1950, worked a variety of reporting jobs, including early civil rights conflicts in the 1950s. He served overseas in Vienna and Moscow, and was named in 1961 to host *Today*. Just a year later he was back on NBC's reporting circuit, including the tumultuous Republican national convention of 1964. Arrested for blocking the aisles on the floor (but more because he was seen as representing a "liberal" network by the conservative backers of nominee Barry Goldwater), he was televised being taken away, saying "This is John Chancellor, somewhere in custody." He served as the director of Voice of America before returning to NBC in 1967.

It was only when Tom Brokaw (1940–) was shifted from the morning *Today* program (the same post Chancellor had once occupied) to become anchor in 1983, a decision championed by news head Reuven Frank, that things began to improve for what was now called the *NBC Nightly News*. Audiences slowly grew so that the network again won the Nielsen ratings race in 1995, the first time in 25 years that an NBC newscast had done so well. But behind the scenes, things were changing. As news audiences stagnated or diminished, the network was saving money by closing many foreign bureaus and reducing the number of foreign correspondents, some of whom had been at their posts for years and had a deep knowledge about the parts of the world they covered. The total number of correspondents for the evening news also declined over the two decades of the Brokaw program, which slowly became more feature laden (and, some argued, devoted to softer personality-driven news) as viewers now typically already knew the major news stories from cable networks or the Internet. Put another way, *NBC Nightly News* was by the late 1990s serving an aging audience (the medical advertisements in the program underlined that fact) with softer feature news.

When Brokaw decided to retire after more than two decades in the anchor chair, NBC was faced with a host of possible replacements. While the networks' evening news programs no longer reach the sizable audiences they once commanded (thanks to competition from cable and the Internet), the anchor decision was important given its headline role in shaping the public view of the news division if not the network itself. The choice turned out to be Brian Williams (1959–) who had often substituted for Brokaw. The transition was a smooth one, and the network retained its strong ratings position. As anchor, Williams soon made a name for himself in covering the disaster of Hurricane Katrina, which smashed into Louisiana and Mississippi Gulf Coast communities—including New Orleans—at the end of August 2005. His anger at the initial fumbled federal response to help the victims of the tragedy was palpable.

Other News Programs

While they declined in number by the 1990s, news specials, sometimes built around breaking events, were another aspect of the network's efforts. Unpredictable by their nature, and thus hard to budget for, the news special allowed the news department to showcase its on-air talent, technical abilities, and overseas personnel. They also provided a throwback to the days of live television—as, to use one example, when reporter

Edwin E. Newman (1919–) could not understand an off-camera signal and stopped his presentation momentarily to have it restated.

Early in 1969, NBC News developed its first news "magazine" program to parallel CBS's *60 Minutes*. Dubbed *First Tuesday,* it ran for two hours on (as its title indicated) the first Tuesday of each month. Made up of several stories running anywhere from 15 to 40 minutes, each reported by a different NBC correspondent, the program became *Chronolog* two years later, though retaining much the same format. It tended to mix hard and soft news segments. Renamed *Special Edition* (and by 1974 *Weekend*) it failed to find a steady place on the schedule or with viewers.

The weekly *Dateline NBC* began in 1992, with Stone Phillips (1954–) and Jane Pauley (1950–) as anchors. The program's mix of investigative journalism, with an emphasis on crime, and human interest stories sometimes got it into trouble. Just a year later, under strong competition to hold its audience, *Dateline* broadcast a sensational investigative report suggesting General Motors (GM) trucks were unsafe. GM discovered the tests shown in the broadcast had been rigged by adding explosive incendiary devices attached to the truck gas tanks and by use of improper sealants for those tanks. The truck maker filed suit against NBC, which publicly admitted the tests had been rigged and settled out of court. Four *Dateline* producers were fired, and NBC news chief Michael Gartner resigned under pressure. Later, in a cost-cutting move, Phillips's contract was not renewed in 2007.

Changing Technologies

NBC news, like the other networks, employed steadily improving technology in its broadcast journalism. For example, it experimented with wire and then tape recording by journalists during the final years of World War II. Early television programs were broadcast live, with occasional inserts of film made for television. Only the development of video tape in 1956 allowed some of the pressure to recede as programs could be taped for later broadcast (though most documentary series did not make the shift for years). NBC News was a pioneer in using color television (as network owner RCA was a primary manufacturer of the receivers), although regular color news programming developed only by the late 1960s. Coverage of the country's quadrennial national political conventions often featured the latest portable camera equipment in reporting from the floor—bulky and clumsy in the early 1950s and progressively smaller and streamlined over the next two decades.

As the technology became available, NBC News made extensive use of electronic and satellite news gathering. Computers became increasingly important in controlling production. Graphics improved as digital methods allowed greater flexibility and a faster response to news deadlines.

By the late 1980s, competition developed from new quarters. Cable television had spawned new networks, chiefly CNN, which bled off broadcast viewers. The Fox Network appeared, and by the late 1990s had added a news operation many considered a conservative mouthpiece. No matter, it attracted many viewers. The growing competition had several effects. NBC largely closed down the production of news documentaries, arguing relatively few people watched them and sponsors were often hard to find for programs with controversial topics. A number of reporters were let go. NBC "joined" its competition by forming two cable networks of its own. The first, the Consumer News and Business Channel (CNBC), began in 1989, growing out of several earlier news networks. MSNBC was inaugurated in mid-1996 as a cooperative venture with Microsoft, and continues to provide a general news service competing especially with CNN.

Finally, NBC News makes increasing use of a variety of websites, often promoting their extended content during broadcast programs. The broadcast network and MSNBC combine efforts on the main news website. Anchor Brian Williams provides a regular blog providing a bit of insight into how the evening program and some specials are put together.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also ABC News; Anchors, Television; CBS News; Commentators, Radio; Commentators, Television; Documentaries, Television; Evening News, Television; Foreign Correspondents, Electronic; Fox News; Morning Television; Mutual Broadcasting News; Newscasters, Radio; News Interview Programs; Recording; Reporters, Radio; Reporters, Television; Television News Magazines

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Network Evening News

See Evening News, Television

New China (Xinhua) News Agency

From its tentative beginnings in 1931 as the propaganda voice of the fledgling Chinese Communist Party to its status as the world's largest news agency by the early twenty-first century, the Xinhua News Agency has grown in importance along with the expanding global role of the People's Republic of China. From the very beginning, Xinhua has always been directed by the party—and later government—leadership.

Origins

Originally known as the Red China News Service, the news agency was formed in November 1931 in the eastern province of Jaingxi. Most of its early news consisted of documents of the growing communist party movement and information about the areas controlled by its developing Red army. News was received and transmitted on equipment belonging to the army. The agency continued to receive but could not transmit news during the Long March of 1934–35. After the communists agreed to join the central (Chiang Kai-shek) government to fight Japanese invading forces, the title of the news agency was changed to that still used today. By 1937, Xinhua was establishing branch offices in various cities and transmitting news (about five thousand words a day) across the country. By 1942 the agency had also taken control of a growing network of radio stations operating in unoccupied China. The first external broadcasts in English began in 1944.

During the post–World War II struggle for power in China (1945–49), Xinhua established more branch offices in Chinese cities. Its reporters followed units of the Red army as fighting broke out in mid-1946, though agency headquarters had to shift locations as the fighting ebbed and flowed. By 1948, even as fighting continued, Xinhua

established its first overseas bureaus in London and Prague. The agency moved its headquarters to Beijing in March 1949, about six months before the end of the civil war.

With the formation of the People's Republic of China in October 1949, Xinhua became the nation's official news agency and a formal agency of government. Its employees were all government workers and the agency was given monopoly control of news distribution within the country. Slowly it began to modernize—a year later it formed a photography section and began to prepare Chinese domestic news for foreign distribution. News was transmitted in Chinese and English (and soon other languages) by shortwave radio. By 1952 Xinhua had established additional bureaus in Moscow and Hong Kong. Most foreign news carried within China was supplied by the Soviet TASS news agency with which an exchange agreement had been signed in 1950.

For the next several decades, Xinhua is hard to find in analyses of Chinese, Asian, or world journalism. China turned inward, greatly restricted communications, and passed through a series of upheavals such as massive starvation in the 1950s, and the "Great Leap Forward" of the 1960s that devastated the economy and people. During this time the government tightly controlled Xinhua reporting to match official government positions on what was happening. Natural disasters (such as weather or floods) might be covered, but political crises only rarely. Only with the 1976 death of Mao Zedong, Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, and the slow development of the next generation of political leadership did the news agency begin to expand its role both within and outside of China. The uprising of university students in Tiananmen Square in Beijing in mid-1989 saw extensive coverage by Xinhua and world media—until the army was ordered in—and then the story was hushed up and remained so for the next two decades. The news agency had few offices outside China in this period, focusing largely on internal news and retransmitting news obtained from TASS and other sources.

Operations

By the middle of the twenty-first century's first decade, Xinhua employed more than 8,500 people, by far more than any other news agency. It operated branch offices in more than 50 Chinese cities including the former colonies of Macao and Hong Kong. And it operated in more than 100 countries with major editorial centers in New York, Mexico City, Cairo, Nairobi, Paris, Moscow, Hong Kong (where until 1997 the bureau represented Chinese government affairs in the then-British colony), and Rio de Janeiro. All of these units come under the central control of the government's publicity (formerly propaganda) department in Beijing.

New Xinhua employees are recruited from the country's major universities, selected by a combination of examination and interview, and subjected to weeks of journalism and ideological training. Those who are chosen for two-year overseas assignments (after two years of domestic reporting) are often interviewed in English. Estimates suggest that up to 80 percent of Xinhua journalists are members of the ruling Chinese Communist Party. Xinhua issues two very different news feeds—those intended for domestic media (and tightly controlled), and those for international media (and somewhat more loosely controlled).

Priority is given to positive reports of party political news and the activities of the country's leadership. Only recently has realistic reporting of natural disasters crept into the national news agenda, and news of protests or riots is still suppressed while being communicated to party and government leaders (as "internal reference" reports). Despite having its own foreign bureaus, most international news supplied to domestic media by Xinhua comes from one of the other world agencies—typically Agence France-Presse or Reuters—or one of the many national news agencies in developing nations, and is then translated (and often heavily rewritten) for domestic consumption, though unedited material may well go to party and government leaders. Indeed, the foreign bureaus are used less for actual initiative reporting and more for receiving domestic news agency reports to transmit back to China. While reports of foreigners that are critical of China may go to the political leadership, almost none appears in Xinhua's domestic news feeds.

Xinhua stories often feature more use of background and analysis than the more usual fact-based hard news approach of Western news agencies. This is true of both domestic and international feeds, though Xinhua does provide more coverage of developing nations than is found in other

agencies. Stories about China are overwhelmingly positive—80 percent according to one content analysis done in the middle of the twenty-first century's first decade. Outright criticism of government officials or decisions is rare.

Xinhua is more than a traditional news agency—it publishes a number of newspapers and magazines, predominantly in Chinese. These are partly operated as revenue sources, as government funding for agency operations has been dropping in recent years. Somewhat less than 40 percent of its budget is met by government funds. This has delayed some technology upgrades. For example, the news agency began to provide Internet connections to its foreign news offices only in 2003, odd in that Xinhua first offered service on the web in 1997 as Xinhuanet. By the early 2000s, the web service was feeding six languages: Chinese, English (as chinaview.cn), Spanish, French, Russian, and Arabic to more than 200 countries and regions, and achieving about 80 million page views per day.

The primary way that the Chinese news agency differs from its western compatriots is in its fundamental view of the function of journalism. News is not seen as a product or commodity, but rather as a vital means of educating (and persuading) the people. News should help the country develop and promote both individual and institutional success stories and governmental policies.

The difference between propaganda and journalism—a stark one in the West—is nowhere near as sharp within the Xinhua context.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also China; Shortwave Radio; TASS and Russian News Agencies

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New Journalism

"New Journalism" refers to a literary movement in the 1960s and 1970s that tried to expand the definition of journalism by arguing that feature writers could use the same techniques to write stories about real-life events that novelists used to write about imaginary worlds. Writers like Tom Wolfe, Truman Capote, and Gay Talese, often credited with launching this movement, immersed themselves in their subjects, at times spending months in the field gathering facts through research, interviews and observation. But when they sat down to write, they produced something very different from the feature stories typically published in newspapers and magazines of the time. Instead of forcing their story into a traditional formulaic structure and institutional voice, they constructed well-developed characters, sustained dialogue, vivid scenes, and strong plot lines marked with dramatic tension. They also wrote in a voice that was distinctly their own. Their writing style, and the time and money that their in-depth research and long stories required, did not fit the needs or budgets of most newspapers (a notable exception was the *New York Herald Tribune*), although the editors of *Esquire, The New Yorker, New York,* and other prominent magazines sought out these writers and published their work with great commercial success. Many of these writers went on to publish their stories in anthologies or to write what became known as "nonfiction novels," and many of these works became best sellers.

Fact and Fiction

The New Journalists expanded the definition of what types of stories counted as "journalism," and what reporting and writing techniques journalists could legitimately use. They also associated journalism with fiction when they used phrases

like "nonfiction novel" and "narrative techniques of fiction" in describing their work. In so doing, they ignited a debate over how much like a novel or short story a journalistic piece could be before it began violating journalism's commitment to truth and facts.

Critics praised the New Journalists for writing well-crafted, complex, and compelling stories that revitalized readers' interest in journalism and the topics covered, as well as inspiring other writers to join the profession. Other critics, however, worried that the New Journalists were tempting reporters to stray from the facts in order to write more dramatic stories; tempting them, for example, to create composite characters (melding several real people into one fictional character), compress dialogue, rearrange events, and even fabricate details. Some New Journalists freely admitted to using these techniques, arguing that they made their stories readable and publishable without sacrificing the essential truthfulness of the tale; others adamantly opposed their use, arguing that any departure from facts, however minor, discredited a story and moved it away from journalism toward fiction. As John Hersey (1914–93), the reporter who became famous for his 1946 nonfiction work *Hiroshima,* said in his widely quoted statement in the *Yale Review:* "There is one sacred rule of journalism. The writer must not invent. The legend on the license must read: NONE OF THIS WAS MADE UP."

Challenging Objectivity

In engaging in this debate over what counts as truth in journalism, the New Journalists were contributing to widespread discussion over the nature of "truth" and our ability to know and represent it objectively in stories, paintings, photographs and other representational arts. The New Journalists engaged in this larger debate by writing stories that challenged the ideology of "objectivity" and its related practices that had come to govern the profession. Some journalists and cultural critics worried that the New Journalists, by writing in a personal voice with a strong point of view and becoming immersed in their subjects, were replacing objectivity with a dangerous subjectivity that threatened to undermine the credibility of all journalism, including the heart of the profession, daily news. But the New Journalists argued that objectivity did not guarantee truth, and that objective stories could be more misleading than stories told from a clearly presented personal point of view.

The New Journalists were not alone in challenging objectivity. Similar challenges were being mounted by scientists, historians, and anthropologists who were also struggling with the philosophical and practical limitations of objectivity, and experimenting with new narrative forms for their nonfiction works. Mainstream news reporters also echoed the New Journalists' arguments as they began doubting the ability of "objective" journalism to arrive at truth—especially after objective reporting failed to convey the complex truth of events such as McCarthyism (1950s), the Vietnam War (1960s and 1970s), and the Watergate scandal (mid-1970s). By 1996, objectivity had been so crippled as a guiding principle that the Society of Professional Journalists dropped it from its ethics code, replacing it with other principles such as fairness and accuracy.

Roots of the New Journalism

The New Journalists of the 1960s were not the first reporters in the history of American journalism to advocate for a more literary approach to writing about contemporary events—nor were they the first to call themselves "new." Journalism historian Michael Schudson argues that as early as the 1880s, two stereotypes of reporters had emerged: the newspaper reporter who churned out facts in a formulaic account, and the "new journalist": an educated "man of letters" who could write stories that "sparkled" and had the same literary power to draw readers in as did the best-written novels. Some journalists of the time, such as Lincoln Steffens (1866–1936), believed that this power had a moral dimension. Reporters were morally obligated to write stories that were true, well-crafted and rhetorically persuasive because only these stories (as opposed to dry, factual reports) could lead readers to empathize with others and spur them to take action against social injustice and abuses of power. Steffens and other like-minded journalists—Ida Tarbell (1857–1944), Ray Stannard Baker (1870–1946), David Graham Phillips (1867–1911), among others—wrote investigative magazine

stories that President Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919) derisively called "muckraking" and they wrote about society's "muck" in a literary, rhetorically persuasive way. The social and literary ambitions of these first "new journalists" had a lasting impact on journalism, providing a foundation for generations of investigative and literary reporters and editors who believed in factual, socially committed journalism that "sparkled"—including the New Journalists of the 1960s.

The Writers

Since the beginning of American commercial journalism in the 1830s, reporters with literary ambitions have been writing stories about real-life events using characters, scenes, dialogue, action, plot—all the devices that in later times became associated more with fiction than with journalism. Their work has been published in newspapers, magazines, books and, more recently, online publications. There are too many major writers to name. That said, those wishing to learn about the New Journalism could begin by reading the work of three foundational writers: Tom Wolfe, Gay Talese, and Truman Capote. They could also expand their reading by turning to a number of anthologies that include the work of influential nonfiction writers such as Joseph Mitchell (1908–1996), John McPhee (1931–), Tracy Kidder (1945–), John Hersey (1914–93), Joan Didion (1934–), Hunter S. Thompson (1937–2005), Michael Herr (1940–), Annie Dillard (1945–), Ted Conover (1958–), Richard Ben Cramer (1950–), Jane Kramer (1938–), Susan Orlean (1955–), Calvin Trillin (1935–), Lillian Ross (1927–), Norman Mailer (1923–), A. J. Liebling (1904–63), Martha Gellhorn (1908–98), Jimmy Breslin (1930–), and many more. Finally, those wishing to understand how the New Journalism has influenced new generations of writers can read the journal edited by Lee Gutkind (1945–), *Creative Nonfiction.*

Tom Wolfe (1931–)

Journalism critics and historians identify Tom Wolfe as one of the most influential promoters of the New Journalism. Wolfe graduated from Yale University with a Ph.D. in American Studies and then took his first newspaper job in 1956. He worked for *The Washington Post* and later for the *New York Herald Tribune* where, he says, he met writers like Jimmy Breslin, who showed him that journalism could be creative and exciting. In 1963, when a newspaper strike in New York City left Wolfe temporarily without work, he turned to his editor at *Esquire Magazine* with an idea: he wanted to fly to California to write about a custom car show and the hot-rod culture. The result was Wolfe's now-famous "Kandy-Kolored Tangerine-Flake Streamline Baby," an energetic piece marked with his personality that has become a model of what the New Journalism could achieve. The article later became the title piece of Wolfe's first book, a collection of 22 magazine and newspaper pieces, published in 1965. In 1973, Wolfe published *The New Journalism,* in which he explicated the features of the genre. He went on to write several successful books in the style of the New Journalism, including *The Right Stuff,* a story about the Mercury 7 astronauts that was adapted in 1983 for the Oscar-winning film of the same name; *Bonfire of the Vanities,* a satire of 1980s status-conscious New York; and *From Bauhaus to Our House,* a biting history of modern architecture. Wolfe is still credited with helping to establish The New Journalism as a literary movement, although he gave that credit to another writer, Gay Talese.

Gay Talese (1932–)

Talese was born in 1932 in Ocean City, New Jersey. As he writes in "Origins of a Nonfiction Writer," he grew up in his mother's dress shop, listening to the stories the white-gloved ladies who frequented the shop told about their private lives and about their friends and neighbors, and watching as his mother encouraged the tales with unobtrusive questions. As he listened and watched, he learned "much that would be useful" to him years later when he began interviewing people for articles and books. Talese started working as a reporter in high school, writing more than 300 stories for the *Ocean City Sentinel Ledger*. He continued writing in college and then after graduation he headed for New York City where he found work as a copyboy for *The New York Times*. In his spare time, he wrote stories about the ordinary people and places that didn't interest

most reporters—and he quietly offered them to the editors of the *Times,* who were impressed with his work. In 1953, Talese, who had graduated college as an army officer, was commissioned and sent to Fort Knox. He kept in touch with the *Times* by writing stories during his military service. In 1956 when his tour of duty ended, the *Times* invited him to return to the paper, this time not as a copyboy but as a sports reporter. He continued to work for the *Times* for ten years, developing the style that earned him a place in the history of New Journalism. Talese also wrote for *Esquire,* producing his most influential stories for that magazine. His two arguably most famous pieces, a profile of Joe DiMaggio titled "The Silent Season of a Hero" and his profile of Frank Sinatra titled "Frank Sinatra Has a Cold," were anthologized along with his other most popular *Esquire* pieces in the collection *Fame and Obscurity* (1970).

Talese also used his skills as a literary journalist to write internationally best-selling books, including *The Kingdom and the Power* (1969), an inside look at *The New York Times; Honor Thy Father* (1971), about the rise and fall of the notorious Bonanno crime family of New York; *Thy Neighbor's Wife* (1981) about the hidden and changing sex lives of Americans; and *Unto the Sons* (1992), about his own family's emigration from Italy to the United States in the years before World War II.

Although Tom Wolfe gave Talese credit for developing the distinctive style and reporting methods of the New Journalism, Talese never considered himself a New Journalist. He thought of himself as a very traditional writer who wanted to "do something that would hold up over time, something that could get old and still have the same resonance." He also came to associate the New Journalism with journalists who are more interested in being celebrity writers than in doing the hard legwork required of good reporters—in cultivating a flashy, easy style designed to get attention rather than hold up over time. Yet Talese admired the work of Tom Wolfe and Norman Mailer, New Journalists who, he said, achieved "remarkable things" through diligent reporting. Although Talese did not call himself a New Journalist, he influenced many writers who did, and he continues to influence literary journalists writing today.

Truman Capote (1924–84)

Unlike Wolfe and Talese, Truman Capote was not a journalist but a playwright and a novelist. However, he became a central figure in the New Journalism in 1965 when *The New Yorker* magazine serialized what Capote called his nonfiction novel, *In Cold Blood*. The novel told the story of a family of four in Holcomb, Kansas, who had been murdered in their beds. Capote spent six years reporting and writing the piece. As he told a reporter for *Life* magazine, he wanted to see if he could write a true story about real life events that had the dramatic power, excitement, and intricate structure of a novel. Capote, who by this time had become a celebrity among New York's social elite, was interviewed extensively about his work. As he described what he did and how he did it to reporters from major national media, he introduced the idea of the "nonfiction novel" into popular discourse. He also triggered controversy as skeptical reporters, wary of his attempts to combine fiction and journalism, tried to discredit his claims to accuracy and questioned his assertion that a responsible journalist could write a true story that read like a novel.

Conclusion: The *New* New Journalists

Today, the term "New Journalism" is most often associated with the writers of the 1960s and 1970s who stretched the boundaries of legitimate journalism by challenging the ideal of objectivity and advocating the use by journalists of narrative techniques used by fiction writers. Their ideas of "good journalism" continue to be explored and refined by new generations of reporters and editors who believe that it is possible to write creative, literary nonfiction that is factually true. In the early 1990s, the spirit of the New Journalists was reincarnated in yet another literary movement called "Creative Nonfiction." This movement gained momentum under Lee Gutkind, who organized an annual creative nonfiction writing workshop at Goucher College in Baltimore, helped establish one of the nation's first degree programs in creative nonfiction, founded the journal *Creative Nonfiction,* and published several anthologies. In the editorial rooms of newspapers and magazines, in professional journalism organizations, and in

creative writing workshops across the country, writers and editors continue to take inspiration from the New Journalists, experimenting with forms, styles and practices that can work for and give credence to a genre that tries to be simultaneously creative, personal and "true."

Liz Fakazis

See also Books as Journalism; Credibility; Hard Versus Soft News; Literary Journalism; Muckrakers; News as Narrative; Objectivity

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News Agencies

See individual firms

News Aggregators

News aggregators combine computer software and journalistic practices to enable online computer users to collect news stories and other information as that information is published and to organize the information in a specific, personalized manner. This is accomplished in several ways, but the most common is the use of HTML (hypertext mark-up language) coding on the websites of news-gathering organizations to create RSS (really simple syndication) feeds and other public notifications of instant updates to news content. News aggregators programs are installed on the computers of individual users. These programs regularly search for updated information from news-gathering organizations and compile it for later use. The term news aggregators can also refer to intermediate websites that republish RSS feeds and information from other primary news sources.

News aggregation is based on the concept of content syndication, where content created by one or more news-gathering organizations is distributed through a different organization. Historically, syndication involved republication of both hard and soft news content by newspapers in different locations. These newspapers paid the initial publishing source (often a metropolitan daily) for the limited right to reprint the stories. The nature of syndication has changed as technological advances allow far more information to travel much greater distances. Online journalism allows for more and different types of syndication, particularly the syndication of headlines and breaking news scoops. Most news aggregators are web based: they deliver RSS feeds and other content using web browsers. However, other aggregators use stand-alone software that connects to the Internet to deliver RSS feeds and other content. Well-known news aggregators include Google News and My Yahoo. Other news aggregators have been designed to display news feeds as scrolling screensavers or to send news feeds directly to an end user as a daily e-mail digest. (Due to the fluid nature of the World Wide Web, any listing of news aggregators would quickly become obsolete. Please refer to the more frequently updated websites in the Further Readings section.)

Syndication and the Evolution of Aggregators

While web-based news aggregators are a relatively recent phenomenon, they have their roots in news agency reports carried in local newspapers, which attempted to provide a local angle on stories for their readership. This practice developed into the familiar newspaper sections still in use today, such as the front page, editorial page, international section, sports section, and so on. In the late twentieth century, most major metropolitan daily newspapers began to publish zoned editions, which carried both

the main sections of the newspaper, plus an added section (or sections) of news specific to a subregion within the metropolitan area. While this practice of audience segmentation was common in newspapers, it was less common in local broadcast journalism as there was no ready way to focus stories for only part of a region. Before the rise of online journalism and news gathering beginning in the 1990s, feature syndication had become a widely accepted news practice. Importantly, however, it was still practiced under the control of traditional news editors.

When newspapers began publishing on the Internet, they extended these practices into the online space: sections of printed newspapers usually became separate sections within the overall websites. Since online versions of newspapers required no printing and distribution costs, the number of local editions could be expanded, increasing geographic customization and demographic personalization. Stories could be expanded and more photos—or even video—provided. The rise of independent intermediate websites that collect and republish headlines and hyperlinks began to erode the impact of traditional news editors. The social and political effects of a 24-hour news cycle in journalism (begun with cable news services and greatly expanded online) began to create expectations that print and broadcast news editors should to provide near-constant updates and headlines.

RSS, or Really Simple Syndication (or Rich Site Summary), is the standardized software protocol that news websites use to publish updated headlines onto the World Wide Web through publication of data and meta-data tags on their websites. But RSS is not the same as web-based broadcasting. RSS Feeds are effectively passive and must be constantly searched for, although this searching can be, and almost always is, automated. Further complicating this process, the intermediate sites that collect and republish RSS feeds are often called news aggregators. Such naming is misleading because it confuses individual practitioners with the overall practice. The news-gathering organization, intermediate websites, and end users all engage in the same process of acting as news aggregators, and increasingly the distinctions between them are disappearing.

Using these RSS feeds, intermediate sites collect new information, and end users can select and compile information based on their particular needs and interests. This developing feature of journalism allows for very personalized editorial control and will likely change the way in which individual audience members interact with their news. The upsides to the growing use of news aggregators include the increased relevance of selected news to the end user, faster access to breaking news, advertising that is more targeted, and an increased personal agency for an audience that had been passive. Among the downsides to the growing use of news aggregators are the increased pressure on journalists for speed and scoops, the erosion of the distinction between news gathering and republication, intrusive generalized advertising, and lack of any professional editorial role.

Contemporary Media Theory

Media theorists and technology pundits have made many predictions regarding the effects of online publication of newspapers and the rise of news aggregators. The balance of increased personal agency and decreased professional editorialism were popular topics of speculation and research even before the technologies had been fully developed. As early as the 1960s, Marshall McLuhan had predicted an anarchic computer web and expected that some form of personal organization would be necessary. In the mid-1990s, Nicholas Negroponte coined the term "the Daily Me" to describe the interface with which end users would receive, customize and manipulate information. Negroponte envisioned a prototype "digital newspaper," either in the form of an on-screen interface or a portable device, that would receive information constantly and arrange it in a personalized format.

Open-source movements have actively lobbied to keep standards open and to mitigate the effects of corporate ownership of media. These advocates have pushed for open web standards like XML and the Atom syndication format for the publication of news feeds, as well as free open-source software for stand-alone news aggregators. In theory, these open source aggregators allow for both commercial content and advertising while preserving the prerogative of intermediate websites and end users to copy and republish RSS feeds. More recently, media theorists such as Henry Jenkins and Cass Sunstien have stressed the complex interactions between existing corporate structures of news

gathering, evolving technologies for cataloging and moving information and an active audience that self-organizes around emerging dynamic demographics or specific points of view.

Probably the most notable feature of the effect of online news aggregators on journalism is that of homophilly. Homophilly, literally "love of sameness," is a sociological theory that similar individuals will move toward each other, and act in a similar manner. Coined in 1954 by social scientists Paul Lazarsfeld and Robert Merton, the idea of homophilly has been expanded by evolving media technologies, enabling demographically or politically similar individuals to seek out news sources that agree with their preconceived views. But homophilly also describes the likelihood that users will thus exclude news sources that challenge or disagree with those preexisting views. News aggregators can create hyper homophilly by allowing an end user to maximize exposure to agreeable news while minimizing exposure to new and conflicting information and create an "echo-chamber effect" of personal information feedback.

Continuing Changes

In the same manner that text and image content has been published using news aggregators, multimedia content and full-motion video are also published and distributed using news aggregators. The majority of video and multimedia aggregators are stand-alone software, such as iTunes and Miro. Web-based multimedia aggregators, such as YouTube and Blipp.tv, are limited by the architecture of web browsers. Digital television hardware, such as TiVo and DirecTV, can also function as content aggregators, digitally recording content as it is broadcast and cataloging it for later viewing. (Due to the evolving nature of digital media delivery, any listing of multimedia aggregators would also quickly become obsolete. Please refer to the more frequently updated websites listed in the Further Readings section.)

Despite the erosion of control of traditional news editors, much of the audience of news websites and newspapers still prefer professional editorial oversight, design and content selection. These readers use a mixture of information from news aggregators and from more traditional, edited sources. The continuing use of news aggregators has not displaced traditional news publications, but it has altered how news is written and distributed. The automated nature of RSS feeds is balanced by the introduction of new levels of ad hoc editorialism that continues to evolve around Internet book marking and hyperlinks, which are integral parts of the flow of news through aggregators. Delivery of news to networked mobile computing devices, such as mobile phones, will further change how audiences interact with both news content and the news aggregators.

Faster movement of information is a continuing trend in journalism. However, audience demand for meaningful selection of information by professional news editors, will balance the increasing use of news aggregators online. End users will exercise increasing control over their content selection, but some will likely continue to use trusted news sources regardless of media or delivery method.

William A. Hanff

See also Convergence; Digital Television; Distribution, Online; Internet Impact on Media; Podcasting; Reporters, Online

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News as Narrative

Storytelling is a central mode of human communication and journalists can be viewed as the primary narrators of public events in contemporary societies. News stories—the product of journalism—constitute a distinct, nonfictional narrative genre. They share with other types of narrative a reliance on storytelling devices as a means of making sense of the world, but differ in their structure, cultural authority, social roles, and relation to reality.

Influenced by what came to be called the "narrative turn" in human and social sciences, scholarly inquiries into narrative qualities of news emerged in the mid-1970s, gained considerable momentum by the early 1990s, and continued to flourish into the new century. Underlying these investigations was a growing recognition of the significance of narrative in understanding news. However, different academic traditions emphasize different dimensions of the relationship between news and narrative. From a literary or linguistic perspective, emphasis is on narrative *forms* and *styles,* while assuming that only part of news stories are structured as narratives or have narrative qualities. From a philosophical perspective, the emphasis is on the epistemological status of *all* news stories as *constructions* rather than objective representations of reality. From a cultural or folkloric perspective, emphasis is on roles played by news stories in expressing and reaffirming prevailing values, beliefs, and ideologies, particularly through creation and retelling of cultural myths. These three different perspectives are reviewed in turn.

News and Narrative Forms

As a particular news form or writing style, narrative news stories are often described as standing in opposition to the inverted pyramid style (where facts are presented in a descending order of importance), simple chronicles, or the more general "information model" of journalism, which emphasizes factuality over aesthetics or emotion. The information model, which developed towards the end of the nineteenth century and gained prominence in the twentieth, marginalized the once-prevalent narrative style in favor of a fact-centered, "hard news" style. However, narrative journalism has gained renewed popularity in the early twenty-first century, where traditional news outlets are looking for strategies to combat declining readership, and provide added value to available online information. Narrative journalism, which goes beyond a mere rendering of facts, is one such strategy.

A narrow definition of narrative news stories refers to texts that begin with an anecdote rather than a summary lead and proceed to describe events in sequential order rather than presenting information in a descending order of importance. A broader view of narrative forms in news suggests that news stories incorporate narrative devices as wide-ranging as temporal structure, setting, point of view, characterization, personalization, conflict, dialogue, suspense, climax, metaphors, or irony. These varied narrative strategies can be found in different combinations and to different degrees in print or broadcast news texts. They also serve multiple aims, from capturing readers'/viewers' attention through ideological framing, to establishing journalistic authority. News texts are thus seen as having different degrees of narrativity rather than being narratives or not. Similarly, while narrative style is often associated with soft news, human interest stories, magazine journalism, tabloids, or "new journalism," researchers have widely demonstrated the presence of narrative elements in hard news and mainstream journalism, including bastions of "information journalism" like *The New York Times*. One can therefore see different journalistic modes—such as soft versus hard news or tabloids versus broadsheets—as different positions on a "storytelling continuum."

The narrative work of news is driven by conflicting impulses, analogous to the literary tension between attaining closure and sustaining readers' interest, or between short stories and novels/serials. On one hand, news is commonly seen as composed of autonomous narrative units—each with a beginning, middle, and end—aimed at uncovering the whole truth and imposing closure on our understanding of depicted events. In this sense, a good news story leaves no loose ends, and news stories can be seen as an incarnation of the short story, though usually offering closure at the beginning of the text—most often in the headline. On the other hand, few news stories start and end within the framework of one news item. In these

continuous stories, each news item can be viewed as a chapter in a novel or an episode in a television series. Continuous news stories can be divided into two primary types: those that focus on the question of "what happened?" and those that focus on the question of "what *will* happen?" While the former deal with revelations about the past, like corruption scandals or unresolved crimes, the latter report about events unfolding in the present, like elections or wars. In both cases, journalists need to employ narrative devices such as suspense, flashbacks, and multiple points of view in order to sustain readers' interest in the story and achieve narrative coherence.

Unlike authors or screenwriters, journalists rarely withhold information in order to maintain tension, and unlike fictional texts, news stories are shaped by an external reality that helps determine their beginning and end points. Yet some stories are buried by news media before they are fully resolved in the "real world" (such as crimes, disappearances, or injustice stories), while other stories continue to produce headlines long after they were seemingly resolved, including the deaths of John F. Kennedy and Princess Diana, or even the sinking of the *Titanic*. Sustained coverage of such stories relies on diverse narrative devices, employed to different ends. Thus, for example, in the case of the 1963 Kennedy assassination, the tabloids kept the story open through soap-opera plot devices, like resuscitating the slain character (the Kennedy-is-alive theme) and conspiracy narratives, whereas retellings of the assassination in the mainstream press relied on narrative strategies that helped assert journalists' authority as preferred narrators of the story and repair possible failures in the initial coverage. For example, by focusing on their own experiences during the assassination weekend and inserting themselves as major characters in the story, journalists established their presence at the events, although most journalists did not witness the shooting itself.

News and the Construction of Reality

From a philosophical perspective, news as narrative refers to a particular relationship between a news story and the external reality to which it points. Here, news as narrative is not necessarily associated with certain writing styles or literary devices but offers an alternative to the conception of news as a reflection, mirror, or objective representation of reality.

According to the narrative view, facts do not speak for themselves and reporting news necessarily involves selection processes: deciding which information to include in the available time or space, how to present it, in which order, under which headline, and where to position the story in a newscast, newspaper, or webpage. These multiple selections render news inevitably partial, with each story being one among many possible narratives of the depicted events. Similarly, each newscast, newspaper, or webpage offers one among numerous possible narratives about the world on a given day. Proponents of the narrative view of news also argue that these selections are inescapably dependent on the perspective or biases of reporters and editors, who are positioned as narrators with particular voices and points of view, rather than as objective observers of an immutable reality awaiting to be discovered.

In its extreme version, a narrative view of news can blur the distinction between fiction and nonfiction, arguing that all representations of reality are narrative constructions of equal epistemological status. However, while one may accept the assumptions that there is always more than one valid way to tell a news story and that there is no *one* true story that needs to be discovered, it does not follow that there is an infinite number of possible narratives or that all narratives are equally valid. News narratives, unlike fictional narratives, can still be seen as constrained by facts and by the actual events, and can still be judged as more or less faithful to an external reality. Yet, even in its softer versions, the notion of news as narrative is in tension with accepted views of journalism and journalism's own sense of self. Interestingly, while journalists commonly refer to news as *stories,* they tend to vehemently reject the suggestion that they themselves are storytellers or that their stories are anything but a reflection of reality.

Finally, philosophical debates over news as narrative relate to questions of form and style discussed earlier. The inverted pyramid style, for example, is historically associated with notions of factuality and objectivity, whereas proponents of narrative journalism reject "informational" styles not only as less aesthetically pleasing but also as obscuring the particular point of view from which all news stories are ultimately written.

News and Myth

From a cultural perspective, news media do not merely convey information but also participate in the construction, maintenance, and dissemination of cultural myths. Myths are defined in this context as culturally significant narratives that express foundational values, beliefs, and ideologies. A myth, in this sense, is not a false story or the opposite of truth, but a story that represents a given culture's view of the world. This view is produced and reinforced daily by news media.

Some mythic archetypes—like the hero myth—are particularly prevalent in news coverage. The myth of the hero follows a recurrent pattern, in which the hero, who is usually born into humble circumstances, embarks on a difficult journey, encounters great challenges, wins a decisive victory, and returns home triumphant. Sport heroes are one popular subgenre of the hero myth in contemporary news media. For example, the story about the triumphant journey of swimmer Michael Phelps in the 2008 Olympic Games captured front pages of U.S. newspapers for over a week. Captivity and rescue narratives are another prominent subcategory of the hero myth in the news, such as the much-disputed story of the capture and rescue of Pfc. Jessica Lynch in Iraq in 2003 (a story which later turned out to be less heroic than was initially portrayed by the press), or the heroic Vietnam War captivity story of John McCain, the 2008 Republican presidential nominee. The 2008 presidential campaign also demonstrated the mutability of cultural myths, and the role played by news media in expressing and shaping these changes. Thus, the narrative created for Democratic candidate Barack Obama was also based on a heroic journey of a gifted individual, but his triumph was not that of a war hero. Rather, the mythic narrative emphasized Obama's success in overcoming racial barriers and renewing hope, thereby reflecting shifting definitions of heroism and the qualities and tests required for the presidency.

Mythic qualities of news have been explored extensively. Some researchers have focused on news as a particular kind of symbolic system, arguing that when viewed from a narrative-mythic perspective, what readers/viewers learn from news is not necessarily facts of a particular story, but the larger symbolic system into which facts and details fit. For example, audiences rarely remember the details of specific crime stories, but each story fits into a larger narrative about good, evil, deviance, and underlying cultural norms and values. Others have focused on particular news stories with mythic elements, arguing that journalists regularly invoke mythic archetypes in formulating current news stories (like the hero archetype, or the use of the flood myth in news coverage of hurricanes), or that certain culturally important stories (such as the Kennedy example above) are mythologized and "kept alive" by journalists.

There is a fundamental tension between notions of news and myth. In order to attain and retain status as a cultural myth, stories should be told and retold, whereas news deals with new and different events. Fitting new stories into a broader symbolic system, invoking mythic archetypes in contemporary stories, or keeping stories "open" and unresolved, can all be seen as strategies of mitigating this inherent tension. They all allow journalists to retell a culture's foundational stories through a framework of newsworthy stories.

Conclusion

A narrative view of news greatly enriches our understanding of journalism's different forms and styles, its commonalities with other cultural storytellers, its relationship with the broader cultural system, and its social roles beyond information transmission. However, when taken to an extreme, this approach can also obscure differences between journalism and other modes of cultural production, and in particular journalism's unique relation to truth and facts. Attending to narrative qualities of news does not necessarily negate the value of facts and truth in journalistic practices, theories, and ideals. The challenge is to find ways of accounting for the complexity and countervailing impulses of journalism, without treating it as either the same as or completely different from other storytelling modes.

Keren Tenenboim-Weinblatt

See also History of Journalism: 1861–1930; Framing; Hard Versus Soft News; Infotainment; Literary Journalism; New Journalism; *New York Times, The;* Objectivity; Tabloid Newspapers; Television News Magazines

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News Audiences, Decline of

As readers of print news and viewers and listeners of broadcast news erode, traditional media have a more difficult time remaining financially viable. Of even greater concern is the cuts being made to the news gathering staff as fewer reporters translate to lower-quality news products. This entry explores the reasons for declines in American news consumption over recent decades—and whether audiences for news in traditional print and broadcast formats have shifted to the web—also describes a few of the strategies news media executives have taken to try to stem the tide and assesses the prospects for a successful recovery.

Early Audiences

Lacking an audience to read and view their work, journalists have no reason to produce news content. For each mass medium, the news-consuming audience has declined since reaching a peak sometime in the twentieth century. According to the annual reports by the Project for Excellence in Journalism, the percentage of Americans reading newspapers began to decline in the 1940s, but circulation continued to rise until 1984 due to the increases in U.S. population. For television network news viewing, the peak came in 1969 when the combined audience for NBC, ABC, and CBS was about 52 million. Since then, the audience has steadily declined to about half that number. Cable news audiences, measured by the mean number of people watching over the course of a given day, rose steadily until 2003, when they too began to trend downward. Radio news is lumped in with talk show and information program listening by researchers. This audience, though harder to accurately measure, has remained relatively stable since 2000 according to Arbitron, the radio audience research company, as reported by the Project for Excellence in Journalism. As with other news media, the largest part of that audience is made up by those in the 55 to 64 and over 65 years old categories. Weekly news magazines such as *Time, Newsweek,* and *U.S. News and World Report* have experienced major circulation losses that threaten their very survival.

Historically, as each new medium developed, it took a bite out of the audience for earlier media. Radio, for example, was perceived in the 1930s as a threat to newspapers as it could offer current news more frequently. Newspapers, meanwhile, were stuck with their once-a-day news cycle unless something extremely newsworthy occurred, in which case the paper might publish a special edition—an "extra." Over time, the two media settled into comfortable niches, with newspapers focusing on more in-depth news and analysis, and radio providing more condensed versions of the news, offered more frequently. Serious news consumers might choose to listen to radio reports and to follow up with reading the more analytical version in the newspapers. Others in the audience might choose one version or the other, thus fragmenting the audience for each medium. Television, in turn, challenged radio and newspapers since its onset in 1948, while the latest and most intense challenge has come from the Internet, starting from the mid-1990s when newspapers began to appear on line in large numbers.

Changing Habits

Media competition-driven fragmentation is not the only reason for declines in audience. Societal changes have also contributed to the process. One major change in the United States is the increase in numbers of women in the work force. In 1920, before the advent of radio, only a fifth of women over the age of 16 were employed, but by early in the twenty-first century, that figure reached around 60 percent. When women began to work outside the home in greater numbers, they devoted less time to the media and other family members took on greater responsibilities in the household. Increased variety of leisure time activities also competed with media for audience attention. When the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press asked people in 2006 why they do not read newspapers, 23 percent cited a lack of time.

Young people are particularly poor news consumers. The same 2006 Pew survey found that only about a quarter of 18- to 29-year-olds said that on the previous day they had gotten news from a newspaper, the radio, or the Internet. About half of them said they watched news on television. Other activities occupy more of their time—use of the Internet for other purposes (62 percent) and watching television for entertainment (61 percent). Journalists are concerned about people not developing a habit for consuming news when they are young, as history demonstrates that few people adopt regular newspaper reading later in life. Pew documented a shift in young people's interest in news in about 1990 (and summarized in 1995), saying that they were experiencing the "age of indifference," a trend Pew researchers had noticed as beginning after the Vietnam War. *The Wall Street Journal* reported in 2006 that only 35 percent of young people aged 18 to 34 read a daily newspaper, half the percentage that were readers in the 1970s. Whatever the reason, the lack of exposure to news by young people has led to a lack of knowledge about current affairs and politics.

Declining news audiences are not just an American phenomenon. This trend is occurring in most parts of the world. An indication of reduced interest in traditional news media comes from a 2007 Harris Poll for the World Association of Newspapers. The survey, conducted in five European countries as well as Australia and the United States, found that television news is the primary source of information in five European countries and that reliance on newspapers ranged from 16 percent of respondents in France to 23 percent of those in Australia. Most people in six of the seven countries reported that a lack of time prevents them from reading newspapers but that the convenience of online sources drove them to the Internet for news. The poll predicted major losses in television news audiences and newspaper readers in the near future and increased dependence on online news and information.

Both technological changes and lifestyle changes help explain why people spend less time with the news. Diffusion of the Internet, especially when delivered by broadband services, has made it both easier and faster for people to obtain news. Traditional media have delivered online versions of their products at no cost to the users to establish an Internet presence. News media also hoped that young people would take up the news reading habit on the web given they were already online for other reasons. Newspapers, fearing competition to their classified advertising base, figured it made sense to offer their products online. Newspaper websites obtain about 78 percent of their revenues from online classifieds. But craigslist, Monster.com, cars.com, and even Google Base have been successfully competing with newspapers for this business. A recent entrant into the free classifieds market segment is the social networking site Facebook, launched in 2004, boasted a membership of 54.5 million monthly unique viewers by 2008. Newspapers have fought back by teaming up with Yahoo for job classifieds. But unless newspapers are able to raise income from other sources, they will not be able to afford to offer online news. Results of the Inland Cost and Revenue Study in 2007 show that newspaper websites only generate about $5 to $10 for each visitor per year while they generate between $500 and $900 for each subscriber per year. So as fewer people read the print versions of newspapers, the online versions will also struggle to survive.

It is hard to document exactly how much time people in the twenty-first century spend getting their news, as technology has made news ubiquitous. News pops up all over the Internet, in e-mail messages, and even on cell phones. Most people grab their news in quick snatches from many

sources. The primary news source for non-Internet users is local television. As more people migrate from dial-up to broadband Internet connections, however, they also shift their news consumption from print and broadcast to online. However, according to Pew surveys conducted in 2005, local television edged out the Internet as the first choice, but most all respondents to the study—whether Internet users or not—obtained news from multiple sources. In the 2006 Pew survey, respondents who said they got their news from the Internet reported spending less time with online news (about a half hour) than those who said they got their news from print or broadcast sources (an average of 45 minutes to an hour).

It is also difficult to tell what people mean when they say they "read" the news. Hitwise, a company that researches online information consumption, reported in March 2007 that in the previous year the amount of traffic that leaves news and media websites and diverts to such entertainment-multimedia locations as YouTube had grown by nearly 200 percent. At the same time, the company found that the number of visits to the ten leading news and media web sites had declined by nearly 4 percent in the same period. The report concludes that news consumption is fragmenting as the audience is going to nontraditional locations such as celebrity gossip blogs and some news aggregators. In fact, most visits to mainstream news and media web locations are by people who click through from search engines, portals, and news aggregators. Readers who access news through large portals, reported Steven Rattner of *The Wall Street Journal,* "are mostly consuming a bland porridge of wire service stories" (2007, A19).

Others seeking news may gravitate toward blogs, alternative media that advocate a particular point of view, and citizen-produced news locations on the web. Although the news (as defined by mainstream media) offered from these sources may not be written in a traditional news style and may not always contain the level of accuracy editors would like, audiences may prefer this approach to that of *The New York Times* or CNN. Some news consumers may reject information produced by corporate-owned news media, and others may prefer information that is presented from a particular political perspective. It is possible that in the range of choices of news and information offered on the Internet people are selecting different venues, and still becoming informed about the important issues of the day.

Several analysts have proposed that newspapers and television news must transform themselves to being even more local and leave national and international news gathering to a few major companies. *New York Times* journalist Jacques Steinberg in 2007 described the success of a 24-hour cable news channel in New York that reports only on Westchester County and several sister stations covering other parts of New York and the boroughs. When Nielsen Media Research asked more than 1,000 people in the metropolitan New York area where they would turn for news about a major event occurring in their own area, more than a third said they would choose one of these local stations. Should this approach be taken in print and broadcast news across the nation, the country might witness a revival in news consumption.

There is also some good news about the online news audience. The Newspaper Association of America, working with Nielsen/Net Ratings, has found that online news consumers should be increasingly attractive to advertisers because the newspaper website visitors spend more time online, are better educated, have higher incomes, are more likely to hold professional or managerial jobs, and purchase online more often than other Internet users. This upscale profile could lead to pricing advertising on newspaper sites at high enough rates that might ensure the economic future of the newspaper.

On the other hand, by late 2008, the country's general economic downturn had begun to impact news media as well. In fall 2008 the century-old *Christian Science Monitor* announced it would cease daily publication early in 2009, relying instead on a weekly magazine and its website. Most large news organizations announced continuing cuts in their staffs, often several hundred or even thousand at a time, and often more than once a year. Time Inc., part of Time Warner, announced major streamlining, and a growing use of reporters across different magazines. The *Los Angeles Times* newsroom staff was by 2009 half the size it had been only a few years earlier. Many papers were publishing in smaller sizes, sometimes with fewer pages, and certainly with less news. Advertising revenue from car makers, financial firms, and retailers—longtime stalwarts of

newspaper revenue—was down sharply. As David Carr of *The New York Times* put it, "Clearly the sky is falling. The question is how many people will be left to cover it." The falling sky may also include *The New York Times* itself, according to Michael Hirschorn in 2006. He writes that the stock in the company had fallen so far that a buyer could take it all for about $1 billion at the end of 2008. The New York Times Company was awash in debt, and the prediction that the print version of the newspaper might actually disappear did not seem far-fetched.

Newspaper circulation has continued to decline (as it has for years), though at an accelerating pace, with some papers losing upwards of ten percent of their readers in just a year. Only the country's two national papers, *The Wall Street Journal* and *USA Today,* were holding steady. Many papers were shedding marginal subscribers and free copies at hotels. Their overall readership may be holding up, but more (and younger) readers are using online access while fewer (and older) readers still rely on a physical copy. And newspapers have yet to figure out how to monetize their online users given that people expect online sources to be free.

There will be no quick fix to reversing the overall decline, however. Audiences have turned their attention to other activities and may never become the avid news consumers of a bygone time. If print and broadcast news are to survive and if the Internet is going to continue to include high-quality news and public affairs, however, the money to pay reporters to gather that information must come from somewhere.

Christine L. Ogan

See also Blogs and Bloggers; Free Newspapers; News Aggregator; Podcasting; Social Network Websites; Streaming Media

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Newscasters, Radio

When news breaks, many hear it first on radio. Tens of thousands of New Yorkers learned of the attack on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001, when WCBS AM traffic reporter Tom Kaminski, on what had been a routine helicopter flight, described what he'd just seen as he flew near

the twin towers. Millions of Americans learned that World War II was over when CBS radio anchor Robert Trout announced: "This, ladies and gentlemen, is the end of the Second World War." This entry provides both a brief history of American radio news and representative profiles of network broadcasters who helped create it.

Origins

In a sense, Guglielmo Marconi, one of the pioneers of broadcasting, can also be considered the medium's first "newscaster." In September 1898, he placed wireless equipment on two steamships that were part of a welcoming parade in New York harbor for American Admiral George Dewey and relayed information about the event to *The New York Herald*. It, in turn, printed a story that featured both Marconi's information and details about the remarkable way in which it had been obtained.

For our purposes, "radio newscaster" means "one who reads scripted news aloud as part of a radio broadcast." This is to differentiate the newscaster from a reporter who describes an ongoing event on the air (such as NBC's Graham McNamee describing the return of transatlantic aviator Charles Lindbergh in June 1927 or the stunning eyewitness account by WLS's Herbert Morrison of the explosion of the German dirigible *Hindenburg* over Lakehurst, New Jersey, in 1937). These were exciting examples of a practice common in the early days of radio. But regularly scheduled radio newscasts, or summaries of the day's events, were relatively rare until the 1938 broadcast of what would become the first *CBS World News Roundup,* described below in more detail.

Early station newscasts (and those only in the largest markets) were typically read by a station announcer who often lacked any training as a journalist. In the 1920s, Harold Arlin of Pittsburgh station KDKA, credited with being the first full-time professional radio announcer in America, might provide news headlines one minute, read a community service announcement the next, then broadcast a prize fight or a football game later in the day.

An important distinction (but one not often made in the early days) existed between radio commentary and news. News reporters made the phone calls, tracked down sources, and presented the facts as they found them, while commentators gave their opinions (one book on radio journalism describes them as "mellifluous posers").

Radio newscasts, as envisioned by such early practitioners as Edward R. Murrow, would instead strive for an accurate reporting of facts and a minimum of personal opinion. Radio newscasts became essential as world tensions grew toward war in the late 1930s. The radio news equivalent of "The Big Bang" came in the spring of 1938, when CBS broadcast a program featuring live reports from several European cities, ushering in an era of journalists who became among the best known in radio history.

Notable Radio Newscasters

Robert Trout (1909–2000)

Born Robert Albert Blondheim and possessor of a baritone voice that retained traces of his native North Carolina, Bob Trout can be considered radio's first real "anchorman" (Trout sometimes called himself an "emcee" or "master of ceremonies") by virtue of his having been the anchoring voice for a CBS program broadcast on March 13, 1938 (which would evolve into *The CBS World News Roundup*), when Germany annexed Austria. CBS executives decided the event warranted a complicated transatlantic, multipoint live shortwave broadcast with William Shirer in London, Ed Mowrer in Paris, Pierre Huss in Berlin, Edward R. Murrow in Vienna and Trout as the anchor in New York City, presenting the news of the day, passing the aural "baton" to Shirer and the others, then introducing a newsmaker in Washington, D.C., and finally ending with a summary of the broadcast. It was a program that was both technically remarkable for its time and journalistically influential, creating the template for future radio newscasts, that is, an anchor reading a script, introducing reporters (live or recorded), and stage-managing the broadcast from beginning to end.

Trout began his life's work by accident, hired as a handyman at a Washington, D.C.–area radio station. One day the person scheduled to air a newscast failed to show up, and Trout (who adopted his air name from a family friend) was drafted into service, beginning a broadcasting career that would last nearly seventy years.

Trout was called by some "The Iron Man of Radio" for seeming to be on the air whenever something important was taking place, no matter what time of day or night. Indeed, he slept on a cot near the CBS studios for several days toward the end of World War II so he could be on the air with late-breaking developments at a moment's notice. He also had an excellent ability to ad lib. As *The New York Times* wrote in its obituary, "His tireless ability to hold an audience when nothing was happening amazed President Franklin D. Roosevelt." (Trout is also credited with coining the phrase "fireside chats" to describe FDR's famous radio talks.) Toward the end of his life, Trout appeared on National Public Radio (NPR), offering commentary and talking about his historic broadcasts. His papers, including some of his original radio scripts, are preserved at the University of Texas at Austin.

Edward R. Murrow (1908–65)

Murrow, born Egbert Roscoe Murrow, was not a radio newscaster in the same sense as Robert Trout. He considered himself first and foremost a reporter whose medium happened to be radio, but he is perhaps the best-known American radio broadcaster because of his reporting during World War II.

He majored in speech at Washington State University in Pullman, guided by teacher Ida Lou Anderson, whose method was to have Murrow and his fellow students study a text to extract all its meanings, then read it aloud while she listened intently, asking questions and guiding the discussion. (Anderson is also responsible for suggesting to Murrow that he make the dramatic pause in his famous "This—is London" sign-on, thinking it would help the overall pacing and effectiveness of his presentation.)

Murrow became Director of Talks at CBS in 1935 and then Director of European Operations for the network in 1937, moving to London and, as fate would have it, preparing to cover the run-up to the Second World War. His reporting, along with that of the famed "Murrow Boys"—the men (and one woman) he hired to bring the news of the conflict to America—would make him a broadcasting legend.

As a radio personality, Murrow set the standard for on-air authority. He reported the facts as he could ascertain them, but often described, in personal terms, what he saw happening before him. He was a pioneer in the use of actuality (newsmaker voices) and natural sound (ambient noise from an event), at one time even hauling his bulky radio equipment to a London Tube station-turned-air-raid-shelter to let listeners hear the sound of people scurrying to safety. His first-person account of the horrors of the Buchenwald concentration camp ("As we walked out into the courtyard, a man fell dead. Two others, they must have been over 60, were crawling toward the latrine. I saw it, but will not describe it.") is a classic of radio journalism. Murrow sometimes blurred the line between objective reporting and commentary as evidenced in his on-air denunciation of anti-Communist Senator Joseph McCarthy in 1954.

Despite his great success, Murrow was never comfortable on the air. His colleague Richard C. Hottelet remembers watching Murrow at the microphone, his leg pumping nervously as he read his script, and when he had finished, his shirt soaked through with sweat. Murrow has become for many the patron saint of broadcast journalism, a title he would likely scorn, although Hottelet says Murrow "knew his worth" and used it to his advantage when required. His view was that radio (and later television) should be used to inform, challenge, and stimulate. As he said in a 1958 speech to the Radio and Television News Directors convention: "If radio news is to be regarded as a commodity, only acceptable when saleable, then I don't care what you call it—I say it isn't news."

Mary Marvin Breckinridge (Patterson) (1905–2002)

Mary Marvin Breckinridge, as she was known when hired by Edward R. Murrow, is noteworthy not only for her reports but also for being a female radio journalist at a time when most women broadcasters were relegated to hosting homemaking programs. Breckinridge reported from several European countries in the months before the Second World War began. Her pieces from Berlin are of particular interest. On the air, she sounded like the upper-class woman she was, with clear diction and an often amused tone, even while describing unsettling events. In reporting on the official Nazi newspaper in Germany, she said that its

motto was "Freedom and Bread" and noted wryly that "there is still bread," a comment that somehow escaped the Nazi censors. Her broadcasting career was short-lived. She resigned from CBS in 1940 to marry diplomat Jefferson Patterson.

Susan Stamberg (1938–) and Bob Edwards (1947–)

Although they were not the first hosts of National Public Radio's *All Things Considered,* Bob Edwards and Susan Stamberg established the program's format and put it in the forefront of radio journalism. New York City native Susan Stamberg was named co-host in 1972, becoming the first woman to anchor a national nightly news broadcast in the United States, and bringing her distinctive voice (traces of her New York accent remain) to what had been a male broadcasting bastion. Stamberg's own style was intimate—each listener could feel as if she were talking to them in a one-on-one conversation. This approach helped erase what had been the dominant style of presenting radio news, what has been described as "the voice of God" (male), presenting information in an authoritative manner. *All Things Considered*, with its mix of both hard news, feature material, and sometimes downright silliness (Stamberg regularly told listeners about her mother-in-law's recipe for cranberry relish), has broadened the scope of radio news and is one of the few news programs that can devote many minutes to one subject. Stamberg is now a special correspondent for NPR.

Bob Edwards had been a radio newscaster at the Mutual Broadcasting System before joining NPR in 1974 and becoming co-host of *All Things Considered* with Stamberg. He became the solo anchor for the new *Morning Edition* in 1979. Edwards is considered an excellent interviewer, exemplifying what has become the signature NPR sound, as described by the Peabody Committee in giving him an award in 1999: ". . . a man who embodies the essence of excellence in radio. His reassuring and authoritative voice is often the first many Americans hear each day. His is a rare radio voice: informed but never smug; intimate but never intrusive; opinionated but never dismissive. Mr. Edwards does not merely talk, he listens."

After a disagreement with NPR management over the direction of *Morning Edition,* Edwards left the network in 2004 and joined XM Satellite Radio as host of his own program. Edwards and Stamberg, along with the other NPR hosts and news anchors, established an "up-close and personal" style of broadcasting that has influenced commercial as well as public radio newscasts.

Paul Harvey (1918–2009)

Paul Harvey's work extended from the early days of radio newscasts to shortly before his death. He began his career in 1933 at KVOO in Tulsa, Oklahoma, and over the decades, his voice had become one of the most familiar on radio. His *News and Comment* program began airing on the ABC radio network in 1951 and remained a broadcasting staple for more than 50 years. Harvey's website said "News and Comment" and his feature program "The Rest of the Story" aired on more than 1,200 U.S. radio stations. Although he had worked as one, Harvey deviated from being a straightforward radio newscaster, per se. His shows were a mix of news, commentary, and commercials so tightly interwoven, it could be difficult for a listener to discern where one ends and another begins. Harvey's style was at once personal and idiosyncratic. He was considered a master story-teller, talking listeners through the details until he reached the payoff at the end. Harvey was also willing to play with the conventions of radio broadcasting, sometimes seeming ready to end his broadcast, only to return with another bit of information that added to the overall effect.

Lowell Thomas (1892–1981)

Thomas's 50-year broadcasting career began in the earliest days of radio news and ended when journalism was firmly established as part of the medium. He is noteworthy because, unlike many radio newscasters, he was primarily a reporter, having covered, for example, World War I from the frontlines. Thomas, with his avuncular tone, clear writing, and familiar greeting "Good evening, everybody," became a fixture on radios around the United States. Thomas is credited with anchoring the first experimental television news broadcast in 1930, but radio was his preference. He used it to transport listeners to the exotic places

he had visited (like the Khyber Pass and Mandalay) and the fascinating people he had met (such as Lawrence of Arabia and the Dalai Lama of Tibet). Thomas's regular radio appearances ended in 1976 after a remarkable 46-year run.

Conclusion

Despite repeated reports of its impending demise, radio survives and radio news reaches millions each day. The style of radio newscasters has changed significantly over the years—they are no longer expected to be, in the words of radio reporter Richard C. Hottelet, "trombone-voiced" announcers, but have now become much more conversational, as if an acquaintance of yours were telling you about the day's events, rather than declaiming from a stage.

With deregulation of radio, the number of stations providing news is in decline. Many stations no longer have their own news departments, opting instead—if they carry news at all—to use network or syndication services.

Radio is no longer the mass medium it once was because no one network or station can command the millions of listeners who, for example, tuned in back in 1940 to hear Edward R. Murrow from London—there are too many media choices today. But there remains a hunger for news relayed quickly and radio continues to provide that service. Despite media consolidation, economic considerations and the fact that providing news is no longer a requirement for stations, radio newscasters may be a threatened but are not yet an extinct species.

Sam Litzinger and Michael Freeman

See also ABC News; CBS News; Commentators, Radio; Mutual Broadcasting News; National Public Radio; NBC News; Objectivity; Public Radio Journalism; Reporters, Radio; Rip-and-Read News; Talk and News Radio; Women in Journalism

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News Conferences

In representative governments, press conferences have become an important means for elected or appointed officials to speak to the public and respond to press queries. While elected authorities regularly give speeches, voters want to hear officials answer questions about topics they may not have otherwise addressed. News or press conferences provide one means of responding to that need. Reporters serve as surrogates for the public asking questions and their queries often probe problems, scandal, and weak points that might otherwise not come to light.

The news conferences watched most closely are those given by the President. Since Woodrow Wilson took office in March 1913, news conferences have been a regular feature of the American presidency. Presidents met with reporters from time to time for interviews and to give them information. But Theodore Roosevelt was the first President to regularly meet with reporters. These sessions were off-the-record ones with only a select group of reporters allowed in. President Wilson decided to meet reporters less frequently and to do

it in a setting where all reporters were allowed to attend. Over the years, however, there has been much variation in the ground rules observed by reporters as well as the in the form of the sessions. Naturally, Presidents want to use such conferences on their terms, setting rules as to how often they take place, how directly questions are answered, and which reporters are called on.

Few chief executives have talked about why they submit to news conferences. Most simply allude to the reasons, but Calvin Coolidge explained his reasons for doing so: "These conferences are held for the purpose of giving newspaper men just in a brief way some idea of what the President has in mind in order that they may write intelligently concerning the transaction of the business of the Government, and it is the rule that the President is not to be quoted" (press conference, June 17, 1927). On another occasion he argued that "it is important that the Presidential office should be correctly represented to the country and the attitude of the Presidential office should be accurately interpreted. . . . I regard it as rather necessary to the carrying on of our republican institution that the people should have a fairly accurate report of what the President is trying to do, and it is for that purpose of course that those intimate conferences are held" (press conference, September 14, 1926).

Initial rules governing news conferences were established in the Wilson era, including those regarding access and questioning. News conferences are open to reporters with White House credentials whether full- or part-time. Reporters decide what the questions are, not the President or his staff, although the latter can usually anticipate topics reporters will pose. Transcripts are retained of what is said. From Wilson through Harry Truman, the sessions were held on an off-the-record basis, but transcripts are available save for the sessions of President Warren Harding, whose transcripts have not surfaced though they likely were made. President Dwight Eisenhower put the sessions on-the-record where they remain today, with verbatim transcripts now found on a variety of websites. News conferences include more than one format. While most feature the President standing alone answering questions, sometimes the chief executive is accompanied by others who respond to questions with him, including foreign leaders and, less frequently, members of his cabinet. News conferences include those sessions designated by the National Archives as such in its compilations of presidential remarks.

Once presidential news conferences began, they continued fairly regularly, though Presidents have always had other less public ways of meeting with reporters. They can meet with individual reporters and with groups of them for interviews on or off the record. Even today, Presidents occasionally have off-the-record sessions when they are traveling and at other times in the family quarters of the White House.

Why Presidents Hold News Conferences

The presidential news conference sessions go directly to the basic need politicians and reporters have for each other. The President needs news organizations as vehicles to relay information to the public. Reporters need access to the President because their audiences want to know what the chief executive says.

Presidents use the sessions to make announcements about crises, policies, programs and appointments, to explain decisions, and to highlight their priorities. Chief executives also use them to gain the attention of the public and demonstrate their command of facts in responding to questions about their policies and actions. Reporters agitate for news conferences because they allow journalists get to decide the topics the President must address. Presidents may open their press conferences with statements, but the bulk of the time is spent responding to queries. While reporters control the questioning, Presidents control their own answers. A President can determine how to answer or whether to respond at all. Refusing to answer has a cost, as the public may perceive a President to be uncooperative in a setting where people expect responsiveness.

The continuum of stated reasons Presidents hold press conferences range from the most lofty (the

Table 1 Presidential News Conferences: 1913–2007

President and Term	*Total*	*Months in Office*	*Conferences per Month*	*Conferences per Year*
Wilson 1913–21	159	96	1.7	19.9
Harding 1921–23	No transcripts	29		
Coolidge 1923–29	521	67	7.8	93.3
Hoover 1929–33	268	48	5.6	67.0
Roosevelt 1933–45	1,020	145.5	7.0	84.1
Truman 1945–53	324	94.5	3.4	41.1
Eisenhower 1953–61	193	96	2.0	24.1
Kennedy 1961–63	65	34	1.9	22.9
Johnson 1963–69	135	62	2.2	26.1
Nixon 1969–74	39	66	0.6	7.1
Ford 1974–77	40	30	1.3	16.0
Carter 1977–81	59	48	1.2	14.8
Reagan 1981–89	46	96	0.5	5.8
G. H. W. Bush 1989–93	143	48	3.0	35.8
Clinton 1993–2001	193	96	2.0	24.1
G. W. Bush 2001–07	151	72	2.1	25.2

Source: Kumar 2007, p. 261.

needs of a democracy) to the practical (reporters get restless when Presidents don't hold them). On more than one occasion, President George W. Bush referred to responding to reporters' queries as a basic element of democratic government. In one session shared with a foreign leader, he said, "We'll answer a couple of questions in the spirit of democracy" (December 6, 2004).

Presidents view news conferences as just one more persuasion tool. Early in his administration, President Bill Clinton expressed frustration at not having one of his press conferences covered by all of the television networks because he viewed such sessions as a forum where he could reach and persuade the public on the virtues of his programs. Thus, he hosted a series of roundtable interviews with reporters from different regions. In one with Texas reporters, he commented on the success he had persuading those who watched the press conference.

> So one of the things I can do to reach the whole country is to spend more time with media from many States. We're doing this with a lot of States. I will, I hope, have the chance to address the country again. But I tried to do this in a national press conference, and only CNN and one network covered it. And by the way, the research showed that the people who saw it on the network that covered it had their attitudes markedly altered about the economic plan. So I'm doing the best I can to get information out. (July 28, 1993)

News Conference Practices

Of the 16 Presidents who have held regular news conferences, all wanted to use the sessions to best serve their interests. They recognized they needed to hold them, but only those who enjoyed the give-and-take with reporters held them on a regular and frequent basis. Both Calvin Coolidge and Franklin Roosevelt held news conferences on a regular basis throughout their administrations, holding sessions twice a week with one session in the morning and the other in the late afternoon to balance the needs of morning and evening newspapers. With television not a factor until the Eisenhower administration, Presidents were covered primarily by wire service and newspaper reporters and, secondarily, by radio reporters.

Looking through press conference practices over nearly a century, a number of common characteristics and practices can be perceived. These include generation of a transcript, announcement beforehand so reporters covering the President can get to the announced location, open questioning from whomever the President chooses to recognize to speak, and flexibility in how the President answers those questions. Their differences lie in whether sessions are on or off the record, whether they are filmed or televised, and whether they are played on a delayed or live basis. If the sessions are going to be live and on the record, Presidents want to control the timing so as to avoid questions at awkward times, such as during military operations or during the early hours of a major event when the facts are unclear.

Chief executives follow remarkably similar routines in which reporters they call on. The primary television news organizations—ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, and Fox—and the wire services—Associated Press, Reuters, and Bloomberg—today rank above all other organizations in terms of the consistency with which Presidents call on them and how early in the news conference they do so. Then national newspaper correspondents follow among them: *The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Wall Street Journal, Los Angeles Times,* and *USA Today*. From there, Presidents vary in their interest in calling on reporters representing regional, ethnic, and foreign news organizations. In 2009, President Obama first recognized a blogger—Sam Stein at The Huffington Post—at one of his early news conferences.

Two types of sessions have developed over the years: solo and joint. Solo sessions are ones where the President appears by himself to answer reporters' queries while joint sessions are those where he appears with a visiting foreign leader or, less frequently today, with one or more cabinet members. In earlier years, Presidents often brought their budget directors in to help brief reporters on their budget plans.

Table 2 Presidential News Conferences by Term: Joint and Solo Sessions 1913–2007

President	*Total*	*Solo*	*Joint*	*Joint as % Total*
Wilson 1913–21	159	159	0	0
Harding 1921–23	No transcript record			
Coolidge 1923–29	521	521	0	0
Hoover 1929–33	268	267	1	0.4
Roosevelt 1933–45	1,020	984	33	3.2
Truman 1945–49	324	311	13	4.0
Eisenhower 1953–61	193	192	1	0.5
Kennedy 1961–63	65	65	0	0
Johnson 1963–69	135	118	16	11.9
Nixon 1969–74	39	39	0	0
Ford 1974–77	40	39	1	2.5
Carter 1977–81	59	59	0	0
Reagan 1981–89	46	46	0	0
G. H. W. Bush 1989–93	143	84	59	41.3
Clinton 1993–2001	193	62	131	67.9
G. W. Bush 2001–07	151	35	116	76.8

Source: Kumar 2007, pp. 266–67.

Development

The most basic breakdown of presidential press conferences has two periods, demarcated by the introduction of radio in 1953. Until that year, including the administrations of Woodrow Wilson, Warren Harding, Calvin Coolidge, and Herbert Hoover, news conferences were establishing their roots. President Wilson first met with reporters in his office on March 15, 1913, but reassembled a week later in larger quarters, the East Room of the White House. He held conferences for two years, and then they trailed off. As the United States entered World War I in April 1917, Wilson ceased holding news conferences. He did not particularly enjoy them, and the war gave him an opportunity to focus elsewhere than giving answers to reporters' queries.

As a former newspaper owner, Warren Harding enjoyed meeting with reporters regularly on Tuesdays and Fridays, as did his successor, Calvin Coolidge. Coolidge so enjoyed his sessions that he held 531, the most frequent (just over 93 a year) of any President given his time in office. The sessions were open to all who covered the President but were considered off the record. Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover all required questions be submitted in writing prior to the conference. Wilson had no such rule, and President Franklin Roosevelt abandoned it in his first press conference; it would never be reinstituted by his successors.

While President Hoover's sessions were often short and devoid of news, those of Franklin Roosevelt were comparatively long and informative. His annual press conferences explaining his budget lasted well over an hour. Roosevelt's sessions were a hot ticket in Washington with visiting officials and out-of-town press people clamoring for a place in the Oval Office to watch. The off the record sessions were full of discussion of current issues, events, and people. Roosevelt made clear in his first session that nothing he said was to be used by reporters in their copy unless Press Secretary Steve Early gave his approval. Most of his sessions were held in the Oval Office with a room full of reporters from around Washington.

President Truman continued the Roosevelt tradition except that he reduced sessions to once a week. In addition, with the increasing number of reporters covering the sessions, he moved them out of the Oval Office, to the Indian Treaty Room in the Executive Office Building next door. He, too, kept his news conferences off the record, though he allowed substantial allusion to what he said and approved some quotes. Truman also followed Roosevelt's tradition of occasionally bringing in visiting foreign leaders and administration officials to help him brief on his budget. Such joint sessions were to become even more popular as time went on.

At a time when Presidents rarely delivered public remarks as they do today, news conferences were important as a place where chief executives made news. They might announce a program initiative, an upcoming trip, or a President's intentions in dealing with members of Congress. But most of all, the sessions gave Presidents an opportunity to put into relevant context a policy issue or action. They explained their thinking and their priorities. As Presidents delivered remarks more frequently in the age of television, news conferences became less important.

In 1953 and 1955, President Eisenhower took two actions that broke with the past. He began to hold on the record sessions and allowed television to broadcast them. Though the news conference recordings were played later in the evening, they were generally played in full. Although Press Secretary James Hagerty worried about what he called a "fluff" (mistake) by Eisenhower, the films were rarely edited before they were released (Associated Press 1959). Television networks often selected highlights as did newspapers printing partial transcripts.

With news conferences going on the record, Presidents altered the frequency, regularity, and format of the sessions. President Eisenhower reduced them from Truman's twice monthly frequency down to once a month. Except for President Carter, Eisenhower's successors rarely held the sessions on a regular basis. Instead, the chief executives preferred to maintain their flexibility, hold the sessions at their convenience and not have an expected time when they had to meet the press.

Since the Eisenhower administration, news conferences have played a smaller news role because Presidents are speaking more frequently in other venues where they often answer reporters' questions. While Presidents used to avoid regularly doing interviews with individual reporters, today it is common practice. In addition, Presidents often do short question-and-answer sessions with reporters where

Table 3 President George W. Bush—Interchanges With Reporters

	2001	*2002*	*2003*	*2004*	*2005*	*2006*	*First Term*	*Second Term to 1/20/2007*	*Totals*
Short Question-and-Answer Sessions	143	96	66	47	40	38	355	75	430
Press Conferences	19	20	26	24	32	29	89	62	151
Solo	4	3	4	6	8	10	17	18	35
Joint	15	17	22	18	24	19	72	44	116
Interviews With News Organizations	49	34	45	69	45	55	209	96	305
Total Interchanges With Reporters	211	150	137	140	117	122	653	233	886

Source: Kumar 2007, pp. 22–23.

they respond to two or three questions from a pool of reporters, most often wire service reporters.

The balance between the various interchanges the President now has with reporters could be seen in the second Bush and the early Obama administrations. News conferences are now far outnumbered by incidental short question-and-answer sessions and interviews, often based on a specific topic. Presidents have come to prefer news conferences shared with foreign leaders, for example, as they can deliver substantial statements about their mutual discussions and then answer a limited number of questions.

After taking office in 2009, President Barack Obama followed some of Bush's news conference precedents (such as the rather imperial walk down a long red carpet to the podium to start the proceeding). Obama tended to give longer and more fulsome answers to reporter questions, demonstrating considerable knowledge about a wide range of both domestic and international issues. Given that the nation was in economic crisis, Obama appeared in several formal and informal presentations each week (almost daily, it seemed) and held a number of formal evening prime-time news conferences as well.

When viewed over the past century, presidential news conferences have proven resilient. Presidents may not control them as much as their speechmaking venues, but no matter whether they speak on the record or off, chief executives have found them to be a useful setting to explain their thinking and their policies. All the while, they have been able to shape the forum in ways that suit their needs. The sessions will almost certainly change in the years ahead but will remain a forum Presidents use to reach the public.

Martha Joynt Kumar

See also History of Journalism: 1861–1930; History of Journalism: 1930–1995; History of Journalism: 1995 to Present; Media Accountability Systems; Presidents, Coverage of; Press and Government Relations; Press Pools; Theories of Journalism; Washington, D.C.

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News Councils

A news council is a nongovernmental body formed by journalists and/or news media owners, and which usually includes nonmedia members, created to adjudicate public complaints against media misbehavior. Its only means of punishment is the voluntary publication of its judgments by news

media. Financing of council operation is normally provided by the organizers.

In 2007, the total number of national and regional councils ranged (depending on definition) between 68 active, genuine press councils—83 if African "media observatories" are included—and 89, including several similar accountability systems. (See Table 1.)

Development

The decision to establish a news council sometimes derives from the wish to enforce an accepted code of ethics. Yet relatively few news councils have been created voluntarily. Legislators first had to make threatening noises about establishing a council by law, usually under pressure from the public outraged by one or more media transgressions.

Sweden initiated the concept in 1916, though the idea took at least half a century to take off. A major step was the creation in Britain of the General Council of the Press in 1953 as a self-regulation body containing only journalists and publishers. Although it had little impact, it was copied in Germany and a decade later evolved into the Press Council which included nonmedia members. That initiated a first great wave of interest in news councils, from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, when the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the International Press Institute, the Council of Europe, and various foundations organized symposiums and experiments. Reports, articles, and books on the topic started pouring out.

A second surge occurred in the 1990s and early 2000s: almost 60 percent of existing councils have been set up since 1990, 35 percent since 2000. In 2006, for example, the Knight Foundation funded the launching of two new regional news councils in the United States. News councils have become more feasible and useful, as more nations turned democratic and restored press freedom, notably by terminating state monopolies in broadcasting. In addition, as media have grown more commercial and have alienated a large part of the public, they fear their freedom might be restricted if they do not prove accountable.

A Typology

A news council is always a nongovernmental organization (NGO). It is normally made up of journalists, media owners, and members of the public but lacks owners or journalists, provided it includes nonmedia members. Only rarely are news councils made up only of media owners and journalists, as is the case in Germany.

News councils can be created on four different levels. A local council consists of community leaders meeting with representatives of the town's media, to let them know what the public likes and dislikes. About a dozen such local news councils have become known, most of them in America in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Many others have functioned under a variety of names.

Table 1 Census of News Councils: 2007

Continent	*National*	*Regional*	*Total*
Africa	5 (+15*)		5 (20)
North America		11	11
South America/Caribbean	3		3
Asia & Near East	9		9
Europe	24 (+6**)	8	32 (38)
Pacific	6	2	8
Total	47 (+15+6)	21	68 (89)

*African "media observatories."

**Ethics commissions set up by journalists' associations.

The typical news council, however, operates on a national level, established by an association of publishers and one or more unions of journalists, primarily to adjudicate complaints from the public, and guided by a code of ethics. News councils always cover print media and about 60 percent (the more recent ones) cover broadcasting as well. They usually adopt simplified court-like procedures of open hearings and final decisions.

In large countries like Canada, the United States, or Russia, news councils usually operate at a regional level. In the English-speaking provinces of Canada, for example, the council has often been established by some of the newspapers and has dealt with complaints against those publications while trying to settle conflicts and avoid a published judgment.

Experience has shown that moral authority can be an efficient means of achieving an end, as media people hate to be accused of unethical behavior. Such reproof, however, must be fast and visible—and that requires proper funding. This can come from many sources: unions, foundations, other (nonmedia) corporations, private organizations, even government agencies—though normally most news council operating funds come from constituent media companies.

Special Cases

News councils come in various shapes and some possess special features.

In Sweden, the council has been assisted since 1969 by an "ombudsman" who resolves many cases himself. The Swedish council is the only one in the world that can fine publications. In South Africa, an ombudsman deals with all complaints but his judgments can be reviewed by an appeal body. An American National News Council was set up by the Twentieth Century Fund foundation in 1973. Although composed of eminent media and lay members, it was not representative of the industry and was thus never fully accepted. Many major publishers—including *The New York Times*—ignored it, and it only lasted for a decade. In Britain, under threat of action from the Thatcher government, publishers replaced the Press Council in 1991 with a Press Complaints Commission. It is far better financed than any other national news council (over $3 million a year) but does not contain working journalists and strictly limits its activities to mediating grievances. Conversely, Swiss journalists have refused to let publishers sit on their council, arguing their presence would prevent open discussion of issues. In Denmark, both the ethics code and a news council were included in the country's 1992 Press Law with the agreement of news media professionals. In India, journalists begged Parliament to establish a news council, but publishers stubbornly refused to cooperate. Interestingly, about half of its complaints are lodged by media professionals against government officials.

Differing from most other councils, the Peruvian *Consejo de Prensa* is made up only of publishers and editors, though its Ethics Tribunal consists entirely of important nonmedia personnel. In Estonia and Russia, competition among professional groups has resulted in two national PCs. In some nations (e.g., Slovenia, Hungary), when media owners and journalist unions could not agree on forming a news council, journalists created "ethical commissions" that play a similar role but with far less credibility if only because they do not normally include nonmedia members. Fifteen "media observatories" have recently appeared in francophone African nations under prodding from Western organizations, designed to avoid restrictive legislation by improving press ethics through monitoring, criticizing, processing complaints, and training. Their lack of funds and government intolerance, however, make it difficult for them to function.

The Record

By 2007, there were news councils in only a quarter of world's nations even though democracies were more numerous than ever. There are none in the Arab world, only two in Latin America, and only five state-level councils in the 50 United States. Almost half the nations belonging to the Council of Europe lacked a news council—including France, Greece, and Hungary.

The news council record to date is not impressive. When polled a few years ago, none of the councils felt it had clearly contributed to improvement of their media. While it is potentially the most useful "media accountability system," formation of a news council has to this point been more a sign than an agent of progress. While the British council is the best known and one of the oldest, the

country suffers from some of the most sensationalist popular newspapers in the West. Indeed, the British council played no part in the breaking of newspaper unions' power in the mid-1980s.

Obstacles and Resistance

To survive and prosper, councils require three things: a democratic environment; a liberal press regime; and privately owned media. Yet in the United States (which meets all those requirements), news councils have not multiplied, partly because they look like tribunals to media owners that fear government intervention in their affairs. Conversely, in nations with a Latin tradition, such as France or Italy, people trust the law and the courts—and distrust nongovernmental organizations.

Economic underdevelopment also impedes news council creation. A country's media need to be wealthy enough to fund formation and operation of a council. They must be staffed by educated professionals, aware of their duties, and self-confident enough to bear criticism. Furthermore, the country should not be divided into violently partisan factions, and it needs to encourage at least a minority of enlightened citizens to take the media seriously.

In some cases what shackles the council is a birth defect, as when one of the three protagonist groups has excluded the other two, as originally occurred in Switzerland where journalists wanted to operate the council on their own. Or when two excluded the third, as in Austria, whose council refused nonmedia members. In each case, the argument was that full and fair news council discussion could only proceed if the exclusions were upheld.

Sadly, news councils have met with resistance on all sides. Although none of the dangers a council has been accused of carrying (mainly its use by government to muzzle the press) ever materialized, they have aroused that fear in country after country. Undoubtedly, media owners perceive such a council as a limitation to the freedom they derive from owning media. Any news council is bound to demand, implicitly at least, that media place public service ahead of money-making. So even if they accept a council, proprietors are often reluctant to support it adequately. Working journalists also resent public meddling, which they perceive as violating the protected sanctuary in which they ply their profession. This reluctance of owners and professionals usually limits a council to examining complaints, and publishing its judgments in trade publications the general public never reads.

Left-wing observers denounce news councils as a mere public relations operation by owners designed to blunt complaints of government and the public. Councils are accused of being biased in favor of the press—and thus of having no "teeth." Most councils do not even receive the most serious cases, because complaints are made elsewhere. NCs rarely monitor media due to lack of funds, personnel, and motivation. Many critics, especially academics, dismiss councils as idealistic exercises in futility: good media do not need them and bad media will pay no attention.

Linked to the timidity or weakness of councils is their worst failure—their very obscurity. The public is often totally unaware of the existence of a news council, so it can neither use its services nor support it. Seldom does one meet even an informed media user who knows what a council is or whether one exists. That is *lethal*, for the whole point of news councils is to get the public involved in supporting the independence and improved quality of news media.

Conclusion

A news council is usually organized by media owners and/or by journalists, partly to avoid costly law suits, but primarily to avoid establishment of a governmental supervisory agency. Councils usually succeed in those two limited missions—but the media are not much improved by them. Most present-day councils are little more than complaint-processing agencies which strive to reconcile a few angry citizens and some media outlets.

An ideal news council could be so much more. It would be a permanent institution, independent, flexible, multifunctional, yet harmless, whose sole purpose is to improve media service to the public. Vitally, it would bring together and represent the people who own the news media with those with the talent to inform, and those who have the right to be informed. Hence, it could put pressure on government to avoid most media laws.

A news council can stand as a symbol of democracy. When they participate, media owners

Table 2 News Councils in the World: 2007

A. Mixed Councils (Including Nonmedia Members)

1. *National Councils Listed by Year of Formation—39 (43)*

Country	*Year*
Sweden	1916
Finland	1927
Norway	1928
Netherlands	1948
Great Britain*	1953 (transformed in 1991)
Turkey	1960 (defunct 1968–88)
South Korea**	1961
Israel	1963
Taiwan	1963
Iceland	1963
Philippines	1965 (suppressed 1972–93)
Switzerland*	1972 (transformed in 2000)
New Zealand	1973
Australia	1976
(Greek) Cyprus	1990 (stillborn; re-created in 1997)
Estonia 1*	1991
Chile	1991
Fiji	1993
Poland*	1996
Peru*	1997
Tanzania	1997
Thailand	1997
Russia 1*	1998
Malta*	1999
Indonesia	2000
Hong Kong	2000
Estonia 2*	2001
Bosnia & Herz.*	2001
Ukraine	2001
Belgium (Flemish)	2002
Slovakia	2002
Sri Lanka	2003 (replaced earlier government news council)
(Eastern Caribbean)	2003 (reported defunct)
Azerbaidjan	2003
Tonga	2003
Botswana	2003
Kenya	2004
(Swaziland)	2004 (defunct)
(Zambia)	2004 (defunct)
Russia 2*	2005 (operates as a Press Complaint Public Committee)
Georgia	2005
Bulgaria	2005 (two news councils: print and broadcast)

As of early 2007, Armenia, Ireland and Spain (FAPE) were reported working on establishing news councils.

*Two-part news councils, either excluding owners or journalists.

**The Korea Ethics Commission (set up by the press) is overshadowed by a statutory Commission of Press Arbitration (1981) that covers all media and can demand corrections.

2. *National Councils Statutory, Yet Non-State—5 (6)*

Denmark	1964 (statutory since 1992)
India	1965 (suppressed in 1975–78)
Ghana	1968 (defunct 1970–92)
Luxembourg	1979
(Nigeria)	1992 (defunct)
Lithuania	1996

3. *Regional Councils—21*

Western Europe—1		
Cataluna (Spain)	1997	
Russia—7		
Rostov (Russia)	2003	
Nijni-Nov. (Russia)	2004	
Voronezh	2004	Regional jury
Krasnodar	2005	
Oryel	2005	Regional jury
Ryazan	2003	Regional jury
Ekaterinburg	2005	Regional jury
Canada—6		
Quebec	1971	
Ontario	1972	
Alberta	1972	
Maritimes (Atlantic)	1980	
British Columbia	1983	
Manitoba	1984	
United States—5		
Honolulu	1970	Covers most Hawaii media
Minnesota	1971	
Washington	1998	
New England	2006	News forum
Southern California	2006	
Philippines—2		
Baguio	2002	
Cebu	2002	
(Palawan)	(2002)	Not operational

B. Professional (Journalists-Only) Councils—8

Belgium (francophone)	1988
Czech Republic	1998
Germany	1956
Hungary	1994
Italy	1963
Macedonia	2001
Slovenia	1995
South Africa	1998

acknowledge that their employees have something to contribute in social communication. And journalists acknowledge that media users also have a right to be heard. A council publicizes the fact that the news media are listening to the public, and are ready to render accounts with them.

To "improve" media implies other tasks beyond mere processing of complaints. All news councils should have the power to initiate cases. This would require active monitoring of media in order to discover omissions and long-term distortions. Such surveillance is of greater significance than complaints since what media do wrong is so often what they fail to do: the public, unable to perceive the fault, cannot react against it.

A council should also report on the news media scene and encourage research on how the news media actually function, what real influence they have, what citizens need from them, etc. It should publish warnings on dangerous trends, and promote vocational training, including continuing education. The long-term means of curing the ills of the press lies in employing true (i.e., highly trained) professionals. But the public, too, needs to be better educated in its daily use of media. Lastly, a national news council should help develop a loose network of media accountability systems (M*A*S) to supplement its work, including other councils at regional and local level. One or even a few M*A*S cannot be expected to ensure quality news media, but creating dozens could.

Claude-Jean Bertrand

See also Criticism of Journalism; Ethics; Freedom of Information Act; Labor Unions; Letters to the Editor; Media Accountability Systems; Professionalism; Self-Regulation

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News Hole

The definition of *news hole* has evolved over time. Initially the term referred to that part of a newspaper or magazine that is available for news stories, after subtracting the space taken up by advertising. Years later, with the advent of broadcast media, the meaning of the term expanded to include the amount of airtime available for news content within a news broadcast or cable news channel. Today's definition would include the effects of the Internet: offering theoretically unlimited space plus minimal production and distribution costs. In general usage, then, *news hole* refers to the editorial core of a print or electronic journalism publication or program.

The origins of the term *news hole* reflect the industrial era within which it was coined. Post-Civil War economic growth and large-scale immigration facilitated what historian Martin Sklar (1988) calls the "corporate reconstruction" of the country: This fashioned the newspaper into a more thoroughly industrial product, as pressures for capital accumulation increasingly shaped its ownership, organization, personnel, policies, and content. A newspaper's profitability depended on the ratio of advertising space to the space allocated for news and editorials—space which journalistic shorthand came to refer to as the "news hole." In a 2008 interview with this writer, longtime reporter George Gladney credited the term's origins to the process of setting type: "I suspect it comes from the forms which printers used to build pages of type. Usually the ads were placed in these forms first, literally leaving a hole for the non-advertising text."

The term is clearly an old one. It appears in a list of standard "jargon" in journalism work, in a book published in 1911. By the mid-twentieth century the term's definition had expanded to include broadcast media, more specifically the time within a designated radio or television news program that was actually available for editorial content. In a television network evening newscast, that is usually about 22 minutes of the half-hour period. By the early twenty-first century, "news hole" had even become part of public discourse: A 2008 Google search resulted in 113,000 listings. This reflects a broadening of its usage, as postmodern culture and the Internet contribute to an expansion in the varieties of journalism. The well-regarded Project for Excellence in Journalism's reports still use the term in its original meaning, even though newspapers' online editions no longer suffer space limitations driven by the cost of ink and newsprint.

Some newer applications refer to the "news hole" as if it were a physical location, a gathering place for people seeking news, much as a "watering hole" attracts people seeking drink and companionship. Hence, the online edition of Baltimore's *The City Paper* titles its news section "The News Hole." MSNBC gives the same name to its "award-winning blog from the cast and crew of the award-winning television news hour." By contrast The Huffington Post makes a pun in suggesting a gap in the mainstream U.S. news media's coverage of

some subjects; its critique's headline reads, "A Different Kind of News Hole." Clearly separated from a newspaper's physical production processes, today many bloggers use the term *news hole* simply as a generic label for their musings.

Just as the term originated with a quite specific meaning during the industrial age, so the postmodern era is infusing it with new usages and connotations which broaden its application. As it is steadily separated from its foundational meaning, it is kept in the journalistic lexicon, even as it occupies a space in public discourse. We speak of the shrinking news hole, for example, as one measure of the decline of the newspaper press and serious news and documentary in broadcast television. The important and ongoing struggle between hard and soft news is often defined in terms of how much space or time each takes from the total available news hole in a publication or broadcast. So are other comparative measures, such as how much of the news hole is taken by the political right or left, or the different sides in a specific controversy. The term is also useful (though rarely carefully enough defined) to allow for a seemingly comparable measure of print space or broadcast time over which editors and producers have control.

William S. Solomon

See also Hard Versus Soft News; Infotainment; Internet Impact on Media; Layout; News Values; Sound Bites

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News Interview Programs

American news interview programs are generally of two types—the continuing series and the special one-off program built around an important person or a particular event. Essential to the success of either type is an effective interviewer and an interesting interviewee. While many interview programs center on celebrities and entertainment, the focus here is on those providing serious news journalism. Few commercial stations provide such programs and thus this entry concerns broadcast and cable network offerings.

Radio Origins

The broadcast public affairs interview format developed first in radio—indeed it probably dates to the 1920s before networking began. There was nothing simpler than having an announcer (only later was the interlocutor more often a journalist) interview somebody of importance either because of their social or political position or to cast light on recent news events or a current controversy. Many of radio's public affairs programs did not focus on interviews, but rather encouraged give-and-take among regular or guest participants, some of whom might be journalists.

America's Town Meeting of the Air

America's Town Meeting of the Air was created and moderated by George V. Denny Jr. This hour-long discussion program, broadcast from New York City's Town Hall on 43rd Street, began to air on the NBC-Blue network in May 1935. Broadcast on different evenings (usually Thursday) over the years and varying from 30 to 60 minutes, it continued on ABC after World War II and ran until July 1956. The

program featured a live studio audience—up to 1,800 attendees at a time—who could often be heard heckling, cheering, or simply commenting on what was said. It was this often very active audience participation that differentiated the program from others. The program participants could get pretty heated in their disagreements as well, and strongly held opinions were encouraged. More than a thousand listening groups and clubs were established across the country, both to listen to and continue the debates locally. Many listeners sent in questions by telegram. Hundreds and sometimes thousands of transcripts were mailed out after the programs aired and some broadcasts were published in pamphlet form. The program was broadcast on a sustaining basis (commercial-free), as Denny did not want anything to inhibit the "fire and color" he sought, though multiple advertisers did help meet some costs after 1947. On two occasions, ABC sought to simulcast the program over television (in 1948–49 as the television networks were beginning, and again in 1952), but the format did not "translate" well to the visual medium.

The American Forum of the Air

The American Forum of the Air was one of the earliest radio network panel discussion programs, first appearing on New York City station WOR in 1934. The program became *The Mutual Forum Hour* when the Mutual network was launched later that year. Produced by attorney Theodore Granik, the program moved to Washington in 1937 and took the title shown. Within a rather rigid format, opening remarks were made by two opponents on some public issue, followed by a panel discussion, and then questions from the studio audience and closing summaries. The program varied from 30 to 60 minutes, then shifted to NBC in 1949 as a half hour offering before leaving the air in March 1956. Granik kept the program participants on point (most issues were hot political or economic concerns) and off personal attacks on one another. The program was briefly carried on television in 1949.

University of Chicago Roundtable

University of Chicago Roundtable was originally broadcast on station WMAQ beginning in February 1931; it was carried on the NBC network from 1933 to mid-1955. Generally broadcast early Sunday afternoon for a half hour, it featured University of Chicago faculty members discussing important and current issues. While the academic "cast" changed each time based on the issue being discussed, the program kept things moving (a light blinked if some scholar began droning on) and for a time even issued a related magazine that included transcripts and background on the speakers. Guests from the world of politics and journalism often appeared as well.

Meet the Press

Later a staple on television, for its first several years on the air (starting in October 1945), this panel program ran on Mutual radio, moderated by Lawrence E. Spivak, editor of *American Mercury* magazine, and intended to promote that publication. Spivak partnered with Martha Rountree who produced the broadcasts, which very quickly began to create headline news. Political candidates, other politicians, and public figures faced reporters without the protection of a script. The interviewing journalists were selected to represent differing points of view to encourage sharp verbal exchanges. The program was simulcast on NBC television beginning in 1947 (see below).

Capitol Cloakroom

Capitol Cloakroom was a CBS radio network program of political analysis and interviews that ran from October 1949 through 1983. Reporter Bill Shadel was the moderator/host, and Eric Sevareid was among the journalists who appeared.

Fresh Air

Fresh Air is a public radio program based on the cultural affairs program that originated in 1975 on Philadelphia's WHYY (and is still produced there). National Public Radio began to carry the one-hour *Fresh Air* nationally in 1985. The weekday program centers on interviews by program host Terry Gross that cover contemporary arts (music, performing arts, fine arts, theater and movies) and political and cultural issues, the interviews varying in length as content requires. Indeed, its 1994 Peabody Award citation credits *Fresh Air* and Gross with "probing questions, revelatory interviews and unusual insights." The interviews are conducted in advance—sometimes by telephone—and are edited down for broadcast. Original material is broadcast Monday through

Thursday, with Friday carrying repeats of selected programs. Reviews and various types of musical performances fill out the hour as needed.

Television Interview Programs

When television picked up the radio interview format, it faced a special problem—-how to make "talking head" interviews sufficiently interesting to hold an audience. In an era when broadcast news sound bites run less than ten seconds, interview programs of 30 or 60 minutes give political leaders, military officials, authors, and other newsmakers a chance to explain their policies and thoughts in detail. They also give the interviewer/host a chance to sit competing parties across from them and side by side on the set to defend, challenge, debate, argue, and question each other. The programs are similar in many ways and sometimes newsmakers will appear on one Sunday morning interview program and show up several minutes later on another one. The comments made on these programs are often picked up in broadcast and print news stories later in the news cycle. Such programs are opportunities for politicians to frame issues for a general audience and to send messages and "trial balloons" to each other.

Bill Moyers Journal

Bill Moyers Journal began in 1972 covering a wide array of topics such as religion, history, sexuality, geography, and politics, mostly with interviews with key figures. Moyers served as host/reporter. The weekly program was produced by WNET in New York and aired until 1976 on PBS. In 1979, the program resumed for a second series, covering many more topics, and ran until 1981. *Bill Moyers Journal* returned to the air in April 2007. In each of its incarnations, the program featured numerous interviews with the important, the famous, and the interesting. Moyers took a more intellectual approach to his topics and guests than many television interview programs.

Booknotes *and* Q&A

Booknotes and *Q&A* are C-SPAN interview programs. From 1989 to 2004, Brian Lamb, head of the C-SPAN cable network, interviewed contemporary nonfiction authors for a one-hour (sometimes longer) program on Sundays in which they discussed their books, the research that went into those books, and their lives more generally. The 800 interviews, available online, make up a valuable collection of late-twentieth-century American scholarship, capturing the intellectual work of important nonfiction writers, as well as biographies and memoirs of notable political figures. It was replaced with *Q&A* on Sunday evenings, another Brian Lamb–hosted interview program with a broader writ covering people in the arts, politics, science and technology, and other fields.

The Charlie Rose Show

The Charlie Rose Show began from New York's WNET in September 1991 and was carried nationally on PBS to other public television stations within two years. His studio moved to a Bloomberg facility on Park Avenue in 1994 which also provided the option of interviews using satellite links. For his late, weeknight programs, Rose interviews a wide variety of usually well-known subjects including writers, politicians, athletes, entertainers, business leaders, scientists, and other newsmakers. He sits with his guests across his trademark round table against a black background. According to the program website, only Rose and his guests are allowed in the studio during taping thanks to the use of robotic cameras. Many past interviews have been made available online.

Chronoscope

Chronoscope was a CBS interview series sponsored by the Longines-Wittnauer watch and clock company and ran from 1951 to 1955. Airing live at 11 p.m. three nights a week, the program featured host Frank Knight and a changing cast of journalists, who interviewed a specific domestic or international figure—politicians, diplomats, and leaders in many different fields—for each segment. Special attention was given to the developing cold war and the Korean War. In an era before videotape, the more than 600 programs (of which nearly 500 survive in archives today) were recorded on kinescope (film) for distribution around the country.

Face the Nation

Face the Nation was launched on CBS in 1954, adopting the same format of a panel of journalists interviewing a newsworthy figure as had been

pioneered by *Meet the Press*. Only over the years did it evolve into a panel of newsmakers discussing issues under the direction of a single moderator. Reporter George Herman acted as moderator during the 1970s, succeeded by Leslie Stahl in 1983, and veteran reporter Bob Schieffer since 1991. The hour-long program airs Sunday morning from studios in Washington, D.C.

Firing Line

Firing Line, based in New York and nationally syndicated, was hosted by William F. Buckley Jr. from 1966 to 1999. It produced some 1,500 programs over its third of a century on the air, appearing on public television after 1971. Buckley, the conservative columnist and commentator, would usually converse with one or more guests on each weekly program. Issues ranged widely but the level of conversation was intellectual in tone and often became a genteel debate. Up to 1977, a panel joined Buckley in conversation; after than point (until 1988), an "examiner" (often more liberal than the host) would provide a counterpoint of questions and comment.

Issues and Answers

Issues and Answers was introduced on ABC in November 1960 as *ABC Press Conference*. This Sunday morning program was part of the third network's attempt to compete with the larger CBS and NBC. Also originating from Washington in a half-hour format, the program featured reporter Bob Clark as a longtime panelist. The program gave way in 1981 to a new interview program featuring David Brinkley.

Larry King Live

Larry King Live is one of the nation's most watched interview programs and has aired since 1985. One of the most popular programs on CNN, it is usually originated from Los Angeles (but sometimes from New York or Washington). King defines the program as more infotainment than journalism, but presidential candidates have used his venue to announce they are running since Ross Perot did in 1992. Indeed, many other candidates appeared that year (and in subsequent elections) to respond to questions from King and viewers telephoning in. Guests sit across from King at the same table and the give-and-take can become tense depending on the subject matter.

The McLaughlin Group

The McLaughlin Group is a syndicated political talk program that began in 1982, supported initially by several conservative foundations, and was the creation of its host, John McLaughlin, a former presidential speech writer and journalist. Carried on both commercial and public television stations, it features a cast of journalists and often guests and specializes in an "in your face" aggressive style of give-and-take about current events. McLaughlin, who argued the standard network interview programs were stilted and boring, also served during the 1980s as Washington editor for the conservative *National Review*.

Meet the Press

Meet the Press is the longest-running American commercial network program series. NBC-TV launched *Meet the Press* from Washington, D.C., on November 6, 1947. As with its radio predecessor, the half-hour television program was produced by Lawrence E. Spivak, who served as a panelist and moderator before retiring in 1975. The panelists included print and broadcast journalists. Focused primarily on political figures in Washington, this was also one of the first regular programs to appear in color, starting in 1954. In 1997 it also became one of the first network programs to appear in high-definition digital television. Only in the 1960s did it settle into a Sunday morning time slot, which it still holds. In September 1992, less than a year after Tim Russert took over as moderator, *Meet the Press* expanded to an hour. He began the practice of including historical video clips. Some political figures who made for good copy were constant repeat visitors—longtime Senator Robert Dole (R-KS) had appeared more than 55 times by 2002. The program usually airs from Washington, D.C., but is often heard from other locations depending on events and guests. After Russert's death, David Gregory took over as moderator in December 2008, replacing Tom Brokaw, who served as interim moderator for six months.

Night-Beat *and* Mike Wallace Interviews

Night-Beat, later *Mike Wallace Interviews,* were two short-lived, New York–based interview programs. Television producer Ted Yates created *Night-Beat,* which brought Mike Wallace to

prominence. It began in 1956 as a live, late-night (11:30 p.m.) hour of interviews in New York in which Wallace grilled a pair of newsworthy guests every weeknight. Based on good research and using provocative questions, Wallace turned a flair for the dramatic into hard-hitting investigative reporting as *Night-Beat* quickly demonstrated a hard edge lacking in most television talk shows of the period. With a stark black backdrop and smoke from his ever-present cigarette for atmosphere, Wallace asked pointed questions (sometimes dubbed attack or sabotage journalism—usually by its victims) that often made guests squirm—readily apparent in close-up shots. The program moved to ABC and national distribution as the half-hour primetime *Mike Wallace Interviews*. Concerned with small audiences and possible legal problems, however, it lasted only through 1958, turning somewhat more intellectual in tone during its final weeks, which were sponsored by the Ford Foundation.

Nightline

Nightline began on ABC television in March 1980, having developed out of the more than 400 late-night appearances of *America Held Hostage* (concerning Americans held in Iran) over the previous year. Hosted by Ted Koppel, the new half-hour program usually focused on a single topic each evening, and included a discussion among several invited guests who might include journalists, scholars, political figures, scientists, or people from the world of movies, culture, or sports. *Nightline* programs combined elements of investigative journalism and effective interviews. With Koppel's retirement, the program changed formats to cover a number of topics nightly (many concerning popular culture rather than hard news) with three reporter/hosts (Martin Bashir, Cynthia McFadden, and Terry Moran) and less use of interviewing.

Open End *and* The David Susskind Show

Open End, later *The David Susskind Show,* began on a New York City station in 1958. For several years, the program began at 11 p.m. on Sunday evening and would continue until the topic or panelists were exhausted, hence the program name. The program was limited to two hours and entered syndication in 1961. Susskind's interview of Soviet leader Nikita Khruschev in 1960 made national headlines and greatly increased the number of stations carrying the late night program. It became *The David Susskind Show* from 1967 until it left the air two decades later. The program addressed a wide variety of both hard news and social topics, often using an aggressive style of interviewing that brought hostile reactions from its guests. More than 1,100 programs are available in archives.

60 Minutes

60 Minutes is the celebrated CBS network television weekly news magazine program, first aired in 1968. It has often included interviews among its three or four segments making up each broadcast. Often presented by Mike Wallace (before his 2006 retirement), the segments are hard-hitting and sometimes verge on the accusatory. The program has paid for some interviews, and legal actions have arisen from others over the years. Interview subjects have ranged from heroes to villains, and have included show business figures, politicians, military leaders, and the occasional author.

This Week

This Week replaced ABC's *Issues and Answers* in 1981. For two decades this program was hosted by David Brinkley, whose name formed part of the one-hour program title until his retirement. Regular journalist panelists included conservative commentator George Will, ABC's Sam Donaldson, and Cokie Roberts. Thanks to Brinkley's star power, the program quickly surged in the ratings and held a strong position among the Sunday morning talk shows.

Washington Week

Washington Week is a panel interview program that began as *Washington Week in Review* in February 1967, produced by Washington, D.C., public television station WETA. It became the first program carried by the new Public Broadcasting Service in January 1969. After a changing cast of moderators, Paul Duke served in the role for many years, succeeded by Ken Bode and, in 1999, former NBC reporter Gwen Ifill. *Washington Week* initially utilized a continuing panel of three correspondents (Peter Lisagor, Charlie Cordry, and Neil McNeil), but in 1970, the format changed to three regular reporters and a weekly guest reporter. By

the early 2000s, the program maintained a small core of regular correspondents and a larger group of occasional guests.

Conclusion

News interview programs allow listeners to hear discussion in a longer form than traditional mini sound bites provide. Because opposing parties are sometimes seated across from the interviewer at the same time, there is opportunity for them to argue and sometimes even agree on certain issues. Some programs are "must see" or "must hear" for government insiders and those interested in following particular issues and the arguments for and against them in real time. The bookers for these programs compete to find articulate guests who can discuss the "hot" topics of the week, and they're apt to choose official government, mostly senior and male, voices. These programs attract political insiders and "news junkies" worldwide.

Analyses of interview programs often criticize them for tending to exaggerate partisan differences and for drawing on too narrow a range of predictable and frequent guests, such as congressional leaders. They have also been criticized for reflecting the assumptions and priorities of whoever is in power and for presenting "establishment" viewpoints.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Checkbook Journalism; Infotainment; Interviewers; Television News Magazines

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Newspaper Design

Newspaper design, as a specialized area of practice, is a relatively recent addition to the journalism industry. Until the 1960s, the organization of printed elements on newspaper pages depended largely on two main journalistic customs: the first being the standing or repeating elements such as the nameplate and the second being the editor's daily hierarchical decisions for newspaper elements that change according to the day's news stories. Since the nineteenth century, newspapers have divided their available space into editorial content and advertising. These two have become separate production areas, with distinct groups working independently. Newspaper design focuses on the editorial side and is often called *editorial design*.

Editorial design controls a newspaper's visual presentation. Publishers from time to time mount a redesign project either to plan a complete makeover (an unusual occurrence) or to update existing design gradually. A cadre of independent redesign consultants focuses on the newspaper industry, although publishers may instead use the internal design staff.

Editorial design also includes the daily design activity of staff members, which encompasses the changing visual treatment of news items within the relatively fixed format of a publication: the selection, edition, and organization of all visual elements in a newspaper. Although the newspaper has a set of design rules, these do not resolve the specific problems and applications to individual stories and pages.

Since the 1990s, newspapers have required designers to be visually literate and also to be able to research and write. As one result,

newspaper designers are also called visual journalists. Practitioners with both skill sets may come from art schools or from academic journalism programs.

Designers divide content between hard and soft news, distinctions that affect the formal presentation. A features designer concentrates on soft news, such as features, reviews, and other nontimely items, which are more open to variation and experimentation. A layout editor or designer concentrates on hard news production and hews more closely to overall newspaper design guidelines.

Like other areas of visual practice, newspaper graphic design has changed through a series of style developments called *movements*. Since its emergence, the first main movement in newspaper design was *modernism* (initially called *streamlining*), a mid-twentieth-century effort led by newspaper design pioneer John Allan, that removed clutter from page designs (such as, for example, headlines with many words capitalized) in favor of the easier-to-read forms (such as headlines with only the initial word and proper nouns capitalized). The second main movement in newspaper design was *functionalism,* a product of the late 1960s and early 1970s which Harold Evans of *The Times* of London led to remove the irregular shapes of story layout (such as doglegs, where one column of type extends below others from the same story) in favor of more compact forms (such as simple rectangles).

Newspapers have generally followed behind the avant-garde of other areas of design practice, such as magazine and product design. They have not, for example, so far adopted postmodern typography, which mixes home-made-looking typefaces in exaggerated sizes that push beyond standard limits of legibility.

Design Components

The graphic design of newspapers employs type, images, and charts as visual components in an overall layout.

Typography

Type is the oldest visual component of newspapers and, as the basic element of any design, includes the visual appearance of the letterforms and symbols from any specific language.

Display typography grew out of book designs. The *nameplate,* or main newspaper title (sometimes mistakenly called the *masthead,* the term for the list of editors appearing on the editorial page), may involve *blackletter* type patterned after medieval lettering to give the impression of credibility and respect for authority. Headlines became larger over time, compared to the columns of text, which grew smaller on the whole and more compact. Larger-sized headlines usually indicate more important stories (see Layout, next page).

Newspaper designers share with other typographical workers a wide (and inconsistent) vocabulary for elements on the page. Among them are terms such as *decks* (subheads), *drop caps* (a large initial letter for the first word of a paragraph), *pull quotes* (direct quotations enlarged to display size), *lifts* (bits of the story text enlarged to display size), *photo captions, refers* (text pointing to other items in the newspaper), *taglines* (writer's name, phone number or e-mail), and *jump lines* (indicators for where the story continues on another page or column), among others. These terms are mostly descriptive and may seem obvious to designers but not to most readers, and so their use helps sort insiders from outsiders in the industry. Each term, however, may have a history that reveals deeper trends in society. The *byline*, for example, emerged along with the change from old-time news hounds of the early twentieth century to the specialist reporters of late in the century, a change that followed the wider advance of professionals throughout society.

Only in the early twentieth century did newspapers focus on the ease of identifying letterforms (legibility) and the ease of understanding words (readability). In search of those qualities, editors began to make typographical decisions based on characteristics of letterforms, such as *serifs* (small feet or letter endings), which they considered easier to read.

Designers also classify type by size (measured in the point, about .35 mm), weight (from boldface to light), position (such as italics), case (capitals, lowercase, or small caps), and width (ranging from condensed to expanded). Most newspaper designers consider medium sizes, weights, and so forth more legible. Other elements affect readability, including line length (the more words in a line, the less readable), leading (space between lines), justification (ragged-right, ragged-left, centered, or justified), kerning (space between letters),

paragraph indentation, page margins, and background color. Again, the middle-range choices are usually more readable. All these classifications and their effects on legibility and readability are culturally bound. Western cultures read lowercase letters best from left to right, and so Western editorial designers rarely stack the letters of a word, unlike those in Asia.

Photography

Photographs entered newspapers generally in the early twentieth century, replacing hand engravings (drawn from photographs) and sketch art, which now tends to appear only with feature matter. News images appeared first in black and white and later in color (such as special *rotogravure* sections, named after an automated engraving process). Production of photography in newspapers has evolved dramatically from plates and flash powders, through film and paper, to digital processes.

Designers may use photos as line art (converted to pen-and-ink drawings either by hand or using software) or in halftones that reproduce a range of grays in greater detail, depending on the image resolution. The low quality of newsprint surfaces cannot achieve the high photo resolution in magazines, which use smooth, glossy paper stock.

Newspaper designers usually arrange photographs within either vertical or horizontal frames (by scaling the image). Although the photo editor may then sharpen and crop the image, any other manipulation changes the image into a photo illustration (a label that must accompany it in the printed edition).

Illustration

News illustrations started appearing regularly in newspapers in the nineteenth century, with specific techniques usually first appearing in advertisements and the editorial side adopting them later. Even so, newspapers were primarily typographical products until the rise of the illustrated press at the end of the nineteenth century. Photography took over many of the tasks of early news illustration, especially as a means to capture the reader's attention, because of the perceived realism of the imagery.

Art movements, such as Art Deco, surrealism, and pop art, have played a major role in the production of newspaper imagery. These varied styles first appeared in advertising, migrated into magazines, and finally appeared in newspapers. Newspaper illustrations now generally visualize what photography cannot capture: sensations, moods, and other intangibles.

Newspaper designers may produce illustrations by using collage, ink, gouache, watercolor, color pencils, oil, acrylics, a drawing pencil or pen, or computer software. Illustrators and designers may also create a three-dimensional composition for later photographing, resulting in a hybrid photo illustration.

Feature sections, including lifestyle, travel, health, and food, use illustrations more than do news sections, following a longstanding pattern of innovation in newspaper design. Sports and business sections use illustration rarely. When they do, they apply realist techniques to fit with the reporting mission of news. For example, they may use a drawing instead of a collage.

Editorial or opinion pages provided an early and continual location for political cartoons and other interpretative visual images. Caricatures and comics may have either satirical or entertainment purposes and appear mostly as line drawings.

Informational Graphics

Despite the common American belief that *USA Today* brought informational graphics to the daily press in 1981, graphics have been part of newspapers for much longer. Maps were the earliest newspaper graphics, appearing in the early nineteenth century. Other graphics include diagrams that explain how a system works, tables that array data and lists, and graphs. Bar graphs most often display statistical information, pie graphs represent a whole and its divided parts, and line graphs express numerical information over time. Newspaper information graphics normally include the following: a title to identify the content, a brief caption or blurb to explain it, the graphic information itself, the source of the information, and credits to identify the designer and researcher.

Layout

Traditional nineteenth-century newspaper design focused on columns of text and tended to arrange pages symmetrically. A key innovation of modernism in the first half of the twentieth century was to conceive of the larger structure of the page

(especially the front page) as conveying information through its layout or architecture. News designers have developed principles to organize elements on a page, all of which draw on modern aesthetic notions and offer guidance for organizing a composition. Some elements underlying the principles include points, lines, planes, and shapes, and each element has relative aspects, including scale (larger or smaller), color, value (dark or light), direction, and the like. Designers use these aspects to accomplish balance (so that pages are not lopsided), contrast (to highlight what is most important), harmony (so that everything belongs), rhythm (to move the reader's eye across the page), and unity (to make the page hang together), as principles of design.

Unlike printers or typographers who once decided how newspapers looked, the graphic designer sees the printed page as a canvas, which can be large or small in format (page size), most commonly broadsheet (full-sized pages) or tabloid (half-sized pages). Designers link these sizes to public perceptions of news. Historically, authoritative publications acquired larger formats, and sensationalistic news started in tabloid formats, but national press cultures differ. Although the broadsheet holds the highest status in the English-speaking world, serious newspapers elsewhere have small formats, especially in parts of Latin America, continental Europe, and Asia. Because of the cost of newsprint, newspapers have tended to become smaller in both formats.

Designers work within the image area, the space displaying everything inside the margins. They divide the area into columns, allowing for gutters (the spaces between each column). The topmost element of each page is the folio line, which contains the date, the section, and the page number.

Since the 1990s, graphic design for newspapers has become a distinct occupation, with professional publications and associations. The main organization, founded in 1979, is the Society for News Design. Practitioners attempt to give news visual meaning and bridge the gap between wordsmiths (traditional journalists) and image-smiths (graphic designers and artists).

Newspaper designers have adapted to the rise of the Internet and accompanying circulation declines in printed newspapers. At first some newspapers, such as *The New York Times,* sought to reproduce online the visual appearance of the print editions. Other newspapers began by *dumping* (through automation) the print product text into webpages with little design at all. Some web editions, such as *The Washington Post* of the 2000s, developed a separate visual identity from the print version.

To adapt, newspaper companies are hiring journalists who not only report and write but also take pictures, record audio, and shoot video. Online journalism has taken priority for disseminating news and events as they take place, while the print editions continue to develop traditional news packages. Page designers are moving to web design as well, which requires a different set of skills for storytelling and presentation.

Like other journalists, newspaper designers tend to work across platforms, and platforms also refer to each other. Some items, such as e-mail addresses and references to more information online, migrated from the web to print editions, and some online editions provide links to electronic pages of the print edition (usually only to subscribers).

Although *editorial designer* is a recent job title, newspapers have always had a visual component. Newspapers after the invention of other news media have continued to be visual products that draw on the latest thinking of designers and artists. The visual changes in the printed and online press reveal much deeper movements in how a society views itself and how journalists see themselves. Traditional newspaper design of the nineteenth century treated readers as omnivores who read everything, column by column, but twenty-first-century design treats readers as choosy consumers who jump around and browse for only those items they want.

Elio Leturia and Kevin G. Barnhurst

See also Digital Photography; Editing, Online and Digital; Graphics; Layout; Magazine Design; Newsprint; Photography; Printing; Type and Typography

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Newspaper Preservation Act

The Newspaper Preservation Act of 1970 was passed in 1970 to allow antitrust exemptions for newspapers in the same geographic region with agreements to share business and operating expenses while maintaining separate news and editorial functions. Known as joint operating agreements, or JOAs, these were intended to connect a "failing" newspaper with a stronger one. In theory, these agreements permit competition in a newspaper market by saving the weaker paper. In practice, some critics argue, JOAs permit additional monopolization of the news product by shutting out other publications.

As of early 2009, there were ten JOAs operating in the United States: Albuquerque (*Tribune* and *News,* this was the first JOA established in 1933); Birmingham (*News* and *Post-Herald*); Charleston, West Virginia (*Gazette* and *Daily Mail*); Cincinnati (*Enquirer* and *Post*); Detroit (*Free Press* and *News*); Fort Wayne, Indiana (*News Sentinel* and *Journal Gazette*); Las Vegas (*Review-Journal* and *Sun*); Salt Lake City (*Tribune* and *Deseret News*); Tucson (*Citizen* and *Daily Star*); and York, Pennsylvania (*Daily Record* and *Dispatch*). These JOAs have varying time limits and renewal requirements; for example, the Charleston JOA is set to run through 2036, while the Cincinnati papers' agreement renewed automatically every ten years until 2007, when Gannett, owner of the *Enquirer,* chose not to renew the JOA.

Origin

The law was passed in response to a 1969 decision by the Supreme Court of the United States, *Citizen Publishing Co. v. United States* in which the Court invalidated a JOA between two Tucson newspapers, finding it in violation of antitrust laws. Justice William O. Douglas famously wrote for six members of the Court: "Freedom to publish is guaranteed by the Constitution, but freedom to combine to keep others from publishing is not."

Congress responded less than a year later, after strong lobbying from the newspaper industry, with the Failing Newspaper Act, which eventually became the Newspaper Preservation Act. The law begins with a finding that "it is hereby declared to be the public policy of the United States to preserve the publication of newspapers in any city, community, or metropolitan area where a joint operating arrangement has been heretofore entered into because of economic distress or is hereafter effected" under the act. The act grandfathered existing JOAs (including the Tucson JOA that precipitated the original lawsuit) and set parameters for the creation of new ones. The law also permits the paired newspapers to engage in activities that would otherwise be antitrust violations, such as price fixing, profit pooling, and market control. At the same time, the stated purpose of the act is to foster competing voices in communities where two newspapers may not be commercially viable.

The Justice Department opposed the law, while many newspaper owners—particularly those engaged in current JOAs—supported it. The Hearst newspaper chain sent letters to the Nixon administration and to President Nixon directly, requesting the administration's support of the act. Several critics have suggested that Nixon's favorable treatment of the act was a result of a desire for positive press coverage (indeed, the administration reversed its original opposition). The act was signed into law in July 1970, and 22 JOAs were in effect at the time.

The Act in Practice

Under the act, two newspapers may petition the attorney general for permission to create a JOA. The attorney general must determine that one of the newspapers is "failing" in order to grant the JOA. The act defines "failure" broadly, stating that a failing newspaper is one that "regardless of its ownership or affiliations, is in probable danger of financial failure." The act does not require a newspaper's status to be evaluated as to ownership or competition. There can, however, be no merger of editorial staffs, and editorial stances must be independently determined (although the meaning of "independently determined" has never been judicially interpreted). And, as noted below, what constitutes a failing newspaper is also open to interpretation, with the decision ultimately in the hands of the attorney general.

In *Michigan Citizens for Independent Press v. Thornburgh* (1989), the Supreme Court upheld by a split vote (no opinion was published) the decision of the attorney general to approve a JOA between the *Detroit News* and the *Detroit Free Press*. The two papers had engaged in fierce competition and both had been losing money, though the *News* had led the *Free Press* in most competitive measures. An administrative law judge had found that the *Free Press,* the "failing" paper, was not in real danger of failing, and in fact he did not believe that "reader and advertiser demand in Detroit is so inadequate that the market cannot sustain two profitable papers irrespective of changes in pricing policies." Therefore, because the *Free Press* was not considered to be failing, the administrative law judge said, the requirements of the act had not been met.

Attorney General Edwin Meese disagreed. He noted that the *Free Press* had suffered a decade's worth of losses and had no way to unilaterally reverse that trend, so therefore it was failing, and he granted the JOA. The citizens' interest group appealed Meese's decision to the courts. A district court upheld the attorney general's decision, and the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit upheld the district court's decision. The appeals court said that while the *Free Press* was not in the traditional "downward spiral" that usually indicates a failing newspaper (decreasing circulation leading to fewer ads leading to even more decreases in circulation), it was on the brink of such a spiral down. The attorney general's interpretation, the court said, was not unreasonable or capricious, merely different than the administrative law judge's. And, said the court, Congress gave the burden to the attorney general to determine what constitutes a "failing newspaper."

The Supreme Court upheld the appeals court's decision by a split vote without opinion. *The New York Times* editorialized that Meese's decision was probably the right one under the Newspaper Preservation Act but that the act itself was problematic and should be repealed. According to *The New York Times,* the act ignores other, newer sources of competition: "Virtually every major metropolitan area has one or more substantial suburban newspapers that conceivably could gain market share if a faltering big-city newspaper were allowed to die."

Controversy

Proponents of the act and of JOA arrangements argue that the stated purpose of the act—to maintain several newspaper editorial voices in communities that cannot economically support more than one—was valuable when the act passed and continues to be so. The Newspaper Association of America, in a 2005 brief to the Antitrust Modernization Commission, recommended that the act be retained. The act, according to the association, "preserves and prolongs editorial and reportorial competition between newspapers after the economic basis for commercial competition has disappeared" (Newspaper Association of America, 9). Newspapers in JOAs maintain strong editorial voices and do not appear to become homogeneous in their coverage and content. Online and other news outlets continue to provide serious competition to newspapers, and the act provides sustenance to a newspaper that otherwise would have failed, maintaining an additional editorial stance in the community.

Opponents suggest that newspaper readership continues to decline despite the JOA exemptions to antitrust law, and that the act relies on antiquated ideas of what competition and news sources are. The unclear legal definition of "failing newspaper" results in large news organizations pitted against smaller ones. Some see the act as providing a "soft landing" for competing newspapers that might take advertising and editorial risks they would not take in the absence of the option for a JOA—in other words, knowing that the newspapers can bail each other out means that they need not be as careful with their business decisions. Business columnist Daniel Gross took an even harsher view of the act: "JOAs insulate politically connected and favored industries from the competition that would cause them to change business models or innovate, and permit them to collect diminishing profits while doing nothing to ensure long-term viability" (Gross 2003).

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See also Advertising; Antitrust; First Amendment; Joint Operating Agreements; Media Ownership

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News Pools

See Press Pools

Newsprint

Newsprint refers to the low-quality, nonarchival type of paper normally used to publish newspapers. Made from wood pulp, it is thin enough to be economically manufactured, but thick enough to be printed on both sides. Combined with advances in the technology of printing presses, the availability of low-cost newsprint beginning in the 1840s allowed newspaper publishers to offer their product at prices affordable by the working class. The first American newspaper to be printed exclusively on newsprint was the *Boston Weekly Journal,* commencing in January 1863. The majority of people could now afford to buy a paper on a regular basis, making newspapers a true "mass medium."

Origins

Charles Fenerty of Halifax, Nova Scotia, is generally credited with making the first newsprint paper from wood fiber in 1838. He had been hired by a local paper mill to maintain an adequate supply of cotton and linen rags (then used to make paper), but could not supply enough used and discarded clothing in such a thinly populated region. Experimenting with materials, Fenerty discovered a process of grinding softwood waste from lumber mills that kept the long fibers in the wood intact. The resultant wood fiber was found to be a suitable substitute for the cotton or linen (flax) fibers previously used to make paper.

A German engineer, F. G. Keller, developed specialized mechanical pulping machinery in the 1840s. Chemical methods of extracting the wood fiber quickly followed, first with Englishman James Roth's use of sulfurous acid to break down wood, followed by Philadelphia chemist Benjamin C. Tilghman's 1867 American patent on the use of calcium bisulfate to pulp wood. Tilghman's process involved heating a mix of wood chips, water, and chemicals to separate the fibers. Almost a decade later, the first commercial sulfite pulp mill began operation in Sweden. By 1900, the chemical pulping of softwoods such as pine had become the primary method of producing newsprint, although mechanical pulping plants continued in operation.

The alternative chemical pulping approach using sodium sulfate, the kraft process, was developed by German inventor Carl Dahl in 1879 and the first kraft mill opened in 1885 in Sweden. The resulting paper pulp was much stronger and more durable than previously, and hence the process was termed "kraft" (German for "strength"). Although the kraft process creates a brown paper (used for cardboard, bags, wrapping paper, etc.), bleaching it makes newsprint. The invention of the recovery boiler in 1930 by American engineer George Tomlinson allowed kraft mills to recycle almost all of their pulping chemicals, a significant cost savings. This, along with the ability of the kraft process to treat a wider variety of wood types and produce stronger fibers, made it the dominant pulping process by the late 1940s.

Pulp used in manufacturing newsprint at the Southland Paper mill in Lufkin, Texas, around 1943.

Source: Library of Congress.

Making Newsprint

Although simplified and improved by the coming of steam power (as early as 1857 Swedish mills were using steam-driven grinders and refiners) and later electricity (beginning in 1902 at the Hudson River Mill in New York state), Fenerty's process remains the basis for making newsprint. New-growth trees raised specifically for pulp or waste timber is debarked and ground into wood chips. These then pass through a digester (for chemical pulping) or refiner (mechanical pulping) that separates the wood fibers from the rest of the cellulose. The fibers are combined with large quantities of water, creating a pulp mixture (about the consistency of oatmeal). Passing over screens and mesh belts, water is drained away to leave a wet fiber mat. Finally, the fiber mat is fed into presses; the fibers bond as the last of the water is squeezed out. Drying is completed with steam heat, and the result is a low-grade paper suitable for a variety of uses.

The paper is then wound around rolls. A standard roll of newsprint is about 3.3 feet tall and weighs between 800 and 900 pounds and averages about 36,000 linear feet of paper. A newspaper roll's width is referred to as the "web" and is defined by how many pages can be printed on it. Faced with dwindling revenue, newspapers—particularly the traditional full-size or broadsheet publications—have begun downsizing the web used on their presses. Modern presses print broadsheet sections in multiples of eight pages (with four fronts and four backs); thus the newsprint rolls used are defined by the width necessary to print four pages across. By 2000, the broadsheet standard in the United States was the 48-inch web, which means that each page is 12 inches wide. Interest in the new standard increased when *The Wall Street Journal* announced in January 2007 that it would abandon its iconic 60-inch web (15-inch-wide format) in favor of a 12-inch-wide format.

Newsprint manufacturing underwent a technological revolution in the late 1980s when several processes for "de-inking" paper were developed. In the de-inking process, waste paper is fed into a pulper and combined with hot water and various chemicals, which vary from mill to mill. Caustic soda, soda ash, silicate of soda, phosphates, and surfactants are all used; some mills have started to use enzymes and electric fields to separate the ink from the paper. Afterward, the paper pulp is screened and rinsed to remove the dispersed ink and chemicals. Without de-inking, recycled newsprint would be coarse and grayish in color, useless for printing.

Since 1990 the recycling of newspapers has doubled. The American Forest & Paper Association reported that 71 percent of newspapers were recovered for recycling in 2004 and that more than a third of this was used to make new newsprint. The shift from "virgin fiber" in newsprint was driven by laws passed in several states, and voluntary agreements negotiated in others, requiring newsprint consumers—primarily the major market daily newspapers—to use recycled paper.

Newsprint is relatively inexpensive (compared to other grades of paper) because it is produced without the processes that can remove lignin, and other impurities such as tannin and resin, from the pulp. Lignin is a polymer in the wood fibers that makes timber stiff and allows trees to grow to significant height, and helps protect wood from insect pests and other threats. It represents about 16 to 35 percent of the impurities in softwood, depending on the type of tree. But lignin also causes newsprint to eventually turn brittle because of oxidation. Lignin molecules, when exposed to oxygen, become less stable and the fibers become more rigid. Lignin also absorbs light, which conversely makes newsprint darken, leading newspapers to "yellow" with time. Storing newspapers in a dark, stable environment of 60 to 70 degrees Fahrenheit and 40 to 50 percent humidity will slow the rate of deterioration. To make better grades of paper, the mills put the wood pulp through a chemical solvent process, which separates the lignin from the fibers, and then bleach the pulp before the water is removed. Increasingly, newsprint is made from recycled paper; in 2006, more than half of the world's newsprint production was from recycled fiber pulp.

Recycling

However, challenges remain for recycling newsprint. Local governments across North America are turning increasingly to a "single stream" method of collecting residential and commercial recyclables. This allows people to throw all recyclables—bottles, cans, plastics and paper—into a single recycling container. The materials are then sorted out at "materials resource facilities." Newsprint mills have found that this contaminates and stains the newspapers, which leads to difficulties in recovering useable pulp fiber.

In addition, there are discrepancies in the meaning of "recycled content" in newsprint. In its 1988 Comprehensive Purchasing Guidelines, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) required a minimum of 40 percent of used, or "postconsumer," fiber in newsprint, consistent with several state's recycling laws or agreements at the time. But in the 1995 revisions to the guidelines, EPA dropped its minimum to 20 percent. Meanwhile, a number of states, notably California, contributed to the confusion by passing laws requiring newspapers to buy recycled newsprint with increasing amounts of postconsumer fiber, but these laws defined "postconsumer" differently. Some limited the term to materials that had been used and discarded by readers; California's newsprint law, passed in 1991 (and revised in 2002), included printers' scraps, undistributed newspapers, and mill waste in its definition of "postconsumer." The distinction may be unimportant, however, as a 2006 survey by the Institute of Scrap Recycling Industries found that most newsprint mills were not, in fact, tracking postconsumer content at all.

Global production of newsprint in 2006 was 175 million tons, with Canada being the largest producer at 21 percent of the total followed by the United States with 16 percent. Sweden, Japan, China, and Russia are also major sources of newsprint. Chemical pulping accounted for 93 percent of the world's newsprint. Although considerable quantities of newsprint in Canadian and Scandinavian mills continue to be produced from virgin fiber (mostly softwoods), the worldwide recycling rate of newsprint was nearly 60 percent in 2006.

Almost 80 percent of newsprint production in North America is consumed by daily newspapers. Because of this, major publishers such as *The Washington Post* and News Corp. own equity interest in paper mills or own a specific paper machine in a mill. This relationship was more common in the past as newspapers tried to secure a reliable and cost-effective source of newsprint, but in recent years many have divested themselves of newsprint mills. In April 2008, for instance, the Times Mirror Company, publisher of the *Los Angeles Times,* began seeking a buyer for two mills in Oregon, after having sold another in 1985; earlier in the year, the New York Times Company announced that it had reached an agreement to sell its joint interest in the Spruce Falls Power & Paper Company, a Canadian paper mill. Most daily newspapers are instead establishing direct purchasing agreements with newsprint mills or through broker arrangements.

For the balance of newsprint users—publishers of weekly newspapers, advertising inserts and flyers, campus newspapers, shoppers guides, telephone books, and others—the paper is obtained through commercial printers or through broker arrangements if the quantity is large. The federal government uses newsprint for printing its daily periodicals, *Federal Register* and *Congressional Record,* and a number of other publications; it obtains the paper from commercial mills operating under government contract. Large commercial printers with web presses usually stock newsprint as a standard item for customers.

Despite demand and technological advances, newsprint production has been declining. According to the annual report of the Pulp and Paper Products Council, production of newsprint in North America dropped nearly 5 percent in 2007. Observers of the industry blame this, in large part, on surplus manufacturing capacity at a time of declining domestic demand as the readership of daily newspapers continues to drop. Although export of Canadian and American newsprint to developing markets around the globe has helped, prices for newsprint have been increasing since 2006, reaching an average American price of $675 per ton as of January 2008. (The record price of $743 per ton [in 2008 dollars] in the American market was reached in September 1995.)

While the advent of broadcast and online news has decreased the public's reliance on newspapers, according to the Earth Works Group at Portland State University, Americans throw away the equivalent of 30 million trees in newsprint each year. Even with improved papermaking technology, a higher recycling rate, and more efficient replanting, it takes about 17 pulpwood market-sized trees to make a ton of newsprint. Bearing these figures in mind, the international pulpwood industry is developing methods to improve its sustainability through better forest management and harvesting; among the leading nations in this effort are Indonesia, Finland, and Australia, which all boast totally sustainable pulp production. The American Forest and Paper Association has committed its member companies "to sustain and expand a renewable resource that will meet future consumer demand at competitive prices."

Although some newspapers use higher quality paper—such as "improved newsprint," glossy or

coated paper, or directory paper—most newspaper publishers continue to rely on traditional newsprint. Manufactured in bulk on rolls compatible with web presses, newsprint has been essential to bringing the news to the public at an affordable price since the days of the penny press. Despite declines in production and increasing prices of pulpwood, the U.S. Office of Industries consumption reports predict an average rate of increase of two percent per year for newsprint and kraft paper for the foreseeable future. Until society is truly paperless, there will be newsprint.

Rex A. Martin

See also Broadsheet Newspapers; Printing; Tabloid Newspapers; Type and Typography

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News Radio

See Talk and News Radio

Newsreels

For the first half of the twentieth century, long before television broadcasting existed, motion pictures of newsworthy events were shown in theaters around the world. These were called newsreels and were released serially, with two different issues a week, into more than 15,000 theaters in the United States alone and tens of thousands more abroad. They appeared in American theaters from 1911 to 1967 and for a few years thereafter in some other countries.

Each motion picture newsreel issue ran eight to ten minutes in length and contained seven or eight unrelated stories, each separated from the others by a newspaper-type headline. The subject matter was as diverse as could be found in a daily newspaper, and included politics, war, technology, celebrities, crime, disasters, the arts, parades, celebrations, sports, fashion, feature stories, and novelties.

Origins

Before there were newsreels, there were *news films*—individual motion picture records of newsworthy events, presented in theaters as isolated attractions whenever opportunity allowed. Among the many individual stories covered by the early news films were sports events in 1894, the Boer War in 1899, the funeral of Queen Victoria in 1901, and the San Francisco earthquake and fire in 1906.

In 1909 the French firm of Pathé combined several news film stories into single issues, released serially. Titled the *Pathé Journal,* it was a regularly released collection of timely and newsworthy scenes, with weekly changes in content. Pathé's newsreel was introduced in France in 1909 and in England in 1910. On August 8, 1911, Pathé introduced an American version under the title *Pathé Weekly.* Ten days later, an indigenously produced series was introduced in America by the Vitagraph Company, titled *The Vitagraph Weekly of Current Events.* In the years that followed, more than 50 different newsreels went in and out of business in the United States alone, on national, regional, or local levels. Only a handful survived for long.

Economics

The newsreel was part of a package of two or three short subjects that accompanied feature films, furnished at low cost by major film distributors to their exhibitors. Short subjects included newsreels, comedies, travelogues, cartoons, informational films, and sports events, each running about ten minutes and presented between the screenings of the feature film(s). Whatever a

particular package of short subjects might include, it always contained a newsreel, the screening of which became a permanent part of the motion picture exhibition business into the 1950s before declining and disappearing by the mid 1960s.

By the early 1930s, five major motion picture companies monopolized the American film industry: Paramount, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Warner Bros., RKO Radio Pictures, and Twentieth Century Fox. Exhibitors (theaters) were obliged to contract for a block of feature films in advance of exhibition, without the opportunity of viewing them and sometimes before the films were even produced. To some extent, this monopolistic influence extended abroad as well. World War I had destroyed much of the European film industry, leaving an economic vacuum into which American studios and their films soon moved. For decades thereafter, the American film industry achieved preeminence worldwide, both artistically and financially.

By the time sound motion pictures had been successfully introduced, beginning in the late 1920s, five American newsreels dominated the American market and much of the foreign market as well, each of them owned by one of the large American film companies: Paramount News, Fox Movietone News, Universal News, Pathé News (later, RKO Pathé and then Warner-Pathé) and Hearst Metrotone News (later News of the Day, released by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer). So popular were newsreels with audiences that from the late 1920s through the late 1940s specialized theaters operated in many cities throughout the world that displayed only newsreels, information films, and related short subjects.

Despite their popularity with audiences, however, short subjects, including newsreels, were of little financial importance to the film industry. By far the largest portion of revenues were derived from feature films. With rare exceptions, short subjects never made a profit for their studios and were provided at low cost as a service to exhibitors to round out their programs. As such, although domestic American newsreels and their foreign versions were seen throughout the world, they enjoyed very little respect from their owners and were frequently criticized by print journalists, who ridiculed their simplistic coverage, sometimes gee-whiz tone, and sophomoric humor. They were often filled with thrills and laughter, but often little real news substance. Even so, for the first half of the twentieth century, before the introduction of commercial television, the newsreel was the only form of moving image journalism that existed in the world, and depending upon its subject matter, the newsreel sometimes competed effectively with the photojournalistic coverage of newspapers and magazines.

American newsreel companies set up foreign news bureaus with scores of staff and freelance cameramen who shipped millions of feet of film each year to New York City, where all five companies operated their headquarters. Fox Movietone News, the largest and best financed of the American newsreels, had cameramen in 51 countries. Foreign-language versions of American newsreels were released abroad where they were seen by millions of spectators. Fox Movietone alone was reported to exhibit its semi-weekly newsreel in 47 foreign countries in more than a dozen languages.

At the height of their popularity, newsreels reached an enormous weekly audience of 40 million people in the United States alone, while the potential annual international audience for newsreels of both American and foreign production was estimated by a 1952 UNESCO study to number more than 215 million people (Baechlin 1952). Whatever its journalistic inadequacies, the newsreel had a profound influence in providing the imagery with which, for a few decades, audiences visualized and interpreted the world's events, personalities, and distant locales, all of which were inaccessible at first hand to most citizens. As one historian of the medium has observed, "It was often shallow, trivial and even fraudulent. But sometimes it was wonderful—filled with vivid, unforgettable pictures and sounds of the people, events, wonders and horrors which the free people of this century did their best to understand and confront" (Fielding 1972).

Censorship

Newsreels were often censored by governments. During the 1930s, American newsreels were banned outright in the Soviet Union, Nazi Germany, and the fascist states of Italy, Spain, and Japan—each of which often provided its own newsreels for domestic use. They were also sometimes censored in democratic countries such as England, France, Canada, and Australia and were even censored occasionally in the United States.

Newsreel coverage of World War II was extensive. Most of the footage was photographed by combat cameramen in the armed forces and made available to newsreel companies for inclusion in their films. Content was closely controlled by military authorities, however. Shocking scenes of the destruction of the Pacific fleet at Pearl Harbor were withheld for nearly a year, while scenes of dead and wounded American soldiers were rarely shown.

Content

The newsreel was a fundamentally visual medium, dependent on high-quality, complete, well-edited moving picture images to tell its story in a very short time. As with today's television or cable news services, without pictures there was not much of a story. With eight or nine sequences running less than a minute each, the newsreel thrived on subjects having high-velocity, recognizable visual action. The medium was unsuited for the investigation and analysis of abstract ideas, complicated political events, or economic or social trends. It could illustrate the consequences of an economic depression with images of bread lines, soup kitchens, political confrontations, and labor-management violence, but it was ill equipped to analyze the causes and theoretical remedies for such events.

Throughout the course of the form's popularity, newsreel content, although influenced by shifting domestic and international events, remained fairly predictable. Researcher Leo Handel conducted a content analysis in 1950 that reported that in the wartime year of 1943, 74 percent of all newsreel footage released was devoted to a combination of (a) government news, (b) national-defense news, (c) news of war in Europe, and (d) news of war in the Pacific. Sports news dropped from 26 percent in 1939 to 9 percent in 1943 (Fielding 1972).

Political Bias

Newsreels were occasionally accused of political propagandizing. In some countries, such as Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, indigenously produced newsreels were plainly operated as propaganda outlets in the service of the state. In the United States, the *Hearst Metrotone Newsreel* (*News of the Day*) was most frequently criticized for presenting a conservative point of view, while the *Pathé News* was charged with a liberal bias. For the most part, however, American newsreels sought to avoid upsetting its audiences with controversial subject matter. Trade paper editorials within the film industry cautioned newsreel producers to avoid compromising audiences' impression of the motion picture theater as an escape from the bitter realities of life.

The exhibitor's point of view was clearly stated in 1937 by Martin Quigley, owner and editor-in-chief of the influential trade paper, *Motion Picture Herald:* "[N]ewsreels have no social obligation beyond those of the amusement industry and theatres they are supposed to serve. Newsreels have an obligation, if they are to be purveyed as entertainment in theatres, to be entertaining. They have no obligation to be important [or] informative. They can successfully present neither one side, both sides, nor the middle of any social condition or issue" (Fielding 1972).

The March of Time

In 1935, a radically different kind of motion picture news feature appeared in both American and foreign theaters. It was a quasi-newsreel, titled *The March of Time,* and was produced by the publishers of *Time* and *Fortune* magazines. Running a full 20 minutes, it explored political, economic, cultural, technological, racial social, public health, and military issues, often in considerable detail. Its most unusual feature was its combining authentic newsreel footage with staged scenes of events that had actually occurred but which had not been photographed by newsreel cameras.

The March of Time producers used both professional and amateur actors and re-created sets of various locales. The series soon became so popular that celebrities portrayed themselves on film, re-creating events in which they had participated. The technique was similar to that employed years later in the production of television docudramas, except that *The March of Time* did not identify its footage as having been re-created with impersonators.

Unusually bold for its time, it attacked political nostrums, ridiculed pomposity in public figures, and made pungent, oftentimes hilarious comments on current events. Illuminating the twilight zone between journalism and propaganda, *The March of Time* was consistently antifascist at a time when cautious motion picture producers generally avoided controversial subject matter. Miraculously,

it survived in theaters for 16 years, from 1935 to 1951, the only regularly released commercial motion picture series to consistently present controversial subject matter.

Decline and Disappearance

In the years immediately following World War II, the American motion picture industry suffered a sudden and precipitous decline in revenues as people found themselves able to enjoy other recreations and entertainments unavailable during the war. Many motion picture theaters closed their doors and studios looked for ways to cut production costs. Newsreels, never having made a penny for their owners, were among the first to go. Further, with each passing year it became apparent that newsreels could not compete successfully with the much more rapid and thorough coverage of the broadcast news media, especially via the relatively new medium of television.

One by one, each of the great American newsreel companies closed down. The last of these to go in the United States was Universal News, which ceased production in December 1967. That was the end of the American newsreel, perhaps the only major medium of communication that ever closed is doors and went completely out of business.

Archival Value

Although the newsreel has disappeared, at least in the form of semiweekly issues released for showing in motion picture theaters, a good deal of an estimated half billion feet of film photographed by American cameramen alone survives in archives throughout the world. Scorned by print journalists and depreciated by its owners during its lifetime, the newsreel has, following its operational demise, become a valuable resource for the historical study of the twentieth century. It has also acquired considerable economic value as the raw material out of which new documentary features can be fashioned for television. Some of the most interesting of such footage consists of "outtakes"—scenes which were photographed by cameramen but which, for one reason or another, did not find their way into finished newsreel releases.

Regrettably, a somewhat cavalier attitude is frequently taken by documentary editors in selecting newsreel footage to illustrate points being made by the narrator and to bridge gaps in the film's continuity: historical accuracy is often skewed through the editing and positioning of particular shots and scenes. As a consequence, historians have grown more cautious in recent years in their examination of so-called archival documentaries and the newsreel materials from which they are made.

Raymond Fielding

See also Docudrama; Documentaries, Motion Picture; Entertainment; Film in Television News; Natural Disasters, Coverage of; Photography; Photojournalists; Television News Magazines; War and Military Journalism

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Newsroom Culture

Newsroom culture refers to the assimilation of unwritten workplace rules and shared assumptions regarding values, beliefs and practices. Unlike climate, which can vary between organizations and change with each leader, newsroom culture is embedded into the customs and mores of the profession and evolves gradually. Culture is a sociological feature of all workplaces, a function of human interaction.

What makes newsroom culture significant is its influence on how news is defined and reported. Journalists have norms that govern behavior, such as acceptance of minor deceptions to obtain a story or uneven treatment of presidential candidates

during primary elections based on who is deemed to have a chance of getting elected. Because these foundational beliefs are seldom articulated, journalists rarely discuss newsroom culture or acknowledge its influence on their everyday routines. Therefore, most writing about newsroom culture comes not from journalists, but from sociologists and academics studying workplace behavior, and analyzing the tension between autonomy and conformity.

The primary hallmarks of newsroom culture are competition and a situational ethic that justifies getting the story. Newsroom morale depends on competition. Television journalists measure their effectiveness by Nielsen ratings and celebrate the "get," an exclusive interview. Long before websites and portable satellite uplinks enabled 24/7 news operations, journalists chased after breaking news and strove to beat competitors by minutes. Getting stories first also justifies inaccuracies; newsrooms generally believe it is better to report the story in a timely manner and get a few details wrong than it is to ensure every detail is accurate and get beaten. Competition also exists within organizations. Television's pay scales encourage an up-or-out career path in which journalists expect to stay at a station for no more than a year or two, build a demo tape and jump to a larger market—a competition that creates a newsroom culture with shallow geographic roots. Some newspapers pit starting journalists against each other in undesirable beats or less prestigious departments to see who will sink or swim. Such competitions reinforce the other enduring facet of newsroom culture, that the story trumps most other considerations. Journalists may debate the ethical ramifications of practices such as hidden cameras and weigh the potential harmful effects of a story, but they ultimately give the story itself preeminence, a thumb on the scales in favor of publication or broadcast. If the story is important, journalists feel little compunction about using stolen or leaked documents such as the Pentagon Papers, and so long as they themselves did not commit theft to get the documents. Newsrooms are factories designed to supply news for the next news show or edition and thus have an incentive to place the story ahead of other considerations.

Development

Newsroom culture has evolved as a result of media economics, the professionalism of journalism, and social forces. Newspapers, which began as one-person operations, continued to reflect their owners even when they became larger operations as advances in machinery and the urbanization of America made large-circulation papers feasible. The press lords of the nineteenth century, such as James Gordon Bennett (1795–1872). William Randolph Hearst (1863–1951), and Joseph Pulitzer (1847–1911), molded their newspapers in their images. Even in the twentieth century, a Hearst newspaper had a different feel than one run by Col. Robert McCormick (1880–1955) in Chicago (*Chicago Tribune*), Harry Chandler (1864–1944) in Los Angeles (*Los Angeles Times*) or John S. Knight (1894–1981) in Detroit (*Detroit Free Press*). In some cases, editors imbued their newspapers with unusual climates, such as when Barney Kilgore (1908–67) built *The Wall Street Journal* into a national force or Gene Roberts (1932–) transformed the *Philadelphia Inquirer* from a second-tier newspaper in its own town into one of the nation's top five dailies, according to a *Time* magazine ranking, by instilling a risk-taking culture that embraced pranks like bringing a camel into the newsroom.

In some cases, systems have lasted over time. For example, *The New York Times,* which for years has invested a fair amount of authority in its editing "bullpen," is regarded as an editor's newspaper, while *The Washington Post* bestows more authority to individual reporters and grants editors less leverage. But while the locus of power may last several decades, and although the impact of individual editors, news directors, and producers is undeniable, these distinctive characteristics may not be durable. The more pervasive and ubiquitous nature of newsroom culture evolves more slowly, and primarily from economics, education, and society.

The strength of press lords and other powerful figures waned into the twentieth century because of inheritance taxes and the inevitable thinning of family bloodlines. Families such as the Ochs-Sulzberger line that has guided *The New York Times* since 1896 are rare; more common are the Knights, Chandlers, and Bancrofts that relinquished control to Wall Street or sold outright. At the start of the twentieth century, the ratio between family and corporate ownership was about four-to-one; by the end of the century, that relationship had been reversed. As newspapers turned into public companies, they increasingly were run by

professional managers with marginal journalistic credentials, and Al Neuharth (1924–) of media company Gannett exemplified a push to raise operating margins and quarterly earnings to boost stock prices. These economic emphases changed newsroom culture from one dominated by the eccentricities of its owners to one standardized by group ownership while embracing marketing techniques such as audience surveys and business terminology like "return on investment." Newspaper chains valued having publishers and editors who could move between newspapers every three to five years, rather than stay at one location for decades, which in turn produced a uniformity in newsroom culture.

This economic-induced homogenization paralleled rising professionalism. The American Society of Newspaper Editors was formed in 1922 partly to establish ethical standards for newspaper journalism and thus imbue newsroom culture with a sense of craft. Journalism turned away from the excesses of sensationalism that marked the end of the nineteenth century by emphasizing the training and development of journalists, including the first collegiate program (at the University of Missouri) in 1908. The rough-and-tumble era exemplified by the play and movie *The Front Page* was being replaced by a white-collar mentality. The audience was becoming more educated, too. A public that once saw newspapers as primarily entertainment vehicles, embracing moon hoax stories and lurid tales of debauchery, expected its newspapers to supply serious and truthful accounts of an increasingly complex world. In turn, newspapers, led by *The New York Times,* began to transfer power from the publisher to the reporter. No longer could a publisher's parochial or partisan vision be sufficient to meet the expectations of the audience; newspapers needed educated and capable reporters to summarize events and challenge official pronouncements. Thus, the newsroom culture was changed from one that reflected its owner to one that prized independence and autonomy. Rather than take its cues from the owner's preferences, the newsroom saw itself as a profession defined by peers.

The situation was different for television, which from its inception was controlled by networks dependent on advertising. Even CBS broadcaster Edward R. Murrow (1908–65), who set the standards for the new medium, allowed a show's sponsor to dictate the choice of broadcaster host, though not the content. Further, the ability of television to reach vast numbers of people, and to stir emotions in a way no printed product could, gave it so much power that broadcasters were more cautious than they had been on radio. As author David Halberstam noted in *The Powers That Be* (1997), television networks, from their inception, decided unconsciously that they would be judicious in their use of power and limit the autonomy of news programs—so much so that Lyndon Johnson once observed that Walter Cronkite (1916–2009) would have been the most powerful person in America if he would have said on television what he said on radio. Television's power limited the autonomy of its practitioners.

A third factor affecting newsroom culture has been social change precipitated by the civil rights movement, which in turn spawned the second wave of feminism. After race riots broke out in dozens of U.S. cities, the Kerner Commission in 1968 scolded the news media, with its lily-white newsrooms, for providing a distorted picture of life in America. The situation was equally dire when viewed through the lens of gender: females were relegated to women's sections in newspapers and were virtually nonexistent in television. Antidiscrimination laws and regulations, enforced by the Federal Communications Commission for broadcasters, and a consensus that newsroom employment should reflect the communities they serve, gradually resulted in more diverse newsrooms. Women moved into the city room and assumed decision-making positions; his-and-her anchors became the norm in local television. However, social change did not completely transform the newsroom, even into the twenty-first century. Television prefers women who are young and attractive, and daily newspaper employment has never approached gender parity. Religion is often a blind spot in U.S. newsrooms, exemplified by *The Washington Post*'s 1993 front-page description of evangelical Christians as "largely poor, uneducated and easy to command," a pejorative phrase that should have triggered alarms during the editing process. Some critics such as Bernard Goldberg in *Bias* and William McGowan in *Coloring the News* have argued that journalism's embrace of diversity has been selective and resulted in errors born from a liberal bias. While most journalists have rejected those criticisms, they are more than three times more likely to have a college degree than the audiences

they serve and, especially in urban markets, are often paid more than the median per-capita wage. In short, newsrooms tend to be more elite than their communities, validating the Kerner Commission critique.

Autonomy and Conformity

Throughout its evolution, newsroom culture has been the product of two seemingly contradictory ideas: autonomy and conformity. A hallmark of any profession is the autonomy granted practitioners. For journalists, that autonomy is seen as a necessary check on the influence of advertisers and the powerful. Yet journalism is also practiced in social settings in which peers guide behavior—not only because human beings are socialized creatures but also because journalists depend on consensus to define news and set ethical boundaries. Competing television networks, for example, scrutinize each other's evening newscasts, wanting to stand out from the others but not by much; they need their coverage decisions and priorities to be similar enough to affirm their definitions of news. The tension between autonomy and conformity is heightened in the United States by the fact that the news reporting system is privately owned. Journalists serve a business purpose, to create and hold audiences, even as they assert they have a church–state relationship with the business side of the operation.

Starting in the 1950s, sociologists such as Warren Breed, Gaye Tuchman, and Herbert Gans identified the mix of autonomy and conformity in newsroom culture by observing journalists at work for extended periods. They found that even new staffers were attuned to the preferences of management, writing their stories to match whatever appeared in print and avoiding subjects that appeared to be taboo. Newsrooms are often run on a star system, and those afforded such status are granted much greater autonomy; in television stations, anchors—often referred to as "talent"—wield enormous authority to define and prioritize news. Gans, who studied CBS, NBC, *Time,* and *Newsweek* in the 1970s, was struck by how much those journalists relied on each day's *New York Times* to define news, even as they insisted they made news judgments independently; they seemed oblivious to the conformity encouraged by the news bureaucracy. Tuchman found that newsrooms valued collegiality so highly that decision makers consciously apportioned prized front-page space fairly evenly among various sections rather than by merit. Several studies have shown that newsroom culture crosses organizational lines, such that competing city hall reporters share coverage ideas and story framing in a self-reinforcing mechanism to define news.

Journalistic core ideologies affirm the value of autonomy. Two of the *Elements of Journalism* identified by Kovach and Rosenstiel in their widely embraced 2001 book involve autonomy: independence from sources and freedom to exercise personal conscience. Journalists often view the mid-1970s' Watergate scandal as an exemplar of the value of autonomy: unheralded *Washington Post* reporters Carl Bernstein (1944–) and Bob Woodward (1943–) doggedly pursuing a story that few at their own newspaper and even fewer in a city teeming with journalists thought worth chasing. Yet journalists rarely acknowledge that conformity constrains autonomy. As President, Franklin Roosevelt adroitly used peer pressure to shape what the White House reporters covered. The FBI sought to discredit Martin Luther King Jr. in the 1960s by showing journalists evidence of King's extramarital dalliances, and many journalists knew that President Kennedy had paramours in the White House. No journalist chose to print or air those stories because newsroom culture at the time deemed the private lives of public individuals to not be newsworthy. That would change dramatically just a few years later, when the indiscretions of U.S. Representative Wilbur Mills and presidential candidate Gary Hart became major news stories. As *Rolling Stone* reporter Timothy Crouse documented in *The Boys on the Bus,* a behind-the-scenes look at reporters covering the 1972 presidential election, editors expected their political reporters to follow similar angles on stories and expressed concern if their reporter's version of a campaign event was markedly different than that of the wire services.

Conclusion

Journalists rarely discuss newsroom culture or acknowledge its existence because most of culture is implicit in newswork routines, yet it shapes how news is defined and pursued. At its core, newsroom

culture is a product of tension between autonomy and conformity, between the independence granted individual practitioners and journalism's need for consensus in determining what news is. As journalism enters a new era in which traditional boundaries between mediums are blurred by online convergence, newsroom culture may evolve further but will continue to be marked by an emphasis on competition and the supremacy of the story.

Norman P. Lewis

See also Consultants, News; Credibility; Editing, Newspaper; Editors' Organizations; Ethics; Hard Versus Soft News; News Values; Objectivity; Plagiarism; Professionalism; Reporters' Organizations; Self-Regulation

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News Syndication

News syndicates license content for use in newspapers and on websites. Separate companies syndicate programming for broadcasters. Wire services, which focus on breaking news, have traditionally been treated as a separate industry from news syndication. However, the consolidating environment of recent decades has seen growing overlap between the two. The industry's leading syndication firms in the twenty-first century included the Associated Press (AP), Tribune Media Services (TMS), New York Times Syndicate, Washington Post Writers Group, Creators Syndicate, King Features, and Universal Press Syndicate.

Syndicator products include news, opinion pieces, reviews, advice columns, crosswords, comics, and nearly anything else that can fill a news hole. Syndicates allow their clients to offer an array of content and spread the cost of expensive features across a large number of subscribers. Syndicated material can detract from a media outlet's communal qualities, however, when nationally homogenized content is substituted for locally distinct material. Indeed, news syndicates—which furnish everything from political opinion to horoscopes—have been more responsible than any other source for giving newspapers their character. The popular orientation of much syndicated fare—whether through bridge columns in the 1920s or adventure travel columns today—serves to enmesh news outlets within the broader cultural fabric of their times.

Early Development

While today's new syndicates are institutionally rooted in three distinct branches of the nineteenth-century news business—the wire services, stereotype-plate sales firms, and feature syndicates—the general idea of sharing news content goes back to the start of periodical publishing in seventeenth-century Europe. Throughout the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, newspaper publishers shared stories by mailing issues to one another. One of the Post Office's founding mandates was to facilitate this practice through subsidies and extensive network of routes. The Postal Act of 1792 set newspaper mailing rates at a fraction of what it cost to send personal correspondence.

The 1840s were a pivotal decade in the development of news sharing practices. Heightened competition among the "penny press" dailies spurred publishers to seek out faster ways of procuring more news. They commissioned pony and railroad express services to rush home the European intelligence washing into Northeastern ports, plus political news from Washington, D.C. These businessmen almost immediately recognized the utility of the telegraph for sending news at lightning

speeds. As wires were strung across the eastern states in the mid-1840s, a group of New York papers consolidated their express and telegraph activities as a cost-saving measure. This group, dubbed the Associated Press (AP), soon realized that the same wires that brought the news to New York could also be used to disseminate news back out into the hinterlands. The AP began packaging news from abroad with rewritten items from newspapers across the United States and selling it as a package to clients.

The cooperative's power grew over the next three decades as it forged a close partnership with telegraph giant Western Union and monopolized journalistic use of the new transatlantic cables. Similar agencies emerged overseas, as Reuters (Britain), Havas (France), and Wolff (Germany) formed a cartel to control news-gathering activities across Europe and colonial Asia and Africa. While the wire services would become their own industry, they sped the move toward newspaper content as a commodity that could be formulaically packaged and distributed.

Amidst this entrepreneurial climate, a number of publishers began experimenting with selling readymade news content in the form of printed inserts and stereotypes. *New York Sun* publisher Moses Yale Beach printed copies of the President's 1841 State of the Union address for smaller papers in the region, swapping out the masthead for each of his clients. In 1847, Vermont publisher Edgar Kimball commissioned a paper in Boston to print copies of the President's address on one side of a broadsheet. Upon receiving the copies, he printed his own news and advertisements on the other side. The practice spread west over the next two decades as frontier publishers looked to larger neighbors for printed news pages—usually placed inside the paper. A group of Wisconsin publishers, led by Ansel Nash Kellogg, started a booming trade in advertising-laden news pages called "readyprint," collecting revenue from small-town publishers hungry for content and businesses eager to reach a larger, more geographically dispersed, public.

Kellogg broke away after the Civil War and moved to Chicago to find his own business—A. N. Kellogg Newspaper Company—specializing in readyprint. Kellogg's pages, which featured fiction and novelty items, were designed to appeal to a wide audience and avoid the pitfalls of timeliness. By 1870, the company supplied nearly two hundred newspapers, and Kellogg had exchanged its one-size-fits-all model for more customized pages that could reflect a subscriber's political leanings. The industry expanded rapidly over the next decade. Kellogg, and chief competitor Chicago Newspaper Union, hired editorial staffs to write both national and local news. The syndicates also struck deals with popular writers to serialize their new works and experimented with images. The two companies also launched aggressive industry consolidation campaigns, buying up regional competitors in the East, Midwest, and South to push their subscription lists into the thousands. A third industry giant, the Western Newspaper Union, expanded rapidly in that direction as settlers pushed toward the Pacific.

As the syndication businesses grew, a prejudice formed against readyprint. Critics saw something sinister in papers that were supposedly expressions of a local community but were in actuality products of distant regional hubs. They worried that the practice would lead to a national network of homogenized papers. The Chicago Fire of 1871 focused national attention on the issue as towns across the Midwest went without newspapers when pages intended for them went up in flames. Congress came close the following year to reclassifying the readyprint newspapers so as to revoke their postal subsidies. The syndicates were able to fight off the challenge, but the stigma against readyprint remained a formidable barrier to greater industry growth.

Introduction of Features

The introduction of stereotype sales in the 1870s helped erode that barrier. Syndicates upgraded their facilities to churn out mass-produced plates bearing serials, children's stories, recipes, gossip columns, and other features that were common to urban papers but, until then, too expensive for the country press. Publishers that spurned readyprint were more open to stereotyped features that they could seamlessly work into their own layouts. William Allen White, for instance, regularly purchased plates from A. N. Kellogg to keep typesetting costs down and offer a wider variety of content in his western Kansas *Emporia Gazette*. Syndicates like Kellogg allowed small-town editors like White

to adorn their papers with stylistic fonts, images, and ornate borders that they would never have been able to produce in their simple print shops.

The syndicates built up stables of marquee writers, as well, and promoted them to urban papers in the 1880s. The market for popular columns and serials attracted a number of ambitious young businessmen—including Irving Bacheller, S. S. McClure, and Edward W. Bok—who started their own syndicates specializing in content for Sunday newspaper supplements and would immediately go on to building mass magazines. In this sense, the news syndicates were something of a laboratory for magazines, such as *McClure's* and Bok's *Ladies Home Journal,* that would become the nation's first truly national media. Over the next quarter century, the syndication business experienced phenomenal growth as newspapers and readerships expanded. New businesses sprouted up to license everything from William Allen White's observations to the German Kaiser's diaries.

The bustling trade in features did not go unnoticed by the era's biggest press barons—William Randolph Hearst, Joseph Pulitzer, and E. W. Scripps—who perhaps better than anyone recognized the value of newspaper content with mass appeal. Newspaper reading for many Americans of the era was first and foremost a leisure activity and they sought out papers that offered the greatest entertainment value. Hearst and his cohort attracted legions of novice readers by filling their papers with gossip columns, women's pages, sports commentary, comic strips, and other innovations. Sunday supplements—bulging with nearly one hundred pages of serials, columns, rotogravures, and color comics—took this approach to newspaper publishing to its extreme. The cornucopia of material in papers like the New York *World* and *New York Journal* were a print distillation of the vibrant city cultures arising at the time. Their focus on sports and entertainment reflected the rise of public amusements and rendered the papers themselves one of those amusements.

With newspaper reading reoriented toward entertainment, urban publishers fought over the most popular features, looking to woo their creators and with them the devoted readers that would follow. In the most celebrated case, Hearst pried cartoonist Richard Outcault and his "Yellow Kid" strip (the namesake of "yellow journalism") away from Pulitzer in 1896 to launch his Sunday comic supplement in grand style. In the decades to follow, the big city paper's most popular writers and comics spread throughout the United States as press lords built national chains and launched their own syndicates. Scripps established United Features (1891), Pulitzer the World Syndicate (1905), Hearst the International News Service (1909), and King Features (1916).

The birth of these syndicates marked a new chapter in the industry's development. While Western Newspaper Union—which in the 1900s and 1910s bought out A. N. Kellogg and the rest of its rivals in the "boiler plate" trade—continued to serve printing needs of small presses, the locus of the industry had firmly shifted toward the licensing of nationally recognized media titles. In the half century leading to the 1940s, syndicated features were central to American culture and as such became one of the most important aspects of the newspaper industry. Buster Brown, Little Nemo, Krazy Kat, the Gumps, Buck Rogers, Little Orphan Annie, and dozens of other comic-strip characters were among the most recognized icons in the country. And many of these characters permeated the entire media environment, surfacing in magazines, films, radio, and advertisements.

Similarly, syndicated columnists were not only celebrity journalists but bona fide celebrities. The columns of New York– and Los Angeles–based writers Adela Rogers St. John, Damon Runyon, Walter Winchell, and Louella Parsons served as eyes on the emerging culture industries for American in smaller cities, towns, and rural areas. As such, these writers held incredible sway over the industries they covered. Hollywood producers, actors, and actresses, for instance, lived in fear of Parsons's capacity to spread harmful rumors.

Of the celebrity columnists, Winchell was by far the most powerful. He rose to fame during the 1920s and 1930s as his Broadway column climbed the ranks from a lowly trade paper to Bernarr Macfadden's *New York Graphic* and then to Hearst's *New York Mirror.* Winchell's defection from the *Graphic* to the *Mirror* was treated with similar fanfare as Hearst's "Yellow Kid" coup three decades prior. The glitzy nightlife Winchell chronicled in his column, characterized by his punchy tone and trademark neologisms, was an encapsulation of Jazz Age city life, and it was requisite reading for the millions

that fantasized about that world. Winchell parlayed his print notoriety into even greater national reach through his weekly radio broadcast. And as his fame mounted, Winchell sprinkled political commentary into his show business gossip. The columnist's power to shape public opinion won him elite access to Franklin D. Roosevelt and FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover, who both sought to use him as a conduit.

The cultural potency of syndicated material in the first half of the twentieth century translated into tremendous economic power. The *Chicago Tribune*–New York *Daily News* syndicate's comics supplement was the country's single most expensive ad medium in the early 1930s. Ownership of a menu of well-syndicated features was a powerful tool in the hands of an aggressive executive. Hearst used his King Features columns and comics to underwrite expansion of his newspaper chain in the 1920s. At the same time, he could use his growing chain to build his syndication business. Hearst's syndication deputy claimed that the company only needed to allude to the possibility of starting a newspaper in an area to scare a nonsubscriber into signing up for King features.

Syndicates in the Twenty-First Century

While the era to the 1940s would be the high-water mark for news syndicates, the business model established then would remain entrenched. Syndicates, many of whom operate as part of larger media conglomerates, continue to concentrate on marketing columns, comics, features, and media brands. A handful of especially successful comic properties, most notably Charles Schulz's *Peanuts,* would gain the sort of cultural ubiquity common a few decades before. But it is difficult to imagine a new comic reaching those heights today. Likewise, while a name such as Ann Landers could become synonymous with personal advice in the mid- to late twentieth century, she does not appear to have a twenty-first-century successor. The decline of cultural icons in the syndication business has not meant a collapse for the industry, however. Newspapers remain dependent upon syndicates for the high production values and variety that readers expect.

Syndicates have also benefited from the rise of punditry. Signed political columns emerged in the 1920s and 1930s as newspapers looked for writers who could interpret the news's import for readers. Behind this development was the growing consensus among journalistic elites that modern life's complexities outstripped the average person's mental faculties. Some of the earliest pundits, such as Arthur Brisbane, Mark Sullivan, and Westbrook Pegler, were essentially mouthpieces for the overwhelmingly conservative views of the publishing class. But more liberal columnists, including Walter Lippmann and Raymond Clapper, often appeared on the same pages to counter those views. This gallery of vying interpreters became institutionalized in the form of op-ed pages over the following decades.

Like Winchell, the most widely syndicated political columnists enjoy elite access to the corridors of governmental power. The quintessential columnist in this vein, James "Scotty" Reston of *The New York Times,* wrote from the perspective of an insider privy to a firsthand view of history. Reston's columns, informed by his conversations with Presidents, secretaries of state, and premiers, were generally understood to be a window on their thinking. This sense of direct access has been central to cultivating an aura of authority around the punditry.

Today's syndicates present themselves as brand powerhouses offering content to be plugged directly into newspapers and websites. The New York Times News Service/Syndicate not only sells its own articles and op-ed pieces but also science news from *Nature,* investing tips from *Smart Money,* and dozens of other branded packages. Creator's Syndicate, which codes its comics "S" for strip and "P" for panel, also codes its political commentators "C" for conservative and "L" for liberal. Each can be conveniently dropped into place.

The nature of the syndicates' basic product—plug-in content—has partly insulated them from some of the newspaper industry's recent economic woes. As managers have looked for ways of raising profit margins, many have cut newsroom staff and outsourced their work to syndicates. But at the same time, those boosts have been balanced out, or even erased, by shrinking—and in some cases disappearing—newspaper sections. Syndicates have responded to print developments, however, by repackaging their columns and comics for sale as web content.

The news syndicate's origins lie in the long tradition of sharing news content. They have provided the valuable service of democratizing access to an array of material. In theory, syndication allows readers anywhere to access the most insightful columnists or enjoy the most talented cartoonists. But the other side to that geography-defying access is the persistent threat of homogenization—a nation of community media obliterated of local character. The role the syndicates have played, historically and in the present, straddles these two extremes. Their most important function has been to spatially and temporally situate journalistic products. As a national culture developed, syndicated material marked local media as a part of a broader community stretching beyond the horizon in every direction. As editors have responded to popular trends by syndicating serials or Sudoku puzzles, they have marked their papers as products of a cultural moment.

Richard K. Popp

See also Associated Press; Columns and Columnists; Comics; Entertainment Journalism; Feature Syndicates; Havas; History of Journalism: 1861–1930; History of Journalism: 1930–1995; Human Interest Journalism; New York; News Hole; Photo Agencies; Printing; Reuters; Tabloid Newspapers; Wolff

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News Values

Journalists are taught either through workplace socialization or college training that events and people may possess any of a half dozen attributes, which can make them newsworthy. Informally "scoring" potential stories for those values is one of several routines used by news workers to define, select, and deliver news.

Lists of news values offered by professional and academic authors vary, but most agree upon these six attributes: conflict (struggles featuring people, governments, or social and natural forces), impact (the number of people affected and how much they are affected), proximity (geographic or demographic closeness to the reader, listener, or viewer), timeliness (the more recent, the more newsworthy), prominence (how widely known a person or event is on the local, regional or national and international levels), and novelty (unique or bizarre people and events). Human interest sometimes is cited as a distinct attribute, but many argue that it is a component of the other six.

Novice news workers usually are taught to test for the presence of these news values by asking a classic series of questions—Who? What? Where? When? Why? and How? And they learn that news is often what is different from the norm. "Man bites dog, not dog bites man," for instance, exemplifies the novelty news value. Beginners also learn that potential stories usually should incorporate more than one value, and researchers have found that the initial paragraph or lead of most newspaper stories contain at least two news values.

Development

Determining an event or person's news value can be traced as a media routine at least to the early

nineteenth-century "penny press" newspapers of Britain and the United States, the first designed for general audiences. Judgment about "news value" had undoubtedly been determined even earlier for communication not intended for wide distribution because of limited literacy. News values also were surely applied to political or business papers slanted heavily toward opinion directed to social elites.

Indeed, printed enumerations of news values date at least to a 1695 German guidebook on reading the news that listed importance and proximity. Later lists of news values worked their way into early journalism textbooks. In a revision to his 1913 *Newspaper Writing and Editing* text, Willard Grosvenor Bleyer (1873–35) listed timeliness and reader interest as prime news values. Bleyer further subdivided reader interest into extraordinary events; struggles for supremacy by individuals or nations; romance; mystery; adventure; human interest; and children, animals, and amusements. He wrote that audience interest in the news was proportionate to the reader's degree of familiarity with the event, the event's importance or prominence in the reader's life, and the event's proximity to the reader's home and business. He argued that the best news was that which had the greatest effect on the largest number or readers. Over time, Bleyer's list was simplified to six or seven distinct elements. The 1977 edition of Curtis D. MacDougall's (1903–85) popular *Interpretative Reporting* text listed news values to be timeliness, proximity, prominence, consequence (another term for impact), and human interest. Popular twenty-first-century reporting texts suggest that these values apply to both traditional as well as newer digital media.

Measuring news value does not guarantee bias-free stories. The scoring process can and is affected by reporter and editor culture and ideology, type of news medium, size of news organization, the application of other news routines, and more general social, technical, and other factors. For instance, Western media tend to favor stories that incorporate conflict and prominent people. Media in developing countries may test events or people for proof that the news relates to the social and economic development of their societies. These countries often resist attempts of transnational companies to establish media outlets within their borders out of concern that such ventures could displace indigenous news values with those from other cultures.

Traditional print and broadcast media, depending on their type or size, usually demonstrate a preference for different news value clusters in their content selection process. Broadcast media prefer timely news because of the speed and frequency with which they can issue reports, and some research indicates television especially collapses the traditional news values list into audience interest, importance, and visual quality. Small weekly newspapers favor stories high in proximity, while small dailies favor proximity in combination with human interest or timeliness. On the other hand, metropolitan dailies favor stories emphasizing timeliness combined with prominence and conflict.

Somewhat similar groupings of news values occur when global news organizations communicate about less developed countries. These distant places rarely receive attention, but when they do, the emphasis tends to be on hard news such as reports on natural disasters or armed confrontations that are high in conflict value. Researchers also have found that journalists are less likely to apply professional story selection standards when they report on an event or person closely connected to their own national interests. For instance, news from abroad must deal with more victims—a form of impact news value—before receiving attention. Two decades ago, William Adams's study of U.S. broadcast news developed a crude "exchange rate": The news value assigned to the death of 1 Western European equals 3 Eastern Europeans, or 9 Latin Americans, or 11 Middle Easterners, or 12 Asians. Research also indicates that any country's media demonstrate a preference for stories from other regions that are culturally, geographically, or psychologically proximate.

Other Influences

News value decisions made by metropolitan elite or prestige media can filter down to smaller organizations. This "arterial process" means that the less prestigious news organizations mimic the selection decisions made by their larger broadcast and print counterparts because those organizations have more resources to pursue the news. The filtering process can occur rapidly because prestige media often own press and video services that

syndicate stories to smaller organizations as well as communicate what stories will be featured in the elite organization's next broadcast or print edition. The same holds true for the Associated Press and other news agencies. This "top-down" influence on journalists can be unconscious. "Gatekeeper" studies found that editors responsible for selecting news agency stories for their publications were unconsciously selecting those stories from topical categories in the same proportion as the wire services offered them.

Application of other news routines, like source selection, can influence the types of stories produced by news organizations. Reporters usually seek news from sources "affiliated" with societal institutions like law enforcement agencies that are conveniently located on a reporter's beat. The number and diversity of sources used to tell a story—sometimes used by researchers and news professionals as one indicator of news quality—is naturally affected by economics. For example, development of non-routine, diverse sources is highest for stories about nearby events with high conflict news value. News organizations can rarely afford to develop the same variety of sources for events outside their immediate marketplace. Affiliated sources who subsidize the collection and preparation of news stories by partially preparing them also can influence the news value scoring process. Several studies have found that 9 to 50 percent of content (depending on the medium) is provided by public relations professionals. Newspaper content represents the high end of that percentage range. Reliance on such affiliated sources eventually marginalizes or eliminates nonaffiliated or underfunded sources. Consequently, these sources may not appear or they may become associated with stories demonstrating other news values. Unaffiliated sources, for instance, often are used as examples of victims or criminals in stories high in conflict or human interest value. Likewise, affiliated sources often are paired with public affairs stories presumably high in prominence or impact news value.

Journalists generally have little contact with or feedback from readers, viewers, and listeners. Consequently, they strive to produce work that satisfies or that is praised by their immediate peer group. Critics have called such peer groups "monocultures" because news organizations often are staffed predominately by white, male, middle-class workers who share the same ideological outlook. The influence of the news monoculture is so strong because it creates an unconscious bias for familiar places, cultures, and life histories when journalists, write or select stories. Presumably, this socialization effect can be particularly powerful when it is not offset by college-level education *about* journalism—the situation for a substantial minority of print journalists at the close of the twentieth century. Monocultures also bias news value scoring in another way. Members have a tendency to replicate previous story selections made in daily budget meetings. These meetings determine the content of broadcasts and newspapers. After initially picking a particular type of story, editors and producers who attend these meetings have a tendency to pick the same type for later editions or broadcasts.

News Definition

Finally, digital communication technology that erodes a traditional medium's dominance can set off a series of changes that affect the application of news values. These may lead to a larger definition of legitimate news or reorder the importance of traditional news values as journalists struggle to maintain or change the balance between what audiences *need* in order to function in society with what they *want*. For example, the timeliness news value declined in importance for newspapers during the late twentieth century given competition with broadcasters, particularly 24-hour cable news services. Newspapers adapted by pursuing stories with more proximity value—and greater depth. They later rejoined the competition for timely news by creating online website versions that permitted continuous updating of stories.

The competition for news and audiences driven by digital technologies early in the twenty-first century created a dilemma for all media, which theoretically now had unlimited space and time to transmit news in cyberspace. Should media make the investments in newsgathering assets to produce enough "important news" to fill their increased time and space? Or should they expand the definition of news to include more events and people that were easily accessible with the existing newsgathering resources, but which were previously considered to be in the private sphere? This cycle of changing technology, renewed competition, and

reconsideration of news and news values is now common in news media.

In a sense this is not new, for traditional news paradigms and the values that underpin them have been challenged in the past. In the 1890s, for example, new printing and typesetting machinery and increased advertising revenue made it possible to print larger newspapers more quickly and cheaply than previously. A single invention, the linotype, made it possible for one operator to set as much type in an hour as a hand compositor could set in a day. This put a premium on timely news, but it also challenged journalists to find ways to fill ever larger newspapers with material attractive to readers. As a result, editors and reporters expanded their definition of legitimate news to include material not previously used or used infrequently; they also resorted to sensationalism. The "new journalism" of the turn of the last century embraced more sports, fashion, and what later would be known as lifestyle stories—topics that had news value for niche audiences. Journalists also developed an appetite for reporting gossip, fabrication, rumor, and events previously considered private, not public. Contemporary critics concluded that the traditional news paradigm had succumbed to business values that prized rapidity and titillation. Those who defended the new form of journalism argued that it incorporated a more egalitarian approach to the news and produced results for the everyday reader, not just social elites.

Digital News Technologies

At the turn of the twenty-first century, digital technologies again challenged an existing news paradigm. News professionals and their critics asked whether the consensus over news values was breaking down, whether this meant media content was being designed to entertain more than to inform, and whether this indicated a general decline in professional standards.

Some suggest that new media (as well as traditional forms) were being stuffed with opinion rather than news because opinion was unlimited in supply, cheap to produce, and entertaining for audiences. Using it, however, risked eroding the standards for separating news from commentary and confusing readers, listeners, and viewers about the difference. In some cases, these trends overpowered traditional journalistic routines while creating new ones. Media observer James Hamilton believed the changes were so basic that the "five Ws and one H" that had defined past news values had given way to a new focus. The questions now were about profits and audiences, not news.

The "opinion journalism" found online, on 24-hour cable talk shows, and privately produced blogs often failed to observe the routines and standards found in mainstream journalism. Not only did opinion journalism threaten the traditional news boundary, it tempted mainstream media to rely on gossip and trivia to attract audiences in a scenario reminiscent of the 1890s. Watergate journalist Carl Bernstein (1944–) called the result "junk journalism." Coincidentally, the media also produced more stories about how they did their jobs. These "covering the coverage" stories were cheap to produce and displaced news that audiences might have found more useful. Media historian Marion Marzolf observed that outsiders like A. J. Liebling (1904–63) of *The New Yorker* historically had critiqued media performance, but that changed during the latter part of the twentieth century. Now rank-and-file reporters, not opinion writers or editorial writers, were producing the critiques. This represented a conflict of interest.

Late-nineteenth-century journalism eventually managed to reform itself by experimenting with new content paradigms embracing objectivity and Progressive values before evolving into the social responsibility paradigm of the mid-twentieth century that thrived on impact and conflict news values. During the first decade of the twenty-first century, journalism again struggled with similar technology, news routine, and reform issues.

In this new struggle, the traditional questions used to isolate and to report the news likely will endure, but who asks those questions will expand as technology generates more and faster means of communication. For now, the traditional media find themselves competing with anyone who can claim a foothold in cyberspace. These new communicators are forcing the exchange of mass messages toward opinion and entertainment. Over time, whoever proves to be the most credible information broker likely will have the power to dictate what the "new" news will be.

Randall S. Sumpter

See also Agenda Setting; Bias; Credibility; Diversity: Content; Diversity: Employment; Editing, Newspaper; Editing, Online and Digital; Ethics; Framing; Gatekeeping; Media Accountability Systems; News Councils; Self-Regulation; Sensationalism

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Newsweekly Magazines

Newsweeklies or news magazines have for over 80 years grown to become a journalistic mainstay in the United States and in many other countries. They typically seek to encapsulate the events of the previous week into digestible sections, helping to make clear what is important and often interpreting that news. The format was designed from the beginning to help busy readers with only limited reading time to learn of the most important (or at least interesting) news, trends, and people. In recent years, a pronounced shift from hard to softer news is evident in cover stories and overall content.

Newsweeklies have always emphasized good writing, sometimes erratic style, and a growing use of photos and graphics. Most such publications are careful with facts and offer opinion in a gentle rather than overt fashion. They are intended for a general readership that has many pulls on its time, and thus by the early 2000s, newsweeklies presumed less than an hour of attention from their typical reader. Further, growing competition from television, cable news networks, and the Internet cut into potential reader priorities and in the 1980s, newsweeklies began to lose their central place in American journalism. By the early 2000s, they had stagnant circulations and occupied an increasingly peripheral place in the news media.

Newsmagazines differ from another type of publication with which they are sometimes confused—the weekly or monthly opinion magazine. Journals such as *The New Republic, The National Review,* or, in Britain, *The Spectator,* all deal with current events and controversies, but within a context of commenting on them more than reporting about them. They are, in part, aimed at the "already converted" on the right or left, the magazines serving to reinforce a mindset already in place. Other weeklies of comment, including *The New Yorker,* include essays, fiction, reviews, and a heavier dose of culture than newsweeklies usually include.

The most widely emulated example of the newsweekly genre is *Time,* which has published for 85 years. But depending how one defines the genre, *Time* was not the first such weekly—that honor would seem to go to Britain's *Economist,* which dates to the 1840s.

American Newsweeklies

The United States has long featured an active newsweekly market with three competing titles, the rankings of which changed little over the years. They appear here in the order of their circulation size.

Time

After some time spent on fund-raising and development, on March 3, 1923, *Time: The Weekly*

News-Magazine was launched by former Yale classmates Briton Hadden and Henry R. Luce. Its content, printing, and business operations were amateurish at first. Stories were largely rewritten from New York dailies, then presented in sections on national affairs, foreign news, music, education, religion, medicine, law, science, crime, and the press—among the 22 sections in early issues. The editors eschewed a separate editorial page but did initiate a careful fact-checking system at the outset. From the beginning, *Time* writing (dubbed "timestyle") was at least brash and sometimes nongrammatical with some sentences that seemed to run backward. *The New Yorker*'s Wolcott Gibbs famously provided his own example in a 1936 profile of Luce: "Backward ran sentences until reeled the mind." Once they got used to it, readers seemed to love it. The magazine's political coloration was generally Republican. The first color advertising (and the red band around the cover) appeared in 1927 by which time circulation reached 136,000. Hadden died in 1929, and for the next four decades, Luce dominated the growing company, which began *Fortune* as a monthly business magazine the next year and the weekly pictorial *Life* in 1936. A popular radio documentary, *The March of Time,* built on the content of the newsweekly. In 1927, *Time* began to select a "man of the year"—the first was flier Charles Lindbergh. Beginning in the late 1930s, *Time* provided excellent clear maps to support its stories.

Change came gradually to the magazine during Luce's years as publisher. A section on Modern Living begun in mid-1961 helped cover cultural trends. In 1965 the occasional "essay" was introduced to allow deeper consideration of topics not readily fitting into one of the established sections. Covers featuring issues or trends rather than people became more common after the 1960s—in 1982 the personal computer became "machine of the year." Increasingly in an era of television and then Internet-based news, the magazine veered away from simply reporting what had happened and more into assessment and interpretation. Graphics—and constant updating of the magazine's look—became common. By the late 1990s, the magazine seemed increasingly focused on soft or cultural news, with an emphasis on personality and show business.

The magazine was quickly successful, making it surprising in retrospect that it took a decade for competition to appear—which took the form of two different new titles. Throughout the competition, *Time* has always enjoyed the largest circulation, often by quite a margin.

Newsweek

Originally *News-Week,* the magazine was first published by Thomas J. C. Martyn (a former editor of foreign news for *Time*) on February 17, 1933. That issue, with an initial circulation of about 50,000 copies, featured seven photographs from the week's news on the cover. In 1937, *Newsweek* merged with the weekly journal *Today,* edited by Raymond Moley, who nominally took over the merged product. Malcolm Muir later took over as president and editor-in-chief. Muir changed the name to *Newsweek* and emphasized more interpretative stories. To expand its reach, *Newsweek* crossed overseas during World War II, putting out a pocket-size special edition for American forces in Europe. At war's end in 1945, *Newsweek*'s first international editions were published in Tokyo and Paris. The magazine was purchased for $15 million by the Washington Post Company in 1961 and five years later became the first newsweekly to initiate reporter bylines. In 1972 the magazine introduced the first woman to write a regular column for a newsweekly. *Newsweek* is usually considered the most politically liberal of the three American competitors, an alternative for those who dislike *Time*.

With four English editions and eight local-language editions, by the early twenty-first century, *Newsweek* claimed the most extensive global network of any newsweekly. Its first Asian-language edition appeared in 1986 in Japan and by the early 2000s was circulating about 100,000 copies. This was followed by a Korean-language edition in 1991 (reaching about 80,000 readers), and a Polish-language edition with an early 2000s' circulation of almost 140,000. A Spanish-language edition, begun in 1996, circulates to about 100,000 throughout Latin America (where a specialized English-language version also appears). An Arabic-language version, begun in 2000, circulates to about 30,000 readers in the Middle East. In 2004 Newsweek initiated *Newsweek Select* in China

and *Russky Newsweek* with a Russian circulation of about 50,000.

U.S. News & World Report

This newsweekly began as a daily newspaper, *United States Daily,* which first appeared in 1926, edited by journalist David Lawrence. Several years of losses, made worse by the Depression, let to its conversion to a weekly, *United States News,* which first appeared in May 1933, still edited by Lawrence. Throughout its early years, it focused on domestic issues and especially the New Deal changes in Washington, and how they affected the country. It remained in newspaper format until 1940. Only then did it look like and consider itself a true newsweekly, one that reached a circulation of about 90,000, much smaller than either of its competitors. In 1946, Lawrence launched another newsweekly, *World Report.* When the two merged in 1948, *U.S. News & World Report* was born with a circulation rising to a half million by the early 1950s. A decade later, readership approached 1.5 million. Content was less narrative in style than its competitors, and made less use of illustrations and color, providing primarily hard news. It often presented long interviews with newsmakers. From 1962 to 1984, *U.S. News* was employee owned. In 1984, publisher and real estate developer Mortimer B. Zuckerman bought the company.

In 1983, *U.S. News* began what became its hugely popular and influential annual rankings of American colleges and universities, which first appeared as a newsstand book in late 1987. It was joined by a similar ranked listing of *America's Best Graduate Schools* in 1994. *U.S. News* began its Internet presence in 1993, with a two-year stint as a content provider to CompuServe. Its own website, U.S. News Online, began in November 1995, including articles from the print edition. Long considered the most politically conservative of the three American newsweeklies, *U.S. News* reached a circulation of about two million in the early 2000s. Late in 2008, the magazine announced it would leave this competitive market in which it had always played third place. It ceased issuing a printed magazine (they had reduced to biweekly publication earlier in the year), reverting solely to a web presence, and monthly consumer-oriented magazines built around single topics—such as their famous college ranking guide.

International Examples

There are potentially dozens of titles published around the world which can—depending on one's definition—be seen as newsweeklies. Most are products of the post–World War II era.

The Economist

While relatively new to many readers in America, this British weekly is actually the oldest newsweekly. In 1843, James Wilson launched the newspaper (as it still calls itself) in London, in part to provide backing to the Anti-Corn Law League, a policy battle concerning tariffs on agricultural products. He remained the editor until 1857. The appointment of Walter Bagehot as editor in 1861 marked a major milestone. Under Bagehot, the newspaper established its reputation for editorial independence as it began to develop many of its most long-lasting features, including anonymity. Instead of attributing bylines, *The Economist* sought a collective voice, with a focus on the words and story, not on who wrote them. Only in 1888 did *The Economist* begin accepting advertisements. Under Bagehot, circulation stood at less than 4,000 and even by 1920, the print run only reached 6,000. Despite these small numbers, *The Economist* was also consistently profitable. After something of a battle over control, the present ownership initiated in 1928 with a 50–50 ownership structure between Economist Trust and the *Financial News* (later *Financial Times*).

By the late 1930s, half of the newspaper's circulation was being sent abroad; a dedicated "American" section was launched in 1941. From 18,000 at the end of World War II, circulation rose to more than 50,000 by the end of the 1950s, the first color ads appeared in 1960, and circulation first topped 100,000 in 1974. A redesign of the magazine featuring full-color editorial content came in 2001, followed, unfortunately, by layoffs to restore profitability. By the middle of the first twenty-first-century decade, the paper enjoyed a circulation of about 900,000, a third of it in the United States.

Maclean's

This Canadian newsweekly began in 1905 as a pocket-size business magazine reprinting stories

from Canadian newspapers. It first appeared under its current title (named after the publisher, Toronto businessman John Maclean) five years later. But it was not yet a newsmagazine—rather, it published fiction and nonfiction with a Canadian flavor. By 1919 its circulation reached 70,000 copies. In the 1920s, issues swelled to 100 or so pages, shrinking to less than half of that in the 1930s. The Second World War brought more change. *Maclean's* produced a "bantam" overseas edition at its own expense (it carried no ads) to meet Canadian forces' hunger for news from home. It was half the size of a regular issue, but proved immensely popular. By the time of its final edition of February 1946, the Department of National Defence had distributed an estimated 800,000 copies. The 1957 Canadian federal election created one of the magazine's more embarrassing moments. Written before the results were in, the magazine's June 22, 1957, editorial solemnly asserted that the Liberals had won. The words reached the newsstands the day after Canadians had given the Conservatives a resounding mandate. The following issue featured a retraction.

By the mid-1960s, *Maclean's* was losing money for the first time since the end of the Depression and reverted to a monthly in January 1967. Two years later, it reduced its size and raised its cover price to 35 cents. On October 6, 1975, *Maclean's* resumed publishing every two weeks and by then had bureaus in Ottawa, Vancouver, Calgary, Montreal, Halifax, Washington, and London. Weekly appearance was achieved once again three years later.

Der Spiegel

The German weekly (the title means "The Mirror"), founded by Rudolf Augstein, began on January 4, 1947, with a print run of 15,000 copies. It followed *Diese Woche* ("This Week"), the first German newsweekly (censored by British occupation authorities), which lasted only six issues. *Der Spiegel* began in Hanover and soon moved to Hamburg, its content striving to be interesting and often emphasizing people. And it developed an expertise in investigative reporting that became a mainstay of its journalism (such stories today can run for 10–15 pages). By late 1950, circulation reached 100,000. In 1962 the magazine was accused of treason for a report on NATO maneuvers and its editors (led by Augstein) were arrested, some remaining in prison for two months. Other journals helped the staff get out the next issue amid a growing storm of protest about the government's heavy-handed action. A court later found the journal innocent and the country's defense minister had to resign, followed not long after by the government of Konrad Adenauer. *Der Spiegel*'s reputation and circulation soared. The magazine has had difficult relations with nearly all of Germany's chancellors—which its critics see as evidence of its independence.

In 1974, Augstein, then publisher and largely owner of the newsweekly, gave half of its stock to the employees. (In 2007, by which time *Der Spiegel* enjoyed a circulation of 1.7 million copies, employees voted to oust longtime editor Stefan Aust.) Over the years, more than 20 competing newsweekly titles appeared in Germany, but most lasted no more than two years. A partial exception is *Stern,* a pictorial newsweekly first published in 1948. But its reputation was severely weakened when in 1985 it published so-called Hitler "diaries" that later proved to be a forgery.

L'Express

France's first newsweekly was modeled on *Time*. In 1953 Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber launched *L'Express*. Subtitled *Les Echos de Samedi* (Echoes of Saturday), the new weekly originally formed part of the financial weekly *Les Echos,* which dated back to 1908. *L'Express* managed to turn a slight profit by 1955. It was formed in part to support the economic and social policies of French Premier Pierre Mendes France, diametrically opposed to initiatives supported by Charles DeGaulle. It also enthusiastically championed America and the free-market economy. In September 1955 Servan-Schreiber converted *L'Express* into a daily newspaper, placing his support firmly behind the reelection of Mendes France to the country's premiership. After Mendes France's defeat the next year, *L'Express* returned to a weekly format. Coverage centered on domestic political disputes and the future independence of the French colony of Algeria. In 1964 *L'Express* modified its strong political advocacy to become more of a general newsweekly, and its weekly sales

rose from 150,000 to 500,000 within three years. In 1970, however, *L'Express'* editor won a seat in the French National Assembly representing his left-of-center party. Complaints about the "politicization" of *L'Express* swelled into a full office showdown between Servan-Schreiber and his staff in mid-1971, resulting in the mass resignation of the magazine's senior editorial staff, several of whom initiated a new magazine to compete with their former employer. It launched as *Le Point* in 1972 and the two have competed ever since.

In 1977, Servan-Schreiber sold *L'Express*. The present publisher, the Express-Expansion Group, produces 20 other magazines and newsletters as well as eight websites with free or subscriber services, organizes conferences, and produces approximately 100 practical guides every year in a variety of fields. *L'Express* by the early 2000s had a staff of about 120 serving a circulation of about a half million.

Tempo

Indonesia's premier news magazine (the title means "Time") was founded in 1971, early in the New Order, the autocratic regime that General Soeharto brought to power in 1966. Led by poet and intellectual Goenawan Mohammad, *Tempo* initially supported the planning that promised to bring stability and economic development to the world's fourth largest nation. *Tempo* deliberately imitated *Time* magazine, including its trademark red border. Notable for lively writing and innovative use of the Indonesian language, *Tempo* had a fresh, breezy style that lived up to its slogan "pleasant to read and necessary." As the New Order government solidified its power in the mid-1970s, and the Ministry of Information increased efforts to rein in the Indonesian press through a system of bannings, licensing, and intimidation known as "telephone culture," *Tempo* developed strategies to maintain its independence. Although like other Indonesian media it was obligated to report the official version of events, readers were nevertheless able to find a "hidden message" in the magazine's pages. While *Tempo*'s sales figures were never high—probably peaking at about 200,000 in the early 1990s—the magazine was enormously influential with political elites as well as the rising middle class.

In June 1994, *Tempo* was banned by the Soeharto government, ostensibly over a cover story reporting a dispute within the government over buying used warships from the former East Germany. To the surprise of many observers, *Tempo*'s banning sparked widespread protests. It also led to the creation of an underground movement, in which former *Tempo* journalists and activists joined forces to bring independent news to Indonesians via the internet. As senior Indonesian journalist Aristides Katoppo put it, it was as if "the regular army had joined the guerillas" (quoted in Steele). In May 1998, Soeharto was toppled by a student movement very much like the one that had brought him to power, and *Tempo* got its license back. Returning to publication in October, the new *Tempo* had a harder news edge and included investigative reports as well as opinion pieces, all unthinkable under Soeharto. No longer required to use the oblique language of the previous era, *Tempo* continues to provide credible information to the public and to work to institutionalize and secure freedom of expression in Indonesia.

Contemporary Issues

American news magazines have shifted their content markedly in the era of the Internet. No longer do any of them focus on the previous week's news, though that is still included. Nor is their prime concern usually hard domestic or foreign news, though, again, the most important events still receive some treatment. Foreign news, particularly, dropped off by the 1980s. Instead, somewhat paralleling a similar shift in the daily press, they have been moving more and more toward lighter material stressing people and celebrities, show business, social trends and controversies, and other soft news. The trend is most evident in cover stories, and is supported by run-of-color (use of color printing on editorial as well as advertising pages) illustrations and often striking graphics.

Newsstand sales account for only a tiny percentage of overall sales for American newsweeklies. Single-copy sales tend to rise following major news events or disasters (the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, led to record sales for all the newsweeklies discussed here). Tragedies—or scandal—are their bread and butter. By mid-2005, for example, weekly newsstand sales for *Time* averaged nearly

160,000 copies against a total circulation of 4.05 million. *Newsweek* single-copy sales ran a bit more than 125,000, a small part of its total circulation of 3.2 million. And *U.S. News & World Report* sold fewer than 38,000 newsstand copies as part of its overall circulation of 2 million.

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See also Celebrity and Fan Magazines; Hard Versus Soft News; Infotainment; News as Narrative; News Values; Quality and Opinion Magazines

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New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO)

Despite dramatic geopolitical and media changes worldwide, the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) continues to be a topic of interest to researchers and practitioners interested in international media. The conceptual framework of the NWICO placed journalism practice and international news media flow at the center of the political, economic, and cultural agenda of countries in both the developed and developing world. In the early twenty-first century, NWICO provides useful insight for understanding of current journalism trends. This entry provides a brief history of NWICO, its importance when it emerged in the early 1980s, its main concepts and principles, and its present significance.

Although its origins can be traced back to the critical perspectives on media and communication that emerged in the early 1970s, the NWICO was the product of the 1980 MacBride Commission report, *Many Voices, One World,* commissioned by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) as a contribution to the debate about equity in international communication. Named after its head, former Irish foreign minister and 1974 Nobel Prize–winner Sean MacBride, the commission was charged with assessing international communication problems and making suggestions for their resolution in an effort to place these issues at the forefront of the international policy agenda (Thussu 2005). Proponents of NWICO identified the commission as part of an ongoing process, not as a compiler of "any given set of conditions and practices" (MacBride et al. 1980, xviii). Ensuring justice, equity, and reciprocity in information exchange; less dependency and downward diffusion of media; and increased self-reliance and cultural identity were the primary goals of NWICO.

UNESCO formed a commission that began work in December 1977 focusing on issues of accuracy and balance of information, infrastructure and functioning of news media, and rights and responsibilities of journalists and news media organizations. Its report included 82 recommendations aimed at reducing the gap between "the info-rich" and "the info-poor." However, many around the world read the report as a forceful critique of the role of hegemonic influence of Western news media in the context of international relations and conflict resolution.

The MacBride report called for capacity building efforts in media and communication in developing countries through both infrastructure and human resource development. In addition, it also called for improvements in international news reporting, particularly in breaking away from what was described as an excessive focus on "negative news." Rather, the commission proposed development journalism, and the use of media technologies such as radio and TV for development and preservation of cultural identity, as important functions in the context of developing countries. The commission emphasized the effective integration of communication into development and culture throughout its report. This included language related to people's participation in media production and elimination of barriers to diversity and choices of media products and content. The commission also called for international cooperation and partnership in the process of increased balances in information flow for reducing dependency of developing nations on media products from developed countries in the field of communication as a means to promote peace and security and to lessen political tensions.

However, the report—and NWICO more generally—quickly became highly political and controversial in a world dominated by cold war politics. Developed countries, particularly those opposed to Communism and Soviet-driven views, were skeptical of UNESCO's role in shaping international communication in the 1980s. Western countries were supporters of the "free flow of information," a position particularly aimed at countering the Eastern block's tilt toward state media control (Carlsson 2003). This position was fueled by NWICO recommendations supporting the state's role in addressing communication problems. The focus on the East-West dispute was broadened as NWICO included language bent on increasing flow of other media products South-South (in other words, from developing nation to other developing nations), and cultural and technical cooperation besides news, which were perceived as important in international relations (Carlsson 2003). Although the commission's report received broad international support, it was heavily criticized by the United States and the United Kingdom (UK) as a bold attack on freedom of the press, leading to the withdrawal of both countries from UNESCO membership in 1984 and 1985, respectively. While the UK rejoined UNESCO in 1997, U.S. separation lasted until 2003 (McPhail 2002).

Self-reliance and cultural identity emerged as key principles among the MacBride Commission's recommendations, which many nonaligned states incorporated into their planning. The commission also introduced such language as "local level and horizontal communication into thinking about development" (Carlsson 2003). Such recommendations led UNESCO to launch an International Program for the Development of Communication (IPDC) to assist developing or poor countries in building media infrastructure, developing communication capacities for more balanced flow of information, and promoting regional cooperation among developing countries through media programming.

NWICO sought to integrate people's participation in the process of societal development. However, globalization of media systems spurred by deregulation and commercialization in an increasing international economy ultimately sealed the fate of NWICO as a viable issue. Implementation of NWICO's recommendations in the late 1980s was a difficult task for most countries due to a lack of financial and human resources and a rapidly changing political, financial, and social environment, turning NWICO into an interesting process in the history of international communications with limited, if any, impact in the view of most researchers and academics.

The commission argued that negative news of disaster and political and ethnic conflict was affecting international perceptions about both developing and developed countries. Readers from Third World countries, for example, saw the "western coverage of their countries as disproportionate

and distorted" (Chaudhary 2001, 241). By the same token, such media coverage in Western countries also prompted the media in Third World countries to "overemphasize the negative issues about western countries" (242). But after the commission came forward with recommendations emphasizing a need for professional standards and integrity in news media, both Western and Third World media became more cautious in news reporting, as is evidenced in recent studies.

In analyzing the continuing debates around NWICO, Thussu explains that "despite many advances in democratization of the media, some of the key criticisms in the report are as valid in 2005 as they were in 1980" due to the impact of globalization as epitomized by media mogul Rupert Murdoch (1937–) (Thussu 2005, 47). Continuing imbalances in international news media flow, and the trend toward globalization and privatization of the media, accelerated by media conglomeration and concentration, has undermined public communication in a global media culture. Although media networks in the developing world emerged early in the twenty-first century (i.e., Tele Sur in Latin America; Al Jazeera in the Arab world) with the objective of countering dominant Western international news media (CNN, BBC, international news agencies) and providing an alternative perspective to international current affairs, international news flows remain largely dominated by large media corporations based in the developed world. In other words, the players have changed from countries to transnational media corporations but the issues remain the same.

Access to communication technology in developing countries is not much better owing to a huge technology gap between developed and developing countries. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) report on the "Digital Divide" (defined as the gap between those with access to digital communication and technologies and those without access to them) supports such an assertion with the following:

> a person in a high-income country is over 22 times more likely to be an Internet user than someone in a low-income country. Secure Internet servers, a rough indicator of electronic commerce, are over 100 times more common in high income than low-income countries. In high-income countries, mobile phones are 29 times more prevalent and mainline penetration is 21 times that of low-income countries. (UNCTAD 2006, iii)

Historically, low income, limited infrastructure, insufficient and untrained personnel due to a continuing brain drain from poor to wealthy countries, and weak competitive and regulatory environments have slowed the adoption of newer technologies in poor developing countries. However, adoption of satellite and broadband communication systems in some developing nations in Southeast Asia, South Asia, and Africa has helped them further cultivate diversified and innovative approaches for socioeconomic development.

While for many journalism scholars the NWICO debate has turned into a relic primarily studied as a historical issue, international media developments such as the increasing concentration of media ownership and the predominance of few news media sources on the global media landscape are similar to those studied by the MacBride Commission, albeit in a changed political and economic context. Perhaps, it is time to reassess the recommendations of the MacBride report as part of a renewed discussion on international media and communication issues.

Rafael Obregon and Masudul Biswas

See also Comparative Models of Journalism; Development Journalism; Free Flow of Information; Globalization; International Journalism; International Journalism Organizations

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New York

New York City is the self-described "capital of the world" and arguably the capital of U.S. journalism and mass media. The nation's largest market, it is host to the major U.S. television networks, various cable channels, and conglomerates like AOL/Time Warner, Viacom, News Corp., and the Hearst Corporation. Much of the book publishing industry, more than 200 newspapers, and over 350 magazines have offices in New York. Major magazine publishers include Condé Nast and Time, Inc. Major book publishers include Penguin, Simon and Schuster, and Random House. New York is home to the Associated Press headquarters, a significant film industry, and large recording companies, radio operations, and other media as well as the biggest advertising and public relations firms. Four of the top ten circulation newspapers in the United States are found in New York City. It is the site of elite and influential newspapers such as *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal*. It has also hosted major alternative media, from *The Masses* to the *Village Voice*. It is home to a diverse foreign-language press including the oldest Spanish- and Russian-language newspapers in the United States. Major world news media keep bureaus in New York, increasing its profile in the international news flow.

The key to understanding New York's position is in its history. The city's rise as a center of journalism and mass media was connected to its rise as a commercial and financial center, the growth of New York as a major metropolis in a growing world power, and then its prominence on the international stage as the seat of the United Nations and many foreign consulates. Thus, the city has grown to become a political as well as business and cultural center. It is also noteworthy as a site of news production and dissemination. It is the largest media market in the largest national economy in the world. Its impact on journalism has been so substantial that it is difficult to separate the history of American journalism from that of New York journalism.

Development

New York's development as a center of communications and commerce was tied to its geography. Set on the island of Manhattan, the colony, first settled by the Dutch and taken over by the English in 1664, possessed a fine natural port. The water was deep near the shore and it was fairly free from difficult winds and ice. It was suitable for transportation up and down the American Atlantic coast and to and from Europe. The Hudson River provided a corridor

into the mainland. The influence of geography on New York's experience as a central communications point is illustrated by the eighteenth-century newspaper title *Rivington's New-York Gazette; or, the Connecticut, New-Jersey, Hudson's River, and Quebec Weekly Advertiser*. The Erie Canal, completed in 1825, extended New York City's waterborn transit to Buffalo and toward the Midwest. New York became the busiest port in the world in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, concurrent with its rise in size and stature. The city has always been dependent on trade and transport. Thus it has also always been a key communications point. Journalism developed in line with the city's growth as a marketplace.

In the nineteenth century, New York's population grew exponentially, aided in large part by immigration. By 1890, 36 percent of the city was foreign born. The city's population grew from 60,515 in 1800 to nearly 3.5 million a century later. It received a major boost in 1898 by consolidating with its "outer boroughs." In 2006, New York City had a population of nearly 8.3 million. The size and growth of this potential media audience has driven development of journalism and mass media in the city.

New York's first printing press was established in 1693 by William Bradford, who also started its first newspaper, the *New-York Gazette* in 1725. A second paper, the *New-York Weekly Journal,* began publication in 1733 by Bradford's former apprentice John Peter Zenger. A year later, Zenger found himself on trial for seditious libel for criticizing colonial governor William Cosby and his policies. Zenger, defended by Andrew Hamilton, who used the truth of Zenger's comments as a defense, was acquitted in a jury trial. The episode is often cited as a watershed event in establishing principles of press freedom and truth as a defense against libel, but it highlights the political nature of journalism in the eighteenth century and did not result in immediate changes in the law (that came in 1805, after another press law case, this one involving Alexander Hamilton). The early New York press, as elsewhere in the United States, was highly partisan and indeed Zenger had been supported by a political faction in the city intent on challenging Cosby and his Bradford-printed mouthpiece.

New York's partisan press engaged in the great political contests of the eighteenth century. John Holt's *New York Journal* criticized British policy before the American Revolution and James Rivington's *Royal Gazette* supported colonial authority under the city's occupation. Substantial support for the federalists was later found in the city and articulated in newspapers such as the *New York Evening Post,* the *New York Independent Journal, Gazette of the United States,* and Noah Webster's *Minerva*. The partisan press was published primarily for those who could afford to subscribe and had a say in commercial and political life. However, the early New York press was not entirely highbrow, and newspapers were fairly widely available in public places. Still, few of them expressed the views of the city's un-propertied classes until the early nineteenth century. The first African American newspaper, *Freedom's Journal,* for example, was established in 1827.

Newspapers

The character of New York's press began to change in the nineteenth century, prompted by changes in population, technology, and the Industrial Revolution. As the city became an industrial as well as a shipping center, its population grew rapidly, creating a diverse and massive potential readership. Industry centered on mass production and marketing. In 1827, the Washington hand press, a technological improvement in printing, was invented in New York, soon to be superseded by the steam press. In the 1830s, such presses were manufactured in the city by Robert Hoe. The rise in population coupled with such advances made possible a popular mass media often called the penny press for its price.

Into the 1830s, partisan newspapers had been dependent upon party patronage for financial feasibility. Slowly advertising became a source for not only financial stability, but significant profit. Newspapers became the principal means through which advertisers could reach mass audiences. Thus, journalism could be liberated from serving as party organs. (This is not to say that editors did not still use their papers to promote political positions.) Relying on advertising for revenue and seeking larger audiences for their advertisers, newspapers reduced their prices. Instead of relying on subscriptions, they also turned to street distribution known to all by the use of the iconic newsboy. The penny press signaled an important shift in

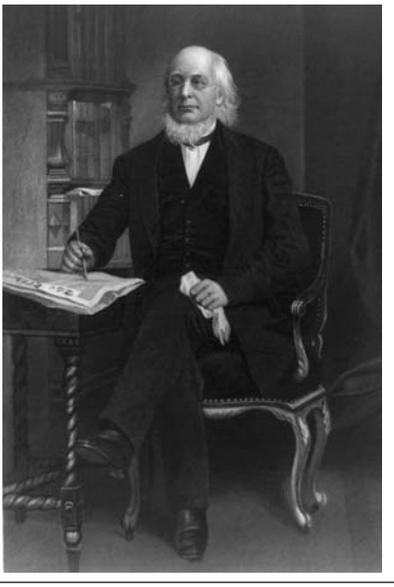
journalism whereby readers began to be seen as consumers.

The first New York City penny paper was Benjamin Day's *Sun,* which began in 1833. It was quickly followed by many others, most notably James Gordon Bennett's *New York Herald,* which became the largest daily newspaper in the United States by the Civil War. The *Herald* was notable not only for its unprecedented circulation but also for its extensive news gathering, utilizing rail, ship, and telegraph and a set of correspondents in Europe. Like other penny papers, it was also characterized by sensationalism. It financed Henry Stanley's expedition to Africa to find missionary and explorer Dr. David Livingstone and sought readers through coverage of titillating scandals such as the murder of prostitute Helen Jewett.

The *Herald* generally supported the Democratic Party. Politically and in business, it met a rival in the *New York Tribune,* started by Horace Greeley in 1841. The paper's weekly edition was the largest Republican newspaper in the country. Despite the partisan positions of most newspapers, the penny press is generally credited with laying seeds for journalism's convention of objectivity that later came to serve as a goal to be strived for. By drawing revenue from advertising, the penny papers did not need support from a political party, increasing the publisher's independence. Further, in the quest for ever larger audiences, such independence was an attractive way to court a wide range of customers.

Press competition was fierce in nineteenth-century New York. Newspapers aggressively sought to gather and impart news as quickly and extensively as possible. Samuel F. B. Morse's telegraph cut down to minutes the time it took information to travel great distances. New York newspapers rapidly adopted the technology in the race to get news out first and boost circulations. The first lines to the city opened in 1846, and its position as a financial and shipping capital quickly made it the center of a telegraph network as well. The telegraph shrunk the world and facilitated the rise of the cooperative newsgathering Associated Press (AP), which quickly adopted the telegraph in combination with other means of transporting news.

The AP was a news cooperative formed in 1848 by six city newspapers—the *Sun,* the *New York Herald,* the *Journal of Commerce,* the *New York Express,* the *Courier and Enquirer,* and the *New York Tribune*. *The New York Times* joined on its founding three years later. The AP engaged in monopolistic practices and was reorganized in 1892, continuing to expand to become one of the world's major purveyors of news. Still headquartered in New York, the modern AP employs more than 37,000 people around the world. The AP was rivaled for much of the twentieth century by United Press (later UPI). The news wire aided the development of modern journalism conventions in that news to be shared cooperatively among a wide range of newspapers could not be overly partisan in nature.



Steel engraving of one of New York's most well-known newspaper men, Horace Greeley, founder of the New York Tribune, *established in 1841.*

Source: Library of Congress.

Scandal and sensationalism ruled much of nineteenth-century news. Newspapers became big business, and needed large readerships for big profits and to support staff and facilities. In 1895, for example, Joseph Pulitzer's New York *World* had 1,200 employees. Pulitzer had acquired the paper a dozen years earlier. His use of both investigative journalism and sensationalism produced financial success and skepticism at the time. He employed the muckraking journalist Nellie Bly, who went undercover to explore deplorable conditions in a New York insane asylum, but Pulitzer's reputation for yellow journalism (a term derived from a comic character called the Yellow Kid that

appeared in *The World*) was such that when he later approached Columbia University offering to fund a journalism program, he was initially turned away. After reconsideration, the university opened a school bearing his name in 1912 (Columbia also administers the Pulitzer Prizes, the most prestigious awards in American journalism).

Pulitzer's major competitor was William Randolph Hearst, who bought the *New York Journal* in 1895. The two competed bitterly along with the *Sun,* which was then under the leadership of Charles A. Dana. Much of their news coverage was sensational and scandalous, but the papers also attracted talented contributors in the muckraking tradition such as Lincoln Steffens, Stephen Crane, and Jacob Riis. This brand of investigative journalism encapsulated a kind of social criticism, also developed among such New York magazines as *McClure's* and *Collier's*.

To set itself apart from the sensationalism of its rivals, Adolf Ochs bought *The New York Times* in 1896, and adopted the slogan "All the news that's fit to print." The newspaper is often credited with developing the objective model that is now a standard of journalism through its practice and success. It is frequently referred to as the newspaper of record because of the many people who trust in its accuracy and neutrality. Initially the paper supported the Republican Party, but by the end of the nineteenth century had become independent. Although later accused of being too liberal, the *Times* stood firmly against socialism in the wake of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917. Over the past century, it has won more Pulitzer Prizes than any other newspaper.

The New York *Daily News* became the city's first heavily illustrated tabloid daily in 1919, using the slogan "New York's Picture Newspaper." The *Daily News* achieved a huge circulation with its popular coverage and by the early 2000s was the fifth largest newspaper in the country. Its chief competitor is the *New York Post,* one of America's oldest newspapers which began as Alexander Hamilton's *New-York Evening Post*. Later it was under the management of Oswald Garrison Villard, who also ran *The Nation*. Finally it became a tabloid under Dorothy Schiff and Ted Thackery in the early 1940s. The *Post* was purchased by Rupert Murdoch in 1976. Both the *Daily News* and the *Post* are top ten U.S. newspapers in circulation and compete with each other mostly through sensational local coverage, celebrity gossip, and sports.

Alternative and Ethnic Newspapers

New York has not only served as the home for many of the biggest mainstream media but also as a center for alternative journalism as well. It has hosted journalism born of a wide range of political and cultural movements. Left-wing political journalism has particularly strong roots in the city. Labor-oriented and union newspapers existed in the city from the 1830s. The Socialist Labor Party was established in the city in 1877 and published *The People,* from which the current Social Labor Party of America newspaper draws lineage. The New York *Call* was founded in New York in 1908 and became America's leading socialist newspaper. It attracted prominent figures to write for it such as Margaret Sanger and Eugene Debbs.

New York has also long been home to extensive ethnic and foreign-language media. The first black newspaper in the United States, *Freedom's Journal,* began in New York in 1827. The leading modern African American newspaper is the New York *Amsterdam News,* which was founded in Harlem in 1909 and reached a peak circulation of around 100,000 in the 1940s. The German-language *New York Stats-Zeitung* had a circulation of over 200,000 in the 1940s. Foreign-language publishing in the city has ebbed and flowed with immigration and assimilation patterns, but many of the city's ethnic communities have long journalism traditions. For instance, the Russian newspaper *Russkoe Slovo,* founded in 1910, still publishes (since 1920 under the name *Novoe Russkoe Slovo*). The first Chinese-language newspaper appeared in New York in 1883. Today there are seven daily newspapers in Chinese. Spanish-language journalism began in New York with *Diario Cubano* in 1870 and today is led by *El Diario La Prensa*. The newspaper claims to be the oldest Spanish-language paper by drawing lineage to *Le Prensa,* established in 1913. *El Diario* was founded in 1948 and the two merged in 1963. Many other nationalities have published newspapers in New York City, adding to the volume of press in the media saturated metropolis. Many have used broadcast outlets as well.

Magazines

Magazine publishing had started in New York in the 1750s and within a century the city dominated the industry. The post–Civil War years saw a boom for New York–based magazines as much as newspapers. Utilizing improved printing technologies and advertising support, most magazines sought larger audiences. A strong market for smaller and specialized magazines also developed, many of them political in nature. *Revolution,* edited by Susan B. Anthony, was published in New York from 1868 to 1872, and *The Nation* began in 1865. Magazines aimed at women have a long tradition in New York beginning with the *New York Weekly Magazine* in 1794. Several nineteenth-century publications are still publishing in the city today such as *Harper's Bazaar, Vogue, Good Housekeeping, Cosmopolitan,* and *Ladies' Home Journal.* In the twentieth century, diverse women's magazines from *Mademoiselle* and *Glamour* to *Essence* and *Ms.* rose to prominence in the city.

Today's top circulation news magazines, *Time* and *Newsweek,* are also New York publications. *Time* was the first weekly news magazine in the United States. It was founded by Henry Luce and Briton Hadden in 1923, and initially offered a summary of news based on the work of New York newspapers, but later fielded its own reporters and became a very influential magazine. *Newsweek* was started in 1933 by Thomas Martyn, a former editor at *Time.* Both *Time* and *Newsweek* have overseas editions.

As with its newspapers, the city supported alternative magazines. *The Masses* was an influential socialist magazine from 1911 to 1917, edited by Max Eastman. The anarchist Emma Golman's *Mother Earth* began publication in New York in 1906. These publications were repressed under the Espionage Act of 1917, for their opposition to the war effort. After the Bolshevik Revolution, socialist publishing in New York ideologically split according support or lack of support for the Soviet Union. In 1933, Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin established the *Catholic Worker,* which was not affiliated with any socialist party but advocated pacifism. It received a boost in readership in the 1960s, but interest has since declined although it is still published in New York.

The 1960s saw a flourishing left-wing smaller-scale (sometimes called "underground") press in the city. Publications included the *Rat Subterranean,* the *Realist,* and the *East Village Other.* The publications were numerous enough and professional enough to support the establishment of an Underground Press Syndicate. The *Village Voice* rose to the greatest prominence in this era and has since become an essentially mainstream weekly.

Changing Technology and the Birth of Radio and Television

Developments in printing technology brought about lavishly illustrated magazines including *Harper's Weekly* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper.* Beginning in the late 1880s newspapers also printed photographs and within a decade used color and stereotyped plates. Telephone systems were established in New York in the 1870s and were soon put to work in newspaper and magazine offices.

Guglielmo Marconi introduced the city to wireless telegraphy in 1899 when the *New York Herald* sponsored a demonstration. Marconi reported the America's Cup sailing race from the harbor, while the *Herald* posted the news at bulletin boards throughout the city. In 1913 Columbia University student Edwin Armstrong invented the regenerative circuit, ending the need for headphones. In the early 1930s he innovated frequency modulation (FM) radio. The city saw development of the first radio networks when the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), were formed in the late 1920s. Radio journalism developed slowly in the 1930s, becoming important during World War II, when reporter Edward R. Murrow and many others made their mark as journalists.

World War II delayed the diffusion of television, which was largely developed in and near New York. American Telephone and Telegraph conducted experiments with a mechanical television system in the 1920s. The radio networks CBS and NBC created experimental stations in the 1930s when a few television sets were first sold in the city. Modern electronic television broadcasting began in 1941 with three television stations broadcasting to 5,000 homes in New York. After the war, the city was home to four networks: CBS, NBC, the American Broadcasting Company (ABC), and DuMont. New York dominated television

production in its early years, but much of it later moved to Hollywood. However, network headquarters and their flagship news programs remained in New York.

The history of journalism in New York reflects the history of American journalism in various ways. Many milestones in the development of news media were first reached in the city. These include circulation records, changes regarding reporting practices and styles, important institutions such as wire services and broadcast networks, technological changes in printing, journalism education, and landmark legal cases. The press and the city have become a backdrop for popular culture as well. Superman worked at the *Daily Planet*, modeled on the *Daily News*.

Many trends in American journalism are also New York trends. These range from the shift from a partisan press to the more broadly appealing penny press and from muckraking to new journalism. Yet these are not New York trends alone and did not exist isolated on the island of Manhattan. Further, it is evident from the New York press that there is no one journalism history, but many histories. The institution of journalism has never been monolithic even in one city and even in the city most associated with the development of U.S. journalism.

New York is so prominent in American journalism past and present because it became the largest media market, as well as a vital financial and cultural center, and an important center of domestic politics. When media development has begun elsewhere, it has often reached its apex in New York. The trend has continued with the rise of the Internet as indicated by the merger of America Online and Time Warner in 2001, although the marriage did not prove as successful as predicted. To the degree that American journalism is big business, it happened first in New York, a city that continues to host the most important news media organizations. New York is also a diverse city and its alternative journalism has often set a pattern for the nation. Journalism is a central part of New York's life and places the city at the center of national and international media systems.

Janis Chakars

See also ABC News; African American News Media; Alternative and Underground Newspapers; Associated Press; CBS News; Émigré News Media; Evening News, Television; Fox News; History of Journalism; Investigative Journalism; Muckrakers; NBC News; New Journalism; *New York Times, The*; Objectivity; Sensationalism; Tabloid Newspapers; Telegraph; *Wall Street Journal, The*; Women's Magazines

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New York Times, The

The New York Times is the leading U.S. national newspaper and is based in New York City with 16 regional, 11 national, and 26 foreign bureaus. In early 2008, the paper had 1,332 newsroom employees, more than during any other point in its history and more than any other American newspaper. However, due to industry-wide financial losses, in 2008 the publisher decided to reduce 100 newsroom staff positions. The *Times* has distribution outlets throughout the world, with home delivery available for select U.S. cities. In 2007, its 12-month average circulation was 1,066,600 on weekdays and 1,529,700 on Sundays. The *Times* publishes in several formats: the standard print edition; electronic edition; Times Reader edition, a software program enabling users to download

the paper and read it in a paginated version on or offline for a monthly subscription fee; and Nytimes.com edition, the online version of the paper based on a scrolling format and available without a subscription.

The New York Times is widely recognized as the country's "newspaper of record," meaning it is touted as the preeminent and most authoritative news source documenting current events. The *Times* first used the title to describe itself in 1927. The top of the paper carries the motto: "All the news that's fit to print," first used in 1896 and a permanent front-page feature a year later. The *Times* serves as an agenda setter for other newspapers and electronic media, which look to the *Times* to develop stories ideas and find leads. *The New York Times* ranks first among newspapers in terms of the number of Pulitzer prizes awarded. *The New York Times* Company received 120 Pulitzer Prizes, 96 of which were awarded to *The New York Times,* the rest awarded to other publications owned by the company. The paper was dubbed the "Grey Lady" early on because of its heavy text orientation. In 1997, it made extensive changes including the addition of color to advertisements and photographs in its daily editions, and the daily inclusion of separate sports and culture and entertainment sections. The first online addition appeared in 1995.

The New York Times is the chief and best known product of The New York Times Media Group, owned by the New York Times Company. In 2007, annual revenues for the company totaled $3.2 billion. The firm is divided into four business units. In addition to *The New York Times,* the New York Times Media Group includes *International Herald Tribune* (Paris), radio station WQXR-FM (New York), NYTimes.com, and Baseline Studio Systems, a leading database of corporate television and film information available by subscription. The New England Media Group includes *The Boston Globe, Telegram & Gazette* (Worcester, MA), and Boston.com. The Regional Media Group includes fifteen dailies, including *The Gainesville Sun* (Gainesville, Florida) and *The Press Democrat* (Santa Rosa, California). The About Group includes over 50 websites, including About.com, an online resource providing expert information, advice, and tutorials on a wide variety of topics.

Development

The New York Times was founded by 31-year-old Henry Jarvis Raymond, speaker of the New York State Assembly, and George Jones, a banker. The first issue was published on September 18, 1851. Raymond had previously worked for other New York papers, including Horace Greeley's *Tribune*. Jones met Raymond while working at the *Tribune*. The *Times*'s coverage of the sinking of the *Arctic,* a transatlantic steamer in 1854, and the Italian Battle of Solferino in 1859, both relied on eyewitness accounts, which enabled the paper to get the scoop before its competitors.

When Raymond died in 1869, Jones gained editorial control and financial oversight of the paper. He served as editor until his death in 1891. In 1871, the *Times* began printing the misdeeds of William Marcy "Boss" Tweed, the head of the Tammany Hall political patronage system. The coverage is credited with bringing public attention to the Tweed Ring as well as to the newspaper. In 1884 the paper endorsed Democratic presidential candidate Grover Cleveland, breaking with its reputation as a Republican newspaper. The paper also provided significant coverage of the Civil War and Reconstruction. When Jones died in 1891, control of the *Times* passed to his heirs, who sold the paper to a group of investors known as The New York Times Publishing Company, led by Charles Ransom Miller.

In 1896, 38-year old Adolph S. Ochs, the successful newspaper publisher of the *Chattanooga Times,* bought the then-failing *New York Times*. It has remained under the control of the Ochs-Sulzberger family since. The *Times* became a public company in 1967, though the family retained ownership of Class B stocks holding controlling voting rights. In March 2008, the *Times* gave two hedge funds a seat on the board, the first time the *Times* has accepted directors nominated by outsiders. Despite the Jewish background of the Ochs and Sulzberger families, the paper has been criticized for downplaying the Holocaust of World War II and for some of its coverage of Israeli affairs.

When Adolph Ochs revived *The New York Times* starting in 1896, the paper began to value fact over entertainment, the two dominant values of news reporting in the 1890s. It also became the

elite paper of New York (attracting a wealthy, upper-class audience) and soon developed the standard for modern mass circulation newspapers. In 1914, the paper was the first to report on the sinking of the *Titanic*. It was the only paper in the world to publish the entire Treaty of Versailles in 1918. In 1927, the *Times* attained exclusive worldwide rights to Charles A. Lindbergh's personal account of his New York to Paris flight.

When Ochs died in 1935, control passed to his daughter Iphigene Sulzberger, her husband Arthur Hays Sulzberger, and his favorite nephew Julius Ochs Adler, as trustees of the Ochs Trust. Arthur Hays Sulzberger became the publisher, while Iphigene Sulzberger directed from behind the scenes. A passionate suffragist, she pushed the paper towards more progressive policies. In 1945, a drafted *Times* journalist was the only reporter on the Nagasaki bombing mission. In 1955, the paper published the entire 138,000-word transcript of the Yalta Peace Conference. Arthur Sulzberger, in turn, passed control of the *Times* to his son-in-law, Orvil Eugene Dryfoos in 1963. In December 1962, the company's printers, represented by the International Typographical Union, led a strike against the *Times* and other city papers, which dragged on for an unsurpassed 114 days. After the strike, the *Times* revenues were down by $16 million, and daily circulation had dropped 80,000, making it the costliest strike in New York's history. The price of the paper went up for the first time since 1946. Dryfoos felt personal responsibility for the crisis and the stress took its toll on his health. He died of heart failure, aged only 50, in 1963.

Arthur Ochs "Punch" Sulzberger, son of Arthur Hays Sulzberger, took over as publisher after Dryfoos' death. The younger Sulzberger served as publisher until 1992, and is credited with turning the *Times* into a public corporation, with its 1967 offering of stock shares. Sulzberger oversaw the initial publication of the *Times*' national edition in 1980. He appointed a *Times* reporter and correspondent who had won the Pulitzer Prize for international reporting, as managing editor. Rosenthal served from 1969 to 1986, prompting Robert McFadden of the *Times,* writer of Rosenthal's obituary, to refer to him as "a principle architect of the modern *New York Times*." The *Times* was the first paper to report on General Westmoreland's request for 200,000 troops in Vietnam following the Tet Offensive of 1968. In 1970, the op-ed section was added opposite the editorial page and in 1971, the Business section was added. The *Times* won the Pulitzer Prize for its critical coverage of the causes behind the *Challenger* space shuttle explosion in 1986, which killed all seven astronauts on board.

Arthur Ochs Sulzberger Jr. became publisher in 1992. He oversaw the *Times*' transition to the Internet and appointed Howell Raines, another Pulitzer Prize–winning *Times* journalist, as executive editor in 2001. But Raines resigned just two years later following the scandal over Jayson Blair, a *Times* reporter forced to resign for plagiarism and fabrication of information in many of his stories.

Women at the *Times*

The New York Times, like many other newspapers, has had a long history of gender-based discrimination. Compared with other major U.S. papers, however, the *Times* took longer to elevate women into positions of power in the newsroom. Adolph S. Ochs opposed even hiring women and resisted doing so even when more women moved into the workforce during World Wars I and II. During his tenure to 1935, only four women worked as reporters in the *Times* city room. Yet women had worked there before. Sara Jane Clarke, hired in the 1850s, was the first female reporter on the payroll, working under the pen name Grace Greenwood. In 1869, Maria Morgan became the first woman to have a desk in the *Times* city room, the heart of news operations. In 1921, Anne O'Hare McCormick began writing stories for the *Times,* but was not put on the payroll until 1936, a year after Ochs' death. In 1937, McCormick, who had interviewed Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini, and FDR, became the first woman to win a major category Pulitzer (for her foreign correspondence). Unlike other papers, *The New York Times* did not hire women en masse during World War II.

On February 1, 1972, a small group of women from *The New York Times,* which included Betsy Wade, founded the Women's Caucus to address discriminatory practices. They later drafted a letter to the publishing family and

directors documenting salary inequality, raise discrimination, and violation of civil rights. In 1974, seven discrimination lawsuits were brought against the *Times* in the U.S. Southern District Court of New York. In 1977, the judge approved a petition to pursue *Boylan v. New York Times,* a class action suit including 550 women. It was settled out of court in 1978.

"Actual Malice"

The landmark *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan* Supreme Court case arose as a result of a full-page ad, "Heed Their Voices," published in the *Times* on March 29, 1960. The court decision established "actual malice" as the standard to be met by public officials in libel cases. It marked the first time the Supreme Court dealt with civil libel law, which previously fell within state jurisdiction. Before *Times v. Sullivan,* many different definitions of malice existed in various states.

The Union Advertising Service for the Committee to Defend Martin Luther King and the Struggle for Freedom in the South, a civil rights group, paid for the full-page ad that ignited the lawsuit. The ad included text critical of violence against student civil rights activists and the Southern justice system. Four Montgomery County commissioners brought a civil libel suit against the *Times* for the ad's content. The suit brought by Commissioner L. B. Sullivan was the first to go to trial and move on to the Alabama Supreme Court which ruled in favor of the plaintiff, stating that the *Times* ad had identified and defamed the plaintiff. The defense could not argue truth (the standard defense), as there were factual errors in the ad. The case was appealed by the *Times* to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Court unanimously ruled in favor of *The New York Times.* Justice Brennan wrote, "A state cannot, under the First and Fourteenth Amendments, award damages to a public official for defamatory falsehood relating to his official conduct unless he proves 'actual malice'—that the statement was made with knowledge of its falsity or with reckless disregard of whether it was true or false." The Court also held that falsity is not sufficient to warrant the award of damages to public officials in libel cases.

Pentagon Papers

The Pentagon Papers was the informal name of a 47-volume, 7,000-page classified study commissioned by the Pentagon to assess U.S. policy and planning in Vietnam. The study was made public in a *Times* series that began on Saturday, June 12, 1971. *The Washington Post* and other papers soon picked up the story. The publication of the stories and the ensuing Supreme Court case (on whether the papers were within their rights to publish secret government documents) were significant because they dealt with government accountability, censorship, and the papers' First Amendment rights. The studies were classified as top secret-sensitive and only fifteen copies of the final study were produced. Former RAND and Pentagon researcher Daniel Ellsberg leaked the Pentagon Papers to *Times* reporter Neil Sheehan. Familiar with the Papers from his work at the Pentagon, Ellsberg was convinced that making the documents public could stop what he perceived as escalation, let alone continuation, of the war. There was significant debate among the top officials at the *Times* over whether or not to publish the Papers, and if so, how. In the end, publisher Arthur Ochs Sulzberger approved a ten-part series, with a six-page daily limit.

On June 14, 1971, the day after publication of the initial report on the classified documents, Attorney General John Mitchell requested that the *Times* halt publication of the series, claiming that publication posed a significant and immediate threat to national security. On June 15, the government won a temporary restraining order against the *Times,* which stopped publication. The order was later extended to *The Washington Post* when they commenced publication. The *Times* appealed the injunction against publication to the Supreme Court, arguing that the restraining order constituted prior restraint in violation of its First Amendment rights. Relying on language from the 1931 *Near v. Minnesota* decision (the first concerning the First Amendment's press clause), the government argued that publication posed a threat to national security, which trumped the First Amendment rights of the press. The Court ruled 6 to 3 in favor of the *Times,* issuing a per curiam opinion (one that is not signed by any one justice)

which stated, "Any system of prior restraints of expression comes to this Court bearing a heavy presumption against its constitutional validity. . . . [The government] thus carries a heavy burden showing justification for the enforcement of such a restraint." Weakening the precedent-setting value of the decision, however, there were nine separate opinions, none joined by more than three justices.

The Court's decision affirmed that the First Amendment rights of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* to publish the Pentagon Papers could not be abridged by the government. At the same time, the court did not hold that prior restraint was always unconstitutional. There was no evidence that the publication of the Pentagon Paper harmed the U.S. military, defense, intelligence, or international affairs. Nor did publication lead to the end of the war. What publication did do was add to the public debate over whether or not government had intentionally misled the American public.

The New York Times has long been the leading daily American newspaper. It has played an important role in U.S. history and it has been a party to landmark legal cases, which have set important precedents for the press. As an agenda setter for other media outlets, the stories the *Times* covers and the type of coverage it provides is significant. As traditional newspapers struggle to survive in an online market, *The New York Times* has managed to stay afloat. How it negotiates the changes in the marketplace, especially the online world, will determine whether or not the *Times* remains the preeminent news source in the United States.

Colleen Mihal

See also Agenda Setting; International Herald Tribune; New York; Supreme Court and Journalism

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Obituaries

An obituary (the root of the word is *obit,* Latin for "death") is a news report of someone's death, often with a biographical sketch of the deceased. Obituaries typically appear within days or a week after the subject has died. Usually appearing in a newspaper, an obituary not only announces the fact of the individual's passing but also offers an account of the texture and significance of his or her life. An obituary differs from a death (or funeral) notice, which is a paid announcement of the death and funeral details written by family members and placed in a newspaper either by the family or the funeral home.

Origins

If one includes memorial walls and stones left to honor kings and heroes, the obituary dates back to ancient Egypt. In North America, the first obituaries that would be recognized as such by modern readers appeared in Boston newspapers as early as 1704. These early obituaries tended to be short, more like current death notices. Invention of the rotary press in the mid-nineteenth century allowed newspapers space for more news and short death notices evolved into flowery obituaries.

In some of the newspapers for Richmond and Lynchburg, Virginia, for example, longer obituaries began appearing in the 1830s and 1840s, depending on the prominence of the person. These would often list some of the details of the individual's life, but they usually gave little family information other than naming a wife and mentioning—but not naming—children, plus brief details about funeral services. True obituaries listing such details as next of kin, cause of death, place of burial, funeral service information, and the deceased's occupation and activities in civic and cultural groups seem to have first appeared in newspapers between 1875 and 1890, depending on the paper and its coverage area. As obituaries became more commonplace, so did the realization that many individuals had amazing life stories, and the practice of publishing obituaries for every member of at least smaller communities became expected of newspapers. Rather than being a "depressing public service," obituaries are often among the most frequently and closely read sections of a newspaper.

Most nineteenth-century obituaries focused on a person's character. By the twentieth century, writers focused more on describing the accomplishments and associations of the deceased and dwelled less on their character. According to historian Nigel Starck (2005),

> The obituary art in its first incarnation was practiced by the newsbook compilers of 17th century England.... It flowered in the 18th century... it grew luxuriant, and sometimes ornate, in the 19th century; it became unfashionable and fell into widespread neglect in the 20th. Then, with the appointment of reformist editors, the obituary experienced its own restoration.

He also points out that in early America, some people were excluded from the obituary notices,

notably "those who were not white, not well off or not powerful. Also typically excluded were women and children." This began to change in the twentieth century as women and minorities took on a greater role in society.

Types and Process

Newspaper obituaries can be divided into two categories: news and feature. The news approach is a traditional news story that includes full name of the deceased, age or birth date, address or hometown, occupation, affiliations, significant accomplishments, survivors, and details of the memorial service. It may also note cause of death, education, military service, honors, and awards. Put another way, the news obituary sums up the life, usually centering on a person's most noteworthy accomplishments or activities.

Most community newspapers run at least a short item on every death in town. "In community journalism, the writing of obits is one of the most important things we do," says James A. Raykie Jr., editor of *The Herald* in Sharon, Pennsylvania (quoted in Scanlon 2003). The paper publishes about 2,000 obituaries a year, most written by a full-time obit writer assisted by other reporters and newsroom assistants on days when local deaths exceed an average of nine. The paper learned just how important obituaries are to readers when a 1988 redesign moved these from the front to the back page; reader complaints prompted the paper to go back to front-page stories. In larger cities, where 50 or more people die daily, newspapers will run an obituary for only a handful. Alden Whitman, for years the chief obituary writer for *The New York Times,* said for someone to rate an obituary in a metropolitan newspaper, a person had to be "either unassailably famous or utterly infamous" (Siegel 1997, 18).

The famous and infamous usually rate a "feature" obituary; the basic information is fleshed out with personal insights, including anecdotes, descriptions, quotes, and reminiscences. A feature obituary attempts to provide a fuller account of the texture as well as significance of the life of someone who has died. *New Yorker* writer Mark Singer offered this elegant definition of the feature obituary: a "completed cycle of accomplishment or notoriety, concisely wrought" (2002, 28). Feature obituaries include more quotations (from both the subject and others) and more extensive biographies than news obituaries. Interviews with survivors and friends often turn up interesting material. Incidents in the person's life that are well-known to the public are included in the obituary, but it is the lesser-known events that raise the feature obituary to an art form.

Although feature obituaries are usually limited to prominent people, a new form—dubbed the "common man" (and woman) feature obit—emerged in the 1980s. At the *Philadelphia Daily News,* former investigative reporter Jim Nicholson won numerous awards for his feature obituaries, including the American Society of Newspaper Editors' first obituary writing award in 1987, for his sensitive portrayals of the lives and deaths of ordinary men and women, in the process earning the nickname "Dr. Death." In his work, we found out that Marie Byrne smacked her kids for "making the nuns upset" and that she had a "private prayer list with countless people on it." We learned that John Ciavardone, "skinny as a lead pencil," cried only once over his terrible war injuries and referred to his buddy, Mickey DiSanto, as his seeing-eye dog, his "canine." The astonishing body of Dr. Death's work also proves that "news is culture," and that an important role of journalism is to chronicle the achievements, failures, rhythms, and rites of passage of one person's life.

The Associated Press keeps 1,000 "biographical sketches" of prominent people on hand, frequently updated. *The New York Times* has 1,200 on file. A community newspaper, depending on its size, may have a similar file about prominent people in town. When a well-known person dies, the background, or "B-Matter," is ready so that all the reporter need write is an obit lead and the funeral arrangements. At many newspapers, obit files are compiled on the most prominent people while still alive, which allows the newspaper to run an obituary promptly and with considerable detail. The practice has lead, on rare occasion, to premature obituaries being published mistakenly. Unsubstantiated reports of the death of a prominent person induces a harried editor, facing tight deadlines or seeking to scoop the competition, to print one of these ready-to-run obituaries. One famous instance of this was for Mark Twain, published in the *New York Journal* in 1897, to which he commented,

"the reports of my death are greatly exaggerated." (He died in 1910.)

New print reporters are often inducted into the profession by a stint of obituary writing because it stresses the need for accuracy in reporting names and dates and his or her ability to work under pressure—people are always dying on deadline. As Jock Lauterer writes, "It's a mortal fact lost on many young reporters: The older people become, the more they pay attention to obituaries. And the enduring irony is that many young reporters are required to write 'obits'" (2006, 113). It is a test—of accuracy, humility, enterprise, and journalistic craft—and for many novice journalists a rite of passage. Some beginners consider obituary writing a dull assignment of little importance. "What nonsense. What an opportunity," says Joseph Galloway, a senior writer for *U.S. News & World Report,* who wrote his share of obituaries when he broke into newspaper work at a small Texas daily.

The obituary has come to be held in such regard that in 1999, the International Association of Obituarists was formed. Along with holding international writers' conferences, seminars and workshops, the organization seeks to enhance public and professional appreciation for the art of obituary writing, to generate educational activities related to obituary writing, and to serve as an advocate for the craft. Its educational branch also responds to research requests from scholars in the fields of journalism, history, genealogy and anthropology. Finally, the association honors distinguished efforts in writing obituaries with a series of awards and an annual recognition program.

Obituaries, more than most items in a newspaper, speak directly to journalism as the "first draft of history." Obits are as significant to the present community as to posterity, as much about ourselves as about the deceased.

Rex A. Martin

See also History of Journalism: 1861–1930; News as Narrative; Reporters, Print

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Objectivity

Objectivity is a central yet contested tenet of modern journalism. At its core, it seeks to define the role that journalists should play in selecting, gathering and relaying news to the general public. While frequently viewed as a technique for reporting only the "facts" of a story, objectivity is more importantly understood as an idea whose meanings have changed over time. To question, criticize, and renegotiate objectivity is to rethink what is wanted and needed from journalism, and the society it covers.

Origins

While the exact meaning of objectivity is always in dispute, there is an identifiable history of its nature and practice in American journalism. Historians cite the beginnings of the penny press (low-cost, tabloid-style papers) in the 1830s as its earliest formation.

Prior to the 1830s, most American newspapers were partisan. Financed primarily by political parties, these papers also made use of paid subscriptions for revenue; in turn, the party often dictated editorial policy. Journalism historian Michael Schudson comments that there was nothing misleading about this practice; it was recognized as standard and accepted as such. These partisan newspapers were generally read only by party members and were too expensive for most nonmembers to purchase. Because of this, "fairness" and "balance" were not primary journalistic concerns; rather, the purpose was to support and spread the party's positions.

In the 1830s, however, a new type of newspaper began to emerge. The *New York Sun,* first published by Benjamin Day in 1833, was the earliest successful penny paper (so called because it cost one cent while partisan and mercantile papers cost up to six cents). Thus began a trend away from dependence on political elites for both content and financial support and toward a reliance on larger circulation and advertising for revenue.

As the economic structure of newspapers began to change from heavy reliance on political elites to a more commercially based model, so, too did news content shift. Whereas the partisan press reported primarily on business and political affairs, the pennies trafficked heavily in human interest, and stories of society, crime, and sports began to appear more frequently. One of the most widely reported stories in 1836, for example, was the ax murder of prostitute Ellen Jewett. This shift of content, according to communications researcher David Mindich, helped establish one of objectivity's first components: detachment.

Journalistic detachment was of two kinds—a detachment from former political and business alliances, as well as from the divisiveness of the social order of the day. One of the hallmarks of modern objectivity—that journalists should question those in power—first appears in the penny papers. Detachment from the elites served to promote the creation of the idea of "the public" and the "common good." The human capacity to reason was commonly cited. The *Boston Daily Times,* for example, claimed to be "neutral in politics," while the *Baltimore Sun* wrote:

> We shall give no place to religious controversy nor to political discussions of merely partisan character. On political principles, and questions involving the interests of honor of the whole country, it will be free, firm and temperate. Our object will be the common good, without regard to that of sects, factions, or parties; and for this object we shall labor without fear or partiality. (quoted in Schudson 1978, 22)

Penny papers were not alone in promoting the common good. The labor movement supported establishment of at least 50 papers between 1827 and 1832 that were dedicated to wide-ranging social reforms. Penny papers, conversely, demonstrated their commitment to the public good because they knew such an approach would be profitable.

Nonpartisanship

Most importantly, the penny press was detached from political parties. Nonpartisanship thus became an early element of objectivity. Mindich notes that while nonpartisanship is distinctly attainable, objectivity may not be. Critics have questioned the usefulness of judging objectivity from a purely political viewpoint, though a diversity of political voices is an essential component of modern objectivity.

In research on the relationship between the press and the political system, Daniel Hallin proposed three concentric spheres. In the first, called the sphere of consensus, the political system is accepted and the press seeks to speak to all those within its boundaries. For example, in times of war, Hallin suggests that a country's own soldiers are seen by journalists as being above political debate; each contending political party—Democrats and Republicans, for example—profess support. The second, the sphere of legitimate controversy, sees conflict among contending political groups and attempts to mediate between them. Whereas support for troops is seen as sacrosanct, contending political groups may disagree on the rightness of a particular war, an argument that journalists will seek to highlight. Lastly, the sphere of illegitimate controversy, denotes controversy that lay outside the norms of the political system. Radical antiwar protests are typically seen as

lying in this sphere, especially in the earliest days of a war.

Inverted Pyramid Style

We can begin to see tensions in the notion of objectivity by looking at the development of the "inverted pyramid" style of reporting. Early penny press stories, for example, did not resemble what we would today call "objective" journalism. According to Mindich, they followed a pattern of traditional storytelling, relating a logical beginning, middle, and end in chronological fashion. What today would be considered important facts—the top of the inverted pyramid—might only appear well into the body of a story. Consider the *Morning Courier and New York Enquirer*'s 1832 front-page story:

> A most distressing occurrence took place at Alstead, East Providence on the 18th of last month.
>
> On the Saturday evening preceding between the hours of 10 and 11, a family consisting of Capt. Kidder and wife, one son, one daughter, a nephew . . . and a boy . . . retired in health, and under circumstances of comfort.
>
> About one o'clock in the morning, Mrs. K was suddenly awaked [*sic*] from a sound sleep, and found the house was on fire. (cited in Mindich 1998, 65)

As Mindich notes, it is not until the third sentence that we learn what happened—why this is a story. The modern lede—the telling of facts in descending order of importance rather than chronologically—signifies a radical shift in journalism. It also represents a step towards the modern idea of objectivity because it displaces the eighteenth-century essay, which focused heavily on the author's point of view. By contrast, the "inverted pyramid" developed as a way to briefly relay the facts in a way that would be timely and easily understood by answering who, what, where, when, and why an event took place.

To understand why the inverted pyramid became the dominant form for objective reporting, it is necessary to grasp the increasingly important role played by facts in nineteenth-century thought. The philosophy of positivism in both history and science encouraged the general cultural acceptance of an objective world that could be reported on. Communications researcher Dan Schiller presents an intriguing example of the power of "objectivity" in an 1835 story about the existence of "man-bats" on the moon. The story, initially printed by the *New York Sun,* claimed that a scientific journal in England had discovered bats on the moon by using a new telescope. Both the journal and the bats were of spurious origin: neither actually existed. The premise of their discovery was the "invention" of a new telescope that allowed scientists to identify the geology, geography, and natural history of the moon. Several newspapers in the United States ran the story and a group of Yale scientists became intrigued by the reports. Many scientists, according to Schiller, were initially deceived by the claims, but upon further investigation, the scientists demonstrated the falsity of the reports. What is important is that the story caught on and became popular in the American press because, as Schiller suggests, the story's veracity was reinforced by repeated references to scientifically credentialed individuals confirming it. It was the presumed scientific objectivity of these stories that helped give them their power and momentum.

The inverted pyramid begins with a reverence for facts (as opposed to beliefs) and for the promise that facts could hold for public enlightenment. However, even the moon hoax stories were not written in the inverted pyramid style. Mindich suggests that the earliest form of the style can be seen not in the writings of nineteenth-century journalists but, rather, in the war reporting of Edwin M. Stanton, Lincoln's War Secretary.

Many historians of American journalism cite the Civil War as a time when journalists' reportage underwent significant change. New demands for timeliness, coupled with the earlier invention of the telegraph, which allowed for faster transmission, are generally cited as the primary reasons for adopting the inverted pyramid. History suggests, however, that the style rose primarily as a means of writing quick, terse accounts. The perspective most frequently used was that of the government's.

Journalism critic Gaye Tuchman has suggested that objectivity is a "strategic ritual." She argues that journalists have come to over rely on official sources for information, such as government officials and leaders of social standing. Journalists

rely "strategically" on these official sources to support their own legitimacy. In doing this, we see the inverted pyramid—objectivity's hallmark form—serving to reinforce the existing power structure. Whereas the penny press represented detachment, reliance on official sources represents a new symbiotic relationship between the press and the government.

Balance

By the early 1890s, many of the elements required for objective journalism had come together: a reverence for facts, a commitment to nonpartisanship, and reportage written in the inverted pyramid style. Additionally, news and editorial pages were considered distinct, with the former dominant. Objectivity was recognized as *the* dominant frame for American journalists. As Mindich expresses it, "In the 1890s, consciousness and clearheadedness had not yet been complicated by Freud, observation had not yet been problematized by Einstein, and perspective had not yet been challenged by Picasso."

Balance suggests a dichotomized viewpoint from which the press was to operate. Two or more sides have a story to tell and the job of the journalist is to allow these different views to be expressed. In seeking to "balance" stories, journalism historian James Carey suggested that journalists underwent a "conversion downward" from "independent interpreter of events" to "brokers in symbols who mediated between audiences and institutions."

The New York Times' coverage of lynching in the 1890s offers an insight into one of the ways in which objectivity failed to capture the truth of a situation. In trying to "balance" stories about the lynching of African Americans in the South, the *Times* often published reports saying that the lynched African Americans had raped white women. Nearly all such reports were proved false and the idea of the black rapist was a product of the Southern white mind. And it was conveyed to a larger audience via "objective" journalism. The desire for facts, for a knowable world ordered around science and rational understanding, helped develop the system of objectivity that led to this coverage of the lynching. Nothing close to the truth, however, came out of the *Times* coverage. The dichotomized perspective of "he said, she said" balance failed to convey the horror of what was happening. Historians suggest two reasons: first, the pattern developed for balance was most adept at dealing with information and not with developing a narrative. As such, journalists were asked to convey "just the facts," though knowing what the facts were was dependent on how one perceived the events. Second, balance and objectivity are subject to cultural biases. A public that still harbors fear and hatred toward a group of people will be more inclined to believe that their biases are actually the "truth."

Varieties of Objectivity

Over the past century, a variety of criticisms to the principle and practice of objectivity have been raised, with three main concerns. First, criticisms of objectivity arise in the breech. When objectivity works, few people question it. However, when the lynching of black Americans receives imbalanced coverage disguised as balanced and fair, objectivity's efficacy is called into question. Second, each critique of objectivity can be seen as a specific way of reevaluating and criticizing how journalism is practiced. Third, while few would argue that complete, textbook objectivity is possible, most journalists are offended when it is suggested that he or she has not been "objective." In other words, while few agree on its definition, no journalist wants to violate the concept.

With the rise of propaganda and public relations during and after World War I, a naïve faith in facts was soon replaced with skepticism. Michael Schudson points out that the idea of "interpretive reporting" emerged in reaction to objectivity. Yet interpretive reporting did not serve as a wholesale replacement of the objective ideal. A 1999 Pew Research Center survey of journalists and news executives found that 75 percent said it was possible to obtain a true, accurate and widely agreed upon account of an event.

What resulted from interpretive reporting and objectivity was more of a blended approach, one that, according to journalist Brent Cunningham, allows reporters the freedom to analyze, explain, and contextualize the news, thus helping news consumers to navigate through the glut of information available to them.

Many varieties of objectivity exist. If we imagine the journalist's role on a continuum, we see the

general public on one end, and government and business leaders (who are typically the focus of news stories) on the other. "Objectivity" suggests where a journalist should stand in relation to the two. Should the journalist present news and information in a way that helps public life go more smoothly? Or should a reporter be concerned with holding the government accountable, even if the public is not in favor?

A new view of objectivity can be seen in public journalism. Begun through a consortium of concerned newspaper editors and journalists, as well as interested academics and a few sponsoring foundations, public journalism began as a small movement with a large aim: to rethink the mission of the press as supporting development of a healthier public climate.

This concept stirred concerns about "objectivity" being compromised. Supporters argue that the idea requires journalists to rethink the ethos of objectivity in their craft. Media researcher Jay Rosen argues that journalists too often use objectivity–the idea of disinterested detachment—as a shield to protect themselves from criticism. If all sides are upset, the argument goes, then they must be doing their job well. In formulating an argument for a new set of values, he argues that journalists need to be more aware not just of the decisions they make but, also, *who* the actors are in the decision-making process:

> If we describe it [news writing] simply as providing facts, we're going to miss a lot of what the institution [of journalism] does. . . . The political drama given to us by the press is dominated by professionals in politics, by insiders, by discussions of strategy and technique and manipulation. It is almost exclusively a story of conflict and controversy within the political class, and it is increasingly out of touch with the rest of the country and out of step with the problems we face as a democracy.

Public journalism, on the other hand, sees the origins of objectivity as tightly connected to the modern development of the general public. Without one, the other cannot exist. Therefore, it advocates for bringing the public back into play.

The second contemporary view focuses upon the truth of reporting. In a widely cited 2003 article, Brent Cunningham suggested that the "principle of objectivity" "make[s] us [journalists] passive recipients of the news, rather than aggressive analyzers and explainers of it." This assessment begins by asking why so few stories in the lead-up to the American-led war in Iraq inquired in a serious and sustained way into the Bush administration's raison d'etre for war (Saddam Hussein's alleged possession of weapons of mass destruction) and with the problems that might arise after an invasion.

Cunningham cites four developments to explain why the ideal of objectivity has come unbound. The first looks to the early economic reasons for adopting objectivity as a working philosophy. In attempting to appeal to a broader audience, the penny press (and later, the wire services) worked to remove partisan views from stories. Today economic requirements have stripped journalists of space and time allocated to news as opposed to advertising. This shrinking "news hole" leaves less space for the difficult balancing act of objectivity, as there is less time or space for context and analysis.

A second development that works against objectivity is the 24-hour-news cycle. With reporters of all media now accessing the Internet, there is less time to dig for sources. As a result, reliance on official sources has increased. Another is the rise of "attitude" in the news, as well as point-of-view reporting. Epitomized by Fox News, much of talk radio, and the Murdoch press, the idea of a measured and balanced report increasingly becomes, Cunningham suggests, "anachronistic."

Perhaps most important is the pervasive and infinitely expanding world of public relations and spin. These forces work to make the concept of balance at best moot and at worst confusing. Cunningham remarks that nearly all of the information a reporter gets from any official source has been carefully engineered to produce a desired effect.

These elements combine to make objectivity an increasingly passive and docile working philosophy for news media. Cunningham's alternative is to refashion objectivity so that journalists recognize their obligation to cover important news that is being ignored, even if elected officials are unwilling to talk about it. The new test thus becomes one based not on an abstract concept of balance but rather on a test of whether or not the reported news is true.

Objectivity Today

Objectivity developed as both an idea and a practice in the world of nineteenth-century American journalism. To the extent that wire services, like the Associated Press, have achieved a global reach, they, too, have globalized the tenets of objectivity. However, it is noteworthy that criticisms of objectivity as currently practiced in the United States are often tempered by claims that objectivity should not be abandoned entirely in favor of the more explicitly partisan viewpoints found in the European press. Notable exceptions include communications researcher Robert Hackett's position that such a viewpoint may perhaps be preferable to objectivity.

With the growth of multimedia technologies expanding the ways in which news stories are told, and especially the proliferation of the blogosphere that expands and challenges the conception of what it means to be a journalist, arguments about objectivity continue to shape much of the criticism of contemporary journalism. The varied uses of objectivity can be seen in criticism of press coverage of two different cases. In the lead up to, and coverage of, the Iraq war, journalists in Washington were criticized for relying too heavily on the Bush administration for information. Critics have suggested that journalists were too caught up in the patriotism following September 11, 2001, and failed to be a proper check on governmental power. Here, objectivity is seen as a force that can detach itself from the specifics of a situation and offer insightful reporting and analysis.

Conversely, critics suggest that coverage of the intercultural strife in the Darfur region of the Sudan failed largely because it did not sufficiently expose the human costs of the conflict. Large numbers of people dying will not sway the sympathies of the general public, nor even register the true horror of the event. Coverage of such an event requires personalization and real-life stories that can define a humanitarian disaster in more human terms. It is also important to note that what is considered an appropriate use of objectivity in one case is not always appropriate in another. This suggests that objectivity is most useful when discussed on a case-by-case basis.

Objectivity continues to function as one of the primary values for American journalists. Rarely is it followed blindly, and no single definition exists. It developed in American journalism for economic reasons and became a working philosophy. One of the initial aims of objectivity was to serve the creation of a general public with diverse political or social orientations. The enduring importance of objectivity is in its value to question, criticize and renegotiate what is wanted and needed from journalism.

Matthew J. Powers

See also Audience; Bias; Blogs and Bloggers; Criticism of Journalism; History of Journalism: Before 1861; History of Journalism: 1861–1930; Hoaxes; News as Narrative; News Audiences, Decline of; News Values; Press and Government Relations

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Online Distribution

See Distribution Online

Op-Ed Page

In contrast to newspapers in other countries where opinions are expressed throughout the paper, in the United States, opinion is relegated to the editorial or "op-ed" section of the newspaper. "op-ed" is abbreviated from *opposite editorial* due to the tradition of newspapers placing opinion material on the page opposite the editorial page.

The editorial section is the page or two pages of the first news section of the newspaper where the masthead and staff listing of the newspaper can be found, including the owner's name, one to four editorials, syndicated and local guest writers, political cartoons, and letters to the editor. It is only here that openly acknowledged opinion (as opposed to traditional "neutral" reporting) is supposedly published. While the editorial page usually contains the opinions of the publisher, the op-ed page is reserved for articles by other writers who are often not affiliated with the paper. Articles may come from freelance writers, advocacy and industry groups, public relations agencies, and others. Some of the most prominent op-ed pages are those of *The New York Times, The Washington Post, USA Today,* and *The Wall Street Journal.*

The Essay

The op-ed essay itself is a short essay intending to inform the public about an issue and to indicate some means for its resolution. As suggested by *New York Times* editor Patricia Cohen, many op-ed essays tend to follow one basic structure: lede (around a news hook), thesis (statement of argument—either explicit or implied), argument based on evidence (such as statistics, news, reports from credible organizations, expert quotes, scholarship, history, firsthand experience), a "To Be Sure" paragraph (in which the author preempts potential critics by acknowledging any flaws in the argument, and addresses any obvious counterarguments), and the conclusion (often circling back to the author's lead).

Some editors, such as Frank Partsch of the Omaha *World Herald,* believe that the op-ed page has a primary duty to provide opinions not ordinarily found on the editorial page. Secondarily, it provides a variety of opinions selected as being, in the editors' judgment, useful to readers. Often, these come from a regular line-up of syndicated columnists—columnists with a following that limit the editors' ability to cut them to make room for more nonregulars. Vying for the remaining handful of slots are unsolicited articles, made ever more voluminous in the 1990s, with the wider use of fax machines and e-mail. According to some editors, a rebuttal by a person or institution criticized in an editorial gets top priority. An article by a public official going behind or beyond the news is usually picked up. Editors also look for scholarly analysis of public policy and infrequent pieces in which a regular reader finds a fresh and creative voice and deals authoritatively with an issue worthy of general reader attention.

Development

The current American model of journalistic objectivity is a fairly recent development, predated by the partisan press and interspersed with various reactionary movements, such as new journalism (1960–70s) and public journalism (1990s). But since roughly the 1940s, American mainstream papers have been expected to operate within the norms of the objective model. The editorial section of the paper is the exception. These pages are the outlets for the editorial board, the publisher—sanctioned mouthpiece of the newspaper, to collectively craft and publish its views on a wide range of topics.

Along with the editorial section, the op-ed pages of the paper, where the content comes from outside the paper in most cases—from columnists and contributors—are historical remnants of the partisan press system in the United States that subsumed opinion within news columns. Under this partisan press system, news organizations aligned themselves politically and presented news from a specific partisan point of view, without the guise of objectivity. When the U.S. press system evolved from a partisan system to one with an objective

ideal, op-ed pages were created to distinguish the opinion section from the news sections of the paper.

In 1970, *The New York Times* opened a corner of prestigious journalistic real estate to outside nonjournalist contributors in an effort to provide space for what it later described as "doctrinal counterpoints to the liberalism of the paper's editorial columns and its columnists." In that spirit, the *Times* hired a conservative nonjournalist, William Safire, as a regular op-ed columnist. According to Stephen Rosenfeld, former editorial page editor of the *Washington Post,* in doing so, the *Times* was responding to popular calls for the institutions of authority in American society to, in effect, move over and make room for other participants. A growing appreciation of the complexity of issues of public policy made newspapers ready to share different perspectives on those issues.

However, *The New York Times* did not create the first op-ed page. Instead, the idea was conceived of by Herbert Bayard Swope, an editor at the New York *World* newspaper in the 1920s, who used the name "Op. Ed." In a letter written by Swope to newspaperman Gene Fowler, Swope wrote, ". . . nothing is more interesting than opinion when opinion is interesting, so I devised a method of cleaning off the page opposite the editorial, which became the most important in America . . . and thereupon I decided to print opinions, ignoring facts" (quoted in Meyer 1990). The difference from op-ed pages then and now is that Swope did not print unsolicited letters from the general public; instead he rounded up big names to write the letters.

Even so, *The New York Times* is widely credited for developing the archetype of modern op-ed pages in September 1970. By the 1970s, editors tried to distinguish their op-ed pages from others, but most adopted the common practice of devoting most, if not all, of their op-ed pages to outside voices. The *Chicago Tribune* used its op-ed page in the 1970s to run opinions that countered the *Tribune*'s "staunchly conservative views," while the *Los Angles Times* opted for more localized opinions of a less intellectual bent than those found in *The New York Times*. In the early 1980s, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* tried to engage its readers with more local voices by dropping syndicated columnists entirely for a time and recruiting local writers to contribute periodically.

The increased use of op-ed pages encouraged the development of political columns in the 1960s and 1970s, and the sense that readers needed help in understanding not only politics, government, and business but also changing lifestyles led to a marked proliferation in types as well as numbers of columns.

By 1980, most newspapers had humorists as well as analysts on their editorial or opposite editorial pages, and some, especially smaller ones that did not have separate business or lifestyle sections, ran advice columns on business and other topics there. A survey conducted during the middle 1970s found that virtually all newspapers used some type of column on their editorial or op-ed pages. Political analysis and political reporting, presented in 93 percent and 75 percent of these columns respectively, were the most popular. Other columns featured humor (63 percent), business (33 percent), religion (20 percent), advice (13 percent), and gossip (1 percent).

By including op-ed pages, some newspapers were inadvertently responding to the admonition decades earlier of the Commission on Freedom of the Press in the mid-1940s that newspapers provide a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism. Then and now, some newspapers may be looking for a comparatively inexpensive way to look good and attract readers. Some may obtain columnists to keep opposition newspapers from using them. Many look to columnists for information, analysis, and comment concerning national and international affairs they cannot afford to obtain on their own and which are not necessarily available through the basic wire services. Some newspapers run columnists whose voices support and reinforce the philosophy of the publishers; some run columnists that differ with them politically, philosophically, or both, to provide readers a choice of benchmarks against which to measure their own views. Columnists can help satisfy these goals and perhaps provide incidental benefits such as provision of ideas for editorials.

Editors note that one challenge of maintaining a distinct op-ed page is generating a steady supply of quality submissions in order to fill the daily page. While prominent pages such as *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* often ask noteworthy people to write op-eds, many newspapers

seem to rely on a combination of volunteer writers from the community and unsolicited contributions. Some newspapers create "contributor boards," or groups of diverse people from the community, who are asked to occasionally write columns. Some newspapers rely entirely on unsolicited contributions. A few use their op-ed pages for special purposes, such as publishing the submissions of scholastic essay contests or carrying a variety of opinions on specific themes that are of interest to the community.

Some journalists and journalism scholars have noted another challenge facing op-ed editors: keeping the page open to "citizen writers" as opposed to politicians, scholars, newsmakers, public relations specialists, and special interest groups. In a 1994 survey of op-ed editors, researchers found that the editors often gave preference to submissions from people who were principals in news stories, experts in the topic area discussed, or prominent at the local or national levels. About a third of newspapers that run op-ed pages sell space on the page for "image ads," or advocacy-statement advertisements developed by corporations, special interests, further limiting the space for essays from "citizen writers."

By the turn of the twenty-first century, many newspapers had expanded the role of the op-ed page to their editorial pages, sometimes surrendering space normally reserved for the newspaper's editorials for essays and letters from contributors and readers. Many newspapers that have just one opinion page per edition will construct them more as op-ed pages than as traditional editorial pages.

Smaller, more local newspapers sometimes feature community issue sections in their op-ed pages where members of the paper's readership can weigh in on topics that affect their local community. At larger papers, letters to the editor are often selected and printed in the op-ed pages on the basis of the authority or notoriety of the writer, but often on the basis of the point of view expressed. Letters to the editor usually range in length from 200 to 500 words and are shorter than op-ed essays.

Corporations have strategically engaged in op-ed campaigns using paid issue advertisements that are printed in the op-ed pages of newspapers, such as the Mobil Oil Corporation's op-ed campaigns between 1982 and 1986. Other organizations, including universities, have used unpaid essays on op-ed pages as a way of increasing the institution's visibility. Public figures and academics often attempt to act as public intellectuals by getting their essays or columns published in the pages of well-known newspapers and magazines. In these ways, the op-ed pages may be used by interested parties to try to persuade readers to their point of view and gain recognition.

As of 2007, men's voices dominated the nation's op-ed pages, and women's voices were noticeably lacking. Many opinion page editors at major newspapers across the country said that 65 or 75 percent of unsolicited manuscripts, or more, come from men. Some successful op-ed contributors, in the spirit of increasing diversity of opinion, are training women at universities, foundations, and corporations to write op-ed essays and get them published.

As Vaughn (2008) observes, over time, the term "op-ed" itself has evolved into an adjective denoting all opinion aspects of newspapers, such that some use the term to mean "opinion/editorial" rather than "opposite editorial."

Until the late 1990s and beginning of the twenty-first century, which saw the rise and proliferation of internet venues for news and opinion, op-ed pages were one of the few places in mainstream media where members of the public were provided an opportunity to offer their perspectives and shape public debate.

Conclusion

In the twenty-first century, venues for opinionated public affairs content have proliferated in all forms of media, even those traditionally reserved for "objective" news. In news magazines, newspapers, television news broadcasts, and internet news sites, opinion and editorial sections abound. In many instances, they continue to be demarcated as such and cordoned off through section headers or prefaces and disclaimers from the official news sections of those publications and broadcasts. In other cases, the line between news and opinion is less clear. Some scholars argue that with the ability of the average person to become a "citizen journalist" and blog online, singular access to public space through newspaper op-ed sections is

rendered less crucial. And so while newspaper op-ed pages still potentially wield power by influencing the sentiments of their readers, they are only one force of opinion in an ever-growing opinion media landscape.

Kimberly Meltzer

See also Cartoonists, Political; Columns and Columnists; Editorials; Letters to the Editor

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Opinion Magazines

See Quality and Opinion Magazines

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Pacifica Radio

The Pacifica Radio Foundation owns the licenses for and manages the affairs of five listener supported, noncommercial FM radio stations in the United States: KPFA in Berkeley, California (inaugurated in 1949); KPFK in Los Angeles, California (1959); WBAI in New York City (1960); KPFT in Houston, Texas (1970); and WPFW in Washington, D.C. (1977). Pacifica also funds and promotes news and public affairs programs for its own and nearly 100 affiliated community radio stations, most notably *Democracy Now* and *Free Speech Radio News*. The organization's main contribution to U.S. journalism has been the consistent airing of perspectives of the American and global political left that are often excluded from or marginalized by mainstream broadcasting.

World War II–era conscientious objectors created the Pacifica Foundation in August of 1946. Pacifist Lewis Hill, nephew of an Oklahoma oil millionaire, had worked as an announcer at a news radio station in Washington, D.C., following his release from a conscientious objector camp in 1944. Hill saw radio as a way to rescue organized pacifism from its sudden marginalization following Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941 and the consequent U.S. entry into World War II. He envisioned listener support or "sponsorship" as a means of establishing a funding base independent of advertisers or educational institutions, the latter the most common source of support for nonprofit broadcasting.

Pacifica launched KPFA in Berkeley in 1949 largely through volunteer labor. The focus of the station was primarily cultural, including commentaries by movie critic Pauline Kael, Zen scholar Alan Watts, and beat poet Kenneth Rexroth. Although the station broadcasted political commentaries, most notably Hill expressing opposition to the FBI and the Korean War, news and public affairs programming took a backseat to culture until the arrival of Elsa Knight Thompson in the mid-1950s.

Thompson, a journalist who had worked at the BBC in London during World War II, pushed to build a news and public affairs department at KPFA. She produced many path-breaking programs, including a lengthy 1958 broadcast on the civil liberties of homosexuals that is generally recognized as the first gay rights radio documentary. In 1960 Knight Thompson took a team of reporters to San Francisco City Hall to provide live coverage of hearings held by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. When subpoenaed witnesses denounced the committee in testimony and students rioted outside the hearing chambers, the KPFA team turned the broadcast into a widely distributed radio documentary.

The opening of Pacifica stations KPFK in Los Angeles and the acquisition of WBAI in New York City accelerated the foundation's emphasis on news and public affairs. KPFK's Terry Drinkwater, later to join CBS, produced a provocative interview in 1959 with notorious anti-Semite Gerald L. K. Smith. In October 1962, WBAI producers Richard Elman and Chris Koch, the latter an acolyte of

Knight Thompson, interviewed a disgruntled FBI ex-trainee on his experiences with the bureau. For three hours WBAI listeners heard Jack Levine disclose anecdotes of racism and anti-Semitism at the agency, as well as revelations of J. Edgar Hoover's alleged distaste for trainees with sweaty hands. The FBI retaliated by producing a dossier of nearly everyone in Pacifica and handing it over to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. The senators subpoenaed members of the Pacifica board while the Federal Communications Commission stalled the renewal of Pacifica station licenses. Only the resignation of a Pacifica board member once associated with the Communist Party enabled the foundation to survive the ordeal intact.

During the 1960s, WBAI enhanced its reputation with unique coverage of the Vietnam War. While Dale Minor provided dispatches from the Battle of Hue in South Vietnam, in 1965 Koch became the first U.S. reporter to visit Hanoi and return with lengthy commentaries and interviews from the north. WBAI won a huge audience in greater New York by including European news service items in its daily newscast on the war. All three Pacifica stations developed daily newscasts.

As a critical mass of journalists developed at Pacifica, the organization began to cobble together an alternative radio news service which included many future National Public Radio reporters, such as WBAI's Margot Adler. Begun in 1968, the program's audience grew as community radio stations proliferated across the country, joining forces in 1975 to form the National Federation of Community Broadcasters (NFCB). In 1972 journalist Larry Bensky anchored live coverage of both the Democratic and Republican National Conventions, held in Miami, sending narration and actuality feeds to two dozen community stations via telephone connections. By the early 1980s, Pacifica was producing a daily national newscast whose contributors included journalists Marc Cooper and Tim Frasca of KPFK, Alan Snitow of KPFA, and Robert Knight of WBAI. The production drew on correspondents around the world, including Israeli reporter Peretz Kidron, a prominent critic of that country's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

In 1987 Pacifica and Bensky once again put the organization on the national news map by providing live gavel-to-gavel coverage of the Senate's Iran Contra hearings. This time Pacifica employed a satellite connection to reach a much larger group of community radio stations. Bensky interviewed hundreds of guests during the hearings and took listener call-ins to get audience reaction on the scandal. The production won Bensky, his producer Bill Wax, and Pacifica a prestigious George Polk Award. The organization continued using this means of distribution for a while, providing live coverage of the Senate confirmation hearings of controversial Supreme Court nominees Robert Bork and Clarence Thomas.

By the early 1990s Pacifica's leadership had committed itself to centralizing the organization's resources in order to produce and distribute more national programming. In 1992 former PBS official Gail Christian completed a study for the organization. Titled "A Strategy for National Programming," the document recommended creation of a national production facility for the network that would provide about 100 hours a month of programming to 100 community radio stations, including Pacifica's. Although the organization never created this service, it began to experiment with a wide range of national programs, including Dennis Bernstein and Robert Knight's *Iran-Contra Report,* the *Julianne Malveaux Show,* featuring the progressive economist and her guests, and former California governor Jerry Brown's program *We the People.*

By the mid-1990s Pacifica noticed that affiliate community station KFCF in Fresno, California, had been buying access to a commercial satellite system operating on the so-called Ku-band (14.0 to 15.5 Ghz for uplinks) in order to route KPFA programming to its audience. Another service, *Radio Bilingue,* distributed its program to community stations via the system. Pacifica followed suit in 1997 with a Ku band service that distributed a wide variety of programs to community radio stations, including Marc Cooper's *Radio Nation,* Michio Kaku's *Explorations in Science,* and the *Pacifica Network News* (PNN).

The centerpiece program of the satellite system was *Democracy Now,* inaugurated in 1996 and hosted by WBAI programmer Amy Goodman and *New York Daily News* reporter Juan Gonzalez. *Democracy Now* represented a significant departure for Pacifica radio. Unlike earlier Pacifica programming that usually interviewed prominent leftists, Goodman also aggressively courted the

participation of government officials, corporate spokespersons, and conservative ideologues. Often Goodman would clash with these guests, as she did in confrontations with House Speaker Newt Gingrich and President Bill Clinton. But these exchanges only heightened the popularity of the show among Pacifica and community radio listeners. Goodman has also won acclaim for her coverage of events in Haiti and East Timor. By the late 1990s *Democracy Now* broadcast to almost 80 community radio affiliate stations and an estimated audience of 750,000 to 1 million listeners.

An internecine crisis over governance at Pacifica radio from 1999 through 2001 resulted in the collapse of PNN. *Democracy Now* became an independent programming service, but continued to receive substantial funding and promotion from Pacifica. In 2000 many reporters affiliated with PNN reorganized themselves as *Free Speech Radio News* (FSRN), an independent service. As of the mid-2000s, FSRN broadcast to 93 community stations and 11 Internet and low-power FM stations. Pacifica provides substantial financial and distributional support to FSRN. Both groups have publicly committed themselves to reintegrating FSRN back into the auspices of Pacifica governance.

Pacifica also distributes other national programs, including Larry Bensky's discussion show *Sunday Salon,* Dennis Bernstein's investigative magazine *Flashpoints,* and *Informed Dissent,* a week-in-review election show.

Pacifica radio's most important contribution to broadcasting remains its demonstration that Lewis Hill's listener-sponsorship system works in big, urban areas—although it is less successful in poorer and rural regions where fewer people with disposable income are listening. KPFA, KPFK, and WBAI, with their emphasis on localism and community advisory boards, served as models for the burgeoning community radio movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Today, Pacifica functions as an ongoing broadcasting forum for those who see the U.S. government's "war on terror" as a threat to global stability and civil liberties.

Matthew Lasar

See also Community Radio; Public Radio Journalism; Talk and News Radio

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Pacific Area

A difficult region to characterize briefly, the Pacific (also called "Oceania") consists largely of island nations including—to name only the largest—Indonesia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Taiwan, and many smaller island groups. With the exception of the first four, populations are sparse and widely scattered. The development of satellite communications in and since the 1970s has made them easier to reach without substantial delay.

Indonesia

The world's fourth largest country, and its largest Muslim nation, this island nation (with some

6,000 inhabited islands) was a Dutch colony from the early 1600s until after World War II. In 1816 the Dutch established the first newspaper, which appeared until the Japanese occupation of 1942–45. There were about 30 papers—all in Dutch—by the mid-nineteenth century, at which point some of the first indigenous language periodicals began publishing. The first Indonesian language newspaper began in 1907. While circulations remained small due to limited literacy, they reached important population segments and helped to fan nationalist feelings in the years before World War II and until independence was achieved in 1949.

Just under half of Indonesia's 230 million people live on the island of Java, where Jakarta is located, and numerous newspapers are published there as well as in other cities. The country is served by about 175 daily newspapers (many others have come and gone with varied political winds) with a total circulation approaching eight million. Most of the newsprint they use is made in the country, some by companies that also own newspapers.

There are some 40 television stations (the first began operating in 1964), most of which operate within one of ten national networks, and some 800 radio stations (60 of them in the Jakarta area). In 1974, the country launched its first communication satellite to ease and speed communication across thousands of miles of islands. An all-news television station began operating in 2000 in Jakarta, broadcasting to both Indonesian and Chinese audiences. By the early twenty-first century, perhaps 2,000 radio transmitters operate as pirates without official clearance to get around stiff licensing requirements.

As in many developing nations, press–government relations depend on the political winds and players of any given time. During the long regimes of Sukarno and then Suharto, government control or repression of news media (including licensing) was severe. Since the latter's overthrow in 1998, however, there has been a considerable expansion of print and broadcast services. Freedom House concludes that early-twenty-first-century news media are partially free of government repression, with major liabilities being defamation suits filed by public officials against reporters or their media, and physical attacks on journalists.

New Zealand

An independent Dominion (since 1907) within the British Commonwealth, New Zealand's first newspaper appeared in 1840; within two decades there were dozens of them. By the end of the nineteenth century there were nearly 200, largely modeled on those in Britain, and a New Zealand Press Association was already two decades old. A century later there were nearly 30 dailies (though only ten published on Sundays), and many regional and free newspapers. The first radio station aired in 1921 and initial laws regulating the service were in place in 1923, well ahead of many larger nations.

Broadcasting was largely deregulated in the 1990s. The country of more than four million people is served by some 40 television and 400 radio stations, mostly commercial, located on the country's two main islands (most on the North Island). There is a government-operated public service network of both radio and television stations, somewhat modeled on the BBC. Australian media firms control half of the country's newspapers including the largest, the *New Zealand Herald*. A growing number of media outlets exist to serve the indigenous Maori population, often in their own language. The country enjoys one of the most free journalism systems in the world.

Papua New Guinea

An independent country since 1975, this island nation (half of one major island and some 600 smaller ones) was long governed by Britain and then Australia. The first radio station aired in 1961 and television appeared only in 1987. With more than 5 million people, there are only two daily newspapers (both published in English, one owned by an Australian firm, the other by a Malaysian company), one television station (controlled from Fiji), and over 50 radio outlets, some operated as a public service network, and the rest commercial. While there are occasional press-government tensions, the news media are generally considered free of repression.

Philippines

A Spanish colony from 1521 to 1898 when the United States took over as a result of the Spanish-American War, the 7,000 islands that make up the

Philippines became independent in 1946. While there had been some Spanish-language newspapers in the nineteenth century, the first English-language papers appeared at the turn of the twentieth century and the news system was largely modeled on that in the United States, though with tight control on any criticism of military or colonial authorities. The first radio stations took to the air in Manila in 1922. Newspapers became more critical in tone during the 1930s, and shed light upon government malfeasance in the 1940s and 1950s. Television began local operation in 1952, again in Manila. In the 1970s and early 1980s the press was largely controlled by President Ferdinand Marcos or his close associates.

In a country of some 85 million people, about 40 percent of Filipinos work in agriculture and another 20 percent in the government or social services. They are served by less than a dozen national daily papers and some 400 community weeklies, the most important of which are controlled by a few wealthy families. There are about 30 television and more than 650 radio stations, most of which are privately owned, but operating parallel to government services in both media.

Several things trouble Filipino journalism—tough libel laws that are often a means of controlling news media criticism (perhaps ironically, a holdover from the days of American administration), a high level of physical assaults on or murders of journalists, and sometimes shaky ethical standards. Despite this, newspapers maintain investigative reporters to keep an eye on governmental wrongdoing (and a Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism is active). The expanding broadcast media are important news conduits.

Taiwan

Also known as Formosa, this large island off mainland China was a Chinese province until 1895 when Japan annexed it, ruling until the end of World War II. At the end of the Chinese Civil War in 1949, the remnants of Chang Kai-shek's Nationalist army fled to the island, styling themselves the surviving Republic of China. Tension between the two Chinas has largely dictated political and media policy in the 60 years since. Governmental control of media, direct or indirect, has declined sharply in recent years and the country now has one of the freest systems of mass media in Asia.

The Japanese banned Chinese media in their half century of control, creating a few small circulation Japanese newspapers and establishing the first radio station in Taipei in 1925. There were only a handful of stations operating by 1945, and just ten by 1955. By the early 1970s, radio had expanded to 110 outlets operating twice as many transmitters around the island. The island's first television station began broadcasting in 1962. By the early 1980s, about 15 to 20 percent of broadcast time was devoted to news. In 2006 the government-operated Taiwan Broadcasting System, a public service operation, was privatized.

There are more than 360 private newspapers, about 170 radio stations and some 30 television stations serving the nation of nearly 25 million people. Internet service is widely used.

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See also Asia, Central, South, and East; Australia; China; Comparative Models of Journalism; Development Journalism; Hong Kong; Japan; Singapore; STAR News (Asia)

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PanAfrican News Agency

The PanAfrican News Agency (PANA), formally known since 1997 as PANAPRESS, is a continent-wide news-gathering and sharing operation, linking the many national African news agencies to reduce their dependency on major Western news agencies.

Development

The dream of an Africa-based global news agency is an old one. Ghana, the first former colony to become independent (in 1957) sought to create just such an entity. Years of often frustrating discussion and negotiation followed the independence of other former colonies into the 1960s. In April 1963, African nation ministers of information agreed to create the Union des Agences d'informations Africaines, based in Tunis, Tunisia, which provided some news services for all of the continent's nations. Although its services were by no means comprehensive, the nascent information agency did suggest what might be accomplished with stronger organizational and financial support.

In July 1979, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) formed the PanAfrican News Agency, or PANA, as one of its own specialized agencies, charged with serving as a true continental news service. An important additional role was to balance and hopefully overcome widely held global views of the continent as corrupt, disease-ridden, poverty-stricken, and backward. Transmission of such news, it was argued, thwarted attempts to develop the continent and limited revenue-generating tourism as well.

All African nations which were members of the OAU also became members, financial supporters, and users of the new PANA. For unlike the major western agencies, PANA, initially based in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, was created as an intergovernmental entity because most of Africa's individual national agencies also formed a part of their respective governments. Indeed, several of the announced objectives of PANA were clearly more political than professional in nature. From its inception, PANA was intended to promote the objectives of the OAU for the independence, unity, and solidarity of Africa; and to provide information about and assist in the liberation struggle of peoples against exploitation and oppression.

PANA was also known by its French titles as Agence d'Information Panafricaine (AIPA) and Agence Panafricaine d'Information (API). Plans called for 75,000 words of news each day, much of it coming from regional offices that were initially located in Lusaka (Zambia), Lagos (Nigeria), Khartoum (Sudan), Kinshasa (Zaire, later the Congo), and Tripoli (Libya), the only North African bureau originally established. After several years of development and training, and partially overcoming the lack of trained personnel, PANA news service began from Dakar, Senegal (still the news agency's home), on May 25, 1983.

But the governmental organizing principle—and its political as well as professional news-reporting roles—soon made PANA operation (let alone expansion) difficult and created both financial and managerial problems. Within five years, the new venture was bankrupt, largely because more than 40 countries were in arrears on their PANA support payments. At times, the agency's access to telephone and cable services was cut off. By the early 1990s, PANA was not only in decline, it was facing a huge and growing debt.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), one of the original funders of the agency, developed a financial recovery plan to revive PANA starting in 1993. With the advice and leadership of UNESCO staff and experts from other countries (including South Africa which became a member in 1994 after the end of apartheid), a move to professionalize PANA included creation of additional revenue-producing news products and an increase in the agency's overall news output. PANA was privatized as a limited company, becoming known as PANAPRESS on October 1, 1997. The new business's management trimmed staff and payroll by more than 60 percent, raised news output by about 25 percent, and eliminated the cumulative debt from the former operation. By 2001, the agency's website was attracting 165,000 hits a day.

Services

By the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, PANAPRESS was providing a variety of services on a fee or subscription basis. Its main

news feed included continent-wide, regional, and topical news, transmitted 24 hours a day. The agency claimed to be the only international news service providing quality and current information about Africa, with reporters and stringers in 51 nations. Its "Press Review" offered a weekly summation of African news, "In-Focus" provided a variety of feature stories ranging over many subjects, and the PANAPRESS news archives offered a searchable database of past news stories.

In early 2001, PANA announced a partnership with the Gamma international photo agency that for the first time enabled PANA to enhance its news service with photos. Under the agreement, photographers were based in PANAPRESS headquarters in Dakar, as well as in its seven regional bureaus in Abidjan (Ivory Coast), Addis Ababa (Ethiopia), Johannesburg (South Africa), Nairobi (Kenya), Tripoli (Libya), and Yaounde (Cameroon).

News and features are generally available in a choice of English, French, and Arabic, with the more recent addition of Portuguese. The agency website encourages information searches by topic or by nation and provides several hundred pages of PANAPRESS stories ranging back to 2001.

While PANAPRESS has progressed impressively in its three-decade history, it still suffers from a lack of sufficient personnel and modern equipment. Political problems in Africa are often reflected in the agency's communication (or lack of it when reporters are banned). But there is far more cultural, social, and economic feature material about the Continent available thanks to its efforts.

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See also Africa, North; Africa, Sub-Saharan; Development Journalism

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Parody of News

The parody of print and broadcast news involves the employment of a variety of print, televisual, and filmic representations of journalism and journalists for comedic and often satirical purposes. Closely related to the literary traditions of satire and lampoon, news parodies frequently combine humorous content with biting criticisms of the shortcomings of the media business.

Traditionally, a piece can be considered parody when it draws upon an existing, commonly "serious" work for comical or critical effect. While parody is closely related to satire, the two terms are not interchangeable—the primary purpose of parody is typically humor, while although satire often contains elements of humor, it does not have to be funny. (Satire is more concerned with presenting the faults and failings of some entity or situation with the objective of shaming or ridiculing the target into change.) The roots of parody stretch back to ancient Greece, with Aristophanes often credited as the father of parody for his lampooning of the playwrights Euripides and Aeschylus in *The Frogs.*

The parody of news can focus on news content (the actual stories), news format and conventions, or a combination of the two. A particular parody may address the serious news of the day in a comedic/parody format (e.g., *The Daily Show*), retain the traditional structure of "legitimate" news while parodying the content (e.g., *The Onion*), or lampoon both the format and the content simultaneously (e.g., *Anchorman: The Legend of Ron Burgundy*). Parodies of news can be found across a wide range of media, including print, television, film, and the Internet.

Notable Print Parodies

National Lampoon's Sunday Newspaper Parody, first published in 1978 and re-released as a paperback book in 2004, was originally published in a traditional newspaper (broadsheet) format as *The Dacron* (Ohio) *Republican-Democrat*—proudly proclaiming itself "One of America's Newspapers!"—and extended the parody beyond article content into advertisements, the Sunday magazine section, comics, and movie listings.

("Living Play Things," for example, sells "Ohio's Freshest Pets." Their sale on Teacup Dobermans and Mexican Chili Dogs includes, free with any purchase, a mud-breathing Southern American Muck Puppy. The ad is a sidebar to the articles, but just as much a part of the joke.) The *Sunday Newspaper Parody* published only one issue, and can still be found in book format.

Perhaps the most famous of all parody newspapers is *The Weekly World News,* which at its zenith, enjoyed a circulation of over a million per issue. When the paper began in 1979, it maintained that the articles printed within were true and legitimate. By 2007, when it ceased production, no such pretense remained. *The Weekly World News* existed as a parody of supermarket tabloid newspapers, often printing articles concerning Loch Ness Monster sightings, alien encounters, giant mutant animals, and the mysterious "Bat Boy"—a half-human, half-bat creature that has engaged in a variety of offenses, including stealing an automobile, endorsing Al Gore during the 2000 presidential elections, and campaigning for a gubernatorial seat.

First published in 1988 at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, *The Onion* is a free newspaper which publishes wildly fictitious articles in a very traditional tabloid newspaper layout. The parody of conventional newspapers extends to nearly every section of the publication, from headlines to article content, polls to editorials, horoscopes to advice columns. *The Onion*'s international website, launched in 1996, significantly increased the circulation and national attention of the publication. In 2008, *The Onion* boasted over five million unique page hits per month. *The Onion* also publishes compilations of its articles in compendium volumes including *The Onion Ad Nauseam* and *Our Dumb World*. On occasion, the traditional format of *The Onion* has led the unsuspecting to believe articles published by the paper are true. In 2002, the *Beijing Evening News* cited as factual an *Onion* article detailing Congress's threat to move to another city if Washington, D.C., failed to install a retractable dome on the Capitol building. In 2004, MSNBC commentator Deborah Norville cited an *Onion* article proclaiming that over half of American exercise is televised. *The Onion* has spawned numerous emulators including *The Frumious Bandersnatch, TheSpoof.com,* and *The Wasted Times,* and in 2007 launched *The Onion News Network,* a website dedicated to producing the same *The Onion*-style parody news stories in video format.

Notable Television/Film Parodies

The *Benny Hill Show*'s "News at Ten" (1971) was a spoof of British ITV network's nightly newscast. A dozen years later, French television producers Roland Topor and Henri Xhonneux's *Téléchat* (1983) lampooned news broadcasts using hand puppets of a cat and an ostrich. *Not Necessarily the News* (1983–90) was an American version of Britain's *Not the Nine O'Clock News* (1979–82). Both programs made extensive use of re-editing actual news footage with new voiceovers to create parody stories. In particular, *Not Necessarily the News* on Home Box Office (HBO) often repackaged interview responses from political figures with new questions from the cast to create comic and fictional interview segments—most famously with former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and the wife of then–Vice President Dan Quayle. The British BBC2 network produced an adaptation of the radio program *On the Hour* for television in 1994. Titled *The Day Today,* the series combined a traditional news magazine format with fictional parody content, skewering not only the overly serious nature of news anchors and field reporters, but the technological gimmickry of news broadcasts. Regularly, the program featured incredibly complicated computerized lead-ins and credit sequences.

Saturday Night Live's "Weekend Update" segment has been a mainstay sketch of the comedy program since its debut in 1975. While 32 different comedians have anchored the news commentary desk, the format has not much changed in the segment's 33-year run. "Weekend Update" typically takes actual events and pairs them with comedic commentary from the anchors in a parody of evening news broadcasts. The segment usually involves guest commentary, editorials, or other special spoofs based on current news items.

Prominent television news anchors have often been spoofed, and in multiple venues, from *The Simpsons'* bumbling news anchorman, Kent Brockman, to *Sesame Street*'s two "Grouch news" anchormen, Dan Rather-Not and Walter Cranky.

Comedian Will Ferrell took the image of the traditional broadcast news anchorman to ridiculous proportions in the film *Anchorman: The Legend of Ron Burgundy,* lampooning not only the stuffy and dowdy seriousness of television news anchors, but inter-station news team rivalries, local journalists' coverage of local media events, and the celebrity that comes with leading a television news team.

Both *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart* and *The Colbert Report* on the Comedy Central cable channel operate within traditional formats—the news magazine and the cable political pundit program, respectively. *The Daily Show*'s host and producer, Jon Stewart, has repeatedly referred to his program as "a fake news show," despite the fact that studies reveal many viewers under 30 use *The Daily Show* as a primary news source. Both programs present actual (though edited) news stories, then provide comedic/parodic commentary about the stories. *The Daily Show* also features news packages from "Senior Correspondents," editorials, and interviews with celebrities and political figures. Its coverage of the Iraq war (titled "Mess O'Potamia") and presidential elections in 2004 and 2008 ("Indecision 2004" and "Indecision 2008") have earned the program multiple Emmy and Peabody Awards. *The Colbert Report* is modeled on cable network pundit Bill O'Reilly's *The O'Reilly Factor,* and is more of a direct parody of both the format and the content of that program.

There have also been many situation comedies which are set in news-related environments, from *NewsRadio* to *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* to *WKRP in Cincinnati,* to *Back to You.* However, the simple pairing of comedy and the news environment does not a parody make. The difference lies in the intent and focus of the comedy in relation to the news environment or content. The intent of the best news parodies is to critique some of the genre's most recognizable features—its serious nature, its predictable and familiar formats, and its reliance upon the myth of photographic truth. In essence, the best of the news parodies are those that take the news industry seriously as they poke fun at it.

Conclusion

It is difficult to definitively state whether the public's appetite for news parody has grown over the years. First, there is the problem of volume—there are vastly more media outlets in 2008 for programs like *The Daily Show* and *The Colbert Report* to exploit than a program like *Not Necessarily the News* had access to in 1983. The advent of the Internet and the entrée to global populations that came with it makes comparison of public demand for news parody challenging. Secondly, and interrelated, *Not Necessarily the News* appeared on HBO, a premium pay cable channel. International programs such as *Téléchat* and *The Day Today* were limited mostly to local or national broadcast. *Saturday Night Live* has been freely available on network television since its debut; *The Daily Show* and *The Colbert Report* appear on basic cable. Audiences are expectedly larger when viewers do not have to pay extra to receive the program.

It is tough to overstate the impact of the Internet on the distribution and consumption by audiences. *The Onion*'s readership exploded upon the launch of its website; even defunct parody outlets such as *The Weekly World News* and *Not Necessarily the News* are kept alive through Internet niches dedicated specifically to those entities. With the increase in access to immediate information the Internet brings comes an increase in access to (and for) those who would poke fun at that information. *The Daily Show* currently maintains a website containing an archive of every episode of the program for free streaming download; *The Onion*'s website allows users to search a collection of over a decade's worth of articles. Whether the public's desire for more parody of news has increased or not, one thing is certain—on the Internet, there is plenty of parody available.

Christopher Bell

See also Hard Versus Soft News; Hoaxes; Infotainment; Satire of News

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Peace Journalism

Peace journalism, according to its advocates, is a way to report on conflict and not increase the conflict itself. Sounds simple, but its application would surely change the nature of journalism because of a reporter's orientation to conflict as news. Therefore, perhaps the easiest way to understand peace journalism is to examine it in opposition to the previous ways of covering war and conflict. (Some authors even refer to typical journalism as "war" journalism because of the journalistic practice of framing conflict in terms of trying to discover who is winning and who is losing.) A criticism of peace journalism is that it expects journalists not only to take sides but to advocate for peaceful resolutions of conflicts.

The ideas promoted by peace journalism's advocates are best understood in contrast to journalism as it has been traditionally practiced. And the advocates for peace journalism admit that the phrase itself suggests that they are advocating peace. Instead, they say that they hope to "give peace a chance" by ensuring that nonviolent responses to conflict also are covered by journalists (Lynch and McGoldrick 2005, xxi). For example, one "How to do it" list on the web begins: Avoid portraying a conflict as consisting of only two parties contesting one goal (xxi). The logical outcome is for one to win and the other to lose. Peace journalists, instead, would separate the two parties into many smaller groups, thereby opening up more creative potential for a range of outcomes.

Opposing Side-Taking

Peace journalism uses conflict analysis and transformation to achieve fairness and accuracy in reporting. As suggested here, traditional journalism seeks to present opposing sides to a problem; the peace journalist hopes to encourage the understanding of multiple positions to each potential conflict. Peace journalism advocates explain that journalism as it has been practiced in America encourages the taking of sides even when that is unnecessary. Because of this craft tradition, reporters who cover war are blind to anything except a polarized presentation of the news. In turn, this polarized approach accelerates conflict. (See peace journalism model in Lynch and McGoldrick, 6.)

Practical tips and suggestions for changing the way a reporter covers conflict are included in a textbook written by British former war correspondents Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick. As they present the material, among the first steps in analyzing conflicts is a process they call "mapping the conflict." Wisely pointing out the effects of language choices of winning and losing, they offer simple lessons in empathy—discovering common ground and common visions for the future and looking beyond slogans and positions to identify opportunities for dialogue.

Lynch and McGoldrick use modern examples which help explain how peace journalism has defused or could defuse conflicts. A useful example is Britain and Ireland and how that conflict has evolved from historical bloodshed to a kind of transcendence. As they note, stopping the fighting does not bring harmony nor does it mean that all disagreements have been resolved.

Many of the tips for reporters who would follow peace journalism's processes are framed in ways to "avoid" certain patterns of speech which lead to the escalation of violence. Examples are the avoidance of the following: assessing the merits of a violent action in terms of policy; letting parties define themselves by quoting a leader's demands or positions; asking about what divides the parties; only reporting violence and describing the horrors; assigning blame and highlighting the fears and grievances of one party; and most importantly, using victimizing language such as "destitute," "defenseless," or "pathetic." Other language to avoid is the imprecise use of emotive words ("genocide," "decimated," "massacre"), adjectives such as "vicious" or "brutal," and labels such as "terrorist," "extremist," or "fanatic."

Phillip Knightley, in his prefatory remarks in the text for peace journalism, points out that "[t]he aim of this ambitious book is to spark off a revolution in journalism—to change the way the media reports wars. It is important and long overdue" (Lynch and McGoldrick 2005, iii). Indeed, if the authors of *Peace Journalism* have their way, journalists will need to change more than their language—they will need to become more analytical and their editors must let them.

Opponents of peace journalism say that it is an (unwelcome) shift from objectivity and offer other important analyses, as well. Canadian researcher Robert Hackett has attempted to analyze the production of news and its complexities in relation to the concepts of peace journalism. He carefully sets forth the arguments of both the peace-journalist advocates and their critics. As he notes, "Peace Journalism is an unwelcome departure from objectivity and towards a journalism of attachment" (Hackett 2006, 2). He goes on to note that the peace journalism movement fails to fully take into account the effects of the actual dynamics of news production.

One Antiwar Correspondent

A reading of some of the advocates against war adds to an understanding of the defusing process. One of the most interesting—and least self-righteous—is a collection of war reporting by Martha Gellhorn called *The Face of War*. Even though it covers wars from 1937 through recent conflicts, it offers surprisingly modern views. The overall tone is antiwar or perhaps prohuman, as well as deeply humane.

Gellhorn, who reported the Spanish Civil War in the 1930s through the Vietnam War 30 years later, has been more known for being the third wife of Ernest Hemingway than for her writing. However, new critical attention may shift the understanding of her international importance. Her pieces are personal and are not as dated as much war correspondence because she does not write about military tactics. Caroline Moorehead, author of *Gellhorn: A Twentieth Century Life,* says the correspondent remained undaunted for most of her 90 years. "I think she was fearless but she knew what it was like to be frightened," a toughness she got from her upbringing. "She didn't write about battles and she didn't know about military tactics," Moorehead says. "What she was really interested in was describing what war does to civilians, does to ordinary people." This creates the timelessness, the overall antiwar feeling to these remarkable pieces.

Peace Advocacy as History

Some of the most interesting research on peace advocacy and its press was the work done about the nineteenth century. Interestingly, the research suggests that much journalism was a form of advocacy, that many publications were often strident in their activism. Indeed, access to different peace approaches can be found in archival copies of peace journals such as the *Messenger of Peace* and the *Herald of Peace*. Often romanticized or considered quaint, these Quaker advocates for reform were courageous in the face of taunting and in the possibility of physical danger.

Scholars of diplomatic and military history have dominated the field of possibilities for peace history, yet many opportunities for future research by journalism historians exist. Like the frames available to war correspondents, the military historians haven't found the peace press provocative or compelling enough, according to journalism historian Nancy Roberts. But peace societies at their inception saw the need for publications to cover the issues which were left out of popular publications. Hence, much of the information about the peace press must be gathered by reading peace periodicals themselves.

Roberts outlines a sampler of peace advocacy publications available at the Swarthmore College Peace Collection. Included are publications which date from 1828. For current topical information, information and articles are available from an interfaith peace website called the "Fellowship of Reconciliation" identified as existing "For a World of Peace, Justice and Nonviolence." Historian Merle Curti has written of earlier peace periodicals that their study is important because they usually contain the annual reports and addresses which earlier were circulated in tract form. Additionally, a tradition of antiwar journalism and an important archive of antiwar newspapers exist, but they are separate from the peace journalism phenomenon.

Both historical studies of peace publications and further analyses of the peace journalism phenomenon are needed to better understand these challenges to the practice of journalism.

Ann Mauger Colbert

See also Alternative and Underground Newspapers; Civic Journalism; Criticism of Journalism; Newsroom Culture; News Values; Social Movements and Journalism; Terrorism, Coverage of; War and Military Journalism; Coverage of; Women in Journalism

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PHILADELPHIA

Philadelphia is the second largest city on the East Coast and the sixth largest in the nation, with a population of approximately 1.45 million. Situated between New York and Washington, D.C., Philadelphia's location has long made it a pivotal printing and publishing center and an important city for journalists.

Newspapers

Among the first newspapers to be printed within Philadelphia was *The Pennsylvania Gazette,* published by Benjamin Franklin. The success of the *Gazette* was due in no small part to Franklin's acute awareness of the types of stories that sold newspapers: sex, crime, and gossip. In addition to its distinctive journalistic style, the *Gazette* also distinguished itself by printing, on May 9, 1754, the "Join, or Die" graphic, considered the first political cartoon printed in the United States.

In 1800, when the United States capitol moved from Philadelphia to Washington, D.C., Philadelphia undertook efforts to remake its image. Part of this shift in the city's development throughout the nineteenth century entailed the birth of several newspapers. *The Philadelphia Inquirer* was born on June 1, 1829, making the paper the third-oldest surviving daily in the United States. The *Public Ledger* was first printed on March 25, 1836. Eleven years later the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* appeared under the name *Cummings' Evening Telegraphic Bulletin.* The *Philadelphia Tribune,* the voice of the black community, was founded by Christopher J. Perry in 1884, making it the oldest black paper in America. In 1925, the tabloid *Philadelphia Daily News* was founded.

Over the course of the twentieth century, the competition among Philadelphia's various newspapers became fiercer. Although the *Public Ledger* folded in January 1942, the city was left with several dailies. When the *Bulletin* was purchased by William L. McLean in 1895, it was the smallest of the city's 13 daily newspapers with a circulation of 6,300. In ten short years the *Bulletin* was transformed into Philadelphia's premier paper with a circulation exceeding 200,000. After McLean's death in 1931, his son Robert took over. Committed to traditional journalistic norms such as objectivity and balance, McLean's *Bulletin* continued to dominate its prime competitor, the *Inquirer,* and was considered Philadelphia's paper of record for most of the twentieth century, with the exception of the Sunday newspaper, where the *Inquirer* held

a circulation lead. During most of this time, however, the *Bulletin* was the largest evening newspaper in the United States.

In the 1970s, like many evening newspapers, the *Bulletin's* readership began to decline. With a change in leadership at the *Philadelphia Inquirer* that made it a more viable competitor, the *Bulletin* ceased publication in 1982. Television also played a role in the *Bulletin*'s decline, as did changing modes of transportation. With fewer workers taking public transportation, afternoon newspaper readership suffered.

Like the *Bulletin,* the *Philadelphia Inquirer* was long a family-owned newspaper. In 1936, the *Inquirer* was sold to Moses Annenberg, who began to raise the public visibility of the paper. In 1942 his son Walter Annenberg assumed leadership of the paper. While the newspaper supported Democrats in their efforts to reform the corrupt Republican-led machine that ruled Philadelphia throughout the 1950s, the *Inquirer* remained predominantly allied to the Republican party.

Fifteen years after Walter Annenberg inherited the *Philadelphia Inquirer* from his father, he purchased the *Daily News*. Both were sold to Knight Publishers in 1969 for $55 million. Six years later, Knight became part of the Knight-Ridder media company. The papers' sale signaled a new era in Philadelphia journalism. Native North Carolinians Eugene Roberts Jr. and Rolfe Neil were selected to edit the *Inquirer* and *Daily News,* respectively. The *Inquirer* flourished, soon rivaling the *Bulletin* in quality and surpassing it in the scale and scope of its coverage, and contributing to its demise. Not only was the *Inquirer* able to compete with the *Bulletin*'s infamously local coverage, but the *Inquirer* transformed into the city's primary national and international news source, sending correspondents across the country and abroad. Between 1975 and 1990, the *Inquirer* earned 17 Pulitzer Prizes and more journalism awards than any other newspaper in the United States. Among the Pulitzer Prize winners was investigative journalist William Marimow, a two-time winner who in 2006 returned to the *Philadelphia Inquirer* to assume the post of editor of the newspaper. Marimow earned his first Pulitzer Prize with fellow journalist Jonathan Neumann for a 1977 series of reports investigating the systemic brutality of the city's Homicide Squad. His second Pulitzer came in the wake of a 1985 series of articles uncovering the abuses of the Philadelphia police K-9 unit. The *Daily News,* too, fortified its reputation as the "people paper," through its dedication to intense coverage of local issues such as crime and political corruption. It demonstrated a form of personal journalism largely absent in the city's other print outlets, emphasizing the impact of incidents upon various communities in the city. The paper's urban appeal is reflected in its circulation, which is comprised of approximately 90 percent on-street sales.

After the *Bulletin* closed in 1982, the *Inquirer* and *Daily News* increased their staffs by absorbing many of the *Bulletin*'s reporters and developing more extensive news coverage beyond city limits. In 1995, philly.com, the online service of the *Inquirer* and *Daily News,* was created. In addition to including searchable content of the two newspapers, the site also offers their archives dating from the early 1980s.

Like most urban newspapers however, Philadelphia's print news media have endured hard times since the 1980s. Between March 2003 and March 2006, the *Inquirer*'s daily circulation fell 10 percent, while the *Daily News*' Monday to Friday circulation dropped approximately 19 percent. On May 23, 2006, several local investors operating as Philadelphia Media Holdings bought the *Inquirer* and *Daily News* for $562 million from McClatchy, which had purchased Knight-Ridder just months before.

The *Inquirer* was one of the few large newspapers in the country to experience a circulation increase in 2007, growing by 2.3 percent. In contrast, a 12 percent decline was experienced by the Sunday circulation of the *Philadelphia Tribune,* the nation's oldest African American–controlled and –owned newspaper. The paper is published daily except Saturday and Monday by The Philadelphia Tribune Company, Inc. In September 2006, the *Tribune* launched an extensive ad campaign to broaden readership. Announcing "The Philadelphia *Tribune* . . . only when you want the truth about issues in the African-American Community," the ads were intended to reassert the paper's commitment to African Americans, who comprise approximately 45 percent of the city's population.

Despite the news organizations' efforts to broaden readership, the *Tribune,* like many other newspapers, has suffered.

Broadcasting

While Philadelphia's daily newspapers were vying for dominance throughout the twentieth century, the city's broadcasting media emerged, first with radio and then newspapers' fiercest competitor, television.

The first licensed radio station in Philadelphia was WGL, which was owned by Thomas Howlett. Two years after the station's February 1922 license was granted, it disappeared from the broadcast scene. However, several stations had emerged to replace it, including WIP, WFI, and WLIT. Each of these three stations was originally owned by a department store. WIP was owned by Gimbel Brothers, WFI by Strawbridge & Clothier, and WLIT by Lit Brothers.

WFIL radio was formed following the 1935 merger of WFI and WLIT. In 1946, Triangle Publications, the company owned by *Inquirer* publisher Walter Annenberg, purchased the WFIL radio stations. On September 13, 1947, WFIL-TV first aired and became an affiliate of ABC in 1948. Annenberg sold WFIL-TV in 1971 to Capital Cities Broadcasting and the station became WPVI-TV. Just months before the sale, the station began its "Action News" format, which entailed providing more and shorter stories. This helped catapult WPVI-TV into the top ranking, a position it traded at various points over the course of the decade with Westinghouse's KYW-TV.

Channel 3 first went on the air experimentally in 1932 as W3XE, owned by the Philco Corporation. In 1941, it became WPTZ-TV, as the city's first commercial station. The 1950s marked a period of change to the station. WPTZ-TV was sold to Group W (otherwise known as Westinghouse Radio Stations, Inc.) and later in the decade became the first station in Philadelphia to broadcast color. In 1956, Channel 3 was acquired by NBC. The station's letters changed almost a decade later to KYW-TV. As KYW-TV, the station was known for pioneering the "eyewitness news" format in the late 1960s—a format that relied more on reporters at the scene of breaking news rather than anchors in the studio. KYW-TV's news director, Al Primo, spearheaded the "eyewitness news" charge.

The third television station in the city, WCAU-TV, went on the air on May 23, 1948, and was owned by the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin,* then the leading daily. When the *Bulletin* received the license for the station, WPEN-TV was the proposed call name, after the paper's radio station, WPEN AM and FM. A decade later the *Bulletin* sold the station to CBS. Affiliated with CBS until 1995, WCAU-TV swapped network affiliation that year with KYW-TV. Since 1995, KYW-TV has been a CBS station while WCAU-TV remains an NBC affiliate. In 2007, WCAU-TV launched Digphilly.com, a site targeted toward the youth market presenting information regarding restaurants, nightlife, social events, and shopping in the Philadelphia area.

Along with a decline in newspaper subscription has come a decline in local television news viewing. According to a June 21, 2007, article in the *Philadelphia Inquirer,* the combined audience for KYW (Channel 3), Action News (Channel 6), and NBC10 (Channel 10) declined from roughly 695,000 to 630,000, a 9.4 percent drop at the 6 p.m. news slot during May sweeps 2007 as compared to a year prior.

In addition to these major television news networks, WHYY, Philadelphia's public television station, has been similarly important to the city's journalistic development. WHYY became the twenty-third public television station in the United States in 1957, three years after WHYY-91FM began broadcasting. While initially the station encountered issues with coverage, WHHY was able to broaden its reach outside the city of Philadelphia in 1990 to include surrounding counties and total coverage for the state of Delaware by adding offices in Wilmington.

Despite the economic and political challenges confronting news organizations today, Philadelphia has proven itself a diverse and adaptive media landscape. While its rich history was pivotal to the development of journalism in the United States, its continued prominence has reinforced the city's importance for present and future journalists.

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See also Baltimore; New York; Washington, D.C.

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Photo Agencies

Photo agencies (a category of companies known by several different titles) provide photographs for commercial users including news media, both print and broadcast. Such companies usually make, collect or archive, and distribute photographs for a fee, either on a subscription or per-photo basis, the price depending on the use of the image. Many photo agencies use their own photographers and distribute images shot by others (including smaller photo services and independent photographers). In recent years, declining media use and consolidation has changed the face of the business.

Origins

While magazines and newspapers long used their own staff photographers, what would become the professional news and photo service developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The work of such famous Civil War photographers as Mathew Brady had appeared widely, though often without the photographer's knowledge, let alone permission. In 1895, photographer George Bain began his Bain News Service, one of the earliest firms aimed at the burgeoning print media demand for pictures that had been created by development of the halftone printing process. Other companies soon followed. Underwood & Underwood was formed in 1901 and both Keystone View Company and Culver Pictures appeared about the same time. Later entries included United Newspictures (later Acme), and International News Photos (part of the news agency), both of which were set up in 1915. Wide World Photos followed in 1919, established by *The New York Times,* and the Associated Press began its AP Photos subsidiary in 1927 (it later would take over the Wide World operation, an early example of the consolidation to come).

Until the 1920s, photographs used in newspapers and magazines were either taken locally, or had to be shipped, creating a real deadline problem beyond New York City and other major markets. The only distribution means were by messenger within the city, or by mail outside. There was no effective way for daily newspapers to publish timely photographs of events taking place beyond their immediate local market. It often took several days to a week to get photographs sent from one side of the country to the other. Technology changed that in the mid-1920s.

The wirephoto process—a variation of facsimile technology—was invented as "telephotography" by telephone carrier AT&T in 1924. The new process allowed photographs to be transmitted through the telephone network, anywhere in the country, though it required the use of an expensive and bulky wirephoto machine at both the source and receiving end. The original photograph was placed inside the sender's machine and scanned line by line to translate the image into electrical impulses. These impulses were then sent by telephone line to the receiver where the impulses were translated back into a developed image on photographic paper.

AT&T offered its first commercial service in 1926 (though it would end in 1933 for lack of sufficient income to cover its costs). Early wirephoto machines were large, expensive, and all too often unreliable. The resulting wirephotos were usually

of low definition (far less clarity than any original photo—they were often described as "muddy"), and could be further degraded by occasional problems with telephone line transmission. Further, sending one often took more than an hour and the sender had no idea if a recognizable image would be received at the other end. Thanks to this complex and pricy process, it took more than a decade for the process to be widely adopted.

AP began its wirephoto service in 1935 with links to 47 newspapers in 25 states. The first AP wirephoto showed an airplane crash in rural New York. United Press Telephoto appeared in the next year. The two news agency photo operations quickly dominated the business for newspapers as they focused on the latest news events. As the technology became easier and somewhat faster to use, wirephotos became the dominant form of long-distance photo distribution for newspapers well into the mid-1970s.

By then, building on constantly improving photographic and printing technology, AP instituted its Laserphoto system. This sent images to subscribers far more quickly than the old wirephoto equipment and with much higher image resolution. AP updated this system in 1989 so that full color images could be transmitted in just seconds. These images were displayed on computer monitors and distributed in digital form. The result was newspaper and magazine pictures of much higher quality and the more common use of color photographs. Eventually the news agency-owned photo operation would garner 30 Pulitzer Prizes for its news photographs. By the mid-2000s, they were distributing a thousand photos a day and had accumulated an archive of some 11 million images.

A Changing Business

Starting in the mid-1930s, and doubtless encouraged by the appearance of a growing number of photo-based weekly and monthly magazines as well as improving camera technology, a second wave of photo agencies began to appear. They combined current news photos with a growing photo archive of material, sometimes dubbed picture libraries, or (later) image banks. One of the first was Black Star, formed in 1935 by three refugees from Nazi Germany, one of whom brought some 5,000 photos from his Berlin photo agency. Black Star worked closely with the new *Life* magazine when it appeared starting in November 1936, and sometimes accounted for more than 40 percent of the weekly magazine's images. Otto Bettmann (1903–98) established his Bettmann Archive in 1936 which soon stressed historical photos. And in 1938, Edward Hulton created the Hulton Picture Library. All of these firms—and the earlier photo agencies—were active on the battlefronts and the home fronts of World War II.

The Magnum agency first appeared in 1947 when photojournalists Robert Capa, Henri Cartier-Bresson, George Rodger, and David "Chim" Seymour formed it to distribute their photographs while protecting their image ownership rights. Initially based in Paris and New York and later adding offices in London and Tokyo, Magnum differed from other agencies in two ways. It was created as a cooperative venture in which the staff (which included co-founders Maria Eisner and Rita Vandivert) would support rather than direct the photographers. And copyright to their photos would be retained by the photographers, not by the magazines that published them.

The Gamma agency was established in 1967 by Hubert Henrotte, Hughes Vassal, and Raymond Depardon and the Sygma agency was created in 1973. But by now the picture magazines on which so many agencies had long thrived were disappearing—*Life,* for example, had ceased its weekly publication the year before. As media clients dwindled, photo agencies were forced to broaden their business model to serve a wider variety of clients. Many branched out to serve commercial needs such as providing photos for use in company annual reports, brochures, or other business and industrial applications.

Consolidation

With the rise of the Internet came both a new way to market photos—placing masses of them online for easy perusal by potential customers (sort of a cyber-catalog)—and a continuing decline in traditional media photo markets. Photo agencies increasingly centered their marketing toward nonmedia business users. Web software could also be used to help seek out and fine those illegally placing copyright-protected photos on their own websites.

As with the companies they serve, major consolidation of photo agencies began in the 1980s, accelerating in the years to follow. For example, the Bettmann Archive was purchased by Kraus in 1981. Three years later Kraus took over the United Press International collection (which included the Acme and Pacific & Atlantic agency archives as well). Kraus, in turn was taken over by Corbis in 1995 (the agency formed in 1989 by Bill Gates of Microsoft). Corbis also purchased Sygma in mid-1999. The Getty Images archive was put up for sale at the end of 2007—and was expected to sell for something close to $1.5 billion, an indicator of both the number of photos involved, and the broad commercial value of these growing archives.

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See also Associated Press; Digital Photography; Facsimile; International News Service; Photo Editors; Photography; Photojournalists; Photo Magazines; United Press International

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Photo Editors

Photo editors are the "visual thinkers" for news in print or online formats. They assess and choose images for publication, assign stories for photographers to cover, administer the photographic department, and make ethical and legal decisions about the visual representation of reality. Their daily routines have changed dramatically with the introduction of digital photography and online news presentation, yet the basic principles that guide their work in the aesthetic, informative, and ethical use of photography remain relatively constant.

The job of the photo editor has its roots in illustrated news that existed even prior to photography. Before the invention of the halftone printing process in the late nineteenth century, which made it possible to reprint actual photographs affordably, newspapers in the United States and Europe used engravings and other graphics, many of them copied from original photographs. Readers devoured illustrated news, and in spite of resistance on the part of writers and publishers who considered such visuals "childish," the use of images proliferated and became integral to journalism.

Illustrating the Story

Before they look at a single shot, photo editors must confer with reporters and photographers on staff to delegate assignments. Reporters may have information and suggestions about photographic opportunities, but often it is left to the editor to plan visual coverage, determine whether credentials are necessary, or arrange for a photographer to cover a particular story. Once those photographs are submitted, the editor's primary, though hardly singular, task involves choosing images to accompany stories in a newspaper or on a webpage. They must consider whether the chosen photo is informative, appealing, and serves to enhance, but not detract from, the story.

A modern photo editor may scan hundreds, if not thousands, of images on a digital server each day. Choosing a photo for display is the first step. In their classic 1951 text on photo editing, Stanley Kalish and Clifton Edom advised editors to look for "eye-stopping appeal." Many of Kalish's principles about what makes an image "eye-stopping"

are still taught at an annual workshop established in his name. Every editor has different criteria for the "right shot." The best have a solid combination of information, design, emotion, and intimacy. Choosing photographs will also depend on the nature of the story, its placement in the publication, and the quality of the image. Editors must balance information and impact, understanding that the photographs must work in tandem with the text. The emotion of a photo can draw people in to learn more from the text, and might be what is remembered even after details fade from memory. Yet another consideration: each publication will have a different photo style for the images it uses. A front-page photograph for the UK's *The Guardian,* for example, is expected to have high-impact color with strong graphic elements in keeping with the overall look of that newspaper. Other publications might emphasize portraiture, such as *Vanity Fair,* or unusual subject matter, as with *National Geographic.*

Photo editors must also make ethical and legal decisions about individual shots. Images of dead bodies, for instance, might be rejected as too offensive for the audience, because they are particularly graphic or because of the identity of the victim. Some violent images, however, may be deemed important to the polity in spite of being graphic. The editors of *Life* magazine, for instance, did indeed upset some readers by publishing some of the first photographs of dead American solders on a Pacific island beach in World War II. They justified their decision in an editorial which asserted that ". . . if (the soldier) had the guts to take it, then we ought to have the guts to look at it . . ." (Moeller 1989, 206–07).

Once chosen, an image may be cropped, sized, retouched, and placed into a layout. Because photographers often have limited control of their composition in the field, cropping can make a significant difference in the meaning relayed by a particular image. It might simply cut off an insignificant element, such as a lamppost or tree; or, with careful positioning, cropping, and resizing, it might draw greater attention to a particular portion of the scene that is more emotional, dramatic, or informative for its new focus.

Larger or more important stories, photo essays, or sequential events might also require editors to choose more than one photograph for publication. Here it is necessary to consider how two images work together, and whether they create new meaning in combination. Without care, juxtapositions can convey inadvertant meaning, sometimes humorous, sometimes problematic, as with a photograph of a woman's facial profile published adjacent to a photograph of a flower. If the two images support one story about stopping to smell the roses, the juxtaposition might work, but if not, the visual joke will detract from text. Some stories might be best told with minimal text and a two-page spread of images in a photo essay. Others might require a short series of images to explain action, for example, with a controversial call at a sporting event. For makeover stories or how-to features, before and after images might also convey the heart of a story better than reams of text ever could.

Styling Photographs

Most news organizations allow photographs to be stylistically altered within limits. Some retouching is acceptable, but changing the information in an image is not. Techniques usually tolerated include the removal of blemishes or the lightening or darkening of segments of a photograph, called "dodging and burning," terms derived from darkroom practices of the pre-digital age. Adding elements, blurring out elements, changing colors of an object, or combining shots without labeling the result a "montage," however, are considered unacceptable in most organizations. The rules are often not spelled out in precise technical terms. The National Press Photographer's Association (NPPA) sums up the ethical responsibilities as follows: "Editing should maintain the integrity of the photographic images' content and context. Do not manipulate images or add or alter sound in any way that can mislead viewers or misrepresent subjects."

Practitioners are left to their own conscience and organizational rules to determine when a line is crossed. One famous infraction occurred in 1994 when *Time* magazine darkened the mugshot portrait of O. J. Simpson used on the cover after he was arrested for murder. Editors made the change ostensbily for dramatic effect but were harshly criticized for what many observers considered a racist move.

Decision-Making

As dramatic, emotional, and appealing a photo might be, it rarely, if ever, can tell its story without words. Captions, subheads, and headlines are critical to the reader's understanding of the connection between an image and its story. Photographers are often charged with writing their own captions, but the responsibility may fall to the photo editor to write it based on information provided, or to polish it and ensure it complements the rest of the layout.

A photo editor's work may be guided by the findings of media effects research. Readers make decisions about whether to read an article in less than a second, and their decision is influenced in part by the size, type, and placement of related images.

Photo editors rarely make any of these decisions unilaterally. They work closely with individual photographers, reporters, and layout artists. In part because of the teamwork involved in photo editing, and to reflect the wide range of decisions involved, the NPPA in 2006 changed the title of its annual competition from "Picture Editing" to "Best Use of Photography."

As newsroom managers, a photo editor generally has administrative responsibilities, such as hiring and scheduling the photographic staff, purchasing equipment, and allocating cameras and related equipment. As newspapers have established websites, photo editors are usually responsible for image management and editing software. They may oversee multimedia productions by the photographic staff, such as audio slide-shows and web videos. Day-to-day routines for photo editors will vary according to the size of a publication. Larger organizations might spread some of the work among more than one editor. A small newspaper might have one person do all this as well as go out on their own photo assignments.

The decisions of a photo editor reverberate beyond the aesthetic and informational elements of individual images and pages. Their work has larger cultural implications over time. Are stories about the poor disproportionately illustrated with images of African Americans? Do photos of female politicians reflect a sexist tendency to focus on their bodies or fashion choices? Photographs of individuals accused of crimes, for instance, might prejudice potential juries; even photographs of individuals not accused, but depicted with police or near the scene of a crime, might unfairly impugn them. Photo editors must ensure that a publication's overall use of imagery is socially responsible.

Image technology is likely to continue to change, and along with it, the methods photo editors use to conduct their work. Video is becoming a popular element to include on newspaper websites; photo editors have been charged with the task of not only learning how to gather video news, but how to edit and deploy it on webpages. Yet even as the pressures of convergence continue to change the daily routines of photo editors, their guiding informative, aesthetic, and ethical considerations, and their key role as the "visual thinkers" for a publication will endure.

Mary Angela Bock

See also Deception; Digital Photography; Editing, Newspaper; Editing, Online and Digital; Graphics; Layout; Newspaper Design; Photography; Photojournalists

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PHOTOGRAPHY

Photographs have become an essential tool of journalism. Starting in the late nineteenth century, photography became a regular part of newspaper and magazine stories. By the mid-twentieth century, photos were widely used on television, and more recently still, online journalism.

As a process, photography breaks into three stages, and each has been subject to sometimes difficult development over the past 130 years. The first step is to create a device (today a camera) to expose or "take" the picture; the second is to preserve and print that picture; and the third—and most essential to modern print journalism—is the ability to rapidly duplicate thousands (sometimes millions) of copies of the printed picture.

Making Photographs

The idea of trying to make a permanent image of a scene (without having to paint or draw it) is an old one—dating back to Renaissance times, if not before. "Camera obscura" devices, some of them the size of small rooms, allowed for people to see a pale reflection of an outside scene on the wall of a darkened space. Adding a lens to the small hole that admitted the scene made for a brighter picture. By the seventeeth century, camera obscura equipment could be made small enough to allow it to be carried from place to place. But these were little more than elaborate playthings for the rich as there was no apparent means of preserving the displayed picture. What was needed was some means of "fixing" the reflected scene, and many people experimented with different ways to accomplish that.

Daguerreotypes

The first commercially successful type of photography—though quite different in many ways than what we know today—appeared in mid-1839 when French innovator Louis J. M. Daguerre created the first widely used method of making and displaying pictures. His system created direct positive images on light-sensitive silver-coated surfaces of thin copper plates. Of often exquisite quality, the "Daguerreotype" quickly became popular, especially for making personal portraits. For the first time, exact records of people as well as scenes could be reproduced in a black-and-white (and sometimes sepia-toned) image.

Though seemingly magical in their time, the Daguerreotype had several drawbacks. Taking one required high light levels, and even so, a picture sometimes had to be exposed over many minutes. Some early daylight street scenes were exposed for up to 15 minutes, giving them a lifeless aspect because moving people or vehicles failed to record in the scene. Taking portraits required sitting absolutely still for unnatural periods of time and people were sometimes placed in a metal frame so as to hold the necessary pose long enough. After 1841, improved lenses reduced exposure time to about a minute. The process rendered some color tones better than others (albeit in black and white), but skies turned out a uniform grey, no matter what the weather. And all details, whether facial or scenic, were reversed left to right because of the way the Daguerreotype camera worked.

Furthermore, the resulting image was highly fragile and subject to tarnishing over time. Nor was there any means of making copies as the process produced only positive originals, not a negative image. If multiple pictures were required, just that many different Daguerreotypes would have to be taken, at the risk of trying the patience of both the subject and the Daguerreotypist. Despite these problems, this was the first means of reproducing exact images from life and, for a time, was hugely popular in Europe and the United States.

Early Photography

The next steps took place in England in the 1830s and 1840s where amateur scientist Henry Fox Talbot created vital steps in what Sir John Herschel first labeled "photography." Talbot developed the notion of a photographic negative from which positive copies could be made. He and then Herschel came up with the chemical means to "fix" an image on paper so that it would not continue to darken over time until the whole surface was black. But Talbot's early "calotypes" did not produce the sharp images of Daguerreotype pictures—and could fade over time. Using his system, Talbot produced the world's first photographic book, *The Pencil of Nature,* issued in six

parts from 1844 to 1846, featuring individual calotypes pasted onto pages. All but ignored (save by him) at first was the chief benefit of Talbot's system—the creation of a negative, which allowed production of multiple positive copies.

The picture detail of Daguerreotypes and the ability to reproduce copies from negatives as introduced by the calotype were, in effect, combined in 1851 in the "wet plate" process. Large wet plate or collodion photographic technology would dominate the next two decades. The process required a careful chemical coating of a glass plate, then its exposure and developing, all within minutes before the plate dried. This cumbersome process required considerable training and expertise. In the hands of an experienced photographer, the resulting prints provided excellent results—large pictures of superior quality. Some of the first photos of the landscapes of the American west were produced in this fashion, though to make them required hauling a photographic darkroom by horse or mule. And since the plates created a negative image, multiple prints could be made. Despite their own drawbacks, the wet plate photographs soon replaced the once-popular Daguerreotypes and calotypes.

Thanks to experiments by many inventors and photographers in different countries, cameras slowly became smaller, less cumbersome, and somewhat easier to use after the 1870s. In the early 1880s, inventor George Eastman began his development of dry plate photography, which greatly simplified the process of both taking and developing pictures. In 1889, Eastman created his first celluloid roll film-equipped hand camera. He called it a "Kodak." After taking up to 100 photographs, users returned the camera and the 20-foot role of exposed film to the factory for their pictures to be developed. The factory quickly returned the camera, reloaded with more film, along with the exposed photos. "You press the button, we do the rest" became the Kodak advertising slogan, and the new system soon hugely expanded the popularity and ease of taking pictures.

Printing and Duplicating Photographs

The pioneering wartime photographs (which some point to as the inception of photojournalism) used the wet plate technology, and were taken during the Crimean War (1853–56). The chemicals and facilities to develop the wet plates required a photographer to travel with a portable dark room and other equipment in a horse-drawn wagon, which made an all too enticing target for enemy soldiers. The wet plate process took time and thus almost no action or battle shots resulted—mainly photos of places and posed people.

And after all the effort and danger, the resulting pictures could still not be reproduced directly in newspapers. There was no effective way to print photos within a type-filled page, meaning that the wartime pictures of Mathew Brady and others during and after battles of the American Civil War (1861–65) could not be printed. Instead, photographs had to be carefully redrawn and then intricately engraved in order to be printed in books, newspapers, or magazines. This was a laborious and slow process that often delayed the appearance of news illustrations in the press, though actual photos could be hand-tipped into expensive books. For newspapers, in other words, the photograph was for its first decades more a source rather than a directly usable piece of evidence for news reporting.

Halftones

Some means by which thousands of copies of photos could be made quickly and inexpensively was needed. The first attempt to do so was the Woodburytype of 1866 in which a photo negative was impressed in a lead plate that was then used to print newspaper pages. The resulting picture was good—but the Woodburytypes wore out too fast for use with fast-growing urban newspaper print runs. Approximate photo reproduction was possible with other systems by the next decade, but they could not reproduce the full tonal scale of a good photo.

The eventual resolution of this problem turned out to be the halftone process by which a photo is rephotographed through a fine screen of dots or lines that reflect the lighter and darker tones in a photograph. This is used to create a lithograph plate (in recent years, a photo can be electronically scanned to the same end). In the printed picture, the dots or lines are too small to be seen with the naked eye, yet they are strong enough to endure a long newspaper print run. The new halftone

system was first used for printing a photograph in a newspaper in New York in 1880.

Within a decade, photographs were becoming common in newspapers and magazines alike. The London-based *Daily Mirror,* launched in 1904, became the world's first fully illustrated photo newspaper. Modern tabloid papers, heavily based on the use of photos, first appeared after World War I (1914–18).

Improving Photographs

Once the basic ability to publish photographs in periodicals was resolved by late in the nineteenth century, other improvements soon appeared as well.

Color

All early photographs appeared only in black and white—unless laboriously hand-colored to make them more realistic. Done with water colors, this was dangerous with Daguerreotypes and some other early photos because the image could be damaged. Experimental color photography techniques appeared late in the nineteenth century, paced by improving film and color dyes. Multiple systems had appeared by the early twentieth century, but few worked consistently or well. Hand-coloring continued where needed—as in postcards. Some three-color cameras appeared about the turn of the twentieth century, but they were expensive and difficult to use.

Though several means of producing color still pictures were available in the 1920s, the first practical and widespread use of color came with the introduction in 1935 of the Kodachrome film and development process by Kodak. Introduced first as movie film, a still picture version appeared late in 1936 and quickly became the standard. A New York newspaper published color photos of the *Hindenburg* airship disaster early the next year. *National Geographic* first published Kodachrome pictures in April 1938, and within a year was relying on them for its color photography.

Stereo Views

Hugely popular in the late nineteenth century (and lasting into the next) was the stereo photograph. Placing a camera with two lenses about 2.5 inches apart to photograph the same scene resulted in the ability to print and view two photos from slightly different viewpoints. When mounted on cards and viewed through special wooden viewers, such photo pairs took on a three dimensional quality much like normal human eyesight. Marketed as "stereoscopes" and other names, travel and other photos were widely sold during the late nineteenth century. (Using tiny color transparencies, the idea persisted as a popular toy, the "Viewmaster," nearly a century later.) Published stereo photos (and 3-D motion pictures)—which require special glasses to view—only appeared in the mid-twentieth century and were generally seen as a short-lived gimmick.

Light

For years, it was virtually impossible to take a picture in poor light, let alone at night or within dark interior spaces. Gas lighting was too weak—or if strong enough, then far to hot for human subjects. In the 1880s, flashpowder was introduced that, piled on a small platform and held aloft by the photographer or an assistant, provided about a tenth of a second of very bright light—along with a lot of smoke and ash, not to mention stench. Coordinating this flash with the camera shutter was no easy feat. Still, by the early 1900s, flash-illuminated news pictures became more common.

First developed in 1893, the self-contained flashbulb was a glass bulb filled with magnesium-coated metal ribbon which was ignited electrically to produce a brilliant though brief flash of light—with no residue except a spent bulb. The first models were both expensive and did not always function. Practical disposable flashbulbs appeared around 1925. Reusable electronic flash equipment was developed only in the 1960s.

Transmission

How to distribute photos over a distance remained a problem for decades. While an excellent picture of a person, place, or event might exist in one place, how to get it into the hands of distant newspapers was far more difficult to resolve. For years, pictures could move only as quickly as the mode of transport used—human, horse, and eventually railroad.

Electricity proved the key to faster and more widespread distribution. Early facsimile transmission

systems allowed distribution of photos by 1907, though much of their detail was lost in the initially crude process. Sending photos by radio became possible in the 1920s. Regular wirephotos appeared in the mid-1930s and were soon widely in use, often provided by news agencies and a growing number of specialized photo agencies.

Instant Pictures

With all the other photographic basics in place, one more problem remained—time. Journalists are always seeking to provide more news in less time, and it was the same with photographs. Taking a picture was relatively easy by the early twentieth century, but developing and printing it still took time.

In 1946, Edwin Land demonstrated his Polaroid camera, which combined film and photographic paper to produce a black-and-white picture in about 60 seconds. It went on the market the next year and was a huge commercial hit, even though the process it used was complex and expensive, and the first pictures faded easily (though that was soon remedied). An instant color film appeared in 1963, and the iconic SX-70 folding camera in 1972. Several less expensive models that produced pictures in a minute appeared in years to follow. In 1986, Polaroid won a patent infringement case against Eastman Kodak, which had marketed its own instant cameras to meet market demand.

Instant photography began to give way to easier-to-use 35mm cameras in the 1980s. The quality of the picture produced—as well as Polaroid's lack of a negative (shades of Daguerre)—limited the instant photography appeal, especially to journalists and other serious photographers.

In 2009, the much-diminished Polaroid company announced it would no longer produce the special film for instant cameras. The digital revolution had undone a once dominant technology.

Digital Future

The most important recent development in photography is the digital camera and photography that no longer requires the use of film or a developing process. This has been of huge value to professional journalists, greatly easing their job and all but eliminating the time factor. And the ubiquity of cellphone cameras, first introduced in the late 1990s, has helped make anyone a reporter—as is evident in the widespread newspaper and television invitations to their readers and viewers to share their best photos. The ability to network photos on the Internet further expands who can distribute news—news photos are no longer restricted to those provided by professional journalists.

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See also Digital Photography; Facsimile; Graphics; Photo Agencies; Photo Editors; Photojournalists; Photo Magazines

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PHOTOJOURNALISTS

In 1862, Alexander Gardner (1821–82) photographed the dead horse of a Confederate colonel during the American Civil War. A century later, Gordon Parks (1912–2006) depicted, close up, the sweat-covered face of prizefighter Muhammad Ali. And in 1994, Mary Ellen Mark (1940–) photographed Ku Klux Klan members as, in darkness,

they raised a wooden cross before burning it. From world capitals to small towns and in between, photojournalists since the beginnings of photography in the nineteenth century visually have provided information, inspiration, entertainment, and—above all—timely and meaningful news. Photojournalists, John Szarkowski of the Museum of Modern Art wrote, "give us the look and the smell of events that we did not witness" (Szarkowski 1999, 142). The content of these images, historian Michael Carlebach has said, is "as varied as journalism itself" (Carlebach 1992, 2). From wars and disasters to breaking political news to photo stories about how people live their lives, photojournalists document the commonplace and the surprising.

Photojournalists once lugged bulky cameras that relied on glass negatives. Tripods steadied cameras that required long exposures. With equipment advances, photojournalists used steadily smaller cameras and better film. By the 1920s and 1930s—well before the advent of television and the Internet with a constant flow of pictures—newspapers and photo magazines demanded more photographs to accompany written stories as the public appetite for images grew. By the early twenty-first century when visual images saturate the world, digital cameras allow for speedy transfer to websites where pictures—still or moving, black and white or color—combine with sound in slide shows about current events. Regardless of the technology, century, or continent, the discerning eyes and minds of photojournalists distill the essence of the news into visual form, and their images work in concert with captions and stories.

Development

In the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth centuries inventors developed what would become the bones of modern-day photojournalism. Though not yet called by that name, photojournalism started as odd shots of destruction from fires and wars.

During the Mexican War in the mid-1840s, photographers made pictures that could be considered forerunners of photojournalism. A decade later, to counter negative newspaper coverage of the Crimean War along the Black Sea, photographers documented scenes in a favorable way for the British government. Distinctive among propagandists was Roger Fenton (1819–69) of the Photographic Society of London. Focusing less on the ravages of war and more on well-attired British soldiers, Fenton made 360 glass-plate images. His most famous picture, titled "The Valley of the Shadow of Death," showed cannonballs arrayed on the embattled Crimean earth.

Half of a world away and in the next decade, a team headed by Mathew Brady (ca. 1823–96) documented the U.S. Civil War. As with the best photojournalists, Brady and his photographers recognized the event's significance. But their images could not be shown in newspapers or magazines because there was no way to convert the photographs into anything a printing press could manage. Instead, the photos inspired illustrations. For example, three separate Brady photographs were merged to form a *Harper's Weekly* illustration of Confederate bodies strewn across a field.

In that era of early photographic technology without artificial lighting, images required long exposures. By the 1880s in New York, social reformer Jacob Riis benefited from a new invention—flash powder—that illuminated the squalor of tenement houses packed with families, filth, and the choking smoke of coal stoves. Another reformer, sociologist Lewis Hine, later would help to establish photojournalistic documentation of societal problems.

A key breakthrough occurred in 1880 with the invention of the halftone method of converting photographic gradations of gray into dots or lines that a printing machine could stamp onto paper. Yet it took 40 years for photojournalism's full flowering. Innovative newspapers and pictorial magazines with higher quality paper and ink—such as *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung, New York Daily Graphic, Picture Post, Paris Match,* and by the 1930s *Fortune* and *Life*—took advantage of photographs. This was especially true in Europe and the Soviet Union, where the visual movement known as "constructionism" emphasized unusual angles and juxtaposition. Pictorials in German newspapers and magazines flourished in the 1920s as lightweight cameras—the Ermanox and the Leica—came into use. Photographers such as Erich Salomon (1886–1944) took spontaneous, candid pictures with handheld cameras that used available light. In 1927 the Associated Press began a photo service to provide illustrations to newspapers and magazines.

Roger Fenton's famous photograph, "The Valley of the Shadow of Death," shot in 1855 during the Crimean War.

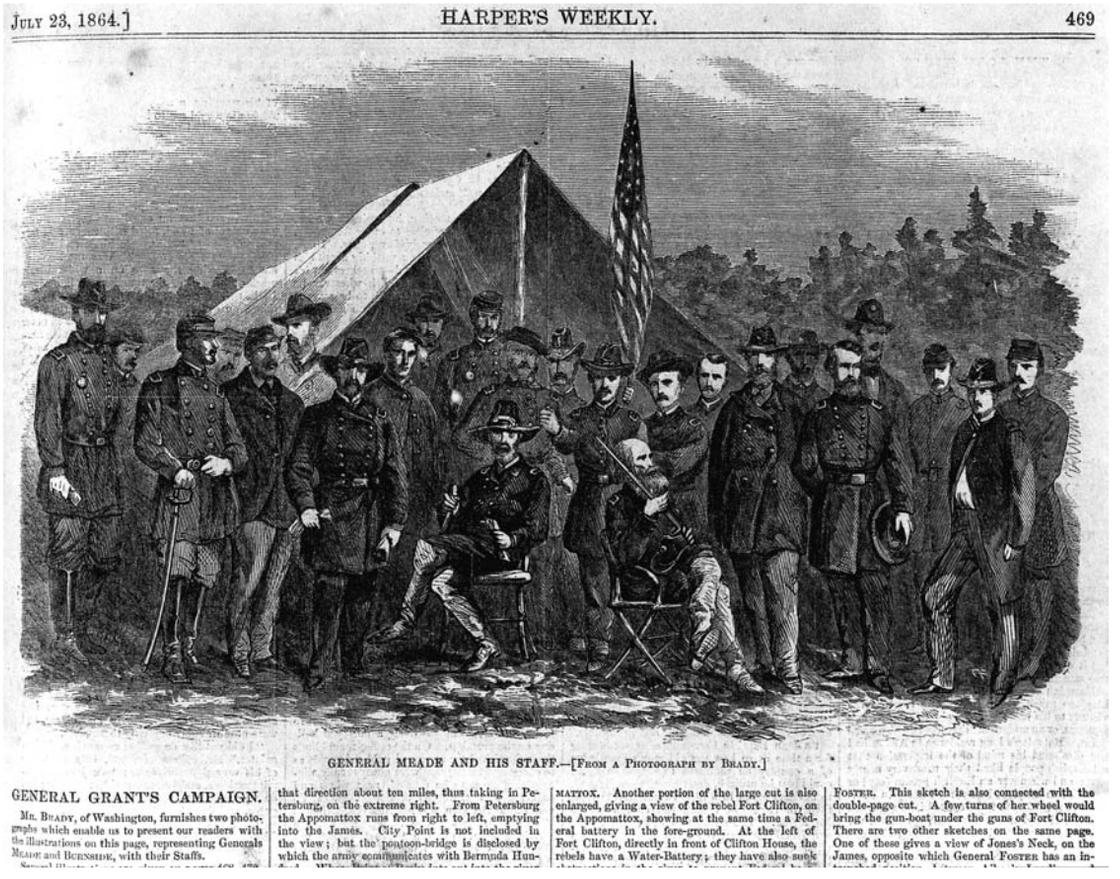
Source: Library of Congress.

During the 1930s' depression, the U.S. government established the Farm Security Administration's photography unit to document the suffering. Although the agency's aim was propagandistic, photographers such as Marion Post Wolcott (1910–90), Walker Evans (1903–75), and Arthur Rothstein (1915–85) established conventions of focusing on intimate human stories. For decades photojournalists would further refine this approach.

"Photo-Journalism"

Indicative of the development of the practice, the term photojournalism came into use in the late 1930s. Alfred Eisenstaedt (1898–1995) in 1938 referred to "photo-journalism," saying that although it was new in the United States, it had taken hold in Europe. Henri Cartier-Bresson (1908–2004) helped codify its concepts. He suggested, with a 1952 book of words and pictures, that photojournalists should capture "the decisive moment." Magnum Agency photographers did their best to document action, not posed instances, without a flash. Cartier-Bresson had founded Magnum with Robert Capa (1913–54), David Seymour (1911–56), George Rodger (1908–95), and Bill Vandivert (1912–). Other photo agencies—Black Star, Sygma, Gamma, and the news agencies, United Press and the Associated Press—provided photojournalists with steady work and supplied images for periodicals worldwide.

The 1940s marked the growing importance of photojournalists whose images of World War II



JULY 23, 1864.] HARPER'S WEEKLY. 469

GENERAL MEADE AND HIS STAFF.—[FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY BRADY.]

GENERAL GRANT'S CAMPAIGN.

MR. BRADY, of Washington, furnishes two photographs which enable us to present our readers with the illustrations on this page, representing Generals MEADE and BURNSIDE, with their Staffs.

that direction about ten miles, thus taking in Petersburg, on the extreme right. From Petersburg the Appomattox runs from right to left, emptying into the James. City Point is not included in the view; but the pontoon-bridge is disclosed by which the army communicates with Bermuda Hun-

MATTOX. Another portion of the large cut is also enlarged, giving a view of the rebel Fort Clifton, on the Appomattox, showing at the same time a Federal battery in the fore-ground. At the left of Fort Clifton, directly in front of Clifton House, the rebels have a Water-Battery; they have also sunk

FOSTER. This sketch is also connected with the double-page cut. A few turns of her wheel would bring the gun-boat under the guns of Fort Clifton. There are two other sketches on the same page. One of these gives a view of Jones's Neck, on the James, opposite which General FOSTER has an in-

Wood engraving published in the July 23, 1864, issue of Harper's Weekly. *In the magazine's explanation underneath the image, the editors give a detailed explanation of the composition, explaining that it is based on two Mathew Brady photos—one of General Meade with his staff and one of General Burnside with his.*

Source: Library of Congress.

filled magazines and newspapers. In 1943 the Pulitzer Prizes first gave an award in the category of photography. Milton Brooks (1901–56) of the *Detroit News* won for his picture of Ford autoworkers on strike as they attacked another worker crossing a picket line. (As the nuances of photojournalism changed so did the Pulitzers: By 1968 the single category had been divided in two: "breaking news" and "feature photography.") In 1944 another major photojournalism contest began, known today as Pictures of the Year International. By 1945 a College Photographer of the Year contest started. In 1946 a number of newspaper and newsreel photographers from throughout the United States formed the National Press Photographers Association. They wanted to elevate their status as professionals making a critical contribution. In 1949 Clifton Edom (1907–91), with former Farm Security Administration photo director Roy Stryker (1893–1975) and photographer Russell Lee (1903–86), initiated the Missouri Photo Workshop whose goal was to "show truth with a camera."

Volumes have been written about war photojournalists, especially those from World War II through Vietnam. Counted among the legends are Larry Burrows (1926–71), Donald McCullin (1946–), Eddie Adams (1933–2004), and Catherine Leroy (1945–2006). To list their names evokes iconic images such as the execution of a Vietcong soldier or a grimacing U.S. Marine crawling to rescue a wounded buddy.

One of Mathew Brady's many photos of the Grand Review of the Army in Washington, D.C., in May 1865. This shot shows troops passing in front of the presidential reviewing stand.

Source: Library of Congress.

Blurring of Lines

As curator of photography at New York's Museum of Modern Art, Edward Steichen (1879–1973) in 1955 staged an exhibit called *The Family of Man;* its pictures revealed the blurring of boundaries across documentary, photojournalism, and fine art photography. In the 1950s and 1960s, photographers such as Robert Frank (1924–) and Diane Arbus (1923–71) paid attention to people and places that photojournalists sometimes had ignored: roadside jukebox music joints, mental institutions, carnivals, or the living room or backyard of ordinary folks. The ordinary became extraordinary with "New" journalism, reportage that considered everyday people as significant as the elite. Innovators such as Richard Avedon (1923–2004), Bruce Davidson (1933–), Danny Lyon (1942–), and Eugene Richards (1944–) offered new ways of photographing relationships between institutions and people affected by them. Under the "big tent" of photojournalism gathered social reformers, documentarians, "shooters" of news that was "hard," "breaking" or "spot," and those who spent weeks, months, or years with their subjects. And a profession long dominated by men increasingly accepted women.

Photojournalists of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s documented social change throughout the world. This included the Civil Rights movement. Memorable images came from Charles Moore (1931–), who photographed Birmingham police dogs attacking a Civil Rights protester; Moneta Sleet Jr. (1926–96), who won the Pulitzer Prize for his photograph of Coretta Scott King at the funeral of her husband in 1968; Flip Schulke (1930–), who documented Martin Luther King Jr. leading the Selma to Montgomery march in 1965; and Bill Eppridge (1938–) whose "Kitchen Pieta" showed busboy Juan Romero trying to comfort Robert F. Kennedy after the presidential candidate had been shot in 1968. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, *National Geographic* photographers such as Michael "Nick" Nichols (1952–), David Doubilet (1946–), and Frans Lanting (1951–) drew attention to imperiled environmental conditions across the globe, including the loss of habitat for animals such as gorillas.

Conclusion: A Digital Visual Future, for Now

For more than 160 years, photojournalists visually defined the answers to such questions as: What is news? What and how could something be photographed? Representative of this, Don Bartletti of the *Los Angeles Times* rode dangerously atop freight trains to follow Latin American children escaping to *El Norte,* the United States. The youngsters wanted to rendezvous with their parents who had left them behind to seek a better life. Bartletti's images won a 2003 Pulitzer Prize "for his memorable portrayal" (http://www.pulitzer.org/year/2003/feature-photography).

Written words have lost the dominance they held in journalism a century ago. Digital journalist and former *Time* photographer Dirck Halstead has declared "the end of photojournalism as we know it" by saying, "Visual stories will be told primarily through moving images and sound." Yet he says, "The role of the storyteller who can capture the events and people, and place them in perspective for our history, will only be enhanced" (Halstead, http://digitaljournalist.org/issue9912/editorial.htm).

The essence of photography, Cartier-Bresson wrote, "is to hold one's breath when all faculties converge in the face of a fleeing reality . . . it is putting one's head, one's eye, and one's heart on the same axis" (Cartier-Bresson 1999, 16). Photojournalists have done this for years. Regardless of technological changes, they likely will do this for many years to come—recording and circulating the visual news.

Some Noteworthy Photojournalists

Names of photojournalists fill the annals of the Pulitzer Prize, Picture of the Year International, and other photography awards. Truncating the field of journalists known as "shooters," what follows includes founding practitioners and contemporary innovators.

Margaret Bourke-White (1904–71)

Bourke-White was born in New York City and introduced to photography at Columbia University. She graduated from Cornell in 1927 and worked as an industrial photographer in Cleveland. In 1929 she joined Henry Luce's new *Fortune* magazine. She later became one of *Life*'s first photographers, and her evocative image of the Fort Peck Dam on the Missouri River appeared in 1936 on the magazine's first cover. In 1937 with her husband Erskine Caldwell, she published *You Have Seen Their Faces,* documenting rural Southern sharecroppers. During World War II she became the first woman accredited as a U.S. military photographer. In 1948 she photographed nonviolence advocate Mahatma Gandhi hours before his assassination in India. She worked with *Life* until the 1950s but was hindered by Parkinson's disease. Of photography, she said, "Saturate yourself with your subject and the camera will all but take you by the hand" (Whitman 1971).

Robert Capa (1913–64)

Born Endre Ern Friedmann, Capa became famous during one war and died during another. His photographs of the Spanish Civil War and World War II were graphic and engaging. One image from Spain depicted a soldier at the moment of impact of the gunshot that killed him. In 1947 Capa helped establish one of the most powerful photo agencies, Magnum, but his entry to professional photography was that of a trickster's ruse—he chose the name Robert Capa because it sounded like Hollywood director Frank Capra. Capa and his girlfriend Gerda Taro, herself a photographer, got him work by telling people he was a well-regarded photographer, though he was a Jewish Hungarian immigrant to France with little experience. There he found a home with other photographers, and with them established styles soon considered staples of photojournalism. When he photographed the Allied soldiers storming the beach at Normandy on D-Day on June 6, 1944, for *Life*, Capa said he felt "a new kind of fear shaking my body from toe to hair, and twisting my face" (Winslow 2006). A decade later, while photographing the Indochina War, he stepped on a landmine and was killed.

Henri Cartier-Bresson (1908–2004)

Cartier-Bresson is considered by many as the "father of photojournalism." His love of photography had begun in adolescence with a Brownie camera. He harbored an early interest in painting and drawing and studied both at Cambridge. Eventually, he spent a year photographing in Africa where he contracted blackwater fever. The Gallery Julien Levy in New York in 1932 first displayed his work, and the same year the French magazine, *Vu,* published his photos. In 1940 the Germans imprisoned him as he had served in the French Army Film and Photo Unit. He escaped to photograph the German occupation of Paris in 1940 and later its 1944 liberation. In 1947 he joined four photographers to form the Magnum Photo agency. He disliked "arranged" or cropped photographs and favored candid photography. His notion of capturing "the decisive moment" remains at the core of photojournalism.

Chien-Chi Chang (1961–)

Chang was born in a Taiwanese farming village. He has focused his career on ties that bind humans—literally and figuratively, from incarceration to marriage. In *The Chain,* Chang presents pairs of mentally ill inmates bound by chains. *I do I do I do* displays the elaborate marriage customs in Taiwan,

while *Double Happiness* documents arranged marriages between Taiwanese men and Vietnamese women. Educated at Soochow University in Taiwan, he received a master's degree in education from Indiana University in 1990. He worked for the *Seattle Times* from 1991 to 1993 and for a year at the *Baltimore Sun* before he joined Magnum Photos in 1995. Chang's distinctiveness has earned him awards that include the National Press Photographers Association's 1998 Magazine Photographer of the Year.

Alfred Eisenstaedt (1898–1995)

Eisenstaedt was one of the first four *Life* magazine photographers employed by publisher Henry Luce in 1936. Eisenstaedt's more than 80 covers for *Life* brought him international prominence. Though only 5 foot, 4 inches in height, he was a metaphorical giant among photojournalists. After working as a belt and button salesman, he started as a freelancer in post–World War I Germany. Possibly his most famous image was that of a kiss on V-J day in New York's Times Square. In the exhilaration of news that World War II was over, he followed a sailor in uniform kissing women of all ages and sizes. In one instant, the sailor embraced and kissed a nurse in a white uniform, her back swayed in an arch. Until the year he died, he photographed life around the world. In 2000, the Digital Journalist website declared him "Photographer of the Century."

Arthur Fellig, "Weegee" (1899–1968)

Weegee and his direct flash lit up the noir of New York City nights—whether it was a homicide victim on the pavement or a starlet attending the theater. In 1938 he was the only licensed photographer in the city with a portable police band radio. His tenacious radio listening and his speed to crime scenes led to his being nicknamed after the Ouija board game. ("Weegee" was considered the phonetic spelling of "Ouija.") He seemed to have a preternatural ability to be wherever death, in all of its brutal forms, occurred. His lens not only captured violence but the paradoxical: one night he photographed two high society women awash in fur and glittery jewelry as they passed without notice by a ragged homeless woman staring at them. He titled the photo "The Critic." Weegee branched into fashion photography and film. He was such an icon that the movie, *The Public Eye,* portrayed him. Another film, *The Naked City,* referenced his photo book of the same name. He left a legacy of the archetypal, charismatic, city-toughened photojournalist.

Donna Ferrato (1949–)

Ferrato studied sociology and photography at the San Francisco Art Institute, and then she began her career hoping to capture images of love. But she witnessed domestic violence at a photo shoot and then focused on the men, women, and children affected by physical and emotional abuse in families. In one of her well-known photographs, a young boy points a blaming finger at his father as police search and arrest the man. Ferrato's work led her to activism, and in 1985 she was given a W. Eugene Smith foundation grant. After photographing for a ten-year period, in 1991 she produced *Living with the Enemy*. That same year she received a Robert F. Kennedy Award for a *Philadelphia Inquirer* story. Shifting her attention, she published *Amore* and *Love and Lust,* books that tell love stories in Italy and the United States. Her clients have included *Time, People Weekly,* and *The New York Times Magazine*.

Carol Guzy (1956–)

Born in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, Guzy studied nursing at North Hampton County Community College. She discovered her love of photography when she attended the Art Institute of Ft. Lauderdale, Florida. After working at the *Miami Herald* from 1980 to 1988, she moved to *The Washington Post*. Guzy has won three photography Pulitzer Prizes: the first for coverage of mudslides in Columbia; the second for images from the U.S. military intervention in Haiti; and the third for work in Kosovo. Guzy has received eight White House Press Photographers Association's Photographer of the Year honors, three National Press Photographers Association Photographer of the Year award, and the Leica Medal of Excellence.

Josef Koudelka (1938–)

Born in Moravia, Koudelka worked as an aeronautical engineer before he became a professional

photographer in the 1960s. As a freelancer, he captured theater life throughout Europe. In Prague in 1968 he photographed the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Fearing retribution, Koudelka submitted his photographs as "Prague Photographer" or "P.P.," not revealing his identity. As an anonymous photographer, he was awarded the Overseas Press Club's Robert Capa Gold Medal. In 1984 he disclosed that he was "P.P." In exile, he had left Czechoslovakia in 1970 and moved to England, where he lived for a decade. In 1971 he joined Magnum Photos. His book *Gypsies* was published in 1975 and *Exiles* appeared in 1988. His photographs have appeared in such magazines as *Camera* and *Look*.

Dorothea Lange (1895–1965)

Lange was stricken with polio at age seven, resulting in a lifelong limp and, according to her, empathy for those who suffer. In a career that helped to form the essence of documentary photography she demonstrated how sensitivity is revealed visually. As a college student in New York, she visited portrait photographer Arnold Genthe who nurtured her interests by giving her a camera. Eventually she headed to San Francisco to open her own studio. After collaborating on a project with economist Paul Taylor, she married him. As a photographer with the Farm Security Administration during 1930s, she created two of her most famous examples of documentary journalism from the Great Depression. In "White Angel Bread Line" she depicted hungry men waiting in line for bread. In perhaps the most defining picture of that era, she photographed an exhausted migrant mother with her two children. She won a Guggenheim in 1941 and soon after that photographed Japanese Americans in World War II internment camps. She worked for *Life* in the mid-1950s, by which time she had become recognized as a foremost photographer whose work was exhibited in art museums as well as published in newspapers and magazines.

Peter Magubane (1938–)

Magubane spent much of his career covering apartheid violence in South Africa. He was born near Johannesburg and became interested in photography as a child. In 1955 he began photography assignments with *Drum* magazine, a political forum for black people across Africa. He was arrested for the first time in 1956 for photographing protests against government policies of racial segregation. He continued to capture the violence on film for three decades. Magubane was beaten, jailed, and once banned from using his camera for five years. His photographs helped put the international spotlight on bloodshed of two key incidents: the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960 and the Soweto Uprising of 1976.

Susan Meiselas (1948–)

Born in Baltimore, Maryland, Meiselas obtained degrees from Sarah Lawrence College in 1970 and Harvard in 1971. She taught photography in cooperation with the South Carolina and Mississippi Arts Commissions. Her book *Carnival Strippers,* published in 1976, documented New England traveling shows. That same year, Meiselas joined Magnum Photos. Her photography has illuminated life in Central America, including the Nicaraguan revolution of the 1970s. She spent more than a decade covering El Salvador and was co-editor of *El Salvador: Work of Thirty Photographers*. Meiselas continues her in-depth photojournalism as one of six women among the 52 Magnum photographers.

James Nachtwey (1948–)

Nachtwey has captured images of famine in Somalia, AIDS in Africa, and wars throughout the world, including Bosnia, Afghanistan, and Rwanda. Nachtwey uses the camera as a translator to bring viewers into the world he photographs. Born in Massachusetts, Nachtwey studied art history and political science at Dartmouth and graduated in 1970. He was a member of Magnum Photos from 1986 to 2001. After that, he helped to found VII Photo Agency. He has worked with *Time* since 1984. He has won the prestigious Magazine Photographer of the Year seven times. Of his work, he has said his photographs testify about things that "should not be forgotten and must not be repeated."

Gordon Parks (1912–2006)

Parks extended the field of documentary photography with topics ranging from poverty to women's fashion. Born in Fort Scott, Kansas, as

Gordon Roger Alexander Buchanan Parks, he was the youngest of 15 children and held a variety of jobs, including busboy and semi-pro basketball player, before becoming a photographer. He bought his first camera after seeing the work of the Farm Security Administration's photography project, which he joined in 1942. That year he took perhaps his most famous photo, "American Gothic," of Ella Watson, a black cleaning woman in Washington, D.C., in front of an American flag. He became *Life*'s first African American photographer in 1949. In addition to photojournalism, Parks gained fame as a writer, composer, and filmmaker.

Sebastiao Salgado (1944–)

Salgado records undetected or underdetected stories on an international scale. Born in Aimorés, Brazil, he earned an economics master's degree from the University of São Paolo. After completing a PhD in economics at the University of Paris in 1971, he worked for two years for the International Coffee Organization. In his first large project he documented starvation in Africa for the World Council of Churches in 1973. He then became a freelance photographer with Sygma in 1974 and the Gamma Agency, 1975 to 1979. His 1986 photograph of workers in the Serra Pelada Goldmine in Brazil won acclaim as he pictured a worker resembling someone on a crucifix. Salgado was a member of Magnum Photos for 15 years until 1994 when he launched his own agency, Amazonas Images.

W. Eugene Smith (1918–78)

Smith created the language of the photojournalistic essay. With stories such as ones about a country doctor and a Mexican village, Smith taught photojournalists ways to use still images to construct powerful narratives with precise visual syntax. His legacy continues through the W. Eugene Smith Fund to promote "humanistic photography." Smith fought with editors and publishers over image control. His sensitivity allowed him to craft potent pictures, such as his "Tomoko Uemura in Her Bath." Depicting the effects of mercury poisoning from industrial pollution in Japan, the image was published in *Life* magazine in 1972. It shows a mother bathing her deformed daughter and is considered one of the most significant examples of twentieth-century photojournalism.

Huynh Cong (Nick) Ut (1951–)

Ut started photographing the Vietnam War in his native country at age 15. Ut had become a photographer by developing Associated Press negatives and teaching himself to take pictures. He earned fame for his Pulitzer Prize–winning photograph "The Terror of War," which showed a young girl running down a road after being burned by napalm. After photographing the fall of Saigon in 1975, Ut left Vietnam. He worked in Tokyo for Associated Press and then went to Los Angeles, where he is a senior AP photographer.

Berkley Hudson

See also Digital Photography; Images, Ownership of; Photo Agencies; Photo Editors; Photography

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Photo Magazines

Photo magazines are a type of illustrated periodical popular in media markets around the globe. While characterized by a substantial proportion of photographic illustration, photo magazines generally address issues of a broader, general appeal, emphasizing news and current events. Published weekly (or, less commonly, monthly), their journalistic functions were to (1) visually portray people and events, (2) summarize and contextualize developments beyond daily newspaper coverage, (3) entertain readers by presenting the new and unexpected, and (4) serve as a platform for photojournalists. Despite the fact that photo magazines have lost considerable impact in the age of television and the Internet, where visuals are omnipresent, for years they contributed substantially to the creation of collective memories.

Characteristics

Given that almost every title displayed at an average newsstand includes illustration, the mere fact that a periodical includes photographs is not sufficient to qualify it as a photo magazine. Based on the three major dimensions for classification as suggested by journalism scholar Marcia Prior-Miller (see Abrahamson 1995, 8–17), photo magazines are defined as (a) general rather than special interest magazines, in their audience appeal and editorial scope; (b) news magazines covering many topics rather than focusing on particular fields; and (c) a mixture of information (dominant) and entertainment (subsidiary) centering on current events rather than business, professional issues, or entertainment.

This excludes several types of magazines—those on photography itself, most consumer magazines lacking a "news" component, and the vast field of underground and lifestyle magazines that usually do not aim at a larger audience. But any suggested typology of periodicals falls short of providing clear-cut classifications in the face of an endless diversity of magazines available. The social and journalistic relevance of photo magazines peaked in the mid-twentieth century, with titles such as *Life* and *Look* in the United States; *Weekly Illustrated* and *Picture Post* in Britain; *Vu* and *Paris-Match* in France; and *Münchner Illustrierte* and *Berliner Illustrierte* in Germany.

From a global perspective, the American *Life* magazine, founded in 1936, encompasses most features associated with photo magazines. *Life* set out to tell a story in pictures, or at least to provide pictures to explain what happens in the text. A "reader" needed only the ability and willingness to see, assess, and make sense not only of what was written but also of what was shown. The first prospectus for *Life,* titled *Dime* (after its intended price) and distributed in June 1936, highlighted the famous quote which became programmatic for the new magazine and can speak for photo journals in general:

> To see life; to see the world; to eyewitness great events; to watch the faces of the poor and the gestures of the proud; to see strange things—machines, armies, multitudes, shadows in the jungle and on the moon; to see man's work—his paintings, towers, and discoveries; to see things thousands of miles away, things hidden behind the walls and within rooms, things dangerous to come to; the women that men love and many children; to see and take pleasure in seeing; to see and be amazed; to see and be instructed. . . . Thus, to see, and to be shown, is now the will and new expectancy of half mankind. To see, and to show, is the mission now undertaken by a new kind of publication, The Show-Book of the World. (quoted in Smith)

Early criticism assumed an audience at the mercy of the persuasive power of the picture. Critics speculated that by relying too strongly on pictures, the danger of superficial information, fake statements, and readers' misinformation might increase. Similar allegations continued in discussions about these magazines for years.

Yet despite their strong visual focus with photographs, photo magazines have always been more than mere storybooks. Their journalism could only succeed with texts indicating the content, the context, and often the meaning of what could be seen. Photo magazines also included longer sections with fiction, background reports based on elaborate texts, cartoons and other forms of visualization, and an extensive share of advertising (which in some cases was designed to simulate editorial

content). Other sections included letters to the editor, fashion, or gossip. Special emphasis was placed on the cover that was on display at newsstands and served to showcase the publication. Like a window display promoting new items, the cover needed to arouse interest to convince the potential reader to buy the magazine: considering the particular role of illustrations for photo magazines, readers expect outstanding visuals rather than bold headlines or lengthy previews.

Development

Although *Life* is sometimes called the first photo magazine, the tradition reaches further back in history. Until the end of the nineteenth century, illustrations in magazines could only be reproduced by using wood or other engraving techniques. This changed dramatically at the beginning of the twentieth century as photography became increasingly available thanks to the halftone printing process and improved presses. The fascination of photographs that seemed to promise an unbiased view of reality boosted public interest in magazines, creating an audience growing more accustomed to visual impressions of world events.

The role of photo magazines in journalism grew dramatically between the two world wars. The power of the image on the page was undeniable, and many early American general-circulation magazines such as *Harper's Weekly, The Nation, Saturday Evening Post, Leslie's* or *McClure's,* whose main focus was coverage of current events, added pictures to broaden their appeal.

The true photo magazine first appeared in Germany with the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* (*Berlin Illustrated Times, BIZ*) and its many imitators. For the first time, a publication moved pictures to the center of editorial considerations. Kurt Korff, editor-in chief from 1918 to 1933, argued that "the *BIZ* adopted the editorial principle that all events should be presented in pictures with an eye to the visual dramatic, excluding everything that is visually uninteresting." The *BIZ* expressed a sort of iconographic shift emphasizing "news to see" over "news to read." Famous press photographers such as Erich Salomon, Martin Munkacsi, Felix H. Man, Tim Gidal, Alfred Eisenstaedt, Otto Umbehr, André Kertesz, Yva, or Sasha Stone produced photo essays consisting of five or more pictures that provided the dynamics of an event or issue and that would "tell the story" with a minimum of explanatory text.

An important prerequisite for the photo magazine lay in such new technical equipment as small portable cameras, interchangeable lenses, and roll film that replaced heavy and expensive plates. These devices were used by a new generation of photojournalists to develop a new style of reporting. Unusual perspectives, multiple exposures, or photomontage were a few of the techniques employed to present pictures with the greatest impact. The development of photo agencies to distribute pictures made visuals globally available and emphasized the selection of appropriate photos as the most important newsroom routine in magazine journalism.

The large-size, rotary-printed, and newspaper-like illustrated photo magazines that were so popular in interwar Germany did not find an early equivalent in the American market, which lacked the battle for public opinion present in the streets of Weimar and demanded a fast and cheap medium. U.S. photo agencies continued to offer expressive or funny single pictures with short captions. But this situation changed dramatically when Time, Inc. launched *Life* in November 1936. Analyzing the magazine's founding history, it was pointed out that the vision of publisher Henry Luce has its roots in the ideology of the "American Dream," and during the 1930s *Life* offered an idealized representation of everyday life in America. It is widely acknowledged that Luce took the *BIZ* as a model when creating *Life*—an assertion supported by the most important member of the editorial team—Kurt Korff, the former editor of *BIZ*. Though *Life* built upon an existing formula, it proved an instant success when the first issue sold out in four hours.

Several competitors soon tried to copy the success of *Life,* including *Ken* with its deeply anti-Fascist editorial position; *Focus,* which adopted the muckracker approach; a "National Picture Monthly" called *Click*; or *Friday,* founded in 1940, which proved its anti-Fascist position with articles on anti-Semitism in America. Several other magazines predominantly relied on the photograph as the main carrier of their messages. *Peek*'s first cover in January 1938 showed a person peeping through a keyhole, reinforcing the promise of the magazine's subtitle, "A Look at Life"; *Picture* traded under the name of "The Photographic Digest"

supplementing its photo stories with numbers to suggest a sequence to the viewer. These and other titles exploited the increasing number of picture agencies, public relations outlets, and promotional photos available.

Another publication soon exerted a more formative influence due to its broad appeal. The biweekly *Look,* founded in 1937 by Gardner Cowles, was originally not seen as a "respectable" magazine and was categorized as "barbershop literature" by its critics. Along with its more serious companion publication *Life* (which did not exist when the plans for *Look* were drawn up based on Gallup audience research), it shared the idea of telling stories through pictures. In contrast to the explicitly political orientation of *Life, Look*'s editors, as stated in the first issue, "hunted for their unusual picture stories in the basic and important fields of screen, medicine, foreign lands, adventure, sports, inventions, crime, personalities, sociology, self-improvement, religion, beauty, movies, and the stage." When the publisher's wife Fleur Cowles, the later editor of *Flair* magazine, joined *Look* as an associate editor, the magazine transformed and gained a broader appeal to both men and women by emphasizing the female perspective on issues.

Life soon earned a great deal of prestige with its extensive war coverage, particularly with close-up shots taken under perilous conditions to obtain the most realistic portrayal of men in combat. Until the magazine ceased weekly publication in 1972, *Life* continued its coverage of armed conflicts in the post-war era as well as the nation's political, social, and cultural changes in the 1950s and 1960s. With the end of *Life,* the "golden age" of photo magazines came to an end as the 1970s saw many similar magazines disappearing in different countries of the world. The motion of television had replaced the printed still image as a prime conveyor of visuals for the collective memory. Although photo magazines are still available, their impact has declined even further with the emergence of online communication, which has opened up a seemingly endless and easily accessible universe of photographic documents.

Global Development

The success of photo magazines was a global phenomenon. The examples below will elaborate on four national trends regarding selected magazines in Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union. Rather than being representative, the sample suggests particular approaches to the diversity of editorial concepts.

Germany

Among the early *BIZ* competitors, it was the *Münchner Illustrierte Presse* (*Munich Illustrated Press, MIP,* 1924) that qualified most as the leader in modern magazine journalism. Its success was closely tied to editor Stefan Lorant, who considered the magazine a vehicle for his personal expressions and interests in the social and political environment. His appreciation of photography shows in the extraordinary salaries he paid his photographers. A third news magazine was the left-wing *Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung* (Worker's Illustrated Times, *AIZ,* 1925), now famous for its photomontages created by former Dada artist John Heartfield. A small staff around communist activist Willi Münzenberg aspired to publish a "true medium of the masses" using "worker photographs" as an instrument in the class struggle. For that purpose, the *AIZ* also employed photo essays, often covering the world of industry labor, which allowed German workers to have a glimpse into working conditions in other countries. One of the *AIZ*'s most celebrated achievements in the visual storytelling medium was when it dedicated two complete issues to the daily life and living conditions of one Russian family and one German family earning their living with factory and construction work.

During the twentieth century, the German term *Magazin* (rather than its English counterpart) referred to a book-sized (approximately 7 by 9 inches), illustrated monthly periodical with up to 200 pages dedicated to entertainment and social and cultural life. These publications ranged from the more sophisticated type of Magazin in the "feuilleton" style to the "spicy" type that attracted attention with its risqué and sometimes explicit photographs. The Magazin era peaked in the late 1920s when almost every publisher offered one, and the interested reader could choose among ten or more. All claimed to present interesting insight into arts, science, sport, and crime and were profusely illustrated with the growing number of photographs supplied by photo agencies in and around Berlin. Although "education through entertainment" remained one of

the guiding principles of most Magazin publications the sensationalist approach to content usually prevailed. With minor exceptions, the German Magazin was obsessed with the depiction of beautiful women. Most of the subjects were found among movie stars who served as projections for readers' individual dreams and collective desires.

The American *Look,* distributed in Germany during the Allied occupation, laid the foundation for a magazine genre that was later called the "Illustrierten" (pictorials) in Germany. The term usually refers to the small group of general-circulation illustrated weekly photo magazines focusing on simplified news, glimpses into the private lives of film stars and royalty, and serial romantic novels. This orientation toward triviality (and, later, sexuality and nudism) was called the "4-S-Line (sex, sentiment, sensation, sadism)" by observers and made the "Illustrierte" a matter of public discussion, with critics and politicians accusing the publishers of stultifying their audience.

Between 1946 and 1948, the four most influential photo magazines of postwar Germany first appeared: *Neue Illustrierte* (New Magazine) in September 1946; *Revue* in November 1946; *Quick* in April 1948; and finally *Stern* (Star) in August 1948. They all claimed to cover current events, but throughout the 1950s their content remained mostly apolitical and they may better be described as glamour magazines. Audience research suggested that during any given week in the 1950s, between 70 and 80 percent of adult Germans picked up at least one of these magazines.

France

In the late 1920s, photography became an important feature of the large-sized and lavishly printed *L'Illustration* (The Illustration, 1843). A national flagship publication, the magazine produced occasional special issues of seasonal topics and important events (such as the Paris World Fair in 1938) while regular issues covered the universe of bourgeois interest in high culture. Reproductions were carried out with high diligence, thus making old issues of *L'Illustration* an aesthetic highlight in photo journalism.

The news magazine *Vu* (founded in 1928) developed a visual language unique in the 1930s while reminiscent of the *AIZ* style. Art director Alexander Liberman used photomontage to create some of the most memorable covers in magazine history. The first issue was launched with the editorial statement "In motion like a good movie," and some of the photo reporters working for *Vu* in the early days were the most brilliant documentarists of their age—among others Man Ray, Brassai, Germaine Krull, and one of the cofounders of the legendary Magnum picture agency, Robert Capa, whose famous photograph of a dying soldier in the Spanish Civil War was first published in *Vu*. By mid-1940, when Germany occupied much of France, 633 issues of *Vu* had appeared. Although it was always devoted to current events, its significance lies in its editorial design. *Vu* was the first major photo journal with high circulation that adopted a modern layout as suggested by constructivist or surrealist approaches, the so-called new typography. Thus, it is one of the rare examples of an avant-garde photo journal successful in the mass market. Design was based on the dynamics of pictures, their emotional intensity generated for instance by close-ups or extreme perspectives, and sometimes even contradictory motifs.

Compared to other titles on the market, *Match,* which first appeared in 1938, looked rather conservative. Indeed French press magnate Jean Prouvost wanted nothing more than to replicate the success of *Life* by imitating the American model as closely as possible, from layout to content. In prewar France, the magazine expanded its circulation from 80,000 to 1.4 million in less than two years. Its relaunch in 1949 as *Paris Match* followed the same pattern as the German and American markets, with print-runs peaking in the late 1950s followed by a sharp decline with the diffusion of television in France. *Match,* however, survived by adapting to the changing media landscape by focusing on in-depth articles instead of fresh news. Moreover, cheap-looking snapshots were replaced by stunning and artful color photographs, one reason that *Match* remains one of the most important French news magazines.

United Kingdom

Despite its long-standing journalistic tradition, the British media market did not exert a substantial influence on the development of photo magazines. With the *London Illustrated News,* founded

in the early nineteenth century, the major news magazine still maintained the tradition of engraved illustrations even in the early twentieth century when photography became popular in other nations. Moreover, it had turned into a rather apolitical source following the general appeasement position of the British press toward Germany as suggested by the British government in the late 1930s. A major photo journal emerged in 1938 when former *MIP* editor Lorant, who had left Nazi Germany after being imprisoned under Adolf Hitler, became the driving force behind the British *Picture Post.* Publisher Edward Hulton supported this strong voice against Fascism in general and Nazi Germany in particular. Despite the initial hesitation of advertisers, Hulton sold the first edition of 250,000 copies within minutes.

Although Lorant never officially edited *Picture Post,* his influence on the photo magazine and hence on British photo journalism was substantial. His contract with the magazine was based on sales figures, so he benefited from the tremendous success of *Picture Post,* which had reached a circulation of 1.35 million copies after only four months. Before that, Lorant had designed *Liliput* magazine (1937), a pocket-sized photo magazine that followed the model of the German "Magazin" in size and scope, and another publication that copied the *BIZ* model called *Weekly Illustrated,* published by Odhams Press in London in 1934. Records indicate that publisher Henry Luce and photographer Margaret Bourke-White took a complete set of this magazine as a specimen to New York when they began conceptualizing *Life.* Although Lorant may have arrived in the United States too late to exert an immediate and personal influence, his impact on the emergence of *Life's* journalism through *Weekly Illustrated* and, later, the wide acknowledgement of *Picture Post,* is certainly evident.

Soviet Union

In the post-revolutionary Russia of the 1920s, the new government soon realized that magazines could play a key role in both teaching people to read and encouraging support of communism. The mechanical character of photography was associated with modernity, and its reproducibility suggested democracy. The nation's first photo journal was called *Ogonyok* (*Little Flame,* 1923), and the relevance it gave to photographs of current events is demonstrated by the fact that its editor, Mikhail Koltsov, also edited the influential photo magazine *Sovetskoe foto* (*Soviet Foto,* 1926). More importantly, Koltsov became part of the editorial board when the famous writer Maxim Gorky initiated *SSSR na strojke* (*USSR in Construction*), published between 1930 and 1941 in four different languages (Russian, English, German, and French; a Spanish edition was added later). It served as a prototype for photo magazines worldwide. Sponsored by the state, *SSSR na strojke* was intended both to charm communist leaders and gain friends for the Soviet Union abroad. The editorial statement in the first issue emphasized that photography should be the main editorial tool to depict the construction work going on in the USSR, because pictures conveyed more than even brilliant text. This approach was underscored by the table of contents, which named the photographers and the art director but not the text authors.

From a contemporary perspective, *USSR in Construction* is notable for the participation of leading Soviet artists as freelancers for the production of particular issues, among them Alexander Rodchenko, Nicolai Troshin, and El Lissitzky, who in 1932 was the first designer to be credited on the masthead for artistic composition. The workflow differed substantially from other photo journals, since the editors did not use existing photographs from their archive or provided by picture agencies. Instead, an author created a scenario for the general topic, and the art director transformed this scenario into a sketch that included the nature of pictures he wanted to incorporate. In the case of Lissitzky, he personally advised the photographers how to take the pictures and how the montages should be arranged. Later, the photos were printed in toned rotogravure and often used a large page size (12 by 17 inches), leporello folds, and die-cuts to create highly impressive visuals. The use of strong diagonal lines in layout to evoke movement, together with contrasting close-ups and long-shots, created an overall impression that was cinematic in the tradition of the films of Russian filmmaker Sergei Eisenstein and the documentarist approach of French *Vu.* Interestingly, the launch of *USSR in Construction* was paralleled by a similar initiative by Henry Luce in the United States, *Fortune,* a

monthly magazine focusing on the economy. Just like its Russian counterpart, *Fortune* highlighted the industrial culture of the nation and promoted business enterprises. But in contrast to *USSR in Construction, Fortune* typography was conventional and was employed functionally and without superfluous decoration; only the cover served as a showcase for the avant-garde.

Photo Magazines in the Contemporary Marketplace

In the early twenty-first century, the traditional type of photo magazine that appeals to a general audience plays only a minor role in the media market. Indeed, the American photo magazines such as *Life* and *Look* survived the 1950s with a clear orientation toward the middle-class reader, promoting shared values and a "good life." By 1970, however, six of the nine most prominent mass magazines had ceased publication.

As journalism scholar David Abrahamson wrote in 1996, "Three principal causes led to these failures: competition from television, mismanagement by publishing companies, and, as a less obvious but important undercurrent, an inability of some of the publications to respond to fundamental sociocultural changes."

Instead, the second half of the twentieth century saw the rise of the special interest magazine that remains popular today, as proved by a brief glimpse at any newsstand. An attempt to revitalize *Life* as an editorial supplement of major newspapers in October 2004 was abandoned by March 2007, as the relaunch did not meet expectations in terms of advertising revenue.

The same trend appeared in Europe where the golden age of photojournals ended with the decreasing appreciation for photography amidst the rise of television. Emergence of newer communication technologies such as the Internet made visuals of any form and kind ubiquitously and simultaneously available to both media professionals and the general public. The industrialization of photo production and distribution leaves little room for the comprehensive photo magazine with mass appeal. Instead, globalization of media production has changed the field of special interest magazines as well: international publishing houses produce content for outlets in different countries and sell advertising space to multinational enterprises. This is possible despite many differences in the cultural background of regions, as media consumers often display similar motives for media use. Their demands focus on a limited set of needs that can sometimes be met by content that has universal appeal, such as home-stories of Hollywood actors, reports of disasters, or war coverage. Thus, regionally tailored but universally produced special-interest magazines have replaced the photo magazine as the latter lost its role as provider of collective memories to the moving images of the television age.

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See also History of Journalism: 1930–1995; Magazine Design; Newsweekly Magazine; Photography; Photojournalists

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PLAGIARISM

Plagiarism, the reuse of original ideas or words without attribution, is regarded as a serious violation of journalistic ethics. It is usually conceived as a form of stealing, taking facts or information that another person developed without giving credit to the source. In journalism, plagiarism usually entails words but can sometimes involve images or sounds. It is an ethical issue and not a legal one; intellectual property or copyright law rarely applies because typical plagiarism does not produce financial harm. Most journalistic organizations treat plagiarism as a serious infraction that, in a majority of cases, results in the employee's dismissal. It is considered a journalistic taboo because it violates an expectation of originality—that the bylined author or on-air correspondent actually reported the story and wrote the words printed or spoken. The two leading professional associations for print and for broadcast journalists place plagiarism in the context of untruthful reporting. The Radio-Television News Directors Association ethics code lists plagiarism as a forbidden activity along with manipulating images or sounds. The Society of Professional Journalists ethics code locates plagiarism along with activities that distort reality such as unbalanced reporting or perpetuating stereotypes.

History

The word *plagiarism* is derived from the Latin word for kidnapping, and thus carries connotations of literary theft. It was applied to writing gradually after the European discovery of moveable type facilitated the notion of authorship. Early American newspapers liberally copied from European periodicals and from one another, although often crediting their sources. Plagiarism did not become an issue until the mid-1800s, after newspapers became major commercial ventures that fought for scoops and promoted the value of their individual writers to differentiate themselves from competitors, at a time when most U.S. cities of any size had multiple newspapers. As appearance of originality created market value, newspapers had a financial incentive to minimize attribution, camouflage copying through paraphrasing, and steal if necessary. Pinching was so rampant that in the late 1800s, as Fedler retells, a Chicago newspaper set a trap by publishing a story with a fictional proclamation in an obscure language that, read backwards, said, "The McMullens will steal this for sure." They did, and the plagiarism was exposed. In reaction to the excesses of cutthroat sensationalism, journalists banded together to create a training school at the University of Missouri in 1908 and formed the American Society of Newspaper Editors in 1922 in part to establish ethical principles. As professional standards were applied to the craft of journalism, plagiarism became unacceptable, though not eliminated. *Time* magazine began in 1923 by rewriting stories clipped from newspapers, before adding its own correspondents. Even in the 1970s, a cadre of newspaper columnists across the nation regularly sent copies of their published writings to each other with the understanding that they were free to reuse as they pleased. Foreign correspondents cribbed from local papers into the 1980s. But generally, these were notable exceptions to plagiarism prohibitions.

The Supreme Court addressed journalistic plagiarism in 1918. The Associated Press complained that a rival news organization, William Randolph Hearst's International News Service, was filching AP copy and distributing it as its own. The court ruled that a news organization could not claim property rights simply by being the first to report on an event. Instead, the court ruled that the AP was a victim of unfair business practices because International News Service was "endeavoring to reap where it has not sown." The justices concluded that using a competitor's story as a tip to independently produce a new version but systematically rewriting someone else's work was misappropriation. The decision did not use the word *plagiarism* and its practical effect was to establish a relatively

high bar for when copying became illegal. Still, the ruling established the "quasi property" value of journalism and affirmed the prevailing idea that plagiarism was wrong.

Today, plagiarism is so widely viewed as an unethical act that it engenders little debate. Journalism ethics textbooks skip the subject in favor of discussions of more nuanced subjects such as conflicts of interest or deceptive newsgathering techniques. Most ethics codes confine coverage of plagiarism to brief prohibitions. Yet plagiarism continues to plague the profession. Despite the notoriety associated with the serial fabrication and plagiarism committed by Jayson Blair (1976–) of *The New York Times* and revealed in May 2003, a new case publicly arises about once a month at the nation's daily newspapers, and about once a year in the television profession. Given the reluctance of any business to air its dirty laundry, the actual rate of plagiarism is undoubtedly greater. Experienced journalists argue that plagiarism occurs less frequently today than it did in prior decades, but seems more prevalent because the Internet allows offenses to be more widely reported.

Definitions

Although plagiarism can be defined as the reuse of original ideas or words without attribution, specifics are elusive, and not just in journalism. There is no agreement in any field on whether plagiarism is measured at the level of a paragraph, sentence, phrase, or word. Neither is there a formula for how many words, consecutively or cumulatively, constitute plagiarism. Ethics codes sometimes prohibit the reuse of "distinctive language" without defining "distinctive." Some of this ambiguity is deliberate so that evaluations of plagiarism don't miss the forest by counting trees. If three consecutive words constitute plagiarism, a copyist who does nothing more than change every third word can still be guilty of de facto plagiarism. On the other hand, some descriptions offer little room for originality; for instance, there are only so many ways that a story concerning a company's filing for Chapter 11 bankruptcy can be summarized. Context also matters, for parody requires imitation. Additionally, definitions vary by culture. In some nations, students are taught by repeating the works of masters without injecting originality. Broadly speaking, plagiarism cannot be defined in absolute terms; its meaning is relative to the situation.

In journalism, judgments about plagiarism generally involve two elements: first, the degree of paraphrasing and second, whether the information was considered "public" or background not requiring attribution. The opposite of plagiarism is not paraphrasing, but attribution. However, many journalists believe the cure for plagiarism is paraphrasing, and that reworking someone else's words, even when no original research is done, negates plagiarism charges. Determining whether plagiarism has occurred depends on an interpretation of whether the original material was paraphrased sufficiently to avoid the appearance of copying. Yet there is no standard for how extensive the rewording needs to be to avoid plagiarism. The second common element in definitions is whether the source is perceived to be sufficiently singular to warrant attribution. If the words or facts used are derived from a one-on-one interview or result from original, enterprise reporting, most journalists believe the reuse of that material requires attribution. No attribution is generally required for news conferences, government reports, or common historical knowledge. As with paraphrasing, determining when information evolves from a private statement to become part of the public domain is open to interpretation. Often, a presumed claim of exclusivity or invention fades quickly with widespread repetition, a sort of journalistic version of squatter's rights. For example, Barbara Bush's 2005 comment about Hurricane Katrina evacuees stuffed inside the Houston Astrodome—"this is working very well for them"—was widely repeated by broadcast and print reporters without attribution, even though it was said in a private interview with National Public Radio. However, in other instances, the taking of quotations from private interviews without attribution has been grounds for dismissal.

Journalists also differ on whether attribution needs to be specific or general. Broadcasters tend to use the term "reportedly" as shorthand for information that was taken from a competitor, especially a local newspaper. Broadcasters defend the minimalist approach to attribution as a concession to brevity while print reporters decry the use of "reportedly" as a dodge to avoid crediting their organization. Yet newspapers are guilty of

blending material from the Associated Press or other wire services with their own reporting with no more attribution than an end-of-story disclaimer such as "information from wire services and online sources was included in this report." A growing and more problematic issue for broadcasters involves the reuse of prepackaged video segments from public relations firms or government agencies, surrounded by stand-ups (on-camera narrations) from a local station reporter, without telling viewers the source of the material. Some broadcasters defend the absence of attribution as an extension of the medium's routine blending of various sources of audio and visual material.

For newspapers, attribution standards can vary by section. While the local news section might require its reporters to attribute hearsay quotations to a spokesperson, it is common practice for sports writers to use "quote packages" compiled by team publicists to write stories without revealing to readers that they never talked to the players. Quotations published by other newspapers are used routinely in many sports "notebook" columns with no more than a boilerplate disclaimer. In some cases, newspapers have fired political reporters for failing to attribute quotations, even as they allow their sports reporters to do the same as a matter of routine. On the opinion page, newspapers demand that letters to the editor be the original words of the authors and reject form letters as a type of plagiarism. Yet many opinion page editors publish "op-ed" columns ostensibly penned by political figures but actually written by aides or publicists.

Journalists further cloud plagiarism by lumping it with another offense, fabrication. While plagiarism is using another person's words or ideas, fabrication involves the creation of fiction while passing it off as genuine. Journalism trade magazines have frequently written about plagiarism and fabrication scandals as if they were somehow linked. A few reporters have committed both, notably Blair of *The New York Times* and Jack Kelley (ca. 1960–) of *USA Today* in 2004. But they are discrete behaviors and rarely mixed. Notorious fabricators Janet Cooke (1954–) of *The Washington Post,* whose Pulitzer Prize was returned in 1984 after she confessed to inventing an eight-year-old heroin addict, and Stephen Glass (1972–) of the *New Republic,* the subject of the 2003 movie *Shattered Glass,* were not found to have committed plagiarism. Conversely, the vast majority of journalists accused of plagiarism do not engage in fabrication.

Although most plagiarism involves words, other types include self-plagiarism, visual plagiarism, and idea plagiarism. Self-plagiarism usually involves reusing words written for a prior employer or a different publisher. Editors disagree over whether self-plagiarism is an offense, and if so, how to respond. Visual plagiarism has been applied sparingly to photographs, political cartoons, and page designs. Idea plagiarism is quite common but rarely acknowledged. Journalists have been reluctant to credit sources of ideas due to professional pride and to maintain distinctiveness in an era when news is a commodity.

The absence of clear standards for plagiarism means that the offense is often defined by extenuating circumstances. Four factors seem to figure most prominently. One occurs when the news organization has suffered an ethical black eye and reacts more harshly to the next offense. After the high-profile Blair case in 2003, the rate of publicly revealed plagiarism nearly tripled, indicating that the newspaper industry expanded its definitions and spoke about the issue more openly. A second extenuating factor involves perceived intent. A common journalistic maxim is that plagiarism must be deliberate. Inadvertently stringing together sentences, paragraphs, and even entire stories is sometimes declared not plagiarism but merely "sloppy" if management believes the journalist involved lacked intent or malice. Although human beings often cloak inappropriate actions with the garb of good intentions, allowing perceived intent to define plagiarism effectively limits the term to extreme cases of malfeasance. A third factor that often influences definition is the track record of the individual involved. News organizations commonly reserve the word *plagiarism* for episodes that result in dismissal. A study of newspaper plagiarism revealed a statistically strong association between the use of terminology and the sanction applied. The word *plagiarism* is associated with cases in which a person is either fired or resigns, while synonyms such as "nearly verbatim" are associated with cases in which the offender retained employment. The fourth factor that can influence definition is the source of the plagiarism complaint.

Journalists tend to view a complaint from the person or organization whose work was allegedly copied as carrying more weight than an accusation from an advocacy group representative or a reader, viewer, or listener.

Why It Happens

Conventional wisdom assesses blame for plagiarism to the offender along two general lines. First is rationalizing dishonesty, perhaps to take a shortcut to meet a deadline, compensate for perceived workplace injustice such as being underpaid or understaffed, or hide doubts about one's own writing ability. Second, and most common, is the use of problematic techniques such as electronic copy-and-paste in a way that mixes someone else's words with original research or employing a competitor's story as a template and too closely resembling the original. Yet plagiarism results not only from individual factors, but also from organizational influences. The two most prominent are ambiguous definitions that result in unmarked boundaries between borrowing and copying, and journalism's reluctance to attribute competitors and other sources of information. Because plagiarism is often undefined—an "I'll know it when I see it" standard—journalists don't know if they need to attribute information from newsroom archives, or cite the source of the background videotape, or credit a press release. As a result, negligence is often shared between the individual and the organization. Journalists have an affirmative obligation to prevent note-mixing and can alter their techniques to avoid copying. At the same time, news organizations contribute to plagiarism by failing to define it in clear terms and by creating an atmosphere in which attribution is minimized.

Conclusion

Despite widespread injunctions against plagiarism, it has defied eradication, in part because of the nature of journalism itself. Journalists gather information produced by others, reduce an issue to its bare essentials, and tell stories without footnotes. Such practices allow journalists to convey information and illuminate issues quickly, but they also promote borrowing and reduce attribution. Professional practice encourages a minimalist approach to attribution, which unwittingly allows plagiarism to occur. While it is difficult to know exactly how often journalistic plagiarism occurs, it continues to stick to the profession like a leech.

Norman P. Lewis

See also Copyright; Credibility; Deception; Ethics; Rip-and-Read News; Video News Releases

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PODCASTING

Amid declining newspaper revenue and circulation, many observers hope that journalism can be invigorated by embracing newer media, including online editions, blogs, chats—and a fairly recent adaptation of broadcasting called podcasting.

Podcasts (the term comes from a combination of i*Pod* and broad*cast*ing and refers to both the content and the process used to carry that content) are most often audio programs that are downloaded to a computer or portable listening device so they can be listened to at any time. Indeed, some have called podcasting "radio on demand," as they provide AM and FM broadcasts with the ability to time-shift when one listens. But podcasts can be also be made up of original material formatted especially for the Internet. And, though more complex, video podcasts are growing in popularity as well.

Yet to a considerable degree, podcasting remains a technology still searching for success. It provides yet another means of distributing existing (and some new) content. But thus far it has lacked a clear business model that might pave the way to expansion (podcasts are regularly used only by a fairly small minority of people), more original content, and new markets.

Development

The technology underlying podcasting was less than a decade old when this volume went to press. As a concept, podcasting developed out of many bloggers' desire to include audio and video clips in their otherwise text-based blogs. That growing demand led to technical experiments necessary to create the means for podcasting starting in the late 1990s. Two people are especially credited with creating and promoting the means to bring the idea to reality. They built upon the RSS (eventually dubbed "Really Simple Syndication") software first developed for Netscape in 1999, and later modified by others.

Adam Curry (who had been a video DJ on the MTV cable network from 1987 to 1994) promoted the use of audio in blogs and a means to make them easy to access. He promoted the use of modified RSS software as an "aggregator," a kind of automatic "news reader." This is either client software (housed on individual computer disc drives) or a web application which aggregates (or gathers) syndicated web content such as news headlines, blogs, podcasts, and vlogs (videologs) in a single location for easy viewing. Curry developed some of the first podcast examples—and is often called the "podfather" by aficionados.

Curry approached software programmer Dave Winer to develop a means of helping users stay current when podcasts were changed or otherwise updated. Winer undertook to improve the underlying RSS software to make finding current podcasts far easier for those lacking deep computer experience. Working with his own ideas combined with those from others, Winer had developed RSS 2.0 by early 2001 with "enclosure" technology, a software means of attaching multimedia (audio or video) content to RSS feeds. Those enclosures or attachments would enable creation of audioblogs (or what we now call podcasts). Additionally, RSS "narrators" were developed to provide an added service, converting aggregated text feeds into audio recordings one could hear rather than read.

The developing service still lacked an agreed upon name, though several had been suggested. The term *podcast* first appeared in Britain's *Guardian* newspaper, in a February 2004 story. Creation of the term is credited to reporter Ben Hammersley who in writing his piece used "podcast" as one synonym for audioblogging or amateur Internet radio. The new term stuck and was soon widely adopted, though it caused some inadvertent confusion in the marketplace. Many still assume an Apple iPod is required to receive podcasts—which is not the case, as any MP3 player or Internet-connected computer may be used.

As one indicator of podcasting growth, the number of Google hits on the word *podcast* grew from only two dozen in September 2004 (about the time the first radio broadcasters began to offer podcasts of some of their news or interview programs) to more than 100 million just a year later. Early stories on pioneering podcasters began to appear in major national newspapers late in 2004 and early in 2005, greatly increasing the number of people who knew of the new system. Initial podcasting networks appeared, making it easier to find out who was offering what. In mid-2005, Apple added podcasting capability to its iPod device and added a directory of available podcasts to the iTunes online store, both of which provided a huge boost to the podcasting service. By the fall of 2005, active work with video podcasting was expanding as well.

At least initially, most podcasters focused on providing information about one or more specific topics, with technology news being one of the most common. Pornography (dubbed "podnography") was popular as is so often the case with new technologies. Other subjects include global, national, or (especially) local news—or comment on the news—followed by sports, and updates about the world of music and show business. There has also been considerable interest, judging from the number of books about these topics, in applying podcast technology to various needs of business and education, especially in sales and marketing activities. New "how-to" guides appear weekly.

How Podcasts Work

The popularity of podcasting lies in its ability to let anyone be a kind of broadcaster—a creator of programs rather than merely a listener—with a minimal investment in equipment and not much technical knowledge. Audio podcasting calls for a personal computer, recording software (which can often be downloaded at no charge), a microphone, some kind of input manager or mixer, and available bandwidth on an Internet server. Headphones are useful. Video podcasting is understandably more complex, and thus more expensive as it requires addition of at least a camera and presumably lighting equipment to the list. Either audio or video podcasts operate using any of several free software programs.

Unlike streaming audio and video, which must be used at the time it arrives on one's computer (it has to be re-streamed to be seen or heard again), podcasts are independent digital files that can be downloaded onto media players—such as the iPods which gave the process its name. Users can find and then download podcasts from numerous web portals or specific sites; NPR, for example, hosts a Podcast Directory where users select what they would like to download. Podcast Alley is another portal where users can choose among tens of thousands of podcasts. There are many other portals, and new ones pop up regularly. The number of individual podcasts available is nearly impossible to count.

A far easier and more popular way to keep track of this flood of information, however, is to

The popularity of podcasting is in large part due to the simplicity of recording and creating digital files through affordable and accessible technology. This photo depicts some of the basic tools necessary for a podcast, including a small mixer in the bottom, left corner into which the computer, microphones, and headphones are connected. The sound levels of the audio being recorded are manipulated through the mixer.

Source: iStockphoto.com/leezsnow.

have podcasts of interest delivered and downloaded automatically by setting up a free "subscription" using an RSS feed, which functions somewhat like a digital recorder on a television. RSS formats are specified as either .rss or .xml, a generic specification for the creation of data formats. RSS formats have continued to evolve, and by early 2006, an orange icon (a tiny orange square with white radio waves), first used by the Firefox browser a year earlier, came into widespread use to indicate an RSS (or a competing system created in 2003 called Atom) digital file. By 2008, most podcasts were using the RSS 2.0 software that Winer developed.

No license is required to be a podcaster, as the service does not use spectrum. Nor are any program content controls applied, except for the law of copyright. But given how new podcasting is, many potential legal issues have yet to be resolved—or even identified. The legal situation is made more complex because, as with other Internet applications, a podcast can be placed on the web from anywhere in the world—and heard the same way. National laws vary widely and podcasting will be one test of how and when to apply them in this global context.

Podcasts and Journalism

Podcasting lent itself to the dissemination of news from the start, though for different reasons. A number of newspapers began to provide podcasts of their daily print editions as a service to the visually impaired, somewhat paralleling older reading services for the blind. For radio stations, news and other talk formats did not raise questions of music licensing fees and were thus less complex (and potentially expensive) to distribute as podcasts. Soon newspapers were exploring podcasts for general users—the *San Francisco Chronicle* may have been the first, in 2005.

Almost from the start, public service radio networks and stations became major providers of podcasts with their many talk programs. NPR and the BBC World Service were two of the earliest "legacy" broadcasters to utilize podcasts to further disseminate their programming. Indeed, most NPR news and public affairs programs are available as podcasts and the BBC provides many of its audio documentaries as podcasts as well.

A growing number of television networks and stations are providing the audio portion of their news programs as podcasts. By mid-2005, a few radio broadcast stations even reversed the former order of things, beginning to offer air time for listener-generated podcasts as an inexpensive and, in some cases, even attractive way to fill airtime. At the same time, the weekly White House radio talks by President George Bush began to appear in podcast form—a process continued by the Obama administration in 2009.

Podcasts may, moreover, impact the role of the individual reporter. In an era of both technical change and economic downturn (especially for the press), reporters are increasingly subject to the practice of what some have dubbed "backpack" journalism. Once supported by specialized production personnel who handled audio and video tasks, journalists increasingly carry their own cameras and microphones and record, edit, and produce their own pieces for use across media platforms. Such low-cost multifaceted stories lend themselves to distribution as podcasts. By 2009, the podcast-directory.com portal listed hundreds of available podcasts under "news" and offered more under "news and politics," and "news and talk."

Yet most of those reports are not original material made especially for the podcasts on which they are heard. The podcast aggregating process is still pretty much a vacuuming up of existing news reports prepared initially for print or broadcast media. There is as yet not much general news produced especially for or by podcasting. And that is because there is still no clear business model to make podcasting pay at least enough to support such creative efforts. Whether that will change remains to be seen.

Outlook

While the full potential of podcasting is yet to be reached, it is too early to tell whether or not it will only be a niche service, or whether podcasts will expand in the ways they are applied and used. Many argue podcasting is in something of a holding pattern, awaiting a viable commercial model to proceed. Many podcasts are poorly done from a technical or content point of view (or both). It has been hard for some to reach beyond the early "hippy happy" days of making podcasts for fun

and taking the next step to turn the technology into a real business. Others have made the leap (or began their podcasts with a business bottom line very much in mind), and some podcast services (though apparently not yet any for journalism) already return comfortable advertising revenue.

As traditional newspapers and broadcast outlets continue to suffer audience and revenue declines, it may be that podcasting ventures will provide another important means to keep professional (as well as personal) journalism alive.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Blogs and Bloggers; Digital Journalism Tools; Digital Sound; Distribution, Online; Editing, Online and Digital; Internet Impact on Media; Streaming Media

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Political Action Committees

The political action committee (PAC) is a private group dedicated to shaping and influencing political or public policy and law making. PACs operate to generate, distribute, and spend campaign funding, or money to persuade the public and government about specific issues. As they become more numerous and centrally involved in American political campaigns, coverage of their activities becomes a central part of political journalism as well as coverage of issues of public controversy.

Activities and Financing

While they are often required to register with regulators, PACs are normally conceived as a way of supporting candidates or issues outside of or parallel with the formal political process. PACs can advocate election of a candidate or subject opposition candidates to attack. The sets of alliances and monetary arrangements that develop between PACs and the political establishment are important factors to report on and critically assess. An informed understanding of the role of PACs and the restrictions they face provides journalists with insight into the links between finance and political power.

PACs are defined in U.S. federal and state law. Their roots lie in the 1971 Federal Election Campaign Act, which was designed to regulate political campaign spending and promote greater political and financial transparency in campaign funding. This act was designed to police campaign funding both inside and outside of the formal political process. Within the institutions of party politics, the act placed limits on the amounts those seeking political office could contribute to their own campaigns, as well as requiring that party election committees offer full quarterly accounts of their fundraising activities. Crucially, however, the remit of the Act extended beyond the conventional political parties, and the PAC was established as a means of broadening the requirement for openness and accountability to include more of those who seek to intervene in the campaigning process.

PACs are obliged to register with the Federal Election Commission (FEC). In enforcing regulations, the FEC recognizes a number of types of PACs that are made subject to slightly different rules. One category is referred to by the FEC as a "separate segregated funds" committee, which is a form of PAC affiliated with a union or corporation. The most important restriction on these PACs is that they are confined to raising money only from within their host organizations. The

host organizations are also allowed to pay for the PAC's administrative and running costs.

The "leadership PAC" is formed at the time of biennial federal elections to provide a mechanism for members of Congress to raise campaign money for a candidate other than themselves. While these are clearly allied to the party system, such a PAC cannot be established for a Representative's own political or material benefit. So while the Representative forming the PAC is entitled to draw reasonable travel expenses, he or she has to show the FEC that they do not spend any of the PAC's funds on their own campaigning.

Another category is what the FEC calls the "nonconnected committee." This type of PAC is allowed to raise funds from the general public, but on the strict condition that the PAC remains free from affiliation with corporations or unions. Such "independent" PACs are more often driven by issues rather than political allegiance, although recommendations on how to vote are routinely issued. While they are entitled to solicit public contributions, independent PACs have to make certain that no individual contribution exceeds a set legal limit. Additionally, all of the operational costs of the independent PAC need to be met through money given by the public. This is an attempt to ensure that such PACs don't become mechanisms for organizations or individuals to bankroll favored causes.

Coverage of PACs

Journalists face a difficult challenge covering PAC activities due to their complexity and the involved laws that supposedly control them. While the task of the journalist is to be alert to the influence exercised by PACs in representing either conservative or liberal causes, journalists should also consider the unbalanced spread of PACs across the political spectrum. For example, there are few PACs supported by nonprofit organizations, and those formed by citizen groups tend to suffer from poor infrastructure. This means that the most "effective" PACs tend to be Republican rather than Democratic supporters, leading to potential questions of balance in election or issue coverage.

While unevenness of distribution is important, it is perhaps the motivation, quality, and veracity of their political arguments that most concern the democratically minded journalist. Many journalists maintain that it is the category that the FEC calls nonconnected PACs that warrant the closest attention. On a consistent basis, nonconnected PACs have been associated with orchestrating what have become known as "Astroturf" campaigns that appear to be coming from the "grassroots," but in reality are arranged by lavishly funded and well-organized political concerns. A celebrated example of this is documented in Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward's book about the Watergate scandal, *All the President's Men,* and centers on the Nixon-supporting "Committee for the Re-election of the President," a group that sought to influence the 1972 election by using "false telegrams and ads to stir up phony support" for a controversial decision involving the Vietnam War.

Alternatively, many journalists choose to concentrate on whether PACs are keeping to the rules in the ways they generate and spend money, which demands current knowledge of the relevant legislation. Limitations on expenditure, for example, continue to be modified in updated versions of federal election campaign laws. The current (2008) laws allow the reasonable price of an airplane journey as a running cost, while explicitly forbidding clothing purchases or country club memberships. In the past, fines have been imposed on PACs for such lapses as improper expenditures on accommodation and entertainment when money should have been limited to administration and travel, or for accepting donations beyond the legal limit. When connected to prominent political figures, PACs falling foul of legislation often receive relatively in-depth coverage in newspapers, especially *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post.* Although it happens rarely, this coverage can have an immediate impact on the politician involved. For example, House majority leader Tom DeLay (R-TX) stepped down from office after the Federal Election Commission ruled that a PAC he was running had funded essential administrative activities with forbidden "soft" money. Through the DeLay scandal and afterward, politically engaged newspapers such as Washington-based *The Hill* explained alleged activities and provided a prominent forum for their discussion. Therefore, although the issues involved are complex, good quality and determined journalism can link the administration of PACs with standards of conduct in political office.

More recent development of another form of political committee, the "527 group" (after the tax law from which they emerged) has greatly changed political communication in many campaigns. Five hundred twenty-seven groups have an identical purpose to that of other PACs, except that they are obliged to refrain from explicitly advocating or opposing any candidate for any federal election. If they meet this condition, 527 groups evade the financial restrictions associated with PACs, and fall outside of the Federal Election Commission's regime of accountability. Just such a 527 group—the "Swift Boat Veterans for Truth"—played a part in undermining the military service record of 2004 Democratic presidential candidate John Kerry, and might well have helped determine the occupant of the White House. Yet, in other ways the Swift Boat campaign highlighted the capacity of journalists to probe the activities of political committees and add to public awareness, such that the key charges against John Kerry's war record were investigated and disputed by leading journalists, including those of ABC's *Nightline*. Perhaps as a consequence of this scrutiny, *Time* magazine subsequently found that only a minority of swing voters saw the Swift Boat campaign as credible.

The complexity of the laws governing PACs and 527s, often coupled with the lack of definitive links between PACs and the political figures they help elect, presents an uninviting prospect for a news desk concerned with simplicity and immediacy. Yet as expanding media platforms such as the Internet make distributing political messages easier and identifying their originators more difficult, the role of the knowledgeable, probing, and impartial journalist becomes a more vital component of the democratic system. Recent attempts have been made to introduce uncertainty to the FEC's scope for financial regulation, most notably the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002. Journalists need to stay alert to the nature of these changes and help invoke the spirit of the original campaign laws. However, it is inevitable that in the public interest-driven battle to counter the resources of special interest groups such as PACs, journalists will find it ever more difficult to determine which elements of political public discourse are genuinely popular and which are orchestrated.

Michael Higgins

See also Congress and Journalism; Election Coverage; Equal Time; Sound Bites; Spin

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Political Broadcasting

See Equal Time; Sound Bites

Political Reporters

American political reporters strive to keep politicians honest, to serve as proxies for the public, and to inform citizens so that they can make better political choices. Many political reporters think of themselves as an independent and vital "Fourth Estate," which operates as a check on political power.

The reasons journalists pursue politics as a specialty are as varied as their backgrounds. Some are attracted by the rich narratives of elections and struggles for power; others relish the role of

watchdogs or referees in the political game. Some are drawn by the policy debate to explain the promises and positions of politicians. Others seek to rub shoulders with the powerful or have an impulse to reform a system they see tilted to the privileged. And, at various historical points, political journalists have been partisans and ideologues.

Regardless of their motives, the group of journalists specializing in politics has played a critical role in American democracy, and their reach has extended to all forms of media. Since the 1960s, these journalists have grown in influence and attracted controversy.

Political reporters constitute one subset of the many journalists who cover public affairs, monitoring the city halls, schools boards, state houses, Congress, and the White House. Political columnists are another subset, although they sometimes overlap with the reporters. Since the 1930s, columnists have been viewed as the royalty of political journalism and the career goal of many reporters.

Among political journalists, print and broadcast media form another dividing line. Television introduced the "news anchor," a prominent figure encompassing the roles of editor, reporter, and commentator. At the national level, news anchors have played important roles in political journalism, presiding over national party conventions and election nights and moderating presidential debates. Several of these anchors first gained prominence as political reporters, including Walter Cronkite (1916–2009), John Chancellor (1927–1996), David Brinkley (1920–2003), Dan Rather (1931–), and Tom Brokaw (1940–).

So what separates the rubric of the political reporter from other political journalists? For the purpose here, three attributes define the political reporter: delivering news and analysis with the next election always in mind; offering information with the stated purpose to inform, not persuade; and striving for independence. To appreciate this category of journalists, one must understand their origin and evolution.

Origins

The entanglement of American journalism and politics dawned with the nation. By the first truly contested presidential election of 1800, partisan newspapers provided the political discourse between the burgeoning parties—Federalists (Hamiltonians) versus Republicans (Jeffersonians). The partisan press peaked in the Jacksonian era of the middle third of the nineteenth century when "Old Hickory" won office through the creation of a network of partisan newspapers. Several editors served in Jackson's "kitchen cabinet," and their newspapers drew financial sustenance from government printing contracts.

These journalists would be more familiar today as political operatives or propagandists. Their rise was also part of the democratization of the young country's politics, a path of upward mobility by artisans and immigrants who manned the presses. Not until the early twentieth century would the craft draw from the nation's educated upper crust, and even today political journalism remains a route for strivers from the hinterlands to climb the social ladder.

The importance of partisan journalists began to fade in the mid-nineteenth century with urbanization and media commercialization. Newspaper publishers and editors replaced their loyalty to party with allegiance to advertisers and the large circulations they demanded. Journalists were still connected to politics, but the seeds were sown for the pursuit of a goal that would mark the political reporter in the next century. Journalists sought to be independent political voices, not the mouthpieces of party organizations.

Three of the most famous "independent" journalists of the second half of the nineteenth century—Horace Greeley (1811–72), Joseph Pulitzer (1847–1911), and William Randolph Hearst (1863–1951)—were political power brokers who held elective office during their careers. Greeley and Hearst had ambitions for the White House. As late as 1920, both major party nominees, Democrat James M. Cox (1870–1957) and Republican Warren G. Harding (1865–1923), were Ohio newspapermen. Since that election, however, rising professional standards of independent journalism have argued against such direct political involvement, although a few remain tempted.

In the early twenty-first century, journalism is dotted with political professionals and journalists who move through the "revolving door." For example, ABC News' Chief Washington Correspondent George Stephanopoulos (1961–) is a

former aide to President Bill Clinton, while journalist R. Anthony "Tony" Snow (1955–2008) moved from Fox News to become the White House press secretary for George W. Bush.

Objectivity

Starting in the 1920s, the "objective" school of journalism arose with the growing professionalism of the craft. The goal was to separate opinion from fact-based news, and political journalists adopted distinct job descriptions. Columnists wrote commentary and reporters chronicled the words and actions of politicians. The reporters were bounded by the objective goals of balance and impartiality, which often translated into deference to authority. This weakness materialized in the 1950s as unquestioning news dispatches became the conduit of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's "red baiting" charges. Campaign reporters rarely ventured beyond accounts of the candidates' speeches and travels, and they turned a blind eye to the personal lives of the politicians.

New Influence

This passive role of the political reporter was transformed by a number of factors, starting in the 1960s. Social upheaval over the Vietnam War gave reporters new license to question authority. The journalistic exposé of the Watergate scandal of 1972 to 1974 also supercharged the adversarial role of the reporter.

The era also witnessed changes in electoral politics that enhanced the influence of the new breed of political reporters, who were better educated and more politically sophisticated. Party organizations withered as direct primaries increasingly determined the choice of party nominees. Television advertising weakened the ability of party leaders to control communications to voters. Money flooded the process to pay for the advertising. The new politics created subspecialties in reporting beats to cover media advertising and to follow the money. News organizations increasingly used public opinion polls to track campaigns.

In the vacuum previously filled by party leaders, political reporters became gatekeepers. To a considerable extent, reporters decided whether candidates met "expectations"—frequently set by the reporters themselves—in the outcome of primaries or televised debates. Whether a candidate's off-the-cuff gaffe became a crippling mistake would rest largely with reporters. Indeed, in presidential politics, the "invisible primary" of polls, punditry, and money weeds candidate fields before the first votes are cast.

Journalistic form also changed. Theodore H. White (1915–86), the son of poor Jewish immigrants to Boston who worked his way through Harvard University, reshaped the campaign narrative with his *Making of the President 1960,* the first in a series of books by White and his imitators who created a new genre. No longer would coverage center on chronicling a campaign; instead, the campaign unfolded as a dramatic story, told from the inside. The genre would bring new attention to the political process, the historical forces shaping elections, and the character of the politicians.

The change in the role and prominence of political reporters was classically captured by *Rolling Stone* writer Timothy Crouse (1947–) in his 1973 book, *Boys on the Bus.* The son of a Broadway writer and fresh out of college, Crouse portrayed the press corps as a traveling band of mostly male reporters from the big newspapers, news magazines, and television networks who rated the winners and losers, reveling in the horse race. He introduced the term *pack journalism*—referring to the tendency of reporters to produce homogenous coverage—into the political lexicon. Most barriers to women in the political press had fallen by the mid-1980s, but the problem of pack journalism remains for reporters of both genders.

The 1980s witnessed growing scrutiny by reporters of the personal attributes of politicians. This emphasis culminated in 1988 when reporters single-handedly eliminated the Democratic presidential frontrunner, Colorado Senator Gary Hart, by exposing his sexual peccadilloes. In the same period, political scholars, who had long discounted the role of journalists in shaping elections, began to attribute significant influence to journalists as framers of elections. But scholars also criticized the political reporters for being too entranced by the campaign "horse race," serving too often as agents of polarization and cynicism.

The rising influence of political reporters in the last half of the twentieth century was fueled by the newly dominant political medium—television.

The broadcast networks introduced political reporters who would soon achieve fame surpassing that of the columnists. Network correspondents engaged in reporting that was interpretative ("instant analysis"), distinctly mediated ("sound bites"), and highly visual. The three networks lavished money on the coverage by employing expensive technologies and building sophisticated political units to showcase their "talent." In the mid-1970s, more mobile Minicams and videotape increasingly replaced film, accelerating the speed of coverage and making it easer to edit in the correspondent's "voice-over" to dominate the story.

As political changes reshaped journalism, so journalism transformed politics into an activity increasingly governed by media. Satellite technology accelerated the speed of politics even more with live coverage from virtually anywhere and the pursuit of picturesque backdrops for staged political events. Media strategies came to dominate campaigns.

New Media

The 1990s was an important transitional decade for political reporters, although the trends were sometimes contradictory. In response to criticism saying that they were too easily manipulated by candidates who were sophisticated about the new media politics, reporters introduced fact-checking techniques that often made them seem even more adversarial. Reporters created the "Adwatch," a journalistic vetting of the truthfulness of advertisements. They also built a subspecialty in the "the money and politics" beat. Armed with new computer technologies, reporters tracked campaign finances, highlighting the exploding influence of money on politics and bolstering reforms.

These aggressive techniques coincided with an effort to temper political reporters. Civic journalism sought to reduce journalistic detachment, deemphasize horse race campaign coverage, and refocus on issues of interest to citizens. Civic journalism had many applications but in political coverage, news organizations experimented with in-depth polling of citizens to create issue agendas for elections that candidates would be asked to address. The questions of ordinary voters would be asked directly by reporters to candidates or they were posed in "town hall" meetings involving panels of voters who were selected in the surveys. Civic journalism has faded as a distinct movement, but the movement's legacy is a more self-reflecting and interactive media.

At the same time in the 1990s, journalists found new competitors in the changing media environment. Conservative talk radio hosts emerged as powerful voices. Cable news networks began to siphon off viewers from the networks, particularly political audiences, first with creation of CNN and C-SPAN in the 1980s and later with MSNBC and Fox News in the mid-1990s.

The rise of Fox, which emphasizes commentary, was an important development. While declaring itself "fair and balanced," Fox attracted conservatives who viewed it as a welcome alternative to what they perceived as the liberal slant of the broadcast networks and public broadcasting. Polls showed Americans increasingly dividing their media preferences along party lines, though public esteem for all political media declined.

In the face of stiffer competition and dwindling audiences, the broadcast networks retreated from political coverage, cutting staffs and folding political units. The networks remain important, but the political media world shifted toward cable television, which is dominated by talk shows. Ironically, important players in the new "talk" world were traditional reporters from newspapers and magazines. These new "talking heads" often delivered more commentary than would have been permitted in their own media.

Entertainment programs joined in this mix, as politicians sought alternative venues that sidestepped the political reporters. The 1992 presidential campaign saw Clinton play his saxophone on the Fox network's *Arsenio Hall* show and defend his marriage on *Phil Donahue*. By the early twenty-first century, comedians such as Jon Stewart (1962–) of *The Daily Show* were quizzing politicians along with the reporters.

If the changing world of television reshaped political journalism, the rise of the Internet at the century's turn brought about a sea of change. Political reporters found uncharted territory in a new medium through which to report and present the news, but also a new virtual campaign to cover. They also encountered another competitor—and critic—the blogger.

The political Internet blossomed in the 2000 presidential election as candidates used the

Internet to organize supporters and raise money. Political reporters were assigned to cover the online campaigns, and the Internet became a new tool for reporting. Reporters accustomed to the leisurely deadlines of morning newspapers or evening news shows were tasked with filing breaking stories to websites, accelerating the flow of political news.

Print and broadcast journalists extended content to their name brand websites, but nontraditional Internet-based vehicles also emerged to deliver political news. The conservative *Drudge Report* rose as an important portal of political news, and Internet-only political magazines, such as *Salon.com* on the left, emerged. The Internet also undercut the finances of metropolitan newspapers and news magazines, the engines of political journalism for the previous century. A number of top political reporters fled to the new Internet organizations as the print organizations cut staffs, particularly in Washington. A prime example was *Politco.com,* launched in early 2007 by attracting reporters from the major newspapers and magazines. *Politico.com* offers a new model for traditional political journalism aimed at elite audiences.

During the 2004 presidential election, bloggers demonstrated the power of the Internet not only to comment on the reporting of the mainstream media outlets but in some cases to actually affect that political coverage. Named for their interactive weblogs, these new political voices are reminiscent of the old partisan press. They are highly polarized by political party and ideology and many actively recruit and support candidates. Bloggers have become self-appointed critics of the mainstream political journalists, challenging their accuracy and fairness. In 2004, bloggers played a key role in discrediting documents used by CBS News in questioning President George W. Bush's service in the Air National Guard during the Vietnam War. The ensuing flap led to Dan Rather's early retirement from CBS. Political reporters now cover the new online media world as a discrete sphere of political discourse; political reporters increasingly have been asked to participate in that world by writing their own blogs.

To conclude that political reporters have reverted to their partisan origin would be an overstatement, however. Most professional journalists who cover politics remain committed to the ideal of the independent and objective arbiter of politics that arose in the last half of the twentieth century. Yet political reporters in the new era are more embroiled in the political debate, and their influence is diminished as they struggle for mass audiences. For citizens, the new era has brought a wealth of sources of political information, if they seek them. Citizens also face a harder task of filtering what information can be trusted. As never before, citizens need to know the political reporters who bring them their news and their backgrounds.

Some Political Reporters Since 1960

R. W. "Johnny" Apple Jr. (1934–2006)

Apple set the standard of the influential political reporter in his more than four decades with *The New York Times*. The son of an Akron, Ohio, businessman and educated in the Ivy League, Apple was the model of the brash and aggressive reporter. He is credited with first recognizing the importance of the Iowa precinct caucuses that propeled Jimmy Carter to the White House in 1976. In the ensuing three decades, Apple, known for his front-page analysis stories and fascination with the unfolding campaign, set the example for a generation of *The New York Times* political reporters whose reporting continues to influence the coverage of the rest of the political media.

David S. Broder (1929–)

Broder, who covered his first presidential race in 1960, is often called the "dean" of the political press. Growing up in a Chicago suburb, Broder combined graduate study in political science with a boyhood love of newspapers to land at *The Washington Post* in 1966 after quitting *The New York Times*. Over the next 40 years, Broder helped build the *Post*'s political coverage to rival the *Times*. A reporter who also wrote a column, Broder hewed to a nonpartisan and centrist approach. He inspired reporters to critique the mechanics of politics and to use shoe-leather reporting, as well as polling, to explain voter behavior. He won a Pulitzer Prize in 1973 and has written seven books, including 1987's *Behind the Front Page: A Candid Look at How News Is Made.*

Elizabeth Brenner Drew (1935–)

Drew led a cohort of women who entered the ranks of political journalism in the 1960s. A Cincinnati native and Wellesley College graduate, Drew became a prolific magazine reporter, book writer, and television commentator. For almost 20 years starting in 1973, Drew wrote *The New Yorker*'s "Letter from Washington," dispatches from a capital she portrayed as increasingly dominated by the corruption of money. In a 1983 book, *Politics and Money: The Road to Corruption,* Drew presciently recognized the flow into politics of unregulated large donations of "soft money," a term she popularized.

Jack W. Germond (1928–)

Germond and his partner for a quarter century, Jules Witcover (1927–), wrote a column for the *Baltimore Sun,* which relied more on reporting than opinion, and they co-authored a series of books on presidential campaigns from 1980 to 1992. Growing up in a middle-class Boston family, Germond used the GI Bill to pay for a journalism education at the University of Missouri, followed by several decades in newspaper jobs. But television talk shows made Germond, who is bald and rotund, the most unlikely of media stars, starting with the *McLaughlin Group* in 1981 and later on CNN and public broadcasting. The irascible, irreverent, and liberal Germond crystallized the caricature of the political road warrior, which he described in his 1999 autobiography, *Fat Man in a Middle Seat.*

Jeff Greenfield (1943–)

Greenfield, who joined CBS News in 2007 as senior political correspondent, is an example of the political analysts who act as independent sages on politics. The son of a New York lawyer, Greenfield is a graduate of Yale Law School who began his career as a Democratic consultant. Starting in 1983, he was the lead analyst for ABC News before moving to CNN in 1998. Known for his grasp of history, Greenfield gave CNN gravitas during the turbulent 2000 and 2004 elections. Writing widely on politics and media, he authored or co-authored 11 books, including the 2001 *Oh, Waiter, One Order of Crow: Inside the Strangest Presidential Election Finish in American History.*

Mark Halperin (1965–)

Formerly ABC News's political director who joined *Time* magazine in 2007, Halperin is a pioneer of online political journalism. Harvard educated and the son of a Washington establishment figure, Halperin got his break covering Clinton's 1992 campaign as an off-air reporter. But it was Halperin's commitment to the Internet that set him apart. In 2002, he founded ABC.com's *The Note.* The sassy newsletter became the source of political tips, rumors, and news for the political establishment, demonstrating the power of insider news delivered online.

Alexander Britton "Brit" Hume (1943–)

Hume, Washington manager editor of Fox News and anchor of *Special Report with Brit Hume,* is arguably the most respected unabashedly conservative political reporter. A Washingtonian educated at the exclusive St. Albans High School, Hume gained notice as an antiestablishment journalist, working for muckraker Jack Anderson (1922–2005), which led Hume to a 23-year career as a political correspondent with ABC News. Increasingly a critic of liberal bias in the mainstream media, Hume joined the migration to cable news in 1996, bringing credibility to the upstart Fox News.

Gwen Ifill (1955–)

Moderator of PBS's *Washington Week* and correspondent for *The NewsHour with Jim Leher,* Ifill is a testament to the upward mobility of political journalism. The daughter of a poor black immigrant preacher in New York, Ifill built a career as a political reporter following the path of her white male predecessors. She came up through newspapers—from the city beat for the *Baltimore Sun* to the White House for *The New York Times*—and then to NBC News. In 1999, she pierced racial and gender ceilings to enliven and revitalize *Washington Week,* an institution of political journalism for almost 40 years.

Brooks Jackson (1941–)

As a reporter for the Associated Press and *The Wall Street Journal,* Jackson pioneered the "money and politics" beat in the 1980s. The product of

small-town Indiana, he arrived in Washington for the AP to help cover Watergate. In 1988, Jackson authored a respected book on campaign finance, *Honest Graft: Big Money in the American Political System*. He moved to television at CNN and in the 1992 election developed systematic truth testing of campaign messages in "Adwatch" segments. He took the approach to the Internet in 2004 to help found Factcheck.org, a nonpartisan website widely used by news organizations in monitoring campaign advertising.

James C. Lehrer (1934–)

Lehrer, executive editor and anchor of PBS's *NewsHour with Jim Lehrer,* is the quintessential journalist as referee, moderating ten presidential debates and helping establish public broadcasting in political journalism. Born in Wichita, Kansas, Lehrer got his start in Texas newspapers. Starting with the coverage of the Watergate hearings on public television, Lehrer teamed with Robert MacNeil (1931–) to make the *NewsHour* the premier public affairs television show. Lehrer's even-handed and unflappable style made him the choice of both sides of the partisan divide for his unprecedented role in presidential debates.

Walter R. Mears (1935–)

Mears, who covered national politics for the Associated Press from 1960 to 2001, is the model of the straight-reporting, fast-writing wire service political reporter. A no-nonsense New Englander, Mears worked his way up in the AP to set the pace of political news, famously writing news leads that others would follow. He won a Pulitzer Prize for his coverage of the 1976 presidential election. In a 2003 memoir, *Deadlines Past: Forty Years of Presidential Campaigning,* Mears expressed the task of the wire reporter as "keeping the copy terse and keeping yourself out of it."

Roger H. Mudd (1928–)

A CBS News star from 1961 to 1980, Mudd is often called the most respected of the network political correspondents in their heyday. A tall, erudite life-long Washingtonian, Mudd made his mark covering the civil rights debate in Congress, broadcasting from the Capitol steps. Later for NBC News and public broadcasting, Mudd crystallized the image of the sober and knowledgeable reporter, and he was an early critic of television's slide toward sensationalism. Yet, Mudd conducted one of the most famous interviews with a candidate when he questioned—and staggered—Senator Edward M. Kennedy in his 1980 presidential quest with probing questions about Kennedy's personal life. (The shaken candidate had trouble saying why he wanted to be President.)

"Cokie" Roberts (1943–)

An analyst for National Public Radio and ABC News, Roberts helped establish NPR as a player in political news in the 1980s and became one of the most prominent political journalists of the 1990s. A New Orleans native born Mary Martha Corinne Morrison Claiborne Boggs, Roberts grew up in a politically prominent Washington family, and she brought her insider knowledge to NPR in 1978 as a congressional correspondent. With Linda Wertheimer (1943–) and Nina Totenberg (1944–), she formed a trio of women reporters who elevated NPR's Washington reporting. While keeping her NPR job, Roberts became a panelist on ABC's *This Week with David Brinkley* in 1988 and co-anchor of the Sunday talk show from 1996 to 2002.

Timothy J. Russert Jr. (1950–2008)

Before his untimely death in 2008, Russert was moderator of NBC News's *Meet the Press* and was considered political journalism's chief inquisitor. A blue-collar kid from Buffalo, Russert, a lawyer, entered journalism from New York Democratic politics. In 1984, Russert landed a job as an assistant to the president of NBC News and worked his way up to Washington Bureau chief for the network, and then moderator of the 60-year-old Sunday talk show in 1991. Russert took the show to dominance with a new format centered on him interrogating the powerful and frequently confronting guests with their impolitic past comments. Some observers have likened *Meet the Press* to a presidential primary test for White House hopefuls.

Leslie R. Stahl (1941–)

A correspondent for CBS's *60 Minutes,* Stahl rode the first wave of women coming to prominence in

television news and emerged as one of the most tenacious reporters of the adversarial generation. Growing up in an upscale suburb of Boston, Stahl secured a job in CBS's Washington Bureau in 1972, in time to cover Watergate. For the next 20 years, Stahl covered the White Houses of three Presidents and from 1983 to 1991 moderated the Sunday talk show, *Face the Nation*. In a highly personal 1999 memoir, *Reporting Live,* Stahl relished being described as "tough," a characteristic she was able to disguise behind an approachable, well-coiffed exterior.

Judy Woodruff (1946–)

Woodruff, a correspondent for PBS's *NewsHour with Jim Lehrer* and one of the most recognized faces in political journalism, started her career as a "weather girl" for an Atlanta television station in 1969. The daughter of a soldier, the Georgia teenager was the first in her family to attend college, Duke University. In the mid-1970s, Woodruff, then in NBC's Atlanta Bureau, followed Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter to the White House for NBC, a job she kept into the Reagan years before leaving to work for a decade at PBS. In 1993, Woodruff moved to CNN, and for the next 13 years, she helped turn *Inside Politics* into one of the most watched cable news political shows.

Albert L. May

See also Anchors, Television; Blogs and Bloggers; Civic Journalism; Columns and Columnists; Congress and Journalism; Editors; Election Coverage; Government, State and Local, Coverage of; Polls and Public Opinion; Presidents, Coverage of; Publishers

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Polls and Public Opinion

Put simply, public opinion is "what the public thinks," and a poll is a means for learning those views. But this definition masks substantial complexity. There is much debate about what the public is, what might constitute its thoughts, what polls actually measure, and what the import of expressed opinions may be.

What Is the "Public"?

Consider some images: a crowd at a baseball game, protesters marching with signs and banners, authors of letters to a newspaper, strikers on a picket line, parents at a school board meeting, supporters at an election rally, citizens of a country, members of a special-interest organization (like the ACLU), commentators on a blog, a thousand adults interviewed for a Gallup Poll. In political and social psychologist

Floyd Allport's (inelegant) language, these are "multi-individual situations" in which people may express themselves. But they differ in significant ways. The public is displayed variously as a disconnected assemblage—a "mass"—or a unified group with a common purpose (e.g., crowd, spectators vs. campaign supporters, protesters). It is a group whose existence depends on a particular event (e.g., spectators, meeting attendees, strikers), or individuals whose connection spans space and time, such as members of a "special-interest" organization. Some publics are formed by participants' deliberate action (e.g., attending a meeting) and others depend upon external agency (a polling firm gathering interviews). In short, the public is portrayed variously as more or less allied, more or less inclusive, more or less transitory, more or less volitional. The modes and quality of communication also vary widely. People express themselves in cacophonous or melodic tones, in concert with others or alone, spontaneously or prompted, openly or anonymously, with or without much knowledge and consideration.

These varied images underlie conflicting views about polls and public opinion. Those who advocate the use of polls envision an inclusive process that goes beyond specific situations or involved publics. The barriers to membership are few; one need not demonstrate any particular knowledge or interest, nor act in support of beliefs, nor join with others to affect policy. To be a member of the public, one need only agree to express confidential opinions on questions put by the polling organization. By contrast, those who are opposed to polling have a more exclusive, issue-specific view of the public. Membership costs are higher: belonging depends on the degree of one's engagement with a particular policy question, one's association with others whose level of engagement is also high, and one's willingness to be identified as "taking a side" and acting on belief. According to this view, polls produce top-down "manufactured publics," not genuine manifestations of public opinion. But for George Gallup and other polling pioneers, polls actually empower individual citizens who otherwise would find it difficult to be heard. Because pollsters seek a "cross-section" of society to interview, the advantages of class or education or special interest that ordinarily facilitate political participation are overcome by polls.

What, then, is the real, genuine public? An often-cited exchange at the American Sociological Association meetings in the late 1940s summarizes the argument. Two eminent social scientists on this panel—Herbert Blumer and Theodore Newcomb—represented the two schools of thought just described. Blumer first attacked the idea of polling because, he argued, public opinion is rooted in interest groups that are not captured in cross-section samples. For Blumer, and many theorists who continue to cite his argument, polls construct an artificial public by aggregating the views of randomly sampled individuals. Thus, Blumer argued, polls are blind to the empirical reality of the organization of the public in social ties among members.

Newcomb's reply is less often cited. His principle point was that polling is not incompatible with studying public opinion that is based in social organizations. Cross-section surveys can recruit respondents who are group members and examine their views in comparison to others. Polls can inquire into the social sources of individual opinions. Polls can examine how different "publics"—knowledgeable, ignorant, involved, disengaged, socially connected, isolated—differ in their opinion expression. Blumer was mistaken in conflating the way polls had been employed by some practitioners and the ways in which they could be utilized.

In sum, Newcomb argued that Blumer's "artificial public" analysis was a straw man. Polls can, at once, give a picture of what a cross-section of society thinks about an issue and also examine how group affiliations shape opinion. It is difficult to determine which man won the debate, however. The years since their exchange have seen both frequent return to Blumer in scholarly critiques of the polling enterprise, and marked growth in the number and types of polls. The public "constructed" through polls has become a mainstay of modern discourse and a continuing source of academic criticism. But we do not have to choose between Blumer's and Gallup's vision of the public. Rather, we need to recognize that there are multiple publics: the egalitarian public constructed by polls; the hierarchical, organic, interest group public; and others. Harwood Childs noted that "public opinion is not the name of a something, but a classification of a number of somethings." Debates over the "true" public are rooted not in some empirical criteria, but in normative views that give more or

less weight to ideals of egalitarianism, inclusiveness, degree of group association, engagement, behavioral manifestation, and so forth.

What Is the Public Thinking?

The "opinion" part of "public opinion" involves both descriptive and normative components as well. It refers to perceptions and beliefs about what is happening in the world (the "pictures in our heads" described by American journalist Walter Lippmann) and to judgments related to those cognitions. Opinions frequently are verbal expressions. In addition to responses to poll questions, opinions can be conveyed in many ways, including contacts with elected representatives or customer service agents and letters and comments to media outlets. The Internet has opened up many methods of opinion expression, including self-publication in websites and blogs, and opportunities to review and comment on everything from commercial transactions to Sunday sermons. Of course, elections are a form of opinion expression. Opinions might even be inferred, with less precision, from the collective action of crowds.

In the polling world, opinions were originally thought to be verbal expressions of firm, underlying attitudes and values. More recently, they have been theorized as spontaneously constructed responses to opinion questions, sampled from "top of mind" cognitions and feelings. This divergence follows decades of research on the knowledge basis for public opinion, the extent to which opinions reflect political ideology, and the connection between opinion and behavior. Philip Converse's research has shaped discourse on "what the public is thinking" for the past 50 years. In *The American Voter* and seminal papers on public knowledge, Converse noted that the average level of American citizens' political knowledge is low and the variance is high. A few members of the public possess a great deal of information while the great majority have very little. The amount of knowledge a person possesses has implications for how opinions relate to one another and how they change. Converse found that knowledgeable people are more likely to hold opinions that are organized in an ideological framework. Most citizens do not look at political issues through an ideological lens. Individual opinions also do not change in ways that one would expect. Looking at panel data from three waves of the National Election Study (the basis for *The American Voter*), Converse demonstrated that stasis or slow change in *aggregate* opinion about public policy from 1956 to 1960 masked remarkable *individual* level shifts. Individual shifts virtually cancelled one another, leading to the impression that there was not much change on the whole.

Converse's findings implied that it was wrongheaded to look for sophisticated understanding in most individuals' opinions. This view is supported by methodological research in polls that shows that measured opinion is susceptible to minor changes in question wording and structure, as well as research that finds that a notable number of poll respondents will give opinions about imaginary or virtually unknown policies and proposals. Scholars who differ with Converse question the criteria he used to judge respondent rationality or focus not on characteristics of individual opinion but on how opinion looks in the aggregate. In the first category, some have argued that people do not need a store of political knowledge or an ideological stance to participate effectively in politics. If they follow heuristics provided by organizations (political parties and interest groups), they can form ideas about which policies to support or oppose. In the second group, scholars have found meaningful patterns of opinion change and effect on policy when examining aggregate opinion over time. Such findings are discussed in more detail below.

There has also been an effort to enhance the quality of opinion in the mass public. Led by nongovernment organizations such as Public Agenda and by news organizations, groups of citizens have been recruited to participate in extensive briefings and discussion on important issues so that they have the information to express knowledgeable views. National and local "issue conventions" have been held in both the United States and Great Britain. In the most elaborate form of these gatherings, put forward as alternatives to public opinion polls, organizers bring together in one location a large group of citizens for lectures on public issues and deliberation about them. Participants' opinions are measured prior to and after the convention, with the intent of showing how "informed" opinion differs from the usual findings produced by polls. Factual information and deliberation are

meant to convert raw, malleable opinions into more sound judgments. The participants are selected through probability telephone sampling (thus seeking the ability to generalize the convention results to the larger population) and provided funds to attend the convention. News organizations have sponsored issue conventions as a way to enhance coverage and to involve audiences. For a time in the 1990s, such events were often the centerpiece of "civic" or "public" journalism programs adopted by a number of news organizations around the United States. (Civic journalism programs were efforts by news organizations to identify issues of importance to readers, to report extensively on those matters, and to feed back the information to the audience.) But these efforts have not supplanted public opinion polls. They did not achieve consistently noteworthy change in the quality of opinions expressed by participants. The cost of issues conventions, their limited issue scope, and the lack of compelling evidence for positive effects have combined to reduce their prevalence.

What Do Polls Measure?

Polls measure opinions concerning matters that poll sponsors judge to be interesting and important. They do not measure opinions on other issues that may be significant but do not capture the attention of sponsors. Since many polls are funded by news organizations, the topics covered in questionnaires frequently deal with issues that are currently "in the news." Polling organizations often follow these topics over time to track the rise and fall of attention to news topics. There has been a symbiosis of polls and news organizations since before the advent of "scientific" polling. Newspapers conducted "straw polls" of readers prior to elections in the nineteenth century. The *Literary Digest* sent pre-election questionnaires to subscribers and nonsubscribers early in the twentieth century. George Gallup and other early pollsters syndicated their information to newspaper clients, beginning in the 1930s. A few major news organizations founded in-house polling units later in the century, while others contracted with polling firms for exclusive access to data.

Several factors appear to underlie the easy match between public opinion research and news organizations. Obviously, public opinion is a form of news. Reporting on public views of current events is one of the functions of news media in a democracy. News executives, in addition, have long recognized the appeal of opinion news to consumers. Finally, the act of polling itself is seen as a way to engage readers or viewers in the content offered by the news organization. One can see "polls of the day" or even polls on the subject of particular television programs. One of the most popular American entertainment television programs (*American Idol*) involves audience voting. The advent of communication media including email and text messaging permits synchronous "polling" of the audience.

In the category of opinion news, pre-election polls are one of the most prominent and controversial examples. George Gallup made his reputation and created the current genre of pre-election polls with his work in the 1936 election. Betting his newspaper clients that his results would more closely match the election results than those of the *Literary Digest,* whose publication of poll predictions had been the previous "gold standard," Gallup predicted the landslide Roosevelt victory while the *Digest* picked the loser Alf Landon. Gallup's win led to the adoption of "scientific sampling" methods for subsequent elections. The science involved was probability (or "near probability") sampling. The *Digest* had failed because it did not have a method of sampling prospective voters, allocating to each a chance of selection. Instead, it relied on attracting huge numbers of responses to its mail poll. Gallup and other pollsters (Archibald Crossley, Elmo Roper) demonstrated that a much smaller sample, appropriately selected, would represent the population of prospective voters better.

After this early success, it has become common for new pollsters to prove their mettle in pre-election polls. A track record of calling elections correctly has established the bona fides of polling firms, which, in turn, has led to further political and commercial business. And subsequent pre-election polling failures (e.g., in 1948 and 1980) have led to doubts about the entire survey enterprise. The importance of the high profile pre-election poll to the field justifies a closer look at its workings.

Several major issues confront those who would carry out a pre-election poll. Begin with the selection of the sample: pollsters want to find out the

preferences of people who are going to vote in the upcoming election. This means reaching beyond the usual eligibility criterion for surveys—adulthood—to engage people whose political history and election interest suggest that they are likely to vote. Estimating voting likelihood is fraught with difficulty, particularly in elections which may attract a new, young cohort of voters. In the 2008 New Hampshire Democratic Presidential Primary, the Gallup pre-election poll, like others, miscalled the race in favor of Barack Obama (Hillary Clinton actually won). In post-election analysis, Gallup reported that its likely voter model was a prime reason for the miscue: the raw vote intention data Gallup collected were closer to the election result than were the data weighted by likelihood of turnout.

In addition to likely voter estimation, the pre-election poll must deal with the possibility of shifting preferences as the campaign up to the election plays out. Pre-primary election polls have a riskier environment because, with all candidates seeking to represent the same political party, the effect of the prospective voter's party allegiance on preferences is nullified. The pollster cannot use party identification to predict vote choice. In all campaigns there is the possibility of a shift in voter preferences just as the campaign comes to an end. The timing of the final poll before the election can, therefore, make a big difference in how well the poll estimates the outcome. Pollsters commonly do not predict election outcomes until they have done the last poll of the contest, and, even then, not if the race is tight. The pressure on the final poll results is exacerbated by the speed with which they must be assembled. While other sorts of surveys have the luxury of call-backs to prospective respondents who are not contacted on the first or second try, final pre-election polls, seeking the very latest breakdown of vote intentions, must forego repeated attempts to reach the difficult-to-reach respondents. This means that the final vote intention estimates may be biased if the hard-to-contact prospective voters are numerous and if they differ in their preferences from those who could be recruited for interviews. The threat of nonresponse bias, an increasingly important concern for all surveys, is that much greater in an environment in which attempts to reach nonrespondents are severely limited. The pollster relies upon post-survey adjustments (weights) to correct for demographic imbalances in the achieved sample. This solution may or may not suffice to compensate for the missing respondents.

Pollsters working on pre-election surveys also have the common problem of measuring respondent preferences. But much more is riding on the accuracy of preference measurement in the pre-election poll than in the commercial survey whose results never become public. It is necessary to try to nail down prospective voters' preferences, even when those inclinations may be malleable. Pollsters need to establish rules for dealing with those prospective voters who "lean" toward a particular candidate but have no more of a preference. They must also deal with those who report that they are undecided for whom they will vote. Some pollsters favor dropping these respondents from the analysis while others insist that "undecideds" in races involving an incumbent candidate should be allocated to the challenger (on the view that undecided voters in those races are holdouts against the incumbent, about whom they must know a good deal).

Considering the significant problems confronting pre-election pollsters, their track record is quite good. Periodic reviews of poll performance suggest that there are far more close fits between poll estimates and vote outcomes than spectacular failures. (The failures—viz. the *Chicago Daily Tribune*'s 1948 headline: "Dewey Defeats Truman"—live longer in memory). Because of problems plaguing the entire survey industry, most notably growing nonresponse, it is not clear if the established track record will be maintained in elections to come. Whether so or not, pre-election polls have established another sort of prominence in journalistic treatments of elections and in commentary on contemporary politics. In 2004, in line with increasingly bitter partisanship in American politics, media polls came under attack from both the Left and Right for pre-election estimates unfavorable to the candidate of choice. The complaint that news coverage of elections is dominated by the "horse race" has been with us for several decades. In the latter 1970s and 1980s this complaint appeared to resonate with editors at elite news organizations and poll coverage highlighted issues rather than candidate standings. By 2008, however, there had been a marked proliferation of polling organizations offering pre-election poll numbers and "news

aggregator" websites, such as Pollster.com and FiveThirtyEight.com, which collected, synthesized, and modeled poll findings to track the "horse race" with more putative accuracy than ever before.

Apart from pre-election polls, news organizations sponsor or conduct numerous polls that serve as the focus of coverage or accompany broader stories. These polls are often pegged to milestones (e.g., anniversaries of events such as the beginning of the Iraq war or the State of the Union Address). The polls provide data that not only add systematic evidence on the state of American society but also, archived at such venues as the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, give scholars the opportunity to track the public's viewpoints over time. Such polls serve as a more authoritative counterweight to the many "man on the street" interviews that populate much of journalistic coverage of current events.

This is not to say that polls measure all significant trends in public views. As noted earlier, they address issues that sponsors feel are worth examining. Other forms of public opinion expression are useful to see what polls are not measuring. Taeku Lee has noted that letters addressed to elected officials may contain evidence of public concern about issues that are not judged as important by poll patrons. He argues for the analysis of constituency mail to understand the opinions of an "active" public during the Civil Rights era. He notes that the reliance of public opinion scholars on survey evidence may lead to erroneous conclusions about the roles of political elites and non-elites in public policy formation. This is so because routine survey practice may not capture the views of interested citizens whose attempts to influence government actions in a particular sphere do not coincide with survey efforts to measure public opinion in that topic area. During the Civil Rights Movement, in particular, survey measurement of opinion lagged behind the efforts of letter-writing African Americans to influence government policy. As a consequence of this disjuncture in timing, Lee argues that analyses of the Civil Rights Movement that rely on survey data overemphasize the role of elites such as Martin Luther King Jr. in the effort, neglecting the importance of hundreds of letters to the White House from ordinary citizens. More investigations of what the polls do not capture would be a valuable addition to research on public opinion.

What Is the Impact of Public Opinion?

It is fairly easy to make the case that public opinion measured in polls has little, some, or a great deal of influence on public policy. The case for minimal impact rests on the fact that public opinion measured in polls appears uninformed and contradictory and that politicians routinely eschew the idea that they pay attention to polls. In addition, the routine success of some organized interests in policymaking over the expressed views of the public in polls (viz., gun control in the United States) casts doubt on the effect of polls on policy. A picture of more potent influence of polls can be drawn if we consider cases where data appeared to stand in the way of elite action. Bill Clinton's unwavering popularity in the polls almost certainly played a role during the Senate trial after his impeachment. The strongest case for the impact of polls is to be found in studies of White House polling operations, and in long term, aggregate measurements of public mood and policy making. The Nixon, Carter, Reagan, and Clinton White Houses had elaborate polling operations (Nixon, who actually wrote poll questions, kept his multiple polling operations secret, even from each other). The two Bush administrations also made use of polls, but endeavored to appear immune to public opinion influence. Political scientists who take the long view and examine aggregates of polls and policy actions have noted that the broad contours of public opinion do appear to lead general trends in policy.

What Is the Future of Polls?

Marked changes in lifestyles, cultural norms, and technology are having a major impact on polling. The heyday of polling was probably in the 1970s through 1990s when the telephone made it possible to do quick and relatively cheap polls. Compared to earlier times when time-consuming face-to-face data collection was required (because probability sampling of telephone numbers had not yet been developed), the telephone era featured far more polls and more news organizations were able to sponsor them. The telephone era may now be coming to an end, due to decreasing willingness of people to respond to poll invitations, to increased use of call blocking technology, and to the rapid growth of cell phone usage, which is supplanting

land line connections in increasing numbers of households. Pollsters are scrambling to deal with these developments. Meanwhile, the Internet has opened a new possibility for contacting poll respondents, but major obstacles stand in the way of its becoming the next dominant technology. There is no sampling frame of e-mail addresses that corresponds to the universal list of telephone numbers that can be sampled through random digit dialing. Therefore, there is no way to construct a probability sample of Internet users. Further, while Internet penetration is now quite high, it still falls short of telephone penetration, excluding many people from possible participation in web polls. Volunteer web panels are now a big business. They obviously include only those people who want to participate in surveys (in exchange for money or other gratuities). Thus, the panels are not representative of the larger population. Weighting schemes that seek to bring volunteer-based results in line with the general population lack validation. These developments may lead pollsters back to archaic methods such as the face-to-face interview or the mail questionnaire. Whatever the outcome, the future of polling rests on the ingenuity of methodologists and the financial investment of news organizations and other sponsors

Peter V. Miller

See also Audience Research; Audience Research Companies; Bias; Objectivity; Social Movements and Journalism; Spin

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Pool Reporting

See Press Pools

Pornography

See Indecency and Obscenity

Poverty, Coverage of

As poverty became a clearly recognized problem during the twentieth century, journalists sought to describe and cover the problem, shedding light on its causes as well as those groups working to alleviate its impact. Coverage of poverty involves politics and economics but also sociology and crime, among other topics.

Definition

One of the biggest challenges to the coverage of poverty issues is the lack of consensus about defining what poverty is at any given time or place. Typically, poverty is related to economics and low income levels. Many countries have a government-set "poverty line," a baseline amount of total family income, and any family or household making less than this income is considered to be living "below the poverty line."

However, there is agreement that poverty is also defined by cultural perceptions and, as Nobel Prize–winning economist Amartya Sen suggests, includes deprivation of political, economic, and social rights resulting in and exaggerated by public shame. Added to this conundrum is that the poor are often socially ostracized. The United Nations Development Program's (UNDP) Human Development Index adds life expectancy and education level to its dimensions of poverty.

Regardless of exact definition, the poverty line is a standard that shifts over time and place. The ways in which it shifts and the criteria for shifts are continuously at issue. More specifically, there is considerable argument about whether or not the criteria and shifts should automatically respond to the shifts in community living standards. In the United States, the federal poverty line as of late 2007 had not shifted (except for inflation) in four decades and has been considerably criticized.

Criticism of Coverage

There are many criticisms of media coverage of poverty, both in the United States and elsewhere. Rarely is poverty covered without strong subthemes of race or gender. Although the majority of people living in poverty in America are white (45 percent in 2007), most Americans believe that the poor are dominated by blacks (although they only accounted for 24 percent in 2007) or Hispanics (in reality representing only 24 percent in 2007), in part as news coverage of the poor often highlights these groups. A 2007 FAIR (Fairness & Accuracy In Reporting) study of poverty reporting found that during a three month study of three major U.S. networks (CBS, NBC, and ABC), the racial representation of the 76 poor sources quoted (out of a total of 191 quoted sources) in the 58 aired stories were non-Latino whites, 39 percent; African Americans, 38 percent; Latinos, 12 percent. While these percentages alone may not lead to misguided perceptions of the poor in the United States, the percentage of non-poor sources may have helped to exaggerate the stereotypes (whites, 79 percent; African Americans, 18 percent; Latinos, zero).

The most frequent stories about poverty in many countries are focused on that suffered elsewhere with little coverage of their own, unless prompted by an event, political campaign, or crime statistics. A recurring criticism of mainstream news media coverage of poverty is that their reports create distance between those living in poverty and those not, by portraying those who are poor as intrinsically different. An example of this type of coverage includes stories highlighting drug use, alcoholism, or criminal activity of the poor. It is argued that this portrayed difference from the middle class perpetuates a feeling of either indifference about poverty or acceptance that poverty is undefeatable, that, as stated in Matthew 26:11 of the Bible ("For you always have the poor with you") and as FAIR titled its 2007 poverty report, it "will always be with us."

The lack of poverty coverage in broadcast news is often attributed to advertisers' distaste for depressing news stories surrounding product advertisements. Journalists often refer to the producers' distaste for stories without happy endings as one element discouraging more poverty stories.

Elections

Stories about poverty or the poor tend to increase during political campaigns. However, the stories often focus on politicians' motives behind poverty policy proposals. Very few discuss the broader issues surrounding poverty and its causes such as income gaps, education, health care, social services, stereotypes, social stigmas, or welfare. There is also much debate over the "deserving poor" (those who are working) and "undeserving poor" (those seen as unwilling to work) which seldom makes it into news coverage. Furthermore, few news pieces, whether print or broadcast, use real individuals living in poverty as sources—and thus the public is often unaware of the human side of poverty.

Democratic presidential candidate John Edwards is credited with highlighting the issue of poverty in

the 2008 presidential election. Although he lost his attempt to gain the Democratic nomination, his devotion to poverty elimination pressured his competitors Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama to focus their proposed policies on poverty. Edwards conducted a "poverty tour," on which he took major U.S. daily newspaper editors or reporters to eight states along a three-day, 1,800-mile route, and visited factories, farms, health care clinics, and schools to talk to the country's poorest inhabitants. As a result, each of those newspapers and the three weekly news magazines all published articles on poverty in America.

Natural Disasters

As with political campaigns, coverage of poverty is typically heightened after a major event, such as a natural disaster, or a social trend such as crime. Even so, while these events draw attention to the issues of poverty, they usually focus more on the actual events. After concern about the events passes, rarely does discussion of poverty remain in the news media. For example, during and immediately following Hurricane Katrina, which wiped out parts of New Orleans in 2005, poverty was frequently in the news as it related to the thousands seen as being left behind in the storm's floodwaters, but as concern began to recede, poverty coverage dropped off again. This drop in poverty coverage took place despite the media's renewed vow (first made after the 1992 Los Angeles riots) to increase their poverty coverage. Syracuse University reported in 2006 that its public opinion survey (of the same year) concluded that after national news media increased poverty coverage following Hurricane Katrina, 52 percent of Americans polled felt that national income inequality was "a serious problem." Despite this, poverty again fell off the national news agenda not long after.

Poverty and Crime

Poverty coverage also enters the news media after an act of crime. A series of riots in Los Angeles in 1992 received national attention and led journalists to vow to increase their coverage of poverty. Despite the promise, such coverage declined shortly after the riots. Often reports of crime revive poverty coverage in the news, though usually only because the crime involves those living in poverty. Once the crime news is reported, the underlying issue of poverty is often left untouched. For example, during a spike of violent attacks (over 140) on homeless people in 2007 across the United States, news media frequently focused their reports on the criminal actions, rather than the more complex issues of the underlying poverty that led to the crimes. Journalists argue this is because events and actions are much easier and less controversial to report than broader social or economic trends. Indeed, often the most thorough coverage of poverty appears in book-length analyses rather than in the periodical press.

Poverty Elsewhere

Most American coverage of poverty relates to those living in Third World countries. These reports typically are linked to stories of disease or famine—or immigration. Often the reports are heavily larded with government statistics more than stories from those living in such conditions. Such reports are often cited as increasing the emotional distance between those viewing or reading the report (and not living in poverty) and those actually existing in poverty. Evidence for such criticism is the frequency with which images and reports of Third World poverty are recalled in the minds of the U.S. public before images and reports of poverty closer to home.

The most common reports of Third World poverty are produced by nonprofit organizations, some religiously based, in an effort to raise awareness and increase sponsorship (through donations) of a child or family living in poverty in a foreign country, typically Africa. During these reports, while statistics are heavily used, there is usually a significant effort to show the human side of poverty and develop an emotional connection. However, there is still a clear element of distance (geographical and cultural) involved.

Print Media Coverage

Articles about poverty increase during presidential election periods. Compared to 2004, the number of articles about poverty during the 2008 campaign more than doubled. More specifically, there were just over a thousand poverty news stories in

American newspapers and news wires in 2004, and some 2,600 in 2008. During non-election times, print media have increasingly included discussion of poverty in political pieces. However, criticisms of such pieces argue that the stories rarely quote the poor or tell their stories and that reporters in general are more concerned with the politicians' motives or policy issues, do not offer causes or solutions to poverty, and continue to perpetuate a feeling of distance between the nonpoor and the "other."

Book-length journalistic pieces are often written on poverty and occasionally top best-seller lists. The popularity of books dealing with American poverty reinforces public opinion data finding that the public does indeed consider poverty a significant issue. For example, Barbara Ehrenreich's *Nickel and Dimed: On (Not) Getting by in America* (2001) remained on *The New York Times* best seller list for two years.

Electronic Media Coverage

Broadcast news reports rarely include stories about the poor. As with print, the numbers of reports increase during election periods, after natural disasters or crimes, and also during the Christmas and Thanksgiving holidays. However, these reports rarely include discussion with poor individuals, focusing instead on experts or charity workers. The stories rarely address policy issues surrounding poverty or possible solutions; of those, it is even rarer that the opinions are offered by the poor. The majority of poverty stories, if the poor are included, portray general suffering. An exception to this was two NBC stories (2005, 2006) during which residents of the Lower 9th Ward in New Orleans shared their thoughts on the Hurricane Katrina recovery process.

Some attribute the lack of actual poor sources quoted in poverty coverage to the fact that the public/media relations firms do not represent the poor. The oversaturation of nonpoor expert sources is fostered by the experts' corporate communications agents and resources.

Poverty stories are continually criticized for including overtones which perpetuate the "deserving"/"nondeserving" poor dichotomy through the use of language such as "working poor" (with the criticism that these words imply that the nonworking poor are undeserving of sympathy or assistance). Frequently stories about the poor highlight the elderly and veterans.

From September 2003 to October 2006, the three major U.S. news networks aired fewer than 60 stories about the poor or poverty (despite a 2005 U.S. Census reporting that 37 million Americans were living below the federal poverty line). Most of the stories rarely showed the poor, but rather relied more heavily on sources other than those living in poverty. Of the poor shown in the reports, African Americans were overrepresented compared to their proportion of American poor (38 percent shown/24 percent actual). Women were slightly underrepresented as poverty sources compared to the percentage of poor (46 percent shown/57 percent actual).

Often the more in-depth coverage of poverty airs on special programming. For example, PBS aired Roger Weisberg's documentary "Waging a Living" in 2006 as a part of its *POV* series, and ABC's *20/20* aired a special report "Waiting on the World to Change" in 2007.

Discussion of poverty is most often found online, primarily on nonprofit organizations' websites rather than those of major news outlets.

The Future

Many organizations recognize the absence of what they consider adequate and accurate coverage of poverty by journalists and have developed workshops to increase such coverage. An example is the partnership between the Inter Press Service (IPS), an international news agency, and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). The goal of these workshops is to affect governmental policy through media generated awareness and pressure.

The Harry Chapin Media Awards (formerly World Hunger Media Awards) are presented to journalists who cover poverty, inequality, and development in newspapers, periodicals, radio, television, film, book, and photojournalism. Nikon is the exclusive sponsor of the awards ceremony and event.

These initiatives are meant to improve the quality of poverty coverage and race and gender representation of sources. Despite these programs, media watchdog reports, and other news media research organizations calling attention to the

weaknesses in poverty coverage, doubts remain that any dramatic improvements in coverage will be realized in the near future.

Heather E. Gilbert

See also Books as Journalism; Civil Unrest, Coverage of; Crime and the Courts; Immigration, Coverage of; Natural Disasters, Coverage of; Race and Ethnicity, Coverage of

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Precision Journalism

Precision journalism is the application of social and behavioral science research methods to the practice of journalism. The term was coined by Everette E. Dennis for a "Seminar in the New Journalism" that he taught in the winter of 1971 at the University of Oregon. The concept was explicated by one of his students, Neil Felgenhauer, in a term paper that became a chapter in a book based on the seminar's work.

Most of the "new journalism" that inspired the seminar was the creation of talented writers such as Tom Wolfe, Gay Talese, and Norman Mailer, who used fiction techniques to construct powerful narratives about real people and events. The class discussion contrasted their work with precision journalism. "In essence, all the other new journalists push reporting toward art. Precision journalists push it toward science," said Dennis and William L. Rivers in a 1974 report.

Within the field of investigative reporting, there is also a contrast of method. Some follow paper trails, and a subset uses scientific method in the analysis. Others base their investigations on anonymous sources whose motivation, as well as identity, is veiled or not revealed at all. The work of the former can be verified because its methods are transparent and replicable. Like a scientist, a precision journalist describes the data collection and the methodology in sufficient detail that another investigator could retrace the steps and arrive at the same conclusions. Precision journalists can also build confidence by posting their data in university archives for secondary analysis.

The genesis of precision journalism can be traced to the first public opinion polls that used scientific sampling instead of casual person-on-the-street interviewing. Dr. George Gallup based a newspaper column on national polls and scored a coup by using more rigorous methods and getting a better result than the more famous *Literary Digest* poll, which failed to predict the outcome of the presidential election of 1936. However, Gallup and other national pollsters did not adopt probability sampling, a basic tool of modern social science, until after their own error in calling the 1948 election for Thomas E. Dewey instead of Harry S. Truman.

Other pioneers in the use of precision journalism were the broadcast networks striving to be first to announce the winner in presidential elections. In 1960, CBS used a computer-driven statistical model based on the timing of the results. It captured the Republican and Democratic standings at given points in time and compared them to their standings at the same times in the 1956 election. The initial extrapolation proved flawed, however, because Kansas had adopted a faster method of vote counting. The resulting Republican bias produced an early and erroneous call for Richard Nixon. Later network projections were based on geographic sampling and proved more reliable.

The civil rights and antiwar movements of the 1960s created further demand for new reporting

techniques. Standard journalism was drawn to the loudest and most visible spokespersons for their respective movements and tended to overgeneralize from them. *Newsweek* magazine recognized this problem when it commissioned Louis Harris to do special polls among black Americans to detect a broader spectrum of attitudes.

When Detroit blacks rioted in the summer of 1967, Knight Newspapers detached Philip Meyer from its Washington Bureau to help the *Detroit Free Press* cover the story. Meyer stayed to design and direct a survey of the stricken neighborhoods that could assess black grievances and the root causes of the riot, using techniques he had learned as a Nieman Fellow at Harvard University in the previous academic year. The stories that resulted were one of several factors in the awarding of the 1968 Pulitzer Prize for general local reporting to the staff of the *Free Press*.

Knight management assigned Meyer to return to Detroit for a one-year follow-up of the condition of the riot area residents and to do a separate survey in a major black community that had not rioted. The chosen target was Miami, which had been the site of Florida's first public school desegregation nine years before. While that survey was being analyzed, Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated, and, Meyer returned to his same Miami respondents for a before-and-after assessment of the effect of King's death on the civil rights movement. The conventional wisdom, that King's philosophy of nonviolent protest would die with him, was contradicted. The size of the pro-violence minority was unchanged, and support for King's position actually grew after his death. Meyer wrote two versions of that story: one was published in *The Miami Herald* and the other in an academic journal, *Public Opinion Quarterly*.

In 1969, the Russell Sage Foundation engaged Meyer to take a leave of absence from Knight Newspapers and direct a project to prepare a handbook for journalists with the working title, "The Applications of Social and Behavioral Science Methodology to the Practice of Journalism." The project was completed in 1970, and the decision to use Dennis's term *precision journalism* for the title was made jointly by Meyer and John Gallman, director of Indiana University Press, who accepted the work for publication in 1973.

Because precision journalism usually involves large-scale data collection and analysis requiring the use of computers, it is sometimes confused with computer-assisted reporting, including Internet searching. But computers are neither necessary nor sufficient to define precision journalism. Much journalistic work with computers involves simple searching and sorting operations that do not involve scientific generalization. It also overlaps with public opinion polling, which is sometimes scientific and sometimes not.

The range of precision journalism is as broad as its underlying methodology. It has included content analysis of public records, survey research—especially of newsworthy subsets of the population, such as the 1967 Detroit rioters—field experiments, and making statistical inference from observation of events that form natural experiments. Although precision journalism was considered routine for major new organizations by the twenly-first century, its introduction was met with mixed reviews.

For example, the two-year delay in publication of Meyer's *Precision Journalism* was caused by skepticism among a number of publishers, including its original sponsor, the Russell Sage Foundation, that there would be a market for it. The concept of a journalist practicing the scientific method was too alien. Even the use of computers was suspect. The low-cost personal computer was still years away, and the necessary statistical work had to be done at mainframe computer centers where time was expensive and the machines were hard to program. (Meyer used the Harvard Data-Text system, a higher-level language for the IBM 7090 that anticipated SPSS, today's popular statistical package for both mainframe and personal computers.)

When, in 1972, Meyer guided Donald Barlett and James Steele through their analysis of court records in Philadelphia to produce evidence of racial bias in the criminal justice system, the resulting series was nominated for a Pulitzer Prize. Barlett was later told that the use of a computer was the reason for its rejection. It seemed to the judges that reporters who used a machine to do statistical analysis were taking an unfair advantage over their peers.

The National Science Foundation helped improve the acceptance of precision journalism by sponsoring two three-week training programs conducted for mid-career journalists at Northwestern University in 1974 and 1975. Reporters from *The*

New York Times and *The Washington Post* participated and followed up with related projects at their papers that helped introduce precision journalism to the mainstream. Later, the National Institute for Computer Assisted Reporting (NICAR) began including precision journalism concepts in its training.

It would take another decade, however, for the first precision journalism project to win a Pulitzer Prize. It happened in 1989 when Bill Dedman of the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* won the prize for investigative reporting with his series, "The Color of Money," about racial bias in lending practices. The data came from federal records, and the data analysis was coordinated by Dwight Morris, assistant managing editor for special projects. Since then, precision journalism projects have become commonplace among Pulitzer winners, including the 2007 public service prize to *The Wall Street Journal* "for its creative and comprehensive probe into backdated stock options for business executives that triggered investigations, the ouster of top officials and widespread change in corporate America."

Philip Meyer

See also Audience Research; CBS News; Civil Unrest, Coverage of; Computers in Journalism; Criticism of Journalism; Election Coverage; Investigative Journalism; Investigative Reporters; Objectivity; Political Reporting; Polls and Public Opinion; Professionalism; Race and Ethnicity, Coverage of; Reporters, Print; Social Movements and Journalism; Theories of Journalism

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Presidential Families, Coverage of

Throughout American history the news media have capitalized on presidential families. Family members have made news as political players in the own right, presidential advisors, and media celebrities. News media coverage has enhanced the ability of presidential family members to develop their own political careers as well as to make them symbols of the human side of the presidency.

A long-standing theme in American politics has been the family relationships between Presidents themselves as illustrated by father–son relationships. The second President, John Adams, elected in 1796, was the father of the sixth President, John Quincy Adams, who took office in 1825. President William Henry Harrison, elected in 1840, was the grandfather of President Benjamin Harrison, elected in 1888. Media coverage has helped some presidential family members parlay their White House relationships into successful political careers. The most obvious case is that of Hillary Rodham Clinton, wife of President Bill Clinton, who was elected in 1992. She successfully ran for the U.S. Senate in 2000 while still First Lady and in 2007 became a leading Democratic candidate for the presidency herself. Before her election to the Senate, she was widely criticized as a presidential advisor when her husband put her in charge of a health care plan that failed to be adopted. The first President of the twenty-first century, George W. Bush, is the son of George Herbert Walker Bush, elected in 1988 as the second-to-last President of the twentieth century and himself the son of a U.S. senator, Prescott Bush.

Early Depictions

It was not until the mid-nineteenth-century birth of photography that likenesses of the President's wife and children, along with feature stories about their activities, became part of the accepted fare of the news media. Prior to that time presidential families received relatively little attention, although they were not exempt from accusations of misconduct by partisan newspapers. In general when wives of the first Presidents received press attention, opposition editors used them as surrogates for attacks on their husbands.

Martha Washington was berated for riding in an elegant coach more suited for a queen than for the wife of George Washington, the first President of a republic. Abigail Adams was pictured unflatteringly as the power behind her husband John. Even Dolley Madison, although almost universally praised for her skills as a hostess, did not escape newspaper criticism. She was falsely accused of having been the mistress of President Thomas Jefferson, to further the career of her husband James Madison, who followed Jefferson as President in 1809. Rachel Jackson, who died before Andrew Jackson was inaugurated as President in 1829, was maligned by Jackson's enemies in the press as an adulterer and bigamist because the couple had married by mistake before her divorce was final from her first husband.

In the decades immediately before the Civil War, some presidential spouses shrank from public view. When she died in 1841, Letitia Tyler, the invalid wife of President John Tyler, was mentioned only briefly in newspapers as a wife, mother, and Christian. By contrast her successor, the youthful Julia Gardiner Tyler, with whom Tyler eloped in 1844, determinedly cultivated a reporter for the *New York Herald,* a prime example of the new penny press that was supplanting partisan newspapers by printing human interest content. To her delight, the *Herald* called her the "Lovely Lady Presidentress" and claimed she was superior to Queen Victoria. But Margaret Taylor, the invalid wife of President Zachary Taylor, refused even to sit for her portrait. She was so little known to the public that when Taylor died in office in 1850 an engraver eager to sell depictions of the deathbed scene covered her face with a handkerchief because he had no idea what she looked like. Jane Pierce, the wife of President Franklin Pierce, stayed secluded in the White House in mourning for the death of her son in 1852. (Illustrating yet another link between White House families, Pierce was the great-great-great uncle of Barbara Pierce Bush, wife of George H. W. Bush and mother of George W. Bush.)

The First First Lady

Curiously, it was the hostess for the nation's only bachelor President, James Buchanan, elected in 1856, to whom journalists initially gave the honorary title of "First Lady" that has become a synonym for presidential wives. Harriet Lane, Buchanan's niece, was a popular figure in Washington on the eve of the Civil War, arranging seating at White House dinners to keep Northerners and Southerners apart. In 1858 *Harper's Weekly,* a popular news magazine, referred to her as "Our Lady of the White House." *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* published an engraving of her with a caption that said, "The subject of our illustration…may rightly be called the first lady of the land."

When Abraham Lincoln and his family arrived in Washington in 1861, journalists referred to the temperamental Mary Todd Lincoln as First Lady. By this time telegraphic news reports from Washington were sought-after commodities for a thriving daily press along with drawings that showed Washington society. Mrs. Lincoln, who mistakenly attempted to carry on extensive entertaining and redecorate the White House in the midst of the Civil War, became well known to newspaper readers. Some newspapers unjustly accused the First Lady, who came from a slaveholding family in Kentucky, of being a Confederate spy. She became mentally unstable following the death of 11-year-old Tad in 1862, but was not treated sympathetically in the press.

Later Nineteenth-Century Coverage

Women journalists who came to Washington after the Civil War to write society columns found the White House a logical place to center their efforts. Attention given to the lavish wedding in 1874 of Nellie Grant, the daughter of President Ulysses S. Grant and his wife Julie, who entertained in a conspicuous fashion, helped legitimize the President's family as a fertile source of feature material. Correspondents took note of the pious, hymn-singing gatherings of Lucy Hayes, wife of President Rutherford B. Hayes, who followed Grant in 1877, giving special attention to her stand on temperance. She was nicknamed "Lemonade Lucy," because she declined to serve alcoholic beverages in the White House.

When President Grover Cleveland married his ward, Frances Folsom, who was 27 years younger, in a private ceremony in 1886, some journalists tried to spy on the newlyweds with binoculars, but the bride did not seem fazed by the publicity. Public enthusiasm for Frances Cleveland, who exhibited charm and tact in social settings, helped

her husband overcome allegations of impropriety in his private life. These included an admission that he might have fathered a child out of wedlock years earlier.

As photography advanced, pictures of presidential families entranced the readers of women's pages in newspapers and new women's magazines like the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Good Housekeeping* that carried the first national advertising of food products. Both newspapers and magazines glorified presidential wives and families as idealized representatives of American life. "Baby McKee," the grandchild of President Benjamin Harrison, who defeated Cleveland in 1888, was known as the most photographed child in America as a result of publicity photographs handed out by Harrison's wife, Caroline.

Twentieth-Century Celebrities

The high-spirited Alice Roosevelt, the oldest child of Theodore Roosevelt, who became President in 1901, stood out as one of the first media celebrities of the twentieth century. Her antics, which included the then-unusual practices (for a woman) of smoking and driving an open car, both amused and shocked the public. Questioned about her conduct, President Roosevelt said that he could run the country or control Alice but that he could not possibly do both. Married in a White House wedding in 1906 to Nicholas Longworth, a congressman from Ohio, she remained a notable Washington figure, known for her dinner parties and barbed wit, until her death at the age of 96 in 1980.

Another President's daughter, Susan Ford, was the subject of raised eyebrows, not for what she did but for what her mother, Betty Ford, wife of President Gerald Ford, said that she might do. Asked on a television program in 1975 what she would do if her teenage daughter had an affair, Betty Ford replied that she would not be surprised and called for open communication between parents and children. A public outcry resulted with thousands writing the White House to attack the First Lady for seeming to support immorality, although a poll later showed that the majority of Americans were not offended by her answer.

Presidential siblings also have been drawn into the media spotlight. During the presidency of Jimmy Carter, his brother Billy was pictured as the prototype of the Southern "good ol' boy" because he ran a gas station and promoted a beer called Billy Beer. His mother, known as Miss Lillian, defended Billy Carter on grounds of his likeability. His activities became an embarrassment to the Carter administration when he received loans from the government of Libya, which was accused of terrorist activities, and was found to owe large sums of back income taxes. Richard Nixon also had a troublesome brother who was often in the news.

Family Dynasties

The Roosevelts provided an earlier example of a family political dynasty. Theodore Roosevelt and Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was elected President in 1932, were distant (fifth) cousins, while Eleanor Roosevelt, the niece of Theodore, was the wife of Franklin (her fifth cousin once removed). First Lady from 1933 to 1945, Eleanor Roosevelt had a remarkable influence on the role of the President's wife as part of White House political communication. She held press conferences for women reporters, published a syndicated daily newspaper column of her activities called "My Day," offered commentary over the radio, and wrote articles and advice columns for women's magazines. Other relatives of Presidents also have married each other. David Eisenhower, the grandson of President Dwight Eisenhower, married Julie Nixon, the daughter of Richard Nixon, in 1968 just before Nixon took office as President.

Few political families have received as much media attention as the star-crossed Kennedys. The election of President John F. Kennedy in 1960 was credited in part to television, which projected his good looks, sharp wit, and photogenic family, particularly his glamorous wife, Jacqueline. Following his assassination in 1963, her dignity and grace made her a national idol until her marriage in 1968 to Aristotle Onassis, a Greek shipping magnate with a questionable reputation. John Kennedy's brother, Senator Robert Kennedy was a strong contender for the Democratic presidential nomination before being assassinated in 1968. Another brother, Edward M. "Ted" Kennedy, has continued to be elected to the U.S. Senate since 1963. His own aspirations for the presidency were thwarted by extensive media coverage of his 1969 car accident on Chappaquiddick Island, Massachusetts, in which a young woman was killed. Countless articles and books have appeared on the Kennedy family over the past half century.

Some children of Presidents have capitalized on public recognition of their family name to pursue career objectives. Jeb Bush, son of George H.W. Bush and brother of George W. Bush, was elected governor of Florida in 1998 and re-elected four years later. James A. and Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., sons of Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt, were both elected to Congress. Robert A. Taft, the son of William Howard Taft, elected President in 1908, served as an influential U.S. Senator, and was an unsuccessful candidate for the Republican nomination for President in 1940, 1948, and 1952. Margaret Truman, daughter of Harry S. Truman who became President in 1945, drew on her years in Washington to write a lengthy series of murder mysteries set in the White House and other Washington landmarks. In addition, she wrote a biography of her mother, Bess Truman, while Julie Nixon Eisenhower wrote a similar biography of her mother, Patrician Nixon.

Family Values

With the advent of family values as a sociocultural and political issue in recent decades, presidential families have been scrutinized for evidence that they exemplify personal conduct in line with campaign rhetoric. During the administration of President Ronald Reagan, elected in 1980 as a strong proponent of family values, his opponents pointed their fingers at strained relationships between the Reagans and their children. Initially Nancy Reagan deflected criticism from her genial husband. Dubbed "Queen Nancy" by some journalists, she was accused of being more interested in clothes and new White House china than in social causes. Her image improved dramatically when she launched a "Just Say No" campaign against drug use that was widely covered in the media.

Constantly in the public eye, Presidents' spouses have their own staffs and have been designed de facto officials by a federal appeals court even though they receive no salary. As leading political celebrities and representatives of their husbands, Presidents' spouses humanize the power of the presidency, take part in their husbands' campaigns, and serve as testimony to their husbands' roles as family men. Laura Bush was credited with being a major factor in the 2004 re-election of George W. Bush because of her personal popularity, ability to handle media interviews, and success at raising money on the campaign trail.

In recent decades, especially since Jacqueline Kennedy conducted a popular televised tour of her restoration of the White House in 1962, Presidents' spouses have been expected to have personal projects that translate into positive publicity for their husbands' administrations. Kennedy's successor, Lady Bird Johnson, promoted environmental concerns under the name "beautification," because in the 1960s it was not considered appropriate for a First Lady to be involved in serious efforts to improve the environment. Rosalynn Carter, wife of President Jimmy Carter, pushed for improved mental health legislation when she entered the White House in 1977. Barbara Bush, wife of George H. W. Bush, worked on behalf of literacy. Her daughter-in-law, Laura Bush, who followed her as First Lady in 2001, has been an advocate for eradication of HIV/AIDS and a proponent of reading programs and public libraries (Laura Bush is a former librarian herself).

In 2009, Barack and Michelle Obama and their two young daughters made history by becoming the first African American presidential family and the youngest family to enter the White House since the Kennedys in the 1960s. The election of Barack Obama on the Democratic ticket in 2008 propelled both his immediate and extended family into the national spotlight. Journalists traced Obama's roots among the Luo, the third-largest ethnic group in Kenya, the home of his father, Barack Hussein Obama Sr. They wrote about his numerous relatives who are scattered throughout Africa, Asia, England, and the United States.

Most media attention, however, centered on Obama's wife, Michelle Robinson Obama, an Ivy League–educated lawyer and former hospital executive. She quickly became a symbol of today's professional woman who combines motherhood and a career, gaining public approval ratings higher even than those of her popular husband. She posed for covers of national magazines, described herself as chiefly interested in being "Mrs. Mom" to her daughters Malia Ann and Natasha (called Sasha), and won praise for wearing clothing off the rack as well as designer originals. Considered a political liability during the start of the campaign because she was seen as too assertive and outspoken on racial matters, she quickly toned down comments on public affairs

and concentrated on portraying her husband within the context of family life. The descendant of slaves in South Carolina, she delivered speeches to young minority women urging them to follow her example by gaining an education to achieve success in life. At the White House she publicized the planting of a vegetable garden to promote healthy eating and oversaw family adoption in April 2009 of a Portuguese water dog named Bo, an event given extensive media coverage.

Conclusion

From the earliest days of the presidency to the present, the wives and children of Presidents have been depicted by political allies and foes as satellites that can either enhance or detract from the performance of the President. Presidential families have become part of the American political system, seen by the news media as a reflection of the presidency itself. Some family members have used their media exposure as stepping-stones for their own careers. By giving extensive attention to family members, the news media have made them surrogates for the Presidents' own views on issues related to marriage and family life. Attention given family members has increased public awareness of life in the White House and turned the presidency from a distant and formal office to one more attuned to popular sentiments. While the position of the President's spouse has personified the expanding role of women in American society, she and other family members often have been defined as either political assets or liabilities. What is evident is that Americans have a tremendous appetite for news about presidential families.

Maurine H. Beasley

See also Cartoonists, Political; Government, Federal, Coverage of; Human Interest Journalism; News Values; Political Reporters; Presidential Scandals, Coverage of; Satirists, Political; Washington, D.C.

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Presidential Scandals, Coverage of

Every American President has been subjected to some form of scandalous comment, either about his personal life or political activities, spread by whispering campaigns and, frequently, by the news media. Some scandalous charges have been relatively unimportant and are easily traced to venomous attacks by political opponents. For example, historians today totally discount charges made by opposition newspapers that George Washington (1789–97) wished to be a monarch and behaved like one. Other scandals have changed the course of American history. The degree to which the news media reports on presidential scandals has differed with changes in social mores, media technology, and ideas of what is appropriate for discussion in a public forum. Major scandals marked by allegations of disgraceful conduct have emerged in both Democratic and Republican administrations. The Watergate scandal of the 1970s led to the resignation of Republican Richard M. Nixon (1969–74). Lying about his dalliance with a former White House intern led to the impeachment of Democrat Bill Clinton (1993–2001) in 1998, although he was acquitted. Although there is no clear-cut definition of scandal in the context of the presidency, the term generally refers to incidents of dishonesty or other actions that violate accepted standards of conduct either in private or public life. It does not include ineptitude or failures of performance unless they also involve elements of gross impropriety.

Early Scandals

The role of news media in publicizing scandals is part of the political process in a democracy. Although the news media profit commercially from scandals—people do buy newspapers and listen to television to

learn shocking details—journalists defend reporting scandal as crucial to their responsibility as civic watchdogs. Affected public figures and their supporters generally charge the news media with irresponsibility and crass motivations. Today Presidents make extensive use of both political consultants and public relations experts to minimize damage from charges of wrongdoing.

Accusations of scandalous conduct were hurled at early Presidents—for instance, reports that Thomas Jefferson (1801–09) had fathered children by his slave, Sally Hemings, were published in the partisan press of his day (and proven correct thanks to DNA tests two centuries later). For much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, however, news media were reluctant to report on the private failings of Presidents. They drew a line between public and private behavior that concealed the infidelities of John F. Kennedy (1961–63), for example, until after his death. By contrast, rumors of Clinton's affair with the ex-intern spread rapidly via the Internet. Those reports led to official investigations related to a sexual harassment lawsuit and spurred media dissemination of other accounts of Clinton's sexual relations. His wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, who earlier acknowledged difficulties in their marriage, appeared on television and accused "a vast right-wing conspiracy" of plotting to discredit the President.

In addition to Watergate in the 1970s, the Iran-Contra scandal of the Reagan administration in the early 1980s, and the Clinton affair a decade later, historians list a variety of scandals as particularly noteworthy—the XYZ affair, Credit Mobilier, and Teapot Dome, for example. Each of these was an outgrowth of its period and prominently covered by contemporary media. While partisanship was a factor in publicizing each of these events, the magnitude of the offenses went far beyond the scope of customary political infighting and raised questions of illegal, as well as unethical, activity.

The XYZ affair, a major foreign policy imbroglio, emerged during the John Adams (1797–1801) administration late in the eighteenth century. Adams, like George Washington, was a Federalist who sought a strong central government in contrast to the states' rights orientation of the Democratic-Republican party headed by Jefferson. Each party controlled newspapers that attacked the other in a tense atmosphere stemming from warfare between England and France following the 1789 French Revolution. When Adams pursued a policy of neutrality, Jefferson accused the Federalists of turning their backs on France, which had supported the colonists in the American Revolution against England.

After the French licensed raids against American merchant ships, Adams sent a delegation to Paris in 1797. French representatives asked for a bribe to begin negotiations. Adams refused to pay, ordered his envoys home, and called for the ships to be armed. He did not inform Congress of the bribe attempt until forced to do so by Jefferson's supporters who erroneously concluded Adams wanted to fight France. In response, Adams released documents that referred to the bribe-seekers as "X, Y, and Z." Rather than expressing outrage over the French demand, the Jeffersonian press, however, contended that those seeking the bribe had been impostors, not actual diplomats.

The Federalists retaliated by pushing for passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts aimed at curbing the civil rights of French residents and curtailing the right of newspapers to make false statements about federal officials. Fourteen editors were indicted under the acts, which infuriated the Jeffersonians. They were a factor in the demise of the Federalist party and Jefferson's election as President in 1800. The acts then died a quiet death, but arguments over the right of the news media to criticize government officials, particularly when national defense is at stake, have continued to the present.

During the nineteenth century new technologies greatly enhanced the ability of the news media. Invention of the telegraph and high-speed presses made newspapers, increasingly supported by advertising and circulation revenue rather than political party subsidies, a potent commercial force. The Credit Mobilier scandal became a synonym for political corruption during the two terms of President Ulysses S. Grant (1868–76), an era characterized by the term "Gilded Age" when large fortunes were acquired by often dubious means.

Credit Mobilier was a corporation established to accept large amounts of government money for the building of a transcontinental railroad, the Union Pacific. Through bribes and corporate shenanigans, financiers helped themselves to millions in dollars and railroad stock, making shares of stock available to enrich members of Congress. The scandal was highlighted in 1872 during Grant's re-election campaign with reports in the *New York Sun* and other newspapers of corruption that involved key

officials. Among them were Vice President Schuyler Colfax and Oakes Ames, a congressman from Massachusetts charged with making the actual payoffs.

While Grant himself was not accused of taking bribes, opponents blamed him for allowing the public trust to be violated. Although he easily won a second term, he dropped Colfax as his Vice President, ending his political career. A congressional investigation led to the censure of Ames and another Republican congressman, James Brooks.

Other scandals, including disclosures of improper contracts and unlawful sale of Indian trading posts by Grant appointees, continued to mar the administration. "Whiskey Ring" frauds involved bribes to federal officials to avoid the collection of taxes on some 15 million gallons of alcohol annually. Among those accused of profiting was Orville Babcock, Grant's personal secretary, whom Grant kept from being convicted. The popular Grant maintained that he did not know what was going on, although some newspapers expressed disbelief. Charles A. Dana, editor of the *New York Sun,* outraged by speculation that Grant might seek a third term contrary to custom, coined a phrase that has lived on in politics, "Turn the rascals out!" Grant did not run again.

The first major presidential scandal of the twentieth century involved corruption in the lease of rights to drill for oil in government reserves including one at Teapot Dome, Wyoming. It occurred under the administration of President Warren G. Harding (1921–23). He died while on a cross-country train to improve his image tarnished by reports of wrongdoing among political cronies whom he had appointed to high office. Harding's death spared him the ignominy of witnessing lengthy investigations into the oil leases awarded by Secretary of the Interior Albert Fall, who had received cash and gifts. Fall and a dozen other Harding associates eventually went to prison. Fall's dishonesty obscured public debate on a central theme of the scandal: a major philosophical difference between developers who wished to exploit natural resources and conservationists who wanted to preserve them.

A small-town newspaper publisher from Ohio, the affable, poker-playing Harding enjoyed favorable press coverage from Washington correspondents. They initially believed that he had little knowledge of the misdeeds of those under him, although allegations of shady dealings by his friends in the Veterans' Administration and elsewhere soon surfaced in news reports, stimulated by congressional investigations. When sordid details of his administration were revealed after his death, historians ranked Harding as the worst President. It was further tarnished when his mistress, Nan Britton, who said he had fathered her child, published a book in 1927. It recounted episodes of lovemaking with Harding in a White House closet while the Secret Service stood guard.

Two mid-century Presidents, Harry S. Truman (1945–53), a Democrat, and Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953–61), a Republican, both were targets of allegations of scandal stemming from loyalty to trusted aides. Brigadier General Harry H. Vaughan, Truman's personal friend and military aide, was accused of influence peddling by acting as a go-between for corporations seeking federal contracts. Vaughn asked a manufacturer to provide deep freeze refrigerators, then considered luxury items, for himself and the Truman home in Independence, Missouri. Although Vaughn was criticized by a congressional committee, Truman refused to remove him from the White House. The deep freezes became symbols of alleged corruption in the Truman administration as did a pastel mink coat given a White House secretary by a firm that received a government loan from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC). A Senate investigation into the RFC, however, did not link Truman with any impropriety.

A fur coat also figured into charges of scandal in the Eisenhower administration when the President initially refused to take action against a top aide, Sherman Adams. A congressional investigation revealed that Adams had received a vicuna coat and many other gifts from Bernard Goldfine (dates unknown), an industrialist for whom Adams had secured favorable treatment by government agencies. Eisenhower expressed support for Adams, but Republican leaders considered him a political liability and insisted that he leave the White House. Adams eventually went to prison for tax violations.

Late Twentieth-Century Scandals

The Watergate scandal, which forced President Richard M. Nixon to resign in 1974 rather than

face charges of impeachment, has frequently been linked in the public mind with the investigative reporting of two young journalists for *The Washington Post*, Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein. The name Watergate referred to an apartment-hotel complex in Washington where the Democratic National Committee had its headquarters. An attempted burglary there on June 17, 1972, led to the arrest of five men carrying cash and bugging equipment. The *Post*, unlike other news media that virtually ignored the burglary when it occurred, determinedly pursued the relationship of the burglars to the White House, eventually winning a Pulitzer Prize for public service. The suffix *-gate* became a shorthand expression for political scandal and was widely used by news media to tag later scandals.

Ultimately the botched crime was linked to a multifaceted campaign of political corruption and spying on those considered enemies of the Nixon administration. After the failed break-in, Nixon and key associates, several of whom later went to jail, lied about their unconstitutional activities. These included illegal wiretapping for political gain, perjury, misuse of campaign funds, and efforts to pressure the media to stop unfavorable reporting by threats to their broadcasting licenses. In public Nixon maintained that the news media was hostile to him because of his support for the unpopular Vietnam War and famously insisted in 1973, "I am not a crook." Sentiment turned against him when tapes of conversations in the Oval Office were subpoenaed over his objections during grand jury and congressional investigations. They revealed that he personally had engaged in a cover-up of the burglary.

The drama culminated in Nixon's resignation on August 9, 1974, after being overwhelmingly re-elected in 1972. He was the first President to be forced to leave office. Nixon's successor, President Gerald R. Ford (1974–77), pardoned him in an unpopular move believed to have kept Ford from winning the presidential election in 1976.

In comparison to Watergate, the Iran-Contra scandal during the Ronald Reagan administration (1981–89), appeared relatively minor, stemming from the Republican President's opposition to the spread of communism. In spite of a congressional ban against aid to the Contras (a resistance group in Nicaragua opposed to the Communist government there), White House aides, headed by Oliver North, concocted an elaborate plan directed by the CIA to assist the Contras. Weapons were sold to the Iranian government in hopes of gaining the release of American hostages in the Middle East; the proceeds were surreptitiously used to fund the Contras. When a supply plane linked to a CIA-front was shot down over Nicaragua in 1986, the plot unraveled, particularly after a foreign magazine published details then picked up by American news media. A congressional investigation ensued, but it was never made clear whether Reagan knew the details of what had transpired. North and others were convicted on various charges involving lying to Congress. All were pardoned by President George H. W. Bush (1989–93), Reagan's successor.

President Bill Clinton, survived an impeachment when the U.S. Senate voted on February 12, 1999, to acquit him on two charges brought by the House of Representatives. The only President before him to be impeached was Andrew Johnson who also was acquitted. Clinton was charged with perjuring himself before a federal grand jury and obstructing justice in an effort to hide his sexual relationship with a former White House intern. The vote, largely along party lines, failed to achieve the two-thirds majority necessary to convict. Clinton supporters contended Clinton's private actions were not impeachable offenses. The American public apparently agreed, since polls showed Clinton's ratings remained high.

The charges stemmed from Clinton's testimony in a suit brought by an Arkansas state employee, who alleged Clinton (while governor) had sexually harassed her. Kenneth Starr, an independent counsel who was investigating Clinton for his role in a failed land development project in Arkansas called Whitewater, broadened that inquiry to pursue these allegations. Starr learned of Clinton's White House affair when another former White House employee gave him recordings of her conversations with the intern.

Starr subsequently sent members of the House of Representatives a lengthy report, which Congress made public, containing graphic references to oral sex in the Oval Office. Available on the Internet and in newspapers, the report substantiated accusations first made in 1998 by Matt Drudge, an Internet gossip columnist. Mainstream news media

jumped on the story, giving it saturation coverage that led to some criticism for publicizing lurid details. Clinton initially insisted, "I did not have sex that that woman," but later confessed to "an inappropriate relationship."

Conclusion

Presidential scandals, not surprisingly, have an adverse effect on administrations. Even though a President may remain personally popular during them, they divert attention from the main business of governing and weaken public support for the presidency itself. While the public may, as it did in the case of Clinton, distinguish between private and public acts, unseemly conduct diminishes the position of a President as a leader. Three Presidents whose administrations were mired in scandal, Grant, Harding, and Nixon, are given low rankings by historians. While the news media might be expected to gain respect as a result of reporting scandal, this often is not the case with journalists accused of being more interested in sensation than public service. Today it is inconceivable that reporters would close their eyes to presidential infidelities as they did during the Kennedy era. Competitive pressures to gain an audience compounded by the demands of a 24-hour news cycle mean that Presidents are subject to continual scrutiny. With the advent of bloggers, news organizations are far more likely to circulate reports of scandalous activity, whether verified or not, than in the pre-Internet days. Presidents always have been subjects of journalistic surveillance, but the present news media atmosphere makes it likely that attempts to ferret out scandal will become increasingly common in the years ahead.

Maurine H. Beasley

See also Congress and Journalism; Internet Impact on Media; News Values; Political Reporters; Presidential Families, Coverage of; Presidents, Coverage of; Press and Government Relations; Satirists, Political; Sensationalism; Washington, D.C.

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Presidents, Coverage of

Presidential news coverage refers to a specific type of political journalism that includes coverage of all aspects of the United States presidency, as well as the communications and actions of the President's cabinet and White House staff. The press coverage afforded U.S. Presidents is often seen as quite subjective, as the President's policy decisions and stated agendas are interpreted, analyzed, and critiqued by pundits. This coverage, like other forms of political journalism, is frequently informed by what is called opinion journalism, which has grown in popularity in recent years. Presidents receive more coverage than either the legislative or judicial branches of the federal government as they provide more news media access to their activities. This has become increasingly so in the early twenty-first century as the Bush and then Obama administrations sought broad public support for their initiatives.

As the relationship between press and President has evolved and the demands on the President's time have increased, the need to effectively manage the press's access to the President has increased as well. The role of the White House press secretary is to act as an intermediary between the

President and the press. He or she is a senior member of the President's staff who serves as the primary spokesperson for the administration and serves at the pleasure of the President.

Responsibilities of the press secretary include gathering and disseminating information regarding the President's daily schedule, any meetings or communications the President has engaged, and the administration's position on any current newsworthy issues. The press secretary also holds press briefings and conferences with the White House press corps, including a daily public news briefing. White House press secretaries have come from a variety of backgrounds, but many have been journalists. George Akerson, a former journalist for the *Minneapolis Tribune,* was the first official White House press secretary, serving under Herbert Hoover from 1929 to 1931. The last press secretary (2007–09) for George W. Bush was Dana Perino, only the second woman after Dee Dee Meyers (1993–94) to serve in the position.

White House Press Corps

The White House press corps refers to the collection of journalists (or correspondents) who are generally stationed at the White House to cover press briefings, conferences, and press releases. Press briefings and conferences take place in the White House press room. This press corps (also sometimes referred to as the White House press pool), while more often dealing with the White House press secretary, generally has more access—direct and indirect—to the President than other journalists.

The White House press corps works in the press corps offices located in the West Wing of the White House, very close to the Oval Office. Windowless and located in a basement, this area was once home to the White House gymnasium and flower shop. Perhaps nowhere else is there a working press office as close as this one is to the head of state.

However, the press corps offices have historically been fairly cramped and technologically challenged. Thanks to the ever-expanding White House press corps, these conditions became exasperated in the early twenty-first century. What once housed a handful of journalists assigned to the White House beat had become home base for several dozen members of the press corps by the time George W. Bush took office in 2001. Consequently, this area, along with the Press Briefing Room, underwent an $8 million renovation beginning in 2006. While some members of the press corps cited concerns about access to the President during the renovation, most agreed the updating of facilities was badly needed. President Bush welcomed the press corps back to their offices and to the James S. Brady Press Briefing Room (named for President Reagan's first press secretary who had been seriously wounded in a 1981 attack on the President) in July 2007.

Development

Perhaps the first President to embrace the press was William McKinley (1897–1901). Unlike many of his predecessors, McKinley welcomed White House coverage. With the country heading into war with Spain, primarily over Cuba, McKinley was acutely aware of abilities of the press to sway public opinion. In an attempt to curry some control over the ways in which information regarding his administration was being handled, McKinley made great efforts to let reporters know he recognized the importance of their jobs. He provided them with daily briefings, via his secretary, and he provided them with a "press room" in which to pass time between briefings. McKinley regularized the interactions between him, his staff, and the reporters stationed at the White House; his tenure marked the establishment of the White House press corps.

Not long after Theodore Roosevelt (1901–09) took over the presidency, the role of the President began to change from an office tangential to Congress to one that would become one of the most powerful offices in the world. Because of the growing stature of the United States on the world stage, the visibility and responsibility of the President rose as well. But Roosevelt's personal popularity within his own Republican party was low as he entered office. If he was to parlay his beliefs about the potential of the presidency into reality, he needed help beyond his own wary partisans. For that, he turned to the press and in doing so changed the relationship between press and President.

Roosevelt supplied a steady news stream to White House reporters and met with them regularly in news conferences. This served multiple purposes. It exposed reporters to Roosevelt's decision-making, thereby helping shape the stories being written, and it kept reporters from having to inform their editors that there was no news for the day. It also kept reporters occupied. Roosevelt

understood that busy reporters had less inclination to pursue sundry or critical stories.

Roosevelt accommodated the press pool by granting interviews and holding numerous press conferences. He also assigned a staff member to see to the needs of the press. This unprecedented access and accommodation helped Roosevelt establish a rapport with the press that served him well. It also established a model for press–President relations that influenced Presidents through the rest of the twentieth century.

While some subsequent Presidents such as William Howard Taft (1909–13) and Herbert Hoover (1929–33) were not as eager to seek press coverage as Roosevelt, others were. Woodrow Wilson (1913–21) reestablished the practice of personally delivering the State of the Union speeches to Congress and shortened them as well, making it easier for newspapers to publish them in their entirety. In 1924, Calvin Coolidge (1923–29) engaged a different medium, delivering the first weekly presidential radio address. Every subsequent President has continued the practice of using broadcast access to the people.

Franklin Roosevelt (FDR, 1933–45) took presidential efforts with the press to a new level. His press secretary, Steve Early, worked hard to meet journalists' needs. FDR read journalists' stories and offered praise, nurturing a feeling of camaraderie with the White House press corps. He took the time to break down policy issues and technicalities of Depression-era decision-making for reporters, and granted them greater access to himself and administration officials. Consequently, press coverage of presidential politics increased substantially, ultimately helping sell the New Deal to Congress and the citizenry.

Sidestepping the Press: The Radio Address

As the role of the presidency grew more complex, so did the relationship between the Oval Office and the press. By the early twentieth century, the era of the party press had ended. President–press dynamics in its aftermath were marked by mostly congenial, but tangible, mutual suspicion. Presidents recognized the power of the press to sway public opinion; the press understood the White House was more invested in selling an agenda than in full disclosure. Though undoubtedly necessary, this relationship increasingly became an uncomfortable symbiosis.

One way Presidents took a little bit of the power back from the press corps was to take their messages directly to the public, foregoing journalists altogether. Radio was the mass medium best suited to this purpose. Though Calvin Coolidge was the first U.S. President to use the radio in this way, it was FDR who made the practice famous. Beginning in 1933, his "fireside chats" calmed a nation in the midst of the Great Depression. Using an informal, conversational style, Roosevelt delivered his messages of hope and reassurance and asked the nation to support the policies of his administration. He took great care in crafting the addresses to inspire citizens' confidence and participation in society. With no fear of being misquoted or directed off topic by the press, Roosevelt delivered over 30 fireside chats, with topics ranging from his New Deal to the Allied efforts in World War II.

Roosevelt's addresses proved very successful, allowing the President to communicate his message directly to the nation. Radio penetration was high during the FDR era. Over 90 percent of U.S. households had a radio and with the television era yet to begin, radio was the most popular national medium. This afforded FDR tremendous access to the populace and his "chats" often attracted even more listeners than some of the most popular national radio shows of the time.

Despite the popularity of these radio addresses, the fireside chats ended with FDR's tenure. The desire of subsequent Presidents to communicate directly with the populace didn't wane, however. Ronald Reagan (1981–89), irritated by what he perceived to be unfair media treatment of his administration, rediscovered the power of the presidential radio address. Beginning in 1982 and continuing through the conclusion of his second term, Reagan spoke to the nation every Saturday regarding issues of the day. In addition to reaching over a million listeners on a regular basis, Reagan also used the weekly addresses to help influence news headlines. The strategy proved highly effective and the Saturday radio addresses became institutionalized. Every President since Reagan, regardless of political party, has delivered a weekly radio address. President Obama continued the broadcasts but also made them available online.

Broadcasting

With radio in the 1920s and then television in the 1950s, broadcasting became a vital tool for the

White House. Broadcasting substantially increased the audience for political journalism, catalyzing the interest in presidential news. As that audience grew, Presidents began to adjust their public activities and efforts toward the press to cater to broadcast needs. Ultimately, a combination of larger audience and presidential scheduling that created more broadcast opportunities resulted in presidential news coverage becoming increasingly central to the relationship. The amount of presidential news jumped significantly thanks to radio and television.

Federal regulations stipulated that radio stations offer public affairs programming as a part of their license responsibilities. Presidential press coverage and radio addresses served that role and provided networks with content that would appeal to national audiences. Television emphasized news from the White House as well. Encouraged by his press secretary James Haggerty, President Dwight Eisenhower (1953–61) allowed television recording of his press conferences, while President John Kennedy (JFK, 1961–63) allowed the first live coverage and, with his sense of humor and timing, became something of a hit on the air.

Television personalized the President in entirely new ways and, in turn, piqued public interest in presidential news. Television was especially effective because in addition to audio, it afforded the audience visual information about the President. Audiences responded, and accordingly, so did advertisers. As television penetration spread across the country through the 1950s and 1960s, the demand for presidential news also grew. With a growing audience and advertisers taking note, national television news boomed as a profit-making enterprise—one that consistently sought reportable content, such as was often provided by the White House.

Television also upped the ante in presidential coverage. Harry Truman (1945–53) delivered the first televised State of the Union address in 1947. Sensing the importance of maximizing effectiveness of the broadcast, Lyndon B. Johnson (1963–69) switched the time of that annual speech from the middle of the day to prime-time. Campaign debates, such as the pioneering Kennedy–Nixon debates in 1960, gave viewers vastly expanded exposure to presidential candidates.

The Press, the President, and Scandal

With the rise of cable news after 1980, an insatiable 24-hour news cycle, combined with a public appetite for negative news and scandal, produced a double-edged sword: Presidents recognized the power of the press to help them sell their image and agendas to the public, and consequently sought to assist and placate the media. However, active reporters also meant that widespread reporting also greatly increased when things went wrong. At the same time, the news media–presidential relationship was changing as reporters grew more suspicious of official government news and began to ask more probing questions. Often fanned by the political opposition, such reporting could get embarrassing for the President and have substantial impact.

Scandals of varying scope struck most administrations. President Truman faced questions about corrupt activities among some of his advisors. President Eisenhower had to dismiss Sherman Adams, his chief of staff, after news reports of wrongdoing. President Kennedy faced fierce criticism in the press after the failed Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. President Johnson faced an increasingly hostile press over the dragged out war in Vietnam, as well as over some of his political appointments.

But the Watergate crisis of 1972–74 marked a high-water mark of news media investigation of a growing scandal that resulted in the indictment of several members of President Richard Nixon's (1969–74) administration and ultimately led to Nixon's resignation as President in August 1974. It began with the June 1972 break-in into the Democratic National Committee offices at the Watergate Hotel in Washington, D.C. Subsequent investigations conducted by both government and news media entities revealed several other crimes, some committed by confidants of Nixon. These included campaign fraud, illegal wiretapping, money laundering, improper tax audits, political sabotage, and other illegal break-ins.

The Watergate scandal set a new benchmark for investigative journalism. *Time* magazine, *The New York Times,* and particularly *The Washington Post* doggedly pursued the story. *Post* reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein uncovered information suggesting that knowledge of the break-in and subsequent attempts to cover it up was widespread. Hearings before a Senate committee were

televised for weeks in 1973 and caused irreparable damage to Nixon's image and presidency. Key members of the administration gave dramatic testimony, and the public was riveted: over 80 percent of U.S. households watched at least a portion of the hearings.

The fallout from Watergate was far-reaching. President Nixon resigned on August 9, 1974. Some of his aides were imprisoned. Thanks in large part to broadcasts of congressional hearings, the Democrats picked up a large number of seats in the November 1974 election.

Two decades later, another presidential scandal gripped the media and the nation. Pundits had praised President Bill Clinton's (1993–2001) adroitness with the press during both of his successful presidential campaigns (1992 and 1996). From the moment he played the saxophone on *The Arsenio Hall Show* through the numerous press conferences of his first term, Clinton was viewed as comfortable interacting with the press, and even craving media attention. This positive view began to come apart not long into his second term. News of an affair with White House intern Monica Lewinsky first appeared on the conservative website the Drudge Report in January 1998. Mainstream media picked up the story, and soon Clinton's wife Hillary joined her husband in denying the affair.

As the press coverage of the scandal intensified, so did calls from Clinton's adversaries for a full investigation. Ultimately, both Lewinsky and Clinton made statements before a grand jury. After his grand jury testimony on August 17, 1998, Clinton made a nationally televised statement in which he admitted he had a relationship with Lewinsky that was "not appropriate." The investigation led to Clinton's impeachment, though he was subsequently acquitted of all charges of perjury and obstruction of justice.

Though Clinton's approval ratings stayed fairly high despite the scandal, the Lewinsky affair illustrated both the increased pervasiveness of the news media by the end of the twentieth century and the changed nature of presidential-press relations from the JFK era; much of the Washington press corps was aware of Kennedy's (alleged) extramarital affairs of the early 1960s, but did not consider them "newsworthy."

In the wake of the attacks of September 11, 2001, and the American invasions of Afganistan and Iraq, many observers accused the news media of losing its critical eye in assessing the President's policies. Yet many in the press corps fear that asking hard questions will simply lead to the President no longer dealing with them.

Contemporary Coverage

Early twenty-first-century President–press relations are informed by new media. The Internet now allows for instantaneous worldwide reporting. Weblogs, or blogs, provide a substantial degree of political commentary. Political bloggers are the modern muckrakers, and many of these blogs have links to traditional news outlets, suggesting the lines between mainstream and citizen journalism will continue to blur. Critics argue that this inevitably leads to a decrease in actual hard news and an increase in infotainment, or soft news. However, other observers note that Internet coverage may encourage greater civic engagement, especially among younger would-be voters. It is this belief that led 2008 Democratic presidential candidate Barack Obama to create a page on MySpace, which helped him raise millions of campaign dollars. As President, Obama continued his extensive use of press conferences and almost-daily press appearances as he grappled with the nation's worst economic crisis in more than a half century.

One trend in political journalism that has been evolving over the past 30 years is the reliance on pundits to interpret an increasingly complex political climate for audience members. While the availability of news content has increased, the amount of time people spend with political news has decreased. Many expect the news of the day to be interpreted and summarized despite the public's growing distrust of news media. In the 2008–09 economic crisis, some pundits applied their economic training or financial experience to help explain the growing complexity of Bush and then Obama administration interventions in the financial and automobile markets.

In response to the growing media distortion at the hands of pundits, the White House continues to seek out new communications options and technologies with which to communicate its messages. While it seems that future Presidents will likely embrace the Internet and other "new media" to address the public, there is nothing to suggest that the more traditional "old media" will cease to be influential, despite the public's growing suspicion

of journalism overall. Despite the efforts of White House officials to have the President sidestep the press corps by using more "direct" means, such as radio addresses or postings on the White House website, the need for Presidents to effectively manage the press remains intact.

Conclusion

Presidential press coverage continues to be an integral part of political journalism and of U.S. society. However, the current media climate that promotes "constant coverage" with an eye toward the personal and/or the salacious, may keep much of the attention on personality quirks or flaws as opposed to actual policies or decision-making. The challenge for news audiences in this age of unprecedented presidential access is to decide exactly what aspects of the presidency matter—and make their media consumption choices accordingly.

Michelle Denise Miles

See also News Conferences; Presidential Families, Coverage of; Presidential Scandals, Coverage of

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Press and Government Relations

The development of news media is closely tied to the emergence of modern government. Indeed, news media organizations have always been intimately tied to government and political institutions more generally; they are often considered a political institution, a kind of "fourth branch of government." Early newspapers served to shape public opinion in the course of battles between and within states, to integrate citizens into developing administrative structures of the modern state and provide them with the information necessary to manage their interactions with those institutions. They were central to the production of the "imagined communities" described by researcher Benedict Anderson, which were the cultural manifestation of the rise of the modern state. The news media expanded in importance as popular participation in political life expanded, often through the extension of institutions of mass democratic politics, but also through authoritarian institutions for the mobilization of mass opinion. News media are tied to the state through a dense and complex network; much of their content focuses on the activities of government, and governments, for their part, often devote large amounts of attention and resources to their relations with news media. There is a long history of political polemics about the relation between journalism and government, and a substantial body of scholarly research and theory on that relationship.

Theories of Press–Government Relations

A key distinction needs to be made between normative and empirical theories of journalism and government, that is, theories of what roles the state and media *should* play in relation to one another, and theories about what roles they *actually* play. The dominant normative theory across most of the modern world is derived from liberalism, as expressed in such classic early works as John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty*. This conception emphasizes the need for a press independent of the state, which will provide the basis for the independent public opinion on which the legitimacy of democratic government is based. In its later formulations, this view is connected with the idea of the news media as a "watchdog" of the state, providing a counterweight to state power.

The polar opposite to liberal theory is what Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm called, in their influential *Four Theories of the Press*, the Authoritarian

theory, in which the state is conceived as having essential responsibility for protecting the interest of society as a whole, the "oppositional" role of the press (so valued in much liberal theory) is consequently seen as socially destructive, and state control of the press or at least close cooperation between press and state are more valued than is press independence. Authoritarian theory was dominant in an earlier era. One of the most developed versions was the communist theory of journalism as an apparatus for revolutionary transformation of society. Another significant version can be found in the idea of "Asian Values" in journalism, as articulated by political leaders in authoritarian states such as Singapore and Malaysia. Malaysian Prime Minister Mahatir once wrote that the press should "conscientiously limit the exercise of its rights" and that "democratic governments have a right to control it" when it does not (quoted in Nain 2000, 146).

Within liberal political systems, some elements of authoritarian theory coexist, as for example with "national security," where many argue that patriotism should prevail over the "watchdog" function of the press. There is also an important distinction in democratic systems between more classical liberal systems—the United States being the most important example—where government intervention is seen as a barrier to press freedom, and systems where government is assigned a more positive role in assuring the conditions under which press freedom can prosper. This is more typical of European societies with traditions of a strong welfare state, where institutions such as public service broadcasting and press subsidy systems are justified in these terms. France, Italy, and the Scandinavian countries, for example, have systems of press subsidies that are intended to keep alive a greater number and diversity of newspapers than the market would otherwise allow.

Functions of the State

The state plays many different kinds of roles in relation to the news media. These include the following:

- *Censor.*
- *Owner.* Public service broadcasting is one version of government-owned media, though such systems are often structured as relatively autonomous from government control; they are publicly owned rather than government owned. In other cases governments or government-owned companies own or invest in media enterprises.
- *Funder.* This can take the form of direct subsidies, tax breaks, loans, government advertising, and sometimes patronage (jobs, contracts, other payments to media owners or journalists).
- *Regulator.* Broadcasting is almost always state regulated. Forms of regulation range from restrictions on cigarette advertising to hate speech laws to shield laws that give journalists special rights to confidentiality.
- *"Primary definer."* This refers to government as a provider of information and of interpretive frameworks relied on by journalists, and as an agenda setter, a provider of cues about what is news and what is not.

News Media as a Fourth Branch of Government

Although liberal press theory emphasizes separation of media and government and even sees them as adversaries, research has often emphasized their interdependence and the ways in which journalists and media have become an integral part of the governing process. The different roles of the state listed above is one illustration. Even in an open society like the United States, government has played an important role in subsidizing news media, which were seen as an essential element of democracy as well as a key lever of power. Subsidized postal rates, government jobs (postmaster, customs inspector, etc.), and printing contracts, for example, were crucial to the early growth of American newspapers.

The government as a primary definer of news also illustrates this interdependence. Research in Britain and the United States has shown the media in those countries rely just as heavily on government officials as news sources as do journalists in other countries (France, for example) where government intervenes much more as a regulator, funder, and owner of media. Theories of the news-making process have consistently emphasized the central role of government officials as sources, and the fact that journalists' routines of news gathering

tie them closely to government officials, as, for example, in the "beat" system that organizes journalism around divisions of the government. Government and media rely heavily on one another: government officials need the media in order to communicate with the mass public and often with other political actors, and journalists rely on the government as a steady source of usable, newsworthy content. The tremendous resources governments often devote to servicing the media have sometimes been referred to as an "information subsidy," as they make it easier and cheaper for journalists to cover the news. Journalists get privileged access to government officials—when the President of the United States travels on *Air Force One*, for example, he is normally accompanied not only by his top aides and other political leaders, but by journalists. Officials, in return, get privileged access to the news media, where their words, concerns, deeds, and faces regularly appear.

Lapdogs or Watchdogs

There are important debates about the balance of power between media and government and the character of the relationship between them, which can be summarized as a debate about whether the media are watchdogs, aggressively scrutinizing government officials, or lapdogs, mostly colluding with or manipulated by them. Communications researcher Gadi Wolfsfeld distinguishes among three characterizations of the media's relations to government; "faithful servant," "semi-honest broker," and "advocate of the underdog." A variant of the latter, which sees the media as an adversary of government, often as an overly aggressive watchdog which hurts the public interest by undermining support for governing institutions and making it more difficult for officials to govern, became more common in the 1970s and 1980s. The media in many countries did shift in that period toward a more assertive stance toward government officials and more negative coverage of politicians and political authority. The growth of political scandals since the 1970s illustrates this trend. There is considerable debate about whether this trend represents a beneficial shift from overly deferential media to something closer to the honest broker role, or from honest broker to dangerous usurper of the authority elected officials should exercise. And there is debate about how much the shift is really driven by media and how much by other actors. Politicians themselves often voiced antigovernment rhetoric beginning in this period—that was central to Ronald Reagan's appeal, for example.

On the other side of the spectrum, the best-known statement of the "faithful servant" perspective is Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman's "propaganda model" of media–government relations, which sees media as dominated by elites who hold wealth and power in society, and are able to use the media to "manufacture consent" in mass public opinion. Their view sees media as dominated not only by government—though they place heavy emphasis on the state—but also by business elites, and they see these two sets of actors as acting in harmony.

Journalists like to see themselves as honest brokers, covering politics in a way that gives fair representation to a wide range of actors, and playing the watchdog role in a responsible and essentially objective way. Wolfsfeld uses the term "semi-honest broker" because virtually all researchers would acknowledge that the media are affected at least to some degree by inequalities of wealth and power, and that some actors—including certainly government officials—will always have more access and influence than others. The bulk of research can be described as falling somewhere between the honest broker and faithful servant perspectives, in the sense that it sees journalists and news organizations as independent actors, often genuinely committed to the watchdog and honest broker ideals, but at the same time recognizes that the newsmaking process is influenced by structures of power, and that government officials exercise central if not unlimited influence. This scholarship also sees the relation between media and government as variable rather than constant, with news media sometimes acting like faithful servants, sometimes more like honest brokers, and sometimes—more rarely—like advocates of the underdog, depending on political circumstances. One version of this is the "indexing" theory, which holds that the range of views represented in the news will be "indexed" to the degree of debate among political elites, becoming wider when elites are divided and actively debating an issue and narrower when they are not. In some versions of this theory, the media not only reflect the varying degrees of elite debate, but their

own role also shifts: they are more independent and assertive in gathering and interpreting the news when elites are divided. Robert Entman's "hierarchy of influences" theory is a related attempt to synthesize research on political communication, which attempts to show how the political role of the media shifts depending on a number of factors, including divisions among political elite, but also, in some cases, such factors as mobilizations by social movements and the cultural resonance of various interpretations with journalists and news audiences.

These theories apply to liberal systems with media that are relatively independent of government economically and organizationally. In other systems, censorship, dependence of media on government, or tight alliances between media owners and governing parties will produce something much more consistently close to the faithful servant model.

Variations in Media–Government Relations

Relations between media and government vary considerably from one political system to another. Differences between liberal and authoritarian systems and between systems in which government intervention in media markets varies have already been mentioned. One important distinction has to do with the degree of political parallelism in the news media, that is, the degree to which news organizations and journalists have political alliances or allegiances. In some systems, media have clearly identifiable political orientations, report the news from the point of view of particular factions, and in some cases participate in the process of debate and negotiation among those factions. In other systems media avoid particular partisan entanglements, and present themselves to audiences as providers of neutral information to a nonaligned public. The effects of many forms of government intervention also vary considerably depending on the nature of governing institutions. Government subsidy to news organizations, for example, may have little effect on media independence in systems with clear and transparent rules for the allocation of subsidies, and great effect in systems where government funds can be used at the discretion of political authorities to reward or punish the media.

Conclusion

The news media form a central institution of political life, and always have a dense network of connections with governing institutions. The nature of those connections varies depending on the role of news media in a particular society—their economic basis, for example, and the culture of journalism that prevails within them—and also on the nature of political institutions—how centralized power is within them, and the extent to which they are governed by legal rules, for example. The relationship of media to government also varies with historical circumstances—the American media acted very differently in relation to government during the 1970s Watergate scandal than they did in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, attacks.

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See also Antitrust; Censorship; Congress and Journalism; Development Journalism; Equal Time; Federal Communications Commission (FCC); First Amendment; Government, Federal, Coverage of; Government, State and Local, Coverage of; Libel; Military and the Media; Presidents, Coverage of; Public Radio Journalism; Public Television Journalism; Secrecy and Leaks; Shield Law; Supreme Court and Journalism

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Press Conferences

See News Conferences

Press Councils

See News Councils

Press Pools

"Press pool" refers to a small group of reporters, photographers, camera operators, and technicians, typically representing a variety of print and broadcast media organizations, who are chosen to cover a particular event, a series of events, or a particular organization. Press pools are commonly employed both by government institutions (such as the White House or State Department) to facilitate day-to-day coverage, and during large-scale events (such as inaugurations, political conventions, or the Olympics) or events where space is limited, such as a trial. The use of press pools is often driven by convenience or necessity—in many situations, such as on the campaign trail or in White House briefings, there is not enough room for the entire accredited press corps to attend. Pool members are expected to take detailed notes and file "pool reports" (or, in the case of broadcast footage, "pool feeds") to other journalists and news organizations not included in (but represented by) the pool.

Many journalists and scholars have criticized the manner in which press pools operate, particularly in two of its most common uses—covering political and military activities. In both instances, central questions concern journalistic access to crucial sources and information. While government and military officials often point to increasing efficiency and better communication to and within pools, many journalists express concern about curtailment of their freedom and a decreasing variety in news coverage.

Department of Defense National Media Pool

Central to conflicts over the Department of Defense (DoD) National Media Pool has been the dilemma of balancing demands of a free press with needs for secrecy and security during times of war.

Press pools were first widely used during World War II. While reporters were mostly permitted to travel freely, many of their reports were subject to military review and censorship. After the Vietnam War, the Pentagon sought new ways to control transmission of information by reporters during military conflicts. During the 1980s, concerned by advances in technology and transportation that hindered attempts at censorship, military officials attempted an "exclusionary model," which prevented a journalistic presence during military operations. The DoD National Media Pool was created in 1987 after conflicts over the handling of journalists during the 1983 U.S. invasion of the island of Grenada.

The DoD press pool was originally marketed to journalists as a means of increasing their direct access to military personnel and activities while also offering a greater measure of protection for journalists on the battlefield. The pool was composed of journalists from several news organizations, including news agencies, magazines, newspapers, and television and radio outlets, with membership rotating every three months. By limiting the number of journalists with access, the military could better control the flow of information. Secrecy was considered paramount with the Pentagon pool. Only bureau chiefs and the pool members themselves were to know which news organizations were part of the pool. Pool members were required to keep their status and any details about their missions a secret from co-workers and even family members. Pool reports were also often filtered through military officials before being sent back to the pool members' news organizations.

The 1989 military incursion into Panama saw the first use of the modern media pool. Yet despite promises of increased access, the Panama operation was largely considered by many news organizations

a failure and a problematic example of the dangers inherent in military control of press pools. After being dispatched from Washington hours later than anticipated, journalists arrived after the invasion had already begun. When they arrived, the military had no helicopters to transport the news personnel to the combat sites. According to a Pentagon report after the invasion (and ensuing public upset), Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney's "excessive concern with secrecy" prevented pool reporters from witnessing the fighting firsthand.

The next major employment of military pools came during the 1990–91 Gulf War. While representatives from news organizations acknowledged that the pool system was better than in Panama, pool members still complained of excessive monitoring and limitations imposed by military officials.

Gulf War pool members were expected to adhere to what was termed the "Pentagon Rules," which limited the kinds of information they were allowed to report and provided codes of conduct to govern behavior on the battlefield. Journalists were not allowed to identify locations or units and could only interview or photograph with supervision from military officials. Pool reporters also expressed frustration at regulations and pool arrangements that limited them to trips specifically coordinated by military officials.

Some reporters excluded from the pool engaged in "freelancing"—working outside military controls by renting vehicles and independently traveling to interview troops or witness action. In one of the more famous freelancing incidents during the Gulf War, CBS reporter Bob Simon and his crew were captured and held by Iraqi forces for 40 days. While the incident seemed to bolster DoD's contention that pools were necessary to protect journalists, some reporters continued to operate outside the pool during the remainder of the Gulf War. While there were no formal punishments for defying pool regulations, reporters found to be engaging in freelancing could be reported to Saudi authorities, who would temporarily revoke their credentials and visas. The National Media Pool was officially disbanded in late 2001.

Influences on News Content

Concern has been raised by journalists and researchers about the content of news coverage that emerges from a pool system. In both coverage of political news (such as pools at the White House or presidential campaigns) and military activities, news content generated by the pool has been criticized for being too favorable toward the institutions being covered as well as displaying elements of "pack journalism."

More recent research into media pools has examined whether there is a correlation between the mobilization of military media pools, the resulting media characterization of military interventions, and public opinion of military action. For instance, communications researcher Shannon Martin's 2006 study of news content found that when a pool system is in place during a military intervention, news media were more likely to focus on political changes associated with the intervention and public opinion is initially more favorable. When a pool system is not employed, news coverage focuses more attention on the humanitarian aspects of the mission and public opinion is less favorable. Because a military pool system often results in increased control of reporting, there is less opportunity for journalists to independently seek out stories and/or investigate news that might be less than favorable toward the military. Consequently, as during the Gulf War, information from pool reports is often used to add color and texture to news stories rather than provide breaking news.

Correspondingly, pool coverage of the White House and political campaigns has been broadly criticized for not providing enough critical analysis of the President or presidential candidates. Particularly in the case of presidential campaigns, pool coverage is critiqued for providing little in the way of independent coverage and producing reports (and corresponding news coverage) that tend to bolster campaign goals. As with military pool reports, campaign pool reports are likewise often used for "color"—often focusing on lengthy scene-setting descriptions of events or details such as the public turnout for or the setting of a candidate's speech. The pooling of reporters also often results in campaign coverage that is increasingly homogenized. Many critics of the pool system attribute this to a lack of substantive access.

How and what pool reporters have access to is crucial during a campaign. In many cases, they are the only journalists with regular access to the

campaign or information about the candidate. Often, it is the responsibility of this small, rotating group of reporters to decide for all of the media outlets what, in fact, constitutes the news. However, even when they travel with a candidate and see him or her on a daily basis, access to the candidates is typically heavily controlled by campaign staff members. In addition, staff members have the power to make decisions about which journalists will be in the pool when the nature of particular events cannot allow for the full press corps. In many instances these decisions are often "strategic"—rewarding journalists or news organizations for favorable coverage and punishing others—or bypassing the astute pool for unaware local reporters at a campaign stop, knowing the latter are more likely to pose softball questions.

Conclusion

After September 11, 2001, the Department of Defense's official policy, in the press guidelines issued for the 2003 invasion of Iraq, changed from press pools to embedding. Yet the practice of embedding reporters has been likewise criticized for limiting or narrowing the access of journalists.

Although the pool system is still in place for presidential politics and campaigns, it has caused some tension among news organizations. Citing declining interest in traveling with President George W. Bush during the final months of his administration, the White House Correspondents Association modified its pool distribution policy in June 2008. The change, which ended distribution of pool reports to reporters who did not travel with the President, came in response to mounting complaints from larger news organizations who claim it is unfair to force them to share information with other organizations that do not budget for increasingly expensive trips with the President. Pool reports would still continue, however, for events or travel where open coverage is denied.

It is unclear whether this inter-news organization tension will continue during the administration of President Barack Obama, who has commanded a great deal of interest among various news outlets throughout his campaign and transition. While the decreasing number of pool members traveling with Bush could be partially attributed to a lack of interest in the lame-duck President, the tension could continue if news organizations increasingly experience economic turmoil and a corresponding need to decrease costs. Many have also speculated that new technology will influence the manner in which press and government officials interact. The use of the Internet during Obama's campaign and his promise to use new media to speak directly to the American people during his presidency has the potential to dramatically alter the power of the press pool to serve as an intermediary between government officials and the public.

Theresa Rose Crapanzano

See also Embedded Reporters; Presidents, Coverage of; Press and Government Relations; War and Military Journalism; War Correspondents; Washington, D.C.

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Printing

Printing is the reproduction of text and images in quantity on paper. Modern printing has become highly sophisticated and more digital in nature

and has been transformed from art to science. New digital printing processes combine the use of advanced pre-media systems (preparation of content for printing or publishing), lasers, plates, presses, inks, papers, electronic controls, and digital imaging and printing systems.

Origins

Printing from movable (or exchangeable) type appeared in China and Korea in the eleventh century. The oldest known printed rather than manuscript text was printed from clay in Korea in 1397 A.D. In 1440, Johannes Gutenberg of Mainz (Germany) introduced printing with ink on paper to the Western world with his invention of movable cast metal type mounted on a converted wine press. Until Gutenberg's invention, all books in the West were laboriously handwritten or copied by scribes.

Changes in press construction evolved slowly until the first all-metal press was built in England by the Earl of Stanhope early in the nineteenth century. Expanded use of printing was spurred by the growth of book and newspaper publishing and the need to produce more copies of publications faster. During the Industrial Revolution the job (or platen) press and the cylinder press were developed. The first successful cylinder press, in which a rotating cylinder was used to press the paper against a flat type bed, was the steam-powered press built in London by German inventor Frederick Koenig. It was used for the London *Times* in 1814 and was capable of producing 1,100 sheets per hour. Cylinder presses provided the speed for high-capacity magazine, newspaper, and book printing.

Mechanized Printing

American Richard Hoe manufactured the first rotary press in 1846. The first such press was installed at the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*. Early models produced 2,000 impressions per hour. The first web (roll-fed) press was developed by American William Bullock in 1856. These early web presses delivered 15,000 signatures (multiple pages printed on one large sheet) per hour, printed on both sides. A device for folding the papers as they came from the press was added in 1875.

Letterpress printing (metal type) was replaced by offset lithography in the 1960s.

Lithography

The basic principle of lithography—"stone writing"—is based on the principle that oil-based ink and water do not mix. It was discovered by Alois Senefelder of Munich about 1798. Working on a highly porous stone, he sketched his design with a greasy substance that adhered to the stone. He then wet the entire surface with a mixture of gum arabic and water. It wet the blank or non-image areas, but the greasy image repelled the ink. An ink made of soap, wax, oil, and lampblack was rolled on the stone. This greasy substance coated the image but not the moist blank area.

Senefelder called his invention "chemical printing." Artists used lithography to make reproductions of artwork—drawings and paintings.

The first steam-driven press for lithography was invented in France in 1850, and introduced in the United States by Richard Hoe in 1868. Direct rotary impression for lithography was introduced in the 1890s using grained zinc and aluminum metal plates to which images were hand transferred from stones using starch-coated transfer sheets.

In 1906, the first "offset lithographic" rotary press began printing sheets in Nutley, New Jersey, an invention of Ira Washington Rubel. Offset lithography transfers the image from the plate to a rubber blanket and then to the paper.

Digital Imaging

The age of electronics and computers changed the way printed products were created and produced. The first printing production operation to be affected was typesetting with the introduction of the Intertype Fotosetter in 1949 and the Photon in 1954. Offset lithography did not need metal type and this accelerated the growth of photo offset preparation. In 1950, the PDI Electronic Scanner was introduced for color separations. To print color photographs, they must be "separated" into cyan, magenta, yellow, and black plates. Neither technology advanced until the 1970s, when the video display terminal (VDT) or television screen and computers were combined to improve electronic typesetting, and Electronic Dot Generation (EDG) and digital magnification expanded electronic typesetting.

The digital revolution in typesetting began in 1985 with the introduction of the plain paper

typesetter and the film imagesetter. In 1985 the imagesetter and Raster Image Processor (RIP) fostered the development of device-independent prepress systems known as Desktop Publishing that displaced the device-dependent Color Electronic Prepress System and eventually replaced conventional prepress systems.

Platemaking advances began with laser platemaking in 1975; laser engraved cylinders for flexography (printing from raised plastic plates) and *engraving* assists for gravure (printing from cells etched into the plate) in the 1980s; computer-to-film in the 1980s; to computer-to-metal plates in 1991.

Each modern printing process has three main operations: *Prepress, Press,* and *Postpress*. The first and last steps are very similar for all printing processes. The prepress step involves preparing text and graphics for printing. Before the introduction of electronics and computers in printing, most prepress operations were manual using handset type and/or typesetting machines, process cameras for making page films, film processing, manual color correction, film assembly, and page and signature layout (multiple pages on one plate). *Digital imaging* technology has replaced all of these manual metal and photomechanical operations; pages are now created and assembled on computer screens using desktop software.

Postpress or finishing is the operation for cutting, folding, assembling, and binding sheets into final form—and it is largely unchanged.

On the other hand, the press or printing step uses presses that are different for each printing process. There are two major classifications of printing processes: (1) *plate,* pressure or impact processes such as offset lithography, letterpress, flexography, gravure, and screen printing; and (2) *plateless* or dynamic processes such as electrophotography, inkjet, ion, or electron charge deposition, magnetography, thermal transfer printing, thermal dye sublimation, and electrocoagulation. It is predicted that newspapers will be printed using these new printing processes.

Plate printing processes use mechanical printing presses to exert the heavy pressure needed to transfer ink to paper and are the processes used to support long-run (many copies) magazines, newspapers, books, packaging, and other printed products.

Plateless printing systems are used for copying and digital printing. They produce an image during each cycle of the printing device. The image can be the same or can be changed from cycle to cycle. This feature enables digital printers to print variable information such as coding, addressing, and personalizing promotions and documents. The printing speed, however, is slower than plate processes, but there is no plate loading and no drying time. Therefore they are used primarily for short runs, on-demand, and/or variable information printing.

Ink-Based Printing Processes

All printing processes are concerned with

- *Image* or printing areas,
- *Nonimage* or nonprinting areas.

After the text and imagery have been prepared for reproduction (the prepress step), each printing process has definitive means of separating the image from the nonimage areas. Ink-based or conventional printing has four types of printing processes:

1. *Planographic*—printing and nonprinting areas are on the same plane surface and the difference between them is based on chemical properties—ink is either accepted or rejected. Examples are *offset lithography, collotype,* and *screenless printing*.
2. *Relief*—the printing areas are on a raised surface and the nonprinting areas are below the surface. Examples are *letterpress* and *flexography*.
3. *Intaglio*—the nonprinting areas are on a plane surface and the printing areas are etched or engraved below the surface. Examples are *gravure* and *steel-die engraving*.
4. *Porous*—the printing areas are on fine mesh screens through which ink penetrates, and the nonimage areas are a stencil over the screen to block the flow of ink. Examples are *screen printing* and *stencil duplicating*.

Planographic—Offset Lithography

Offset lithography uses thin aluminum metal or polyester plates with the image and nonimage areas

on the same plane. There are two basic differences between offset lithography and other processes: (1) it is based on the fact that *oil (ink) and water do not mix,* and (2) it uses the *offset principle* in which ink is transferred from the plate to a rubber blanket on an intermediate cylinder, and from the blanket to the paper on an impression cylinder.

On a lithographic printing plate, the printing areas are ink-receptive and water-repellent, and nonprinting areas are water-receptive and ink-repellent. When the plate mounted on the plate cylinder of the offset press is rotated, it comes into contact with rollers wet by a water or dampening solution and rollers wet by ink. The dampening solution wets the nonprinting areas of the plate and prevents the ink from wetting these areas. The ink wets the image areas that immediately are transferred to the blanket cylinder. The inked image is transferred by pressure to the paper as the paper passes between the blanket cylinder and the impression cylinder.

"Offset" is not a process. Letterpress and gravure (and even digital printing) can also be printed using the offset principle. A main advantage of the offset principle is that the resilient rubber blanket produces a clearer impression on a very wide variety of paper surfaces and other materials with both rough and smooth textures. Also, it extends plate life and reduces press makeready (the process of setting up the press for printing by loading plates, paper, and ink).

Both sheetfed and web (roll-fed) presses are used. Sheetfed lithography is used for printing advertising collateral, books, catalogs, greeting cards, posters, labels, packaging, folding boxes, decals, coupons, trading stamps, and art reproductions. Also many sheetfed presses can *perfect* (print both sides of the paper, which is also called *duplexing*) in one pass through the press. Web offset prints on rolls of paper and is used for printing business forms, daily and weekly newspapers, inserts, advertising literature, long-run catalogs, books, encyclopedias, and magazines.

Relief—Letterpress

Letterpress is the method of printing Gutenberg invented in 1440 and has been used for job and commercial printing. It is a *relief* method of printing that can print from cast metal type, molded duplicate plates (still used for some package printing), or photopolymer plates on which the image or printing areas are raised above the nonprinting areas. Viscous oil-base and ultraviolet (UV) inks are used. The ink rollers come in contact with the raised areas only, and the inked image is transferred directly to the paper. Commercial letterpress has declined in use because too much time was consumed in *makeready* (building up of the press form so both the light and heavy areas print with the correct impression). Letterpress makeready is a manual process that is very skill- and time-intensive and therefore very expensive. It is one of the main reasons that the letterpress has declined in use. It is still used for corrugated carton printing, imprinting, and numbering. Four types of presses were used: platen, flatbed cylinder, rotary, and belt. Letterpress is making a comeback in specialty printing using photopolymer plates and UV inks on narrow web presses.

Relief—Flexography

Flexography is a form of rotary web relief printing like letterpress but using flexible rubber or resilient photopolymer relief plates, and fast-drying low-viscosity, solvent-based, water-based, or UV-based inks fed from an anilox inking system (rollers with many cells in them to facilitate ink delivery). Most flexographic presses are web-fed in three basic approaches: *stack, in-line,* and *central impression cylinder* presses. Almost any material that can go through a web press can be printed by flexography—decorated tissue, plastic bags, pressure sensitive labels, corrugated board, and materials such as foil, cellophane, polyethylene, and other plastic films. It is well suited for printing large areas of solid color with high gloss and brilliance. The growth of flexography parallels the expansion of the packaging industry, especially flexible packages. Development was based on the central impression cylinder press, laser-engraved ceramic anilox ink metering systems, laser-imaged photopolymer plates, and water-based and UV inks.

Intaglio—Gravure

Gravure image areas consist of cells or wells etched or engraved into a copper cylinder, while the unetched surface of the cylinder represents the nonprinting areas. The image cylinder rotates in a

bath of ink. The excess is wiped off the surface by a flexible steel *doctor blade*. The ink remaining in the thousands of recessed cells forms the image by direct transfer to the paper as it passes between the plate cylinder and the impression cylinder. Three types of processes are used for making gravure printing cylinders: (1) *chemical etching* produces cells of the same size or area with varying depths; (2) *electromechanical engraving* produces cylinders with cells that vary in area and depth; and (3) *direct digital laser etching* produces cells of varying area and depth. Gravure printing produces excellent reproductions of pictures, but slightly ragged type. The high cylinder-making cost usually limits use to very long runs. The use of halftone and filmless gravure has reduced these costs and made gravure competitive in certain shorter run markets. Gravure is used for long runs of newspaper supplements, circulars, magazines, catalogs, as well as special products such as wallpaper and packaging. Cylinders can be reused many times. Many magazines and catalogs are hybrid publications—part gravure and part lithography. The long-run editorial sections are gravure and the short-run geographic, demographic, and advertising sections are printed with offset lithography. All pages are then assembled in automated bindery systems.

Porous—Screen Printing

Formerly known as silk screen, this method once employed a *porous* screen of fine silk, nylon, dacron, or stainless steel mounted on a frame. Many materials are now used to make the stencil, which is produced, manually, photomechanically, or electronically. Printing is on a wide range of substrates under the screen by applying ink with a thick consistency forced through the fine mesh openings with a rubber squeegee. The production rate, once limited by the drying time of the ink, has been increased by the development of automatic presses, improved dryers, and new UV inks. Most presses are flatbed. Rotary screen presses speed up production considerably because they allow continuous operation. Screen printing usually can be recognized by the thick layer of ink and is used for fabric, apparel (especially T-shirts), signage, and specialty materials.

Lithography, letterpress, flexography, gravure, and screen printing account for the majority of all reproduction on paper and special substrates; however, digital printing processes are making rapid inroads because of their ability to more effectively handle very short runs and variable information printing.

Digital Printing Processes

Copying and digital duplicating are also called *reprography* or *reprographics*. For fewer than 100 copies, the copier has been the fastest and most economical method of reproduction—if only hard copy originals are available. Above 100 copies, high-speed copiers and/or duplicators are used, but these are now mostly *digital printers* and can accept hard copy or digital files. Reprography is used extensively by in-house printing departments and quick printing shops. The only method for making copies of documents before 1940 was the photographic print called a *photostat,* that was time-consuming, and expensive. In the 1950s the 3M Thermo-Fax used heat to make copies. The Xerox 914 in the 1960s was the first to introduce plain paper copying using electrophotography (toner). Subsequently, a number of photocopying systems were developed, such as photo-based diffusion transfer processes that were popular in Europe. Electrophotography (toner) has dominated the copier market, but inkjet printing is making inroads.

Electrophotography, also called *xerography or electrostatic printing,* is based on electrostatic transfer of toner to and from a charged photoconductor surface. Copiers use electrophotographic coatings such as selenium, cadmium sulfide, zinc oxide, or organic photoconductors to produce the images in the copier. The photoconductor converts light energy (photons) into electrical energy (electrons). These coatings are charged with a corona discharge in the dark and lose the charge on standing or when exposed to light, such as that reflected from the white areas of an original or by a laser or other light source. The image areas that remain charged are developed with an oppositely charged dry powder or liquid toner and are transferred from the electrophotographic surface onto plain paper using electrostatic attraction. The electrophotographic coating is cleaned and can be reimaged many times. Color copiers use similar principles but they have four or more colored toners rather than one. The term *digital press* implies

a higher level of operating speed and capability for production applications.

Copiers are no longer manufactured as such. The function of copying a hard copy original is now performed by multifunction printers (MFPs). These devices incorporate a scanner, a digital printer, and a Digital Front End (DFE) to accept files. They can scan, print, fax, and copy. Fewer and fewer copies are made as more and more files are sent to these devices for printing. MFPs may be black-and-white (also called monochrome) or full color. Printers theoretically produce originals, and copiers produce copies—but the term *copy* is used in both cases.

Duplicating

Before copiers and digital presses, copies of pages in quantities from 50 to 5,000 were produced on offset lithographic duplicators. There were offset presses in sizes up to 12 by 18 inches (A3+). The offset duplicator was the mainstay of the printing industry and allowed many entrepreneurs to start printing companies. Copier/duplicators were once small offset presses with online polyester plate-making. Over time they became high-speed copiers that "photographed" paper originals, and today they are digital printers. Stencil and spirit duplicators are based on the mimeograph that was invented by Thomas Edison and marketed by Albert Blake Dick. They work by forcing ink through a porous stencil and produce copies on plain paper. New versions of these printers use digital files to image the stencils.

Digital Prepress

Prepress processes advanced from metal assembly to paste-ups to film. New filmless digital imaging processes create page images directly on printing plates for conventional printing, or directly on plateless presses from computer files. These are called *computer-to-* or *direct-to*-printing processes. The three types of filmless digital printing processes are (1) *computer-to-plate* (CTP), (2) *computer-to-plate-on-press* (DI for direct imaging), and (3) *computer-to-print* (digital printing). All categories use essentially the same prepress digital files output from page composition software, page description languages, and raster image processors (RIP) to drive the lasers or imaging systems of the marking devices.

Digital Printing

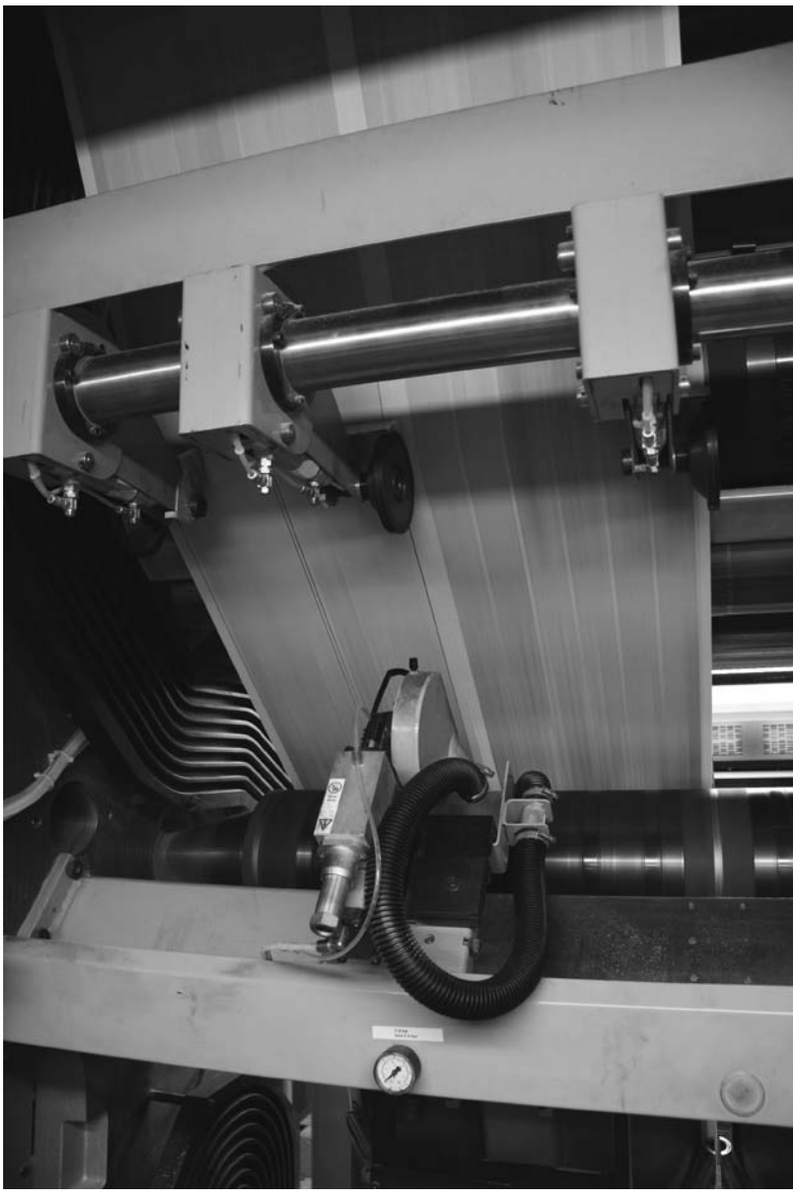
Conventional printing uses plates that contain the text and images to be reproduced in quantity on a mechanical press that feeds inks to the plates and exerts heavy pressures to transfer the inked images to paper or other substrate. Digital printers apply copier and new digital technology and use dynamic image carriers. Each cycle of the printer transfers a fresh image to the substrate. It can be the same or different than the previous image. This feature makes it possible to print variable information from print to print, which conventional printing cannot do. It also allows electronic collation which assembles all pages of a publication in order. Digital printing is used for short-run, on-demand printing (print immediately), but the speed for larger and longer-run documents is slower than plate processes.

Digital printing began in 1970 with the introduction of inkjet printing, followed by electrophotographic (EP) laser printers in 1978; color electronic laser printers in 1993; and many EP and inkjet color printing presses introduced since 1995. Other digital printing technologies are Magnetography, Thermal Transfer, Thermal Transfer Dye Sublimation, and Inkjet printing.

Printing today is digital in some manner and all printing technologies accept digital files. Static printing uses an image carrier (plate or cylinder) that makes every impression exactly the same. Digital printing refers to any printing process that does not use a fixed-image image carrier (a plate, for example). The process is based on the regeneration of printed information for each and every impression of a particular job. Toner, solid ink, and inkjet (in all its forms) are considered digital printing. DI printing (imaging plates on-press) or CTP (imaging plates off-press) are digital in nature, but not digital printing. Over time, offset lithographic plates will be imaged on reusable image carriers on-press and the age of "plateless" conventional printing will begin.

Computer-to-Print (EP) Systems

All purely digital printing systems accept digital files and thus become computer-to-print digital



A modern roll-fed printing press used in the production of newspapers.

Source: iStockphotos.com/fotogaby.

printing systems. They may use electrophotographic photoconductor, inkjet, ion- or electron-charge deposition, magnetography, thermal transfer, and thermal dye sublimation technologies, among others. They are called variable data printing systems because each impression is regenerated and can then include personalized information from a database. Each impression is an original. A copier makes a second-generation copy.

Magnetography and electron deposition printing use special magnetic toners to produce the printed images. In these processes, there is less need for heat to fuse the toner, and thus a wider array of papers may be used, especially when litho is used for pre-printing.

Thermal transfer uses thermal print heads that melt spots of dry thermoplastic ink on a donor ink ribbon and transfer them to a receiver to produce

color labels, logos, wiring diagrams, bar codes, and other similar products. Thermal dye sublimation printers are like thermal transfer printers except the inks on the donor ribbons are replaced by heat-activated dyes. The thermal head converts the dyes to gas spots that condense on the receiver.

Inkjet systems use jets of ink droplets driven by digital signals to print directly on paper or other substrates. The first plateless digital printing system was an inkjet imager introduced in 1970. Two types of inkjet systems are in use:

- Continuous inkjet (CIJ)
- Drop-on-demand (DOD)

Continuous inkjets are used for direct mail and transactional printing, digital color proofing, and variable information on-press color printing systems at speeds up to 1,000 feet/minute.

Drop-on-demand inkjets are divided into *Thermal, Piezo,* and *Solid Ink/Phase Change* digital printing systems.

Thermal inkjet uses heat and *piezo* inkjet uses pressure to create droplets of ink.

Solid ink begins as a solid and is melted to produce drops. Inkjet systems are rapidly gaining in use, especially since new inks have been developed with light- and water-fastness properties for printing on different substrates. There are also *large format* web-fed and flatbed printing systems used for producing displays, murals, outdoor exhibits, posters, and paneled billboards. Water-based (aqueous), solvent, and UV inks are used depending on the printer type. Early water-based inkjet inks used dyes; today many use pigments.

Press Configurations

Printing presses and digital printers are either sheetfed or roll-fed (also web-fed and continuous feed). Sheetfed presses are used for commercial printing where lightweight and heavyweight paper stocks can be easily changed. Roll-fed presses are used for printing longer runs on lighter-weight stocks for magazine, catalog, and newspaper publications.

Presses and printers are further categorized by the sheet size (40-inch presses can print eight pages on one side of the sheet at one time) and roll-fed presses use the width of the roll and the cut-off in defining size. Most publication roll-fed presses cut and fold the paper into units called signatures that contain 4 to 64 pages. Most packaging roll-fed presses are roll to roll.

The printed newspaper is facing many challenges—from electronic readers and distribution to blogs and mobile news access. As print circulation declines and page sizes shrink, newspaper printing is projected to move to digital printing (toner, inkjet, and other methods). These devices do not use plates that print many copies of the same content. Digital printers allow printing of individualized newspapers with information aggregated for one person. Journalism arose because of the printed newspaper and today extends into television, radio, and the web. But the printed newspaper will metamorphose from a mass-produced publication to one that is more personalized and the technology to produce it is at hand.

Frank J. Romano

See also Automation; Graphics; Layout; Magazine Design; Newspaper Design; Type and Typography

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PRIVACY

The concept of privacy has always been a bit of an outcast in American jurisprudence. The source and scope of a right of privacy has been the subject of debate in both the scholarly literature and in the courts since the late nineteenth century. Over the years, however, concerns about the collection and

dissemination of private information have caused lawmakers and courts to increase efforts to ensure individual privacy. These efforts sometimes come in conflict with the business and practice of journalism, and it appears likely that if compromise is not reached, lawmakers and courts will continue to attempt to place restrictions on journalistic practices. The law has changed and continues to change.

The Legal History of Privacy

Much of the controversy over the right to privacy arises from the fact that this right is not specifically enunciated in the Constitution, though it is implied in the Third Amendment prohibition against the quartering of soldiers in private homes and the Fourth Amendment prohibition against unreasonable searches and seizures. In addition, courts were slow to recognize that harm—mental harm in particular—could occur as a result of an invasion of privacy. Not until 1928 did the Supreme Court, in *Olmstead v. United States,* recognize that there may, indeed, be what Justice Louis Brandeis called a right "to be let alone."

The phrase, which, in fact, had been used some 40 years earlier in a treatise on tort law, caught on and was used in a number of Supreme Court cases through the years. In *Rowan v. U.S. Post Office Department* in 1970, for example, the Court in a junk-mail case involving pornographic material, held that "the right of every person to be let alone must be placed in the scales with the right of others to communicate." "The ancient concept that 'a man's home is his castle' into which 'not even the king may enter,'" the Court wrote, "has lost none of its vitality, and none of the recognized exceptions includes any right to communicate offensively with another." And, in one of its most controversial cases, *Roe v. Wade* (1973), the Court used the right of privacy as part of its rationale for providing women, in some circumstances, with the right to have abortions.

Invasion of privacy, therefore, is a relatively recent tort (civil wrong) in American jurisprudence. Philosophically it traces its origins to a law journal article that Louis Brandeis co-authored long before he joined the Supreme Court. Professor Samuel Warren was apparently impatient with the way the media covered the wedding of his daughter and recruited his colleague on the Harvard Law School faculty to help with the article. "The Right of Privacy" was published in 1890 in the *Harvard Law Review,* and advocated the same right to be left alone that Justice Brandeis would write about nearly 40 years later.

In the meantime, advancements in technology related to the collection and dissemination of information increased interest in the concept of protecting individual privacy. Concerns about how the use of the telephone and camera could invade an individual's privacy by making it easier to publicize private information increased with the development of telephoto lenses, listening devices, and video. With such developments, concerns about the "publishing" of private information became concerns about "publicizing" the information—that is, disseminating it to a large audience through the mass media.

The Body of Privacy Law

It wasn't until the mid-twentieth century, however, that some structure to the tort emerged, primarily thanks to the work of legal scholar William Prosser, the dean of the law school at the University of California at Berkeley. As a reporter for the *Restatement (Second) of Torts* (1977), a reference work for attorneys, and in an article in the *California Law Review,* Prosser proposed that "invasion of privacy" actually constituted four separate and distinct torts: appropriation, intrusion, the publication of private information, and false light invasion of privacy. Each protected specific rights that could be called privacy rights, and each had its own burden of proof and defenses.

Appropriation

Appropriation is the use of the name, likeness, or image of a person without permission for commercial gain. That is, three elements are necessary for a case to be made: (1) use of a likeness (visual or aural), (2) without permission, (3) for commercial gain. Clearly, the use of the image of a celebrity in an advertisement is appropriation, but the tort extends beyond such uses. One need not be a celebrity in order to bring an action. Indeed, a number of appropriation cases have been brought by individuals whose photographs were used without their permission in advertising.

Newsworthiness is generally considered a defense for news media when they are accused of appropriation. That is, if the use of a person's image is part of bona fide news or information reporting, the use is not considered to have been for commercial gain, even though the outlet is a for-profit business. Similarly, news media are allowed to use the images of individuals in order to promote their newsgathering and dissemination operations. That is, the media may appropriate the images of newsworthy individuals for the purposes of advertising their news products.

Intrusion

Intrusion is the physical invasion of a place where an individual has a reasonable expectation of privacy. Publication is not part of the burden of proof—the tort occurs with the physical invasion by use of recording devices, telephoto lenses or by trespassing or entering a place under false pretenses. Intrusion is not recognized by all states, but the interests at which the tort is aimed—that is, protecting individuals who have expectations of privacy—are protected through "peeping Tom" laws, laws prohibiting trespassing, and laws prohibiting the surreptitious taping or photographing of individuals. Such activities are intrusive and may be the subject of both criminal and civil actions, even if jurisdictions do not specifically recognize the tort of intrusion.

Private Information

The publication of private information is the classic invasion of privacy tort where the media are concerned. Publication of private information involves the widespread dissemination of information about an individual that was previously unknown and not subject to disclosure. For the tort to be successfully claimed, a plaintiff must prove (1) that there is publicity (2) about private facts (3) that are not of legitimate public interest and (4) would be considered highly offensive by a reasonable person.

"Publicity," for purposes of invasion of privacy, is not the same as "publication." Publicity means that the private material must be published to a large number of people. Simply reporting the private information to only a few would not qualify as invasion of privacy. In addition, the published information must have been private before the publicity made it widely known. Clearly, nothing that happens in public—on public streets, parks, stadiums or theaters, shopping centers, or in any other public places—can be considered private. In addition, nothing that can be seen from such public places is private. Events occurring on private property, for example, are not private if they can be witnessed by passersby or from otherwise public space. Information is also not private if it appears in public documents, even if few people knew of the information before the publicity. Publicizing something that is well known is insufficient—the information must genuinely be private before the publicity.

The fact that the information was private, however, does not necessarily provide sufficient grounds for a successful lawsuit. The information—or its dissemination—must also be highly offensive to a reasonable person. The standard is subjective, but neither the sensibilities of a highly sensitive nor of a highly calloused individual are considered. The information must be highly offensive to a reasonable person. A classic case is *Barber v. Time* (1942), in which *Time* magazine published a story about Dorothy Barber, who the magazine called the "starving glutton" because no matter how much she ate, she continued to lose weight. The magazine also published a picture of Barber, taken in her hospital bed without her permission. The court ruled that, while the press has the right to take photographs of people in public, that right does not extend to a hospital room where a patient does not give consent. The right to be let alone in such circumstances is not outweighed by the right of the press to take and use such pictures.

Newsworthiness is a defense for a private information lawsuit, because the plaintiff must prove that the private information is not of legitimate public interest. Two cases demonstrate how newsworthiness can trump the other elements of the private information tort. The 1982 case *Cape Publications v. Bridges* began when Hilda Bridges was abducted from her workplace by her estranged husband, taken to their former apartment, and held hostage. The husband forced her to disrobe, thinking her nudity would prevent her from attempting to escape. Eventually, the husband shot himself, and Bridges ran into the street as police

stormed the apartment. A picture of her, nude and distraught, was published by a local newspaper. The judge in her invasion of privacy suit expressed sympathy for her plight, and it was clear that the publication of the photos was highly offensive to a reasonable person, but the event was also newsworthy. "Just because the story and the photograph may be embarrassing or distressful, . . ." the judge ruled, "does not mean the newspaper cannot publish what is otherwise newsworthy."

Similarly, Oliver Sipple was unsuccessful in his invasion of privacy suit against the *San Francisco Chronicle*. Sipple had knocked away the gun hand of an attempted assassin of President Gerald Ford. The resulting publicity about the heroic act also included the news that Sipple was gay, a fact unknown to a number of his relatives. The court found Sipple's sexual orientation (known in San Francisco) newsworthy, dooming the invasion of privacy suit.

False Light

Offensiveness is also an element in the burden of proof for false light invasion of privacy. The false light tort is particularly problematic because of its resemblance to libel, that is, because its focus is on the publication of information about a person that is false. For that reason, some courts have ruled that the tort is no longer recognized in their jurisdictions. In order to prove false light invasion of privacy, a plaintiff is required to prove that the published material is not only false, but also is highly offensive to a reasonable person and was published with "actual malice," that is, with knowledge of falsity or with reckless disregard for the truth. A plaintiff is not required to prove that the published material is defamatory, however. Indeed, some successful lawsuits have been based on the publication of glowing descriptions of individuals who, nevertheless, found the reports highly embarrassing.

The key false light case is *Time, Inc. v. Hill*, which was decided by the Supreme Court in 1967. *Life* magazine published a story about the opening of a play based on the novel *The Desperate Hours*. As part of the story, the *Life* reporter recounted the experiences of members of the Hill family, who were held captive in their home by escaped convicts. The story did not defame the Hills, but they found it highly offensive because it misrepresented their experiences and their relationships with their captors. They sued for false light invasion of privacy and initially won. The Supreme Court, however, overturned the verdict, finding that plaintiffs bringing false light cases must prove actual malice, as defined by the Court in *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan*. The Hills chose not to continue and dropped the case (future President Richard M. Nixon was their attorney).

Beyond Invasion of Privacy

In recent years, however, privacy concerns have extended well beyond the four invasion of privacy torts. In an increasingly technological society, where information is becoming ever easier to access, citizens are becoming more concerned about their privacy, and governments—both state and federal—are responding. The federal Freedom of Information Act, for example, first adopted in 1966, has specific exemptions aimed at keeping personal information about individuals private. In 1974, Congress passed the Privacy Act, in part to supplement the FOIA and give government employees who possess documents more power to keep those documents private.

In addition, in 1994, Congress passed two laws aimed at keeping specific information private: the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (1994), called the "Buckley Amendment," which requires educational institutions to keep private certain information about their students; and the Driver's Privacy Protection Act, which limits access to information about persons who have driver's licenses.

As with other areas, the Internet has complicated the issue of privacy. More states are struggling with the issue of online availability of information that has previously been regarded as clearly open (though not so easily obtainable). It concerns lawmakers that information from divorce proceedings, for example, might be accessible by home computer; such information was always accessible, but only by visits to the courthouse. The so-called doctrine of practical obscurity was, because of the inconvenience involved, held to provide a degree of privacy protection. As computer technology breaks down such "obscurity," lawmakers are seeking other means of ensuring privacy.

Given changing technology, privacy concerns, therefore, are likely to continue to be a driving force for both state and federal lawmakers—and of concern to news media.

W. Wat Hopkins

See also First Amendment; Images, Ownership of; Juvenile Offenders, Coverage of; Libel; Self-Regulation; Supreme Court and Journalism

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Producers

Producers are the hidden "voice" of broadcast and especially television news, in local and network newsrooms. Though we rarely see their faces or hear their voices, they control virtually every word that is written in television news, and make the decisions that set the daily news agenda for local and national television and radio programming. Any broadcast or cable news program has been managed by at least one producer, and often many in different roles have shaped the final product.

When most people think about producers, they think about Hollywood film or Broadway theater producers. But while broadcast news producers are rarely involved with the finances or staffing of their programs, they are the key content people. News producers have their hands in every aspect of broadcast or cable news programs, from deciding what stories will be covered and how they will be presented, to the researching, reporting, and writing of those stories, which includes choosing graphics, video, and production elements. Producers also control timing of the newscast, and communicate with talent and production crews during the live presentation. Most broadcast or cable newsrooms today are managed from a "producer-centered" perspective, meaning the producers are the center of the decision-making process about what ends up on the air, or on any of the other distribution platforms those newsrooms now serve, including the Internet, and mobile devices.

Development

The modern dominance of the producing role in broadcast news can be traced back to early television network news programming in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Prior to television, most radio news was written and produced by the reporters and anchors who also delivered it. Two of the earliest network news programs were Edward R. Murrow's *See It Now* (1951–57) documentary series, and the weekday evening *Douglas Edwards and the News* (1948–62) on CBS. The names behind those news programs are almost as famous as the faces and voices viewers knew so well. Fred Friendly, who went on to (briefly) serve as CBS News president, was Murrow's producer and Don Hewitt, later the creator and executive producer (until 2004) of *60 Minutes,* was the creator and producer of the Douglas Edwards broadcast.

At the network (CBS, NBC, and ABC) level, producers such as Friendly and Hewitt had a great deal of influence over their broadcasts. They managed the content working closely with the anchors/hosts of the programs, but those anchors would by the 1960s have the final say on editorial decisions. In a practice begun by CBS's Walter Cronkite, anchors of the major broadcast network evening newscasts carry the title of "Managing Editor" which suggests their editorial power over news

content. At most local stations, however, the role of the news producer developed much later.

In early local television newsrooms, individual reporters and the assignment desk were the focal points for coverage decisions, and news anchors might more typically decide the order in which the stories would be broadcast. If there was a producer, that person was really not much more than an assistant to the anchor, helping with writing, distributing scripts, and maybe sitting in the control room during the live news program to help with timing. But most early producers in local television news had little editorial control or decision-making power.

The television viewing public got one of its first glimpses of this local producing position in the 1970 hit situation comedy, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*. Actress Mary Tyler Moore played Mary Richards, a single woman who worked in a Minneapolis television newsroom as an assistant producer. Her role as primarily the "Girl Friday" to the egotistical anchor, and the gruff news manager, wasn't that different from the one local television news producers were then playing in real newsrooms. During the seven years the award winning show was on the air, viewers saw Moore's character grow in responsibility and influence in the newsroom. By the late 1970s, the same thing was happening in local television newsrooms.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, technology was changing the complexity of television news and dramatically compressing story production time. The change from film to videotape cut processing time out of the production process, allowing for the appearance of more recent events in newscasts. The introduction of portable equipment that enabled live coverage allowed reporters to send news from the scene of a story or send videotape back for immediate broadcast. Whereas previously reporters and photographers would have to be back at the station by 4:00 p.m. for a 6:00 p.m. broadcast, now they didn't have to come back at all and could still be shooting a story at 5:30 p.m. that might lead the 6:00 p.m. broadcast. Improved means of generating graphics and better production technology added more production value and visual interest to the newscast.

In addition to rapid technological improvements, in the early 1980s local television stations, building on the attraction of news to viewers and advertisers, began adding more newscasts, expanding from a half-hour at six to an hour, and then 90 minutes in the late afternoon and early evening. They also expanded morning news, and added a half-hour at noon. No longer could one or two people write, produce, and anchor a newscast. There was a need to manage all the elements of multiple newscasts, especially during live transmission, and the manager of those elements became the local news producer. Assistants to the anchors, now full-fledged producers, also gained more control over the editorial content of the newscasts with the increased technological complexity and expansion of "live from the scene" reporting.

By the early 1990s, local television producers had as much influence over local newscasts as their network counterparts. Most station newsrooms were described as "producer-driven," clearly indicating the importance and power of the position. And development of the producing role helped to move women into more prominent positions in television news. As accurately portrayed in *The Mary Tyler Moore Show,* most of those assistants to the anchors, or assistant producers, were women. As the positions grew in importance and power, so did the role of women in television newsrooms. A 1990 survey of television news employees found two-thirds of the producers were women. And as television newsrooms became "producer-driven," the career track to upper level news management shifted from on-air reporting and/or anchoring to the vital behind-the-scenes producing role.

Producer Types

There are four types of producers in television (and some larger radio station) news and their roles range from overseeing content and production of an individual story, to management of an entire newscast, to control over multiple newscasts.

Field Producer

A field producer works very much like a reporter, but is not the face or voice of the story on the air. At most television stations, reporters are their own field producers. They do the research, interviews, writing, and sometimes technical video and/or sound editing of their stories. In larger local stations and at the network level, a field producer

will often do much of the work putting a story together, including research, setting up interviews, writing, and overseeing final editing. A reporter or anchor will then record the script and perhaps go out into the field and conduct interviews that the field producer sets up, as well as do a stand-up (the part of the story where the reporter talks on camera). Field producers are often used for special reports, such as consumer or health stories; investigative reports; and in-depth stories, such as the segments of a news magazine program like *60 Minutes* or *20/20*. They may oversee more than just a single story when there is breaking news or a major event. In that case, much of the coverage of the story will be live from the story scene, so a field producer, or multiple field producers, will supervise coverage from the site such as candidate headquarters on election night or the site of a terrorist attack or natural disaster.

The viewing public was able to see what a field producer does in the 1987 movie *Broadcast News,* in which Holly Hunter played a network field producer who eventually became the supervising producer for an evening news broadcast.

Line or Show Producer

Line or show producer is the position most typically thought of when the title "producer" is used. The line producer is in charge of an entire newscast or news program, or of one segment, such as weather or sports. Line producers manage every part of the newscast and are responsible for everything from the choice and look of the lead story to the spelling of an individual name or location graphic used in that story. They decide what stories will go into their newscasts, in what order those stories will air, how long and in what format the stories will be, which stories will be promoted, and which will be live from the field. Line producers have to write many of the stories in their newscast, decide which stories will use graphics and what those will look like, and communicate every detail of the newscast with reporters, anchors, video/audio editors, graphics artists, production crews, and news managers. While the newscast is on the air live, the line producer has to time the program to make sure it ends on schedule. The line producer is also communicating with live locations in the field, with the anchors, and with the director of the program, to make sure everything is going on the air correctly. Because of their experience in the control room during live newscasts, line producers typically call the shots during live breaking news coverage. With no scripts and no rundowns to guide what goes on the air, the line producer will have to decide on the fly what comes next and communicate that to everyone as it is broadcast. There's nothing more stressful for a producer than live, breaking news producing, but many will tell you, there's also nothing more exciting. The movie *Broadcast News* also gave viewers a relatively realistic view of breaking news producing during the scenes of network coverage of a crisis in the Middle East.

Executive Producer

The executive producer manages other producers and newscasts. The executive producer might have responsibility for overseeing all newscasts of a local station; a group of newscasts, such as the morning and noon news or the early evening newscasts; or perhaps just one newscast. Larger stations are likely to employ multiple executive producers, while smaller stations may only have one. At the network level, each news program has its own executive producer

The executive producer approves the producer's line-up of stories, reviews scripts, and works with reporters on how their stories are developing as well as approving their scripts. The executive producer is the "big picture" person who helps to make sure that each news program follows the overall philosophy toward news and the news audience of the station or network. This is a management position which helps determine the strategic direction of the newsroom and implements that strategy in individual programs. The executive producer also is typically the person who will lead the planning for special event coverage, such as on election night.

Special Projects Producer

This type of producer does not work on daily news programs, but as the name implies, works on special projects that may air during newscasts. A special projects producer will likely oversee feature areas such as health and consumer affairs, investigative reports, and multipart stories produced most

often during sweep periods when local audiences are counted to determine what advertisers will pay. Special projects are usually produced ahead of time and are highly promoted to draw in viewers. The special projects producer may actually field produce segments or stories, or simply supervise the work of other producers and/or reporters.

At the national news level, the cable or broadcast networks will have several producers in each of these categories, for each news program produced. Such credits may include Washington or New York producers, senior producer, supervising producer, foreign producer, assistant producer, segment producer, etc. Most of those titles fit into one of the categories described here, depending on what the producer's responsibilities are.

Producing Pioneers

While many notable producers could be recognized, the following list presents a few who helped define early network television news producing.

Roone Arledge (1931–2002)

Arledge is often most closely associated with his pioneering work in sports broadcasting. It was his success with producing sports programming that led to his taking over the news division for ABC and revitalizing that network's evening news program—taking it from a struggling last place to a ratings winner. An idea for a show called *For Men Only,* modeled after *Playboy* magazine, got Arledge started in network television and on the road to creating a sports and news dynasty. While *For Men Only* never actually aired, the originality of the concept caught the eye of an ABC executive who was about to take the fledgling network into sports programming. In 1960, producing his first college football game, Arledge broke the boundaries between the camera and the sporting event, taking viewers down on the field. From there he created and produced *Wide World of Sports, Monday Night Football,* and ten ABC Olympic broadcasts.

His success with sports led ABC to name him president of the struggling news division (while retaining the sports division) in 1977. Arledge created *20/20* and then reshaped the evening news broadcast to create *ABC World News Tonight,* using many of the same flashy graphics and production techniques he had pioneered in *Wide World of Sports*. He also took the anchors out of New York, and put one in Chicago and one in London, in addition to a third anchor in Washington, though the format did not last long. In 1979 Arledge changed late night television by initiating the series of special reports on the Iranian hostage crisis that became *Nightline*. He also helped develop a strong cast of on-air personnel and behind-the-scenes producers. Arledge stepped down as president of ABC Sports in 1986 but remained president of the news division until his retirement in 1998.

Reuven Frank (1920–2006)

Frank is often credited with bringing television out of radio's shadow by always stressing the pictures. He wrote in a famous 16-page memorandum on his creation, *The Huntley-Brinkley Report,* that "Pictures are the point of television reporting." Frank started his news career as a reporter for the *Newark Evening News* in New Jersey. In 1950 he moved to NBC News and in 1956 he teamed Chet Huntley, broadcasting from New York, with David Brinkley, broadcasting in Washington, to create the network's first news superstars. *The Huntley-Brinkley Report* dominated network television evening news ratings well into the 1960s. Frank's memorandum on the format and look of the newscast was detailed even down to camera angles, and included guidelines for the visual storytelling techniques he believed were the heart and soul of television. The memorandum became a blueprint for television newscasts everywhere. Frank also produced documentaries, including the 1962 Emmy award winning, *The Tunnel,* which detailed the escape of Germans through a tunnel under the Berlin Wall. Frank was president of NBC News for two terms, from 1968 to 1972 and 1982 to 1984.

Fred Friendly (1915–98)

Friendly often falls behind Edward R. Murrow's shadow, but he was truly a pioneer in his own right in producing documentary news programming, first for radio and then for television. He started his news career in radio in the 1930s at a station in Rhode Island. In the late 1940s he began his first producing project with Murrow, developing

historical news event record albums for Columbia Records. He experimented with the use of audiotape from radio news coverage in these albums, and when he did not have the actual tape from the news report, he would re-create the event on tape (which to this day causes headaches for historians because he didn't identify which was real and which was re-created). Friendly also did a stint with NBC radio, producing a news-oriented quiz show, and a 1950 radio series called *The Quick and the Dead* on the atomic bomb which brought together broadcast and print news reporters and the star power of comedian Bob Hope as host. That award winning series led to his full-time job at CBS where he worked with Murrow to produce the CBS Radio documentary series *Hear It Now,* which moved to TV as *See It Now* in 1951, becoming one of the first regularly scheduled television documentary series. A 1954 *See It Now* program critiquing Senator Joseph McCarthy is often credited with helping end the senator's anticommunism crusade and was portrayed in the 2005 movie *Good Night and Good Luck*.

Friendly continued his groundbreaking work in news documentary with *CBS Reports*. As *See It Now* and the *CBS Reports* programs increasingly moved out of the studio and into the field, Friendly incorporated video and natural sound (the sounds other than dialogue heard at a particular scene, such as the crowd cheering at a sporting event, or trees rustling in the wind) in ways that moved television news production toward maximizing what the medium could do best. In 1966 Friendly, who had only shortly before become president of the CBS News Division, resigned in protest when the network cancelled live coverage of Senate hearings on the Vietnam War. After leaving CBS, Friendly was instrumental in helping to get public television and the PBS network established, and he taught broadcast journalism at Columbia University.

Don Hewitt (1922–2009)

Although Hewitt was trained as a journalist and worked the first five years of his career at the *New York Herald Tribune,* when he came to CBS in 1948, he was as involved with the production side of news as he was with content. He was the producer and director for the network's evening newscast for 14 years. He also directed Murrow's *See It Now* program and the first televised presidential debates between Nixon and Kennedy in 1960. As the executive producer for the *CBS Evening News with Walter Cronkite,* Hewitt helped create "the most trusted man in America." He was instrumental in developing many aspects of network evening news. But he is best known for creating the first television news magazine program—and the longest-running prime-time broadcast program—*60 Minutes,* in 1968. Hewitt remained executive producer of *60 Minutes* with a very tight control over story content until he retired in 2004 at age 81.

Al Primo (1938–)

Primo worked in the early days of local television news, and took station producing to a new level with the creation of the first format type exclusively designed for local television news. Primo debuted what he called *Eyewitness News* in 1959 in Cleveland and then took it to Philadelphia and New York, successfully beating the competition in both cities. The format made heavy use of reporters as "eyewitnesses" for the anchor in the studio and the viewer at home. Perhaps less impressively, Primo is also credited with creating "happy talk," in which the studio anchors chat about stories with weather and sports anchors. The *Eyewitness News* format spread across the country and internationally, eventually being used by more than 150 stations in the United States and in Mexico, Canada, Japan, and Australia. A handful of U.S. stations still use the *Eyewitness News* name. The success of the format also led to the development in 1965 of a rival format, *Action News,* which incorporated more short stories and video or some visual element for each story. *Action News* is also still in use by a few stations.

Concerns

As journalism moves through the incredible technological and content changes of the early twenty-first century, several concerns have specifically targeted television news producers. The age and experience level of news producers has been a worry for years, and it continues to be a problem. Good news producers in radio or television are difficult to find and keep at stations and networks. The job is very demanding and stressful, requiring

someone with great writing skills, quick decision-making ability, solid news judgment, creativity, people management skills, and the ability to work well despite deadline pressure. Because of the high stress level, producing tends to be a job for younger people, though one with a high burnout rate. There is a widening gap, especially in local television newsrooms, in age and experience between producers who control news programs, and the anchors and reporters who appear on those programs. A 2001 survey of local television news producers, anchors, reporters, and news managers found that more than 60 percent of anchors had ten-plus years of experience, but only 20 percent of producers had that many years in the news business. News managers and anchors express frustration about the inability to hire producers who not only possess journalism experience but who also have more general life experience, which can assist their daily news story judgment calls. Young producers are less likely to know the communities in which they broadcast, have historical context for stories, or relate easily to the typically much older audience for news. One anchor in the survey said, "Children are producing our newscasts."

Related to both age and experience is a concern over flash versus substance. Younger producers, raised with MTV, video games, and digital media, are increasingly pressured to produce television newscasts that will attract younger viewers like themselves—the audiences of most interest to advertisers. As technology continues to make graphics, music, and other production tools that are easier to use and less expensive, producers focus more on adding movement and sound to their news programs than on story content. A choice between a celebrity story and one on economic trends may land on the side of entertainment rather than journalism. In addition, pressure to be the first with breaking news tends to limit journalism judgment. A television news producer today is often pushed to change a newscast rundown (one that he/she may have worked all day crafting) to find airtime for an accident or crime story that breaks before or even during the newscast. Too often, substantial stories are dropped to accommodate what may be a minor but visually exciting story that just happens to break as the newscast goes to air. This pressure to have more live and breaking news forces producers to continually shuffle their newscasts and communicate with live crews and make instant decisions, with little time for the careful thought that went into the original newscast rundown.

Finally, television news producers are being asked to do more than ever before. The expansion of broadcast content to the web, cell phones, MP3 players, and PDAs (and whatever comes next) has put extraordinary pressure on producers. They are often the ones responsible for making sure their news content is effectively distributed to these multiple platforms.

Conclusion

Broadcast news producers are the people most directly responsible for the news heard on television, cable, radio, and increasingly, many websites. Producing is a high power, high stress job best suited to those who thrive under deadline pressure, who like to be in control, and who can juggle multiple tasks at a time. The position developed from little more than an assistant "gopher" when broadcast news began with very simple productions, to the person at the center of the far more complex news presentations of today.

Mary T. Rogus

See also ABC News; Anchors, Television; Audience Research Companies; Cable News; CBS News; Electronic News Gathering; Evening News, Television; Fox News; NBC News; Newscasters, Radio; Public Radio Journalism; Public Television Journalism; Reporters, Radio; Reporters, Television; Satellite News Gathering; Television News Magazines

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PROFESSIONALISM

Issues of "professionalism" in journalism have been the focus of commentary and research in the United States for a century. Central to the debate are differing views on what the concept means; whether it is an ideological smokescreen or a measurable empirical reality; and, more to the point, whether professionalism is or should be integral to the work of processing and disseminating news. Since the 1960s, American approaches to the study of journalistic professionalism have grown in sophistication along with the increasing complexity of news media themselves. As governments' role in media recedes and commercialism advances in both industrial nations and developing countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, the concept has gained salience worldwide.

Applied to virtually any line of work, professionalism implies doing something full-time for a living, with serious structured expectations, as opposed to something done for diversion or fun or part-time. With somewhat more gravitas, professionalism carries overtones of a mission, career, or "calling" as contrasted with a mere "job." Simply construed, then, a professional journalist is someone who covers news for a living, rather than as a hobby or on the side. The more significant question is whether journalism constitutes a profession as opposed to simply being an occupation or trade. Before that question can be addressed, however, we should examine how professionalism in the context of journalism is defined and maintained.

Origins

The traditional or "original" professions are widely recognized to be medicine and law with the clergy and university teaching sometimes added. The first two historically have been distinguished by long periods of specialized education, self-regulation of membership and boundaries, and an ethos of public service. Of this trinity of attributes, journalism generally claims only one—fulfillment of a public mission. While college journalism programs abound, being a journalist in the United States requires neither degree nor license. Unlike the American Medical Association, the American Bar Association, or testing and certification agencies across a spectrum of other fields, no organization wields such clout for journalists.

Nevertheless, the concept of professionalism has proved elastic enough to encompass many sorts of work besides medicine, law, preaching, and teaching, especially in its applications to twentieth- to twenty-first-century occupations. Ways of assessing and studying professionalism are likewise pliable, with diverse intellectual approaches producing varying interpretations. Building on a base of descriptive studies enumerating professional traits, historians have focused on monopoly, elitism, and exclusion as dynamics in the emergence of professions, while sociologists have construed professions as a socially organized method, grounded in political economy, for organizing and controlling work. Underlying these disparate academic perspectives, however, is a common interest in understanding institutional arrangements for the use of expertise. As a team of scholars from education and management who study socially beneficial work observe: "Being a professional involves a bargain between a person and the community. People agree to provide needed services; the community agrees to compensate them for the services and recognize their right to perform those" (Gardner et al. 2001, 16).

In the United States, the idea of journalism as a profession emerged in late-nineteenth-century discourse surrounding the growth of the mass-market press, and with it the idea of "objective" news coverage separate from partisan politics that would appeal to broad audiences. By this time, journalists were shedding the moniker of "ink-stained wretches" closely associated with the printing trades and

acquiring distinct roles in the processing of news. Further, they no longer were tied to the promotion of political party lines as characterized newspapers of the preceding era. Skill, accuracy, fairness, and integrity came to be seen as synonymous with good business for the modern mainstream press. This was even the case with William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer, pioneers of sensationalism as a marketing device in what became known as "yellow journalism." Pulitzer was later the chief benefactor of Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism, key to his vision for legitimizing the practice of journalism and an early model for comprehensive university journalism education.

Eliot Friedson sees professionals as agents holding "formal knowledge," with an ever-lengthening roster of occupations making claims to specialized expertise as a logical outgrowth of the explosion of knowledge. By virtue of the substantive nature of their work, and fortified by the formalization of their practice, journalists have understandable claim to a knowledge domain (and thus a profession) that figures across cultures. Journalists attain fitness for their work through various combinations of apprenticeship, education, and socialization. They become versed in techniques for trafficking in information that display both commonalities and differences across cultures.

Research

An online search covering 1960 through mid-2007 of the database ComAbstracts, (which inventories literature in journalism, media studies, and related fields) found 391 items with variations of the term "profession*" (i.e., professions, professional, professionalism) in the title; and a *Sociological Abstracts* search for use of both "profession*" and "journalis*" (i.e., journalism, journalist) as descriptors produces 125 citations ranging back to 1955.

Professionalism in news work is often discussed in terms of ethics and codes of conduct. Journalistic professionalism has been explained as an adjunct to commercial strategies, and is criticized as a powerful ideology justifying convenient routines and masking support of the status quo. Some observers link professionalism with neutrality and provision of impartial information; others associate it with the "watchdog" principle, advocacy, and alternative journalism.

Identifying typical attributes or traits associated with professionalism that might apply to journalism is a starting point for many studies. Commonly mentioned professional attributes adapted to news work have included (a) specialized knowledge and/or techniques, evidenced in training and education programs; (b) self-regulation, evidenced in development of standards and codes and occupational associations; (c) emphasis on public service as opposed to economic gain; (d) an occupational culture that entails common values, norms, and symbols; (e) a career orientation to this particular line of work; (f) a work process involving discretion over process and outcomes; and (g) broad latitude, authority, or autonomy to carry out work. Survey research soliciting journalists' reports of their views on such traits has been the most influential approach to measuring journalistic professionalism, spawning a much-replicated "professional orientation" scale (developed by mass communications researchers Jack McLeod and Searle Hawley) and a well-known taxonomy of journalistic roles identifying "interpretative," "disseminator," "adversarial" and "populist mobilizer" types (Johnstone, Slawski, and Bowman).

Some scholars have criticized trait-centered analyses of journalists based on self-reports as both methodologically and theoretically weak, yet the approach still holds sway in the United States and comparative studies. When it comes to gauging professionalism, these studies hinge on a tautology—that is, evidence of purported traits of professionalism is said to manifest professional activity. Nevertheless, their findings are valuable as descriptive markers of circumstances, methods, and standards of practice, and replicated studies reveal intriguing comparisons and contrasts among countries as well as document change over time.

In the U.S. setting, the most ambitious effort is Weaver and colleagues' series of surveys tracking employment conditions and work attitudes among individuals covering general news. This ongoing program of research has created an evolving profile of American journalists over the last quarter of the twentieth century, with professionalism a central theme. In a 2002 survey of nearly 1,500 news workers Weaver et al. found "increased professionalism" measured by characteristics such as proportion of college graduates, levels of compensation and job satisfaction, and endorsement of

goals of journalistic enterprise, including analysis of complex problems and keeping watch on government and business.

In another series of books focusing on specific subsets of journalists, Stephen Hess of the Brookings Institute has provided valuable descriptive studies of U.S. foreign correspondents abroad and international correspondents in the United States. A considerable body of alternative scholarship draws on the sociology of work and occupations to understand journalists in social, economic, and political contexts. This research hinges on power relations, examining individual and collective control of work vis-à-vis employing organizations, other kindred occupations, clients, or governments. Underlying this approach is the conviction that professionalism cannot be gauged by journalists' own descriptions of their work or stated aspirations (i.e., what journalists say they do, or say they would like to do, are unreliable measures); rather, possibilities for professionalism emerge from organizational structures and are made evident in practice.

These studies often use ethnographies of news production; enduring examples include the work of Roshco, Tuchman, and Fishman. Analysis tends to focus on the influence of external stakeholders, such as clients and sponsors, to the systemic imperatives of political economy. From this perspective, the crucial dimensions of professionalism become control and allocation of resources for journalistic work; regulatory frameworks mediating among spheres of journalism, politics, and business; and public acceptance of journalists' ideological claims to exclusive qualification for the job of gathering and delivering the news.

To some scholars, journalistic professionalism operates largely as an ideological discourse, employing occupational myths as crucial props of legitimacy that serve the interests of employers as much as practitioners. Moreover, the romantic vision of the crusading journalist becomes increasingly important to this shared discourse even as the work itself may be growing more routine and constrained.

The Employment Paradox

The maintenance of relatively independent conditions of employment, including self-employment (as often is the case in the fields of medicine and law) or distance from power centers (some clergy), was an important element of the original professions. This independence attenuated through the twentieth century, with professionals increasingly operating within bureaucratic workplaces, and self-employment more the exception than the norm even for lawyers and physicians. The study of professionals employed by organizations has particular relevance to journalists, who usually work for media organizations rather than directly for clients—members of the public—they purport to serve. (Even self-employed freelancers are beholden to media organizations for payment.)

Whether dependence on employers for income necessarily erodes professional prestige and powers is a matter of dispute. Friedson, a leading authority on contemporary professionalism, says not, claiming the more critical issue is the retention of latitude for decision-making related to delivery of services. Professionals working for organizations still possess technical autonomy or the right to apply discretion and judgment in the conduct of their jobs, and in this sense have greater freedom and independence than conventional workers. At the same time, management exercises direction and sets limits via its power to allocate resources.

The fact that professionals can exercise control over the conduct of their duties while lacking control over the economy of the employing organization is the paradox of employed professionals. In journalism this paradox may produce especially sharp contradictions. American media critics and scholars have long decried the dangers that business interests pose to independent news coverage; and in an era of conglomerate media, even those who see good journalism as good business view market pressures as inimical to professionalism. While news outlets and their employees may strive for journalistic excellence, advertisers and stockholders are more concerned with access to audiences and economic return, not journalistic content. As Gardner et al. note, "Success in the business of journalism, unlike other fields, often means intentionally alienating those who pay for your services" (2001, 179).

Critical studies documenting how bottom-line pressures can override occupational accountability concern issues of journalistic professionalism in an era of media consolidation, shrinking news budgets, and the blurring of news and entertainment. Yet this literature also suggests an emergence of

vocational solidarity around assertions of professional identity among U.S. journalists. Even as journalists have seen steady erosion of control over the terms and conditions of their work, they offer an emphatic vision for the *content* of that work, expressed through shared values and objectives.

This is perhaps most evident in studies that identify key elements of professional journalism from surveys as well as from discussions with practitioners. Foremost among these are an obligation to the truth and allegiance to the public interest; other requisites include verification, comprehensiveness, and proportion; serving as a watchdog on power; provision of a public forum; and independence from subjects and sources. From this perspective, journalistic professionalism is far more than demonstration of externally measurable traits, and also more than job autonomy; it becomes a matter of individual conscience as well as collective mission and accumulated practice. The journalist who does "good work," as a team led by Harvard educator Howard Gardner calls it, "internalizes commitment at the deepest intrapersonal level, and the best journalists have internal moral codes that help them resist illegitimate pressures and remain focused on the mission of informing the public in a truthful and comprehensive manner." Moral consciousness is the ultimate bulwark against potent threats to realization of journalism's professional calling, from government secrecy to bottom-line pressures.

International Relevance

Professionalism is usually context-dependent, but that observation is far from a given in studies of journalists. Most comparative research on journalistic professionalism follows outmoded American templates. Growing interest in journalists in developing nations, post-Soviet states, and other systems undergoing change from centrally planned to market-driven economies is just beginning to produce culturally sensitive research on professionalism.

In China, for instance, intricacies of history and philosophy, complexities introduced by commercialization and globalization in the transition to a market-oriented economy, and ambiguities of translation and other factors militate against adaptation of Western concepts. Yet the concept of professionalism remains compelling to scholars and Chinese journalists. Researchers find that evidence of professionalism in Chinese journalism is on the rise, and that professional journalism has emerged as a counterpart to the party journalism or propaganda paradigm.

Journalism in transitional societies often exhibits tendencies associated with professionalism, including the assertion of claims to specialized knowledge, expansion of formal training programs, increased association affiliations, and emphasis on a public service mission. The growth of professional aspirations, such as desire for greater editorial autonomy, responsiveness to the public, emphasis on critical reporting, and pursuit of such values as accuracy and truthfulness, has been a consistent research finding since World War II. In much of the world, official licensing of journalists—either by government or by sanctioned agencies—is the norm; the United States, with its First Amendment stricture against any government control of journalists, is an outlier. Credentialing of journalists raises intriguing questions for professionalism: Is such a system a bulwark for professionalism as guarantor of appropriate expertise and ethical consciousness? Or does it further professionalism in the negative sense of raising barriers to entry and preserving privilege for an existing group? From the U.S. perspective, a centralized, uniform system of licensing equips the state with potential for monitoring journalists and discouraging nonsanctioned expression. At the same time, in providing journalists with recognition of social standing and expertise along with quality assurance, it may be an instrument of co-option as much as a mechanism of control.

Where deployment of journalistic expertise as an adjunct of political authority is giving way to journalism as a branch of knowledge production, changes in power relations may be more significant than conventional markers of professionalism, but also are harder to discern. For journalists, this means escaping constraints imposed by media or government authorities and acquiring greater leverage in dealings with sources and audiences.

Meanwhile, Western and international media watchdog organizations tracking "press freedom" around the world provide a useful prism for gauging advances in journalistic professionalism. Organizations such as Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, the Paris-based Reporters Without Borders and the U.S. Committee to Protect

Journalists all offer regular reports on social, political, legal, and extralegal treatment of journalists that offer both active examples of journalistic enterprise and investigative zeal and, more often, implied evidence in the form of government harassment or suppression. These organizations are most concerned with government limits on professionalism, rather than market constraints. Indeed, some analysts see a clear link between crusading reporting and market forces compelling media outlets to compete for audiences, with journalists acting "professionally" to help translate popular resentment and social demands into significant pressures on the state. However, scholars of journalism in the Soviet Union, the former Soviet bloc states, and China are beginning to examine the potential for commercialism to undermine professionalism, a stream of research likely to converge with similar concerns in the U.S. context.

Challenges of Newer Media

New technologies, combined with cost-cutting imperatives, have posed mounting challenges to journalistic professionalism. Efforts to extract more content from newsrooms without increasing staff began in the 1970s, with computerization that eliminated typesetters and proofreaders, and continued with downsizing and buyouts. In the Internet era, the impetus to squeeze more out of the same number of people now extends across multiple platforms. Reporters are expected to produce numerous versions of reports—for example, for newspaper, radio, television, and/or the web. With the positive spin of news managers, journalists now have more opportunities than ever to realize their professional skills. To critics, however, the multiskilling facilitated by digital technology accentuates a process of de-professionalizing of journalism that already was well underway.

The rise of multimedia and computer-mediated communications has generated new debates about who is entitled to practice journalism. The ease with which the Internet enables people to disseminate information as well as misinformation, to air measured opinions along with inflammatory ideas, to propound with speed and harangue at length, has inspired impassioned arguments both defending and decrying the conventional roles of "mainstream" journalists. Influential observers continue to maintain a sharp distinction between amateur web scribes and bona fide journalists, even as proponents of cyberspace democracy proclaim that anyone and everyone can be a gatherer and purveyor of news.

Nicholas Lemann, dean of the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism, is among the skeptics of "citizen journalism"—the idea that anybody can use modern technology to create original media content as well as to fact-check and comment on content produced by others. In a much-discussed August 2006 *New Yorker* article, Lemann critiqued citizen journalism as lacking the authority and discipline of traditional journalism. His colleague Samuel Freedman is even harsher: In a 2006 interview with the CBS News blog "Public Eye," he calls citizen journalism "part of a larger attempt to degrade, even to disenfranchise journalism as practiced by trained professionals," and adds that citizen journalism deals mainly in "raw material, generated by amateurs, that a trained, skilled journalist should know how to weigh, analyze, describe, and explain."

The most enthusiastic advocates of citizen journalism argue that "the people" in aggregate know more than the professionals. The more prevalent position is that citizen journalism augments or supplements conventional journalism rather than supplanting it. At the same time, conventional media organizations are making increasing use of contributions from readers, viewers, and listeners to feed the infinite appetite of websites; appealing to grassroots impulses and populist sentiments, it turns out, is a good way to obtain media content without paying the creators.

Free market enthusiasts offer a different sort of populist take on the new media environment, represented by federal appeals court judge and prolific commentator Richard A. Posner. In a 2005 *New York Times Book Review* essay on trends in American journalism, he asserts that critics and defenders of the news industry alike view journalism as "a profession rather than just a trade." This means, he continues, "that journalists and their employers must not allow profit considerations to dominate, but must acknowledge an ethical duty to report the news accurately, soberly, without bias. . . ." They also agree, he says, that the ostensible purpose of news is to inform a responsible citizenry. Yet Posner implies that personal conviction

and commitment to professional ideals may be irrelevant to journalism in a market system, and proposes that the market has played a trick on the idealists. Increased competition in the news industry has failed to produce more competence and civic engagement "because these are not the goods that most people are seeking from the news media," he writes; instead, bottom-line pressures have produced greater sensationalism. At the same time, he suggests that consumers with genuine interest in public affairs have richer fare than ever before. The market, in Posner's reading, puts "proud professionals" in their place.

Conclusion

While the term *professional journalist* has entered the popular lexicon, its meaning remains unclear, its applicability across cultures insufficiently scrutinized, and its future subject to the vicissitudes of social, cultural, political, and technological change. Positive conceptions of professionalism as a collection of standards and practices developed to ensure quality and promote a public service mission have failed to prevail over negative conceptions of professionalism as a project of self-interested occupational security. News practitioners are under increasing commercial pressure to produce more with fewer resources, for organizations whose main loyalties are to stockholders and advertisers, rather than to the broad public journalists purport to serve. New technologies, meanwhile, have produced grassroots media movements that challenge professional claims to exclusive qualification for gathering, interpreting, and presenting the news.

Judy Polumbaum

See also Citizen Journalism; Credibility; Criticism of Journalism; Employment; Ethics; Labor Unions; Media Accountability Systems; News Councils; Newsroom Culture; News Values; Objectivity; Self-Regulation; Theories of Journalism

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Public Broadcasting Service

The Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) is a nonprofit media enterprise serving more than 350 noncommercial television stations in the United States and its territories. It was designed in the late 1960s as an alternative to the commercial network-dominated television system that largely defined American broadcasting. As an alternative, it would provide more public affairs, cultural, and educational programming than advertiser-supported stations were offering.

More specifically, its role is to oversee program acquisition, distribution, and promotion for its

member television stations. PBS is also responsible for providing educational services, developing new media ventures, encouraging technology development, and seeking funds for its member stations. With an estimated reach of over 70 million people per week via broadcast and online content, PBS and its member stations are known for their educational children's programs (e.g., *Sesame Street, Mister Rogers' Neighborhood, Arthur*), public affairs and news programs (e.g., *The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer, Frontline, Charlie Rose, Nightly Business Report*), science programs (e.g., *Nova, Scientific American Frontiers*), history programs (e.g., *American Experience*), and documentaries.

Two common misconceptions about the PBS model must be clarified. First, PBS is less a formal network than the commercial television networks (e.g., ABC, CBS, NBC). Rather, it operates as a national "service" that acquires and distributes programs for PBS member stations. These member stations are often compared to network affiliates that air commercial television; however, whereas network affiliates trade local advertising space in exchange for network programs, PBS member stations pay sizable fees for the shows acquired and distributed by PBS. Because each PBS member station pays fees to air specific programs, and has relative autonomy over their schedule, programs on public television often vary depending on the market. Yet, member stations do not have complete control over their schedule. In 1995, PBS instituted "common carriage" guidelines which require most member stations to air the same (or similar) primetime schedules. For example, both *Frontline* and *The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer* are common carriage programs. These common carriage guidelines were established to give PBS programs more national exposure, and thereby guarantee national exposure to corporate sponsors. However, these guidelines have at times been a source of tension, as member stations aim to preserve their local flavor while PBS seeks to promote a national image and program lineup—like a network.

Second, unlike the traditional broadcast television model, PBS does not produce programming. Instead, PBS funds, in part, the creation and/or acquisition of programs from several sources, including major public television stations (e.g., WBGH-Boston; WNET-New York), co-productions between public stations and independent producers, external producers (e.g., Sesame Workshop; Ken Burns), and other sources from around the world. The benefit of this model is that it maintains the producers' creative integrity by allowing them editorial control over their work. PBS then distributes a wide array of programs to its member stations through its satellite program distribution system, the National Programming Service (NPS). Most member stations create their lineup by airing national programs offered by NPS as well as locally produced programs. Ideally, such an arrangement allows for a more diverse body of programming.

Origin

On November 7, 1967, the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 was signed by President Lyndon Johnson (1963–69). This act declared that

> it is in the public interest to encourage the growth and development of public radio and television broadcasting, including the use of such media for instructional, educational, and cultural purposes; . . . public television and radio stations and public telecommunications services constitute valuable local community resources for utilizing electronic media to address national concerns and solve local problems through community programs and outreach programs.

The act established a new Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) as a private entity responsible for funneling federal funds to public radio and television. CPB was not allowed to operate the programming system (the idea was to separate government funding from program decision making), and thus CPB formed PBS in 1969 to undertake that process for television.

CPB's creation of PBS was an innovative addition to the American media landscape at a time when commercial television was dominated by three major networks. When it was created, advocates believed that PBS would become a valuable alternative to commercial program fare by introducing educational, informative, and entertaining programs not found on commercial networks. In short, the goal of the new public broadcasting system, according to the U.S. Congress's Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, was to foster development of programming that involved "creative

risks" and that addressed the "needs of unserved and underserved audiences."

Funding Controversy

From the early days of PBS, supporters sought a federal commitment to long-term, stable funding through the CPB. At the insistence of Congress, which did not want to lose control over the new entity that used federal funds, the 1967 law required CPB to apply for appropriations annually just as if it was a federal agency. Critics argued this placed government funding too close to programming, a dangerous precedent. But at various times the public broadcasting system has been a prime target for a long line of budgetary threats and political attacks (usually conservative-led).

Public broadcasting was first threatened in 1972 when President Richard Nixon (1969–74) vetoed CPB funding, largely due to his perception of public television programs as flagrantly anti-administration and elitist. After he left office, Congress passed and President Gerald Ford (1974–77) agreed to a system whereby funding is provided for a three-year period, allowing the system to do better planning. CPB still goes to the Hill every year, but they are seeking funding for three years out, not the next year.

Yet the problem of political support for steady system funding arises again and again. During the administration of President Ronald Reagan (1981–89), attacks against public broadcasting sought to phase out federal support as a part of a campaign to reinforce marketplace ideology in the public sector. Faced with yet another budget shortfall, Congress succeeded in rescinding some system advance funding, demonstrating the weakness of the system designed as a political "heat shield" after Nixon's earlier attack. Yet the question of whether—and how much—federal funding to grant each year continually reappears. Only a minority in Congress supports cuts to funding because local public stations enjoy widespread support from voters. Given limited and often threatened federal funding levels, PBS and its member stations have increasingly sought additional means of financial support. As a result, PBS has become increasingly dependent on donations from "Viewers Like You" and corporate sponsorship known as program "underwriting."

Dependence on these two means of funding has stirred debate among critics. By emphasizing the need to secure viewer donations, some critics argue that the need to attract upscale viewers has resulted in an overemphasis on highbrow niche programs (e.g., symphonic music programs, British drama, and documentaries) at the expense of a wider range of programs to serve a broad public audience. The reliance on viewers as donors encourages PBS and its member stations to provide programs aimed at potential wealthy contributors.

Corporate underwriting generates similar concern. PBS defines an underwriter as a third party that has voluntarily contributed cash to finance all or part of the production or acquisition of a PBS program. Federal law requires that corporations and foundations who help pay for a broadcast be disclosed on air at the time of the broadcast. When corporate sponsorship first emerged on PBS, the underwriting credit was limited to a brief, simple on-screen message, often void of graphics or animation (e.g., "The following program was brought to you by . . ."). More recently, the policies governing underwriting have been loosened, leading many critics to argue that the once brief mentions have come to increasingly resemble full-fledged advertisements on commercial television. As such, critics often refer to this as a symptom of the "commercialization of PBS."

Commercialization's Threat to Public Affairs Programming

Among all PBS program genres, critics argue the commercialization of PBS poses the greatest threat to public affairs programs. These programs, including *The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer, Charlie Rose,* and *Frontline,* have long been hailed as serving the public interest by providing meaningful discussions on important and controversial issues—issues that are often ignored or summed up by a ten-second sound bite on mainstream commercial news broadcasts. By engaging and educating viewers on a range of topics and viewpoints, advocates of public affairs programming argue that PBS plays a vital role in contributing to a healthy and functioning democracy.

Now, decades later, there is evidence that financial insecurity and corporate pressures have begun to take their toll on the journalistic integrity of public affairs programs. William Hoynes' study of news and public affairs programs on PBS member

stations found that nearly 40 percent of all on-camera sources were representatives of corporate America or Wall Street, and that this was nearly twice the percentage found in an earlier study. Hoynes' findings led him to argue that instead of wide-ranging discussions, public television provides programs that have become dominated by the standard set of elite and corporate-driven news sources.

Recent Developments and the Future of PBS

Despite the funding dilemma and evidence of commercialization on public television, PBS and its member stations continue to play an important role by providing viewers with a wide variety of programs. Faced with growing competition from cable television, the Internet, and other media choices, PBS has begun to expand its offerings. For example, PBS has created online components to complement its TV programs. The PBS website links companion websites for more than 1,800 PBS television programs and specials, as well as original web-only content, podcasts, blogs, and streaming video. In addition, PBS now provides digital learning content for pre-K through Grade 12 educators, and PBS Kids Play!, an Internet-based educational service for children ages 3 through 6, which uses interactive games and activities to provide a customized educational experience at home. Even with these new developments, most critics agree that PBS and its member stations must do more to distinguish itself from the competition.

As PBS adapts its programming and online content offerings to compete in an increasingly digital environment, the question of its overall role—and thus its funding—remains. Supporters have proposed a 2 percent sales tax on broadcast advertising, a 5 percent tax on the sale or transfer of television and radio licenses, a purchase tax on new televisions, or even an annual license fee; these funding structures have successfully financed public service broadcasting elsewhere. Without the establishment of a long-term, independent funding structure, PBS runs a risk of becoming increasingly commercialized, resembling the very programs for which this service was meant to serve as an alternative.

Angela Paradise

See also Public Radio Journalism; Public Television Journalism

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Publick Occurrences

Although it appeared only once, on September 25, 1690, *Publick Occurrences Both Forreign and Domestick* is considered the first newspaper published in the British American colonies that would later become the United States. *Publick Occurrences,* published in Boston, consisted of three pages of information (approximately 7½ inches by 11½ inches in size) followed by a blank fourth, which the publication's prospectus intimated was left blank so that people who had more news or more accurate information could add it to the paper and then pass it on.

Publick Occurrences was not the first newssheet to appear in Boston. Beginning in 1667, a series of one-time broadsheets appeared in Massachusetts, mostly related to European events that were considered to be of significance to colonials. In 1689, printer Samuel Green Jr. (1615–1702) produced *The Present State of the New-English Affairs*. This broadside dealt with the political power struggle that was taking place in the colony between Governor Edmund Andros and the Puritan hierarchy that the Anglican Andros' appointment had usurped.

What made *Publick Occurrences* different from *New-English Affairs* and the other Massachusetts broadsides was the fact that *Publick Occurrences* was dated. In the top left corner of the front page, "Numb. 1" appeared, meaning that the paper's printer, Benjamin Harris (c. 1647–1720), intended for his newssheet to appear at regular intervals as newspapers did in England. Harris reaffirmed this idea in the opening sentence of the paper's prospectus: "It is designed, that the Countrey shall be furnished once a moneth (of if any Glut of Occurrences happen, oftener,) with an account of such considerable things as have arrived unto our Notice."

Harris was no stranger to newspapers nor to the controversy that *Publick Occurrences* would create in Boston. In the 1670s and 1680s, he began printing pamphlets and tracts for religious dissenters in England. Religion and politics were firmly entwined, and Harris soon turned his attention toward political issues. In 1679, the licensing of publications briefly ended in England, and Harris produced the country's first nongovernment-sanctioned paper, *The Domestick Intelligence; Or, News both from City and Country*. As a Baptist, Harris opposed the Catholic leanings of the Stuart Charles II as well as the Anglican Church. Because he was so outspoken in his opposition to the king, Harris was jailed twice. When he was arrested a third time in 1685 following the reinstitution of licensing, Harris fled to the Netherlands. A year later, he came to America and immediately set up a printing business.

Harris' arrival in Boston coincided with the revocation of Massachusetts' Puritan Charter and Andros' political appointment. Civil unrest following the appointment and, in anger, Massachusetts citizens revolted and removed Andros from office and threw him in jail. For a short time, the colony lacked any strong leadership. It was during this political void that Harris decided to produce *Publick Occurrences*.

With *Publick Occurrences,* Harris hoped to reestablish order and trust within the colony. By providing a regular and reliable information source, the paper's prospectus said, "people every where may better understand the Circumstances of Publique Affairs." In addition, Harris hoped that a reliable news source would also prevent the "many False Reports, maliciously made, and spread among us."

Harris also believed that the newspaper had a divine purpose. He said that *Publick Occurrences* would provide news so "That Memorable Occurrents of Divine Providence may not be neglected or forgotten." To that end, the newspaper carried stories of "Christianized Indians" who had established "a day of Thanksgiving to God for his Mercy in supplying their extream and pinching Necessities," and he noted that if the colonies faired well in their current conflict with the French in Canada that "God alone will have all the Glory." News in the paper also informed readers of a fire that destroyed approximately twenty houses, and it described a smallpox epidemic spreading through Boston. "'Tis not easy to relate the Trouble and Sorrow that poor Boston has felt by this Epidemical Contagion," the paper said.

The paper's commentary surrounding the conflict between England and France, called King William's War by the colonists, ultimately led to *Publick Occurrence*'s suppression. Harris told of a ship seized by the French and Indians. They "Butchered the Master, and several of the men" on board, the paper reported. In addition, *Publick Occurrences* told how colonial forces "cut the faces, and ript the bellies of two Indians, and threw a third Over board in the sight of the French." He complained that colonial officials provided the Mohawks with too much information about colonial military activities. Harris also mentioned that King Louis XIV of France was rumored to be having sexual relations with his "Sons Wife."

Despite the fact that Massachusetts lacked strong political leadership, a Governor's Council still existed, and on September 29, it ordered Harris never again to publish *Publick Occurrences* or any other newssheet in the colony. The decree stated that the newspaper contained "Reflections of a very high nature" and forbid the printing of any newssheet in the future "without License first obtained from those that are or shall be appointed by the Government to grant the same." The council was simply following a 1686 English law, which prohibited the printing of anything in the colonies without "especial leave and license first obtained." The injunction against *Publick Occurrences* called into question the accuracy of the paper's information, as it was obvious that Harris portrayed the government as powerless to stop French and Indian encroachment in the colony's northernmost regions. Later correspondence from

one council member revealed that because Harris chose to publish his paper without authority, complained about dealing with the Mohawks, and disparaged the French king, he raised the council's ire. Despite the fact that England and France were at war, references to royalty and sexual indiscretions were too much for the Puritan council members.

Harris complied with the council's ruling and printed no more newssheets, but he did print a news pamphlet in 1692, the same year he was named the colony's official printer. In 1695, Harris returned to England and resumed newspaper publication with the *London Post*. All copies of *Publick Occurrences* were ordered called in. A single copy is known to exist in London.

David A. Copeland

See also Boston; Broadsheet Newspapers; Censorship; History of Journalism: Before 1861

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Public Opinion

See Polls and Public Opinion

Public Radio Journalism

American public radio journalism consists of the news and public affairs programs that can be heard on noncommercial radio stations and includes a variety of formats, from news magazines to public affairs programs to listener call-in programs. At a time when commercial radio's news content is declining (generally limited to brief newscasts), public radio offers listeners a wide range of news, analysis, and discussion. Public radio journalism offers greater variety and depth than is typically provided on commercial stations, covering not only breaking news but also science and the arts.

The main producers of such programming are National Public Radio (NPR), Public Radio International (PRI), American Public Media (APM), and Pacifica Broadcasting. Programs are also produced by several local public radio stations and independent radio producers and are distributed by NPR, PRI, or APM.

History

NPR, which came into existence as a result of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, started broadcasting in 1971 and is a major producer of news programming on public radio. APM is the second largest producer of public radio programs which include news, culture, and music. APM is the name under which Minnesota Public Radio produces and distributes programs nationally. Public Radio International, which began as American Public Radio, was founded in 1983 as a way to distribute programs from public radio stations around the country and diversify offerings on public radio stations. In 1994 its name was changed to Public Radio International (PRI) to reflect its mission of bringing, as it says on its website, "global perspectives to the public airwaves." Through partnerships with public radio stations, independent producers, and the BBC World Service in the United Kingdom, in 2008 it offered over 400 programs per week that were broadcast and streamed online by affiliate stations around the country.

Pacifica Broadcasting was founded in San Francisco in 1949 by Lewis Kimball Hill, a pacifist who saw community radio as a place to begin a dialogue about the betterment of society. The Pacifica Network consists of five radio stations in New York, Los Angeles, Houston, and Washington, D.C., as well as many independent public radio stations that are affiliates. Its goal was to give voice to those without power and to become a

place for progressive viewpoints that questioned the status quo with regard to political discourse, art, and culture on radio. Today it is seen as a place on the radio for a unique point of view that fills a gap in mainstream media coverage and offers alternative analysis and interpretation.

News Programming

News magazines are an especially important part of public radio journalism. NPR's flagship news magazines are the late weekday afternoon *All Things Considered* and the similar but earlier *Morning Edition* and *Weekend Edition*. *All Things Considered* (*ATC*) was created in 1971 as a news program designed to be distinctly different from what commercial radio had to offer and that embodied the NPR mission of celebrating the variety of human experience. The format has evolved over the years and become more structured. *ATC* starts off with headlines on the hour followed by longer stories with in-depth reporting. This long form journalism is characteristic of public radio as is its ability to explain complex issues, take unusual angles on news stories, and offer news with a global reach that makes for greater breadth of coverage.

Recognizing that it needed a news program during morning drive time, NPR added *Morning Edition* in 1979. Introduced eight years after *ATC*, *Morning Edition* was far more a product of audience research than had been the case with *ATC*, with information about audience listening behavior shaping the structure of the program. The program was designed without a clear beginning, middle, or end, an approach that allowed listeners to tune in and out of it depending on their morning routines. The segments were shorter than on *ATC*, with frequent opportunities for member stations to broadcast the local weather, news, and other announcements. In 2008 *Morning Edition* enjoyed the second-largest audience on American radio after Rush Limbaugh.

Weekend Edition (Saturday), hosted by Scott Simon, went on the air in 1985 and was followed by a Sunday version a year later. The program distinguished itself from the weekday newsmagazines with narrative features that combined natural sound with storytelling and commentary on the week's events that extended to sports and entertainment.

In 2003 *Day to Day*, a news magazine hosted by longtime NPR journalist Alex Chadwick, was launched as a way of meeting stations' and audiences' requests for news programming in the middle of the day. It airs from NPR's studios in California, known as NPR West, and is produced in partnership with online magazine *Slate*, whose writers serve as commentators and also produce pieces for the show. As compared to the older morning and evening news magazines, *Day to Day* offers shorter segments and a more conversational tone while trying to provide a different angle on the day's news than that presented on *All Things Considered* or *Morning Edition*. It is also likely to cover lighter news stories such as the launch of a television show featuring a celebrity and how rejection works on social networking sites like Facebook. By using more pieces from independent producers, the program seeks to have a more personal tone and a different sound than established NPR news magazines.

Although its original mission saw NPR being more of an alternative news source to commercial media with a focus on analysis and commentary rather than breaking news, over the years its role has evolved to being a primary news source. This means that there is a greater emphasis on covering all major news events and being on the spot when news breaks. After the attacks of September 11, 2001, for the first time the network reported round-the-clock for a record 90 hours (nearly four days). It has demonstrated a commitment to pursuing stories even after initial commercial media attention has waned. It was one of only two news organizations to continue covering the effects of Hurricane Katrina that hit New Orleans and the Gulf Coast in August 2005. Since 2000, NPR has expanded its overseas bureaus in order to cover breaking news around the world at a time when most news organizations were closing their overseas bureaus because of declining revenues. An endowment from the Kroc family in 2003 helped NPR with its expansion program.

Other public radio entities also provide news programming. In 1996, Public Radio International (PRI) launched its news and public affairs program, *The World*, designed to compete directly with *All Things Considered*. PRI's first venture into program production, *The World* was coproduced by the BBC World Service and public

radio station WGBH in Boston. As its name suggests, the program has an international focus and features a mix of news, interviews, and music from around the globe.

Pacifica Radio produces a daily 30-minute newscast, *Free Speech Pacific News,* to which public radio stations can subscribe. *Democracy Now* is Pacifica's daily one-hour current events program. The newscasts cover stories that rarely achieve attention on commercial radio and even on other public radio stations and are in keeping with its mission of promoting peace and social justice. During the war in Iraq, for example, it regularly carried stories that provided a voice to antiwar groups.

Finding New Audiences

Since 2001 both NPR and PRI have sought to attract younger audiences and have developed news programs that they believe will appeal to this demographic. In 2007 NPR launched the *Bryant Park Project,* a news magazine described on its website as having "the tone and sensibility the next generation of public radio listeners demand." This morning news program connected with its audience through audio, video, text, and photos and sought to foster audience interaction through blogs, e-mails, and call-outs to listeners. With a target demographic of listeners aged 25 to 44, the program covered major news but had a more conversational tone and was almost completely live with producers sometimes getting behind the microphone to talk to the shows' hosts. The show tried to balance hard news with lighter content with segments like the "Ramble" that covered quirky stories such as Japan's development of a robot girlfriend for lonely men while "The Most" features the most emailed stories on Yahoo! and Google. While the *Bryant Park Project* succeeded in attracting a younger audience and in demonstrating that radio can develop an ongoing relationship with its listeners by using online media, its challenge was getting carriage on member stations especially since it aired at the same time as *Morning Edition.* In July 2008, nine months after it was launched, NPR cancelled the program.

In April 2008, PRI launched a new morning drive time news program, *The Takeaway,* coproduced with New York City's public radio station WNYC. The BBC, *The New York Times* station WQXR, and Boston's WGBH, serve as editorial collaborators. Although the desire for a younger audience demographic is not explicit, the conversational tone and personality-driven approach speaks to this aim. On its website, PRI states that the goal was to create a program that "sounds the way people really communicate with each other: conversational, unscripted, and sometimes opinionated." Like NPR's new program, *The Takeaway* uses its website to create a more interactive public radio experience.

Apart from attracting younger audiences, NPR has also consciously sought to broaden its audience profile beyond the traditional educated, white, suburban, college-educated listeners. NPR's first attempt to reach out to minority audiences came with the *Tavis Smiley Show,* produced in collaboration with the African American Public Radio Consortium (a nationwide group of public radio stations that serve primarily African American audiences),which aired between 2002 and 2004. It departed from public radio's signature sound (carefully produced pieces presented by reporters in measured, neutral inflections) and touched on politics, music, comedy, and more. The show targeted African American audiences because it dealt with issues of concern to them, but it also appealed to a more general audience interested in hearing about issues relating to the African American experience. Host Smiley reiterated in an interview that "public radio needs to sound more like America" and invited a lineup of diverse guests and addressed topics overlooked by other media outlets including public radio. Though Smiley did not renew his contract with NPR at the end of two years, in 2005 the *Tavis Smiley Show* returned to public radio on PRI with a similar format as a weekly program.

NPR continued to go after minority audiences and added two programs, *News and Notes* in 2005 and *Tell Me More* in 2007, both in collaboration with the African American Public Radio Consortium. *News and Notes,* hosted by Farai Chideya, is an hour-long daily program produced at NPR West and is described on its website as exploring "issues and people from an African American perspective." Chideya was chosen to replace original host Ed Gordon largely because she had experience with both digital and traditional media and knew how

to unify the two. The program uses experts to provide regular segments but also relies on its audience (on both radio and the Internet) to, as the program's website explains, help "identify issues, spot trends, share discoveries, offer personal essays, participate in shaping the program, and engage in a dialogue with newsmakers."

Tell Me More, hosted by Michel Martin, is another hour-long program, this one originating from NPR's studios in Washington, D.C. While it reaches out to African Americans, Hispanics, Asians, and others who have been underrepresented on NPR, the program also hopes to appeal to white listeners who would be interested in issues that concern these groups. Host Martin said in an interview that the program should not be limited to minority audiences because American society is made up of so many interconnected groups. During the program planning process, Martin started up a blog to give listeners an insight into how decisions about what goes on the air are made and to help increase audience involvement with the program. She continued the blog after the program went on the air.

Like commercial radio, public radio presents discussion shows that feature listener calls. But the similarity ends there. The nationally distributed call-in program *Talk of the Nation* demonstrates that such offerings can be educational and informative and a forum for discussion rather than the often contentious ranting of commercial radio's largely right-wing hosts. *Talk of the Nation* created a space for listeners to interact with experts who represent a diversity of opinions on a chosen subject. The program made its debut during the first Gulf War (1991) as a way to host a nationwide conversation about the war. But its popularity led to it being continued with a broad range of topics ranging from politics and public service to education and healthcare.

Marketplace, a 30-minute business program, is an example of how public radio has taken what many see as a dry and boring topic and put its unique stamp on it. To begin with, the program originates in Los Angeles, away from the East Coast business centers. And rather than focusing on the "numbers" (that is, the performance of stock indices), it looks at the world through the lens of business, economics, and finance. This approach results in stories that go beyond the typical business narrative to ones that are often quirky and off the beaten path and that thus appeal to a wider audience. Sample features on the program in 2008 included stories about how Congress was trying to put the brakes on gas prices; how Gucci was making a shift to cheaper, down-market goods; the challenges facing gay bars; and CBS's plans to expand its outdoor advertising in South America.

Public radio also shows that news can be the source of comedy and humor. Weekly quiz shows NPR's *Wait, Wait, Don't Tell Me* hosted by Peter Sagal and PRI's *Whad'ya Know* hosted by Michael Feldman mix humor and information and are performed before live audiences, giving them an opportunity to interact with the hosts.

Coverage of the Arts

While the arts are covered regularly in segments on public radio news magazines, there are also programs like NPR's *Fresh Air* and PRI's *Studio 360* that are entirely devoted to this subject. *Fresh Air,* produced by public radio station WHYY in Philadelphia, has been available nationally since 1985. Host Terry Gross's interviews with writers, musicians, artists, journalists, and politicians are distinguished by the amount of preparation and research that goes into each of them in order to give listeners unusual insights into their personalities and a sense of who the subjects are as individuals.

Studio 360 was made available nationally to public radio audiences starting in 2001. Hosted by Kurt Andersen, the show is produced by New York's WNYC and distributed by PRI. It combines artist interviews with features that allow reporters to speak in the first person and draw on personal experiences to examine concepts in high and low culture. Each program is built around a chosen theme; themes have ranged from girl culture to loneliness, to youth, to locations of popular television series. In 2006 PRI launched another program in the arts category, *Fair Game.* The hour-long production was hosted by Faith Salie, an actor, comic, and Rhodes scholar, and was geared toward twenty- and thirty-somethings. The program's interviews were interspersed with comedic bits and musical interludes. By using humor to explore issues and people in popular culture and

politics, it took an approach that was more likely to appeal to fans of Comedy Central's *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart*. However, it faced the same challenge that NPR's *Bryant Park Project* did, that of finding carriage on stations, and was cancelled in May 2008, 17 months after it went on the air.

In the realm of culture, public radio also has programs that are built around a single subject. *Speaking of Faith* is an hour-long program that explores spirituality and faith in contemporary life. It is produced and distributed by APM and has been available nationally since 2001. In an interview in 2004 host Krista Tippett said her goal is "to trace the line between theology and human experience," through conversations that explore how individuals struggle to resolve the moral and ethical questions in their religion. The program has tackled subjects ranging from science and Hinduism, to the ethics of eating, to the religion of Rumi. Guests on the program have included Buddhist monk Thich Nhat Hahn, Benedictine nun Joan Chittister, and evangelical leaders Rick and Kay Warren.

The Splendid Table, an hour-long weekly program produced and distributed by APM, explores the place of food in American life. While recipes are a part of its appeal, the discussions about food provide a means to examine culinary traditions in the United States and other cultures. Host Lynne Rossetto Kasper invites luminaries from the world of cooking to share their perspective and memories about food and cooking. During 2008 the program's Locavore Nation segment looked at the efforts of 15 individuals to obtain, prepare, and eat a meal based primarily on locally grown organic ingredients.

On the Media, another weekly hour-long show produced by WNYC and distributed by NPR, examines the culture of the media. A large part of its focus is on how news is made and how journalism is practiced by news organizations, including public radio. Co-host Brooke Gladstone said in an interview that the goal of the program was to explore advertising, television, movie trends, and look at "where media and culture collide, where media holds up the mirror to culture" in order to "show how the media sausage is made." In 2008 the show's segments included an examination of media coverage of the Pope's visit to Washington and New York, the implications of choosing a safe Internet technology, the past and present of the Olympic brand, and a conflict of interest at ESPN.

Public radio journalism encompasses subjects rarely addressed on commercial radio, including science and the environment. NPR's *Talk of the Nation Science Friday* is a weekly science talk presentation broadcast live that focuses on science topics that are in the news. Host Ira Flatow is joined by experts for a discussion on topics that cover science, technology, health, and the environment. Listeners have an opportunity to call in with questions. Flatow says his goal is to make issues in science accessible to his listeners.

PRI's weekly show *Living on Earth* reviews how culture, economics, and technology shape the world around us. Host Steve Curwood invites experts to explore a broad range of topics such as the world food crisis, the move toward green boardrooms, allergic reactions to climate change, and the implication of a 2008 court ruling for the Environmental Protection Agency. For Curwood the challenge is finding a mix of stories so that it does not always focus on bad news.

Rather than develop a stand-alone science program, APM has established a website on sustainability that showcases stories from its lineup of programs. These examine how the needs of the present can be met without compromising the ability of future generations to also meet their needs. In addition to content produced exclusively for the website, there are also links to blogs, multimedia, and interactive features that users can access to examine the impact of their own behavior on the planet.

Everyday Stories

Public radio has broadened its definition of journalism to make room for individual narratives that find a place in radio documentaries and on news magazines like *ATC* and *Morning Edition.* The public radio program that is credited with making the personal narrative hip was Ira Glass's *This American Life,* which features the stories of real people told in their own voices. Each show is built around a single theme—such as what happens when you go from being a private person to a public face or the uneasy interactions between humans and institutions—and is explored through narratives of different individuals in compelling, dramatic, and often comic situations that are often also emotionally moving.

The idea that "people" stories can be interesting is the basis for David Isay's *Story Corps* project launched

in 2003 and Jay Allison's *This I Believe*. *Story Corps* gives ordinary people an opportunity to record their stories. The first booth where stories could be recorded was set up in New York City's Grand Central Station in October 2003; in 2005 two Airstream trailers—traveling recording studios called "MobileBooths"—were launched to record stories told by people across the country. A small portion of these stories are edited down and then featured on public radio programs like *Morning Edition*. According to Isay, the idea that people matter and that they won't be overlooked drives the project. *This I Believe* invites people—some famous, but many not famous—to share the core values and beliefs that guide their lives with the hope that listeners develop respect for values that are different from their own. While the well known are invited to participate in the program, the rest volunteer themselves using the guidelines on the program website to write their essays. These first-person three-minute audio essays are carried on both *ATC* and *Weekend Edition*.

A less heard and perhaps less clearly identified format that has a place on public radio is the documentary. American Radioworks (ARW) produces documentaries that are carried on a variety of public radio programs. Radio documentaries are characterized by "a depth of research or proximity to the subject," according to Stephen Smith, managing editor and correspondent for ARW, and are a way of exploring larger social themes through a character-rich study that unfolds like a photo-essay or a film documentary.

Changing Technology

The Internet has significantly impacted public radio journalism in two areas–-program content and distribution. Thanks to the Internet, public radio journalism has become more interactive by allowing listeners to provide immediate feedback to the programs but also to shape what is covered. Readers are invited to send in story ideas or to share their experiences about a given topic.

The Public Insight Journalism initiative on Minnesota Public radio involves listeners by including them in the newsgathering process. People are invited to share their insights, experiences, and expertise to create a database from which reporters draw. The Internet also makes it possible for editors to create and manage a database of over 20,000 volunteers who are contacted by e-mail when the need arises.

In the Internet age, public radio programs can reach a much wider audience. Listeners are no longer solely dependent on their local public radio station to carry a given program but can listen to any program streamed over the Internet or downloaded as a podcast. Local stations are using the Internet to broaden their offerings with multiple program streams. Programs that don't make it onto the air are available on the station's website for digital access. As high definition radio receivers gain in popularity, they will have the potential to carry multiple streams of programming from public radio stations. Satellite radio is another avenue for disseminating programs from public radio. Both NPR and PRI have a presence on Sirius XM satellite radio.

The Internet has also made it possible for independent program producers to distribute their programs directly to stations, bypassing national gatekeepers like NPR and PRI. The Public Radio Exchange was launched in 2003 as a way to distribute public radio programs using the Internet. A central database of programs in MP3 format which are uploaded onto its website is made available to programmers who sift through this material to find a piece that works for their station.

Funding

Financial support for public radio journalism comes from many sources and varies for different public radio entities. NPR receives funding from Congress by way of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), from corporate underwriters, from member stations (whose fees for programs are based on their audience size), and from foundations. PRI's main source of funding is station fees, corporate underwriting of program series, and support from foundations; it also solicits support from listeners. Apart from station fees and funding from foundations, APM has developed a model of private funding with its investment in the catalog company Greenspring (which ended in the late 1990s) and in the social networking site Gather.com. Pacifica Radio relies primarily on support from its listeners and is the only public radio entity that does not accept corporate underwriting.

As funding from the CPB has declined, corporate underwriting and support from foundations has become particularly important for both NPR and PRI. Dependence on these sources of funding

has raised questions about the influence of these entities on the journalism practiced by public radio and the limits such funding might place on investigative reporting on public radio. There is also concern that foundations can buy coverage in their area of interest. *Slate* magazine's collaboration with NPR's *Day to Day* is the first time a public radio news program has joined with a commercial media entity and has led to questions about conflicts of interest regarding coverage of Microsoft (which owns *Slate*) and the possibility of truly independent journalism. In 2007 the National Endowment for the Arts warned that public radio has an obligation that goes beyond maximizing audiences because such a focus leads to journalism that is less likely to take risks and be creative.

Conclusion

As the amount of news on commercial radio has declined, especially with the increase in media consolidation after the Telecommunications Act of 1996, public radio has filled this void. Public radio defines journalism in a broader sense, going beyond hard news to include the arts and other contemporary issues like the environment. This breadth of coverage makes it similar to newspaper journalism. The number of awards earned by public radio programs attests to the exceptional quality of public radio journalism. Public radio journalism is a mix of traditional radio formats and newer ventures that recognize the reality of the current media landscape. The question facing public radio is whether to grow by reaching out to new audiences or by improving service to its core audience with more hours of programming.

Seema Shrikhande

See also Blogs and Bloggers; British Broadcasting Corporation; Community Radio; National Public Radio; Pacifica Radio; Streaming Media; Talk and News Radio

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Public Relations

See Spin

Public Television Journalism

Public television news is an alternative to commercial news programming that positions the audience

as information-seeking citizens rather than consumers. The public television model seeks to provide news that is important to a self-governing public regardless of its commercial viability in the electronic media marketplace. American public television news emerged in the mid-twentieth century in response to at least three concerns raised by critics of commercial television news: (1) that concentration of commercial media ownership into fewer hands invited homogenization of news and narrowing of opinions; (2) that commercial imperatives required news to have an entertainment value that prioritized sensationalism over serious reporting; and (3) that privately owned media relegated viewers to the role of passive receivers of news.

Ostensibly free from corporate control, advertising pressures, and the quest for ratings, public television news is generally marked by longer formats, more in-depth coverage of issues, slower pacing, and less focus on visual content compared to commercial news. American public television news typically eschews weather, sports, and entertainment news except in the context of reports with wider social, political, economic, or science implications. The absence of commercial interruptions is a hallmark of public television programs, though programs are often preceded and followed by underwriting credits that use brand names, logos, and information about the sponsoring company and its product. Also, during regularly scheduled national "pledge" drives, news programs are interrupted to ask viewers to make contributions to support public television news.

From their start, public media were envisioned as a vehicle for balanced, inclusive coverage and discussion of the day's events. John Macy, the first president of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), believed that public perceptions of declining network news standards in the 1960s created a vacuum that public television news could fill. In 1970, he set three goals for public television news: to provide an alternative to "sensationalist" and "distorted" commercial news; to provide a model of rational discourse in which "reasonable men could work to solve public issues;" and to allow citizens to use television as a platform for expressing their own opinions (Macy 1970, 286–88). Despite such ambitious aims, however, the failure in the United States to secure reliable long-term funding for public television has left its news programs and documentaries vulnerable to financial and political pressures that have led to increasing commercialization and charges of bias from both left and right wing critics. Furthermore, the availability of news from cable networks, satellite, and online sources has steadily eroded the audience for public television news.

Development

Public television news was slow to emerge in the United States. Commercial stations staked early claims to the broadcast spectrum that were subsequently protected by federal legislation. By contrast, in the democracies of Western Europe, public radio news was part of a broad public service mandate for broadcasting that existed before the introduction of commercial television, so licensed stations were required to provide balanced news that was independent of both government and commercial interests.

The forerunner of public television news in the United States was radio programming carried on educational stations operated mainly by public universities. Progressive educators such as John Dewey recognized the enormous potential of broadcasting as a distributor of news and information and as a public space for the exchange of ideas and opinions vital to a deliberative democracy. Nonetheless, the United States opted for a marketplace model of broadcasting. As commercial media established their dominance of radio broadcasting, news was largely eclipsed by entertainment, a pattern that was repeated with the advent of television in the mid-twentieth century.

In 1952, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) reserved channels on the VHF and UHF bands for noncommercial television channels. Noncommercial television was narrowly cast as "educational" as had been noncommercial radio before it. Still, some early educational television stations experimented with community news and discussions aimed at promoting social and civic reform. One example was a series produced in 1952 by WOI-TV, licensed to Iowa State University. *The Whole Town Is Talking*, a 15-part series funded by the Ford Foundation, featured local citizens discussing current issues in communities throughout Iowa.

The Ford Foundation played a crucial role in funding news programs for early educational

television, particularly with the creation of National Educational Television (NET) in 1963. NET was a consolidation of several Ford Foundation projects that focused on media and education. The first regular public affairs program funded by NET for distribution to educational television stations was *At Issue,* produced by Alvin Perlmutter. NET also sought to redress a media deficiency in the wake of race riots in the 1960s. By funding public affairs programs produced by and for minorities, NET showcased one of the potential strengths of public television news—its capacity to serve marginalized audiences rather than to maximize audience share.

Carnegie Commission

In 1967, the Carnegie Commission of New York released a report of its two-year study of noncommercial television. Titled, *Public Television, a Program for Action,* it outlined a series of recommendations that included increased news and public affairs programming. Lawmakers enacted most of the commission's proposals into law—the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967. The Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) was formed as a nonprofit corporation charged with receiving and disbursing government funds in support of public television and radio. However, Congress rejected the Carnegie recommendation to create a permanent source of CPB funds through excise taxes and opted instead to allocate funding to the CPB through the budgetary process. Consequently, federal funding for public broadcasting, which in real dollars has steadily decreased since the 1980s, remains subject to shifts in the political climate.

Local News

Because of the prohibitive expense, most public television stations do not produce daily news programs. Locally produced news requires equipment, studios, and an extensive commitment of personnel, and it results in only a tiny percentage of weekly broadcast hours. In lieu of conventional newscasts, many stations produce public affairs programs, interview shows, or themed call-ins that connect viewers by telephone or Internet with expert studio guests. Two series—*Newsroom* and *The 51st State*—are commonly considered landmarks in public television local news.

KQED-TV in San Francisco was the first public television station to produce a daily news program. The *Newspaper of the Air* debuted in 1968 in response to a strike that closed San Francisco's two metropolitan dailies. The program featured journalists hired off the picket lines to report and discuss local stories. It quickly became so popular that when the nine-week newspaper strike ended, the Ford Foundation provided a grant to continue the program in a revised format. The new daily program, *Newsroom,* provided in-depth, local coverage of the fractious 1968 presidential campaign, the antiwar movement, and civil rights protests, receiving the prestigious Alfred I. DuPont-Columbia University Award for television journalism for its local coverage. For budgetary reasons, KQED cancelled *Newsroom* after a nine-year run. By then, the program had been replicated at other public television stations including WQED in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; WETA in Washington, D.C.; and KERA in Dallas, Texas. *Newsroom* also had a significant impact on commercial television with dozens of local and national news organizations patterning magazine-style programs after its longer, in-depth, interview-oriented format.

The 51st State was a nightly production of New York's WNET-TV from 1972 to 1973 and a weekly series until 1976. The program reported on regional issues such as youth gangs in the South Bronx while also providing New Yorkers' perspectives on national concerns including the Vietnam War. Rejecting the fast pace and headline quality of network news, *The 51st State* adopted unconventional broadcast techniques, such as allowing story content to dictate its length and bringing viewers into the studio to question experts and government officials. The series did not shy away from sensitive subjects, and it experimented with creative formats. For example, an episode that examined the problems of public television was hosted by two Muppet-like anchors.

NPACT

Unlike in most other countries, public broadcasting in the United States does not have a centralized news department. Rather, news is produced by individual member stations for distribution nationwide.

The first effort at national public television news occurred in 1971 when the Ford Foundation and the CPB established the National Public Affairs Center for Television (NPACT). The center was charged with producing news programming and documentaries for the recently established Public Broadcasting System (PBS), the nonprofit corporation collectively owned by member stations throughout the United States. Eventually merging with WETA-TV, the Washington, D.C., public television station, NPACT's early efforts included *Washington Week in Review* which continued to air on public television stations more than 25 years later. In 1972, NPACT began producing a weekly campaign year series for PBS, co-anchored by former NBC reporters Robert MacNeil and Sander Vanocur. *A Public Affair/Election '72* provided the template for what became the *MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour*. Filled with interviews and studio discussions with visiting experts, *A Public Affair* operated on the principle that news should be delivered as unadorned as possible to prevent distortion or trivialization.

In the early 1970s, *A Public Affair,* along with other news programs and documentaries on public television, provoked the Nixon administration, which accused PBS of having a liberal/leftist agenda. Concerns about the perceived liberal bias of PBS triggered the development of broad journalistic standards for public television news which, according to the CPB's Macy, included balanced programming, objectivity, reflection of "voices both inside and outside society's existing consensus," and "the obligation not to let technique become the master of substance" (Macy 1974, 71). To implement the guidelines, PBS appointed Jim Lehrer, KERA's *Newsroom* anchor in Dallas, as its public affairs coordinator. Lehrer also became a correspondent for NPACT, and in 1973, he teamed up with Robert MacNeil to provide live, continuous coverage of the Senate Select Committee on Watergate, which was investigating high level government corruption in the growing scandal.

NPACT's decision to provide "gavel to gavel" coverage of the Watergate hearings marked a watershed for public television news. While commercial television provided excerpts of the hearings in nightly news broadcasts (and eventually rotated live coverage among themselves), PBS preempted its daytime programming to carry more than 200 hours of coverage. Its Watergate coverage attracted a larger audience in many markets than the networks' prime time coverage. The Watergate broadcasts are widely credited with creating a surge in both viewer interest in and funding for public television news. Nonetheless, the Nixon administration's assault on PBS weakened its news programming. In 1972, a CPB board, dominated by Nixon appointees, voted against funding news and political analysis and rescinded a funding commitment to NPACT. With the exception of *Washington Week in Review,* NPACT programming perceived as hostile to the Nixon administration went off the air once its funding was exhausted.

National Daily News

Although a majority of PBS stations agreed that broadcast journalism should be a significant presence on the national schedule, no daily newscast appeared until 1975. Previously, the Eastern Educational Network (EEN), a group of interconnected public television stations on the East Coast, had contracted with veteran broadcast journalist Martin Agronsky to produce and anchor a news program. Agronsky's *Evening Edition* aired on EEN stations from 1970 to 1974.

In 1975, WNET-TV premiered a 30-minute weeknight program, *The Robert MacNeil Report.* Jim Lehrer served as the program's Washington correspondent. In 1976, the program was renamed the *MacNeil/Lehrer Report.* Similar in format to *Newsroom,* the *Report* devoted each episode to a single issue. That changed in 1983 when the program expanded to a full hour under the title, *MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour*. In its expanded format, the *NewsHour* pioneered a new approach to nightly newscasts. Its opening segment provided a summary of national and international events. In-depth reports and interviews then provided additional context to news summary stories or introduced conflicting viewpoints. By limiting feature segments to just two or three per program, the *NewsHour* could devote significant attention to a limited number of topics. Pre-taped feature segments were produced by the *NewsHour*'s own staff, by affiliated public television stations, and by producers from Independent Television News, a news content provider headquartered in Great Britain.

Confounding doubts that Americans would watch a full hour of nightly news, the *NewsHour* became one of the most popular and iconic series on PBS. The *NewsHour* continues to experiment with different types of segments. For example, in presidential election years, it airs extended excerpts of primary candidates' stump speeches on the premise that most citizens hear only sound bites and advertisements. The *NewsHour* also introduced weekly debates between conservative and liberal commentators. Another periodic segment that began in the aftermath of the 2003 U.S.-led invasion of Iraq is *Honor Roll* in which the *NewsHour* silently displays the pictures and lists the names, ranks, and hometowns of U.S. military members killed in Iraq. In 2006, *Honor Roll* expanded to include military personnel killed in Afghanistan. With MacNeil's retirement from the program in 1995, the series became *The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer*. As of 2008, it remained the flagship news broadcast on American public television where it is carried by more than 300 stations and available to 99 percent of American viewers.

Other News Programming

Over the years, public television stations have experimented with a variety of formats designed to engage viewers in current events and promote an active, informed citizenry. The *Public Broadcasting Laboratory* (*PBL*), produced from 1967 to 1969 and hosted by veteran journalist Edward P. Morgan, was an innovative and controversial series that tested the limits of public television broadcasting. The first series to be aired over a nationally interconnected network of public television stations, *PBL* was a magazine-style program that aimed to simulate a national dialogue by weaving together video and interview segments from around the country. In one of the program's most controversial segments, *PBL* producers gave a camera to Russell Meeks, a radical African American poet, who chronicled life in the Chicago ghetto while condemning Martin Luther King Jr.'s nonviolence strategy. The program drew condemnation for its subjectivity and incitement to violence. It was also praised for exposing a wider American population to the often invisible world of poor urban blacks and for permitting a marginalized voice to tell his story in his own words. In many ways, *PBL* was the archetype for the magazine news programs that followed such as CBS's *60 Minutes*.

In 1968, the CPB funded a news program for African Americans. *Black Journal* used interviews, documentary productions, surveys, and editorials to examine political, social, and economic issues that were relevant to the African American community. In 1980, Tony Brown, a journalist from WTVS in Detroit, became executive producer. Brown took a special interest in media issues, encouraging African Americans to become involved in broadcasting to counter the racism he perceived in public television. When the CPB withdrew funding for the program in the 1973–74 season, the outcry from the black community forced the CPB to reconsider. Nonetheless, Brown was frustrated with the CPB's tepid support. In 1977, he changed the program's name to *Tony Brown's Journal* and moved it to commercial television. In 1982, he returned to public television where his *Journal* has become one of the longest-running public affairs programs on PBS.

Bill Moyers' Series

Journalist Bill Moyers has hosted several public affairs series on PBS including *Bill Moyers Journal, This Week, NOW,* and *Wide Angle,* as well as one-time specials and miniseries. He is especially noted for his investigative documentaries and for long-form conversations with prominent people seldom seen on television such as social critics Noam Chomsky and Cornel West. Moyers frequently has used his PBS platform to critique government, corporate, and journalistic shortcomings. His progressive views have made him a favorite target for conservative media watchdog groups such as the Committee on Media Integrity (COMINT). His critics often cite his reports, which they perceive to be one-sided, as examples of why the government should not fund public broadcasting. However, many regular public television viewers consider him to be a political and cultural figure of authority, and his work has been honored with numerous journalism and public service awards.

Frontline

PBS's premiere documentary series is *Frontline,* a hard-hitting, investigative program in the tradition

of Edward Murrow's CBS specials. It is PBS's only single-subject, long-form documentary series. It was created, in part, to fill the void left when commercial network news divisions gradually eliminated their own documentary series in the 1970s and 1980s. *Frontline* is unique among public television news programs for at least two reasons. It has never been anchored by a single broadcast journalist or personality. Rather, it has featured both well-known journalists such as Gary Wills, Seymour Hersh, and Bill Moyers along with little-known independent reporters and filmmakers. Further, *Frontline* is not supported by corporate underwriting. Its funding comes from the CPB, PBS, and PBS member stations. Insulated from real or perceived pressures from corporate underwriters, *Frontline* routinely examines important national and international issues and raises probing questions about U.S. domestic and foreign policies. Perennially one of PBS's top-rated programs, *Frontline* frequently generates press reviews and wins major national awards for broadcast journalism. Given the nature of its content, it also incites controversy and is often cited as an example of the purported "liberal bias" of PBS.

Problems of Public Television News

Critics of public television news take issue with both its style and substance. Some believe that the deliberative pace and lack of stimulating visuals does not appeal to younger news viewers. Others consider public television's approach to news to be pedagogic and elitist. A third critique is the failure of public television news to reflect minority viewpoints and marginalized voices as articulated by the Carnegie Commission Report. The most fundamental critique of public television news stems from PBS's lack of a long-term, insulated source of funding and the consequent perceived ideological biases that result from dependence on various funding agencies. Nixon alleged that a leftist bias in public television reflected the ethos of the liberal Ford Foundation which funded many of the early news and public affairs programs. Many other conservative political figures agree. The Republican-controlled Congress of the late 1990s sought to "zero out" federal funding for the public broadcasting system. More recently, some critics see a rightward trend with the addition to the PBS news lineup of conservative commentators.

Growing reliance on corporate underwriting has raised concerns about the ability of public television to practice independent and impartial journalism. Business corporations, brokerage firms, insurance companies, and corporate-supported think tanks have underwritten prominent business news programs such as the *Nightly Business Report* (A.G. Edwards & Sons, Inc.), *Adam Smith's Money World* (Metropolitan Life), *Wall $treet Week with Louis Rukeyser* (Prudential-Bache Securities), William F. Buckley's *Firing Line* (American Enterprise Institute), and *The McLaughlin Group* (General Electric). Even the venerable *NewsHour* has been accused of self-censorship in deference to corporate underwriters. An additional fear provoked by corporate influence is that, to attract the large audiences that underwriters seek, public television news will increasingly become more entertainment-oriented and less of a distinct alternative to commercial news.

News on Public Access Cable

In addition to PBS, cable television offers another forum for public television news—community access channels. These are also known by the acronym "PEG" for the three types of users: the public, education, and government. Although the channels are owned by for-profit cable companies they generally carry no advertising, and they provide local citizens a platform for the distribution of their own noncommercial messages. However, viewers must pay to receive cable channels.

PEG channels emerged in the 1970s. The broadcast industry, fearing a loss of audiences and revenues, maintained that cable posed a threat to "free television." The cable television industry touted their community access channels to demonstrate cable's social responsibility as a content provider. Cable operators argued that access channels enabled them to be more responsive than commercial broadcast networks to the issues and concerns of local communities. In 1972, the FCC required all cable systems with more than 3,500 subscribers to set aside three noncommercial access channels for public, educational, and governmental use. The development of these channels has been uneven, with programs that range from

static shots of school board meetings to lively and highly produced series that examine controversial political, social, and cultural issues. The series *Alternative Views,* produced in Austin, Texas, has been cited as a model for public access news programming. *Alternative Views* was an interview program that addressed issues ignored by the mainstream media. As the program became more technologically sophisticated, the producers introduced documentary film clips and unedited video footage—including graphic scenes of the aftermath of Israeli attacks on refugee camps in Lebanon and Ku Klux Klan assassinations of communist labor organizers.

Under federal law enacted in 1984, cable operators are no longer required to provide local access channels, but local governments have the right to require PEG channels as a condition for awarding a cable franchise. It is estimated that fewer than half of American cities now mandate the provision of local access.

Public television has also experimented with community access projects. For example, in 1971, Boston's WGBH Foundation created *Catch 44,* a nightly 30-minute program that invited any local group to air its views. Participants were encouraged to use the latest portable equipment to create programming. Although other stations initially followed Boston's lead, community access projects did not become a significant source of public television news.

Public Television News Worldwide

Various development models for public media have influenced the types of news carried on public service television (the usual term used abroad) globally. Unlike in the United States where public television belatedly filled a niche neglected by commercial broadcasters, Canada, Australia, and Western European nations (among many others) conceived of television as a public service from the start, so dissemination of news and information was an important part of the media's obligation. Public service television in these countries maintains a prominent role in the political process by routinely covering parliamentary debates, election campaigns, and policy announcements. The European Broadcasting Union (EBU), an organization composed solely of public broadcasters, requires its members to provide balanced programming.

Although created by the government, most European public television systems are funded by annual license fees on television receivers or other taxes. This guaranteed funding insulates news producers from legislative pressures, but it also compels them to produce quality programs that justify the license fees. In this regard, European public broadcasters face some of the same pressures to attract large audiences as American public television producers who seek corporate support.

The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) is one of the oldest and most widely respected public service media providers. It is also the world's largest newsgathering operation, reaching more viewers than any other news organization in the world. Although the BBC is prohibited from advertising on any of its domestic media, it programs several commercial channels outside Britain including the BBC World and BBC America cable channels in the United States.

In authoritarian countries, public service television is generally an arm of the government, and news broadcasts have mostly propagandistic purposes. In many developing countries, which often inherited public media systems from colonial powers, strong national leaders have used television news and public affairs to serve their own purposes of unifying the nation and consolidating their own authority. Developing countries have generally funded public service media through a combination of advertising and government allocations because sales of television sets are too meager to produce sufficient funding from excise taxes.

Conclusion

Public television news is widely considered to be an important factor in the maintenance of modern democracies. Unlike commercial television news which seeks to build large audiences that will attract advertisers, public television engages in news gathering and information dissemination for the sake of its viewers. Consequently, public television news can explore serious issues in greater depth and can accommodate a wider range of topics and perspectives than is practicable in ratings-driven commercial news. Despite a reputation for stodginess, public television news has been a force

for innovation in the United States because commercial broadcasters are reluctant to take risks on new formats until they have been proven in the marketplace. Hour-long interview programs, magazine style news shows, news satires, and niche programs such as business news were all pioneered by public television before they were adopted by commercial broadcasters.

State subsidies, corporate underwriting, and viewer support fund public television in the United States. Other countries also rely on license fees, excise taxes, and advertising revenue. Budgetary crises and political tensions have accompanied the development of public television news which has been criticized for both fiscal and ideological reasons.

Regardless of the national structure or funding system, public television news producers worldwide confront the same three challenges in the twenty-first century: (1) greater competition from cable stations that can target narrow niches with specific news, (2) more pressure from powerful global media conglomerates that can absorb the expense of electronic news gathering, and (3) rapidly changing technology that will require public media to make the shift to new digital platforms. To meet these challenges, public television will need to envision new ways of gathering, producing, disseminating, and funding the news.

Kathleen O'Toole

See also Access to Media; British Broadcasting Corporation; Documentaries, Television; Electronic News Gathering; EuroNews; Media Ownership; Public Broadcasting Service; Public Radio Journalism

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PUBLISHERS

A publisher prints and disseminates literature or information in books, periodicals, and newspapers. With the advent of the Internet, publishing expanded online as the early twenty-first century introduced e-books and online newspapers.

The publisher represents the owner and sometimes is the owner. He or she controls all stages of producing a newspaper or magazine from development to distribution including acquisition, graphic design, copyediting, production, selling advertising, marketing, and circulation. Virtually every aspect of any publication is the responsibility of the publisher who has final say on important business (and sometimes editorial) decisions.

In the early years of newspaper publishing, one person often filled the roles of publisher, editor, and reporter. The separate role of a publisher as the controller of the business began to emerge in large cities during the late eighteenth century, but became

important only in the nineteenth century as a handful of individuals became well known as press "barons" who dominated all aspects of their publications. By the late twentieth century, however, publishers played a more behind-the-scenes role at most newspapers and magazines, and few were in the public eye. They remained powerful—central—to the publishing process however, for they controlled purse strings and determined how revenues would be spent. Publishers usually appoint editors, for example, thus setting the standard for publication.

Notable Publishers

The following American and British publishers, listed in alphabetical order, all played highly influential roles in the nineteenth- or twentieth-century print journalism industry.

Sir William Maxwell Aitken, 1st Baron Beaverbrook (1879–1964)

Born in Canada, Aitken moved to England as a wealthy stockbroker and was elected to the House of Commons in 1910. In December 1916 Aitken purchased a majority interest in the London *Daily Express*. He later began the London *Sunday Express,* acquired the London *Evening Standard* and the Glasgow *Evening Citizen*. He accepted a peerage as Baron Beaverbrook in 1917. The next year Aitken served as chancellor of Lancaster and minister of information in the cabinet. He enjoyed being active behind the scenes in Tory politics. Aitken became Winston Churchill's war cabinet minister of aircraft production in 1940, then minister of supply in 1941. The following year he became British lend-lease administrator in the United States. Throughout his career Aiken served interchangeably as financier, politician, and newspaper proprietor. His outspoken personality and open support for British imperial gains led Evelyn Waugh to sketch Aitken into his novel, *Scoop* (1938).

James Gorden Bennet (1795–1872)

Bennet emigrated from Scotland in 1819 and spent his early years in New York founding a school, lecturing on political economy, and writing for or editing several newspapers. On May 6, 1835, Bennet published the first edition of *The New York Herald,* a four-page penny paper. The paper soon became a huge success, due in part to Bennet's focus on the gathering of interesting news. Some of the paper's pioneering contributions include: the first Wall Street financial article to appear in an American newspaper (1835); a colorful account of the great New York fire of December 1835 which was accompanied by an illustrated map of the burned area; leading newspaper use of illustration (the illustrated map that accompanied the 1835 article about the New York fire was the first time an American paper had used illustration); establishment of the first European correspondents in 1838; the first society department in 1840; and a report obtained fully by telegraph in 1846.

James Gorden Bennet (1841–1918)

Son of James Gorden Bennet, the younger Bennet took the managing editor responsibilities of *The New York Herald* in 1866 and became editor a year later. After his father's death, Bennet inherited *The New York Herald* and with its success was able to start the *Paris Herald* in 1887. This later became the *International Herald Tribune* often considered the first "global" newspaper.

Harry Chandler (1864–1944)

Raised in New Hampshire, Chandler headed west after he was forced to withdraw from Dartmouth College for medical reasons. Chandler met *Los Angeles Times* publisher Harrison Gray Otis when Chandler started a newspaper delivery business. Otis hired Chandler as general manager at his paper and Chandler married Otis's daughter, Marion. Otis transferred his controlling interest of the *Los Angeles Times* to Chandler in 1914. Three years later when Otis died, Chandler took over his father-in-law's role as publisher of the *Times,* taking a strong stand against labor unions. With the success of the *Times,* Chandler helped to found many Californian institutions including California Institute of Technology (Caltech), the Los Angeles Coliseum (as well as bring the Olympic Games to Los Angeles in 1932), the Biltmore Hotel, KHJ radio, and played important roles in Trans World Airlines, the Douglas Aircraft Company, and the Ambassador Hotel.

Charles Anderson Dana (1819–1897)

Dana became a trustee of the Brook Farm utopian community (1841–46) after illness caused him to leave Harvard College. Hungry for social change, Dana left the community for Boston's *Weekly Chronotype*. In 1847 Dana signed on with the *New York Tribune* and a year later went to Europe to report on the continent's widespread revolutionary movements. Upon his return Dana became managing editor in 1849, a post from which he gave his aggressive support to the antislavery movement. In 1864 Dana was asked to resign due to personality conflicts with Horace Greeley. Dana served in the War Department during the Civil War and from 1864 to 1865 as an assistant to secretary of war, Edwin Stanton. Dana joined the *New York Sun* as editor and part owner in 1868. Over the next three decades, despite some editorial inconsistencies, the *Sun* became an industry icon often thought of as "a newspaperman's newspaper," for its news ("the freshest and sprightliest current") and human interest story specialization.

Frank Earnest Gannett (1876–1957)

Gannet graduated from Cornell University, where he was campus correspondent for local papers, in 1898. He accepted a city editor position followed by managing editor and business manager with the *Ithaca Journal*. In 1906, then aged 30, he bought half of his first newspaper, the *Elmira Gazette*. The following year Gannett purchased the competing *Star* and merged it to form the *Star-Gazette*. In 1923 Gannett founded Gannett Company. Like other publishers, he pursued political interests while running a newspaper conglomerate. Although mainly active in state and local politics, Gannett ran unsuccessfully for the Republican presidential nomination in 1940. Gannett is most recognized for his efforts to modernize regional newspaper conglomerates with technological advances and progressive ideas. By the time Gannett died at 81, his company owned 22 newspapers, 4 radio stations, and 3 television stations. It was only after his death that Gannett Company expanded nationwide to include such titles as *USA Today* (begun in 1981) and the *Arizona Republic,* growing to become the largest U.S. newspaper publisher in terms of total circulation in 2008.

Katharine Meyer Graham (1917–2001)

Graham, daughter of *The Washington Post* publisher Eugene Meyer, took her first reporting job at the *San Francisco News* but left a year later to work as a member of the editorial staff for her father's paper. After marrying Phillip Graham in 1940, Graham placed her newspaper career on hold to raise a family. Phillip Graham became editor of *The Washington Post* in 1946 and the couple bought out her father in 1948. Over the next 15 years the Washington Post Company acquired several radio and television stations as well as the *Washington Times-Herald* (1954) followed by *Newsweek* magazine (1961). After her husband's suicide in 1963, Graham became president of the company. For ten years starting in 1969, Graham served as publisher as well. The *Post* gained growing political clout under editor Ben Bradlee to become Washington's most influential paper. Two important milestones in the *Post*'s evolution were the publication of the Pentagon Papers in 1971 and the two-year investigation of the Watergate scandal of 1972. Graham presided as chairman of the board and CEO of the Washington Post Company for 18 years starting in 1973. Her autobiography earned a Pulitzer Prize.

Horace Greeley (1811–72)

After working as a printer's apprentice in Vermont, Greeley started his publishing career in New York City in 1834 as founding editor of a literary paper, *The New Yorker*. He openly expressed his views as a liberal Whig. Greeley founded the *New York Tribune* in 1841, continuing his commitment to the Whig platform of economic growth and chances for personal advancement. Often called a political bible, the *Tribune* set high standards in news gathering, moral and intellectual content, and even included reporting from Karl Marx and Friedrich Engle. While Whig issues were reflected in its columns, the *Tribune* was known for actively supporting multiple causes. Greeley remained politically outspoken, particularly in his opposition to slavery and support for Western expansion. The Liberal Republicans nominated him for President, a lifelong dream, but he was overwhelmingly defeated by Ulysses S. Grant in 1872. Greeley died not long afterward.

Alfred Charles William Harmsworth, 1st Viscount Northcliffe (1865–1922)

Considered one of the most successful publishers in British press history, Harmsworth began as a freelance journalist and then editor of popular papers. Following the trend of weekly "information snippet" newspapers, he founded *Answers*. With his brother Harold, the two formed several other inexpensive periodicals. These ventures formed the basis of the Amalgamated Press which soon became the world's largest periodical publisher. Harmsworth purchased the *London Evening News* in 1894 bringing it out of near bankruptcy with substantial profits within a year. Harmsworth aimed to start a chain of halfpenny newspapers when he merged two small Glasgow papers into the *Glasgow Daily Record*. In 1896 he published the first issue of the *Daily Mail*, a national paper based in London. Harmsworth's success lay in his ability to anticipate desires of the new reading public after institution of compulsory education, especially their desire for quick news and entertainment. The *Daily Mail* was introduced as "the busy man's daily journal," and "the penny newspaper for one halfpenny." In 1903 he founded the *Daily Mirror,* tapping into the new picture paper market. Two years later Harmsworth rescued the *Observer* and became Lord Northcliffe. He took possession of *The Times* in 1908. In 1917 amid World War I, Harmsworth headed the British war mission in the United States and became a viscount for his efforts. The next year he served as Britain's director of propaganda against Germany and other enemy nations. Throughout his career, Harmsworth greatly influenced the way newspapers approached the new reading masses through commercial exploitation and entertainment. Sadly he became more erratic as he aged and was eased out of his positions after World War I.

William Randolph Hearst (1863–1951)

Hearst was born in San Francisco to a goldmine owner turned politician. At age 23, Hearst petitioned his father to let him take over the ailing *San Francisco Bee*. Upon taking control, Hearst focused on increasing circulation because he believed that there was nothing more important than a large readership. Hearst poured huge resources—technology, journalists—into transforming the *Bee* into "The Monarch of Dailies," with sensational stories and headlines. Although the cost was high, Hearst turned a profit within two years. In 1895 he shifted his focus to the East, purchasing another struggling paper, the *New York Morning Journal*. With his eye on as rapid a revival of profit as possible, Hearst literally bought the best reporters he could find including Stephen Crane and Julian Hawthorne and raided Pulitzer's New York *World* of staff including cartoonist Richard F. Outcault (who created the Yellow Kid cartoons).

His fierce drive to topple competition led to his famous circulation rivalry with Joseph Pulitzer which resulted in "yellow journalism." Hearst's *New York Journal* featured elaborate illustration and color magazine sections, which, along with its sensational headlines and stories, sent circulation through the roof and all for a mere penny's cost. Hearst was also thought to have created phony interviews, events, facts, and photographs to create the sensational news stories people devoured. Most famously, during the short Spanish-American War, which he heavily promoted, he was quoted as instructing his man in Cuba: "You produce the pictures, I'll provide the war."

By 1935 Hearst was at the height of his career. He owned 28 major newspapers, 18 magazines, radio stations, movie companies, and news services. However, Hearst spent extravagantly, and in the Depression his finances were seriously damaged. In order to survive the crisis, he had to sell off failing papers and parts of his art collection, while consolidating some papers. By 1940 his empire was slipping out of his control and he rarely showed his face in public. The following year Orson Welles portrayed a thinly veiled version of Hearst in his highly controversial film, *Citizen Kane*.

John S. Knight (1894–1981)

Educated in Ohio and Maryland, Knight spent his summers working at his father's *Akron Beacon Journal*. After service in World War I, his father persuaded him to return to the paper as a sports reporter where he wrote under a pseudonym until he became managing editor in 1925. Knight became publisher in 1933 though he continued to write occasionally. Over the years Knight became known as a prize-winning editorial writer and an acquisitive publisher whose growing stable of newspapers

enjoyed a combined circulation of one million by 1960. They included *the Miami Herald* (1937), the *Detroit Free Press* (1940), the *Chicago Daily News* (1944), and *the Charlotte Observer* (1954). Knight merged with Ridder Newspapers in 1974 to become the Knight-Ridder Group. Despite the merger, the newspapers continued to reflect Knight's passion for quality journalism and writing even after his death; Knight-Ridder newspapers had won over 80 Pulitzer Prizes by the early twenty-first century, but were sold to a variety of buyers as revenues declined.

Henry Robinson Luce (1898–1967)

Luce, born in China to a Presbyterian missionary family, spent his first years in China and England. He arrived in America to attend preparatory school and Yale University. Luce quickly soared to the top of his class and edited the school newspaper, becoming close friends with fellow Yale student Briton Hadden. After graduation in 1920, Luce and Hadden partnered to launch *Time,* the country's first weekly newsmagazine.

Luce felt that most people were poorly informed and that American newspapers and magazines were missing the mark, especially on coverage of world news. *Time* used a narrative writing style to inform its readers and quickly achieved success. Within a year *Time* was turning a profit; five years later Hadden's death left Luce in full command. Luce created the business monthly, *Fortune,* in 1930 and a year later expanded into radio with the weekly program *The March of Time*. His third magazine, *Life*—a photojournalism platform—was introduced in late 1936 and quickly grew to be the one of the most popular weekly magazines. In 1952 Luce continued to expand his empire with *House & Home* (later sold to McGraw-Hill), and he founded *Sports Illustrated* in 1954. Under his stewardship, Luce's magazines, especially *Time,* hewed to a cosmopolitan Republican line, representing the viewpoints of the country's business and political elites. He relinquished his role of editor-in-chief of Time, Inc. in 1964, becoming editorial chairman until his death three years later.

James McClatchy (1824–83)

McClatchy began as a journalist on Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*. After gold was struck in California, Greeley encouraged McClatchy (then 24) to head west to "strike it rich," and although he followed the advice, he never struck gold. Instead, he wrote for a number of California papers in the 1850s, exposing government and business malfeasance where he found it. He centered his activity on the *Sacramento Bee,* which his son took over as publisher along with his brother on McClatchy's death. McClatchy's company continued to grow and went public in 1988.

S. S. (Samuel Sidney) McClure (1857–1949)

McClure, an Irish immigrant, arrived in America when he was only nine. He attended Knox College where he co-founded the student newspaper. After moving to New York City, he established a fiction literary syndicate in 1884, obtaining rights to stories by Rudyard Kipling and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. McClure revolutionized journalism when he and John Sanborn Phillips first published a political and literary monthly called *McClure's Magazine* (1893), which published novels-in-progress and introduced muckraking journalism with Ida Tarbell's 1902 exposé of the Standard Oil Company. While McClure continued to lead the magazine with a renowned staff including Willa Cather and George Kibbe Turner, he left his editorial post in 1914 to pursue his passionate speculations of democracy. However, his books *Obstacles to Peace* (1917), *The Achievements of Liberty* (1935), and *What Freedom Means to Man* (1938) did not sell widely.

Robert R. McCormick (1880–1955)

McCormick spent the first part of his career in public service as a Chicago alderman and later five years as president of the Chicago Sanitary District Board. McCormick was an officer in World War I and was thereafter known as "the Colonel." In 1911 he built on his grandfather Joseph Medill's leadership at the *Chicago Tribune,* becoming president of the Chicago Tribune Company. In 1914 McCormick shared publisher and editor in chief duties with his cousin Joseph Patterson. While partnering with Patterson, the company acquired the tabloid New York *Daily News* in 1919. In 1925 Patterson left to direct the *Daily News* and McCormick took sole control of the

Chicago paper, increasing control over the paper's supply chain and expanding the company's portfolio to include other newspapers and broadcast stations. McCormick, with his conservative editorial line and open political criticism of the New Deal, expanded the *Chicago Tribune* into the nation's largest standard-sized newspaper in circulation, and the world's largest in advertising revenue.

Joseph Medill (1823–99)

Canadian-born Joseph Medill started publishing newspapers in Ohio in 1849. In 1855 he partnered with Charles Ray, a doctor experienced with newspapers, to purchase the *Chicago Tribune*. Medill took on editorial responsibilities immediately. A strong—and early—supporter of Abraham Lincoln's, Medill wrote uncompromising antislavery editorials, and he worked for Lincoln's presidential nomination and later campaign in 1860. Throughout the Civil War, Medill's editorials showed his support for Lincoln's administration and then for the Radical Republicans' reconstruction program in the South. After the Chicago fire of 1871, Medill was elected mayor. While he resigned after only three years, he reorganized the city's finances and municipal government and established the public library. He returned to the *Tribune* as publisher, maintaining a strong editorial stance for free business, against labor unions, and a nationalistic foreign policy. In 1898 Medill urged American intervention in Cuba during the Spanish-American War and in 1893 played a key part in the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago. Medill's legacy carried on through Northwestern University's Medill School of Journalism and through the publishing careers of his three grandchildren: Robert McCormick (*Chicago Tribune*), Joseph M. Patterson (New York *Daily News*) and Eleanor M. Patterson (*Washington Times-Herald*).

Keith Rupert Murdoch (1931–)

Born in Australia to newspaper publisher Sir Keith Murdoch, Rupert Murdoch graduated from Worcester College, Oxford (1953), and learned the ways of sensational journalism under Lord Beaverbrook during a brief post as editor of the London *Daily Express*. Murdoch returned to Adelaide, Australia, in 1954 to take over his family's newspapers, the *Sunday Mail* and *The News*. Expanding on his experience under Beaverbrook, he transformed *The News* into a popular sensational paper of sex and scandal. He took a similar approach to subsequent papers throughout Australia. Murdoch established the *Australian* in 1964. In 1969 Murdoch expanded his publishing empire internationally with the purchase of London's *News of the World*. The next year Murdoch acquired *The Sun* (London) making a success out of both papers with attention grabbing stories on human-interest, crime, scandal, sex, sports, and outspoken conservative editorials.

Murdoch expanded his sensationalism style to San Antonio, Texas, in 1973 buying the *San Antonio News* and soon leading area dailies. In 1974 he founded the *Star* as a national weekly tabloid, and two years later acquired the *New York Post*. Both were sold profitably in the late 1980s, though Murdoch repurchased the *Post* in 1993. The 1980s and 1990s were extremely active for Murdoch (including his naturalization in 1985 allowing him to own American television stations), buying and selling numerous publications including the *Chicago Sun-Times, New York* magazine, and the *Village Voice* (New York City) in 1985. Five years earlier, Murdoch had established News Corporation, which grew to be one of the world's three largest media groups. While expanding in the United States and Australia, Murdoch kept active in London newspapers, purchasing the venerable *Times* and *Sunday Times* in 1981. In 1988 Murdoch purchased *TV Guide*.

Murdoch soon tapped into other arenas securing major holdings in video, film and recording companies, radio and television stations, and book publishing companies. One of his most important moves was made in 1985 with the purchase of Twentieth Century-Fox Film Corporation, which he consolidated with seven television stations from Metromedia, Inc. to form a new television network. Launched in 1986, Fox, Inc. grew to be one of the top four U.S. broadcast television networks, a spot it retained into the early twenty-first century. The same year he purchased U.S. book publisher Harper & Row followed by Zondervan (1988), Scott, Foresman (1989), and British publisher William Collins (1989). Murdoch subsequently merged these along with other acquisitions

in Australia and New Zealand into HarperCollins in 1990. Murdoch launched a satellite television service, Sky Television, in 1989, merging with rival British Satellite Broadcasting the following year to forming British Sky Broadcasting (B-Sky-B).

The enormous activity put heavy financial strains on Murdoch's international media giant resulting in the sales of several U.S. magazines (including *Seventeen, New York,* and the *Daily Racing Form*). However, this did not stop the international conglomerate from reaching into the Asian market with the Star TV satellite service in 1993. In 2005 News Corporation expanded its Internet holdings through the acquisition of MySpace.com. News Corporation paid $5 billion for Dow Jones & Company (*The Wall Street Journal*) in 2007.

Allen H. Neuharth (1924–)

Neuharth started his career while a student at the University of South Dakota, editing the student newspaper. After graduating in 1950 he joined the Associated Press as a reporter in Sioux Falls. In 1954 Neuharth joined the Knight chain at the *Miami Herald* and eventually became assistant managing editor. Knight sent him to the struggling *Detroit Free Press*. Later he left Knight for Gannett in 1963 to run its two Rochester, New York, papers as general manager. He slowly rose to head the boardroom and eventually succeeded as publisher. Neuharth founded *USA Today* in 1982, which soon became the most widely read newspaper in the United States. In 1989 Neuharth retired and in 1991 founded the Gannet Foundation (later Freedom Forum), which in turn created the Newseum in Washington, D.C., a museum dedicated to exploring the history of news and the media.

Samuel Irving Newhouse (Solomon Neuhaus) (1895–1979)

S. I. Newhouse was born to poor Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe. While clerking for a judge in New Jersey, he was asked to take care of the judge's family paper, the *Bayonne Times*. Within a year, the paper was making a profit. Newhouse began purchasing failing papers in the 1920s, cutting costs while increasing advertising just as he had done with the *Bayonne Times*. Newhouse purchased the *Staten Island Advance* and two years later formed the Staten Island Advance Company, changing the name in 1949 to Advance Publications, Inc. Newhouse strongly believed in maintaining the autonomy of his newspapers and often kept their original editorial teams in place after purchase. Once acquired, Newhouse left a newspaper's political opinions untouched. He rejected the "yellow journalism" he grew up on, demanding honest, competent reporting and clean writing from his journalists.

In 1959 Newhouse purchased Conde Nast Publications giving him ownership of magazines such as *Vogue, Glamour,* and *Home & Garden*. At the time of his death 20 years later, Newhouse's media empire had expanded to become the third largest newspaper chain in the nation with 31 papers totaling 3 million circulation, plus 5 radio and 6 television stations, 7 magazines, and 15 cable television systems. Like others before him, Newhouse viewed education as an important investment in the future of media. He donated $15 million to Syracuse University to establish the S.I. Newhouse School of Public Communication. Newhouse's sons took over the firm after their father's death and later purchased book publishers such as Random House (1980).

Joseph Pulitzer (1847–1911)

Raised in Budapest, Pulitzer immigrated to America in 1864, serving with the Union Army in the Civil War. After the war, Pulitzer settled in St. Louis working odd jobs while he fervently studied the English language and American law. Ultimately he was admitted to the bar and practiced law for a short time. In 1868, Pulitzer left law to report for a German language newspaper. A year later, at the age of 22, he became city editor (and then part owner) and was elected to the Missouri legislature. In 1871 he bought a share of the *Westliche Post* which he briefly held then sold for profit. Pulitzer's legal, political, and journalistic experiences his publishing career.

In 1878 Pulitzer acquired the St. Louis *Dispatch* and the *Post* taking the lead in evening sales after merging the two papers. Although Pulitzer pursued a lengthy career in politics he maintained that his papers served no political party. Following an 1882 scandal when Pulitzer's chief editorial writer murdered a political opponent, Pulitzer left St. Louis for New York.

In 1883 he purchased the New York *World,* soon establishing it as a lead voice for the Democratic Party—and resigned from Congress to devote all his time to journalism. In 1887 Pulitzer purchased the *Evening World,* but stepped down from daily managerial control of his papers the same year due to failing health and worsening eyesight.

Pulitzer's contributions include the first color comic strip "The Yellow Kid," which appeared in *The World* and famously played a part in Pulitzer's circulation war with Hearst. As a part of this competition, his papers increasingly focused on sensational or "yellow" (after the cartoon) journalism. He gave large sums to education, including scholarships, enabling poor students to attend college. At his death, Pulitzer left $2 million to Columbia University, creating the Graduate School of Journalism in 1912 and endowing the Pulitzer Prizes.

Edward Willis Scripps (1854–1926)

Scripps got his start in Detroit, working for his half brother. In 1878 Scripps published his first newspaper, the *Cleveland Penny Press* (later the *Cleveland Press*). His publications soon expanded to include newspapers in Detroit, St. Louis, and Cincinnati. He partnered with his half brother George and M. A. McRae in 1894 to create the nation's first significant chain, the Scripps-McRae League of Newspapers. Scripps moved into syndication in 1902, becoming a pioneer in offering feature news, illustrations, and cartoons to newspapers after he founded The Newspaper Enterprise Association. In 1907 Scripps formed the United Press news service to compete with the Associated Press, succeeding as UP was willing to sell stories to any newspapers. Scripps claimed he published his newspapers for the average person keeping his papers affordable, politically independent though liberal, and pro-labor. Four years before his death in 1926 Scripps transferred control of his 34 newspapers across 15 states and his news service to his son Robert who partnered with Roy W. Howard to form the Scripps-Howard chain.

Arthur Ochs Sulzberger (1926–)

Sulzberger was born into the wealthy *New York Times* publishing family. After serving in the Marine Corps during World War II and graduating from Columbia University, he joined his father Arthur Hays Sulzberger at the *Times.* Sulzberger started at the bottom as a cub reporter (1952), departing a year later to report on state and local news at *The Milwaukee Journal.* Soon he returned to the family business to work on the foreign desk and served as a correspondent in London, Paris, and Rome. Just three years after he had started as a reporter, Sulzberger returned to New York as assistant to the publisher and assistant treasurer. At 37, Sulzberger inherited the publisher's role after his brother-in-law, Orvil E. Dryfoos, died. Under his guidance, the paper underwent several restructurings, solidifying its position as a world leader in newspaper publishing. Among his initiatives were streamlining the company organization and expanding editorial scope to include women's news, science, and religion. In 1992 Sulzberger stepped down as publisher, although he remained company chairman for five more years.

DeWitt Wallace (1889–1981)

Wallace began indexing his favorite magazine articles while working as a banker after completing only two years at Macalaster College in Minnesota. He returned to complete his degree at the University of California, and while at Berkeley had the idea to sell booklets of condensed government pamphlets. However, he was only able to produce one such booklet before World War I took him overseas. In 1920 Wallace continued exploring his idea of a condensed booklet, but after producing a sample for various publishers it was rejected. In 1921 he married Lila Bell Acheson who supported his idea and the two began publishing the monthly *Reader's Digest* in New York City in 1922. *Reader's Digest* became a huge success. In 1934 Wallace began to include condensed versions of books and, by 1940, expanded publication to include foreign-language editions. By the early twenty-first century, a quarter century after the founder's death, total circulation reached 23 million worldwide.

William Allen White (1868–1944)

After leaving the University of Kansas, White signed on as business manager of the *Republican*

(El Dorado, Kansas) in 1890. Two years later White began writing editorials for the *Kansas City Star*. In 1895 he left the *Star* to run his own paper, the *Emporia Daily and Weekly Gazette*. Despite the increased responsibility of being publisher, White continued to write insightful editorials, for which he is most famously remembered. His August 15, 1896, editorial "What's the Matter with Kansas?" was credited with helping secure William McKinley's presidential election. A strong advocate of freedom of speech, White's July 27, 1922, editorial "To an Anxious Friend" earned him the 1923 Pulitzer Prize for editorial writing. The following year White ran a fruitless campaign for governor of Kansas.

Heather E. Gilbert

See also Chicago; History of Journalism: Before 1861; History of Journalism: 1861–1930; History of Journalism: 1930–1995; History of Journalism: 1995–Present; *International Herald Tribune*; New York; *New York Times, The*; Publisher's Organizations; San Francisco; St. Louis; *USA Today*

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Publishers' Organizations

Publishers (and owners) of newspapers, magazines, and (increasingly) online services have a variety of associations to serve their needs. As with so many journalism organizations, these groups are heavily alike in their overall makeup and function. They usually focus on one specific type of published material (newspaper, magazine, newsletter), hold annual conventions, give awards for high-quality accomplishment, and support various educational endeavors. Operated as nonprofit entities (though some of their senior people may be paid very well), their prime purpose is to provide a means for mutually useful idea exchanges among publishers. Less often, they may become involved in lobbying efforts for matters of concern. Some have developed codes of ethics. Several of the groups have local chapters. At least two are co-located with academic journalism programs. Most states, if not all, have publisher associations as well, and there are a few regional groups, too. Only national associations (though many have state chapters) are detailed here.

Because publishers are either media owners themselves or represent them and have responsibility for all operational aspects of their publications, publisher organizations are interested in a wide menu of issues. Indeed, more than other journalism organizations, publisher association makeup and interests closely parallel what is happening in news media generally. For example, the declining state of many newspapers (indeed, the bankruptcy and disappearance of some) is of utmost concern to these groups, reflecting, as it does, the deep systemic problems facing mainstream media in their competition with an increasingly online world.

Likewise, the growing role of online services raises questions about just who is a "publisher." Once-clear roles no longer are seen as such.

At least two recent trends stand out among the groups below. Over time there has been a good deal of organizational name changing in an attempt to keep up with technology-driven changes in newspaper and magazine publishing. Groups once focused on traditional newspapers or newsletters are now more inclusive, adding online publication members. And in the Newspaper Association of America we see a drive to efficiency in the melding of seven formerly separate entities into one that is more inclusive and wide ranging. Further consolidation of such groups is likely given the financial pressure on many printed publications.

This entry is one of several briefly describing selected journalism organizations (there are too many to include all, and they come and go over time), so readers should also check additional organizational categories noted under "See also" at the end of this entry. The following information is drawn largely from the associations' websites, which often detail their background, structure, awards and educational programs, and member benefits.

National Publisher Associations

Association of Free Community Papers

AFCP (http://www.afcp.org/General/index.php) serves owners and publishers of free or give-away newspapers, which in total circulate more than 100 million copies a week (twice that of traditional newspapers, reaching a third of the nation's homes) adding up to a $4 billion industry. Indeed, some 3,000 titles are represented in the AFCP. The organization runs an annual conference, holds a leadership (training) institute there, and provides a useful technical glossary on its website.

Magazine Publishers of America

MPA (http://www.magazine.org) has defined its mission: "To advance the interests of magazine publishers with the advertising community, the government, the press and the public." This includes expanding the advertising and reader market for magazines, promoting the value and benefits of magazine (and related online) advertising, championing rights of magazine editors and publishers before Congress and other elements of government (such as the postal service concerning mailing rates), and educating members about changes in technology, law, and industry best practices. MPA offers a variety of conferences each year, many of them focusing increasingly on digital and online options. The MPA additionally provides multiple annual awards to people and publications.

National Newspaper Association

The membership organization for local community newspapers, NNA (http://www.nna.org/eweb/startpage.aspx?site=nna_eweb&design=no) dates back to 1885. It now has some 2,700 members, including daily and nondaily college and online newspapers with at least 25 percent local news content. Members include both free (give-away) and paid subscription newspapers; suppliers to the newspaper industry, journalism students and academics, and retired publishers/owners may also join. NNA conducts an annual convention, is active in debates about postal rates (many of its member papers make extensive use of the mails), and offers numerous relevant awards each year.

Newspaper Association of America

NAA (http://www.naa.org) was formed in June 1992 by the merger of seven associations that were then serving the newspaper industry. These included the American Newspaper Publishers Association (founded in 1887), the Newspaper Advertising Bureau, the Association of Newspaper Classified Advertising Managers, the International Circulation Managers Association, the International Newspapers Advertising and Marketing Executives, the Newspaper Advertising Co-op Network, and the Newspaper Research Council. The newly integrated organization operates an educational foundation, conducts a variety of conferences, provides a good deal of statistical and other information on its website, and also lobbies for newspaper business concerns before government entities. Given its breadth, this is one of the most inclusive and comprehensive newspaper publishers/owner organizations.

Specialized Information Publishers Association

Formed as the Independent Newsletter Association in Washington, D.C., in the 1960s, it was incorporated formally as the Newsletter Association of America in 1977, became the Newsletter Publishers Association in 1983 and the Newsletter & Electronic Publishers Association in 1999, and took its present name in 2006. All the name changes underline the growing role of digital online publication, among other trends. SIPA (http://www.sipaonline.com/index.html) is dedicated to advancing the interests of for-profit subscription newsletter publishers and specialized-information (including directory) services, including education, training, networking, and advocacy. It provides conferences, seminars, and local chapters as well.

Suburban Newspapers of America

SNA (http://www.suburban-news.org) supports the community newspaper industry (some 2,400 of them) and related online media through programs enhancing leadership, education, promotion, and research. It provides a number of conferences a year, operates an educational foundation, and has an awards program.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Editor's Organizations; Foundations, Research Centers, and Institutes; Publishers

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Quality and Opinion Magazines

Magazines directed toward and appealing to an educated and cultured minority have always been a part of the American journalism scene. These so-called *quality* titles (a term referring to the level of both their content and readership) typically serve elite cultural, business, and political leaders (sometimes snidely dubbed "the chattering classes") and enjoy a greater impact than their limited circulation might suggest.

Most of these magazines of comment and opinion tend to focus on either political and economic issues or literary pursuits, though many include both. Often, long-serving editors have in the past given such magazines much of their image and social role, though more recently their editors have not played such a visible role.

Development

The first American magazines published in the late eighteenth century were directed to the educated and cultured minority that ran the business, social, and political life of the colonies and then the new nation. The handful of titles (there were seldom more that two or three publishing at a time prior to 1800) usually reprinted material from magazines in Britain or the Continent. Content ranged from political commentary to theater reviews. Only slowly did magazines begin to incorporate American authors and content.

Two of the most important and long lasting quality titles to do that appeared in the decade before the Civil War (1861–65). *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* began in June 1850 in New York as a spin-off of a book publishing company, in part to promote newly published titles, though its magazine pages still emphasized English authors for years. The *Atlantic Monthly* first published in November 1857 in Boston, based on the ideas of (and for some time articles from) several literary Brahmins. Both magazines were aimed at educated upper-class readers (only much later called opinion leaders), and included literary fiction while also ranging over major social and political issues of the day, utilizing both rising and experienced authors (though all wrote anonymously as was then common practice). Their editors often stayed at the helm for decades, lending great continuity to their social role. The weekly *Nation* appeared in 1865 under E. L. Godkin, who remained editor through the end of the century. It too combined political and social commentary with occasional poetry and fiction, aimed at an intellectual audience of movers and shakers. Although the notion of "agenda setting" would only appear more than a century later, these elite titles played just that role.

The Golden Age

From perhaps 700 titles at the end of the Civil War, the magazine market expanded to more than 3,000 two decades later. During this golden age, most magazines were published in New York, but only a handful lasted more than a few years.

Among the quality titles, the monthly *Scribner's* (also issued by a book publishing house), *Review of Reviews,* and the *Century* all appeared in this era of rising income and thus readership. Each would thrive into the new century, but disappear between the World Wars amid growing competition from other magazines.

In the years before World War I appeared the first of the so-called little magazines (after their smaller size), which centered on experimental types of fiction writing, and sometimes political commentary as well. One of the first, *Poetry,* first published in 1912. Such titles provided an outlet for material often too controversial for mainstream popular magazines—unpopular arguments for social reform, for example. Many operated at a loss for years (advertising, if accepted at all, was usually sparse), dependent on either a wealthy benefactor, or some sort of institutional underwriting, often from a university or foundation.

The 1920s saw the inception of several quality weeklies including the *Saturday Review of Literature* (began August 1924), based partially on an earlier British magazine of similar title, and focusing on theater and book reviews, later expanding to include broader cultural and social articles. *The New Yorker* (1925) catered to avid readers and activists in the city's social and theater scene and provided fiction and nonfiction essays and interviews. *The American Mercury* appeared monthly beginning in 1924 and began to attack ideals and myths of middle America, commenting (often caustically) on political and literary matters. Social critic H. L. Mencken was its iconoclastic editor until 1933. Under other owners and editors, it turned conservative in the 1950s and declined until ceasing publication in 1981.

A short-lived but influential quality magazine was the liberal biweekly *The Reporter,* which began publication in April 1949 with in-depth and investigative reporting on government and sometimes corporate malfeasance, the news media as a branch of government, and foreign affairs. It survived for two decades as a combination quality and news magazine, before editorial disagreements over the Vietnam War led to its closure in 1968.

Growing magazine specialization and the multiplicity of titles made continued publication of a general weekly or monthly magazine catering to intellectuals an even more marginal proposition by the 1970s. For example, the *Saturday Review* was sold, greatly changed its approach and style, and, after a decline in readership, disappeared that decade after an active half century of publication. Arrival of the Internet two decades later made quality journals more available (including archives of back issues).

Although it also has added further competition for potential reader time, the web has become an important way for these often small-circulation monthlies and quarterlies to attract new readers. While they were often slow to realize this, there is virtually no quality or opinion magazine that doesn't provide a window to its content to anyone interested. The downside of this thus far is the lack of a viable business model for raising revenue using the Internet. Many different approaches have been tried, including limiting some content (often the ability to search the archive of back issues) only to paid subscribers of the print version. A special feature of the opinion magazines is a growing use of blogs by editors and reporters, often referenced specifically in related stories. What used to be a static "letters to the editor" page (which often still continues) has grown to become a wide-ranging give-and-take among magazine staff and readers.

Modern Quality Magazines

The following paragraphs briefly summarize the role and importance of a selection of quality magazines that were publishing as this encyclopedia went to press. While some stress public affairs and others literary topics, many combine both. Taken together, these and other titles help create much of the cultural agenda for America's elites.

American Scholar (1932–present, quarterly) is published by Phi Beta Kappa, the college and university honorary society. Its title is taken from a speech by Ralph Waldo Emerson in 1837. The journal's coverage is quite broad, ranging across public affairs, literature, science, history, and culture. While it long published poetry, fiction first appeared on its pages only in 2006. Circulation is fewer than 50,000.

The Atlantic (1857–present, monthly) was long based in Boston and relied on New England

authors and topics, not unusual when its founders included James Russell Lowell (the first editor), Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and Oliver Wendell Holmes. For decades it remained a largely New England–based journal. It often published special one-topic issues or supplements (including one devoted to mass communications in December 1957). Purchased by real estate mogul Morton Zuckerman in 1980, the magazine underwent a gradual modernization in both look and content, with more of an emphasis on political issues. Circulation is about 400,000.

Harper's (1850–present, monthly) began by publishing English authors (a Charles Dickens story appeared in the first issue) as copyright was hard to enforce across the Atlantic. By late in the nineteenth century, fiction was still important and illustrations by the likes of Frederick Remington and Winslow Homer brightened its pages. First published with a long nineteenth-century title, it became simply *Harper's Magazine* in 1913. By the 1950s, publication of fiction gave way increasingly to nonfiction essays and articles concerning politics, social issues, and even economic concerns. Its tone became more liberal and topical. *Harper's* nearly ceased publication in 1980 due to years of declining readership and financial loss, but instead, thanks in part to thousands of protests, the magazine was purchased by two foundations, became a nonprofit entity, and was gradually revived. Circulation is about 220,000.

The New York Review of Books (1963–present, biweekly) was created during a New York City–wide newspaper strike and was intended merely to tide over readers until regular papers reappeared. It quickly became popular, and thus continued publication. Through 2008 it was edited by Robert B. Silvers, and caricaturist David Levine's insightful art illustrated its pages until 2007. Its extensive reviews and lively letters pages are supported in part by book advertising. The *Review* combines editorial rigor with bright writing and often very long essays, though it is sometimes criticized for being written by and for New Yorkers to the seeming exclusion of most others. Circulation is about 140,000.

The New Yorker (1925–present, weekly) was for decades edited by its cofounder, Harold Ross, followed by William Shawn (1951–87). It has always combined news of New York City with extensive reporting (notably John Hersey's "Hiroshima," which made up all of one 1946 issue) and fiction (usually one short story per week) as well as multiple cartoons. Its "Profile" biographies are justly famous and wellwritten. The Newhouse chain of newspapers and magazines bought control in 1985, leading to a fierce though temporary staff crisis. Editor Tina Brown introduced color and photography to its editorial pages in the 1990s. With a circulation of more than 1 million in the early twenty-first century, the liberal-leaning weekly is by far the most financially successful of all titles discussed here. A host of books have been written about the magazine and its editors and contributors. By late 2008, the magazine enjoyed a circulation of 1.5 million (down a third since 2005), by far the largest of any in this category.

The Progressive (1909–present, weekly to 1948, then monthly) grew out of the progressive political movement, starting as *La Follette's Weekly,* and taking its present name a decade later.

It has, to quote its website, "steadfastly stood against militarism, the concentration of power in corporate hands, and the disenfranchisement of the citizenry." Perhaps its most controversial moment was the eventually successful attempt (after attempted government censorship) to publish an investigative report on the H-bomb secret in 1979. Circulation is about 65,000.

The North American Review (1815–present, originally bimonthly, then quarterly, now five times a year) is the oldest (some sources say it was also the first) literary magazine in the United States. It moved to New York in 1878. Publication ceased in 1940 due to a scandal concerning its owner. Only in 1964 did Cornell College in Iowa resume it. Four years later, the *Review* was purchased by the University of Northern Iowa (Cedar Falls). Content has included fiction and poetry from the beginning, with social and other nonfiction essays added by the mid-nineteenth century.

The Paris Review (1953–present, quarterly) is a literary journal first published in Paris, though based in New York since 1973. It was edited for a half century by George Plympton, the social

intellectual, until his death in 2003. The *Review* carries fiction, author interviews (for which it is especially known), and literary reviews. After an editorial and graphic revision in 2005, the journal retains its focus on prose fiction and poetry, but has added non-fiction and even color photography. The famous interviews now include news figures and those involved in news events. Circulation approaches 15,000 copies, up considerably in recent years from the small runs of most of the magazine's history.

The Wilson Quarterly (1976–present, quarterly) is published by the Wilson Center for International Scholars, part of the Smithsonian Institution. It presents a wide variety of usually scholarly views serious research on politics, the environment, the social sciences, foreign affairs, history, the arts, TV and the press, economics, science and technology.

Modern Opinion Magazines

The following titles, all with lengthy histories, emphasize opinion and commentary and almost never delve into literary matters. There are many more, including those at the political extremes. As with the cultural titles above, the following journals help to set the policy agenda for the country's leadership.

Commentary (1945–present, monthly) was created by the American Jewish Committee as a journal to cover politics and international affairs. It began as a liberal journal but by the late 1960s had become neoconservative. In 1990 it began raising its own funds, and by 2007 it was spun off as an independent nonprofit entity. Despite a circulation of less than 30,000 copies, the monthly continues to speak influentially to broad issues of (among other topics) Jewish concern. Circulation is just under 30,000.

Foreign Affairs (1922–present, quarterly) was created by the Council on Foreign Relations, which continues to publish it. The distinguished journal has published many landmark papers, including some on aviation policy as early as the 1920s, and one by George Kennan (famously identified only as "X") arguing in the July 1947 issue for a policy of "containing" the Soviet Union. Many secretaries of state and ministers of foreign affairs for other nations have been contributors, as have other diplomats and journalists. All aspects of international relations have been covered, with an emphasis on examples and the process of high-level policy making. Its review section attempts to survey all important books about its broad interests. The quarterly circulates about 200,000 copies.

The Nation (1865–present, weekly), founded by abolitionists at the end of the Civil War, describes itself as the "flagship of the left" and is the oldest continuously published weekly of any kind in the United States. It has always focused on current affairs with an emphasis on politics. For many years its controversial and critical content (e.g., disarmament, racial equality, and many investigative reports) was closely watched by the FBI, and at one brief point the magazine was not allowed to use the U.S. postal system. Like many quality magazines, it loses money on its subscription and advertising income, and relies on donations from some 30,000 "associates" to keep it afloat. In recent years, it has devoted a summer issue to a detailed survey of mass media ownership. Circulation is about 185,000.

The National Review (1955–present, weekly, later biweekly) was established and edited (until 1990) by conservative William F. Buckley Jr. In its first few years, the magazine sought to write about and encourage a modern or "new right" point of view, eliminating far-right extremists with old-fashioned views. It strongly supported Barry Goldwater in the 1964 presidential election and, more successfully, Ronald Reagan in the 1980s. It has become more controversial in recent years because of splintering conservative social views. As with most political opinion magazines, the magazine carries little corporate advertising and has never turned a profit. Indeed, Buckley said in 2005 that it had lost a cumulative $25 million over its first half century. It stays afloat thanks to donations from subscribers, fund raising receptions, and even sponsored cruises featuring its editors and contributors. Circulation is about 155,000.

The New Republic (1914–present, weekly but biweekly by 2007) was for decades a progressive or liberal political affairs and cultural magazine but in recent years has turned somewhat more conservative in tone. Martin Peretz purchased the magazine in

1974 (he sold control in 2007) and became editor-in-chief five years later. Under him, the journal used its often sprightly writing to back an aggressive U.S. foreign policy and support of Israel, and the reviews section expanded. Its political viewpoints often varied with the issue and the times, and it was widely quoted. In a notable scandal in the late 1990s, reporter Stephen Glass was discovered to have made up elements of many of his stories (this became the subject of a 2003 movie). The magazine changed its format in 2007 in an attempt to widen its appeal (circulation had dropped 40 percent since 2000), adding illustrations, as well as more and larger pages. Circulation is about 60,000.

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See also Books as Journalism; British Literary Journalism; British Magazines; Literary Journalism

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Quantitative News

See Precision Journalism

R

Race and Ethnicity, Coverage of

As the United States has grown increasingly diverse, journalists have recognized the importance of reporting on issues of race and ethnicity. They also realize they must learn to report on multicultural communities and include people from a wide variety of backgrounds as sources and subjects. This task is not as straightforward as it may seem. As with most other U.S. institutions, those in charge of reporting and writing the mainstream news have almost always been white. They have covered the news based on their own attitudes, experiences, and concerns. As a result, U.S. news organizations have an uneven history of equally and fairly covering all the people who participate in civic life.

Development

When the penny press first arose in the 1830s, it sought to attract a broad audience by combining a low price with plenty of crime news and human interest stories. At its center was the heterogeneous white audience, rather than marginalized racial and ethnic minorities. This financially pragmatic formula, along with the general exclusion of people of color from public and political affairs, shaped general news considerations and practices for decades to come. Scholars have identified four basic approaches in coverage since those days: at different times, mainstream news outlets have (1) excluded racial and ethnic minorities altogether, (2) focused on them as a threat, (3) detailed social confrontations among racial and ethnic groups, and (4) selectively covered minority groups based on a stereotyped view.

At least until the middle of the twentieth century, only community-based outlets provided any in-depth coverage of racial and ethnic minorities. The bilingual *El Misisipí* began publication for Spanish exiles in New Orleans in 1808. It lasted only two years, but *La Prensa,* which later became *El Diarió La Prensa,* still operates in New York. In 1827, the first black-owned, edited, and published newspaper for black Americans was founded, called *Freedom's Journal.* A year later the Cherokee Nation launched its own paper, soon named the *Cherokee Phoenix and Indian Advocate,* with international circulation and the interests of other tribes in mind. The paper ran out of money in 1834, and the Georgia Guard burned its building to the ground just before the tribe's forced relocation. But the Cherokee were able to revive the paper and it still publishes. *China Times,* based in San Francisco, has produced newspapers since 1924.

Several defining moments in U.S. race relations over the past century forced mainstream news outlets to reassess their white-centered approach. In the early 1900s, for instance, mainstream journalists comfortably disregarded the rise of black leaders such as A. Philip Randolph, who led the drive to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (when trains were still the prime means of long-distance travel); Walter White, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement

of Colored People; and W. E. B. Du Bois, the influential scholar and editor of NAACP's magazine, *Crisis*. *The New York Times* ran only one page-one story mentioning Randolph and none about the others in the five years between 1935 and 1940, according to a review of the newspaper's archive by journalists Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff. But the push for desegregation in the late 1940s; the brutal 1955 murder of Emmett Till, a black Chicago teenager visiting family in Mississippi, by two white men who were subsequently acquitted by an all-white jury; the Montgomery Bus Boycott of the mid-1950s; and the 1957 showdown over desegregation at Central High in Little Rock, Arkansas, challenged reporting that had ignored the lives of black people. Roberts and Klibanoff describe white news editors' slow realization that the civil rights movement and the white supremacy resistance to it could no longer be overlooked. A few papers hired black reporters, and white reporters began to venture out into the black community in order to cover the people and issues central to the day. In 1948 Carl T. Rowan took a job as a copy editor at the formerly all-white *Minneapolis Tribune;* in 1950, Marvel Cooke began reporting for the *Daily Compass* in New York; and in 1952, Simeon Booker became the first black reporter at a major newspaper, *The Washington Post*.

The desegregation battles did not, however, inspire news outlets to integrate their own pages in any comprehensive way. Latinos, Asians, and American Indians remained absent in coverage, except at times as criminals and threats. For the most part, it was white reporters that covered the civil rights movement for the white press. The American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) had no nonwhite members at all until 1965, when it allowed the membership of John H. Sengstacke, the editor of the famed black newspaper, *The Chicago Defender*. Some news outlets relegated coverage of black people to one or two special pages. For the general public, it was as if African Americans, American Indians, and people of Hispanic and Asian descent never gave birth, married, achieved in their lives, or died.

In 1967, when President Lyndon Johnson (1963–69) appointed a commission to find out why riots had erupted in urban areas each summer for several years, its members returned with an indictment of the news media. The resulting Kerner Report of 1968 attacked journalists for failing to apply their own tough standards to reporting on the disturbances. The news media reprinted rumors, reported inflated damage statistics, and printed "scare" headlines that exaggerated the disorders' scope and damage across the country, the report's authors concluded. News misrepresented the violence as primarily black–white confrontations. Most importantly, the commission reported after a content analysis of television and newspapers, for years reporters, editors, and producers had neglected the racial problems that had simmered across the country. As prominent journalist Robert C. Maynard described the situation a decade later, "the vast majority of white Americans was left to suppose that for no particular reason a bunch of blacks took it into their heads to burn down the city" (Marzolf and Tolliver 1977).

The Kerner Report pointed to deep injustices within U.S. society and warned that the nation was "moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal." Journalists, the commission said, had failed to report the deep problems America faced and neglected to identify potential solutions. The commission, calling news outlets "shockingly backward," urged them to hire black reporters, editors, writers, and commentators beyond token levels. Black Americans should be covered routinely in the context of overall society, they argued. Reporters and other resources should be assigned to "urban" and "ghetto" beats, and news outlets should develop relationships with their counterparts in the black press. Black staffers should be promoted into policy and decision-making levels. The news media reflected "the biases, the paternalism, the indifference of white America," the commission found. "The media report and write from the standpoint of a white man's world."

The report's stinging words triggered a flurry of black hires, but also complaints by news editors that there simply were not enough qualified ethnic minority journalists to bring on. Some universities and foundations stepped forward with programs to meet this objection—although most were short-lived. The University of Wisconsin started a lecturer-counselor program to encourage minority journalists, and the Booth Minority Scholars Program at the University of Michigan master's program provided a scholarship, summer internship, and a guaranteed year of employment with

the Booth newspaper group, which was later bought by S. I. Newhouse. Boston University started a dual-degree program in Afro-American Studies and Public Communication, hoping to educate a generation of journalists to cover urban and racial news in social, historical, and economic contexts.

What is known today as the Robert C. Maynard Institute for Journalism Education in Oakland, California, remains one of the most successful training programs designed to integrate newsrooms and educate journalists of all backgrounds to report fully and completely on all people. It began as a training ground for entry-level minority journalists to develop deadline and production skills, also placing its graduates into jobs. The program gave a start to many outstanding journalists, such as Pulitzer Prize winners Dennis Bell of *Newsday;* Steven Holmes of *The Washington Post;* and David Reyes, Virginia Escalante, and Louis Sahagun (along with institute cofounder Frank Sotomayor) of the *Los Angeles Times*. Milton Coleman, deputy managing editor of *The Washington Post,* and Carolina Garcia, executive editor of the *Los Angeles Daily News,* are both graduates.

Despite the flurry of remedial hiring by news outlets, a conference of high-level journalists that convened ten years after the Kerner Report decried the lack of progress. Minority journalists found work but within a few years often left the business, discouraged. The news still failed to report on both the realities of inner-city life and the positive culture and history of people of color. At heart, the problem really was the definition of news, concluded the group brought together by the University of Michigan. It remained fixed on white, middle-class, and male perceptions of who and what mattered in the world. What was needed, summed up one conference participant, was "greater infusions of minorities and women at a variety of levels in order to make that redefinition of journalism happen naturally through working together" (Marzolf and Tolliver 1977). Maynard, who with his wife, Nancy Hicks Maynard, later became the first black owners of a major metropolitan daily, called the press one of the most segregated institutions in the United States. When only some kinds of people get to control the telling of America's story, he said, "it is impossible for all Americans to understand what they should about each other" (Marzolf and Tolliver 1977).

The Year 2000 Goal

The Maynards and the other faculty of the Institute of Journalism Education developed a plan to push the news media to move faster. At a meeting for the National Association of Newspaper Editors' Committee on Minorities, and again a few months later at the trade association's national conference, they lobbied editors to set a goal: By the end of the century, minority journalists at their newspapers should match their proportion in the nation's population. The plan passed in April 1978, along with a recommendation to survey members each year to assess progress. The first census found that minorities made up only 4 percent of newsroom employees in contrast to 17 percent of the population. Only .4 percent of top editors were journalists of color.

The ASNE goal and yearly reminder of progress helped stimulate additional training and recruiting programs. But as 2000 approached, it was clear the goal would not be met. More than 40 percent of newsrooms remained completely white. About one-third failed to report their data at all. In sum, newsroom composition distressingly trailed the increasingly diverse U.S. population.

With journalists of color still just 11.5 percent of professional newsrooms compared to 26 percent of the population, ASNE members regrouped in 1998. They adopted a new diversity mission statement that extended their timeline, but "strongly reaffirm(ed)" their commitment. The editors reset their goal for newsroom parity with the population to the year 2025 if not sooner. At minimum, the revised statement said, all newspapers should employ journalists of color and every one should reflect the diversity of its own community. The editors added women to their census measures, established three-year benchmarks, and pledged to actively address problems in recruiting, hiring, and opening newsroom cultures to a diverse work force.

Journalists Organize

Journalists of color understood the importance of a diverse newsroom, but also found it difficult to find jobs and advance their own careers. They encountered discrimination in hiring and, once they broke into a news operation, often faced a hostile environment and skepticism about their

abilities. To counter this, they formed a number of associations to support one another, provide training for young journalists, and advance the cause of inclusive newsrooms with a commitment to covering all Americans fully and fairly.

In 1970, about 50 black producers of television and film formed the National Association of Black Media Producers. They elected as president Tony Brown, who later earned fame as the host of the Public Broadcasting Service public affairs program *Tony Brown's Journal*. He discovered a tool in the Communications Act of 1934, which declared that broadcasters, who are dependent on the publicly owned airwaves, have to serve the interests of the whole community. "The broadcast industry would never be the same," he wrote in his book *What Mama Taught Me*. With the help of black community organizations, the association was able to push open broadcaster doors to begin creating jobs for black people in television and radio.

A few years later in Philadelphia, black print and broadcast journalists who were concerned about coverage and hiring practices began to band together. They formed the National Association of Black Journalists in 1975 in an attempt to increase their numbers and put pressure on the industry from the inside. The Asian American Journalists Association formed in 1981, followed by the Native American Journalists Association and the National Association of Hispanic Journalists (NAHJ) in 1984. When the leaders of these four organizations discovered how much their missions held in common, they decided to hold a joint convention. Called UNITY, the event in July 1984 drew 6,000 journalists to Atlanta, what the organizers described as the largest journalist gathering up to that moment. Its resounding success led to a lasting alliance committed to advancing cross-cultural understanding and better race relations through improved news coverage.

The older, more broadly based journalist groups also played a role. The American Newspaper Guild had been inclusive from its founding. The national level of the Society of Professional Journalists (SPJ), however, only later joined the effort to press for change in the news industry. In the 1990s SPJ established chapters at several historically black colleges. Reginald Stuart, at the time a reporter for *The New York Times* and later a corporate recruiter for major news companies, became the organization's first black president in 1994.

Independently and collectively, these organizations took up the task of holding the news business accountable, monitoring both coverage and hiring practices. Scholarships and training supported students and helped keep professionals in their jobs. Stylebooks aimed to help journalists with terminology and racially sensitive issues. Initiatives such as NAHJ's Parity Project boosted hiring and promoted better relations between community leaders and newsrooms. The Maynard Institute developed content and sourcing analysis tools to awaken journalists to bias in coverage. The SPJ Rainbow Sourcebook offered a means for reporters of all backgrounds to broaden the narrow demographic band so often seen and heard in the news.

Even as other businesses made important strides toward integration, however, the news media fell progressively behind the rest of society. In 2007, the Radio-Television News Directors Association survey of newsrooms found that journalists of color made up 22.5 percent of the broadcast news workforce, while the ASNE survey found that they made up 13.6 percent of print editorial staff, compared to a U.S. population with 34 percent people of color. A new pressure on diversity efforts had arisen: economics. Because of shrinking newsroom employment overall, the total number of journalists of color in both broadcast and print declined during the year surveyed.

Ethnic Media

As conventional news coverage lagged in its struggle to keep up with U.S. demographic changes, community and ethnic media leapt in to fill the gap. Circulation increased rapidly for Hispanic and Spanish-language newspapers from 1990 to 2003, when it flattened a bit and then climbed again to 17.8 million by 2006, according to an analysis by the Project for Excellence in Journalism. Univision, the largest Spanish-language broadcaster in the United States, claimed the top two local television news broadcasts among adults 18 to 49 in the ten largest markets in 2008: KMEX in Los Angeles and KXTV New York. Spanish-language radio continued to build audiences even as radio listening flattened overall. Black-oriented radio stations also grew among

teens and adults aged 35 to 44, according to Arbitron ratings released in 2008.

Ethnic media naturally cover their communities in far more depth than do mainstream outlets and follow news developments in areas such as immigration and civil rights more closely. Such community-oriented media also tend to include context that other journalists neglect. In 2008 when *The New Yorker* magazine ran a satirical cover featuring then–presidential candidate Barack Obama as a Muslim terrorist, most news media decried the choice. But black-oriented outlets were more likely to provide a substantive critique, discuss the U.S. history that underpinned the images' potency, and highlight the role of media in shaping stereotypes overall. When covering the increase in U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement Agency actions in 2008, Spanish-language media offered a level of diversity in topic and approach not achieved by other outlets. Mainstream news often concentrated on the victims of a particular enforcement raid or focused on examples of companies that hired undocumented workers. Spanish-language outlets covered similar topics in a balanced and neutral fashion, and in addition, brought in the social, historical, and political factors contributing to policy and enforcement.

Such an approach has won loyalty among the populations these niche media target. A multilingual survey of ethnic media audiences in 2005 by a Florida consulting firm concluded that one-quarter of the U.S. population regularly turns to ethnic news outlets. Of those polled—African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, Native Americans, and Arab Americans—nearly half preferred ethnic media to mainstream options, although they often consulted both. The demand for more culturally aware and relevant news has helped spawn new outlets such as The Root (theroot.com), a black-oriented news and commentary website owned by *The Washington Post*. The site addresses the feeling in the black community that the general news ignores them, explained Lynette Clemetson, managing editor of the site, at a gathering of the Society of Professional Journalists in 2008. Clemetson said The Root challenges the concept of a black monolith and tries to introduce new voices to the general media. When mainstream journalists quote black people, it's usually the same five sources, she said.

Impact

Many scholars have studied news angles, content, and sourcing in mainstream news and found compelling evidence that overall, mainstream journalists tend to report from a white point of view. People of color are often absent—except in crime, sports, or entertainment news. Local broadcast outlets rarely feature Asian Americans, Latinos, or Native Americans at all. When covering the attacks of September 11, 2001, CNN, NBC, and CBS turned overwhelmingly to white, male sources.

On the other hand, black people do consistently and disproportionately appear on local stations and in newspaper crime news—nearly always as suspects, researchers have found. Other studies have found that a preponderance of black people on network news are poor, complaining, or involved with drugs and crime. While some critics describe these portrayals as realistic, data collected in several studies seem to demonstrate otherwise. In a 2000 comparison of news programming in Los Angeles to California Department of Justice crime statistics done by researchers Travis Dixon and Daniel Linz, for instance, African Americans were overrepresented as lawbreakers. White people and Latinos appeared less often than the crime figures would warrant. On the other hand, whites were overrepresented as law enforcement officers compared to employment data. Latinos once again were included less often than hiring statistics would predict. The cumulative effects of such distortions may be profound.

In experiments testing attitudes and reactions, political scientists Frank D. Gilliam Jr. and Shanto Iyengar concluded that news watchers showed regular, unconscious tendencies to associate black people with crime. Even when they were shown sample news stories with no perpetrator at all, 44 percent of viewers remembered a black criminal. Frequent news watchers in the Los Angeles study tended towards views that the researchers called "new racism": a perception that black people tend to violate traditional values of hard work and make illegitimate demands for government benefits. Communication researchers Travis L. Dixon and Cristina L. Azocar also studied viewer responses to news and found that crime stories with a preponderance of black suspects shaped views that

crime was a black activity. Regular viewers also were more likely to look at crime as a serious problem that required severe punishment. While such studies have limitations and do not prove a causal link, they do give journalists cause for reflection.

Techniques for Better Reporting

At an April 2007 conference, journalists contemplated ways they might counter the unconscious reactions they themselves help create. Fundamentally, they decided, news must create an environment that is truthful. As one component of accuracy, journalists should resist habitually covering story subjects and sources in expected roles or social status positions. Reporters must learn to notice, for example, the female technology wizards, the Native Americans in the executive suite, and Latino families with three generations in community policing. Stories should not only include familiar ideas but also challenge audiences to adjust their assumptions.

As cities across the nation grow more diverse, news outlets are realizing they must change their habits. Some newsroom traditions help lock in imbalance in sourcing and content. Practices such as evaluating a source's "credibility" according to title, status, and familiarity in the newsroom may lead a majority white staff to rely mainly on white sources. Perceptions of "prominence" and "proximity," or measures of the importance of a news topic, may vary according to journalists' familiarity with communities outside of their own neighborhoods and the downtown elite. Source lists handed down on a beat are less likely to include newcomers that reflect the racial, ethnic, and language diversity transforming schools, parks, shops, and workplaces across the country.

Some mainstream news media have forged partnerships with ethnic and community outlets in order to build better awareness of the people and stories they are missing. Ethnic media offer a background in the institutional and social underpinnings of their community's experience. They can share the perspectives and voices of groups that mainstream outlets find hard to access. For their part, the larger news organization can provide resources and connections to political and institutional sources that ethnic media may lack. WNYC's 2005 series *Feet in Two Worlds,* for example, brought together ethnic media and public radio reporters to tell stories that each may have covered less well on their own, including struggling Haitian immigrants tethered by the emotional and financial pull from home; and South Asian gays who have forged a hybrid culture in New York of both sexual freedom and traditional family values.

The Maynard Institute has long taught journalists to cover the whole community by analyzing how they perceive news and what they might be missing. Maynard identifies five forces that shape lives, experiences, and the social tensions in society: the "fault lines" of race, class, generation, gender, and geography. By using this framework, reporters and editors can see how their own upbringing and history shapes their view of the world. They can understand the shared culture within a newsroom and how this affects the news-gathering process. By assessing the ways in which these fault lines mold views about the importance and meaning of issues, the institute argues, journalists can do a better job deciding what to cover and how. They can learn their own "blind spots" and challenge the assumptions they have accumulated over time. They can identify news that might have formerly been obscured, and locate the sources they need in order to build a complete and accurate story. A piece about the health of the Social Security system, for instance, will be much more complete if it takes into account the very different experiences of able white men, people with disabilities, and women in both earnings and benefits.

The Poynter Institute, a school for professional journalists in Florida, places diversity and ethics together in its training and resources. Columns on "Everyday ethics" and "Diversity at Work" sit side by side on its website, as if to signal that inclusion is central to accuracy and fairness. Tools such as a "diversity wheel," which features religion, nationality, physical abilities, and intellect along with the fault lines, help journalists wake up to their own tendencies to make assumptions and avoid certain situations. Indeed, a journalist has a duty to "seek truth and report it" in service of justice and democracy, declares the Society of Professional Journalists, the nation's most broad-based journalism organization, in its Ethics Code. Yet "truth" in the news, both journalists and communication researchers have found, can be a matter of shifting ground. Whether journalists are reporting a car accident or

a riot, their own location, knowledge base, and personal history influences the "truth" they are able to see. The mainstream news media continues to struggle, with uneven success, to report fully on the truth lived by the racial and ethnic minorities in American society.

Sally Lehrman

See also African American News Media; Asian American News Media; Civil Unrest, Coverage of; Diversity: Content; Diversity: Employment; Diversity: Policy; Ethics; Ethnic Minority Networks; Latino News Media; Immigration, Coverage of; Native American News Media; Newsroom Culture

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RATINGS

See Audience Research; Audience Research Organizations

RECORDING

Recording is the process of making a record, to preserve data, words, sounds, or images in some tangible form. Newspapers and magazines use quotations to capture the verbatim statements of people or documents. Photographs provide a visual record of how something looks, and photojournalism creates visual documentation of events. All of these applications may be journalistic forms of recording. In popular usage, recording is used more specifically to refer to the electronic preservation of sounds and images using audio and video technology. Even more narrowly defined, recording is used to refer to the music business itself, the

"recording industry." In this entry, "recording" is used to describe the processes used to capture and preserve journalistic sounds and images.

Analog Sound Recording

Sound recording refers to the ability to convert acoustical energy (the vibrations of air molecules) into a preservable form for storage and distribution; this converted energy can be mechanical (i.e., the bumps in the groove of a vinyl record) or magnetic (i.e., polarized particles on magnetic tape). The resulting recorded forms in "analog" media, such as vinyl records and recording tape, are analogous to the original sound vibrations. Digital sound media, such as CDs, MP3 players, and the Internet, on the other hand, use a binary numerical representation of analog waveform measurements to manipulate and preserve a mathematical equivalent of sound vibrations. These digital representations are converted to analog acoustical energy when played back.

Thomas Edison is usually credited with inventing the first practical device capable of recording the human voice. Speaking the words of a simple nursery rhyme, "Mary had a little lamb," Edison launched sound recording history. His hand crank driven tinfoil cylinder "phonograph" (a Greek word for "sound writer"), patented in 1878, converted sound vibrations into corresponding indentations in a spiral groove pattern on a cylinder. Among other applications, Edison thought the phonograph could be used for dictation; for educational purposes; to record speeches, books, and music; to make toys, clocks, and music boxes; and to preserve lasting records of telegraph and telephone messages.

Major improvements to the phonograph soon followed. Working with Alexander Graham Bell in 1886, Chichester Bell (Alexander's cousin) and Charles Tainter developed the "graphophone," a wax cylinder machine that increased the number of times a cylinder could be played. Emile Berliner's hard shellac flat disc system,

An image of Edison's early phonograph equipment photographed in his lab in 1892.

Source: Library of Congress.

called the "gramophone," improved sound quality and made both duplication and storage more convenient. In 1929, Berliner sold his patent and "His Master's Voice" logo (a painting showing a dog "Nipper" cocking his head by the horn speaker of a phonograph) to the Victor Talking Machine Company, which later became a division of the Radio Corporation of America. Improved methods of molding cylinders and discs for mass duplication, spring (wind-up) and electric motor drive systems, and significant accomplishments in radio electronics, contributed to developments in microphone, amplifier and loudspeaker technologies. Although an effort was made to market the phonograph as an office dictation machine, consumers adopted these early systems for home entertainment and music recording. RCA Victor became a major producer of phonograph records and the company's "Victrola" players became a prominent piece of furniture in many homes. In 1929, RCA introduced a 16-inch diameter transcription disc, made from "Vitrolac." This recordable "electronic transcription" (ET) disc system enabled radio stations to record and playback music and talk programs.

Other methods of recording sound soon appeared. Optical sound, a photographic representation of the waveform of sound, enabled film producers to synchronize sound with moving pictures. In 1919, a sound-on-film system, "Phonofilm," invented by Lee de Forest, was used to produce experimental short films with music, vaudeville, speeches, and talk. Although the audio quality was initially considered poor, improvements made it possible to record news events, such as speeches by public figures. In 1926, the patent for optical sound was purchased by the Fox Film Corporation, the company that produced Fox Movietone news films, but disc systems remained a viable film sound alternative. Using a synchronized disc system called the "Vitaphone, *The Jazz Singer* was the first feature-length "talkie" in 1927.

Improved magnetic processes for recording also appeared. In magnetic recording, acoustical vibrations are converted to electrical energy, then to a magnetic signal. Magnetic particles, such as iron oxide, are polarized to encode a pattern that represents the original waveform of a sound for storage on tape. The first such device, a magnetic wire cylinder recorder called a "telegraphone," was developed by Danish inventor Valdemar Poulsen in the late 1890s. His recording of Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph at the 1900 Paris Fair is believed to be the oldest surviving example of a magnetic recording. Similar devices, such as the "Blattnerphone," developed in the 1930s in England by German inventor Louis Blattner, and its replacement, a machine developed by wireless inventor Guglielmo Marconi, used razor sharp steel tape as a medium for magnetic recording. Both machines were considered to be so dangerous that they had to be isolated in separate rooms away from operators. Wire and metal tape machines were used to record news event programs as early as World War I. Although the sound quality of these machines was marginal, variations on these magnetic recorders remained in use into the 1950s.

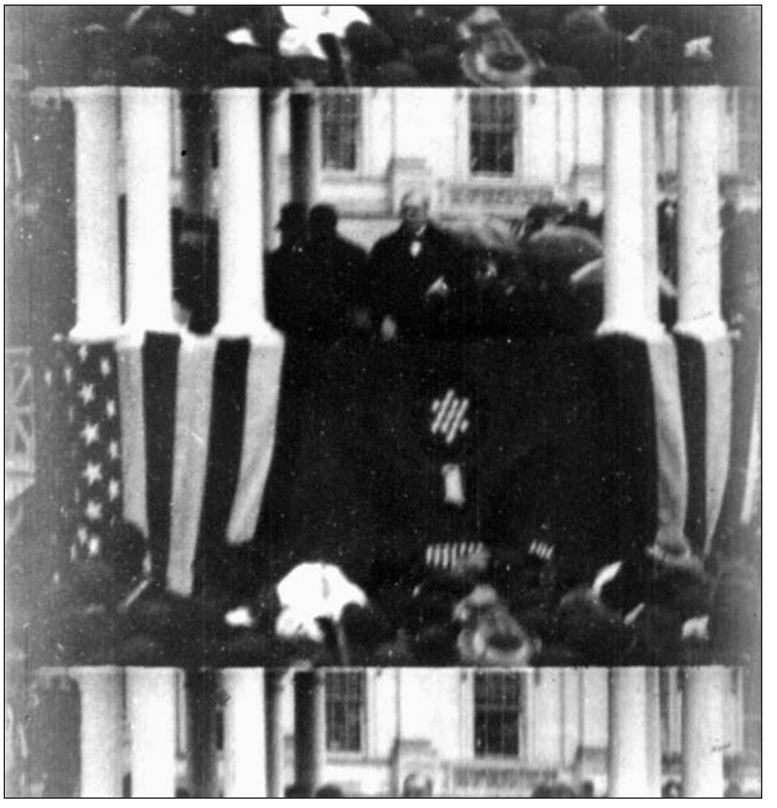
Meanwhile, in the early 1930s, two German companies (AEG and BASF) collaborated to develop the "magenetophone," a machine that recorded on magnetic powder- (iron or ferris oxide) coated paper or cellulose acetate tape. It was not until the end of World War II that American Signal Corps officers brought this improved recording technology back to the United States. Although there was news event programming before the Second World War (a famous example is radio station WLS reporter Herb Morrison's description of the destruction of the airship *Hindenburg* in May 1937), networks and many stations avoided recorded news or talk programs. Most of Edward R. Murrow's famous reports from wartime London under German bombing were broadcast live by shortwave radio from London to New York Some of Murrow's reports were preserved on electronic transcription discs.

The importance of magnetic audio recording tape (cellulose acetate and polyester) to the music and radio industries was dramatic in the post-war period. Prior to development of magnetic tape, with the exception of electronic transcriptions (usually a one-take process) and metal tape recordings, most radio programming was broadcast live. Magnetic tape gave sound engineers the opportunity to produce performances in steps; it improved mixing, balancing, and stereo and multiple channels capabilities; it offered the ability to edit recorded segments; and most importantly, it enhanced the audio quality of recorded sound, despite inherent tape noise. By the late 1960s, noise reductions systems

such as Dolby and Dbx were introduced to reduce background noise ("hiss") and further improve audio quality. Numerous tape formats have been used since, including various size reel-to-reel, endless-loop cartridge (consumer eight-track stereo, and professional "Fidelipac") and cassette formats. Perhaps most significant for personal recording and playback was the compact audio cassette, which was standardized by the Philips Company of the Netherlands in 1962.

Analog Image Recording

For recording moving images on film and video light wave reflections of objects are converted to analog images stored on film or as an electrical signal on video tape. A visual record of motion is created by a rapid succession of still pictures that create the illusion of motion. This illusion is based on a psychophysical principle called "persistence of vision," the ability of the eye to retain an image for a brief moment after it has disappeared, and the ability of the mind to blend successive still images into a continuous motion.



This historic image is a frame isolated from the first motion picture recording of a presidential inauguration: it shows William McKinley taking the oath of office in 1897.

Source: Library of Congress.

The photomechanical and electro-photomechanical film technologies that were developed in the 1800s for creating moving pictures were based on early still photography. These devices include Leonardo da Vinci's "camera obscura," a pinhole dark room capable of projecting a weak reflection of an outside image on an interior wall; the "magic lantern," a seventeenth-century oil lamp device that projected glass slide images; the Zoetrope, a simple rotating cylinder used to view images through vertical slits; Eadweard Muybridge's 1879 invention, the Zoopraxiscope, a device that projected successive still images photographed by multiple cameras; and George Eastman's flexible celluloid film, developed in 1884. Thomas Edison and his assistant William Dickson were key contributors to the development of motion picture technology. Their inventions, the Kinetograph—a camera—and the Kinetoscope—a hand-crank device that allowed viewers to watch short films through a peep-hole in a cabinet—brought together the principles and technologies for recording and viewing moving pictures.

The ability to project films for theatrical exhibition was made possible by devices patented in the mid-1890s, such as Edison's Vitascope, and an American Mutoscope product called the Biograph. These and other early motion picture recording and projection machines were at first novelties. Short films were shown in small exhibition houses called Nickelodeons, because the admission fee was a nickel. Longer films and more sophisticated story telling techniques developed in the early 1900s, as demonstrated in historic works, such as George Melies's *A Trip to the Moon* (1902), Edwin S. Porter's *The Great Train Robbery* (1903), and D. W. Griffith's *The*

Birth of a Nation (1915). By the 1920s, films were shown in ornate movie houses, and an entire motion picture industry developed around well-known actors.

Rapid technological developments added synchronous sound to pictures in the late 1920s, color (tinting and hand coloring in the late 1890s, and two and three color techniques in the early 1900s), and bigger and wider picture screen formats (such as Cinemascope) in the 1950s. Film was also used to record news events visually, such as the rescue of *Titanic* survivors in 1912, and Charles Lindbergh's solo flight across the Atlantic in 1927. Between 1928 and 1963, Fox Movietone News and Universal International News produced weekly "newsreels." These silent and later sound news briefs, which typically used a narrator with background music, were shown before features in movie theatres.

Meanwhile, on a related technological front, RCA introduced its system for electronic television at the 1939 New York World's Fair; however, television as a practical broadcast distribution medium did not become widespread until after World War II. Film remained the primary medium for television news gathering and editing into the early 1970s. Most early television shows were broadcast live, although Kinescope, a complex system for recording the changing television screen on film, was used by NBC and CBS to record news for time-zone delayed broadcast. It was not until the mid-1950s that video systems for recording television became available. Building on magnetic audiotape technology, the Ampex Corporation introduced the first professional videotape recorder (VTR). CBS's *Douglas Edwards and the News* is believed to be the first network news program recorded on videotape in 1956.

Rapid improvements followed with the introduction of the rotating and helical scan record heads (to compensate for the high speed required for recording video), color capability, portable video recorders (camcorders), and professional (U-Matic, a ¾-inch-tape format) and consumer videocassette machines (VCRs) by 1975. After competing for several years, JVC (Victor Company of Japan), with its longer playing VHS (Video Home System), won the technical standards battle for the home video market over Sony Corporation, maker of the more expensive Betamax videotape format. Although prerecorded motion pictures were available, many consumers purchased VCR machines to record and "time-shift" their watching of television programs. Meanwhile, improved portable professional video cameras and videotape editors made ENG (electronic news gathering) possible.

By the late 1970s, new optical (laser) technologies for recording and playing back video were introduced. Early videodisc systems marketed by MCA (DiscoVision), Philips (Video Disc Player) and Pioneer Electronics (Laser VideoDisc), were analog, but later used digital sound. Although these systems had advantages over videotape, such as random access, freeze frame, multiple audio tracks, and a better picture, these analog optical systems were not successful and were replaced by improved digital videodisc recording technologies in the 1980s.

Digital Sound Recording

Although there were gradual improvements in analog audio recording, the process remained fundamentally unchanged until the introduction of digital technology in the 1970s. Based on computer technology, digital audio converts sound waves into a numerical equivalent, which is stored magnetically or optically. During the analog-to-digital conversion process, sound waves are converted to an electrical signal, then systematically sampled and measured for representation in a binary number coding system of ones and zeros. Generally, the more samples per second (sampling rate) and the more numbers to represent each sample (bit resolution), the better the sound quality. During the digital-to-analog process, numerical representations are converted back to analog vibrations for playback through a standard loudspeaker system.

Although professional magnetic digital audio recorders were in use for mastering music in the 1970s, the first successful consumer optical digital device, developed by Sony and Philips, was the five-inch compact disc, first sold in 1984. The CD, which uses a laser to read digitally encoded information, has been the dominant consumer digital audio medium for three decades. Other digital recording and storage media, such as magnetic digital audiotape (DAT) recorders and players, developed in the late 1980s, achieved only limited

success with consumers, in part because of consumer confusion about competing technical standards, and also because of industry concerns about illicit duplicating of copyrighted content.

Hard disk, removable flash drive, and solid-state digital storage devices are the latest innovations in sound recording. Personal portable machines, such as the Apple iPod, MP3 Players, and some cellular telephones, make it possible to distribute music, news, and information on the Internet. "Podcasting," a convenient way to package, access and download digital audio content, is now used by many respected journalism outlets to provide supplemental news and information to listeners.

Digital Image Recording

Digital video converts an analog signal representing an image into numbers for magnetic or optical storage, and uses a laser to read encoded information on a disc. Because of the large amount of information in a moving video image, newer systems use digital compression techniques (algorithms), which reduce the amount of redundant information to save storage space. By the early 1990s various high-density optical storage techniques used the DVD ("Digital Versatile (or Video) Disc") to record and distribute data, audio, and video, making the DVD the most widely used consumer distribution medium for motion picture films. On a related front, broadcast and production technical standards for digital television and High Definition Television (HDTV) were adopted, followed by a new digital video distribution format battle between Blu-ray, sponsored by Sony, and HD-DVD, promoted by Toshiba. Both competed to make their respective system the dominant consumer high-definition DVD video format. By early 2007, Sony's Blu-ray had clearly won the contest.

Personal digital multimedia devices now allow Internet users to download video podcasts or "vodcasts" of television news, information, and music. Solid-state video devices and digital video recorder (DVR) systems, such as TiVo and ReplayTV, use computer technology and hard drives to enable consumers to download, manipulate (with pause, fast forward, reverse, slow-motion, and instant replay functions) and time-shift television programs for viewing at a later time. As recording technology continues to evolve, on-demand systems, available online or through digital cable systems, may reduce the need for consumers to download or record television news and other programs at home.

Don Grady

See also Audio and Video News Services; Convergence; Digital Sound; Digital Television; Documentaries, Television; Electronic News Gathering; Podcasting; Video News Releases

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Religion Journalism

It is an intriguing conundrum that religion has been, and remains, a difficult and challenging subject matter for journalists and journalism. This has been particularly confusing in the case of the United States, the most religious of the major Western Democracies. American traditions of freedom of religion and freedom of the press, linked in the First Amendment, should be linked in traditions of openness and public discourse. Instead, as has often been observed, religion has existed in a peculiar place within journalism. Observers across the political spectrum have criticized American

news coverage of religion along two dimensions: First, that there simply is not enough of it, and second, that when journalists have taken on the religion story, they have failed to do so with the same levels of expertise and seriousness they devote to other, more "important" beats.

Religion in America

Why should religion be part of the news budget? There are a variety of arguments here. First, in the case of the United States, religion is a very prominent feature of public and private life. The place of religion shifted across the course of the twentieth century. Earlier, religion was largely a feature of various so-called religious establishments, most prominently the "Protestant Establishment" that held sway until mid-century, and an emerging presence of Catholicism in American culture. The early years of the century saw as well the emergence of another, "third" force in American religion: Christian Fundamentalism. Fundamentalist and Pentecostal movements were, at the beginning, barely a blip on the public radar screen. As the century progressed, though, they grew and developed, gradually moving beyond their roots in rural, southern, and western states and in lower socioeconomic contexts.

By the middle of the twentieth century, establishment religions were fading, leading to an assumption by some that that religion itself was diminishing, something that had been long predicted by social theorists. This process of "secularization" was predicted to gradually erode the presence and importance of religion in both public and private life. Instead, other religions were emerging. First and foremost, what had been known as "Fundamentalism" by mid-century began to diversify into an older, more conservative form and a newer form, which was called "Evangelicalism" by its leaders, the most prominent of whom was the Evangelist Billy Graham. This new movement came to have important and long-lasting effects on American society and politics by 1976, when a self-avowed Evangelical, Jimmy Carter, was elected President. Well before that, prominent Evangelical broadcasters burst onto both radio and television. One of these "televangelists," Pat Robertson, made a brief run for the presidency in 1988.

Pentecostalism followed a similar trajectory, and by the end of the century was the fastest-growing branch of Christianity worldwide. Other movements such as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the Mormons) also grew during the same period, and immigration brought increasing numbers of Muslims, Buddhists and Hindus to the United States. The indigenous Muslim movement, the Nation of Islam, also expanded during this time. Contrary to predictions, furthermore, the story of the more formal and historic faith groups, did not end. New kinds of religion and spirituality arose alongside existing denominations, with such things as the so-called new age movement finding religious and spiritual meaning and motivation in new places and from new sources.

So, while overall church attendance continued a gradual decline throughout the course of the twentieth century, religion was far from fading. It was persisting and reorganizing in new and different ways.

Religion as News

Yet scholars and observers generally agree that journalism lagged in its appreciation for, and coverage of, these developments. Religion continued to find its traditional place in the news budget: confined to feature coverage, weekend sections, and Church advertising in newspapers, but barely present at all in broadcast news.

This was not due to the absence of competent journalists to cover it. Most major metropolitan dailies employed at least one religion reporter or editor during the mid- and late twentieth century, as did the major newsmagazines, though broadcasting did not follow suit. Even newspapers in small and medium-sized markets (such as the Nashville *Tennessean* and Bakersfield *Californian*) devoted some space to religion coverage, and some papers (including the major metro dailies) covered it seriously and well. The problem, as many of these religion journalists noted, was that religion continued to be considered one of the lesser beats in American journalism, and even where trained and sophisticated religion reporters were covering the topic, they still battled more "senior" beats for access to the news pages. Front-page coverage of religion was rare, except in the few cases where religion news looked like "other" news: when religious power struggles or scandals propelled it higher on the news agenda.

Religion had not always been quite so ignored. One of James Gordon Bennett's major innovations

at the *New York Herald* was to provide consistent and serious attention to religion, though as a "city," not a "national" beat. Others followed Bennett's lead, and this lead to the situation describe above, with most metropolitan dailies assuming that religion should be part of their remit. Henry Luce was similarly committed to religion coverage in the *Time/Life* publications, and the other newsmagazines followed *Time*'s lead in instituting regular departments, beats, and (though more rarely) positions in religion. The wire services also included religion as one of their areas of coverage, a tradition that the Associated Press continues to this day.

But what did these journalists cover, what was published, and how? In the main, American religion journalism early in the twentieth century reflected the religious establishment in American political culture. Well into that century, the dominant religious culture remained mainline or "establishment" Protestantism. As was reflected in sociological analyses at mid-century, most business and political leaders through this period were more or less identified with one of the Protestant traditions. But religion was not a highly salient feature of public discourse before the 1970s, nor was it common for political candidates to display their

An example of the early involvement of journalism in religious affairs, this cartoon from the mid-1840s (titled "Jamie & the Bishop") depicts New York Herald *publisher James Gordon Bennett's ongoing conflict with the Catholic bishop of New York, John Hughes. At center left Scottish-born "Jamie" Bennett, with a quill pen tucked behind his ear, empties an enema at Hughes, saying that he can throw "mickle," or much, "dirty water" at the bishop, referring to the power of the Bennett's* New York Herald *to attack Hughes in print.*

Source: Library of Congress.

religion. This was the era described by Will Herberg in his classic study, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew* as a time when these three choices were simply "varieties of ways of being American."

This tacit, or taken-for-granted, approach to religion came under stress largely as a result of growing waves of immigration. The nineteenth century brought more and more religious diversity to American shores. This meant that Catholicism, in particular, was emerging in public culture, and the response of public figures and public institutions was to try to integrate it along the lines described by Herberg. As Dwight Eisenhower is reported to have said, ". . . I think every American should have a religion, and I don't care what it is . . ." (quoted in Chernus 2008). Turn-of-the-century social and political movements did threaten to destabilize this easy arrangement, however, and to do so in public—and thus newsworthy—ways. Two of these, the temperance movement and the rise of conservative Fundamentalism, were harbingers of the emergence of religion in political discourse later in the century. The journalistic construction of Fundamentalism was particularly important, focused as it was around coverage of the Scopes "Monkey Trial" of 1925. The outcome of that event, as reported in the national press, was a widespread political repudiation of fundamentalism, which then turned inward for a half century, emerging in a new form in the 1970s.

The combination of a social consensus that religions should be tolerated in public and private life, the sense that the emerging religious landscape was as described by Herberg, and the continued dominance in social and cultural terms of the Protestant establishment led to a particular approach to religion for most of the twentieth century. The relative lack of religious controversy during the post–World War II era, along with the quietude of the immigrant religions and of the home-grown Christian Fundamentalism, coincided with the commonplace notion that industrialization and education would soon lead to the further decline of religion. This latter idea, rooted in the social theory of "secularization," predicted that religion would gradually fade in importance in public life as modernity moved onward. There was reason to believe that this was the dominant social trend. Overall religious-service attendance and overall levels of identification with religion began a decline after World War II that continues to this day.

There were, of course, contradictory indicators. For example, the 1960 presidential election was dominated in some part by questions over the religion of John F. Kennedy, a Catholic. While he was not the first Catholic to run for that office (Al Smith was, in 1928), his candidacy raised religion to the forefront, and he needed to execute a careful public-relations strategy to overcome it.

The religion journalism of the mid-twentieth century was typified by several characteristics. First, as religion was thought to be of fading importance, it was given relatively little attention at most newspapers. Typical of most was the traditional "church page," a page or section that appeared on Saturday, accompanied by church ads. It was part of newspaper lore that the ads and the coverage were related, that the more space a church bought, the more likely they were to receive news coverage. This also meant that religion coverage was marginalized, limited to that dedicated space and day. It was rare at most newspapers for religion to appear in the news sections and on any day other than Saturday. It was also rare for any of these newspapers to employ a full-time specialist to cover the religion beat.

At the major metropolitan dailies, the situation was somewhat different, with most of them boasting a full-time religion writer or editor, in a few cases (such as *The New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times*), more than one. Still, these reporters found their access to the news pages and to good assignments limited by the assumption that religion remained a marginal beat or dimension of most news stories. The national newsmagazines also tended to employ a religion editor during the mid-twentieth century. For all of these print media, however, religion was limited in where it could appear. It was common, for example, for the major dailies and newsmagazines (and indeed, the television networks) to emphasize religion only during the times of the major religious holidays, most notably at Easter and Passover.

The situation with broadcast news has been even more telling. No major commercial broadcast network has consistently employed a religion reporter or producer for their flagship news programming. In the one exception, ABC employed such a journalist/producer for most of the 1990s but eliminated the post after about eight years for budget reasons. None of the cable news channels has employed a religious reporter or producer or had such a department.

Religion as Controversy

What religion coverage was provided thus operated within these constraints of resources and access. This enforced, and was enforced by, certain approaches to coverage on those occasions when religion did receive attention and space. For most journalists and editors, it was simply assumed that religion was inherently controversial. Thus, coverage of it suffered from a kind of defensiveness that had editors reluctant to assign journalists to stories that might raise the hackles of religionists. There was a sense that, because religion was of fading import anyway, it was really not worth the potential controversy that might arise from coverage.

This fear of controversy dovetailed with the sense that religion is an inherently complex beat. There are, literally, scores of different religions, and how is the reporter or editor to choose among them? This was thought to lead again to controversy and to be an implicit challenge to the competence of the religion editor or writer. With that amount of complexity, surely a level of sophistication, and perhaps formal education in religion, was necessary to sort it all out. Such a lack of context was not, ironically, thought to be an impediment to other "beats," where journalism and journalists have assumed that a well-rounded reporter could rise to the occasion with on-the-job experience. The skills of the journalist were thought to be sufficient to take on nearly any beat. Yet religion has been an exception.

Religious complexity also complicates two other conventions of journalism. First, the notion that journalism relies on sources for its evidence. How do you "source" a religion story? How do you provide evidence of beliefs that inherently defy such material questions? This, of course, assumes that the core of religion is questions of belief, not its actions and consequences in the material and social worlds, but nonetheless, many journalists have been reluctant to take on religion stories because of a fear that at some point, they would need to parse their competing claims to authority.

The second convention confronted by these received notions of religion is that a journalist uses sources and evaluates information according to competing "sides." In the typical story, the journalist need only locate the two competing sets of interests involved and provide space to their ideas and claims. In the case of religion, however, there are often many more "sides." There are multiple religions in even the smallest town in America. How does the journalist decide which ones to cover? Again, this is a received and somewhat naive reading of religion, but it nonetheless has been one of the impediments to religion coverage.

Finally, for most of the twentieth century, religion, particularly the major faith traditions, were treated with a certain sense of deference. The historic faiths, such as Catholicism, Orthodoxy, Orthodox Judaism, and Islam, have cooperated in this view, wishing to be able to reserve themselves from public scrutiny (Protestant Christians have tended to be less concerned about this). Religious authorities in general wish to arrogate to themselves the question of where the boundary between their "sacred centers" and the "profane outside world" should be drawn. As instruments of the outside, secular world, media have been seen as potential threats to this authority. And for most of the century, the media were more than happy to defer to religious institutions, even in matters of some public import such as public policy on education and the family.

Reporting the Religion Story

There has been a good deal of scholarly attention to the ways that journalism has treated the religion story when it has chosen to do so. In general, scholars agree that when journalists cover religion, they do so within received and accepted frameworks. These include consensual ideas about religious and social norms in areas such as personal morality, religious support for the "social safety net," and the ways that these religious and social norms are interrelated. Consistent with the notion that American society is fundamentally religious, even Judeo-Christian, these frames enforce (even on "secular" journalism) certain categories and conventions that define coverage, treating Judaism and Christianity as the religiously "generic." Scholars also agree that as, a socially consensual activity, journalism also tends to enforce what is the religious "mainstream," and define the religiously "different" as that outside that "mainstream." Thus, even though it should be up to religions to enforce social ideas about what is commonplace and what is not, journalism helps enforce these categories.

But as journalism in America operates according to Anglo-American traditions of the marketplace of

ideas and its relationship to democratic discourse, journalism has remained open to coverage of religion beyond the received, more problematic categories already discussed. Thus, when religion looks like other beats, when—for example—it gets involved with scandals or money or politics, it is more comfortable turf for journalists. When a series of major shifts in the nature of religion and its relationship to domestic and international politics began to appear in the late twentieth century, the nature of religion journalism also began to change, a transformation still underway.

The turning point came in the 1970s. The long-dormant conservative Christian movements began to emerge into national consciousness and politics. In 1977, the first Evangelical commander-in-chief, Jimmy Carter, took office. His emergence symbolized something that had been underway for several decades: the gradual emergence of a new form of conservative Protestantism that came to be called Evangelicalism. Its major figure was the Reverend Billy Graham, who had been a fixture on the religious and even political scene since the 1950s. He was a more moderate public face for what had been the marginalized fundamentalism earlier in the century. He was a comfortable media figure, someone whose organization was a major producer of religious media, yet also at ease in the "secular" media, where he excelled at representing this new form of American religion.

Carter's emergence coincided with the formation of a number of Evangelically related television ministries (what we now know as "Televangelism"). These represented both a new forum for conservative Christianity, and a new way of reaching—and organizing—the faithful. Both Carter and the televangelists symbolized the important change: that these conservative Christians were moving away from their traditional reluctance to engage in politics. Indeed, the new political consciousness of Evangelicals came to define segments of American politics for most of the next three decades. This emergence of religion as a political force was prefigured by the antiwar and civil rights movements of the 1960s, both of which drew heavily on religious support and religious ideas.

The second major shock of the 1970s came at the end: the Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1979. American political and journalistic establishments had long held that religion was an insignificant matter in global politics, even in the volatile Middle East. The idea that a religiously defined revolution could overtake one of America's most stalwart allies in that region was indeed a revelation to both the U.S. government and to global media, and both spent years trying to understand what had happened. The general consensus was that both the government and the media had underestimated the importance of religion in the formation and maintenance of modern identities.

Conundrum

The problem of religion journalism persists, however. Even after the emergence of religion into political life in the 1970s, journalism continued to struggle with the perception that religion is exceptional, and that its complexities defy traditional journalistic conventions. There was no marked increase in resources devoted to religion coverage by American news media, even as religion became a more important element of domestic politics. Yet the so-called Reagan Coalition of the 1980s included a burgeoning Evangelical segment, televangelist Pat Robertson ran unsuccessfully for the Republican nomination in 1988, the second Bush administration (2001–09) played strongly to the religious right, and Mitt Romney, a Mormon, and Mike Huckabee, an ordained Baptist minister, both ran for the Republican presidential nomination in 2008.

Perhaps the biggest historical break came on September 11, 2001, when Islamist terrorists carried out successful attacks on New York City and Washington. This was followed by further attacks in other countries. The reaction of Western foreign policy was to focus military resources on the occupation of both Afghanistan and Iraq, and rhetorical resources on what many see as a new "clash of civilizations," rooted in a clash of religious views.

This faceoff between the Muslim world and the West has made the whole question of religion journalism even more complex. Clearly, news media audiences must better understand nuances and layered relations of culture, religion, identity, and politics that define this ongoing story. Journalism should transcend some of its most long-standing definitions and approaches to the religion "beat." In the post-9/11 news context, there is clearly need for more attention to religion

Several things must be addressed in the short term. First, more journalists need to prepare to specialize in coverage of religion. Second, religion

needs to be included as a dimension of stories of global politics and global security, not treated as an isolated beat. Third, journalists need to abandon their assumptions that religion is esoteric and marginal in the face of its central role in both domestic and world politics and power. Fourth, journalists must understand that their goal is not to legitimate certain religious claims or beliefs over others. Rather, it is to make the role and function of religion intelligible to their audiences. Finally, journalists and editors need to overcome their reluctance to cover religion because of its complexity and controversy. The issues are simply too important for journalism to ignore.

Stewart M. Hoover

See also Ethics

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Religious News Media

Religious news media comprise an important part of journalism. While the term immediately conjures up contemporary vehicles such as *Belief Net, The 700 Club,* and *Christianity Today,* religious news is nearly as old as religion itself. Given that religion is a cultural universal (though in many different flavors), its involvement in journalism has been enduring and far-reaching. Indeed, at times in history, religious news media have been the only forms of mass communication. Currently, however, religious journalism usually takes a secondary role to more dominant secular media. Nevertheless, the range of religious news media has expanded; they remain vital to the survival of denominations. Religious media raise issues often ignored by secular outlets. On the other hand, concerns about the lack of participatory involvement are raised when religious news becomes the exclusive source of information. While religious news is found in all traditional media forms (i.e., newspapers, radio, television), it is also available from nontraditional sources as well, from religious blogs to mega-churches.

History

From Egyptian stone carvings to the papyri of ancient Rome, media have always been used to convey sacred beliefs. Religion can be defined as news as the term *gospel* translates into *good news*. The world's most important scriptural writings such as the *Bible,* the *Torah,* and the *Koran* are records of sacred news passed down through the centuries. When new media emerge (e.g., stone, papyrus, printing, radio, television broadcasting, digital media) denominations move quickly to exploit them in order to keep adherents informed and to introduce outsiders to their beliefs.

The ability to disseminate information was greatly aided by the printing press—as was the growth of alternative (Protestant) denominations. The press enabled churches to engage in public debates through a medium that was inexpensive and efficient. Already in the 1530s, pamphlets, books, broadsides, and sermons ceaselessly poured forth to address such issues as antinomianism, the Trinity, and the authority of the scriptures. The

polemical pamphlet was one source of religious news, informing citizens of competing positions and strengthened unity within groups. Their main function was to structure public discourse so that religious loyalties and differences could be clarified. These early forms of printed religious material were forerunners to the religious tracts, newspapers, and magazines of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In the early United States, religious media *were* the media as the distinction between religious and secular news was not always clear. When the *Oath of a Free-man* was published at Harvard College in 1638, the American press was in its formative stage. By the time the first newspaper appeared in 1690, the role of religion in American journalism was already being felt. The first religious magazine in the United States was *The Christian History* (1743–45), which questioned the conservative church and conveyed views of revivalist preachers such as Anglican George Whitefield and Presbyterian Gilbert Tennent. Contrary to the popular view, Puritans valued free expression in print; they encouraged discussion of a wide range of topics. Clergy, however, were not to be openly criticized nor God mocked. Such offenses resulted in a fine and a paper affixed to the chest of the offender announcing that he or she was "AN OPEN AND OBSTINATE CONTEMNER OF GOD'S HOLY ORDINANCE."

Into the early 1800s, newspapers combined sacred and secular content. Stories often attributed good fortune to obedience to God and misfortune to disobedience; crime stories were cautionary tales about the importance of living God's law. For example, the first issue of the *New England Weekly Journal* (1721–41) claimed that readers would find the periodical consistent with Christian views. Rather than having a religious reporter, eighteenth-century newspapers covered religion regularly, including stories about sermons and church meetings.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, a clear separation of *religion* journalism and *religious* journalism was established. The former is the reporting of news about religion by secular sources; it aims to be objective or neutral. Religious journalism, on the other hand, is news presented from the religious viewpoint. For over a century and a half, this distinction has continued to characterize religious news in the United States. While a number of economic and political factors contributed to this schism, it was a long-term result of Enlightenment thought, the idea that religion was secondary to scientific thought and technological advancement.

Despite the separation of sacred and secular news sources, religious groups continued to develop various media of communication. Fueled by evangelicalism, they became important pioneers in the printing business. Through the *American Bible Society* and the *American Tract Society,* religious publications forged new methods of distribution. By 1865, there were some 350 religious periodicals in America.

Religious News in the Twentieth Century

Religious news media formed an important force into the twentieth century. When secular media failed in its critical role, religious media often filled the void, as when the black church press became a primary voice for civil rights in the 1950s and 1960s and in raising awareness about the AIDS crisis in the 1980s. The Jewish press understandably opposed fascism in Europe and was politically active in the United States.

Despite the preponderance of secular media, a number of religious vehicles have remained influential. With the growth of various denominations as well as expanding general interest in religion, these publications offer alternative points of view and strengthen religious identity among readers. Although its content eventually evolved in a secular direction, the *Christian Science Monitor* (created in 1908) newspaper set out to cover local and world affairs while defending Christian Science. *Christianity Today* (1956) created by the Billy Graham Evangelical Association, reports the news through a religious lens, as does the Buddhist magazine *Bodhi* (1997). Conservative publications such as *Commonweal* (1924) offered Catholic positions while *Commentary* (1945) conveys Jewish perspectives.

A key twentieth-century development has been the growth and widespread use of radio as a religious news medium. Father Charles Coughlin morphed from just another Catholic priest to a radio orator of some note during the 1930s, eventually taking strong political views against the Roosevelt administration. Countless churches

broadcast their worship services. The radio networks provided regular religious news programs. By the end of World War II, Charles Fuller's *Old Fashioned Revival Hour* attracted 20 million listeners worldwide. Since then, the number of religious radio stations has grown dramatically, suggesting that they are a key news source. With the advent of satellite and Internet radio in the late 1990s, individual listeners achieved global access to information from almost countless religions and denominations. About 2,000 American Christian radio stations (and hundreds more from overseas) offered news and commentary by the start of the twenty-first century.

Another development of the last half century has been the hybrid television news program combining preaching and music with the format of a secular television talk show. Although evangelists such as Oral Roberts, Jerry Falwell, Billy Graham, and Jimmy Swaggert delivered desk-pounding sermons and conducted revivals on television starting in the 1950s, others have more recently created a new type of talk program. In the 1980s, Jim and Tammy Faye Baker interviewed guests on-camera, much like network morning television shows *Good Morning America* or the *Today* show. For decades, *The 700 Club,* hosted by Pat Robertson's Christian Broadcast Network (CBN), has offered prayer, preaching, and music within the structure of the talk show format featuring on-set interviews, news anchors, and short film pieces. Many programs rely on their radio and television audiences for financial support—-and pleas for contributions are a central part of most broadcasts. A print version of hybrid religious news is *World* magazine, which contains graphic formats similar to such secular publications as *Newsweek* and *Time*.

Religious News in the Information Age

Perhaps no technology has had greater impact on religious news media than the Internet with its denominational websites and blogs. Surveys indicate that over 100 million Americans use the Internet for religious information and experiences. Internet users are increasingly turning to sites such as *BeliefNet, BuddhaNet,* and the Islamic e-periodical *Renaissance: A Monthly Islamic Journal.* These sources provide news and an opportunity to discuss religious topics with other users.

While places of worship and religious news media were once considered distinct phenomena, the Internet has combined them. Cyber-churches and cyber-temples, for example, not only provide ritual and community similar to that found in face-to-face congregations but also disseminate religious news. News items appear in the form of bulletin board services or can be obtained through chat rooms or e-mail discussion groups.

The web and other technologies present both opportunities and dilemmas for religious news media. The sheer number and variety of religious news sources create an environment for information sharing and learning across denominations. On the other hand, if groups restrict media use only to the religious, denominations become closed systems, retreating from the public discourse of the larger society. Such concerns have been raised about the Amish or ultra-orthodox Jewish communities in the United States, which generally avoid secular news and politics.

Some religious groups created their own news outlets because secular media were perceived as hostile to religion, not covering religious concerns fully or fairly. Some critics disagree with this assessment, arguing that secular journalists' values inevitably turn out to be the same as those advocated by churches. Basic themes in secular news about religion are essentially the same values embraced by religious groups, that is, good works, tolerance, hypocrisy, false prophesy, inclusion, supernatural belief, and declension.

The New Religious Marketplace

Cultural as well as technical trends constantly create new forms of religious news media. Individuals find religion in media of popular culture, among other places. The number of "questers," or those drawing on multiple religious sources, is growing. This not only includes denominational religion but also media activities possessing various elements of religion. Young adults with an increasing affinity for new media are often willing to experience religion through them. Commonly referred to as *popular religion* or *cultural religion,* these sources of religious experience are expanding. For example, the Oprah Winfrey phenomenon in the form of the television program, website, magazine, and book club, provides similar information to that disseminated by

traditional religious news media. Such media encourage a set of values and make suggestions for self-improvement. Stories told on the program as well as recommended readings are morally based.

The mega-church is another emerging form of religious news media. The nondenominational mega-church of Joel Osteen in Houston, Texas, seats 14,000 for Sunday service. Robert Schuler's Crystal Cathedral in California represents a similar facility. Inside the mega-church the congregation receives news through large sound systems and large video screens. The emphasis is on concise messages delivered in 30 or 60 minutes. Many such mega-church meetings can be accessed at home through television and the Internet.

Mega-churches as well as the Oprah Winfrey phenomenon suggest that contemporary definitions of religion are expanding. As they do, we are likely to see new forms of religious media in the future, both inside and beyond specific denominations. Furthermore, American religious media are increasingly active in debates over secular issues and politics. In that sense, the borders that have divided most religious and secular news media for 150 years are steadily dissolving.

Daniel A. Stout

See also Blogs and Bloggers; Ethics; Hard Versus Soft News; Religion Journalism

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Reporters, Online

Broadly defined, online reporters are journalists who utilize the World Wide Web and Internet for researching, editing, producing, and distributing news content. Some do the entirety of their work online while others (an increasing majority of journalists) combine online with more traditional methods of reporting. Since many print and broadcast journalists also use networked computer technologies in their news gathering and distribution, making exact differentiations is difficult. Narrowly defined, journalists who work exclusively or largely online may be classified as online reporters.

Development

The migration of journalism and media content from traditional print and broadcasting media into digital distribution using the Internet has changed and hybridized the nature of the professional reporter. An online reporter may be actively employed by a news-gathering organization, wire service, or broadcast network but may also be a freelance

journalist with long-term ties to several organizations, a member of the alternative press, or may be a self-employed weblogger (blogger) who acts as a news aggregator for a demographic group or simply as a journal keeper. Small-scale online reporters and bloggers often share directly in the advertising revenue which their Internet website generates.

With the rise of digital means of news collection, all of the journalist roles suggested above utilize the same technologies. What differentiates them is their degree of reliance on the web for distribution of their material, adherence to style guides, possible professional affiliations, and how they are paid. Both print and broadcast news organizations were using computers by the late twentieth century. In 1968 the several large mainframes at university campuses, U.S. government agencies and defense contractors were linked into a nonhierarchical network now known as the Internet. By the late 1980s, Internet Protocol was standardized and simplified, allowing for expanded corporate and personal use of the Internet. The resulting World Wide Web uses hypertext links to connect information between various webpages. Any end users, including journalists, reading this information take a far more active role in its synthesis and understanding because multiple individualized paths can be created within the same information. As computer processing power and network speed increased, graphic, audio, and finally video content have been added to the formerly text-only information on the World Wide Web.

Widespread use of hypertext and other web-based forms of information navigation has changed the manner in which end users read news stories and other practical information online. As broadcast news evolves, these same changes are rapidly moving into audiovisual news gathering and distribution, often as seen on supplementary websites linked to the on-air product. Continuing changes in the business of newsgathering, reporting, and distribution has not only led to specialized online reporters but also to other social technological hybrid occupations as well, such as editing.

Categories

"Mobile journalists" are those who have no physical presence at their news-gathering organization. Instead, they collect information in the field, write their stories using portable (laptop or notebook) computers, and upload or email their completed project to their news editors. Some mobile journalists create news reports for use by radio and television newscasts, doing so remotely and using broadband connections to send their often fully edited stories or features to a newsroom or studio. This allows reporters to report more fully from either distant locations or local news events.

"Perma-lancers" are journalists who maintain a long-term freelance relationship with one (or a few) established news gathering organizations without being on the permanent staff. The World Wide Web allows such perma-lancers to communicate with editors and news directors through e-mail, easily edited collaborative sites (wikis), and secure sites for uploading. Although this may be an inevitable outcome of streamlining and downsizing encouraged by computer technologies, some perma-lancers actively seek these relationships because they allow for flexibility and a wider range of potential customers for the reports produced. In 2007, the media holding company Viacom, under considerable pressure from its online reporters, converted several hundred perma-lancer positions into full-time staff positions.

"Citizen journalists" are community volunteers who are given space in a news publication on a rotating basis to cover very specific events or community points of view. They nearly always make use of digital devices from cameras to laptops in preparing their material. Like mobile journalists, they rarely have any physical presence at the news gathering organization. While most citizen journalists are not paid, they are usually required to adhere to the same editorial standards of paid professional journalists.

"Paid bloggers" can be on-staff journalists, local politicians, celebrities, or other well-known individuals who are paid to create blogs or other online content to supplement the coverage of a particular topic, event, or demographic group's concerns. Some established newspapers have paid their staff reporters to start and maintain blogs. These often provide meta-commentary on the "news of the news."

Professionalism and Oversight

Professional editorial oversight of all such contributed material from other than professional

journalists has become a major and controversial concern because there is little precedence for these types of reporters, and the growing amount of material they provide. Nor is there much (if any) control over what many of these "digital independents" actually do. Frequently, citizen journalists and paid bloggers are utilized more for soft news and feature material, as well as editorial or man-on-the-street pieces or a combination of these.

Long-term trends in the degree of professionalism of online reporters have been mixed. Most established news organizations maintain strict editorial oversight and quality from both employed journalists and freelancers, especially for breaking and hard news. With the widespread adoption of online style guides from such traditional sources as the Associated Press, the British Broadcasting Corporation, and others, many citizen journalists and paid bloggers use these accepted stylistic and fact-checking protocols before submitting their stories. Nonetheless, changes in editorial policy are inevitable due to limited budgets, tight deadlines, and pressure for scoops, all of which may make effective oversight difficult. Many online reporters, such as Matt Drudge and the young writers for Gawker Media, have created and maintained maverick reputations of flamboyant personal styles and eagerness to publish news scoops, but have done so with an image of cutting corners as far as fact checking and balance are concerned. A distinctive style of online reporting evolved where hyptertext links are embedded directly into the text of the column or article. In this format of online writing, graphic design and constant links can create a paradox of fluid, yet disjointed, writing where the potential to leave the article to follow links becomes a meta-commentary on the original content of the article.

Since the late 1990s, semi-professional "webzines" have emerged and quickly expanded their readership, become at least partially advertiser-supported, and systematized their professional standards to become recognized online news gathering organizations. These webzines often took their journalistic slant from earlier small or alternative press publications, and blended the aesthetic of the emerging techno-geek culture of early adopters. Examples include *Cult of the Dead Cow, DargonZine,* and *Slash-Dot.*

Online magazines *Salon.com, Slate Magazine,* and *HotWired* were begun at the same time as commercial ventures and exclusively online publications. Many of the online reporters for these publications are established journalists who also write for established print and broadcast media. Increasingly some of the graphic design, personalization, and hypertext style of online journalism have been re-co-opted into print journalism by publications such as *Politico, Wired,* and *Business 2.0.* News agencies, such as AP, Reuters, and UPI, frequently publish their stories to websites after a delay of several hours from when the information is sent to subscribing newsgathering organizations. Thus, many online reporters have access to identical information as reporters in newsrooms. However, many online reporters create content based on news service stories, but link back to the original piece.

As media conglomeration continues along with an expansion of media outlets, the relationship between online reporters and the organizations that employ them should become more stable. Professional and ad hoc style guides will evolve for bloggers, and paid bloggers and web sites will continue to establish professional reputations. While print, broadcast, and online news sources will become indistinguishable due to technologies of printing and mobile Internet use, they will remain differentiated by editorial standards and branding. Online reporters will likely form the majority of the workforce of journalists into the future.

Notable Online Reporters

Andrew Breitbart (1969–)

Andrew Breitbart worked together with Arianna Huffington to create the aggregated news site/blog *The Huffington Post* and created *Breitbart.com* as his online news portal. Breitbart was one of the first online reporters to provide a collection of direct links to other news content and newswire stories within a news blog. Breitbart continues to act as an editor for the *Drudge Report,* and continues to write conservative cultural criticism and nonfiction books.

Tim Cavanaugh (birth date unknown)

Tim Cavanaugh was one on the founding editors and writers of Suck.com, which was published

from 1995 through 2001. Suck.com was arguably the first fully advertiser-supported online blog. Cavanaugh was an early adopter of the hypertext-heavy writing style where links to other articles and websites are embedded into the text of the column, which he named "Hit & Run," often providing another level of meta-commentary. After the closing of Suck.com, he moved to *Reason Magazine*'s website and continued to publish his "Hit & Run" column. Combining aspects of academic writing and gonzo journalism, in 2002, he published *Let Slip the Blogs of War* a commentary on the changing nature of online reporting. He continues to work as an editor, most recently for the *Los Angeles Times*.

Ana Marie Cox (1972–)

The online website *Wonkette,* begun by Ana Marie Cox in 2004, followed the example of Drudge and other online reporters. *Wonkette* blends ironic commentary and satirical sarcasm into its reporting on national political news, yet it follows the more personal, informal style of a blog. Cox later left *Wonkette* to follow a more conventional career as a journalist, writing for *Time* magazine and making television appearances. As it became more recognized, *Wonkette* became part of a larger online journalism media group, Gawker Media, and was sold in 2008.

Nick Denton (1966–)

Denton began his career as a journalist writing for the *Financial Times* in the early 1990s covering the political revolutions in Eastern Europe. He founded two online corporate consulting firms before becoming the online publisher of Gawker Media in 2002. Gawker hosts and publishes multiple blogs each targeted at a very specific demographic or content area, *Gawker* (New York society, culture, and media gossip/commentary), *Gizmodo* (personal technology), *Defamer* (Los Angeles–area gossip, entertainment news, and commentary) *ValleyWag* (technology business) and *Comsumerist* (product news) as well as several other branded blogs. Denton evolved a business model and editorial stance to develop personal blogs into to more established online media sources. Denton sold *Wonkette* (politics) as well as *Idolator* (music news) in 2008, and continues to write long-form nonfiction.

Matt Drudge (1966–)

Arguably the most well-known online reporter, Matt Drudge gained notoriety in the mid 1990s by breaking the sex scandal involving President Bill Clinton (1993–2001) and White House intern Monica Lewinsky. Drudge created a niche online with an e-mail newsletter that offered insider Hollywood and political news several days ahead of local newspapers, and became a regular source for other more traditional journalists. From this initial notoriety Drudge parlayed the traffic on his website the *Drudge Report* into a reputation for both professional news scoops and blog style editorial oversight. Matt Drudge became a rallying point and self-appointed spokesman for Internet-only online reporters. In his 1998 address to the National Press Club titled "Anyone with a Modem Can Report on the World," Drudge posited that communications technology has lowered barriers to entry into the field of journalism. He further expanded on this in his *Drudge Manifesto,* in which he argues the ideas of erosion of the barrier between industry-paid professional journalism and advertiser-paid self-employed freelance journalism.

Elizabeth Spiers (1976–)

Elizabeth Spiers was a Financial Analyst in New York who was one of the original editors for *Gawker* and *Mediabistro,* two advertiser-supported news and gossip blogs. Like other online reporters, she has left web-only journalism and works as a "perma-lancer" for *The New York Times, Fortune,* and the *New York Post*. Spiers is an example of a hybrid journalist who has embraced her freelance status, turning away offers of long-term employment to pursue short-term assignments. She continues to work as a print and online reporter while also appearing as a broadcast news commentator and publishing fiction.

William A. Hanff Jr.

See also Citizen Journalism; Computers in Journalism; Digital Journalism Tools; Discussion Boards; Editing: Online and Digital; Innovation Journalism; Internet Impact on Media; News Aggregator; Newsroom Culture; News Values; Podcasting; Social Network Websites

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Reporters, Print

The earliest reporters in the United States worked for newspapers in the 1700s and magazines in the 1800s. While an increasing number of journalists now work for broadcast or online outlets, the majority of reporters in the United States are still employed by print publications. According to a 2002 study of the editorial workforce of news media in the United States, 70.5 percent of full-time journalists were working in print media, with the majority of those (50.6 percent) employed by daily newspapers.

While the field's earliest practitioners were almost all white men, women and minorities have more recently made notable inroads. Among different media, female journalists are represented most strongly at news magazines (where they make up 43.5 percent of the workforce as opposed to 33 percent at daily newspapers and 36.9 percent at weekly newspapers). Some scholars attribute this distribution to more attractive hours, pay, and benefits at news magazines. However, survey data from 2002 shows that print news outlets lag behind television in their employment of minority journalists (9.6 percent of daily newspaper journalists, 8.2 percent of news magazine journalists and 5.6 percent of weekly newspaper journalists are minorities as opposed to 14.7 percent of television journalists).

This entry explores the growth and increasing professionalization of print news reporting in the United States and highlights some of the most noted reporters from the last 150 years.

Origins

The work of the earliest newspaper employees was, in many ways, a much different enterprise than it is today. During the colonial period, those who produced newspapers were businessmen who largely used their publications as advertising for their printing businesses. Their content included a large amount of advertisements as well as a collection of gossip and information gathered from European newspapers. On the whole, early newspaper printers did not actively engage in news gathering, waiting instead for information to be distributed to them.

While the earliest colonial papers usually steered clear of political news, in the wake of the Revolutionary War, American newspapers became strongly partisan. Many of the earliest newspapers were small endeavors with no distinct lines between what constituted a reporter, editor, printer, or business manager. Indeed, the earliest "reporters" often took on many roles within the newspaper—from editing to printing—in addition to any reporting duties. These earliest journalists were also very beholden to the commercial interests and political parties who financed their newspapers. As a result, editors strictly limited the types of content they produced to appease these powerful influences, who would sometimes take over and write editorials themselves. The majority of this early journalistic work was actually editorial in nature, with a focus on providing opinions rather than in-depth reporting. While some papers hired "correspondents," these employees were typically friends of the editor with little training or specialty in reporting or writing.

Many scholars point to the 1830s as a dramatic turning point in the nature of both newspapers and print reporting. During this commercial revolution, Benjamin Day's *New York Sun* became the first paper to sell for a penny (as opposed to six cents), and many other newspapers followed. The "penny press" relied on a large circulation and advertising for their financing, thereby reducing the control of political parties and changing the

nature of newspaper reporting. Newspapers began to seek out news (rather than wait for it to be brought to them) and hired employees whose explicit job was to report. The penny press also created the now-common beat system, where individual reporters were hired to regularly cover specific aspects of the news, such as the police, the courts, or sporting events.

Reporting as a Profession

The past century or so has been marked by increasing specialization and professionalization in news reporting. In the decades after the Civil War, editors increasingly sought to hire reporters who were both college educated and passionate about the job. This corresponded with a growth in income and status for reporters as well as a standardization of beliefs regarding the role of the reporter.

The mid-nineteenth century saw the growth of more "objective" reporting, but, even by then, the focus of many reporters was just as much on crafting "literature" as it was on providing information. In many cases, print reporters still believed the purpose of their news accounts was not only to inform, but also to entertain. Reporters sought to distinguish themselves and achieve notoriety through creativity in their writing and facts were often glossed over or modified to create a compelling narrative. This practice at times ran directly counter to the push by many Progressive-era editors in the early twentieth century to prioritize facts and accuracy.

By the turn of the twentieth century, despite differences of opinion on the role of facts and fiction in news accounts, print reporters had carved out a role in the world of newspapers and established a degree of autonomy from editorial controls. Interviewing became a mainstay of the profession and a practice that helped distance reporters from earlier journalists primarily focused on creating literature or forwarding political agendas. Reflecting on journalism in the 1890s, newspaperman Irvin S. Cobb commented that it was the "Age of the Reporter" (Schudson 1981, 65).

The New York Times began to popularize reporting based more in factual accounts than stories—distinguishing itself from other established papers, such as Joseph Pulitzer's New York *World,* who were requiring their reporters to craft increasingly sensational pieces during the period of yellow journalism in the late 1800s. An ethic of objectivity came to dominate print reporting in the earlier decades of the twentieth century, further distinguishing the profession and contributing to a notion of community among journalists. In 1922, the American Society of Newspaper Editors adopted its Canons of Journalism, which called on newspapers and their reporters to cover the news "fairly." During the 1950s and 1960s, the conventions of mainstream print reporting again shifted, moving toward a more interpretative form of journalism spurred by the new journalism movement characterized by in-depth reporting and literary storytelling techniques, and the growth of underground newspapers.

While professional standards and expectations regarding objectivity, sensationalism, and writing conventions shifted throughout the twentieth century, print reporting came to be dominated by an increasing degree of professionalization and standardization of education and training requirements. By 2002, the vast majority of print reporters held a college degree, with the majority of those employed by newspapers majoring in journalism or mass communication. In contrast, far fewer magazine journalists were likely to hold degrees in the same area. In many ways, however, the role of the reporter is far from static. For example, some reporters also function as columnists, suggesting a conflicted notion surrounding the idea of the "unbiased" reporter.

Some Noted Print Reporters

Below are the profiles of noted reporters who have distinguished themselves as pioneers in the field. Included in these entries are a number of reporters who gained notoriety for their investigative pieces of journalism or for their innovative approach to reporting.

Peter Arnett (1934–)

Peter Arnett is a Pulitzer Prize–winning war reporter, renowned both for his coverage of Vietnam for the Associated Press and, later, his Middle East coverage for various broadcast outlets. He was born in New Zealand and got his start at his local paper, the *Southland Times,* after high

school. He left New Zealand in 1956 and went on to have a long career as a war correspondent. In 1960 he ran a small English-language newspaper in Laos and was hired by the AP in 1961. During his time in Vietnam, he repeatedly drew the ire of American military authorities, who often saw his reporting as negative toward military activities. In 1966, he won a Pulitzer Prize. He began working for CNN in 1981 and has had a distinguished career in broadcast news.

Carl Bernstein (1944–)

Carl Bernstein is a Pulitzer Prize–winning reporter renowned for his coverage of the Watergate story of the 1970s with fellow *Washington Post* reporter Bob Woodward. Bernstein was born in Washington, D.C., to parents who were later revealed to have been members of the Communist Party. He began his career in journalism at age 16, working as a copyboy at the *Washington Star*. Never finishing college, he joined *The Washington Post* in 1966 at age 22. During his time at the *Post,* he covered a variety of subjects ranging from local politics to the civil rights movement and even occasionally appeared in print as rock music critic. He was 28 when he began talking, along with Woodward, with anonymous informant "Deep Throat," who revealed information about President Richard Nixon's involvement in a break-in at the Democratic Party's Watergate campaign offices. Their reporting and that of many others ultimately brought the resignation of Nixon. In the aftermath, Bernstein became, along with Woodward, one of the most inspiring figures of twentieth-century investigative reporting, invigorating interest in the journalism profession. The two men published two bestselling books based on their Watergate experiences, 1974's *All the President's Men,* which was later made into a successful motion picture starring Dustin Hoffman and Robert Redford, and 1976's *The Final Days*. Bernstein and Woodward maintained the confidentiality of their anonymous source for 35 years, FBI Assistant Director Mark Felt, who revealed himself as Deep Throat in a 2005 *Vanity Fair* interview. In recent years Bernstein worked for a number of different media outlets, including ABC News, for which he served as the Washington Bureau Chief. He has authored several non-Watergate-related books.

Nellie Bly (1864–1922)

Nellie Bly was born Elizabeth Cochrane, but adopted the pseudonym "Nellie Bly" because it was not considered appropriate for female journalists to use their given names. She started as a young reporter at the *Pittsburgh Dispatch,* where she covered society news and answered letters to the editor, but left her job at the age of 23 to seek more hard news reporting assignments in New York City. She was eventually granted an audition at the country's largest paper, Joseph Pulitzer's New York *World*. She is best known for the controversial undercover reporting methods employed on her first story, about conditions at the Women's Lunatic Asylum on Blackwell's Island. She feigned insanity, checking herself into a working-class boarding-house and frightening those she encountered with deranged expressions and an unkempt appearance. She convinced doctors and officials to commit her to the asylum, where she discovered deplorable conditions and abusive treatment. She was released ten days after her commitment at request of *The World* and went on to write a series of reports about her experience, which was later turned into a book, *Ten Days in a Mad-House*. Her work made her famous, leading to a formal investigation and a $1 million increase in funding from the city of New York to improve conditions at the asylum. She later wrote a number of other stories based on her undercover reporting and became known as an advocate of both women and the poor.

David Halberstam (1934–2007)

David Halberstam was a Pulitzer Prize–winning reporter and author who first gained notoriety for his reporting on Vietnam for *The New York Times*. Halberstam was born and raised in the New York area and went on to attend Harvard, where he was the managing editor of the student newspaper, *The Crimson*. After graduating, he covered civil rights conflicts for both *The West Point Daily Times Leader* in West Point, Mississippi, and *The Nashville Tennessean*. He joined *The New York Times* in 1960. He and his colleagues won a Pulitzer in 1964 for coverage that exposed the failing government in South Vietnam and mistakes by the United States. His reporting caused much ire from the government, famously leading to a suggestion from President John F. Kennedy

that he be fired. He is also remembered for his prolific book writing, authoring more than 20 books over the course of his career. Through his books, he investigated topics including the civil rights movement, the decline of the American automobile industry, baseball rivalries, and New York firefighters killed on September 11. He gained praise for many of his books such as *The Best and the Brightest,* which chronicled America's involvement in Vietnam, and *The Powers That Be,* which examined the rise of modern media. Later in life, he worked as a sports reporter. He died in 2007 in a traffic crash in California.

Judith Miller (1948–)

Judith Miller is a Pulitzer Prize–winning former reporter for *The New York Times*. She gained notoriety after spending 85 days in prison to protect a confidential source, reigniting debates both about the journalistic practice of using anonymous sources and the conflict between the rights of a free press and national security. In 2005, Miller was called to testify before a federal grand jury investigating who leaked the identity of CIA operative Valerie Plame. While Miller never wrote about Plame's CIA operative status, she reportedly held information from an anonymous source about Plame. Miller initially refused to testify and was held in contempt of court. She eventually complied with the court order after her source, Lewis "Scooter" Libby, Vice President Dick Cheney's chief of staff, released her from their agreement. Outside of the Plame affair, Miller was heavily criticized for her reporting on purported Iraqi weapons of mass destruction in the run-up to the Iraq war. She was accused of not rigorously questioning the information given to her by Bush administration officials. Miller defended her work by stating that it was not her job as a reporter to independently analyze the intelligence information given to her, but rather to pass along information to readers about the government's beliefs about Iraqi weapons capabilities. She resigned from the *Times* in 2005 and now writes for several publications, including *The Wall Street Journal* and *Los Angeles Times*. She is also an adjunct fellow at the Manhattan Institute, a conservative policy research think tank, and is a contributing editor for its *City Journal*.

Ernie Pyle (1900–45)

Ernie Pyle was a Pulitzer Prize–winning reporter who became widely known for his "roving" war correspondence during World War II. His reports from the battlefield were widely circulated, drawing a variety of readers (including President Harry S. Truman and Eleanor Roosevelt). Pyle was raised on a farm near Dana, Indiana, and attended Indiana University, where he got his start in journalism working on the school paper, *The Indiana Daily Student*. He withdrew from Indiana University when he was offered a reporting job at the *La Porte Herald*. He later held positions at *The Evening World, The New York Post,* and the *Washington Daily News,* where he was the managing editor. He impressed editors while filling in for a vacationing columnist and was given a national column for Scripps-Howard, where he traveled around America in his car and wrote about the people he met. His popularity grew even more during World War II, during which he produced a number of columns from the front lines featuring the stories of soldiers. He was killed by Japanese machine-gun fire on Ie Island in Guam.

James Reston (1909–95)

James Reston was a Washington correspondent, nationally syndicated columnist, and executive editor of *The New York Times*. Called "perhaps the most influential journalist of his generation" by *The New York Times,* Reston won two Pulitzer Prizes during his 50-year tenure at the *Times*. He was born in Scotland and began his career at the paper's London bureau. Throughout his time at the *Times,* he interviewed many of the world's top leaders and chronicled a number of major news events and issues, including the 1944 Dumbarton Oaks conference, for which he won his first Pulitzer, and President Dwight D. Eisenhower's illness, for which he won his second Pulitzer.

Ida Tarbell (1857–1944)

Ida Tarbell was born in Pennsylvania and became an associate editor of *McClure's Magazine* and an editor and founder of *American Magazine*. She was one of the first female graduates of Allegheny College in 1880. Earlier in her career,

she produced popular biographical pieces on Napoleon and Abraham Lincoln for *McClure's*. She first became well known for her investigations of oil corporations in the early 1900s. Her 1902 *McClure's Magazine* investigative series on the Standard Oil Company monopoly, which later became the two-volume *History of the Standard Oil Company,* is a key document in the era of muckraking, and contributed to the massive antitrust case that broke up the cartel. At *American Magazine,* she wrote biographies of important figures in business at the time and covered the controversial debates about foreign tariffs.

Helen Thomas (1920–)

Helen Thomas was raised in Detroit as one of nine children of Lebanese-born immigrants. She started her career as a copygirl at the *Washington Daily News* a year after she graduated from Wayne State University. She gained notoriety as White House correspondent for United Press International (UPI), distinguishing herself in the male-dominated field of journalism. She became the first woman officer of the National Press Club and the first woman to close presidential news conferences with the now-signature "Thank you, Mr. President." She was given the UPI White House beat in 1961 and, during her tenure, traveled with Presidents Nixon, Ford, Carter, Reagan, Bush, and Clinton and became famous for her persistent questioning. In 2000, she left her job when UPI was acquired by News World Communication, Inc. She has since become a columnist for Hearst Newspapers.

Hunter S. Thompson (1937–2005)

Hunter S. Thompson was an American reporter famous for forwarding what came to be referred to as "gonzo" journalism, a subjective and personal form of reporting that shares some similarities with New Journalism. Thompson's most famous work was the 1972 novel *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas,* much of which was first published in *Rolling Stone*. Throughout his career, he set himself in strong opposition to mainstream journalism and heavily criticized the standards of objectivity prevalent in much reporting at the time. Instead, Thompson sought inspiration in the works of the Beat Generation and, in particular, Jack Kerouac's novel *On the Road*. Through his work, Thompson offered a critique of both mainstream journalism and society, offering profiles of and personal insights into the American counterculture.

Bob Woodward (1943–)

Bob Woodward is a Pulitzer Prize–winning reporter renowned for his coverage of the 1970s Watergate story with fellow *Washington Post* reporter Carl Bernstein. Together with Bernstein he reported a series of articles for the *Post* that revealed the involvement of high-ranking officials in the Nixon White House in the Watergate break-in and a pattern of "dirty tricks" used during President Nixon's campaign for reelection. Woodward was born in Geneva, Illinois, and obtained a bachelor's degree from Yale University before serving in the Navy from 1965 to 1970. He became an intern at the *Post* but was not hired as a full-time reporter until 1971, after he gained additional reporting experience working at a suburban Maryland paper. After Watergate, Woodward continued working at the *Post,* later rising to the rank of assistant managing editor. He has also authored a number of other nonfiction books about various Presidents and Washington institutions, including a controversial four-volume series on the presidency of George W. Bush (2001–09).

Conclusion

The job description of today's print reporters is rapidly changing due to the increasing influence of new media. Many in the field of print journalism are now grappling with the merging of print and web-based media, with reporters being asked to blog, chat, and make videos for their publication's websites in addition to their traditional reporting and writing duties. In addition, the growing popularity of web-based news has required reporters to participate in a 24-hour news cycle instead operating by traditional daily, weekly, and monthly deadlines.

Theresa Rose Crapanzano

See also Columns and Columnists; Foreign Correspondents, Print; Internet Impact on Media; Investigative Journalism; Investigative Reporters; Muckrakers; Political Reporters; War Correspondents

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Reporters, Radio

In a media era dominated by the alluring speed of immediate breaking news coverage on cable television and the Internet, the relevance of radio reporting is often marginalized. However, radio can be the fastest, most accessible way to hear breaking news. Without the luxuries of visuals and text, radio reporters must work harder and more creatively to take us to the scenes of stories with their vivid descriptions and use of sound. While the numbers of radio reporters are dwindling and news budgets at radio stations continue to shrink, radio reporting remains not just a relevant, but also a vital facet of the journalism landscape.

History

Radio reporting dates to the very beginnings of the medium. One of the first people to read news over the radio was Westinghouse Electric engineer Frank Conrad. He first read newspaper stories over the air in 1919. Westinghouse executive Harry Davis reported election-night results of the presidential race on November 2, 1920, an event often cited as the beginning of regular broadcasting.

In 1930, magazine editor Lowell Thomas initiated his regular network nightly news by reading 15-minute newscasts that were simulcast by NBC to the eastern half of the country and CBS to the western states. The program was called *Lowell Thomas and the News*. Radio reporting developed slowly during the Depression, limited by a "press-radio war" where newspapers tried to limit radio's use of news agency reports. That restriction in mid-decade forced larger stations in major markets to field their own reporters. The news agency restriction faded by the end of the decade. The late 1930s became a defining period for radio reporters, who were soon providing field reporting not just from America but also about the growing political crises in Europe and Asia that would lead to World War II.

CBS hired Edward R. Murrow as a manager of radio talks in 1935. Within a few years, now based in London, Murrow began to build the foundation of CBS News. Starting in 1938 he assembled a remarkable radio news war staff that would eventually include Charles Collingwood, Eric Severeid, William L. Shirer, and Howard K. Smith, among others. Murrow's own reporting often involved significant personal risk. His reports beginning with the words "*This is . . . London"* from London streets and rooftops during the 1940 German Blitz became classics. The combination of his evocative delivery and courageous storytelling encouraged people to listen to radio for news about the war. It was one thing to read about the war in the local newspaper, but thanks to Murrow and his colleagues at both CBS and NBC, American audiences could hear war updates much faster and in more vivid detail. By 1945, radio reporting had become a well-established form of journalism.

In the postwar years, radio news developed along two parallel lines—prestigious network reporting on regular newscasts and documentaries, and local station coverage that relied on news agency reports supplemented with local reporters. Despite the growth of television competition in the 1950s, news remained a mainstay of radio network programming.

In the 1960s, station owner Gordon McLendon and others modernized radio news by adding sound bites and natural sound from speeches,

press conferences, and interviews, in addition to live reporting. This approach, basic to today's radio reporting, came about in part because of the growing competition from television news. Many talented radio reporters migrated to television stations. By the peak of the Vietnam War in the late 1960s, it was dubbed "The Living Room War" as the first conflict Americans watched instead of only hearing it on radio.

In 1970, National Public Radio (NPR) was founded and slowly established itself as a leading intellectual force in American life and a primary source of news for millions. Begun with 30 employees and 90 charter stations, by 2006 NPR was distributed to more than 800 independent public radio stations. With NPR's growing importance and popularity came more job opportunities for radio reporters. Some public radio stations gave more time to reporters to tell their stories, allowing them to produce in-depth investigative reports, as well as educational and cultural features.

By the end of the twentieth century, however, radio reporters on commercial stations had fallen on hard times, thanks to continuing technological changes and increased competition from cable and other television news. Many stations dropped local news reports all together.

The popularity of talk radio is increasing, as it is cheaper to produce and is generally considered to be more entertainment than news. The prevalence of opinion on broadcast airwaves has led to more radio commentators than reporters. Where reporters are expected to tell their stories with a neutral tone to their voice, and stick to straightforward, provable facts, always being extra careful to eliminate any words or statements that can be interpreted by the audience as betraying a bias, radio commentators are expected and encouraged to interpret the news or offer their personal opinions to their listeners.

Relevance of Modern Radio Reporting

When electricity fails, news can no longer be accessed from television or the Internet. Newspapers are filled with yesterday's news. The only battery-powered device to receive live, local information is a radio receiver. In emergency situations, radio has repeatedly proved its significance as an accessible, immediate news source.

During Hurricane Katrina (2005) and its aftermath, for example, radio's accessibility made receivers a crucial lifeline for many stranded by the storm. The portability and cost-effectiveness of radio receivers is unrivalled, not to mention their ability to operate on batteries when there is no other source of power. Thousands of people in New Orleans relied on the constant radio news information provided by the United Radio Broadcasters, a consortium of radio stations in Greater New Orleans, Louisiana, established in September 2005 in response to the desperate need for effective information dissemination during Hurricane Katrina. (The group was disbanded two months later.) Radios were distributed to those evacuated to the Houston Astrodome and a mini-station was established to help people communicate with each other and facilitate family reunions.

In everyday, nonemergency situations, radio news can be an easy way to stay informed of the day's events. Americans spend increasing amounts of time in their cars. As commuting distances and times increase, radio serves as a vital source of news and information. Radio reaches more than 73 percent of Americans every day and over 80 percent of adults in their cars as well as on many cell phones and other digital devices every week. Between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m., more people tune in to radio than any other news source, giving radio 44 percent of their media time.

Changing Radio Reporting

A radio reporter's job traditionally involved digging for stories, investigating leads, and following news tips. He or she researched documents, observed and described events at the scene, conducted interviews, took extensive notes, and recorded ambient sound from the scene. The reporter then organized the material, wrote the script, added the voice-over, edited the interviews into short sound bites, and edited the entire story for broadcast. Radio reporters often composed stories and reported "live" from the scene.

The advent of the commercial Internet in 1995, in addition to a growing variety of digital media options, forced drastic changes in the way radio reporters do their jobs. A radio reporter in 1987 still used a relatively cumbersome analog cassette recorder to gather field audio sound and interviews.

He or she came back to the station to edit the audio tape, using large reel to reel machines, a chinagraph (grease) pencil, and a razor blade.

Two decades later, mini-disc recorders and other small, light, and portable digital machines are used in both field and studio. Newer audio editing hardware enables reporters to record directly to a hard drive, thus eliminating the use of tapes and disks. Radio reporters no longer have to return to the studio to edit, as they can now compile their stories much faster in the field on laptop computers using audio editing software. Cell phones have also revolutionized radio reporting. While it takes time to set up a live television feed to cover breaking news, a radio reporter only needs a cell phone to call from the scene and file a live, on-air report. Thanks to these technological shifts, radio reporting has become more immediate than many other news sources.

International Radio Reporting

In many developing countries, radio is the primary source of news. Literacy rates are often too low for newspaper reading, the subscription costs are too high, and circulation to rural areas is difficult. Television sets are not affordable for many people living in parts of Africa, Asia, and South America. When radio correspondents cover stories on these continents, their jobs are far less complicated than television reporters. The equipment involved in radio reporting is much easier to carry around; a radio reporter only needs a portable recorder, a microphone, and headphones to gather audio for a story concerning even remote villages. On the other hand, transportation logistics and costs, language, and local cooperation are factors hindering any such reporting. The high cost of covering international stories has virtually ended American overseas radio reporting (with the notable exception of NPR) in an era when dwindling news budgets have left few opportunities for radio foreign correspondents.

Industry Trends and Radio Reporting

Deregulation has gradually lifted restrictions on how many stations a single person or company may own. Fewer American radio stations are independently or locally owned, as more are acquired by conglomerate corporations. By 2006, ten companies owned nearly a quarter of all commercial stations. The impact this trend has had on radio news is arguably both positive and negative. Critics argue that radio news has diminished as a result of the consolidation of the 1990s. Hundreds of stations have stopped providing local news. Radio industry defenders argue there is a wider variety of choices and more news, talk, and information on the airwaves than ever before. Larger companies have more financial resources, leading to more advanced field equipment and state of the art studio facilities. Radio reporters working for a major corporation are more likely to progress to stations in larger markets owned by the company and benefit from the better salaries and benefits these companies can provide. Large corporations emphasize profit, however, so there is more pressure on radio reporters to appeal to a wide audience. Many local reporters have lost their jobs due to consolidation, and as a result, the "localism" of radio news has declined sharply. It is more cost-effective for large conglomerates to send generic national and regional news via computerized networks to multiple stations from a central location, rather than fund several smaller local news teams.

The frequency and length of radio news reports have declined in smaller markets, as have the resources to produce radio documentaries. With the exception of NPR and large stations in the top five radio markets (New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston, and Philadelphia), it is rare to hear 15- or 30-minute radio newscasts, or an in-depth radio documentary. The shorter five-minute newscast that is primarily focused on weather and traffic has dominated most radio markets and decimated the staffs of thousands of local radio newsrooms. This demise of the radio newscast and more widespread budget cuts at radio stations across the country has prompted many radio reporters to seek careers in television, at online news organizations, or in print journalism.

One newer form of radio relies on the bypassing of the geographic restrictions placed on terrestrial transmitters. Satellite radio news can be heard anywhere in the country and includes many cable television news networks, public radio news sources such as NPR, and international radio news sources including the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). The choice of news services on

satellite is much wider than any given terrestrial market, though satellite news is not free, as monthly subscription fees apply. Its audience (approaching 10 million for XM and Sirius combined in 2007) is far smaller than the nearly 250 million who listen to terrestrial radio stations.

In September 2005, the cell phone carrier Sprint added 20 Sirius satellite channels to its cell phone capabilities. Satellite radio carriers have encouraged such portability of programming. Portable satellite receivers the size of cell phones have been released and provide the ability to store recorded audio. "Plug and play" units allow satellite radio subscribers to move the technology between their cars and their homes using a detachable receiver.

Additional new audio distribution capability is provided by the Internet. Public and commercial radio stations have expanded their terrestrial identities to websites. The Internet serves to partially erase the geographical boundaries of terrestrial radio. A local radio reporter in Casper, Wyoming, may receive feedback e-mails from anywhere if his or her story is on the station's website. Thus the Internet has enhanced the role of a radio reporter from simply covering a local story on the air to providing that material for the website. The Internet also facilitates the researching of stories, the finding and contacting of sources, and the sharing of the final radio story. Radio stories can also be archived online and accessed years after the air date.

Diversity Issues

Radio news reporters have long been and are still primarily white and male. There have been slight variations on this profile throughout the years. According to a study by the Radio Television News Directors Association in 2006, 94 percent of radio news employees were Caucasian, 2.5 percent African American, 2 percent Hispanic, and 2 percent Asian American.

Women make up a quarter of the radio news workforce. Stations in major markets are more likely to utilize women and minorities on their staffs. But radio news is far less diverse than television. Noncommercial radio stations are more likely to have diverse news staffs than do their commercial counterparts, and stations in the Northeast are more likely to use minorities than other U.S. regions.

Representative Radio Reporters

John Burnett (1956–)

Prior to joining NPR in 1986, Burnett was based in Guatemala City for United Press International covering Central America conflicts. From 1979 to 1983, he was a general assignment reporter for various Texas newspapers. His reports are heard regularly on NPR's award-winning newsmagazines *Morning Edition, All Things Considered,* and *Weekend Edition*. Burnett has decades of experience covering a wide variety of war correspondence, international news, and longer format investigative radio reporting. In the months following the attacks of September 11, Burnett filed reports from New York City, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. He has extensively examined national issues such as illegal immigration, which have included controversial stories on corruption among federal immigration agents on the U.S.–Mexico border.

Charles Collingwood (1917–85)

Collingwood was a protégé of Edward R. Murrow during World War II. He became well known for his articulate and descriptive accounts of the war. He was part of a distinguished group of pioneering broadcast journalists called "Murrow's Boys" that included Eric Sevareid, Larry LeSueur, Winston Burdett, and Richard C. Hottelet. Collingwood was instrumental in expanding international news coverage at CBS. He eventually transitioned to television and became chief correspondent and hosted the news series *Eyewitness to History*.

Anne Garrels (1951–)

Garrels served as ABC's Moscow bureau chief and correspondent from 1972 to 1982. From 1984 to 1985 she covered the State Department for NBC News and was the network's Central American bureau chief. With NPR since 1988, Garrels is a senior foreign correspondent. She has covered Iraq under Saddam Hussein, as well as the 2003 U.S. invasion and its aftermath. She earned international recognition in 2003 by being one of 16 U.S. journalists to remain in Baghdad during the initial phase of the war.

Max Jordan (1895–1977)

In 1934, Jordan joined NBC radio to coordinate the network's coverage of news events in Europe. With his extensive contacts in Europe, Jordan soon established himself as NBC's main European news correspondent between 1935 and 1937. He was known for taking reporting risks such as venturing into the crater of Mount Vesuvius, or onto the airship *Hindenburg* for its maiden flight to New York in 1936. He continued to provide energetic reports throughout World War II for NBC, returning to Europe in early 1945, where he began contributing reports to the NBC *World News Roundup*. Jordan was the first to broadcast that the Japanese Government had surrendered. It was the biggest scoop of his career.

William L. Shirer (1904–93)

Shirer was one of the first radio war correspondents hired by Edward R. Murrow in 1937. He had just been fired by the International News Service when he met Murrow, who offered him a radio job despite his lack of experience with the medium. Shirer accepted even though he did not feel he had the voice for broadcasting. Murrow's boss was also skeptical, but Murrow prevailed and his instinct for spotting radio news talent was proved accurate, as "The Murrow Boys" eventually became famous for their war reporting.

Shirer's reporting for CBS during the first year of World War II was outstanding. He was an enterprising and witty reporter who gave his audience perceptive accounts of what was happening to the people of Europe, especially Germany, in light of Hitler's rise to power. As Nazi influence increased, Shirer had to take a more cautious approach to reporting the news. In 1940, he returned to New York where he began reporting news and commentary on his own CBS news program. He left CBS in 1947 and began working on several books detailing his own experience (*Berlin Diary, The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*) in Germany.

Robert Trout (1909–2000)

Trout began broadcasting in 1931 as an announcer at an Alexandria, Virginia, station. He may have been the first person to report live congressional hearings, to transmit from an airplane, and is regarded by some as the first to broadcast a daily news program. In the mid-1930s, Trout established the value of addressing the radio audience intimately, as if the announcer were personally addressing each audience member. He was one of broadcasting's first true anchormen and reporters on CBS. He reported news, special events and entertainment programs at CBS from 1932 to 1948. Trout anchored the network's live D-Day coverage in 1944 and announced the end of World War II.

Faye Gillis Wells (1908–2002)

Wells was a pioneer of overseas radio broacasting. She first reported from Latin America for NBC in 1938. She covered numerous global conflicts, including the Italian-Ethiopian war, riots in Syria, and the diamond trade in Angola during World War II. She moved to Washington in 1963 to open the Washington News Bureau for Storer Broadcasting Company. From 1964 to 1977, she served as Storer's White House correspondent. She was the first female broadcaster accredited to the White House, and one of three women reporters chosen to accompany President Nixon to China in 1972.

Conclusion

Radio reporters have long played an important role in news, diminishing only as their medium gave way to competition from newer services. By the early twenty-first century, the few radio reporters left enjoyed the use of vastly more capable and user-friendly field equipment. Although the amount of radio news declines year by year, the fundamental efficiency of the informational service provided by the radio reporter has not changed since the inception of the medium.

Dina A. Ibrahim

See also Audio and Video News Service; British Broadcasting Corporation; Commentators, Radio; Community Radio; Development Journalism; Internet Impact on Media; Newscasters, Radio; Podcasting; Public Radio News; Rip-and-Read News; Satellite News Gathering; Talk and News Radio;

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Reporters, Television

In the 60 years since regular television news programs began, the broadcasting—and more recently cable news—networks and local stations have utilized the services of hundreds of reporters. At first, virtually all of them were white men. This entry describes American station- and network-level reporting, especially the latter.

Origins

Just as radio journalism was slow off the mark, television news was also slow to develop, though for different reasons. Based on radio's experience leading up to and during World War II, broadcasting had a clear and important news role to perform. But television was infinitely more complex—and costly—and the initial focus on developing the visual medium focused on entertainment to build audience and advertiser support. News was present at the beginning on the network level, but played only a minor role in overall time on the air.

Television's initial reporters were most often those who had worked in radio and thus were used to working against short deadlines and thinking and adjusting while on the air. They did have to retrain, in a sense, to accommodate the camera, since now visual images counted at least as much as words. Some early reporters were brand new to broadcasting (most often from newspaper reporting positions), and would thus learn the ropes on a medium that few initially watched. Yet while a radio reporter would often cover a story on his own, no television reporter could "do" a story justice without a camera operator and quite possibly a sound technician as well. Such a team was naturally more expensive—in terms of both salary paid and the equipment needed—than was radio, and cost became a vital aspect of television reporting from the beginning.

Indeed, the earliest network newscasts (NBC began the first regular one in early 1948) were little more than televised newsreels, making use of news photography by others as the networks lacked their own dedicated reporters. Partly because of this very lack of reporting personnel, pictures increasingly defined what was news—dramatic photos or film often dictated what stories got on the air at both local stations and the networks.

Only slowly in the early 1950s did network news divisions begin to consider television reporting a serious and viable journalistic option. As Edward R. Murrow of CBS put it in 1951 when beginning his *See It Now* weekly documentary series, he was part of an old radio team learning a new trade. By mid-decade, television news growing pains were still the topic of constant debate and worry. Should pictures drive reporter's stories? Could networks allow television reporters to develop their own specialization or "beats" as had long been the case with print?

In 1963, both CBS and ABC expanded their evening newscasts to a half hour (ABC only

followed in 1967), thus doubling their need for on-air reports—and thus reporters to provide them. Nor were evening newscasts the only consumer of reporters' efforts. Network documentaries experienced something of a golden age in the 1960s, demanding the dedication of teams of reporters and technicians to get their stories on the air. The growing Vietnam War provided another training ground for television reporters in a foreign environment.

Reporting Technology

The microphone was of course the earliest and most significant technology for reporters. Many early television reports consisted of disembodied voices narrating news film. The "talking head" became a staple—and the bane—of early television, as reporters and interviews subjects were shown in static sets. Necessary pictures were either stills, or 35mm film, which required hours of developing and editing before airtime.

Political convention coverage by the three networks (and a few major market stations) offers a useful window onto the changing definition of "portable" reporting technology. Coverage of conventions in 1948 and 1952 was largely restricted to reporter microphones from the floor and television camera pictures from the network booths or other static locations. Photos of floor reporters in the 1950s makes clear just how difficult their job was given the bulk and weight of both sound and motion picture film equipment. Reporters can be seen carrying heavy backpacks of equipment and batteries. Moreover, film had to be developed before it could be aired. By the 1960s, convention coverage—then still provided for hours each day—showed reporters with far more streamlined film cameras and microphones, no longer as weighed down by the tools of their trade. The first video camcorders, however, appeared only in the early 1980s.

Reporters found their jobs affected by several technologies. Videotape appeared in 1956, though bulky initial equipment was useful in the studio more than in day-to-day reporting. Only in 1974 did portable videocassette recording appear, slowly eliminating the need to develop and edit film. Microwave links allowed remote reporting, sometimes on a live basis. All of this meant that an evening station or network newscast could be far more current—with some video arriving only an hour or so before airtime.

Development of satellite newsgathering equipment as well as increasing automation in the 1980s began to transform the role of the television reporter. These technologies made it easier to more quickly get good pictures and sound to stations and networks alike.

Competition

Broadcasters overcame some traditions slowly, especially the hiring of women and ethic minorities to serve as reporters. What had been a white male preserve into the 1970s (with a handful of exceptions) slowly began to more closely resemble the country's population profile by the 1980s and in the years since.

At the same time, what had once been clearly distinguishable local and national television news reporting began to meld together. This was partly a matter of technology—tape, satellite, and digitalization made it easy to obtain and distribute national and world news reports to local stations. Stations expanded their news as advertisers became more supportive, and in some major markets the early "evening" news block extended from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m. or later. While this opened up huge demand for more reporting content, some of this demand was met with syndicated material, while another trend was toward softer more feature-driven reporting on both station and network newscasts.

As local news increased, national reporting declined. The slow demise of network documentary programs began in the 1970s, and accelerated after the rise of cable news services in the 1980s.

Indeed, cable has provided a growing employment base for reporters. The rise of dedicated cable news and documentary networks has offered reporters more options—and encouraged more shifting by reporters across different networks. Gone is the pattern of a life's work at a single network. For several decades, it has been common for reporters to shift from one network to another, across the cable-broadcast divide.

Some Noted Television Reporters

What follows provides a sample of better-known American network reporters, past and present,

intended to describe something of their various career paths and accomplishments.

Christiane Amanpour (1958–)

Christiane Amanpour grew up in Iran and began her career at CNN in 1983 as an assistant at the fledgling network's international news desk. She was serving as a foreign correspondent in Germany in 1989 as the wall dividing east and west came down. She moved on to report the 1990–91 Gulf War and then more extensively covered the various Balkan wars of the mid-1990s. Based in London, she became the cable news network's chief foreign correspondent, noted for obtaining hard-to-get interviews with various national leaders. She has won nine Emmys among many other journalism awards for her reporting.

Peter Arnett (1934–)

Peter Arnett grew up in New Zealand and began his reporting career in 1957 in Southeast Asia where he worked for the Associated Press and won a Pulitzer in 1966. He joined CNN in 1981 when the network was barely a year old, first covering the White House and then a series of war fronts in Central America and the Middle East. He rocketed to national recognition on the strength of his 1991 reporting from Baghdad, then under air attack by U.S. forces, and from which most other Western reporters had been expelled. For more than six weeks he was able to get his live video reports out by using new portable television equipment. But seven years later, he tarnished his reputation with a series of reports for CNN and *Time* magazine alleging that the United States had employed gas warfare during the Vietnam War. Later investigations could not support that claim.

Ed Bradley (1941–2006)

Ed Bradley became best known to American viewers as part of the CBS *60 Minutes* team of reporters in the 1980s and 1990s. He began life as a teacher of mathematics in elementary schools. In the 1960s, he broke into radio, first in Philadelphia and then New York. After a year or so as a network stringer for CBS, he became a full-time foreign correspondent in Southeast Asia for the network, one of the first African Americans to perform such a role. He was one of the few Americans still reporting there as communist forces surged to victory in 1975. He became the network White House correspondent and then anchor of the network's Sunday evening news program. His next role was as a reporter in the *CBS Reports* documentary series for which several of his assignments garnered him journalism awards. In 1981 he replaced Dan Rather on *60 Minutes*, where he served out his career, earning several Emmys among other awards.

Charles Collingwood (1917–85)

Charles Collingwood was one of the famous "Murrow Boys" of World War II. He left a Rhodes Scholarship at Oxford University in 1940 to take up journalism, first reporting for United Press from London. He was but 23 when Edward R. Murrow hired him in 1941 and went on to cover the North African fighting in World War II (winning a coveted Peabody award just two years later). On his return to the United States in 1946, he was assigned to the new United Nations but spent much of his time in the 1950s and 1960s as an urbane foreign correspondent for CBS radio and then television. He was perhaps best known to many Americans for hosting a televised tour of the White House with Mrs. John F. Kennedy in 1962, but he far preferred foreign reporting and was active in Europe and the Far East.

Nancy Dickerson (1927–97)

Nancy Dickerson started out working as a Milwaukee public school teacher, then as a researcher for a U.S. Senate committee. She joined CBS in 1954 as a producer and in 1960 was the first female correspondent hired by CBS News. Obtaining a television interview with then–House Speaker Sam Rayburn (when nobody else could) opened doors. Switching to NBC in 1963, Dickerson became the first woman floor reporter at a presidential convention (1964) and the first to anchor a daily network news program. She left to be an independent producer in 1970 and hosted a syndicated daily news program, also producing programs for public television. Her final television post was as a news commentator for Fox News from 1986 to 1991.

Sam Donaldson (1934–)

Sam Donaldson was long featured on ABC television news, known for sometimes biting questions in interviews. Like many television reporters, he began in radio (in southern California) while still doing graduate work in college. His television work began in 1959 at the CBS affiliate station in Dallas, and then in Washington, D.C. He joined the ABC network in 1967 just as it began to catch up with its two older competitors. He began as ABC's congressional correspondent, followed by a dozen years (until 1989) as White House correspondent. For much of that period he was also anchoring the network's Sunday evening newscast, though he was probably best known for his firm (some would say hectoring or aggressive) interviewing style. He went on to anchor ABC's *PrimeTime Live* until 1998, and other interview programs into the early 2000s.

Fred Francis (1945–)

Fred Francis served for more than three decades with NBC. He began by opening the network's news bureau in Miami in 1975, and from there covering political and military crises throughout Central America. For most of his time at NBC, Francis focused on national security, military, and diplomatic issues. He served as a White House correspondent. After the 9/11 attacks, he joined the network's terrorism task force, and over three months reported from Washington, Islamabad (Pakistan), Hamburg, London, Damascus, and Tel Aviv. He was NBC's principal reporter during the 1990–91 Gulf War, especially from the Pentagon. After the war, Francis worked for three years as the senior correspondent for *Dateline NBC,* before returning to reporting for the network's evening news. He retired late in 2004.

Pauline Frederick (1908–90)

Pauline Frederick was the first women to become a fulltime network television reporter, slowly overcoming a strong network bias against women on the air by doing her own stories. She worked first for a Washington, D.C., newspaper and then shifted to NBC as a radio interviewer. In 1945 she left the network to again report for newspapers, this time for an alliance of papers for which she covered the Nuremberg war crimes trials in 1946 to 1947. She did freelance reporting for the new ABC network and joined them fulltime to cover the United Nations beginning in 1948. In 1953 she returned to NBC, remaining on the UN beat for another two decades. After her retirement in 1974 she turned to news analysis for National Public Radio, and was the first woman to moderate a debate among presidential candidates in 1976.

Bob Jamieson (birth date unknown)

Bob Jamieson began a local station anchor and reporter in St. Louis and then in Chicago, before joining NBC in 1971 where he was first assigned as a national correspondent in the Chicago bureau. He went on to become White House correspondent from 1975 to 1978, and later worked on assignments in London and as a senior national correspondent based in New York. He reported extensively from the Middle East beginning with the 1973 Yom Kippur war and subsequently the 1982 conflict in Lebanon, reporting from Iran, Syria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Iraq. In 1990, he joined ABC in New York and continued his wide variety of both reporting activities with some anchoring.

Marvin Kalb (1930–)

Marvin Kalb served most of his television reporting career as a diplomatic correspondent for CBS and then NBC. He was working toward a Ph.D. at Harvard when Edward R. Murrow hired him at CBS, first as a night desk reporter, but by 1960 as Moscow correspondent (he speaks Russian). He shifted to Washington in 1963 as the network's chief diplomatic reporter, continuing his focus on Soviet affairs, and authoring several journalistic books. In 1980 he shifted his diplomatic reporting to NBC and also moderated the Sunday talk program, *Meet the Press*. After retiring from network reporting, he became the first director of the Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics, and Public Policy at Harvard, serving for a dozen years until 1999. By the early 2000s, he was hosting *The Kalb Report* news interviews from the National Press Club in Washington.

Charles Kuralt (1934–97)

Charles Kuralt became both famous and beloved for his long-running series of "On the Road" reports for CBS News. He was born and grew up in North Carolina and entered journalism as a newspaper reporter there. He joined CBS as a radio news writer in 1957 and just two years later became the youngest person ever to be a CBS correspondent. After years reporting from both the United States and overseas (he was first based in Rio de Janeiro, then Los Angeles and later New York), he began his "On the Road" reports in 1967, rambling the country in a large motor home and focusing on offbeat locations and people, usually far from major cities. He had an innate ability to narrate a story in a warm and folksy fashion and eventually did so from every one of the 50 states. He later anchored the network's *CBS Sunday Morning* for 15 years. He retired in 1994, having won almost every broadcast journalism award there is.

Andrea Mitchell (1946–)

Andrea Mitchell became one of the best-known women reporters in network television. She began her television journalism career on Philadelphia and then Washington, D.C., stations, before joining the NBC network in 1978. Mitchell served as White House correspondent during the Reagan administration (1981–89), then as congressional correspondent before returning to the White House beat in 1992 to 1994. In 1994 she was named as the network's chief foreign affairs correspondent. Widely traveled, she is one of the most visible faces on the NBC evening newscast.

Roger Mudd (1928–)

Roger Mudd began his journalism career as a newspaper and radio reporter in Richmond, Virginia in 1953. After working for a Washington, D.C., radio station, he joined CBS in 1961, reporting from Capitol Hill. He often served as substitute anchor for Walter Cronkite, but when he was passed over as his replacement, Mudd left for NBC in 1981, where he briefly worked as co-anchor with Tom Brokaw. He reverted to being senior political correspondent in 1983. Mudd was known for polite but insistent interviewing, especially of presidential candidates. In 1987 he left the network and began contributing essays to the Public Broadcasting Service. His final role was as a host on the History Channel. Mudd retired in 2004.

Edward R. Murrow (1908–65)

Edward R. Murrow was the early leader of CBS radio news and hired the team of "Murrow Boys" that reported so much of World War II in Europe. After the war he became effective head of CBS news during the network's early transition to television, though he always preferred radio and continued to service that medium well into the 1950s. He reported the televised presidential nomination conventions from 1948 through 1956, in concert with others. Working with producer Fred Friendly, he also provided important documentary reporting for television in the *See It Now* series of the 1950s, for which "Harvest of Shame" (1959) was his last major production before departing CBS to head the U.S. Information Agency under President Kennedy.

Lisa Myers (1952–)

Lisa Myers broke into journalism (after three years with the Bureau of National Affairs in Washington) as a reporter for a Chicago newspaper in the late 1970s, and then for a Washington, D.C., daily. She joined NBC News in 1981 and focused on political reporting, both at presidential nominating conventions and from Capitol Hill. In 2002 she was named to head the network's investigative reporting unit.

Brian Ross (1948–)

Brian Ross began his professional career in 1971 as a television reporter in Waterloo, Iowa, later working in Miami and Cleveland. He served as a network correspondent for two decades with NBC and began his investigative reporting there before joining ABC in mid-1994. He is the chief investigative correspondent, reporting extensively for all of the network's news programs.

Tim Russert (1950–2008)

Tim Russert completed law school and went to work in a senator's office before joining the staff

of New York's governor. He was hired by NBC in 1984 to work in its Washington bureau, and rose to be bureau chief in 1988. He has been especially active reporting political news, is credited by some for the "red" and "blue" state designations, and became famous in the 2000 campaign for using his low-tech but clear white board to underline key political and voting trends. Russert served as the host of *Meet the Press,* the Sunday morning political talk/interview program, from 1991 until his untimely death in 2008.

Daniel Schorr (1916–)

Daniel Schorr is the last member of the "Murrow" team still active in journalism in the early 2000s. He began as a freelancer for two newspapers during the 1940s and up to 1953 when he joined CBS News. He opened the network's Moscow bureau two years later. Much of his reporting into the 1960s was from Europe. He returned to the U.S. and domestic political reporting in 1966, but after a series of controversies over some of his reports (and several Emmys, it should be noted as well), he left CBS in 1976 and in 1979 was one of the first reporters hired for the new CNN news service, reporting until 1985, when his contract was not renewed. Working past his ninetieth birthday, Schorr has spent his latter years with National Public Radio as a senior news analyst and commentator.

Jake Tapper (1969–)

Jake Tapper began, as had so many of his forebears, as a print reporter. Tapper joined ABC News in mid-2003 and became the network's senior national correspondent three years later. Based in the network's Washington, D.C., bureau, he covers Capitol Hill and served as ABC News's senior political correspondent during the 2008 elections. Seen almost daily, Tapper contributes regularly to *Good Morning America, Nightline, World News with Charles Gibson* and others.

Sander Vanocur (1928–)

Sander Vanocur grew up in Ohio but started reporting in London, writing for the *Manchester Guardian* and providing some material for the BBC's North American service. By 1955, he was in New York working for *The New York Times*. He joined NBC News two years later, serving, among other roles, as White House correspondent. He reported for a variety of network programs and hosted the television magazine *First Tuesday*. In 1971 he shifted to the new Public Broadcasting Service as a senior correspondent for its developing news operation. Two years later, he turned to teaching and consulting, followed by two years at *The Washington Post*. He joined ABC News in 1977 and worked as a convention floor reporter for the 1980 and 1984 elections. He turned to foreign correspondence in 1981, first covering the State Department, then reporting from Buenos Aires. He left in 1991 to form his own consulting firm.

Chris Wallace (1947–)

Chris Wallace followed his father into the television reporting business, beginning at a Boston station as he finished his Harvard education. He then joined NBC's flagship New York station as an investigative reporter, and began serving as a Washington correspondent for the network's evening news in 1981. He varied duties as a weekend news anchor and reporter before joining ABC News in 1989 as a senior correspondent for the *PrimeTime Live* news magazine and occasional host for *Nightline*. In 2003 he shifted allegiance again, joining Fox News as a reporter and occasional anchor.

Mike Wallace (1918–)

Mike Wallace began his career as a radio announcer in Grand Rapids, Michigan, in 1939, then served as a radio news writer and reporter in Chicago in the early 1940s. He first broadcast for CBS in 1951 in various feature and entertainment programs but helped cover the 1952 elections as well. After years of reporting and anchoring feature and interview programs (especially *Night Beat* from 1951 to 1955), and a brief period in the late 1950s working for ABC and doing syndicated programs, he became a full-time CBS correspondent in 1963. He melded reporting work with anchoring daytime news programs for the network. Five years later, he was the original reporter on the new *60 Minutes* weekly news magazine program, a role he

continued until his retirement in the middle part of the first decade of the 2000s.

Judy Woodruff (1946–)

Judy Woodruff began as an Atlanta television station news anchor before serving as NBC's chief White House correspondent from 1977 to 1982, and then covering Washington for the *Today* show. In 1984 she shifted to public television, serving as co-host of PBS's documentary series, *Front Line,* while also reporting Washington events for the *MacNeil-Lehrer Report*. From 1993 to 2005, she hosted CNN's *Inside Politics*. She returned to public television (and radio) a year later, doing both documentaries and regular reporting.

Conclusion

An important reporting trend in television news reporting has been the steady network decline of foreign correspondence. Where once the major television networks retained numerous overseas bureaus, and some reporters stayed on station for years, developing deep expertise of their parts of the world, such operations became too costly to maintain as the news business grew more competitive. Cable news services have taken up some of this, but there are far fewer American television reporters working full-time overseas in the early twenty-first century than a half century before.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Anchors, Television; Commentators, Television; Foreign Correspondents, Electronic; Reporters, Radio; War Correspondents

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Reporters' Organizations

Journalists are joiners. It is the rare reporter, writer, editor, or publisher who is not a part of some journalism organization. This seems especially true when you scan the number of different groups that cater to almost any conceivable writing interest—or the varied ethnic backgrounds of news people. They all share several attributes: providing a basis for exchange of views (conferences and, more recently, websites), educational features (workshops, scholarships), publications (sometimes online), and various awards to recognize superior performance. Some take on advocacy roles, especially with Washington, D.C.–based policymakers. Virtually all are nonprofit in nature.

This entry is one of several that briefly describe selected journalism organizations (there are too many to include all, and they come and go over time), so readers should also check additional organizational categories noted under "see also." What follows is based closely on information in the association websites.

General

A number of organizations appeal to writers and reporters across the board, without reference to specific subject areas covered or type of publication.

American Society of Journalists & Authors

Founded in 1948, the American Society of Journalists and Authors (ASJA, http://www.asja.org) is an organization of independent (generally meaning freelance) nonfiction writers with a membership of more than 1,100 writers of magazine

articles, trade books, and many other forms of nonfiction writing. Members share information on writing rates, publishing contracts, editors, agents, and more. Nonmembers can benefit from ASJA's "contracts watch" newsletter, an annual writers conference, and writing resources. Editors and others can search the membership to hire experienced authors and journalists (with links to their websites and blogs, among other things).

Association of Young Journalists and Writers

The Association of Young Journalists and Writers (AYJW, http:///www.ayjw.org) was established as the Association of Young Journalists, a successor to the Forum of Young Journalists, which had been created in 1981. Soon after its formation, the association added "and Writers" to include a wider range of members. The association works largely online to further its mission of helping young writers and journalists get started publishing in the media. A writer submits material to the website which, upon editorial approval, will be available for newspapers, magazines, publishers and other media to review. How this actually works in progress is not clear from the website.

Editorial Freelancers Association

The Editorial Freelancers Association (EFA, http://www.the-efa.org/index.html) grew out of a book publisher strike in the early 1970s and by 1976 had about 100 members. It opened a New York office in 1979 and hired an office manager six years later as the organization continued to grow. Various affinity groups—those working in specific subject fields—began to form in 1989, and the first regional chapters appeared in 1997. Run almost entirely by volunteers, EFA members work in 45 states and in Canada, England, France, India, Ireland, Israel, and Japan.

National Conference of Editorial Writers

Founded in 1947, the National Conference of Editorial Writers (NCEW, http://www.ncew.org) exists to improve the quality of opinion journalism, meaning (primarily) editorial pages and broadcast editorials, and to promote high standards among opinion writers and editors. Members participate in writing and broadcast critiques, an annual convention, seminars and workshops, the NCEW job bank, *The Masthead* magazine, regional conferences, foreign tours, and an e-mail discussion group.

National Society of Newspaper Columnists

The National Society of Newspaper Columnists (NSNC, http://www.columnists.com) was formed in 1977 to promote professionalism and camaraderie among United States and Canadian newspaper columnists, including general interest, humor, op-ed, and other niche columnists. Academics and student columnists also are eligible to join. An annual conference is NSNC's primary event. By 2000, the NSNC, then with its own website, had outgrown its volunteer base and hired a professional administrator. NSNC also publishes a bimonthly newsletter and advocates for columnists and free press issues as necessary.

Society of Professional Journalists

The Society of Professional Journalists (SPJ, http://www.spj.org) is dedicated to encouraging the free practice of journalism and high standards of ethical behavior. Founded in 1909 as Sigma Delta Chi, SPJ promotes the free flow of information through the daily work of its nearly 10,000 members; works to inspire and educate current and future journalists through professional development; and seeks to promote First Amendment guarantees of freedom of speech and press through advocacy efforts. *The Quill,* the society's magazine, first appeared in 1912, and its initial code of ethics followed in 1926. In 1960, the group converted from a fraternity to the present professional society, the first women were admitted in 1969, and the SPJ name was adopted in 1973.

Specialty Interest

There are a growing number of affinity groups for writers and reporters working specific beats or subject areas. Here are some of them.

American Medical Writers Association

The American Medical Writers Association (AMWA, http://www.amwa.org) was founded in

1940 (as the Mississippi Valley Medical Editors Association) to assist medical authors, taking its present name in 1948. Its mission is to promote excellence in medical communication and to provide educational resources in support of that goal. The more than 5,000 members from around the world include a variety of medical communicators, including reporters and publishers as well as journal editors.

Members work for pharmaceutical companies, universities and medical schools, hospitals, nonprofit organizations, government agencies, journals, and many other businesses and organizations. Many work as freelance writers and editors.

Association of Health Care Journalists

Formed in 1998, the Association of Health Care Journalists (AHCJ, http://www.healthjournalism.org) held its first conference two years later. In 2002 it published a reporter's guide to health care and granted its first awards for journalistic excellence in 2005. By 2007, there were more than a thousand members. AHCJ is dedicated to advancing public understanding of health care issues. Its specific mission is to improve the quality, accuracy, and visibility of health care reporting, writing, and editing.

Garden Writers Association

The Garden Writers Association (GWA, http://www.gardenwriters.org) comprises book authors, staff editors, syndicated columnists, freelance writers, photographers, landscape designers, television and radio personalities, consultants, catalog publishers, extension service agents, and others. It provides the usual media organization range of activities—conferences, educational options, publications, a job bank, and more—all focused on some aspect of gardens and gardening.

International Association of Obituarists

Since 1999, the International Association of Obituarists (IAO, http://www.obitpage.com/index.html) has held national and international obituary writers' conferences. These have generated a worldwide network of writers and readers interested in the art and importance of the newspaper or magazine obituary. The writing of such mini-biographies, often under tight time constraints, is something of an art that the IAO promotes.

National Association of Science Writers

In 1934 a dozen science reporters established the National Association of Science Writers (NASW, http://www.nasw.org) at a meeting in New York. They wanted a forum in which to join forces to improve their craft and encourage conditions that promote good science writing. The association was formally incorporated in 1955 with a charter to "foster the dissemination of accurate information regarding science through all media normally devoted to informing the public." Over the years, its officers have included both freelancers and employees of most of the major newspapers, wire services, magazines, and broadcast networks (an a few larger stations) in the country. Above all, NASW is concerned about the free flow of science news.

National Education Writers Association

Founded in 1947, the National Education Writers Association (EWA, http://www.ewa.org) is the national professional organization of education reporters, originally organized by a group of newspaper reporters with the intent of improving primary, secondary, and higher education reporting. EWA has more than 1,000 members in the United States and Canada, including reporters from both print and broadcast media. Associate members include school and college public information officers and writers who work for educational institutions and organizations.

New York Financial Writers Association

The New York Financial Writers Association (NYFWA, http://www.nyfwa.org) is the nation's oldest organization devoted to business and financial journalism. When it was founded in mid-1938, only financial (not business) writers with three years' experience on recognized newspapers and wire services were eligible to join. In 1945 the association began to admit business writers as associate members—with considerable resulting controversy due to tension between "financial" and "business" reporters. Three decades later, in

1975, the association admitted women to membership (with no controversy save that it had taken awhile). Since then, hundreds of journalists from both legacy and new media news organizations have become active.

Religion Newswriters Association

The Religion Newswriters Association (RNA, http://www.rna.org) is the only association for journalists who cover religion in general circulation news media. The website is huge and offers in-depth resources on most religions of the world. RNA was founded in 1949 to advance the professional standards of religion reporting in the secular press as well as to create a support network for religion reporters.

Society of American Business Editors and Writers

Headquartered at the Missouri School of Journalism at the University of Missouri–Columbia, the Society of American Business Editors and Writers (SABEW, http://www.sabew.com/news/home.htm) was founded in 1964. In 1990, it began offering institutional memberships, and business staffs at major newspapers, business journals, business weeklies, wire services, online publications, and broadcast outlets are members. By the early 2000s it served some 3,200 business journalists, largely in North America.

Society of Environmental Journalists

The Society of Environmental Journalists (SEJ, http://www.sej.org) was founded in 1990 by a small group of reporters, editors, and producers working for the Philadelphia *Inquirer, USA Today,* Turner Broadcasting, Minnesota Public Radio, and *National Geographic.* SEJ's membership now includes more than 1,300 journalists and academics working in every type of news media in the United States, Canada, and some 30 other countries. SEJ provides support to journalists in any medium in their efforts to cover complex issues of environmental responsibly. SEJ also seeks to raise awareness among editors, news managers, publishers, and other key decision-makers in news media on the importance of environmental news reporting.

Minority Journalists

Over the past several decades, groups have developed for reporters of most ethnic and other minority groups.

Asian American Journalists Association

The Asian American Journalists Association (AAJA, http://www.aaja.org) was founded in 1981 by a few Asian American journalists who felt a need to encourage more Asian American and Pacific Islanders to pursue journalism at a time when there were few of them in the media. AAJA owes its founding to the vision of a small group of Los Angeles journalists. AAJA's expansion into a national organization came in 1985 with the formation of additional chapters. With approximately 2,000 members in 20 chapters across the United States and Asia, AAJA's largest memberships are generally concentrated in metropolitan areas.

National Association for Multi-Ethnicity in Communications

The National Association for Multi-Ethnicity in Communications (NAMIC, http://www.namic.com) was founded in 1980 and advocates for multiethnic diversity in employment in both the media and telecommunications industries. It has about 1,500 members in its 17 nationwide chapters.

National Association of Black Journalists

The National Association of Black Journalists (NABJ, http://www.nabj.org), the nation's largest organization of journalists of color, was founded by 44 men and women in late 1975 in Washington, D.C. NABJ held its first convention in 1976 at Texas Southern University, the first black school of communications in the West and the second only to Howard University. Many of NABJ's 3,300 members also belong to one of the dozens of professional and student chapters that serve black journalists nationwide. NABJ is committed to strengthening ties among black journalists and sensitizing all media to the importance of fairness in the workplace for black journalists. (See Volume 5, Section II for the association's code of ethics.)

National Association of Hispanic Journalists

The National Association of Hispanic Journalists (NAHJ, http://www.nahj.org/home/home.shtml) traces its roots to 1982, when the first National Hispanic Media Professionals Conference was held in San Diego, though NAHJ was not formed for two more years and held its first convention in 1990. It has sought to increase journalism employment of Hispanics. NAHJ has approximately 2,300 members, including working journalists, journalism students, other media professionals, and journalism educators.

National Lesbian & Gay Journalists Association

Founded in 1990, the National Lesbian & Gay Journalists Association (NLGJA, http://www.nlgja.org) is an organization of journalists, media professionals, educators, and students that works within the news business to foster fair and accurate coverage of LGBT issues. NLGJA opposes all forms of workplace bias and provides professional development for its members. NLGJA works to enhance the professionalism, skills, and career opportunities for LGBT journalists and to strengthen the identity, respect, and status of LGBT journalists in the newsroom. Membership had grown to 1,300 in 24 chapters by 2005.

Native American Journalists Association

What became the Native American Journalists Association (NAJA, http://www.naja.com) began in 1983, when 30 Native American journalists met at Pennsylvania State University to assess the state of the Native media and to discuss ways to nurture and develop Native communications. A meeting the next year in Oklahoma created the Native American Press Association. The name was changed in 1990 to better reflect the organization's broader goals and the inclusion of radio and television professionals. The NAJA serves some 600 Native members with programs designed to enrich journalism and promote Native cultures.

South Asian Journalists Association

The South Asian Journalists Association (SAJA, http://www.saja.org) was formed in 1994 with 18 members and was incorporated in New York two years later. SAJA provides a networking and resource forum for journalists of South Asian origin and journalists interested in South Asia or the South Asian Diaspora. SAJA's mission also includes acting as a resource to facilitate and promote accurate coverage of South Asia and South Asians in North America.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Foundations, Research Centers, and Institutes; International Journalism Organizations; Reporters, Print; Reporters, Radio; Reporters, Television; Special Interest Organizations

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REUTERS

Based in London and with offices around the world, Reuters (as of 2008, Thomson Reuters) is one of the world's oldest news agencies and for much of the twentieth century was one of the four or five most important global news services. By the early 2000s, however, it had refocused into a financial services entity, however, and only about ten percent of its income was derived from news communication.

Origins

Paul Julius Reuter (1816–99), was born as Israel Beer in Cassel, son of a rabbi, and grew up in Aachen, Germany on the border with Belgium

and the Netherlands. Some time after his father's death in 1829, he gave up his Jewish heritage and name (as did many others due to rife anti-Semitism), though it is not clear how he chose his new name. After working as a printer and bookseller in Berlin, in 1848 he worked briefly as a translator for the new Havas news service in Paris (he may have replaced Bernard Wolff who was soon to begin his own news service in Germany). He briefly operated his own small news service in Paris before it failed and he returned home.

In Aachen he initiated a news and stock price information service (the "Institute for the Promotion of Telegraphic Dispatches") that communicated to different cities using a combination of telegraph cables (the line to Berlin had opened in 1849) and a fleet of carrier pigeons (eventually some 200 birds) that often saved time over train schedules from Brussels, which was linked by telegraph to Paris. Reuters was not the first to use pigeons—Havas had done so in Paris and elsewhere—but his application became the best-known example of the "pigeon post." Reuter sent his birds by rail to Brussels and they then flew back to Aachen the following day (faster than the train would allow) with tiny capsules containing news reports. From Aachen, the news was telegraphed east to Berlin. In 1851, the telegraph link to Aachen was completed and the pigeons were no longer needed.

Moving to London in mid-1851 to be at the center of world news and financial communication, Reuter opened an office close to the Royal Exchange, and the main telegraph offices. From his "Submarine Telegraph" office he began to transmit stock and agricultural market quotations and business news between London and Paris utilizing the new Dover-Calais undersea telegraph cable which opened for service a month later. As the telegraph network gradually extended across Europe, Reuter opened offices in other cities. It took several years for him to break into the tightly knit British newspaper market. He finally signed an agreement with *The Times* in 1858 to carry American news—but the first transatlantic telegraph cable on which the deal depended failed in a few weeks and would not be replaced until after the American Civil War. Instead, Reuter initialed agreements with competing papers to bring them news from the Continent. By late 1858, he was serving many British papers, including *The Times,* with breaking European news. And "news" had expanded beyond politics and war to include science, literature, religion, and even sports. In April 1865, Reuter stunned European financial markets with a two-hour scoop providing their first word of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln in Washington, D.C. Although the Associated Press story took 12 days crossing the Atlantic on a mail steamer, Reuters men chartered a boat to intercept the vessel off Ireland and telegraphed the news on to London. The same year the Reuters Telegram Company Ltd. was registered as a public company.

By the late 1860s, Reuters was serving all the major British newspapers with his by now respected news reports. The papers all paid the same amount for the agency's service, provincial newspapers receiving reports from their cooperative Press Association with which Reuters had a contract (almost from the beginning, Reuters was the only major news agency that did not directly serve its own domestic market). Over the next decade, Reuters telegraphic news service extended out to the Far East and America, following British imperialist moves. In 1870, after having failed in its attempt to purchase the Wolff agency, Reuters signed a news sharing agreement with Havas and Wolff to create a global news cartel or "ring." Reuters was by then the largest and most important of the three thanks to its service to the expanding British Empire. But the three news agencies needed each other, given their varied strengths. Reuters had sole access to the Empire and much of the Far East. The Exchange Telegraph agency formed in London in 1872 to compete on transmission of financial news.

Expansion

The Ring agreement was renewed in 1890, and Reuters experienced its best news agency years prior to World War I. When the war broke out, Reuters briefly suffered due to its German name. Herbert Reuter's death in 1915 ended family control. After years of declining profits due to the cost of operating the service, Reuters was restructured as a private company, Reuters Ltd., in 1916. Its managing director, Roderick Jones took effective control, and until his retirement in 1941 pursued a policy to tie the company more closely to the British government, considering this a basic patriotic role. The news agency refused to carry German

agency news, dubbing it propaganda of the enemy (Havas took the same stance). Jones took on an unpaid job as head of British propaganda efforts during World War I while still running Reuters, a dual role for which he was knighted. Wartime personnel pressures led to the first recruiting of women for editorial work, a policy that did not continue into the postwar period. In November 1918, Reuters beat the government in reporting the Armistice, which ended World War I.

In 1923 Reuters initiated the use of radio to transmit news internationally and began a service of price quotations and exchange rates sent in Morse code by long-wave radio to Europe by the Reuter Continental Broadcasting Service. In the next few years, this became Reuters' chief commercial service in Europe and, when more powerful radio transmitters became available, in the rest of the world. By the late 1930s, fully 90 percent of Reuters news was being transmitted by radio. But the agency's financial situation remained precarious, leading to newspaper concern about its continuation on one hand, or its partial takeover or subsidy by the government on the other (as was the case with Havas, for example). The result was that Jones invited the member newspapers to take a majority of the agency's shares in 1925. Until 1941, the Press Association (the provincial press cooperative) held the majority of shares. But the agency was constrained during the interwar period (years) by not having sufficient funds to expand or effectively compete with other agencies, especially the Associated Press. It increasingly relied, for example, on stringers rather than its own full-time employees. Further, the expansion of radio journalism in most of its markets was a growing threat to both subscribing newspapers and to the agency itself. Indeed, there were considerable tensions between Reuters and the expanding British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC).

Early in 1941, after growing government and Reuters board dissatisfaction with his performance–and that of his agency—Sir Roderick Jones resigned. A few months later, Reuters was reformed as a trust so that it was owned by both the British national and provincial newspapers, together with (as of 1947) the press associations of both Australia and New Zealand. A complex set of Reuters "Trust Principles" were designed to safeguard the agency's independence from government interference, or dominance by any one owner. These governed how the company conducted business, committing it to independence, integrity, and freedom from bias in the gathering and dissemination of news and information.

Reuters served well in World War II, though costs were always a problem, and often allowed American news agencies (with more reporters in the field) to break news faster. British government censorship affected reports for the domestic press, though not so much for international news feeds. Five war correspondents from Reuters were killed during the war. Reuters scooped the world with the June 1941 news that Germany had invaded the Soviet Union. Extra staff was hired and trained in preparation for the invasion of Europe in mid-1944. By the end of the war, the news agency had a far stronger reputation than it had enjoyed in 1939.

By mid-century, the news agency had 2,000 employees (including 350 full-time correspondents) and offices in virtually any city of importance. News was distributed directly to subscribing newspapers in 14 countries, and through national agencies in another 31. Major Reuters news bureaus operated in 23 nations, with the Paris office the largest outside of London headquarters. For its North American service, Reuters relied largely on the Associated Press with which an agreement had been signed in 1947. Reuters celebrated its centennial anniversary in July 1951.

With the exception of India and then Communist China, which expelled Western reporters toward the end of the 1940s (both countries had been substantial Reuters markets), growth continued and the number of subscribers rose as did newly independent nations. The BBC became the largest single subscriber to Reuters news feeds. Reuters personnel helped to form several national press agencies and the Latin service for South America. Transatlantic communications slowly switched in the 1950s from radio (which was subject to atmospheric interference) to use of the new coaxial undersea cables. World news scoops also continued. In 1956, for example, Reuters was the first to report the news of Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev denouncing the record of his predecessor, Joseph Stalin. Five years later, it broke the story of the new Berlin Wall dividing the city.

Reuters ended its cooperative general news venture with the Associated Press as well as its financial

news relationship with Dow Jones in 1967 and began Reuters North America to distribute news directly to subscribing newspapers and broadcasters. It also operated an extensive audio service to serve radio stations. In 1971 in New York, Reuters began using its first video editing system. Journalists used video display units instead of typewriters to write and transmit news. In 1974, Reuters began to transmit news over coaxial cable at about 6 million words per minute.

By the late 1970s, the London headquarters used 200 editors to keep track of news coming in at about 600,000 to 700,000 words per day. The news agency transmitted upwards of 1.5 million words per day using a leased cable network. The network in the United States alone connected some 1,600 communities. For the short Falklands war between Great Britain and Argentina in 1982, Reuters transferred most of its British personnel from Buenos Aires to nearby Montevideo, Uruguay. Reuters correspondents went in with the British forces to take the islands back from Argentina. Seven years later, Reuters was first with the news of the fall of the Berlin Wall, the beginning of the end of the East German—and later Soviet—regime. More than 50 Reuters staff (and another 30 getting video reports for Visnews, Reuter's video news arm) were on hand to report the traumatic events at Beijing's Tiananmen Square in June 1989.

The news agency continued to grow through acquisition in the 1980s and 1990s. Reuters had launched an international news picture service in 1985, and in 1993, the Visnews TV news film agency (in which Reuters had been a partial owner for years) was acquired and renamed Reuters Television. In 2005 Reuters acquired Action Images, a specialist sports photography agency. In one indicator of how much the Internet was melding real and imagined lifestyles, Reuters launched the first news bureau in the virtual world of Second Life in 2006.

Financial Focus

In part due to the limited nature of its British newspaper subscription base, Reuters began in the 1960s to focus increasingly on its original function of distributing financial and stock exchange news, opening up a new client base in the fields of banking and finance. Indeed, Reuters was transformed under managing director Gerald Long from the mid-1960s to the 1980s, by which time it had become a very valuable financial reporting enterprise, with general news reporting playing but a minor part in overall Reuters operations.

Starting in 1964, Reuters began to transmit market quotations by computer, allowing almost instant monitoring of the New York Stock Exchange by European customers. The network was soon extended to other parts of the world. In 1973 the Reuter Monitor Money Rates Service was launched as an electronic marketplace for foreign exchange just as major Western industrialized countries abandoned fixed exchange rates. By this point, financial news and stock exchange services had outpaced the general news functions of the agency. In 1981 the Reuters Monitor Dealing Service opened, allowing foreign currency dealers to conclude trades over video terminals.

In 1984 Reuters became a public company traded on the London Stock Exchange and NASDAQ as Reuters Holdings PLC. Two years later it acquired Instinet, which would become the world's largest electronic agency brokerage firm by the first decade of the twenty-first century. In 1987 Reuters launched its Equities 2000 quotations service on Integrated Data Network. The stock market crash of later that year slowed Reuters expansion plans. Reuters Financial Television Service for the financial markets was launched in 1994, providing traders live coverage of market moving events on their trading screens. By this time, the company was no longer competing with the AP, but far more so with the Bloomberg service and Dow Jones.

Employment peaked at more than 15,000 employees in the 1990s. Reuters announced initiatives to better exploit the Internet in 2000, and thereby open new markets, reinforced by joint ventures in communications, wireless delivery, and investment research. But the sharp market downturn after March 2000 began to cut into Reuters revenues. Within three years, Reuters stock value had dropped more than 90 percent, and layoffs of some 5,000 workers were one result. Reuters transferred its London headquarters from Fleet Street (where it had been based since 1939) to the developing Canary Wharf business district in East London in 2005. For the first time in years, all Reuters London employees were brought into one building.

The vast majority of clients were now financial institutions (banks and business corporations)—the media made up less than ten percent.

On May 15, 2007, the Canadian publisher Thomson Corporation announced plans to take over the Reuters Group in a deal valued at $17.2 billion. When the deal closed in April 2008, Thomson controlled just over half of the renamed Thomson Reuters company. The combined firm had about a third of the world financial reporting market—about the same as Bloomberg. The Reuters Principles (that had long limited any single owner to no more than 15 percent of the company) were waived to allow the agreement to proceed, ensuring that the global Reuters operation would continue.

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See also Associated Press; Cables, Undersea; Havas; International News Service; Telegraph; United Press International; Wolff

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Rip-and-Read News

"Rip and read" is a slang phrase describing a radio station journalism practice that dates back to at least the 1940s. News agency stories, especially written for aural delivery over the air (most often those from Associated Press or United Press International), would arrive in the subscribing station's newsroom by means of a bulky teletype machine that printed the stories in purple type onto a continuing roll of light yellow paper. At many local stations, it was common practice to simply rip stories off the roll and read them over the air. (Radio network news personnel never did this—they or other staff wrote out news stories based on both news agency and reporter information.)

The news teletype operated 'round the clock (unless somebody accidentally turned it off), so updated rip-and-read newscasts could repeat the process based on later agency news feeds. But direct reading of wire copy was also one reason why newscasts on many stations often sounded much the same. As different stations were drawing their news "scripts" from the same news services (UPI, for example, focused heavily on serving its several thousand radio clients with a special service written for on-air usage), their newscasts often *were* largely the same. Rip and read was considered an acceptable practice given the lack of time overburdened on-air personnel could devote to occasional short newscasts on stations that emphasized music or other formats. Even then, however, it was expected that station employees would at least logically rearrange stories for the local market.

Better yet, station announcers (or news staff if they were present) could rewrite the news agency or "wire" copy if time was available. Well into the 1980s, however, this meant retyping the stories on a manual or electric typewriter, a more complex and time-consuming process than the ubiquitous computers of today. Still, rewriting had the benefit of usually improving the on-air product. Carefully done, rewriting could emphasize local angles of national or foreign stories that were more relevant and interesting to the station's listeners, perhaps a personal angle or some other connection to the region. Rewriting could also help stories flow seamlessly from one to the next, and when done

well and often, could avoid repetition of the same wording in subsequent newscasts.

But another important factor (and one often overlooked) was the need to correct occasional errors (factual or even style) in the wire copy itself. Nor was it unusual, given transmission problems or teletype machine malfunctions, for an occasional story line to be typed directly over the previous one—resulting in an unreadable solid block of purple color. Going directly on air without at least skimming the stories first was always dangerous, if only for that reason. Newscasts could also run the risk of a batch of ripped news stories (often fairly brief and thus small) falling out of order before use or even on the air.

The basic temptation to rip and read continues today in the hotly competitive world of radio where industry consolidation has reduced or even eliminated dedicated news personnel at many stations or clusters of stations. It is also harder to develop a local angle if the news is being transmitted from a distant location using voice tracking—another increasingly common practice.

Some specialized media services overtly advertise their news feeds of bulleted material as being *designed* for rip-and-read use. In 2007 National Public Radio used the phrase to promote some of their programming (not that they were actually doing what the phrase once meant). Radio stations—those that still provide news at all—now receive agency news feeds on computer screens. These can be more readily edited (and then printed for use as on-air scripts) than was the case with the old combination of teletype machines and station typewriters.

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See also Associated Press; United Press International

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Risk and News

Risk is a "news frame" that highlights dangers, responsible parties, and likely victims. In political communications researcher Robert Entman's well-known definition, "[t]o frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation." Almost any subject can be reported as risk news. Risk frames can be used to report news about everything from guns to tourism, technology, social security, gasoline, and immigration. Reporting on gasoline can highlight the geopolitical risks of economies that depend on limited sources of energy, or scientific breakthroughs in the development of sources of energy. Stories on international tourism can focus on potential health risks and crime, or on the fact that tourism is an industry that generates jobs and revenues for small economies. Coverage of immigration may emphasize risks that immigrants take when they illegally cross borders, or the economic and cultural benefits that a country draws from migration flows.

News about risk matters because the press is a key institution in the social construction of risk, in that it contributes to the process by which societies select and assess risks. The press plays a crucial role in making objective risks into subjective risks: just because risks exist objectively, it does not follow that societies perceive them as such. Perceived risks do not necessarily mirror those determined, for example, by statistics and research findings (e.g., morbidity and mortality due to tobacco consumption, number of homicides committed by strangers). Experts point out that risk perception is often incommensurate with actual occurrence: people disproportionately fear risks that are not as likely, as dangerous, or as widespread as they believe. The mismatch between objective risks and perceived risks has

important consequences, for it affects how societies prioritize risks and decide what risk-management policies should be pursued. If perceptions are wrong, then societies may focus on the wrong risks. What is the responsibility of the press in this process?

The ubiquitous nature of risk news puts in evidence broader social concerns about risks as well as interest in managing risks in Western society. During the 1970s, the combination of high-profile nuclear accidents, growing concerns about environmental threats, and social mobilization to raise awareness about possible nuclear risks prompted academic efforts to better understand the linkages between risk and society. Since then, scholars have outlined a grim scenario of a global society subjected to both natural and man-made risks that could threaten the very survival of human life.

This renewed interest in risk reflects enduring anxieties in modern societies. Once risk management becomes secularized (in that it is presumed humans can take actions to alleviate or eliminate at least some risks), humans, rather than supernatural forces, are tasked with controlling risk. Although modern societies have managed to reduce risks through technological innovations and enlightened public policies, they have also created new risks (e.g., disease transfers, global warming, pollution, traffic accidents). The parallel movements of risk reduction and creation have made risk a concern across various social sectors.

Risk News and Its Critics

In the view of many critics, print and electronic media typically portray the world as a scary place plagued by uncontrollable risks. What accounts for the constant drive to push fear buttons is a matter of debate. While some argue that fear-mongering news is the result of bottom-line considerations promoting the use of sensationalistic formats that can lead to increased viewership and higher advertising revenue, others suggest that the press exploits universal fears as audiences scan their world in search of reassurance.

Such explanations for why the press devotes so much attention to risk news echo widespread criticisms of news coverage of risks. First, the press is accused of failing to provide timely risk information. The lack of sufficient or timely news coverage may partly explain why people continue to make risky choices and hold inaccurate perceptions. Ignoring or downplaying risks puts people in danger, perpetuates a false sense of safety, and delays public interventions. This point has often been made about the responsibility of the press in perpetuating "silent epidemics," public health situations in which substantial harm is being caused but little public notice is given. Analyses of news coverage of nuclear experiments in the 1950s, HIV/AIDS in the early 1980s, and famine in sub-Saharan Africa all concluded that media silence was a key factor in the lack of public discussion or concern about those issues. Put another way, observers have concluded that the media failed to set the proper agenda.

Second, the press is blamed for offering a warped picture of risks. Health researchers, for example, have documented that media underrepresent some causes of disease (e.g., tobacco use, heart disease) and overrepresent others (e.g., illicit drugs use, motor vehicle accidents, various toxic agents). Many reasons have been suggested to account for distortions in risk reporting, from political and economic interests to professional biases. For example, the press rarely offers an accurate sense of who is vulnerable to various risks. Because news organizations mainly target urban and wealthier audiences, they tend to cover risks that directly affect those groups. Thus, risks that mostly affect rural populations and the poor are less likely to receive news attention. Media attention paid to tuberculosis and malnutrition, for example, is not proportionate to their contribution to the global burden of disease. Because they mainly affect poor people, particularly in the global South, they are rarely news.

Journalistic criteria used to assess newsworthy elements (e.g., conflict, drama, novelty, visuals) can also distort news about risks. Some risks receive a disproportionate amount of news coverage compared to their magnitude. For example, homicide and injuries, which are more visually compelling, typically get more news coverage than cancer and heart disease, despite the fact that the latter lead to a greater number of deaths.

Third, the press is also faulted for offering insufficient risk information. Failure to contextualize specific events or accidents conveys unrealistic risk perceptions. "Bad news" about possible side effects of vaccinations and medications tend to ignore

that moderate negative effects are not unexpected. Individual personal tragedies may make for gripping television news, but they tend to exaggerate risks when taken out of context.

Fourth, the press is criticized for "hyping" risks by bombarding audiences with information about specific risks that do not correspond to their actual magnitude. The media are blamed for exaggerating risks, creating public hysteria, and misdirecting attention. Critics suggest that the press too often fails to offer sufficient perspective on the absolute and relative probabilities of risks. By giving false impressions about the extent and likelihood of risks, the press induces panic and may spread fears among segments of the population who are the least likely to be victims of such overreported risks.

Fifth, the press is also criticized for promoting "moral panics" that tap into prejudice and social anxieties. Moral panics are socially perceived threats to "standard" social and cultural values based on exaggerated perceptions about "out-of-control" dangers posed by ethnic, sexual, racial, cultural, and religious minorities. News coverage framed HIV/AIDS as a risk perpetrated by homosexuals to "normal" standards of sexuality. Immigration has been covered as "polluting" the cultural fabric of the nation. Youth cultures (e.g., music, fashion) have been framed as threats to middle-class morality and authority.

Who Defines Risk?

Like other news, risk is the product of the complex interaction between reporters and sources. Not all sources are equally powerful in affecting the use of risk frames. Risk news is in many ways no different from other news. Government officials can often single-handedly determine whether an issue or event is framed as risk. Officials who resort to "the politics of fear" to draw attention to specific concerns and policies exert tremendous influence in shifting news frames. Conversely, official silence or reluctance to frame specific issues as risks may discourage the creation of risk frames.

Besides official sources, risk stories regularly rely on experts. While official sources often define risk, experts supply credible information to support claims. The regular use of experts is the product of two concurrent developments. On one hand, the experts provide legitimate assessments based on scientific data, research conclusions, and other sources of "hard evidence." Experts' assessments serve to anchor claims of professional, objective reporting. On the other hand, the growing number of think tanks, research centers, industry associations, interest groups, lobbying groups, and nonprofit organizations engaged in "news management" also contribute prominent sources. Organizations seeking public visibility for their causes gladly become reliable sources. However, such experts rarely initiate risk stories. Press releases and reports may circumstantially attract news coverage, but without "news events" or statement from official sources, few expert-initiated stories will remain in the news cycle for long.

Although relations between reporters and expert sources may promote collaboration and promise mutual advantages, actual interactions among them are often not easy. Several studies document tensions and misunderstandings. Scientists express frustration at reporters' focus on flashy tidbits and oversimplified versions of complex subjects and research findings. They accuse journalists of skimming through studies and misrepresenting data and conclusions. Reporters too often cover drama more than substance and symptoms more than causes. A frequent problem is that journalists portray scientific assessments as if experts have conclusive results when in reality experts are often far less certain about risks and prospects than the press frequently portrays them.

Reporters fire back with their own criticisms. Too often, they argue, scientific risk assessments lack obvious newsworthy elements that deserve coverage. Journalists find that experts are rarely deft at translating scientific jargon into accessible information for general audiences. Few experts understand news practices and requirements that determine how risk news is covered.

Compared to official sources and experts, consumers play a secondary role in risk definition, most often appearing as either victim or perpetrator. Stories concerning environmental risks and tobacco consumption, for example, often portray the public as unwitting victim of political passivity and corporate greed. News reports describe the public as "ignorant" and "apathetic"—as with "promiscuous" youth who engage in unsafe sex

and "dangerous" social groups defined by ethnicity or sexual orientation who spread viruses.

Only occasionally are citizens featured in the role of experts. There has been a growing sensitivity in newsrooms to featuring members of the public as "lay experts" alongside professional scientists. Some of the most remarkable examples are health stories on HIV/AIDS and breast cancer, in which affected people are included to validate or contest experts' assessments and offer a different dimension to purely technical accounts of disease. Such lay experts rely on self-education and lived experiences, rather than systematic and rigorous university training. The incorporation of citizens as firsthand experts opens up new sources in risk reporting.

The Impact of Risk News

Two types of research have studied the impact of risk news. One has investigated effects of media reports on audiences, drawing on psychosocial theories and information-processing models. Few conclusive findings allow for broad generations. Studies generally conclude that demographic variables affect how the press organizes risk perception. Several studies concluded that the more information people have about certain risks, the less likely that news coverage has substantial impact. Conversely, when people have a more limited information environment, exposure to news risks would be more likely to amplify risk perception.

A second line of research has been concerned with the policy implications of risk news. From sociological and public policy perspectives, several studies have approached the press as an arena where groups compete over the definition of public problems and aim to shape policy agendas. By highlighting specific risks, the press raises awareness among policy makers and voters, provides information and opinion, and covers legislative debates and processes.

Interest groups engage in media advocacy to affect coverage, public opinion, and policy. They strategically use the rhetoric of risk to draw media attention, shape news frames, and influence policy decisions. Mention of risk in everyday politics, and particularly during election campaigning, provides an environment conducive to framing issues as threats. From abortion to xenophobia, there is no shortage of subjects in contemporary politics that are framed in terms of risk. Supporters and detractors beat the drums of fear and risk management by mobilizing activists, experts, and "news management" strategies with the goal of affecting policy making.

Risk discourses are used to shift or reinforce public perception about specific issues. As long as society considers certain risks as private, then, it is improbable that they will receive public attention, let alone be addressed. The issues of smoking and drunk driving in the United States best illustrate these efforts. Only when they were successfully framed as threats to society did they become matters of public concern and government intervention. Influencing media coverage is a central component of advocacy strategies interested in turning "private risks" into "public dangers" and, subsequently, affecting policy.

Efforts to push for risk frames in news coverage do not always result in sound policies, however. While activists use risk discourses to shape coverage and advance political agendas, some observers worry about cases in which "media-hyped" risks have negative impact on policy decision making. Seeking attention from news organizations avid for dramatic and controversial stories, sources often provide partial, politicized risk assessments. The press contributes to distorting policy priorities when it relays self-interested statements instead of judiciously weighing evidence and balancing alternative positions. The press fails to help rational decision making by reporting its own opinions rather than experts' judgments, beliefs rather than facts, politics rather than science. Reporting scientific knowledge is crucial to contribute to policies addressing real and significant risks.

Although this argument raises legitimate concerns about the implications of risk policies driven by poor news reporting and distorted public priorities, risk news will rarely be politically pristine. For example, in both the tobacco wars and the environmental debates, opposing factions accuse each other of using "junk science" to buttress their claims, demonstrating the difficulties of leaving politics out of risk definition. The social process of risk definition is messy and inevitably political. It is woven into political processes by which mobilized actors struggle over power, public priorities, and resources.

Risk news reflects not only the professional and editorial biases of newsrooms, but also the increased politicization of contemporary life. Coverage of risks often results from organized groups converting their concerns into issues of public attention by framing them as economic, political, and/or cultural threats. Risk news offers both a warped view of what societies fear, and a glimpse at how mobilized publics try to affect press coverage.

Silvio Waisbord

See also Advocacy Groups; Environmental Journalism; Framing; Health Journalism; News Values; Science and Technology Journalism; Social Movements and Journalism

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Russian Federation

The story of Russian news media is closely linked to the country's political trajectory. Virtually every Russian leader in modern history—from the last Tsars to the Soviet heads of state from 1917 to 1990, to the post-1991 Russian Presidents—have realized the importance of controlling national media in their battles for political and ideological supremacy. As a result, for most of its life so far, Soviet/Russian print and later broadcast news media have been subject to state censorship and used as political and sometimes propaganda weapons. Nevertheless, millions of Russian citizens (as well as many others) have read newspapers such as *Pravda* and *Izvestia* for almost a century, making them some of the world's most successful (if deeply flawed) publications. The sober Soviet anchors presenting the news on the extremely popular TV news show *Vremya* has now given way to a myriad of talking heads. Most of them, however, are still wary of criticizing the country's political leadership, proving that the Russian media generally prefer to mirror the country's political characteristics rather than act as a catalyst for society-wide change.

Media Origins

The first newspaper in Russia was founded during the early 1700s as a propaganda tool for the Tsar, who was fighting a war with Sweden and needed a propaganda vehicle. More than half a century would pass before the Russian press would begin to expand and that would happen thanks to Catherine the Great's Enlightenment-inspired reforms. In 1796, Catherine approved the first official censorship institution in Russia, whose job was to make sure that the journalistic enthusiasm sparked by the importation of printing technology from the West did not translate into "improper" newspaper content. The next stage in the development of the Russian press took place during the reign of Tsar Alexander II (1855–81), who instituted some of the most wide-ranging institutional reforms to that point, including the emancipation of serfs, abolishment of the death penalty, and creation of a new judicial system. Against the background of these reforms and a rapidly industrializing country, the press acquired, for the first time, a significant societal value, with the Russian intelligentsia increasingly involved in its production and consumption.

In 1865, Russian press laws were revised to reflect the changing sociopolitical and ideological situation: censors now focused less on weeding out

"immoral" content in publications, and more on "inflammatory" (read "antiestablishment") content. Such judgments, however, were now the province of the legal courts and newspaper publishers, and contributors could defend themselves in front of a judge. Preliminary censorship of newspapers was eliminated for a while, but publications could still be confiscated by the authorities before they were distributed. The last part of the nineteenth century would see many Russian newspapers, especially those in Moscow and St. Petersburg, align themselves with one of the competing ideologies of the day: liberalism, social-democracy, and monarchism.

The last important stage in the development of the Tsarist press occurred in 1905, one result of the attempted revolution that year. Defeat in the Russo-Japanese War and other economic and sociopolitical factors led to a series of worker strikes and demonstrations, which, in turn, attracted violent governmental repression. While government forces eventually managed to contain and control the revolution, the tsar was forced to sign into law the so-called October Manifest in order to appease the protesters. Among other things, the Manifesto legalized political parties, established a Parliament (the Duma), and guaranteed freedom of thought and conscience to citizens. Newspapers flourished as political parties now legally established their own publications. At the turn of the twentieth century, most newspapers were privately owned.

The "1905 Revolution" also formed a turning point in the history of *Pravda* ("Truth"), the publication that would later become the official organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the most famous and important newspaper in Russia's history. The increasing focus on workers' issues gave the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party added importance in the country's political life, which contributed to the establishment of several Marxist publications. *Pravda,* one of these publications, was started outside of Russia in 1908 by prominent Marxist exile Leon Trotsky, who became the newspaper's editor, main contributor, and financer over the following years. *Pravda* was intended to provide a left-wing view of such issues as agricultural policies, women's rights, Russian foreign policy, the social democratic movement, and Marxist theory. The newspaper also published regular reports from the Duma, as well as many letters from émigrés, prisoners, soldiers, and workers. The content was written in a simple, direct manner, a style that appealed to Russian workers, who received copies through illicit channels. Trotsky attempted to keep his newspaper outside of the internecine battles of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party but soon became mired in the disputes between the two main factions, the Mensheviks (who sought a moderate approach to sociopolitical change) and the Bolsheviks (who, led by Vladimir Lenin, stressed the need for more radical measures, including political violence). In 1910, despite Lenin's objections, the Party agreed to finance *Pravda,* but only two years later, following significant changes in the Party's leadership and organization; another *Pravda* was established (this time inside Russia) and took over from Trotsky's publication as the Party press organ.

The Tsarist secret police kept a close watch on the newspaper, and had spies at the highest levels of *Pravda's* management. The government played a cat and mouse game with *Pravda,* harassing it with fines, prison terms for its editors, confiscation of copies, and even the withdrawal of its publishing license. *Pravda*'s leadership did its best to fool the censors and continued to get its copies into the hands of the Russian industrial workers. Contrary to the subsequent official Soviet version, the pre-1917 *Pravda* was financed only in part by workers' donations—some of the money came from the Party, while a significant part came from wealthy sympathizers (including prominent writer Maxim Gorki). The content did not differ a great deal from Trotsky's *Pravda:* it included articles written in an easily accessible language and lots of letters from workers (who were encouraged to document their ever more numerous strikes and protests). *Pravda* quickly established itself as the most popular left-wing publication, reaching a peak of 130,000 printed copies on its second anniversary.

The New Order

Five days after the 1917 revolution that swept the Tsar from power, *Pravda* was printing 100,000 copies a day. The newspaper was closed down by the Provisional Government (which did not take well to *Pravda*'s virulent criticism). In late 1917, the Provisional Government was overthrown by Lenin's Bolsheviks. After a three-year civil war,

the Bolsheviks solidified their control of the Russian government and moved the country's capital to Moscow. *Pravda* followed suit and soon became the official publication of the Party.

The 1917 revolution gave rise to *Izvestia* ("News"). First published by the Petrograd Soviet (workers' council), *Izvestia* would become the official publication of the government of the USSR. *Izvestia* focused more on administrative issues within the government and on foreign affairs, while *Pravda* held a virtual monopoly on disseminating Communist ideology.

Under the Soviet system, journalism prioritized "education" (i.e., indoctrination, "ideological work"); instead of playing the role of the watchdog, it acted as a straightforward outlet for the government. In the communist system, the political completely dominated the economic, and the state owned all media. *Pravda* and *Izvestia* both printed information provided to them by the government; their editorials represented the perspective that the all-powerful Party endorsed and imposed on Soviet society. Successive Soviet governments used the media, and particularly *Pravda,* to rally citizens to official political and economic policies, including a series of succeeding economic five-year plans.

Soviet Media

Many other state- and party-controlled institutions (such as regional parties, trade unions, youth organizations) published newspapers and magazines, some of which, like *Trud* (a labor union publication) and *Komsomolskaya Pravda* (a Communist youth publication), were very popular, regularly attracting a readership of 8 million to 10 million. Besides exerting considerable political influence, top journalists benefited from various other perks, such as large and well-located apartments, vacation houses, and drivers. The editors of such prominent publications as *Pravda* and *Izvestia* were named by top state officials and often were themselves full-fledged members of the Party's Central Committee. They had access to many high-profile political meetings and were expected to participate in most of the country's important political events.

By the early 1980s, *Pravda* occupied several floors in a large building and employed 180 staff journalists and more than 100 correspondents. The newspaper had a circulation of 10.4 million copies and was printed in dozens of cities in the Soviet Union. (*Pravda* reached its peak circulation of just over 11 million in 1987.) One characteristic of Soviet newspapers was the pervasiveness of readers' letters in every issue. In the 1980s, both *Izvestia* and *Pravda* received over half a million letters a year, and Pravda employed 70 people whose job was to read and respond to each writer. The letters ranged in topic and tone, with some offering praise to some local hero, while others denounced mismanagement or corruption. Such accusations, however, were always aimed at lowly party or government members and never at officials who possessed any real power.

Most journalists were members of the Union of Journalists, which was tightly controlled by the Communist Party. In 1988, some 85 percent of all the professional journalists in the country were Union members, and, of those, 80 percent were card-carrying members of the Communist Party. Formal journalism education did not receive much attention from Bolshevik decision makers until the early 1920s, when the Moscow Institute of Journalism was established and already existing newspapers began offering training courses. Additionally, various "newspaper technical schools" opened their doors to prospective journalists drawn primarily from working and peasant families. The journalism curriculum was overwhelmingly comprised of Marxist-Leninist ideology, with scant attention paid to practical skills (e.g., journalistic writing, managing equipment). The typical Soviet journalist was a generalist with some journalistic education (from two months to three years), but with strong ideological credentials. Upon graduation, journalism students were assigned positions in newsrooms around the country.

Given all journalists' explicit allegiance to the Communist ideology as interpreted by the Party leaders, the most efficient form of control in the Soviet media was self-censorship. *Izvestia* was believed to be somewhat more "liberal" than *Pravda,* in terms of both journalistic practices and the topics it approached. (Incidentally, *Izvestia* was the first Soviet newspaper to introduce ads in its pages). During his "reign of terror" (1920s to 1930s), Stalin used his total control of *Pravda*'s editorial content for two main purposes: to mobilize Soviet citizens around his "Five Year Plans"

and to denounce, discredit, and dismiss all potential political rivals. His successor, Nikita Khrushchev, also used the press as a weapon against his opponents, but exercised more control over *Izvestia,* where he appointed his 35-year-old son-in-law as editor-in-chief.

The *Glasnost* Era

In 1985, Soviet media began to experience a true revolution. New leader Mikhail Gorbachev (1985–91) quickly instituted sweeping political and economic reforms. *Perestroika* ("reform," "reorganization") and *glasnost* ("openness," "transparency") became the new slogans, and Soviet newspapers were among the first to benefit from Gorbachev's "new thinking." The press could now carry considerably more information on government affairs, and could engage in criticism, which had been unprecedented. *Izvestia,* for example, was able to approach previously taboo subjects such as drug abuse, AIDS, accidents and disasters, crime, and infant mortality. Previously banned authors such as Boris Pasternak were serialized in newspapers. Jamming of Western radio and television signals was ceased, and in 1990 a newly passed "Law on Press and Other Mass Media" abolished every form of censorship and allowed nonstate entities to establish their own publications. Self-censorship, however, was still operating on multiple levels, and the Soviet media industry could still not be characterized as free and independent, despite ever-increasing boldness in news reporting and editorializing. (*Izvestia* occasionally even went as far as explicitly disagreeing with Gorbachev over foreign policy.) In 1991, however, the Soviet Union imploded and the once authoritarian Communist regime disintegrated. Soviet media faced their biggest crisis.

Radio and Television

The first significant mass radio transmission in the country came in 1917, when Lenin announced the victory of the Bolshevik Revolution in a radio broadcast. Despite being recognized by Lenin as a "powerful means of agitation and propaganda," radio did not receive much attention from the state compared to the situation in America and Western Europe. The development of radio technologies was further slowed by the lack of a viable nationwide electric grid and by a weak manufacturing industry (which could not produce large amounts of receivers and transmitters). It was only during the 1930s that radio began to be introduced on a large scale around the country. Much of the content broadcasted by radio qualified as entertainment (music concerts, readings of plays, and shows for youth and children), with less than 20 percent of the programming devoted to the news. The first experimental TV transmission was made in 1931, and regular broadcasting started in 1939. Like in the case of radio, the Communist state was slow to devote significant resources for the development of television technology and its spread throughout the country. The 1960s were the decade of TV expansion, with millions of TV sets produced every year. If at the beginning of that decade less than 10 percent of the Soviet population watched TV, by 1986, fully 93 percent did. The Gorbachev era further solidified TV's role as the premier source of information for the country's population, as *glasnost* was first and foremost implemented in the audiovisual industry.

Until the fall of the Communist regime, Soviet citizens mainly tuned in to the two national channels: First Program (established in 1960) and Second Program (introduced in 1982). First Program contained extensive news analysis and commentary programming, covered important state events and high official speeches, and provided a regular staple of international news. It also aired limited entertainment programming (mostly stories on the film industry), and dabbled in advertising. Second Program focused more on features about "regular people" than on hard news. It also contained some local programming in the country's 40 minority languages. The most popular programming by far was *Vremya,* a news and commentary show aired by both Programs every evening. Initiated in 1968, *Vremya* carried a variety of economic and political stories, some culture and sports, and a weather update, for 35 minutes without any interruptions. During the Gorbachev years, news and public affairs pieces made up 41 percent of all TV programming, feature films made up 48 percent, and culture and sports constituted the

rest. Live broadcasts were also aired for the first time during the 1980s.

Russian Media Since 1991

Following the fall of the Soviet Union, many of the state's former assets, including media outlets, were hastily privatized, often ending up in the hands of more or less shady alliances of politicians and newly minted "businessmen." In 1992, the new Russian Federation liberalized prices, which led to rampant inflation and spelled poverty for many Russian citizens. The once popular press lost much of its audience, and in the absence of state subsidies, many closed down. The next year, however, marked the development of a previously secondary media outlet: television. Wholly private TV channels appeared on the market, with NTV the most notable example. NTV was considered during the late 1990s to be the most independent and professional media source in the Federation. The station made a name for itself by covering the first Chechen war in a considerably more objective manner than its competitors, and introduced lively, Western-style programming, such as controversial public affairs talk-shows and a steady diet of Hollywood blockbuster movies. In 2000, however, Russia's new leadership under President Vladimir Putin (2000–08) declared war on the "oligarchs" (i.e., individuals who had benefited tremendously from the hasty privatization of Soviet industry), including media magnates. A year later, state-owned gas company Gazprom took over NTV.

Since 2000, the Russian state has continued to consolidate its control of news media in a wide-ranging operation that amounts to a renationalization of the media. The state owns 15 percent of all print media titles, the news agency ITAR-TASS, and the media holding company VGTRK, which controls national TV channels RTR and Kultura, dozens of regional TV stations, and radio channels Rossiyi and Mayak. Other state-owned or state-allied entities, such as gas company Gazprom, also own controlling stakes in the media market. *Izvestia* is in Gazprom's media portfolio, having been bought by the corporation in 2005. Soon after 1991, *Izvestia* had managed to diversify its sources of revenue and had managed to build a reputation as one of new Russia's best newspapers. *Pravda,* on the other hand, had a much rougher post-Communist trajectory. In 1991, President Boris Yeltsin's government shut down the former flagship of the Soviet media. (*Izvestia* had quickly allied itself with the new regime and was thus allowed to prosper). *Pravda* journalists subsequently founded their own newspaper, carrying the same name. The same year, *Pravda* was sold to Greek entrepreneurs, and most of its newsroom personnel resigned in protest. In 1999, many of the former "Pravdists" founded Pravda.ru, a tabloid-like online publication. *Pravda* has since struggled for survival in the Russian market. *Izvestia,* on the other hand, is still one of Russia's best selling newspapers (behind *Argumenty y Fakti, Trud, Moskovsky Komsomolets, Komsomolskaya Pravda,* and *Metro*), although it is now largely seen as the voice of Russia's presidential administration.

Since 1994, murders of high-profile journalists have occurred periodically in the Russian Federation, as the challenges faced by the country's independent media have grown greater by the year. Russia's economic recovery under President Putin was accompanied by a concentration of political and economic power in the hands of a few high state officials and their allies. The government managed to acquire control of most of the country's influential media outlets, and criticism of those in power (particularly Putin) was all but silenced. The President's many critics inside and outside of Russia have spoken of numerous attempts to intimidate the few remaining independent reporters and editors.

The only venue of information that still enjoys a high degree of freedom of speech is the Internet. The amateur personal webpages of the mid-1990s were quickly replaced by sophisticated (and popular) web-only publications and blogs. "Internet fever" swept the country's major cities in 1996, when the presidential election received immense amounts of coverage on the net. However, as of 2007, almost 80 percent of the country's population did not have access to the Internet and, as such, was not exposed to the antiestablishment discourse that characterizes many of the Russian-language politics and public affairs websites. In 2008, the national prosecutor's office proposed that legislation be adopted banning "extremist material" from the Internet. Under the proposed law—which already regulates print media—websites that publish information deemed to be "extremist" would have to be blocked by all Russian providers.

Pravda's and *Izvestia*'s odyssey from Tsarism to Communism to capitalism is a genuine metaphor for Russia's own historical trajectory. Virtually never free from state censorship, Russian journalism has always played a crucial role in the country's political life. The Tsar who founded the first newspaper during the early 1700s used it as a propaganda tool. Centuries later, many Russian leaders are still indebted to an ideal according to which the media's most important role is to serve the interests of those at the top of the political pyramid. Whether a strong and independent press will lay down roots in Russia any time soon is a question that few informed observers of Russian affairs would dare speculate on at this time.

Razvan Sibii

See also Comparative Models of Journalism; International Journalism; Press and Government Relations; Social Movements and Journalism; TASS and Russian News Agencies; Theories of Journalism

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San Francisco

California's fourth-largest city, with a population of about 750,000 in the early 2000s, lies at the heart of a metropolitan region of more than 7 million people. The area, which encompasses Oakland and San Jose, was the country's sixth-ranked market in 2008. Starting at the end of the twentieth century, consolidation and cutbacks affected almost every newspaper throughout the Bay Area; the numerous television and radio stations have also downsized. Yet in San Francisco and neighboring Silicon Valley, online innovators hold the promise of providing new sources of revenue for journalistic innovation.

Newspapers

The 1848 Gold Rush turned San Francisco into California's largest city virtually overnight. By 1849, the city had its first newspaper, the *Alta California*. By 1850 four more dailies arose. Newspapers came and went with seeming abandon: the city's roster of dailies rose to 8 in January 1851, dropped to 2 in 1852, and climbed to 12 by December 1853.

On January 16, 1865, three brothers from the de Young family, Charles, Michael Harry and Gustavus, founded *The Daily Dramatic Chronicle,* with a borrowed $20 gold piece, according to legend. The paper's first big scoop came three months later, when Michael walked to the telegraph office one morning and learned President Lincoln had been assassinated. The paper ran an "extra" edition, unleashing the ire of street mobs attacking the paper's competitors that had been critical of Lincoln. In 1868, the de Youngs started a subscription service and the paper was relaunched as *The Daily Morning Chronicle,* then later renamed the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

In 1870, San Francisco was the country's tenth-largest city. By that time, Charles de Young was running sensational, factually suspect stories. In April 1880, the publisher himself made news. The paper was printing embarrassing material about mayoral candidate and de Young rival Isaac Smith Kalloch, a Baptist minister. Kalloch, in turn, leveled embarrassing charges against de Young's mother. De Young responded by shooting Kalloch, who survived the attack and won election as mayor, serving from 1879 to 1881. During the middle of the mayor's term, his son, Isaac Milton Kalloch, shot and killed Charles. Michael de Young took over the paper.

The history of the *Chronicle*'s fiercest competitor is no less unruly. In 1880, Senator George Hearst accepted the 15-year-old *San Francisco Examiner* as payment for a gambling debt. The *Examiner* would later spawn a nationwide Hearst publishing empire that promoted war in the Caribbean and inspired the term *yellow journalism*.

Both papers also put major literary figures to work. Mark Twain wrote articles in exchange for office space at the *Chronicle*. The paper, in turn, defended *Huckleberry Finn* against bans in local libraries. Bret Harte, a clerk at the San Francisco Mint, also wrote for the *Chronicle*. Neither man

was given a byline. In 1888, the *Examiner* was the first to print the baseball poem "Casey at the Bat," by Ernest Lawrence Thayer. Ambrose Bierce and Jack London also claimed *Examiner* bylines. But the publication took shape only after 1887, when William Randolph Hearst, 23, begged his father to take over the "miserable little sheet." In 1889, the son labeled the *Examiner* "The Monarch of the Dailies"—a moniker the paper still displays. Hearst began to acquire other papers, including the *New York Journal*.

The great earthquake and fire of April 18, 1906, destroyed most of San Francisco. The *Examiner,* the *Chronicle* and a third newspaper, the *Morning Call,* produced a joint emergency edition on the *Oakland Herald*'s presses.

By the 1930s, Hearst had built a sprawling castle at San Simeon, 200 miles south of San Francisco. At the same time, he urged his minions—most took home less than $20 weekly—to "work for the romance of the game." Through the century, the Hearst Corporation bought almost every major newspaper in the city, and by the 1960s had absorbed the already combined *San Francisco News* and the *Call-Bulletin*.

Organized labor started pushing back against the publishing empires. In the 1930s, syndicated columnist Heywood Broun started a national union of newspaper workers. Seventy-one men and two women employees of the *Examiner* furtively signed the "Hearst Manifesto." Three years later, workers at the *Chronicle* joined in. In April 1936, the Newspaper Guild of Northern California was chartered. It continued to grow and earned a contract with the *Oakland Tribune* in the 1960s.

San Francisco's most famous newspaperman of the second half of the twentieth century was prolific columnist Herb Caen (1916–97), who spent most of his career with the *Chronicle*. Caen is credited with inventing the "three-dot column," a terse but witty style of commentary named for the ample application of ellipses between poetic descriptions of quotidian life, humorous nicknames for politicians, and terms defining social movements, such as the word "beatnik." In 1996, Caen was bestowed a rare "special" Pulitzer Prize.

In 1951, Hearst closed the *Oakland Post Enquirer*. In 1965, the *Chronicle* and the *Examiner* formed a 40-year joint operating agreement, which consolidated noneditorial functions into one shared complex. For the latter half of the twentieth century, the *Chronicle* and *Examiner* traded places in their circulation war. In 1952, the *Chronicle* ranked fourth, behind the *Examiner, News Call-Bulletin* and *Oakland Tribune*. But by 1960 it had moved past the *Examiner*. By 1999, the *Chronicle*'s circulation peaked at 482,268, and the *Examiner*—like most afternoon papers—had shrunk, to 114,776.

In June 1999, the *Chronicle* board of directors decided to sell to Hearst. But six months later the deal met resistance in the form of real estate investor Clint Reilly. In a lawsuit, he claimed Hearst wanted to monopolize the San Francisco market by shuttering the *Examiner*. After a federal antitrust trial in which Hearst executive Timothy White admitted to "horse trading" favorable coverage for Mayor Willie Brown's endorsement of the sale, Hearst "sold" the *Examiner* to a local family and paid them $66 million over three years as a startup subsidy. The entire *Examiner* staff was absorbed into the *Chronicle,* as Hearst promised no immediate layoffs.

The new *Examiner*'s launch on November 20, 2000, was inauspicious: A glitch at the printer made it hours late to the newsstand. The top two editors were fired in the first month. Within a year, Ted Fang, the publisher, was ousted by his mother. Ultimately, the Fangs ran through the subsidy, and on February 21, 2003, fired practically the entire editorial staff and turned the paper, then already a tabloid, into a free daily. Nearly a year later, billionaire Philip Anschutz—founder of Qwest Communications and sports teams owner as well as an active patron of religious and conservative causes—purchased the *Examiner* for a reported $20 million.

When the *Chronicle*'s no-layoff agreement expired, the paper began planning to lay off and buy out reporters. In the summer of 2005, the guild agreed to a five-year contract that cut 120 jobs through buyouts. Still, a guild-hired auditor said the paper was losing $62 million a year.

Knight Ridder's *San Jose Mercury News,* the *Chronicle*'s main regional competitor, also lost 4 percent circulation that year. The loss was part of a company-wide downturn that led a Florida investor to call for the chain's sale. On March 13, 2006, Knight Ridder's owners sold the company to the McClatchy chain for $6.5 billion. Its Bay Area holdings included the *Mercury News,* the *Contra Costa Times,* the *Monterey Herald* and the *Palo Alto Daily News* chain of free dailies. McClatchy

quickly announced it did not want the Bay Area papers and flipped them to the MediaNews Group of Denver, which already owned the *Oakland Tribune* and more than a dozen other papers in a cluster it called the Alameda Newspaper Group. Hearst, now owner of the *Chronicle,* agreed to acquire the *Herald* and the *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* and separately "contribute" them to MediaNews. In exchange, Hearst would invest in MediaNews properties outside the Bay Area.

Reilly sued again, this time charging that MediaNews and Hearst conspired to dominate the marketplace for advertising and news by consolidating operations. He settled in April 2007 after the companies agreed not to work together in the Bay Area, and the sale was approved by federal regulators.

When it was all over, MediaNews owned 29 papers in the Bay Area, and consolidated most business and some editorial functions into regional offices. The only remaining major daily papers not part of MediaNews were the *Chronicle,* with a circulation of about 400,000; Anschutz's *Examiner,* claiming 166,000; and the *Santa Rosa Press Democrat,* owned by the New York Times Company, at about 90,000.

Radio

By some accounts, radio broadcasting first appeared in the Bay Area. Around 1910, Charles Herrold used a device he called the "arc fone" to begin regular radio broadcasts of music in San Jose. After going off the air during World War I, by 1921 he was using newer technology at radio station KQW. The AM station moved to San Francisco in 1949 and became KCBS, now one of the most listened-to news stations in the Bay Area. Its biggest commercial competitor is all-talk-radio KGO-AM, started by General Electric in the 1920s.

San Francisco is notable for its wealth of noncommercial public stations. KALW-FM was founded in 1941 as an experiment by teachers at the Samuel Gompers Trades School in San Francisco to provide an over-the-air teaching aid. The first noncommercial FM station west of the Mississippi, KALW is still owned by the San Francisco Unified School District, and now broadcasts a mix of NPR programs, local news and talk shows, and live coverage of school board meetings. Another public station, KQED-FM, started broadcasting in 1969, and began an all-news format in 1987. Since then it has become the most listened-to public radio station in the country, with a combined 840,000 listeners in 2007, some as far east as the Sierra Nevada.

In 1949, Lewis Hill started the Pacifica Foundation's KPFA-FM in nearby Berkeley with a listener-supported noncommercial focus. The station quickly became politically outspoken, criticizing the Korean War in the 1950s and earning the scrutiny of the House Un-American Activities Committee. The Pacifica network has since grown to include five broadcasters and nationally syndicated content with a largely volunteer staff.

Television

The San Francisco Bay Area has five major daily news stations competing for an audience spanning nine counties throughout more than 7,000 square miles. In the beginning of the twenty-first century, such a tightly competitive market led to shifting affiliations and cutbacks at most newsrooms.

Oakland's KTVU Channel 2 got its first FCC license in 1957. Under the two-decade leadership of Fred Zehnder, the station won a reputation as local news leader, winning the highest marks in a 2000 national study by the Project for Excellence in Journalism for its emphasis on politics and economics. The *Ten O'Clock News* was also a ratings winner.

San Francisco's KRON Channel 4 was chartered by the *Chronicle*'s de Young family, first airing in the late 1940s. In 2000, the station was sold to Young Broadcasting for a reported $737 million, now widely seen as an inflated price. The station declined in ratings after losing its affiliation with NBC. In 2005, KRON began to replace traditional three-person camera crews with solo operators, to mixed reviews.

Other stations carved out their own niches. San Jose's KNTV Channel 11 became an NBC station in 2000. KGO Channel 7 in San Francisco, the ABC station, was for a time the only Bay Area station with a full-time Sacramento reporter. KPIX Channel 5, the CBS station in San Francisco, capitalized on its relationship with the network and worked with *60 Minutes* creator Don Hewitt to pilot a quarterly magazine-style news program, *30 Minutes Bay Area.*

The most recent television startup in San Francisco was Current TV, which was launched by Al Gore and Joel Hyatt in 2005 to much fanfare, empowering Internet users to contribute "pods" to its broadcasts.

Magazines and Weeklies

Though not a magazine hub like New York, San Francisco has spawned publications that helped identify the city with the pioneer history of the West, the mid-twentieth-century counterculture, and the computer revolution.

San Francisco gave rise to one of the longest-lasting magazines in the United States, *Sunset*. The "Magazine of Western Living" begun in 1898 as a railroad passengers' publication, was purchased in 1928 by the Lane Publishing Company, and has focused on lifestyle features, how-to guides, and Western history.

In the 1950s and 1960s, many art and culture magazines arose from the city's beatnik and hippie movements. *Rolling Stone* started in San Francisco in 1967 under the leadership of Jann Wenner. The magazine often strayed from underground music into pop, national politics, race relations, the Vietnam War, and feminism. Hunter S. Thompson employed his trademark "gonzo" journalism to cover the 1972 presidential race. Further to the left is *Mother Jones* magazine, founded in 1976 as a nonprofit dedicated to muckraking journalism about national and international affairs.

In 1966, Bruce Brugmann founded one of the first alternative weekly newspapers, the *San Francisco Bay Guardian*. The *Bay Guardian* was joined in the early 1980s by what became *SF Weekly,* a politically centrist free weekly, acquired by the New Times chain (later merged with Village Voice Media) in 1995. In a lawsuit, Brugmann accused the *Weekly* of underpricing its ads to drive his paper out of business. In 2008, a judge awarded the *Bay Guardian* $15.6 million in damages.

Among the first publications to capitalize on the emerging interest in online culture was *Wired Magazine,* which began in 1993, featuring bold predictions of near-future lifestyle changes promised by technology.

Newer Media

The Bay Area was well positioned in the mid-1990s to spearhead the growth of online journalism. Even before the web took off, a community of "digital utopians" founded the WELL, which began as a dial-up service of the *Whole Earth Catalog,* including primitive bulletin boards, the ancestors of today's blogs.

A San Francisco newspaper strike in 1994 spawned the first online daily newspaper—the short-lived *San Francisco Free Press,* staffed by striking union members. The site set an example for the strike's targets, the *Chronicle* and the *Examiner*. In 1995 the papers launched their portal, SFGate.com. By 2008, SFGate was the seventh most popular newspaper website in the United States, with 3.8 million unique monthly visitors.

In Silicon Valley, search pioneers Netscape, Yahoo, and Google all had an influence on journalism. Most of the content on the search portals, notably Google News and Yahoo News, was aggregated from newspapers and other news sites, diverting advertising from the originating sites but also generating traffic. A notable exception to the aggregation-only trend was video journalist Kevin Sites, whose "In the Hot Zone" series starting in 2004 on Yahoo brought web video coverage to global crises while also testing light electronic gear he toted in his backpack as a "solo journalist."

A surprising threat to traditional journalism came from a grassroots website called Craigslist, founded in 1995 by Craig Newmark and based in San Francisco. By allowing users to post almost all classified ads for free, the site grew so fast that housing, personals, computer, and garage sale announcements rapidly fled paid newspaper pages.

Among the better financed journalism startups was Salon.com, launched by former staffers of the San Francisco *Examiner*. The site was one of the few online-only publications to rival newspapers and magazines in journalistic achievement, never shying away from controversy. As one example, in 2006, Salon helped break the Abu Ghraib prison scandal.

Other news organizations created billion-dollar businesses by pursuing specialized journalism online. MarketWatch.com created a fleet-footed business newsroom that was sold to Dow Jones & Co. in 2004 for $519 million. CNet.com became a premiere web destination for technology news and reviews and was sold to CBS in 2008 for $1.8 billion.

While the entrepreneurial spirit that defined San Francisco from its founding in the mid-nineteenth

century helped distinguish the city as a beacon for experimental journalistic voices, it also contributed to setbacks in journalism quality, through rapid technological and corporate transformations. The mass layoffs at newspapers across the Bay Area at the start of the new century showed that the old business structures behind journalism were no longer reliable, and that new innovations in the craft, technology, and economic model were necessary to sustain a robust and independent press.

Michael Stoll and Jon Rochmis

See also Los Angeles

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Satellite News Gathering

Satellite news gathering (SNG) is the transmission of video or sound news reports using communication satellites. SNG allows real-time electronic media reporting from far distant locations. Its use has helped reduce the one-time divide between local and national reporting.

Communication Satellites

The demands of military missiles and communications drove and largely funded the initial development of communication satellites. First theorized by science fiction author and inventor Arthur C. Clarke in a 1945 article, the concept of orbiting satellites some 22,300 miles above Earth would allow three of them to communicate with the entire globe. At that altitude, they would appear to remain stationery (hence "geostationary" orbit) above the same spot. Clarke thought it might take 50 years to develop what he predicted—in fact it took less than 20.

The world's first low-orbit artificial satellite, *Sputnik,* was launched by the Soviet Union in October 1957. Its appearance sent shock waves through government and military circles in the United States and greatly increased federal funding to develop U.S. intercontinental missiles and orbiting satellites. Coverage of rocket launches from Cape Canaveral, Florida, became a regular beat in everyday print and television journalism—starting with the disastrous failed launch of the *Vanguard* satellite in December 1957, which was carried live on television. A year later the *SCORE* satellite carried a prerecorded message from President Eisenhower that was transmitted back to Earth. AT&T's *Telstar* satellite of mid-1962 allowed the first live television transmissions between Europe and the United States for the limited windows of time when the satellite was orbiting over the Atlantic. The *Relay* satellite later that year helped link the United States and Japan with voice communications. But all of these were low-altitude (a few hundred miles above Earth) satellites that could be used only intermittently for a few moments during each Earth orbit.

The breakthrough to Clark's geosynchronous orbit came with *Syncom* early in 1963, the first communications satellite to reach the 22,300-mile altitude. It and the two to follow quickly proved Clark's thesis by being useful 24 hours a day, unlike brief orbital "windows" for the earlier satellites. The United States created the Communications Satellite Corporation (Comsat) to further develop civilian satellite applications, which, in turn, led a year later to the formation of Intelsat to do the same globally. A steadily improved series of Intelsat satellites, starting with *Early Bird* in 1965, slowly expanded the global satellite communications system.

In the United States a growing number of domestic satellites (domsats) laid the groundwork for a wholly new way to interconnect broadcast stations and cable systems, doing away with expensive terrestrial links. Equipped with uplink and downlink antennas, networks and stations could now exchange or distribute programs in real

time (minus a tiny time lag for the signal to travel a total of 44,600 miles) at a fraction of the cost of traditional terrestrial coaxial cable or microwave links. Furthermore, signals could go either way and multiple channels could be accommodated. By the late 1980s, American broadcast and cable networks were all using satellite distribution, and television receive-only (TVRO) "dishes" had become ubiquitous at stations and cable systems.

SNG Development

The first direct application of satellite news gathering appears to have taken place in 1975 when Chicago television station WBBM sought to cover the conspiracy trial of heiress Patty Hearst in San Francisco. The process involved using a portable video camera (itself a relatively new innovation) with a device to transmit (uplink) the signal to one of the first communications satellites. Back in Chicago, station engineers could then downlink that signal for processing into news reports. Though expensive, this early example of breaking down the "local-national" dividing line between network and local station journalism was a portent of the future.

Just seven years later, when Britain decided to contest Argentina's military occupation of the Falkland Islands in the spring of 1982, satellite news communications got a world debut. All news reports from the fighting front had to be transmitted over the 8,000 miles separating the remote South Atlantic islands from London. British army signals units established analog links using satellites, and transmitted both official military information and civilian news reports, usually time-shifted anywhere up to 24 hours.

This one news story demonstrated the drawbacks of SNG as well as its benefits. First and foremost, the process was still costly and the equipment was cumbersome. It was difficult to transport the needed ground equipment, which was heavy and bulky, and it took time to set up and calibrate with the needed satellite. Few commercial users could afford the expense or risk. Further, transmissions were often affected by radio interference on the satellite up- and downlinks.

Within the next decade, however, SNG links had improved markedly. In 1984, Consus Communications began the first American SNG cooperative, which used a fleet of SNG-equipped vans. By 1992, more than 150 television stations were affiliated. They had a lot of competition, for the broadcast and cable networks were also increasingly active in SNG; NBC had 67 SNG trucks, CBS 54, and ABC 48 of them. Sites of major news stories (such as political conventions or important court trials) soon began to resemble crowded parking lots as the satellite vehicles gathered.

SNG was next put to the test in 1990–91 in coverage of the first Gulf War. CNN's Peter Arnett was able to report from Baghdad over a period of weeks by using portable satellite news equipment. He was employing one of the first "fly-away" SNG antennas that could be packed into wheeled cases and carried on a commercial airliner. The smaller antennas could be precisely aimed at satellites—and thus attracted less (possibly hostile) attention. The White House was soon SNG-equipped to allow quicker communication with news media and the public.

Within a year the International Telecommunication Union and various national groups were working on consistent technical standards to more readily enable SNG transmissions. The first were approved in 1992 and the process continued with digital SNG standards into the mid-2000s. But not all SNG issues were technical—use of the devices was sometimes contingent on getting local government or telecommunications authority permission.

Changing Impact

Where one network needed equipment that filled 75 to 100 shipping cases in order for it to cover the attack on Afghanistan in 2002, within a year that same capability could be fit into just five or six cases. By the time of the Iraq war, beginning in 2003, the effect of a steady trend of miniaturization and streamlining was evident. Combining small cameras with desktop video meant that digitally edited reports could be transmitted day and night to networks and stations back home. Breaking news could also be sent by satellite telephone, which used far less bandwidth, though it provided jerky and low-resolution pictures (these sufficed for talking head reports that didn't need to show much movement).

Thanks to the improving equipment, SNG is increasingly able to fulfill its role as a temporary

link arranged on short notice. The continued reduction in equipment size, weight, and complexity—and cost—was aided further by conversion to digital technology over the past decade or so. Many companies provide equipment or full SNG links on a lease basis. Any SNG transmission still requires several pieces of equipment. Other than the satellite itself (by far the most expensive portion of the process), a means of transmitting up to the satellite (the uplink antenna) and back again (downlink) is essential, as well as processing equipment at both ends to receive and edit the video material received. Once the satellite signal is on Earth, it can be forwarded to a studio or elsewhere using microwave links (studio-transmitter links, STL) using different spectrum frequencies than are applied for SNG.

Steadily improving digital SNG equipment has contributed to the end of the traditional distinction between local and national (and international news). With readily portable SNG units down to 70 pounds and a cost of about $130,000 by the mid-2000s, even small market stations can make use of the devices and receive or report stories far from the station.

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See also Audio and Video News Services; Convergence; Digital Journalism Tools; Electronic News Gathering

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Satire of News

Satire is a literary genre that employs humor when making commentary on individuals or activities and their perceived vices, shortcomings, or mistakes. In satire, humor is used to underscore an opinion or point about an issue or event. Most often, satirists use wit to criticize or attack something of which they disapprove. Parody (or spoofs), sarcasm, exaggeration, and analogy are defining literary tools of satire that help create its humorous tone.

In journalism, satire most commonly pokes fun at the news, or uses parody portrayed as conventional news. While satirical news is defined by its comedic nature, using deadpan humor to create what is called "fake news," its underlying objective is to make statements about real people, events, and trends, often with the intent of influencing change. In this way, it is usually fundamentally biased. This objective also highlights a key difference between satire of news and parody of news: While parody uses humor for humor's sake, news satire employs humor to attain the greater result of social criticism and/or promote change. Politics and current events are common themes in news satire, although the genre is not limited to them.

Origins

An early example of satire in news is *The Spectator,* an English newspaper that ran in the early 1700s. Created by popular writers Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, the newspaper consisted of one long essay narrated by a fictional character that would report and critique a single aspect of the news each day. Unlike a typical newspaper that would report hard news, *The Spectator* was satirical in a number of ways. First, the use of a fictional character to present real information allowed for variation in tone and a less systematic reporting

style, providing a sense of intimacy through storytelling and creating an element of entertainment. Its application of humor, for example, is definitive of news satire. Furthermore, *The Spectator* provided commentary beyond objective news reporting with the distinct intent to influence change in societal behavior and mindset. This fundamentally satirical goal was clearly evidenced by the newspaper's mission to "enliven Morality with Wit, and to temper Wit with Morality."

Newspapers

Newspapers are the oldest form of news satire, at least as old as conventional journalism in America. In American journalism, one of the most famous news satirists was Samuel Clemens, more popularly known as Mark Twain. In the 1870s, Clemens worked as a young reporter for the Virginia City *Territorial Enterprise,* a newspaper in Nevada. He was relieved of his position at the *Enterprise* for publishing occasional spoof articles that were misconstrued by editors and readers as real. Clemens went on to publish what were deemed "hoaxes" in other newspapers across the country, for which he was also reprimanded.

While the genre of news satire has thus been around for centuries, its prevalence within American journalism dramatically increased with changes in technology. From the rise of the telegraph before the Civil War, to the birth of broadcasting in the early twentieth century, and on to the opening of the Internet to commercial use in 1995, technology has intensified the speed and breadth of mass communication and brought a new, grander scope to the genre of new satire. Today, news satire is disseminated rapidly on a wide scale due to the interconnectedness of modern technology, permeating popular culture and serving as an eminent source of news information for tech-savvy American youth.

One of the most popular satirical news publications today is *The Onion,* a newspaper created in 1988 that has since expanded into a multifaceted "fake news" organization. *The Onion* was first published by Tim Keck and Christopher Johnson, two juniors at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. In 1996, the paper's website began, quickly garnering national attention. It was bought by Comedy Central in 2000, at which point the print version began national distribution. *The Onion* went on to develop a daily web video broadcast in 2007, *The Onion News Network*. Most recently, a film based on the newspaper appeared as *The Onion Movie*.

The Onion is satirical in that it parodies traditional news in its articles, reporting fake stories about local, national, and international events and politics, usually to create underlying social or political commentary. In the early 2000s, it parodies the style of popular newspaper *USA Today* with its use of bright graphics and statistical pie charts, as well as featured sections like "News in Brief," "Opinion," "American Voices" ("What do *you* think?"), and "Infographic." *The Onion* even has a fictional history with a list of fictional contributing writers and editors. In this way, aside from the paper's satirical content, the paper is itself a large satire.

Television

Broadcast news satire arose with the advent of radio news in the early twentieth century, but became more prevalent during the satire boom of the late 1950s in the United Kingdom. A generation of satirical writers popularized satire on television. A cornerstone of this satire renaissance was the television show *That Was the Week That Was,* a popular satirical news program that aired on BBC Television in 1962 and 1963. In America, the NBC television network adapted this British program into *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In,* a predominantly political comedy show that played from 1968 through 1973. A satirical news sketch that aired as part of the show is an early example of popular televised news satire in the United States. The segment "Laugh-In Looks at the News" parodied network news with a fake anchor giving a comical report on recent news stories, both fake and real. The sketch also satirized historical events and predicted bizarre events far into the future.

Along with *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In, Saturday Night Live*'s "Weekend Update" segment helped usher in the satire boom in the United States, reaching an audience of about 30 million people every week during its formative years of 1975 through 1980. "Weekend Update" is a satirical news sketch that parodies political and current events, based on *That Was the Week That Was*. The

segment was created and originally hosted by *Saturday Night Live* (*SNL*) comedian Chevy Chase and was introduced on *SNL*'s original broadcast on October 11, 1975. Developed during a pivotal time that included President Richard Nixon's resignation after the Watergate scandal and the end of the Vietnam War, it made light of current events while emphasizing the perceived shortcomings of American politics, thus serving as news satire. "Weekend Update" continues to run as a comedic news program parodying mainstream broadcast journalism.

Perhaps the best known broadcast news satire program in the early twenty-first century is Comedy Central's *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart*. It premiered in 1996 but rose to popular notoriety when Jon Stewart replaced Craig Kilborn as host in 1999. Unlike Kilborn, Stewart also serves as writer and executive producer of the show. A quintessential "fake news" program, *The Daily Show* parodies political figures and mainstream media while satirizing real news, drawing most of its stories from American politics and then mockingly criticizing them. The show's popularity led to the creation of a spin-off, *The Colbert Report,* hosted by Stephen Colbert, formerly a conservative "correspondent" on *The Daily Show*. This news satire program parodies political pundit shows such as Fox News's *The O'Reilly Factor*. A common determinant of news satire as opposed to straight parody, both Comedy Central programs are seen as politically biased, most often using sarcasm to mock and criticize conservative people and politics.

On the Web

Serving as a growing outlet for journalism, the web has also heightened access to and popularity of news satire. It has also exacerbated some of the problems with "fake news."

Although news satire has been on the web since its beginning, *The Onion*'s website, created in 1996, has been the most influential source of satirical news online. Since its inception, myriad news satire articles have been posted across the Internet, often as website articles or on blogs, and hundreds of satirical news websites have been created. Some have been designed to collect popular news parody articles. HumorFeed.com, for example, runs a news satire headline feed with over 60 contributing "fake news" sites.

A fundamental problem with news satire is its ability to be misinterpreted as real by both audiences and even mainstream media. Its use of deadpan humor, which is more covert than typical comedy, makes the "fakeness" of news satire comparatively less apparent and more easily misperceived as actual news. The web intensifies this because of its abilities to repost pieces of news satire out-of-context and disseminate such pieces so speedily. The result is heightened room for misapprehension and confusion concerning what is real and what is parody.

Furthermore, satire is often criticized for defying the conventions of traditional journalism. Neither conventional news nor blatant comedy, satire often escapes the editorial processes of conventional journalism and is less subject to censure. Web publications, including blogs and articles posted on personal websites, are even less subject to review because they may be posted by anyone and escape any process of editing, thereby heightening the confusion. The result is widespread dissemination of satirical pieces whose parodied news has not been checked for accuracy and is less likely to be censured.

Prevalence and Popularity

News satire's integration in American popular culture is demonstrated by the popularity of "fake news" programs and publications. *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart* is a notable example. In March 2007, the Pew Research Center's Project for Excellence in Journalism asked Americans to name the journalist they most admire. Jon Stewart ranked fourth on the final list, following network news anchors Brian Williams, Tom Brokaw, and Dan Rather. The presence of a satirist on such a list underlines the integration of news satire within American culture. Senator John Edwards used *The Daily Show* as a forum to announce his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination in September 2003, serving as another example of the conflation of satirical and real news.

Statistics on readership and viewership of satirical news publications and programs further demonstrate the popularity of news satire. For example, *The Onion*'s national print circulation is over 700,000. Likewise, its website is visited by 3 million readers every week, and the *Onion News*

Network is accessed 5 million times each month. *The Daily Show* has won 11 Emmy Awards and has been nominated for an Emmy seven further times, and Nielson ratings report that the program reaches over 1.5 million viewers per episode. Likewise, *The Colbert Report* has been nominated for four Emmy awards between 2004 and 2008, and in 2006, the *Merriam-Webster* dictionary publisher named the show's neologism "truthiness" Word of the Year.

Effects

News satire has had measurable effects on the public in recent years. Satirical news draws a relatively young audience. *The Daily Show,* for example, has a mean viewership age of 35, while over 60 percent of *The Onion*'s website readers are between the ages of 18 and 44—the demographics that appeal to most advertisers.

The Daily Show is a commonly cited barometer for the effect of "fake news" on political opinion. For example, a 2006 Baumgartner and Morris study demonstrated that *Daily Show* viewers exposed to political comedy tended to rate politicians parodied by the show more negatively than nonviewers. Likewise, *Daily Show* viewers demonstrated higher levels of cynicism toward both media and the electoral system at large. Yet these same study participants reported comparatively high levels of confidence in understanding current American politics.

News satire is an increasing source of political news information for American youth. According to a 2004 Pew Research Center poll, 21 percent of 18- to 34-year-olds learn about presidential campaigns from satirical news shows, which is almost equal to the 23 percent who report getting their political information from conventional network news.

The use of satirical news as primary news source has had discernible effects on the political awareness and participation of American audiences. In 2004, the National Annenburg Election Survey found that "fake news" viewers were better informed on political happenings and current affairs than those who relied solely on traditional news media. A quiz given to nearly 20,000 American adults in mid-2004 demonstrated that news satire watchers had more knowledge about the backgrounds of political candidates and candidates' stances on issues than those who did not watch political satire. Moreover, *Daily Show* viewers knew the most about election issues, as compared to viewers of conventional news and straight comedy shows such as *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno* and *Late Show with David Letterman.* Furthermore, while concern has been raised regarding the high levels of political cynicism associated with news satire viewers, a 2008 Gao and Brewer study linked political comedy viewing with increased levels of political participation. This study concludes that exposure to political comedy shows, including satirical news programs, is positively associated with increased participation in political campaigns and membership in a political organization.

Satire has affected journalism and journalists as well. A 2007 study by communications researcher Lauren Feldman underscores the point that, during a year when young Americans' traditional news media consumption was decreasing, their attention to late-night comedy programs as sources of political information was on the rise. Through examination of discourse surrounding satire programs such as *The Daily Show,* the study found that many journalists have recognized this trend and begun using such programs as forums to reflect upon the nature of their work and the current state of journalism in general. The study concludes that the once rigid distinction between news and entertainment is blurring and that journalists themselves are reconsidering the dividing conventions between straight and satirical news.

Television and radio personality Rachel Maddow is a popular journalist who has adopted this merging of news reporting styles in her daily MSNBC series *The Rachel Maddow Show* and her Air America Radio program of the same name. While Maddow's show is news-based, its fundamental tone is humorous, employing satirical commentary in her comedic, often playfully sarcastic discussions of the day's headlines. The show is fundamentally satirical in that it uses humor to poke fun at news, ultimately expressing Maddow's subjective views on the topics at hand. Maddow therefore strays from traditional news reporting by creating a news-entertainment blend, demonstrating the phenomenon discussed in Feldman's 2007 study. As the show's subject is real daily news, it also serves as an example of satire that does not

employ parody, thus illustrating a difference between the two genres. Maddow has been criticized for the satirical tone of her commentary. In October 2008, for example, conservative speechwriter David Frum was interviewed on the television show, and he expressed disapproval of Maddow's use of brazen sarcasm, maintaining that it contributes to deterioration of the political culture. The dispute exemplifies news satire's potential for prompting social contention.

Conclusion

In journalism, satire has been employed as a form of commentary on political issues and current events, using parody, sarcasm, and similar forms of deadpan humor to emphasize a point or critique such subjects. Its popularity has proliferated as communication technology has made news satire more easily and quickly accessible to the masses. Today, *The Onion, The Daily Show with Jon Stewart, Saturday Night Live*'s "Weekend Update," and *The Rachel Maddow Show* are all examples of influential satirical news in American popular culture. Myriad studies have demonstrated palpable effects that news satire has on young audiences as a result of their great popularity, subsequently blurring the lines between conventional and "fake" news.

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See also Entertainment Journalism; Hoaxes; Internet Impact on Media; Parody of News; Satirists, Political

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Satirists, Political

Political satire is a sub-genre of political journalism, and a complex ironic practice of political criticism mixed with rhetorical hyperbole, entertaining humor, deliberate mis-statement and personal insight. Political satire frequently defines (and on occasion, exceeds) the accepted limits of professional journalism because the practice draws attention to biases and subjectivity inherent in news gathering and editing, as well as society in general.

Political satire has roots deep in western history and has flourished in different historical periods and cultures of representative democracy. While such satire can exist in many forms of media, it can make its most pointed effects as a genre of news gathering and political journalism. Like all satire, political satire holds current events and social relationships up against a set of idealized ethical norms such as basic fairness, humanitarianism, and democracy. Political satire can function as topical humor when actual events not only fall short of

proclaimed ideals, but when responsible individuals, organizations, or governments are seen as openly hypocritical. As such, political satire can simultaneously offer humor and social criticism. Political cartoons are a well-known subset of political satire using graphic design, illustration, and physical exaggeration to engage in political commentary. Political satire in essay form utilizes exaggeration, irony, hyperbole, double entendre and other rhetorical devices to simultaneously create humor and social and political commentary.

Origins and Development

The most well-known example of early political satire was the Dionysian theater rituals in classical Greek democracy. During these festivals, performers lampooned political leaders and elaborate skits were performed in the public arenas as a form of acceptable open criticism. As Greek society transitioned to a written culture, these performances were recorded and became lasting records of political satire. Most famous among Greek theatrical satirists was Aristophanes whose plays are still performed and retain much of their original satire of power. Several pre-Socratic philosophers also engaged in written political satire. So powerful were political satire and early theater that Plato harshly criticizes them in his famous political work *The Republic*. Plato is cautious of "poets" and other writers because they have an ability to destabilize a democratic regime by appealing to the base entertainment desire of the audience.

In western cultures satire and political satire were preserved during the Middle Ages by traveling minstrels and bards who obliquely offered social criticisms through lyrics to popular songs performed in informal settings. These coded satires were often of reigning monarchs and the feudal system itself. Many of these folklore songs were eventually collected and written as nursery rhymes and fairy tales, such as "Three Blind Mice" and "Jack and Jill." Simple satires of religious institutions were coded into performances of mystery plays and church dramas. Erasmus's *In Praise of Folly* satirized both the institution of the church and self-delusion on the part of the readers. Political satire regained popularity with the beginning of the Enlightenment era and greater literacy rates in European countries. Political upheavals around the redistribution of wealth and the rise of a mercantile middle class were the subjects of this satire.

British literary satirists including Jonathan Swift and Alexander Pope influenced and encouraged an American colonial tradition of political satire. While attempting to break into establishment newspapers and magazines, Benjamin Franklin and other colonial printers used political satire both to speak out against the excesses and unfairness of British colonial rule and as an effective means of self-promotion. Franklin's *Poor Richards Almanack* traces a fine line between satire, legitimate agricultural information, and outright hoax. This mixture of serious and satirical information is also found in his *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*. Such political satire occurs throughout colonial works of journalism, which both reported on current affairs and offered scathing satires of King George III of England. Satire was suppressed along with other political journalism leading toward the American and French revolutions.

Early American Political Satire

Political satire continued to be a noticeable feature in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century journalism from Fleet Street publishers in London to French and American newspapers. While political satire is not unique to English-language journalism, it has made a more powerful impact in these societies. Political historians have argued that satire continued to flourish because these societies valued and enshrined a freer and more open press. Other theories for the continued popularity of satire in the Anglophone world in general and the United States in particular, is that economic power is more widely spread, literacy rates are comparatively high, political engagement is socially encouraged, and political power is frequently balanced in a two-party system.

As printing technologies improved, illustrated political cartoons began to appear in newspapers as engravings and lithographs. Early political cartoons were a powerful form of political satire at a time when newspapers had large circulations but a large percentage of the population was not functionally literate. From Franklin's simple "Join or Die" woodcut to the increasingly elaborate cartoons of Thomas Nast in *Harper's Weekly* to the nuanced illustrations of *Punch* and

The New Yorker, editorial and satirical cartoons have had an enormous impact on the style and substance of journalism. Enduring images such as Uncle Sam, the Republican Elephant, the Democratic Donkey, Columbia/Justice, and "the Bully Pulpit" were all created within cartoons as a form of political satire. Many neologisms of the time, such as *gerrymandering* and *muckraking,* passed into the written satire of the nineteenth century and into the political lexicon of contemporary journalism.

In the United States, satire acted at its most serious when used within the abolition movement and during the U.S. Civil War (1861–65). The continued rise of literacy and the proliferation of periodical magazines created a unique and new literary market in the mid-nineteenth century. Many of these publications turned to satire, particularly political satire, to reach out to new audiences. Satirical books influenced political essays in *Harper's Weekly* and used satire to indirectly criticize the institution of slavery, political corruption, war profiteering, and U.S. imperialism when direct criticism would have been difficult or impossible.

Like Franklin, Mark Twain (the nom de plume of Samuel Clemens) began his long career as a writer and essayist working as an assistant to a printer. Twain frequently made use of satire for political means. While working for a series of newspapers during Reconstruction (1865–77), Twain used the "travelogue" genre as a vehicle for his satire, for example *The Innocents Abroad* and *Roughing It.* Among the political targets of Twain's satire were growing American imperialism, social elitism, phony frontiersmen, and religious dogmatism. His satirical journalism and his novel writing frequently cross-pollinated each other. Twain's famous essay "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County" was originally published in *The New York Saturday Press,* which launched his career as both a satirist and a journalist. In a similar career to that of Twain, Ambrose Bierce also championed political satire within news gathering and journalism. Bierce gained popularity as one of the first permanent columnists for the Hearst newspapers, then as the editor of *The Wasp,* a satirical magazine, and later gained notoriety when one of his satires, of the assignation of Governor Goebel in Kentucky, prefigured the assignation of President William McKinley (1897–1901).

Twentieth-Century Satire

In the early twentieth century the term *debunkers* was broadly applied to political satirists working as journalists. H. L. Mencken, Don Marquis, and Upton Sinclair each used satire to a similar effect. Because much of their satire was directed at changing social norms, many of these satirists were later seen as reactionary. Although Mencken and Sinclair were supportive of and personally involved in the Women's Suffrage movement, they occasionally lampooned the very institutions they promoted. For example, Sinclair lampooned his own socialism in *It Can't*

A satirical, political cartoon that appeared in Harper's Weekly *in November of 1877 by Thomas Nast. Titled "The Lightning Speed of Honesty," the cartoon depicts Uncle Sam seated on a snail named 45th Congress, as he carries army and navy payroll and money, with the Resumption Act in his pocket. The Resumption Act sought to reduce the amount of greenbacks (used to finance the Union side of the Civil War) in circulation.*

Source: Library of Congress.

Happen Here and Mencken satirized his political views in columns for *The Baltimore Sun.* Due to his open criticism and satire of U.S. involvement in both world wars, Mencken was frequently considered to be anti-Semitic and pro-German, despite his outspoken writing to the contrary. In the early twentieth century these same political satirists also began calls for a Civil Rights movement, took aim at prohibition, and championed immigrant rights.

Both Mencken and Marquis pioneered the sharp-tongued, mordantly ironic writing style that would later become the hallmark of political satire in magazine writing, as it began to distinguish itself from newspaper writing. *The Smart Set, Punch,* and other early monthly publications founded and popularized by Mencken, Marquis, and Sinclair eventually lead to the style of *The New Yorker, Vanity Fair,* and other literary and lifestyle magazines. These magazines prided themselves on a highbrow literary style, sharp wit and irony, and an eclecticism that reflected the growing literary movement of urbanity and sophistication in the period between the two world wars. The "Algonquin Roundtable" was an unofficial group of journalists, playwrights, and satirists in the 1920s that moved quick wit, sardonicism, and satire from populist lampooning into high culture and political commentary. Among this group, Dorothy Parker and Robert Benchley were literary essayists and satirists; Alexander Wollcott and Heywood Broun were professional journalists; and other members of the group, such as Harpo Marx, were Broadway and Hollywood actors. While diverse, the group was held together by their use of literary satire for cultural and political aims.

Colleges have also been hotbeds for satire, where student groups published newspapers and magazines such as the *Harvard Lampoon,* continuing the tradition of highbrow satire. The growth of specialized humor magazines has led to more accepted publications for satire such as *National Lampoon, Mad Magazine,* and *Rolling Stone* which frequently mix political satire with farce, pop culture reporting, and music reviews. These magazines retain some of the political satire of college publications, but add a unique blend of consumer culture graphic design and lowbrow shock value. Later examples include *The Onion* and other alternative press magazines which have moved toward mainstream journalism.

The 'Gonzo Journalism' of the countercultural movement of the 1960s was another form of political satire influenced by the libertine ideals of drug and hippie culture. Freely mixing facts with outlandish fictions and personal opinions, this form of satire involved reevaluating serious topics in a sarcastic manner while eschewing objectivity. Championed by writer Hunter S. Thompson, Tom Wolfe, and George Plimpton, gonzo journalism as satire outlasted its hippie origins and continued into the 1980s and continues to influence contemporary journalists. *Rolling Stone* originally published many articles by Thompson that were collected into *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas.* Gonzo journalism celebrated anarchic popular culture and the civil rights movement, while satirizing the United States involvement in the Vietnam War, the Watergate scandal, the consumerism of the 1970s and 1980s, and the cold war policies of Ronald Reagan.

Political Satire in Newer Media

The personal, subjective, witty, and often outlandish components of Gonzo journalism is typical of contemporary online editorial journalism and can be seen in many online weblogs. The rise of online journalism and the Internet as a means of communications has opened many new spaces for satire.

While print journalism continues to provide successful satire, television and online media have become more central vehicles for the genre. English-language political satires and humor frequently move freely between the United States, Great Britain, Canada, and other Anglophone countries. *That Was the Week That Was* was a satirical sketch comedy show in the UK in the early 1960s which directly influenced broadcast news satire in the United States and Canada such as *Not the Nine O'Clock News* and *Brass Eye* in the UK, *Not Necessarily the News* in the United States, and *This Hour Has 22 Minutes* in Canada. *Monty Python's Flying Circus* was an absurdist sketch comedy show that also originally aired in Britain in the late 1960s and was known for its randomness and a deconstructivist approach to television that continues to influence the style of parody and political satire.

North American sketch comedy programs such as *Laugh-In, SCTV,* and *Saturday Night Live*

engaged in frequent political satire. However, these programs maintained their parody and contrivances openly. By contrast, early-twenty-first-century satire/hoax news shows such as *The Daily Show* and *The Colbert Report* walk a fine line between offering satire and presenting legitimate news, and false or prank news.

Satire and Global Culture

Satire often does not work in terms of media globalism because the irony it employs can be linguistically or regionally very specific. For example the political satire within Bollywood films in India is generally lost on Anglophone audiences. Within bilingual and multilingual countries, such as Canada and Switzerland, satirical newspapers and television shows, such as *La fin du monde est à 7 heures* (*The End of the World Is at 7 O'Clock*) are usually not translated because the essential humor component is lost. The publication of cartoons of the prophet Mohammed by Jyllands-Posten in 2005 was conceived as social and political satire of theocratic Islam, iconoclasm and the process of cultural assimilation. The strong public reaction and controversy the publication created highlighted the differences in responses to political satire by different co-cultures in a globalized media world. Mistranslations and misunderstanding in globalized media have occasionally lead to unintentionally funny occurrences: in 2002 *The Beijing News* translated and ran a satirical story from *The Onion* which humorously claimed that the U.S. Congress had demanded a retractable dome be built to replace the capitol building. Even after the story was revealed as a U.S.-based satire, the editors of the paper refused to publish a clarification or retraction.

While parody and political satire share many attributes, not every political satire is parody and not all parody is satire, political or otherwise. Parody is usually a necessary-but-not-sufficient element to satire. However, both parody and political satire often test the limits of freedom of press and the specifics of libel, slander, cultural sensitivity, privacy rights and copyright and trademark protections. In 1994, the U.S. Supreme Court in *Campbell v. Acuff-Rose Music* found that, "parody has an obvious claim to transformative value." Within the Copyright Act of 1976, section 107 defines fair use. The Supreme Court decision clearly stated that "parody like other comment or criticism may claim fair-use under §107."

Contemporary Political Satirists

"The Capitol Steps"

Formed in the early 1980s in Washington, D.C., this rotating group of comedians (many of them former Senate staffers) perform both parody pop songs and improvised comedy satirizing current political events. In 1994 a Supreme Court ruling allowed them to perform parody and satire without paying royalties for being within legal "fair use." Several groups remain active in live performances and public radio appearances.

Stephen Colbert (1964–)

Colbert is a controversial television satirist known for his portrayal of his alter ego, also known as "Stephen Colbert." While the writer/performer himself is politically progressive, his alter ego parodies the conservative extreme in political punditry. Colbert began as a writer and performer and gained popularity on *The Daily Show*. His television show *The Colbert Report* is a direct spin-off but pushes satire to extreme levels. In 2006 Colbert satirized President George W. Bush at the White House Correspondent's Association Dinner, while remaining in the character of his alter ego.

Al Franken (1951–)

Franken is a liberal political satirist who began his career as an original writer for *Saturday Night Live* in the 1970s and continued to write and perform occasionally through the 1990s. Franken wrote a series of books satirizing conservative media, particularly radio talk shows. Ironically, Franken himself then helped found a satellite radio network. He continues to write articles and books and was elected U.S. Senator (D-MN) in 2008.

Garrison Keillor (1942–)

Keillor is a public radio personality and commentator who began his career in Minnesota Public Radio in the late 1960s. He created *The Prairie Home Companion* in the early 1970s, which he continues to write and perform. The

show is a blend of variety show, monologue, sketch comedy and political satire. Keillor has written several books excerpting stories from his radio show, and continues to work as a freelance commentator and journalist.

Bill Maher (1956–)

Maher began his career as a stand-up comedian and achieved popularity on late-night television with *Politically Incorrect* in the 1990s, a program that blended the roundtable interview format with comedy routines. Maher is an active proponent of blogging and new media and remains involved in disparate political movements. In 2008 he starred in the comedic documentary *Religulous*. He continues to host his late-night talk show on HBO, *Real Time with Bill Maher*.

The Onion

Founded in the late 1980s as a local college humor newspaper in Madison, Wisconsin, *The Onion* gained popularity after the launch of its website in 1996. The publication is distributed in several major cities in the United States and blends parody and satire with entertainment news and interviews. Several satire news stories from *The Onion* have been republished accidentally as legitimate news stories both within the United States and internationally.

P. J. O'Rourke (1947–)

O'Rourke is a conservative political satirist who began his career writing for *The National Lampoon* and *Rolling Stone*. While originally considered a "Gonzo Journalist," he later satirized the genre in a series of books and media appearances. He continues as a freelance writer and political commentator for public radio.

Mark Russell (1932–)

Russell is a political comedian and singer/songwriter who has created musical and political satire for public radio since the early 1980s. He has acted as a television show host and performer of improvisations on current events. During the 1990s Russell was involved in high-profile court cases involving use of copyrighted material in fair use for parody and satire.

Jon Stewart (1962–)

Stewart is a television host and political satirist best known for hosting *The Daily Show,* which mixes satire, interview, parody and absurdity in a complex fake-news production. Stewart began his career as comedian and master of ceremonies for sketch comedy and worked as a substitute host and writer for late night television shows. He continues as both writer and host for *The Daily Show* while writing satirical books and making public appearances as master of ceremonies.

Political satire continues its dynamic relationship with political journalism. Frequently satire is marginalized into opinion or humor sections of newspapers and magazines, while it mixes more freely with legitimate content in the more fluid media of television and Internet hybrids. The occasional marginalization of political satire into realms of editorial opinion or simple entertainment continues to highlight the friction between subjective satire and the notion of a purely objective journalism. As irony becomes increasingly common in twenty-first-century "postmodern" journalism, political satire will continue to define the edges of accepted edited professional journalism.

William A. Hanff

See also Cartoonists, Political; Columns and Columnists; Editorials; Parody of News

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SCANDINAVIA

Scandinavia forms a geographical and cultural territory in the northern part of Europe. Culturally and sociolinguistically, Scandinavia comprises Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. Geographically, Scandinavia comprises the Scandinavian peninsula, which excludes Denmark but includes the northeastern part of Finland. Scandinavia is part of, but not synonymous with, the Nordic region. The Nordic countries consist of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Iceland, Greenland and the Faroe Islands (both part of Denmark), and Åland (part of Finland). As Scandinavia is formally Sweden, Denmark, and Norway this entry will focus on their journalism. These countries constitute very different cases compared to North Atlantic countries (such as the United States) and Mediterranean countries.

Background

All three Scandinavian countries are constitutional monarchies with relatively small populations. They have a common history, as exemplified by the fact that Norway has in the past been ruled by both Denmark and Sweden. Some geographical areas of present day Sweden have been part of Denmark and other geographical areas, part of Norway.

Sweden has approximately 9 million people, Denmark 5.2 million, and Norway 4.6 million. Although all are monarchies, these are largely symbolic and ceremonial. According to *Freedom House's* annual rankings, political rights and civil liberties are protected in all Scandinavian countries, and they all have the status as free countries. In terms of the freedom of the press, in 2007 *Freedom House* ranked Sweden, Norway, and Denmark as among the six freest countries in the world. Sweden was the first country in the world to constitutionally establish the principles of publicity and press freedom, which happened in 1766. Norway followed suit in 1814 and Denmark in 1848.

All three countries have proportional electoral systems and multiparty systems. In 2007, the number of parties represented in each of the three parliaments was seven, and all three countries were governed by coalition governments. Generally speaking, minority or coalition governments are the rule in the Scandinavian countries. Their history and political culture is characterized by compromise and power sharing among political parties and major collective interests, such as unions and business organizations. Since World War II, Social Democratic parties have been dominant in each of the Scandinavian countries, especially in Sweden. Voter turnout ranges upwards of 80 percent or more. According to the nongovernmental organization, *Transparency International,* the level of corruption in the Scandinavian countries is amongst the lowest in the world. All three Scandinavian countries are affluent welfare states. Denmark and Sweden are members of the European Union (since 1973 and 1995, respectively) whereas Norway is not a member. Norway and Denmark have been members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) since its founding (1949), whereas Sweden is not a member.

The Scandinavian countries have been classified as almost indistinguishable cases of the democratic corporatist model characterized by the following: high newspaper circulation; early development of a mass-circulated press; a strong party press and strong political parallelism—that is, the extent to which the media reflect political or social divisions in society; sound journalistic professionalization and institutionalized media self-regulation; extensive state intervention in society, including the media sphere (but with protection for press freedom); and powerful public service broadcasting. Extensive welfare state policies and state intervention in the media sphere has coexisted with strong legal protection for the freedom of the press.

These characteristics are shared across these countries. Indeed, the histories of journalism and

partisan politics have been closely intertwined in all three.

The Party Press

Most Scandinavian newspapers were founded during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. This took place before the introduction of democracy and the institutionalization of political parties, but it was a process that was fueled by and, in turn, fueled the demand for basic democratic rights and freedoms. This period also overlaps with the formation of modern political parties, firstly as loose factions in parliament and then as nationwide organizations. Many prominent publishers were politically involved: being a publicist and being politically involved were two sometimes coinciding means of reforming and democraticizing Scandinavian societies. The press thus paralleled political divisions in society. This continued as the parties successively became institutionalized and mass-circulation of the press became the norm. Most newspapers aligned themselves with a political party. This was particularly true with the non-socialist press, which had been founded before the parties were created. Many social democratic or labor newspapers were initiated by the Social Democratic parties. In the end, almost all newspapers had a political affiliation. This party press was reflected in several ways: in ownership, staffing, readership, and journalistic content. Journalism was thus considered an integral part of politics.

This situation started to change during the second half of the twentieth century. The process was gradual and the timing differed across the Scandinavian countries. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, party newspapers remained the norm. In 1968, party newspapers represented 92 percent of all newspapers in Denmark, 92 percent in Sweden in 1975, and 60 percent in Norway in 1972. But over time, more newspapers declared themselves politically independent. While many newspapers still declare some political orientation in their editorial pages, their news departments are run as separate entities and the political orientations are no longer reflected in the news pages. Today, news journalism in Scandinavia is, generally speaking, politically independent and unaffiliated. The news paradigm and journalistic professionalism have replaced older political paradigms and affiliations.

This process was spurred on by many different factors, among them a declining number of newspapers, which made it economically rewarding for newspapers to de-emphasize their political affiliations in order to reach a broader audience; the development of academic journalistic education with its emphasis on journalistic values; and a new and stronger emphasis on journalistic norms and values such as objectivity and impartiality.

Newspapers

The Scandinavian countries are all newspaper-centric. Per capita circulation is among the highest in the world, and newspaper readership is high in all three countries. More than 70 percent read a newspaper on an average day. However, in recent decades the number of titles has fallen, despite government press subsidies in Norway and Sweden designed to prevent newspaper deaths. These subsidies may have slowed the decline, but have not stopped it. In any case, press subsidies make up less than 3 percent of total average newspaper revenue in Sweden, and but 2 percent in Norway.

In addition, newspaper sales and readership have fallen during the last decade or so, and newspapers are fighting this trend. A trend that emerged during the 1990s was the success of free newspapers, such as *Metro,* launched in Sweden in 1995 and now published in approximately 25 editions in 16 different countries. Traditionally, the press in each Scandinavian country was owned by national media companies. Mergers and media purchases, however, have changed the structure of newspaper ownership and publishing, and the Scandinavian newspaper market has become increasingly integrated with cross-holdings across borders. Only Norway has a law against ownership concentration.

In 2005, Denmark had 33 newspapers published four to seven times a week. At the national level, there are three major morning papers (*Morgenavisen Jyllands-Posten, Berlingske Tidende* and *Politiken*) and two newsstand tabloids (*B. T.* and *Ekstra Bladet*). There are also numerous local and freely distributed weeklies. In Norway there are 76 newspapers published four to seven times a week, with an additional 142 newspapers published one to three times a week. At the national

level there are two main newsstand tabloids (*Verdens Gang* and *Dagbladet*) and one morning paper (*Aftenposten Morgen*). In addition, there are several prominent regional papers. In Sweden, there are 84 newspapers published four to seven times a week and 70 papers that appear one to three days a week. There are two main national morning papers (*Dagens Nyheter* and *Svenska Dagbladet*) and two newsstand tabloids (*Aftonbladet* and *Expressen*), plus *Metro* with local editions around the country. In addition, there are several strong regional newspaper groups that each own several newspapers. The most important news agencies are Ritzaus in Denmark, Norsk Telegrambyrå (NTB) in Norway, and Tidningarnas Telegrambyrå (TT) in Sweden.

Journalism in Scandinavian countries is highly professionalized. Former links with the party press among mass-circulated daily newspapers have been severed. There is also, among both newspaper and broadcast journalists, a rather strong public service ethos. At the same time, there are signs that interpretive and sensational journalism is becoming more common, largely as a result of increasing commercialization. In all three countries there are both academic and nonacademic programs and courses in journalism. The typical length of a university program in journalism is three years, although in Denmark there is one six-year program in journalism. Over time, journalists have become increasingly well educated, and in the Swedish case, almost 70 percent of journalists have a journalism education.

Broadcasting

The rise of objectivity and impartiality as dominant journalistic values has been heavily shaped by the success of television. Television was introduced in Sweden in 1956, in Denmark in 1951, and in Norway only in 1960. While radio broadcasts date to the 1920s, television came to have far more importance than radio in terms of audience reach as well as in shaping journalistic norms and values. In all three countries, television was organized as a public service monopoly that, according to their charters, had to broadcast news in an impartial or objective manner. This focus on public service broadcasting is an example of the active state intervention in the media spheres of the three Scandinavian countries. At the same time, precautions were taken to ensure the editorial freedom of the public service media, and although broadcasters in the 1960s and 1970s were not insensitive to signals from the political sphere, the public service media were not "state" media. This is even more true today, when the public service companies are organized as limited companies or foundations, and thus are editorially insulated from the political sphere in their day-to-day businesses and editorial decisions.

The public service monopoly in broadcasting lasted for several decades, but broadcasting has more recently been successively deregulated. In Sweden, community radio was allowed in 1979, local commercial radio in 1993, and the first terrestrial commercial television channel began broadcasting in 1992. In Denmark, local radio services were permitted in the early 1980s, and nationwide commercial radio was introduced in 2003. With respect to television, the first terrestrial commercially financed (although state-owned) station was launched in 1988. In Norway, local and nonpublic service radio was allowed in 1981, and the first commercial nationwide radio channel was launched in 1993. The definitive end of the public service television monopoly came in 1992, when the first nationwide commercial television channel was launched. Thus, radio and television were deregulated at approximately the same time in all three Scandinavian countries. Public service television remains prominent, however, and the Scandinavian countries all have dual broadcasting systems. The average television viewing time (2005) per day is approximately 2.5 hours in each nation. All the broadcasting media that operate under a charter are supervised by special inspectorates: In Sweden, the *Radio and TV Authority* and the *Swedish Broadcasting Commission;* in Denmark, the *Radio and Television Board;* and in Norway, the *Media Authority.*

The Internet

Another increasingly important feature of the Scandinavian media environment is the Internet. As of 2005, Internet penetration and Internet use is among the highest in the world. In all three countries, more than two-thirds of the population have Internet access in their homes, and daily use exceeds 50 percent. Using e-mail is one of the most important applications of the Internet, but following the

news is also a prominent factor in Scandinavian Internet use. Virtually all major and many smaller media companies have their own webpages, and online news is both widespread and expanding. Blogging is a rather new phenomenon, but has become more common since 2005 to 2006.

Conclusion

Deregulation of broadcast media, development of the Internet, declining newspaper sales and readership, and increasing competition for advertising revenue has increased worries concerning a rapid rise in the commercialization of both media companies and their journalism in the Scandinavian countries. Although comparative studies are rare, research within each of the Scandinavian countries suggests that interpretive, sensational, and soft news is on the rise, whereas the share of hard news is declining. The scope of the changes are not clear, however, though it seems clear that although the absolute amount of informative and public affairs-oriented journalism has increased, the share of news as a proportion of total media output has fallen as new television and radio channels focus more on entertainment. Additionally, modern media owners are more focused on profits and the bottom line than used to be the case, and that has weakened the public service ethos.

Recent shifts and commercialization notwithstanding, changes to media and journalism are always tempered by experiences, perceptions and expectations shaped by history, and generally take place gradually. Thus, for the foreseeable future, media and journalism in Scandinavia will probably continue to be decidedly distinct from that in countries that do not follow the democratic corporatist model.

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See also EuroNews; Europe; Germany

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Scholarly Journals

Scholarly research in journalism and media studies plays an important part in the academic field's health, prestige, and stability. Most faculty members teaching journalism, and especially media studies, are expected to conduct research. They cannot gain promotion or tenure unless they publish research that is significant in quality and quantity. The number of peer-reviewed journals publishing academic research in communication, journalism, and media (unless otherwise explicitly stated, all references below are to such journals) has increased in recent decades. Both individual scholars and publishing companies have inaugurated new journals; national academic organizations are agreeing to sponsor and sometimes to subsidize new journals; and new organizations are seeking to legitimize themselves and their perspectives by establishing journals. Proliferation of journals is not unique to journalism: there has been almost literally exponential growth in academic journal titles since the seventeenth century, as well as expansion in the number of pages of existing titles. Meanwhile, already established journals rarely go out of business.

In a chapter bemoaning communication scholars' failure to produce applied work, and their habit of talking much more to each other than to those outside the field (Avery and Eadie 1993), one former editor recalled that when he asked ABC for funds to help launch *Critical Studies in Mass* (now *Media*) *Communication* (CSMC), published since

1984, he warned that CSMC writers would be highly critical of American broadcasting. Apparently, ABC was not at all worried. The great number of journals in the field as well as in cognate areas would seem to compound the lack of relevance of any one of them. Indeed, much of the more recent expansion has served to balkanize already narrowly defined niches. As a result, scholars are publishing in journals that few will read or even cite. And even fewer outside the niche will see them. Some academic organizations are trying to attract more popular/public attention to scholarship, for if the impact of scholarship is minor among other scholars, that impact is virtually nil on publics, civic organizations, media industries, and policy-makers. Indeed, practicing journalists have long ignored, if they have not ridiculed, academic media research and rarely read such journals.

Journal Structures and Processes

Many of the newer journals developed from the inability of scholars doing research that was new and innovative in theory, topic, or method (feminism is an example) to find appropriate outlets and audiences in the 1970s and 1980s. More recently, the motive to create journals seems primarily financial. Most journals in journalism and media studies are published by a few large commercial (i.e., not university) companies that enjoy economies of scale. Taylor & Francis, part of Routledge, publishes 24 communication-related journals, including all nine journals sponsored by the National Communication Association (NCA). Blackwell, which merged with John Wiley in 2007, publishes some journals of the International Communication Association (ICA), including its flagship quarterly, *Journal of Communication*. The Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC) publishes its own three association-wide journals, including its flagship, *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*. Members receive all three, whether they read them or not. In contrast, AEJMC divisions use commercial publishing companies for their journals. A few universities produce their own journals, edited by their own faculty, though few are likely to earn profit or prestige. SAGE Publications produces 11 mass communications journals, and more were added in 2008. Like SAGE, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates (taken over by Taylor & Francis in 2007) has a heavy focus on communication, and publishes at least 15 relevant journals (on media ethics, religion, economics, public relations, and visual communication). Quarterly journals tend to cost $50 to $80 a year for U.S. individuals; unlike subscription prices in many social sciences, the society-published journal prices are not significantly less than commercial publishers.' Relationships with commercial publishers lessen the technical and financial responsibilities of the association and editors. But some authors complain about the policies of some commercial publishers—such as that the sole payment to authors for publishing in Taylor & Francis journals is free online access to their own article and a single copy of the issue in which it appears.

Associations choose editors of their journals for set terms. Editors generally select their own editorial boards and are expected to conform to the society's ethical standards. Editors of journals not connected to associations have no set terms. As in other disciplines, media journals are peer-reviewed through a double-blind process: the editor assigns submissions to two or three reviewers, who may or may not be members of the board but who do not know the identity of the authors, nor are authors told who reviewers are. Although rejected authors accuse reviewers of biases or prejudices of various kinds, there is no research to suggest that the long-accepted process of peer reviewing does not work. (Indeed, very little research has been done on scholarly media journals per se, except for meta-analyses of content—by method, topic, etc.—that are published.) Most editors try to issue a decision within two months, either asking for a revision or rejecting, generally (albeit not always) based on the reviews. Nonetheless, uncooperative reviewers can delay turnaround time by several months; this problem is drawing increasingly vociferous complaints from authors and editors. Rejection rates also vary, running at a higher rate at the most prestigious journals that tend to accept less than 15 percent of submissions. Journals accepting more than 20 percent of submissions are generally regarded as less credible. The primary academic associations, including the ICA, NCA, AEJMC, and the Broadcast Education Association (BEA), generally provide a small stipend to their editors to cover expenses, with the editors' universities expected to provide further support. Commercial publishers, too,

also provide stipends; in a few cases, they even pay a small percentage based on subscription size. In this field, authors are never paid for published articles, but neither must they pay to be reviewed or published ("page charges"). Reviewers are also never paid. Blackwell includes on its website a document outlining major ethical principles of academic publishing as the basis by which editors and academic society partners can develop their own ethics policies.

Thomson Scientific (formerly ISI) compiles annual *Journal Citation Reports*; in 2007 the database ranked 44 journals in communication and media. A consortium of communication and media program representatives proposed adding some 25 journals to the database, but none was added to the list. (In some cases, ISI said the journals were too new to have a sufficient track record; others were rejected as not warranting ranking.) ISI's most important statistic is the "impact factor," which essentially measures how often a journal's articles are cited. ISI-ranked journals often report their impact factor and ranking. But, as ISI itself once warned, its data cannot replace traditional quantitative and subjective input. Moreover, this system reinforces the importance of U.S. (and English language) journals, such that, worldwide prestige and high status requires publishing in English-language journals. Indeed, the entire publication system, including such rankings, serves to push journals toward the research mainstream. Meanwhile, because citation standards differ among fields and impact data can be manipulated, use of the data may be problematic. While major research universities value citations and having an international impact (i.e., readership), other criteria influencing where authors submit their manuscripts include turnaround time, specialized topic and/or perceived interest of editors or readers, and important new initiatives in either topic or methodology. Young scholars looking for a quick publication may seek out journals with high acceptance rates; those applying for tenure or promotion are more likely to consider their university's requirements. Some journals are international in their subject coverage and feature editors or board members from multiple countries.

Potentials of Online Publishing

Moving journals to the Internet was widely discussed in the 1990s. Electronic submission and tracking systems, now widely available, lower the cost and time otherwise required to distribute manuscripts, track down referee reports, and communicate with authors. The availability of digital versions of journals and other kinds of Internet information also means that checking for plagiarism and double-checking references, for example, are easier. Online *publication* goes even further by virtually eliminating most production and distribution costs, while exploiting the advantages of sound, color, hypertext, and other multimedia applications. One disadvantage, however, is a lag in online journal prestige or scholarly respect. Ha (2003) notes that faculty and institutions may see online journals as less valuable because of the perceived ease of starting one, worries about their long-term stability, and uncertainty about the quality of the peer-review process; these factors often resulted in a vicious cycle of low submission rate and low quality. Back issues of many journals are available through various online databases, with an embargo (usually a year) on recent issues; subscribers receive access to both print and online versions. Unfortunately, this dual mode, while offering prestige and ease of access, is inefficient and costly. In any case, few media journals are thus far exclusively available online, with most wholly online journals focusing on Internet and/or new media research; other journals about new media continue to be print based.

Whether enough important scholarship is being produced to justify the amount of material published and whether scholars have the time and energy to referee, guide, and edit submissions to these journals remain unclear. Nonetheless, given the importance to scholarly careers and to universities seeking status of producing and publishing research, the number of journals will continue to increase. At the same time, continuing reduction in library budgets has forced cuts in subscriptions, especially to lesser-used journals. Concerns of such organizations as Scholarly Publishing and Academic Resources Coalition (SPARC), an international alliance of libraries that advocates less expensive ways to disseminate scholarly research, suggest that the future of small paper-based journals is uncertain.

Linda Steiner

See also Academic Associations; Criticism of Journalism

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School Newspapers

See Student Journalism

Science and Technology Journalism

Science journalism uses news media to convey information about science and technology topics to the general public. The primary task of a science journalist is to render the complex, precise, and often jargon-laden findings of scientists, inventors, and engineers into a form that the average reader or viewer can understand and appreciate, while still communicating that news accurately and objectively. In recent decades, the amount and extent of scientific news has grown rapidly, with technology playing an increasingly central role in society and everyday life. Health/medical issues and environmental reporting have developed into distinctive "news beats."

The differences between the methods and goals of journalists and of scientists, particularly their distinctive ways of presenting information, have led to challenges for both. Journalists tend to have a greater inclination toward sensationalism and speculation than scientists, whereas scientists focus more on explicit facts and empirical measurement. Scientific reports and studies are often full of numbers, exceptions, and qualifications, and science is an incremental process of discovery composed of many experiments of limited scope. Science journalists regularly come under criticism for oversimplifying or misrepresenting scientific findings and for offering interpretations that scientists did not intend. Scientists, in turn, are viewed by journalists as uncooperative, evasive, and needlessly obtuse. According to the First Amendment Center study, *Worlds Apart,* a majority of journalists surveyed found scientists as sources to be egotistical and overly skeptical of the public's (including journalists') ability to understand even basic scientific principles.

Nonetheless, scientific advances, debates, and discoveries continue to attract the attention of the public. Newspapers describe the latest inventions and chronicle the progress of research; magazines explore scientific concepts and examine the impact of new technologies in more depth. In interviews broadcast on radio and television, scientists discuss current research and comment on ethical and political issues surrounding scientific advances. On television cable channels, science is increasingly offered as entertainment laced with educational content.

It's now widely recognized that the news media are the primary source of scientific and technological information for most people. A 1997 study by the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press found that a fifth of Americans polled stated they enjoyed news stories about science and technology, a higher percentage than for stories about religion, business, or the arts. Another 1997 report, "Americans Talk about Science and Medical News," by the U.S. National Health Council surveyed

2,256 adults and revealed that 75 percent regularly read science and health news and that 58 percent had changed their behavior or beliefs based on such information.

Development

Initially, science journalism was prepared by the scientists themselves. In early newspapers, any attention to science reflected current ideals of progress and national pride. During the late 1700s in broadsheets in America and Europe, articles by botanists, geologists, and explorers sought to satisfy public curiosity about the vast North American and African continents. By the 1800s, a growing number of inventors described their own discoveries to the public; articles in the popular press heralded innovative agricultural techniques or explained the medicinal value of newly discovered plants. Reports of heated debates within scientific communities on new inventions and old theories often made the front pages.

In the explosion of technological optimism that marked the late 1800s and early 1900s, newspaper coverage of science rose dramatically. Indeed, by the 1920s some professional journalists were specializing in science and medicine. A few newspapers, like *The New York Times,* began to assign reporters to cover science exclusively. One influential journalist, Waldemar Kaempffert, started his career in 1897 at *Scientific American,* leaving in 1915 to become editor of *Popular Science Monthly* and then turning to newspaper journalism in the 1920s. Kaempffert served as science editor of *The New York Times* from 1927 to 1928 and again from 1931 through 1956. Another *Times* reporter, William L. Laurence, who worked at the paper from 1930 to 1964, helped found the National Association of Science Writers in 1934, a further sign of science journalism's growing professionalism.

Expansion

Much of the increased attention in the press derived from science's expansion into new realms of study and from genuine public interest, but the scientific community's promotional efforts also played a role. Even though some scientists approached the popularization of their fields with skepticism, others such as physicist Robert A. Millikan and astronomer George Ellery Hale believed that publicity would help in attracting government support and private investment and in overcoming the public's negative view of the development by scientists of horrific weapons during World War I. The American Chemical Society, for example, launched a public relations campaign to popularize new discoveries in chemistry. The society established its permanent "News Service" in 1919, the first of several such created by various scientific associations.

The founding in 1921 of "Science Service," a news syndicate underwritten by newspaper publisher E. W. Scripps, was a direct outgrowth of these public relations campaigns by scholarly societies. Directed by chemist E. E. Slosson and science writer Watson Davis, Science Service initially sought to assist journalists and news operations in putting forth accurate stories by issuing press releases about new scientific advances and providing illustrations, but the organization's ultimate goal was to increase news coverage of science and technology overall. Eventually, Science Service engaged in radio production as well, providing programs to stations at no cost and thereby trumpeting the "benefits of scientific progress" to millions of listeners.

Concurrent with increasing coverage of science in newspapers, more space was being devoted to science and technology news in a variety of magazines. By the end of the nineteenth century, monthlies like *Harper's* and *Atlantic* and newsweeklies like the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Collier's* regularly carried reports and stories of how advances would benefit public health, agriculture, the home, and industry. Specialized periodicals like *Scientific American* (founded in 1845) and *National Geographic Magazine* (1888) sought to translate technology and science for nonspecialist readers. *Scientific American*'s focus reflected the growing interest in invention and technology, while *National Geographic* tapped Americans' fascination with exploration and discovery. From its first issue in 1872, *Popular Science Monthly* sought to popularize science, drawing its authority from close connections to the scientific community. The first two editors, Edward L. Youmans and James McKeen Cattell, emphasized expertise through publication of essays by many of the great scientists of the day.

Education and Entertainment

By the early twentieth century, many readers were seeking more practical information—how to build,

operate and repair technological innovations from typewriters to telephones to electric lamps to washing machines. Magazines like *Popular Mechanics,* founded by Henry H. Windsor in 1902, sought to meet this interest with articles that explained the "mechanics" behind new technology and consumer devices. Since its inception, the magazine has chronicled the design progress of radio, television, airplanes, automobiles, computers, rockets, home appliances, and countless other "gizmos." By 1909, *Popular Mechanics* had a circulation over 200,000. In 1915, as part of the same trend, *Popular Science Monthly* began to focus more on technology and on scientific theories of interest to amateurs and hobbyists. The new version, a dramatic change from the previous scholarly journal, had numerous short, easy-to-read articles by nonscientists intended for the "home craftsman…who wanted to know something about the world of science." The magazine's circulation doubled within the following year.

The Scopes "monkey trial" over the teaching of evolution in 1925 stimulated public interest in science even more, reflected by countless newspaper columns, magazine articles, and popular books debating the viability of the concept of evolution and whether it should be taught in schools. Moreover, the trial featured one of the first remote news broadcasts. The open microphones of WGN, a station owned by the *Chicago Tribune,* gave listeners access to the live testimony, arguments, and judge's decision. From its earliest days, radio offered an important platform for scientific discourse, to the extent that in 1925 opponents of evolution attempted to ban discussions of it from radio altogether.

The approach to broadcasting science initially differed little from how scientists had performed in public lecture halls in the late 1800s, with local radio stations simply providing larger audiences for their lectures and demonstrations. But as professional scientific societies increasingly sought educational outreach through radio, they realized that to compete for public attention their science would have to be presented in more entertaining formats. Some began to work directly with commercial networks to develop such programming. Science Service's *Adventures in Science,* broadcast on CBS from 1938 until 1957, attempted to infuse drama into descriptions of the latest discoveries. The Smithsonian Institution's radio program *The World Is Yours* (1936–42) included segments on its own scientific research, part of a Depression-era Works Progress Administration project. The American Association for the Advancement of Science co-produced with NBC three separate radio programs from 1937 through 1940, which it perceived as a way to encourage confidence in scientific research and methods.

Radio played a significant role in public education in other areas. From the beginning of both educational and commercial broadcasting, farm market reports included scientific advice on such topics as pest control and soil conservation. For 32 years beginning in 1928, NBC's *National Farm and Home Hour* integrated agricultural news and educational presentations with entertainment, alternating segments produced by the U.S. Department of Agriculture with the network's own commercial sponsors. By the early 1930s, government agencies, dairy councils, pharmaceutical companies, and even insurance firms were all producing public health broadcasts. One of the most visible sponsors was the American Medical Association, which underwrote the production of various radio series from the 1930s through the 1950s about new medical procedures and treatments.

The increasing use of dramatization on radio represented an important change in science news tone and techniques, one not always welcomed by scientists. Radio producers emphasized research's "dramatic" aspects to grab the attention of audiences accustomed to comedies, mysteries, and even news programs. One successful and acclaimed series, *The Human Adventure* produced by the University of Chicago from 1939 to 1946, recreated historic moments of discovery through reenactments by actors to explain complex theories for laymen—an early form of "docudrama." Similar shows employed orchestras and Hollywood stars to attract audiences. With radio broadcasts, science news shifted from efforts driven solely by the educational goals of the scientific community to entertainment designed to hold the interest of listeners.

Although World War II severely curtailed the flow of scientific information to the public in all nations, American officials recognized the importance of a science-savvy citizenry. Throughout the war, various government agencies and scientific organizations offered carefully censored news

about new technologies, and both military and civilian applications of scientific research. Respected *New York Times* reporter William Laurence was the only journalist invited to be present at the July 1945 "Trinity" atomic bomb test at Alamagordo, New Mexico, to write the official press releases about the atomic bomb, and to accompany the mission to bomb Nagasaki. He subsequently wrote a book and won a Pulitzer Prize for his accounts of these events.

No scientific development to date sparked such interest among the public as the "A-bomb." Suddenly science had undeniable relevance to government policy and human survival. After the war, the American news media moved quickly to offer articles and programs to "explain" the atom, even while conforming to the government's cold war restrictions on the discussion of weaponry. With the establishment of public information bureaus by the Atomic Energy Commission and other agencies, it became obvious even to laymen that scientific advances were instruments of political and national scope. However, scientists, government officials, and newsmen did not always agree on when, how, or if science should be shared with the public. Science journalists, once inclined to be protective in promoting science, began engaging in investigative and critical reporting about public and private research, the impact of new technology, and science's social and political contexts. Editorials and documentaries played a vital role in enhancing public debate about the development of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and, later, the space race.

Television offered a unique platform for visualizing science for the public. Technical explanations could be supplemented with animation; programs could include film of scientific tests or natural phenomena and even show images from microscopes and telescopes. Early series like NBC's *The Nature of Things* (1948–54) featured illustrated talks and interviews with guest scientists. Even more popular were programs in which hosts offered visual displays of scientific theories and concepts, as in the primetime show *The Johns Hopkins Science Review* (1948–54) and the children's series *Watch Mr. Wizard* (1951–65) starring Donald Herbert. Each week, "Mr. Wizard" would explain one or two scientific principles to children through simple demonstrations and experiments, often using commonly available items. However, with a few notable exceptions such as these, the majority of science reporting on American television has not appeared in commercial series, but within news reports or in public programming.

Television transformed coverage of space exploration into show business, culminating in the initial *Apollo* moon landing of July 1969, but for a variety of reasons network news broadcasts included only limited details about the science behind it. In the 1960s, to address growing public interest in such details, network news operations began to employ their own science and medical correspondents, often with professional degrees, to produce special reports or comment on emerging controversies. Another approach was taken by the nature series that became popular following the success of *Zoo Parade* (1949–57) and of *Wild Kingdom* (1953–76) starring Marlin Perkins. Beginning in 1965, television specials produced by the National Geographic Society set new standards for video quality, and exploited television's ability to transport viewers to exotic environments. The producers of these nature programs did not merely display beautiful scenes or dramatize the lives of animals, they sought to highlight conservation and environmental issues, with sometimes tenuous links to the underlying science.

Despite public interest and efforts such as the above, the amount of news about "serious" science on American television has been modest at best, most of it sustained by external funding rather than commercial sponsorship. Public television became the primary source of science news in the 1970s, beginning with the premiere of the *Nova* series in 1974 and the broadcast of the British miniseries *Ascent of Man* (1975), followed in 1980 by astronomer Carl Sagan's *Cosmos,* which established a model for lavish science documentaries, distinguished by their charismatic scientist-hosts, computer-generated graphics, and sound bites by recognized experts. Science programming since has demonstrated the dominance of this entertainment approach. In-depth science news stories, which generally require more time than available in most newscasts, are now usually relegated to the websites of cable news networks such as CNN, Fox News (which labels it "scitech"), and MSNBC.

Although journalists once enthusiastically tracked scientific progress, a number of social concerns in

the 1970s and 1980s, such as the debate over regulation of recombinant DNA research and the Three Mile Island nuclear meltdown incident of 1979, chilled previously warm relations between scientists and reporters. Other developing news, such as the ethics of stem cell research and the perceived success and long-range value of NASA's space program, focused attention on the importance of accurate reporting and on the adverse consequences of sensationalism. Despite, or perhaps because of, such controversies, many newspapers initiated regular science pages in the 1980s and 1990s; online news sites now regularly include sections on science, technology and health. Popular magazines continue to be important sources for information about science, thanks to writers like biologist Stephen Jay Gould and physicist Stephen Hawking and to glossy presentations like *Discover* (launched in 1980) and *21st Century Science & Technology* (1988). Currently, Americans interested in science and technology news can access a wide range of print, broadcast, and Internet sources, many of them cross-referenced to assist in the search for relevant information.

Challenges

Scholars at the First Amendment Center at Vanderbilt University conducted a two-year survey of 1,400 scientists and journalists to determine how the two groups viewed each other. The results of that survey, published as *Worlds Apart* in 1997, showed that neither thinks the media do a good job at explaining science to the public. The results revealed a serious lack of confidence in the media's understanding of how science is done and how to interpret the results of research studies. Examples include journalists' frequent confusion about how to interpret statistics, probability, and equations. Journalists in general do not understand the peer-review process in science, and hence may report findings that have not been subjected to independent verification. And they tend to look for sensational results (often termed "eureka!" stories), whereas science usually advances through a series of small, incremental steps. In turn, journalists stated that scientists' insistence on technical jargon and the extensive exceptions with which they limit their findings make communicating their discoveries to the public an almost impossible task. The pressure of deadlines, time and space limitations, and competition only makes this task more daunting.

Journalism training produces general-interest reporters—not science reporters. Most journalists have little or no background in or affinity for science or mathematics. Furthermore, due to budget considerations at newspapers and news stations, a science reporter is often responsible for covering several (or all) science disciplines, which inevitably leads to a lack of insightful, dependable coverage of each or, worse, focus upon pseudoscientific studies. Another challenge is the sheer amount of information journalists working under deadlines are expected to absorb in short amounts of time. As one anonymous respondent in *Worlds Apart* put it: "Journalists are constantly being asked to become crash experts in new fields. Instead of being able to develop a depth of knowledge on one particular beat…I might be writing about cosmology one week and immunology the next."

Specific challenges faced by the science journalist on many stories—getting access to scientists, getting them to talk about their work, the work of their peers, or recent studies, their implications or failings—are also difficult to overcome. Before a journalist can craft a story, he/she needs to grasp the science behind it and identify reliable sources. Sorting through the intricate relationships among academia, the government, and the world of commerce is a major task. Most innovative technological and science research is now undertaken by private companies or the federal government, both of which have a vested interest in insuring a cloak of secrecy. Scientists rarely see talking to the media as a professional obligation. Moreover, it may not benefit them professionally to be quoted in stories taking a critical approach to government studies, commercial products, or the research of other scientists.

The fact that journalists frequently ignore or minimize the precise, qualified language that communicates the tentative nature of research findings angers and dismays many scientists. Scientists in the *Worlds Apart* survey indicated that they are often reluctant to talk to the media for fear of having their work mischaracterized or distorted. Science is a world of qualifications and exceptions which doesn't come through in most reporting. Scientists are notoriously reluctant to state unequivocally that their most recent discovery is "newsworthy"

or a "breakthrough," which, of course, is exactly what the journalist seeks.

By its nature, the work of most scientists proceeds by degree, often slowly, and not with a "eureka" leap forward. In many cases the importance of scientific work is not immediately obvious, sometimes even to the researchers themselves. New discoveries are often but an incremental step toward overall understanding. Working within the bounds of the accepted "scientific method"—observe, hypothesize, test, observe, replicate—only the most foolhardy or unscrupulous researcher or inventor would make the kind of sweeping claims that headline writers desire. On the other hand, journalists contend that if they wait for every conceivable issue to be settled and verified, for every controversy or anomaly to be resolved, the story will never be told. The issue is not that reporters and editors don't respect the integrity of the scientific method, but that journalists are compelled to report news on a constant day-to-day (or more often) basis whereas scientists often have months or years to complete and publish their findings.

Scientific information funneled through journalists soon meets another obstacle: the editors and producers who decide which stories will be printed or broadcast. These uncertain gatekeepers determine the amount and type of science and technology news that reaches the public. Yet few editors feel qualified to make sound judgments about the merits of science stories. To approach science reporting with a traditional journalistic judgment of newsworthiness and objectivity is fundamentally incompatible with how science works. Editors favor interesting stories about dramatic and controversial topics such as global warming, intelligent design, and stem cell research. "When we talk about the marriage of science and journalism, our dilemma is clear," says former science writer Kathy Sawyer of *The Washington Post* (cited in *Worlds Apart*). "Science is slow, patient, precise, careful, conservative and complicated. Journalism is hungry for headlines and drama, fast, short, very imprecise at times."

Moreover, few editors typically have science stories vetted by researchers or experts before they are printed. Too often, without proper framing and context, "eureka" stories are just parroted releases from public relations departments of scientific associations or high-tech companies. Most science news produced by the media is second- or third-hand (or worse), for journalists almost never have time to read scientific journals, attend science conferences, accompany scientific expeditions, or grasp the significance, or lack thereof, of new findings announced by these. Too often, editors err on the side of sensationalism so that "boring" but significant stories don't see print or airtime. Don Melnick, a professor of biology at Columbia University, states in *Worlds Apart* that if a story "doesn't sound newsworthy or front page–worthy, it will be buried or not printed at all. That tends to promote people hyping their research." Editors and news directors, according to John Wilford of *The New York Times,* simply underestimate the ability of their readers to understand well-written science stories.

The fields of both science and journalism tend to attract individuals who are above average in intelligence and education. The best professionals in both fields are highly motivated, curious, and critical. The very best defy conventional thinking in the pursuit of the truth. Nevertheless, according to the *Worlds Apart* study, only 11 percent of the scientists interviewed said they had confidence in the press to present fair and accurate science stories. Less than a quarter of the journalists viewed scientists as credible and useful sources. Yet nearly three-quarters of both groups stated that they felt it vital for the public to know about current scientific research.

A number of professional organizations exist which seek to overcome these challenges and foster excellence in science journalism. The National Association of Science Writers (NASW) was founded in 1934 by several prominent newsmen; according to its constitution, it strives to insure the dissemination of accurate information regarding science and technology in keeping with the highest standards of journalism and to promote the professional interests of science writers. In the wake of the launch of the world's first artificial satellite, *Sputnik*, in 1957 and a perceived trend toward science as entertainment, some members of the NASW feared that their craft might be relegated to "beat" coverage. Together with a number of scientists concerned about the state of science news, these journalists created a nonprofit educational foundation separate from the NASW; this Council for the Advancement of Science Writing (CASW) held its first meeting in

January 1960. It has always been composed of distinguished journalists and scientists working together to develop and fund programs intended to aid both groups in supplying useful information about science to the public. Through workshops, scholarships, conferences, and publications for journalists and scientists, the CASW seeks to overcome the challenges mentioned above.

Conclusion

Understanding scientific developments is vital to the ability of consumers and lawmakers in deciding if the risks (for instance, advances in artificial intelligence) and the benefits of new technology and science are acceptable. Increasingly too, the funding for and morality of some research (such as cloning) has come under the scrutiny of journalists in their role as watchdogs for the public interests. Scientific research, new technologies, paradigm shifts, and challenges to accepted scientific truths are not just science stories. They play a major role in key political, economic, cultural, and social policy debates, as well as in public dialogue. In this sense, the news provided by science journalism is critical in helping people make choices about a fast-changing world.

Despite this, many see a perilous future for science journalism, as evidenced by the 2008 decision by CNN to eliminate its seven-person unit covering science. Curtis Brainard of the *Columbia Journalism Review* wrote in his column on December 8, 2008, "the decision to eliminate the positions seems particularly misguided at a time when world events would seem to warrant expanding science and environmental staff." And unfortunately, the development at CNN is not isolated; even prestigious science news magazines such as *Aviation Week & Space Technology,* which closed its Cape Canaveral bureau in November 2008, are trimming coverage of science news. According to a 1997 National Health Council study, newspaper coverage of science, outside the areas of health and environmental reporting, is steadily eroding in both quantity and quality. In reviewing their newsletters, there appears to be as much pessimism and prognostication among members of NASW and CASW about the decline of science journalism in the mainstream news media, as there is about the decline of good journalism in general.

However, new communication technologies have opened new opportunities for science journalism. At the twenty-fifth-anniversary celebration in 2008 of the Knight Science Journalism Fellowships, a prestigious program that brings career journalists to MIT for a year of study, editors and scholars sought to predict the future form of science journalism. Addressing the gathering Ted Rosenstiel, director of the Project for Excellence in Journalism, said there is "a golden age of science journalism ahead," marked by science blogs, specialized online news sites loaded with hyperlinks, and interactive media packages. He claimed that science journalists' stories will not be the "final destination" for readers; instead the new generation of journalists will be seen as "navigators, aggregators, explainers and referees" of scientific discoveries and debates. Whatever the medium, the challenge remains: to inform readers about important scientific developments without sacrificing accuracy or understanding.

Rex A. Martin

See also Agriculture Journalism, Print; Credibility; Environmental Journalism; Health and Medicine Journalism

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Secrecy and Leaks

Nearly every society maintains an often elaborate structure of government information secrecy and security. The leaking (unofficial and illegal release) of state and industrial secrets is a major concern to government authorities and private corporations as well as those concerned with civil liberties and freedom of communication. This has taken on a heightened urgency in the United States since the attacks of September 11, 2001.

In any democracy there is an inevitable tension between the government's inherent need for secrecy in order to operate and the public's right to access or at least know about government information. The underlying question is: What is the best way to safeguard legitimate government secrets in a manner consistent with freedom of the press?

Layers of Secrets

Secrecy is the governmental or corporate practice of keeping information from the public for various purposes. The term often refers to government secrecy, although corporate secrecy attracts more attention in the press. The key rationale for government secrecy is national security, whether internal or external. In American journalistic practice a government document or statement may be classified in any of three known levels, defined by how much damage each can cause to national security:

- "Top Secret"—unauthorized disclosure could cause *exceptionally grave damage* to national security;
- "Secret"—unauthorized disclosure could cause *serious damage* to national security;
- "Confidential"—unauthorized disclosure could cause *damage* to national security.

A good illustration of government secrecy in practice is the classifying of information affecting national defense and foreign relations. National security is no talismanic justification for blanket secrecy, however. Government secrecy should be balanced with the public's right to know. As the U.S. Supreme Court concluded in *New York Times Co. v. United States* (1971), more widely known as the "Pentagon Papers" case, the First Amendment bars authorities from invoking national security as a justification for secrecy on a *carte blanche* basis against news media.

Over the years, however, the U.S. government has invoked the "state secrets" privilege, which protects classified government information from disclosure in judicial proceedings. In recognizing the state secrets privilege, the Supreme Court held in *United States v. Reynolds* (1953) that if disclosure of the classified documents is proved to pose "a reasonable danger" to national security, the government can withhold the documents from the judges.

The state secrets privilege was rarely used. Between 1953 and 2001, the government claimed the privilege only 55 times. But the Bush administration's assertion of the privilege has multiplied dramatically. From 2001 to 2007, the administration of George W. Bush (2001–09) had resorted to the privilege on 39 occasions, and none of them had been rejected. Indeed, according to privacy lawyers Gayle Sproul and Jeanette Melendez Bead, the state secrets privilege "has proven the most fertile ground for the test of the principle of dismissal for refusal to produce evidence in defamation actions."

The raging controversy over the government's alleged abuse of the state secrets privilege in recent years has led Congress to develop a legislation check on the privilege. The State Secret Protection Act, introduced by Senator Edward Kennedy and Senator Arlen Specter in early 2008, would require judges, prior to ruling on a state secrets claim, to first examine the documents or evidence for which the privilege is invoked rather than deferentially accepting government assertions that the evidence

is too sensitive to be publicly disclosed, even to a judge in chambers. The bill would prevent the government from abusing the privilege as it did in *Reynolds* and its progeny. Tellingly, the *Reynolds* case pivoted around the government's (mis)classified investigative report on a B-29 bomber crash in 1948. But declassification in the mid-1990s revealed that the government's "state secret" document had nothing to do with national security but everything to do with the government's cover-up of its carelessness in causing the fatal midair accident.

Government efforts to protect secrets, more often than not, are frustrated by leaking, or disclosing of confidential information to the public (usually by the press) by informal rather than official channels. Leakers may have a gripe with their employer (government or corporate), may feel that something they know should be more widely known, may be politically prompted to speak out, or may seek to damage a company or government agency. One of the more far-reaching leaks in recent American history happened when former Pentagon official Daniel Ellsberg provided copies of much of the multivolume Pentagon Papers (a top-secret Defense Department study of U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War) in early 1971 to *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. Though momentarily constrained from publishing the rest of the story (after a few segments had appeared), the newspapers quickly won Supreme Court agreement that publication was legal.

Rules of the Game

The provision of unattributed but official news to the press by those "in the know" is not a haphazard hide-and-seek process. It occurs when news media assure anonymity to the source of a story. American journalists and government officials have over the years developed terms to define their source confidentiality. The journalistic ground rules for attribution to anonymous sources, albeit not universally agreed upon, are as follows:

- "On the record"—information can be directly or indirectly quoted and attributed specifically to the source by name and title
- "Background" ("Not for attribution")—information can be quoted, but its source cannot be identified by name or by title
- "Deep background"—information can be used but no reference of any kind can be made to its source (leaks would fall under this category)
- "Off the record"—information cannot be used at all; it is only for the reporter's knowledge

Some American news organizations distinguish between anonymous and confidential sources. Anonymous sources are those noted above, whose identity is kept out of the news story, while confidential sources are those whose identity is protected by news media even when a court seeks that identity. Norman Pearlstine, former editor-in-chief of Time, Inc., explains further:

> All confidential sources are anonymous, but most anonymous sources are not confidential. An anonymous source won't see his or her name in the publication. The commitment to maintain a source's anonymity is serious and worth defending in the courts. But if you lose in the courts, you give up the name. A confidential source has a contractual relationship with a reporter and with the publication.

Government Secrecy Versus Press Freedom

In the United States, there is no law similar to the 1911 Official Secrets Act of the United Kingdom, which sets forth the news media's criminal liability for gathering and disseminating sensitive secrets. This explains in part why no American media organization or reporter has yet been prosecuted for disclosing government secrets under the Espionage Act of 1917, which makes the press potentially liable for receiving or disseminating national security secrets. More importantly, the free press clause of the First Amendment prevents the government from punishing the press for publication of truthful information that is *lawfully* obtained by the media unless the punishment is justified by the government interest of the highest order. Although not in the Espionage Act context, the Supreme Court in *Bartnicki v. Vopper* (2001) rejected the government's contention that it should be allowed to punish journalists for receiving and publishing information from a source who has obtained it unlawfully. The Court stated that it would be "quite remarkable" to hold a law-abiding journalist subject to punishment just for receiving and publishing information merely "to deter conduct by a non-law abiding third party."

Nonetheless, several statutes serve as a possible legal authority for the government to subject news media to criminal liability for news reporting. The Espionage Act is a case in point. Under the inchoate liability theory, news reporters can be held liable for aiding and abetting whoever supplies protected state secrets.

A federal district court's 2006 interpretation of the Espionage Act offers a useful example of the legal authority of the statute. *United States v. Rosen* (2006), citing both common sense and precedent, held that the federal law authorizes punishment of "those outside the government" for unlawfully receiving and deliberately distributing national security secrets. Professor Geoffrey Stone of the University of Chicago Law School counters the *Rosen* court's interpretation of the Espionage Act with a press-sensitive proposition: The government can punish a news reporter for receiving or soliciting the disclosure of national secrets from a government employee if the reporter:

- expressly incited the employee unlawfully to disclose classified information;
- knew that publication of the information would result in likely, imminent, and grave harm to the national security; and
- knew that publication of the information would not meaningfully contribute to public debate.

Also potentially affecting the freedom of the press to gather and possess, if not necessarily to publish, national security information are, among others:

- *The Atomic Energy Act* (1946), which prohibits anyone who possesses "restricted data" from communicating or disclosing such data to any person "with intent to injure the United States or with intent to secure an advantage to any foreign nation." The Act does not make clear if Congress intended the act to apply to the news media. *United States v. Progressive* (1979) indicates that it could;
- *The Intelligence Identities Protection Act* (1982), which prohibits the disclosure of information relating to the identity of covert agents by anyone authorized to have access to classified information identifying the agent or by anyone who "discloses any information that identifies an individual as a covert agent to any individual not authorized to receive classified information, knowing that the information disclosed so identifies such individual and that the United States is taking affirmative measures to conceal such individual's classified intelligence relationship to the United States";
- *The Criminal Code* (1950), which criminalized the knowing and willful publication of "any classified information . . . concerning the communication intelligence activities of the United States," imposed criminal liability on any person who steals, or knowingly converts government records or "thing[s] of value" of the United States, and criminalized the receipt or retention of any such record or thing if the recipient intends to "convert it to his use or gain," knowing that it has been stolen or converted;
- *The National Security Act* (1947), which created the CIA and, in a 1984 amendment titled the CIA Information Act, barred much of the CIA's actions from public scrutiny by prohibiting "intelligence sources and methods from unauthorized disclosure";
- *The Freedom of Information Act* (FOIA, 1966), which provides for a statutory right of public access to federal government records, and contains a "catch-all" exemption that covers matters that are "specifically exempted from disclosure by statute . . . , provided that such statute (A) requires that the matters be withheld from the public in such a manner as to leave no discretion on the issue, or (B) establishes particular criteria for withholding or refers to particular type of matters to be withheld"; the "statutory exemption" clause of the FOIA has allowed federal agencies to cite more than 100 laws relating to exclusion of government documents.

Government employees have a freedom of speech right that is more circumscribed than that of ordinary citizens when their speech affects the interest of the government as an employer in promoting an efficient public service. This is especially true when national secrets are knowingly revealed by government employees without any countervailing public interest of whistle-blowing about unlawful government actions.

For example, in 1985, the federal government successfully prosecuted former naval intelligence

analyst Samuel Morison for providing secret spy satellite photos to a British defense magazine. In upholding the Espionage Act's application to the crime of leaking national security information to the press, the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, in *United States v. Morison* (1988), dismissed the First Amendment's relevancy caustically:

> [I]t seems beyond controversy that a recreant intelligence department employee who had abstracted from the government files secret intelligence information and had willfully transmitted or given it to one "not entitled to receive it" . . . is not entitled to invoke the First Amendment as a shield to immunize his act of thievery. To permit the thief thus to misuse the Amendment would be to prostitute the salutary purposes of the First Amendment.

If classified information is already leaked to the public, some contend that the government can do little in punishing the "downstream leakers" who disseminate the information more widely to impact public policy debates. Legal precedent generally allows news media to publish information which they have legally received. The *Rosen* court disagreed: The government can use the Espionage Act to punish the further trafficking of the leaked government secrets that, as judicially limited, threaten genuine harm to national security.

Leaking and the Journalist's Privilege

Because the leaking of government secrets likely entails statutory violations, it can pit the journalist's privilege to protect confidential news sources against the government's interest in finding who violates the law. In 2005, for instance, *New York Times* reporter Judith Miller spent 85 days in jail for disobeying a court order to testify about her source, who allegedly "outed" a covert Central Intelligence Angency (CIA) agent in violation of the Intelligence Identities Protection Act.

In addressing whether journalists are privileged by the First Amendment to protect their sources, the U.S. Supreme Court in *Branzburg v. Hayes* (1971) held that journalists had no such privilege to refuse to testify before grand juries. Justice Byron White, writing the majority opinion of the Court, rejected the reporters' assertion that forcing them to reveal the identities of confidential sources would deter the free flow of news information guaranteed by the First Amendment. While acknowledging that news gathering was, to a certain extent, protected as a right under the First Amendment, he noted that the Amendment did not invalidate "every incidental burdening" of the press from the enforcement of generally applicable civil or criminal statutes.

While there is no federal law on the journalist's privilege, state shield laws provide protection to journalists in one way or the other. As of July 2008, 36 states and the District of Columbia had shield laws on the books, though they vary from state to state. Their protection of journalists is far from complete, however, and courts typically interpret them narrowly. Besides the statutory recognition of the journalist's privilege in 37 jurisdictions, 22 states accept the privilege by common law. There have been several attempts to pass a federal shield law, but to the time of writing, none has become law.

The 2007 version of the proposed federal legislation would accord journalists a qualified privilege to shield confidential sources and information. It would protect journalists unless the information is needed "to prevent imminent and actual harm to national security" or "to prevent imminent death or significant bodily injury." Under the bill, a court would compel journalists to divulge the sources of leaks of trade secrets of significant value, identifiable health-related information, or personal or financial information revealed in violation of federal laws. In determining whether the journalist's privilege had been overcome, the court would have to balance *both* the public interest in compelling source disclosure and the public interest in gathering news and maintaining the uninhibited flow of information. The journalist's privilege bill introduced to Congress in 2007, known as the Free Flow of Information Act, defines journalism functionally as the act of "gathering, preparing, collecting, photographing, recording, writing, editing, reporting, or publishing of news or information that concerns local, national or international events or other matters of public interest for dissemination to the public." Bloggers would be covered if their work is journalistic.

Protection of confidential news sources is not entirely a legal matter. It also has an ethical

component. In his survey of international journalists, journalism professor David Weaver of Indiana University has found a high level of global consensus among journalists on the topic of confidential sources, which suggested "a near universal professional norm" of source protection. Journalists around the world agree strongly and consistently that they should never reveal confidential sources, according to Professor Weaver.

It should hardly come as a surprise that an increasing number of countries recognize protection of journalistic sources. The growing acceptance of the journalist's privilege in foreign and international law challenges the often touted American "exceptionalism" in freedom of speech and the press.

In Sweden, for example, the journalist's privilege is treated as a constitutional right under the Freedom of the Press Act (1766). Singularly significant is that the Swedish shield law of 1949, one of the strongest in Europe, empowers sources to take criminal prosecution against journalists if their confidential identity is revealed without their authorization. It further forbids public officials to inquire about journalistic sources. If public officials violate the law, they face fines or one year in jail. The Swedish law, however, is not absolute on the journalist's privilege. Courts may order source disclosure when national security is at stake or when high treason, espionage, or other similar crimes are involved. Courts also deny the source protection when a source is a witness in a crime and when information specifically made secret by statute is revealed.

International law regarding journalist's privilege is still evolving, but has emerged as an issue of increasing significance in the past decade. Two international courts have considered claims that the confidentiality of journalistic sources is part of a right to freedom of expression. The European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) declared in 1996 that journalists have a right not to disclose their sources unless an overriding competing interest outweighs the confidentiality of news sources. And, in 2002, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) held that war correspondents cannot be compelled to testify about their sources, except under extraordinary circumstances. The approach of the ECHR and the ICTY epitomizes an intriguing irony in the United States vis-à-vis international law on freedom of the press. Their broad recognition of the journalist's immunity from testimony about news reporting was in considerable measure based on American law. Yet U.S. law has been backpedaling on the reporter's privilege over the years. In 2006, First Amendment lawyer Floyd Abrams expressed that, though American lawyers trying to convince a U.S. court to adopt rulings from abroad are rarely successful, American jurisprudence would be served well if it carefully considered the 2003 conclusion of the ECHR ruling that "the protection of journalistic sources is one of the cornerstones of freedom of the press."

Kyu Ho Youm

See also Censorship; Credibility; Ethics; First Amendment; Free Press and Fair Trial; Freedom of Information Act (FOIA); Gag Orders; Investigative Journalism; Muckrakers; Shield Law; Supreme Court and Journalism

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Self-Regulation

News media self-regulation—the monitoring of news production by the profession itself as opposed to external control—is one of the mainstays of the concept of press freedom. In general, the public values the ability of news media to report freely, to criticize freely, to serve as its watchdog; but simultaneously, the public expects journalists to uphold certain ethical standards, be mindful of the rights of both readers and subjects, and to be, as far as possible, truthful and balanced in their reports.

Yet occasionally excesses occur and a media story appears which causes both the public and politicians to question the integrity of journalists and journalism in general. Philosopher Stephen Carter suggests that the very nature of journalism can lead to instances where newsmen are so insulated from the rest of society that their decisions are made with a warped sense of their own worth. He has termed this "First Amendment arrogance." To avoid this lack of accountability, some call for government oversight of news media, but most view any statutory regulation of journalistic practice as interference with the freedom that is seen as essential to democracy. Only self-regulation remains.

In modern journalism, there are two elements to self-regulation. On the one hand, professional editors, publishers, and station managers bear substantial responsibility for regulating the conduct of staff and maintaining accepted standards of journalism. On the other, over time various mechanisms beyond such informal and uneven oversight have evolved, including professional codes of practice, public editors, news ombudsmen, and news councils. News consumers have ways to hold news media accountable as well, ranging from the traditional such as "letters to the editor" to the rise of citizen journalism, especially in its online form.

News Scandals

Questionable practices and sensationalism have been a part of journalism since its beginning, reaching a peak during the age of yellow journalism in the United States. Some of the muckraking journalists of the early 1900s were not above fabricating stories and quotes in seeking social justice. Too often, in the hopes of a startling headline or calling attention to a social issue, or sometimes just in the spirit of malevolent journalism, newsmen may cross an ethical line. In 1966, newspaperman Walter Annenberg purportedly directed one of his reporters to ambush Pennsylvania Governor Milton Shapp with the question, "Isn't it true that you have been in a mental institution?" for which there was no evidence. The next day, Annenberg's paper ran front-page headlines screaming "Shapp Denies Having Been in a Mental Home." In November 1992 the news program *Dateline NBC* showed a startling video titled "Waiting to Explode" which depicted a General Motors truck exploding after a low-speed collision; it was later revealed that the explosion was actually triggered by hidden remote-controlled incendiary devices and NBC News President Michael Gardner was forced to resign. Such instances were generally thought isolated and regrettable, but with no long-lasting effect. However, in recent years a number of high-profile scandals have brought issues of self-regulation to the forefront in discussions of how the news media should operate.

Among the more notable: The gripping and heart-wrenching story of an eight-year-old heroin addict named Jimmy written by *Washington Post*

reporter Janet Cooke first appeared on September 29, 1980. She told the tale of a child whose life had been devastated by the thriving and unchecked drug trade that had risen in the low-income neighborhoods of Washington, D.C. The story engendered so much outrage and sympathy among readers that an all-out search for the boy was launched by the city administration. However, the best efforts of the police, social services and school system were unsuccessful; soon claims surfaced that the story was fraudulent. Despite early signs of problems with Cooke's work, the *Post* defended the veracity of the story and it was submitted for a Pulitzer Prize for Feature Writing, which it received in April 1981. Just two days after the prize was announced, however, publisher Donald Graham admitted that the story was untrue and the next day the paper issued a public apology. Although Cooke maintained that Jimmy was a "composite" of a number of D.C. children, she resigned and the Pulitzer was returned. She later claimed that the high-pressure environment of the newsroom to produce significant stories at the *Post* had corrupted her ethical judgment. The report by the paper's then-ombudsman Bill Green on the affair, printed four days after the Pulitzer was returned, covered three pages in the first section of the newspaper, a remarkable public act of contrition.

According to accounts, the editor of *The Boston Globe,* Matthew Storin, first became aware that Patricia Smith was fabricating individuals and events for her "Metro" columns in late 1995 or early 1996. The *Globe* had received several telephone calls from readers expressing doubts about Smith's columns. Storin instituted a formal monitoring procedure for the columnists, similar to the editorial scrutiny reporters labored under, and demanded that all staff supply proof of the identity of anyone featured in their writing; this soon revealed that a series of stories by Smith about a cancer patient named Claire appearing in May 1996 were untrue. Claire didn't exist and the quotes attributed to her were fabrications. Smith was asked to resign, although no action was taken against the various editors who had overlooked her transgressions.

Stephen Glass's reporting at *The New Republic* magazine had drawn criticism long before he was fired in 1998 for making up quotes, sources, and events. The Center for Science in the Public Interest, subject of a hostile Glass article in December 1996, issued a press release pointing out inaccuracies, distortions, and possible plagiarism in the article. An article titled "Don't You D.A.R.E." brought more accusations against Glass by Drug Abuse Resistance Education, the organization featured. A number of letters were received by the editors accusing Glass of falsehoods in his lurid article on drinking and debauchery at the 1997 Conservative Political Action Conference. The story that finally brought his downfall concerned a supposed 15-year-old hacker hired to work for a large company. Soon after the publication of "Hack Heaven," Forbes.com reporter Adam Penenberg sought to verify it and found that no evidence that the company Jukt Micronics or any of the people mentioned and quoted in it even existed. In the ensuing scandal, Glass maintained he had been duped and even created a shell website, fake business cards and a hacker newsletter to present to the magazine's investigators. *The New Republic* subsequently determined that at least 27 of the 41 stories under Glass's byline in its pages contained lies. Glass was promptly fired.

Richard Bragg won a Pulitzer Prize in 1996 for his work at *The New York Times*. In May 2003, after serving a two-week suspension as the result of an investigation that found Bragg had passed off the work and writing of stringers and interns as his own, he resigned from the paper. The story which sparked the investigation was one about Florida oystermen; it was later revealed that he had spent only one day in Apalachicola, site of the story, and had used interviews and research done by another reporter. Bragg's response to criticism and complaints fueled a heated debate in the *Times* newsroom about the mechanics of investigative reporting, proper attribution, "drive-by" journalism, and granting credit to subordinates, freelancers, and interns who contributed. The repercussions of the scandal were felt far beyond the company, as news executives around the world examined and in many cases tightened their policies on these practices. Bragg's resignation sparked more disagreement over journalistic ethics than the clear fraud perpetrated by Cooke, Smith, or Glass.

Jack Kelley, a respected reporter at *USA Today* and finalist for a Pulitzer Prize in 2002, is best known for his professional disgrace two years after it became known he had long been fabricating

stories, going so far as to draft scripts so associates could pretend to be sources when editors called to verify his facts. In early 2004 an anonymous letter to the editor triggered an internal investigation into the conduct of Kelley, who resigned—but continued to deny the charges—after some of the drafts were found on his office computer. The investigation found that Kelley had been fabricating parts of stories since at least 1991. Furthermore, they noted a "climate of fear" in the newsroom that discouraged co-workers to come forward and that editorial favoritism had played a significant role in the situation given Kelley's "star" status at the paper. The *USA Today* publisher Craig Moon subsequently issued a front-page apology and editor Karen Jurgensen and news section managing editor Hal Ritter resigned.

Such instances of carelessness and falsehood were not limited to just news stories or newspapers. In May 2004 *The Boston Globe* published photographs it described as of United States soldiers abusing and raping women in Iraq. Shortly after, the photos were proven to be commercially produced pornography that were originally published on a website titled "Sex in War." Web news sites had exposed the photographs as fake a week before the *Globe* published them. The vaunted Associated Press distributed a story in February 2005 with a picture claiming to be an American soldier held hostage by militants in Iraq. Military authorities took it seriously enough to begin an investigation but found no missing servicemen reported in the region; hours after the story went over the wire, Internet bloggers spread the word that the "hostage" still had his equipment and even hand grenades. Citizen journalists soon found that the hostage depicted was a toy doll of an Air Force special operations airman, and even found an exact match online. The ease of digital manipulation of photographs, as evidenced by the composite photo of professional skaters Tanya Harding and Nancy Kerrigan on the cover of *New York Newsday* in 1994 and the darkening of O. J. Simpson's image on *Time* that same year, has given rise to more concerns about the ethics of the news industry.

However, no incidence brought self-regulation so much to the public's attention as that of Jayson Blair, who resigned from the prestigious *New York Times* after years of plagiarizing and fabricating elements of his reports. After a summer as an intern in 1998, Blair was offered an extended internship. His editors repeatedly castigated Blair in internal memos for the high error rate in his articles and his sloppy work habits. But despite more mistakes than any other reporter for the paper's Metro section, he was made a full-time staff reporter in January 2001, and in 2002 was promoted to the national desk. In the process, complaints began to become public; Fairfax County prosecutor Bob Horan claimed that 60 percent of a story written by Blair about the Beltway sniper attacks, in which he was quoted extensively, was inaccurate. Despite such criticism from the public and the corrections the paper was increasingly forced to make regarding his stories, Blair was allowed to continue to cover critical stories. In his four years at the *Times,* Blair wrote more than 600 news articles that saw print.

It was blatant plagiarism that finally brought Blair down. In April 2003 national editor Jim Roberts confronted Blair about similarities between a *Times* story he had written and one by San Antonio *Express-News* reporter Macarena Hernandez published ten days earlier. The plagiarism was so flagrant that it led to further inquiries by the *Times* editors, who asked Blair to prove he had in fact traveled to Texas and interviewed the woman featured in the piece. Unable to provide proof, Blair resigned in May. An internal investigation led by Allan Siegal discovered that 36 of his 73 national stories were suspect. Following these revelations, the investigation sought to determine how management had allowed a young reporter to rise so quickly. Siegal's findings pointed at what was perceived as a "star system" that advanced some reporters favored by then executive editor Howell Raines, along with a marked lack of communication in the newsroom. Both Raines and managing editor Gerald Boyd resigned a month after Blair. The newspaper itself instituted a number of reforms, not the least the appointment of its first "public editor." And it reported extensively on what was going on.

The Blair incident and the revelations about the self-serving, autocratic nature of the *Time*'s management that followed shook journalism to its core, given that many people regarded *The New York Times* as setting the standard for ethical practice. The reporter and some editors had violated

virtually every precept of the professional codes of conduct to which they supposedly subscribed.

Professional Codes

Professional codes of ethics (or "practice," "principles," or "conduct") developed by various media organizations are generally guidelines for setting expectations (the notion of the "ideal" journalist) and for avoiding perceptions of behavior contrary to the public interest. For many journalists, a formal, widely accepted code of conduct provides their first line of defense against claims of unethical actions. It serves as a reference point for both the public and the journalist in discussions of how the news should be gathered and presented. All organizations of practicing journalists have some written code, either standing alone or incorporated within the organization's bylaws. The Society of Professional Journalists (SPJ) adopted its original code of ethics in 1926; that of the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) was adopted in 1922 as its "Canons of Journalism"; the Radio-Television News Directors Association (RTNDA) drafted one upon its founding in 1946, as did the National Press Photographers Association that same year. Organizations make code revisions to reflect changing concerns and perceptions; the current RTNDA code was adopted in 2000, and the SPJ's in 1996 after months of debate.

For every national professional code of ethics, there are hundreds of individual codes established by news corporations, publications, networks, and stations. While they may differ slightly from those of the professional organizations, in general they attempt to clarify or identify proper conduct with regard to their specific market or audience. In some cases these corporate codes reiterate points made in the broader codes; in other instances, these may address issues such as personal political activity or ownership of copyright. Corporate codes are as varied as their audiences. An October 2000 ASNE survey of codes of 33 member newspapers, reported in an online piece on its website titled "Can You Improve Your Code of Ethics?" found that all addressed issues of conflict of interest save one, and that 18 of them dealt with confidentiality, but only half had a statement on issuing printed corrections to factual errors.

Codes of ethics serve several self-regulatory functions. Codes educate new and novice professionals about their ethical responsibilities and sensitize them to the ethical problems common in their field. Formal codes are designed to make professionals reflect on their obligations and goals, and on the means to reach them. An effective voluntary code can minimize intrusion of government regulations. For members, a recognized code can serve as justification for refusing to undertake unethical practices, even when requested by employers or the public. Not only do such codes serve as rules of practice for journalists, they may also establish expectations among news consumers as to what is allowable. The authors of the 2000 ASNE survey note that carefully written codes anticipate ethical dilemmas so journalists become custodians of their own behavior.

Critics of ethical codes point to several flaws in relying upon them for self-regulation. Foremost is that the organizations rarely have recourse to punish those who transgress. Unlike the medical and legal professional organizations, journalists are not licensed, cannot be disbarred, cannot be fined, and are subject only to public recriminations. At most, the organization can exclude an unethical journalist from membership. Newspapers and stations are not required to offer corrections, compensation, or even apologies unless legal action is taken by an aggrieved party. Of the corporate codes examined in the 2000 ASNE report, very few address enforcement. The strongest statement was that of *The Dallas Morning News*: "violating some guidelines could result in disciplinary action or termination." Most corporate codes merely suggest (but do not mandate), the need for consultation with supervising editors should a potential ethical problem arise. Only in the most outrageous instances, critics complain, do journalists at fault suffer more than a "slap on the wrist."

Other criticisms of codes of ethics include ambiguity and lack of logical coherence; that codes do not go beyond obvious ethical violations; that codes are often dense and not written for laymen; that few specify individual responsibility as opposed to group admonitions; and that they are self-serving (in that they tout the First Amendment and the rights of journalists) and little concerned with protecting public interests. Pundits are fond of stating that reliance upon ethical codes for self-regulation is the midpoint between gut instincts and reasoning. As the authors of "Can You

Improve Your Code of Ethics" note, codes are not the panacea for ethical dilemmas, nor are they the solution to self-regulation.

All of which, of course, begs the question of whether journalists *are* actually professionals, "white-collar" rather than "blue-collar" workers. Given the growth of *paparazzi* journalism and citizen journalism, perhaps the latter is more indicative of how newsmen operate. In which case, many argue that the public is wrong to hold journalists to a higher set of ethical standards than those in other occupations at all.

Public Editors and Ombudsmen

Those with a complaint about accuracy or balance of a news story have always had the option to write to the newspaper, and letters to the editor have been a feature in American newspapers since the late 1700s. These serve as a public dialogue on social, cultural, and political issues of importance to readers; often they offer counterpoints to editorials in the paper. In some cases, these carry criticism or corrections for news stories appearing in previous issues. However, because there is often limited space on the editorial pages (the traditional venue for printing letters), if a correction or clarification voiced by a reader is valid it is often relegated to a specific section of the newspaper, a column or sidebar where the editors can offer a mea culpa as a form of self-regulatory penance.

Most news publications (and some broadcasters) have a format for announcing corrections. In some cases these are displayed prominently; *The New York Times* puts its corrections on the second page of the first section, although corrections for items appearing in the weekly sections are usually placed in those editions when the section next appears. The news program *60 Minutes* generally issues corrections at the end of the broadcast. Other publications place acknowledged corrections on the editorial pages; some insert them wherever space is available in the layout of each issue, and are often accused of burying such corrections where the readers will not spot them. Newspapers and news stations usually have a specific policy on issuing corrections, but in general most corrections are limited to minor factual errors such as misspellings, names, titles, ages, numbers, times, and places. Occasionally printed corrections will offer additional information or details that should have been incorporated in the original news item. Although rare, sometimes corrections are extensive, and cover gross carelessness or critical mistakes on the part of the reporter.

Many have argued that newspapers don't go far enough in issuing corrections, nor do so frequently enough. In a 2007 study by Professor Scott Maier of 3,600 news stories in ten newspapers, multiple factual errors were found in 1,220 of them. However, just 23 of the flaws, less than two percent, generated published corrections in these newspapers. *The New York Times* averaged one printed correction per day in 1982; by 2004 it averaged nine a day. In December 2003 the *Times* had hired its first "public editor" in the wake of the Jayson Blair scandal to monitor complaints about the paper's performance. So was this increase in published corrections because the *Times* had become more error-prone or was this, as many believe, due to the creation of the public editor position at that paper?

The job of a public editor is to supervise ethical standards among staff, to identify and examine critical errors or omissions, and to act as liaison between the news staff and the public. Though paid by the newspaper, the public editor serves as a high-ranking advocate for the readers' rights, presenting their side if a complaint seems valid and expressing readers' concerns to management. The public editor typically selects letters from readers concerning perceived ethical or factual transgressions for response. At some papers, the public editor writes a regular column concerning the paper's policies and practices, which may be critical of those or merely an effort to facilitate the public's understanding of editorial decisions. Public editors at the newspapers owned by the McClatchy Company have established "community panels" of readers to critique the papers, and they conduct annual "accuracy surveys" to insure that people are quoted correctly and appropriately in published stories. At newspapers that have one, the public editor is available to speak to civic, business, church, and educational groups about the policies and operations of the paper. Finally, the public editor often passes along tips and story concepts to the newspaper staff from readers and viewers, to insure that underserved groups are recognized and given coverage.

Many owners and publishers view the public editor as essential in overcoming the growing distrust the public has for the news media. News media often seem intimidating to contact, let alone challenge. As publisher Orage Quarles III, who had recently installed the first public editor at the Raleigh *News & Observer,* put it in an interview in 2005, "Having someone who will call it the way they see it adds enormous credibility to your product." Approached as self-regulation, the public editor's job is extremely difficult. He or she sits uneasily between satisfying the public without alienating his or her professional colleagues. And they must do so without compromising their own credibility or their independence from the official voice of the newspaper. Perhaps for that reason, at the end of 2006 only 40 daily newspapers in the United States had a public editor. A more common internal approach to self-regulation is that of newspaper ombudsman.

In November 2005 *Washington Post* ombudsman Deborah Howell criticized reporter Bob Woodward for keeping factual information from the readers and the paper's own executive editor. There are few journalists as well known and high profile as Woodward, but the paper's ombudsman publically declared that he should follow the same rules as other *Post* reporters. With an ombudsman seen as willing to take on even the most influential journalists on behalf of readers, listeners, or viewers, any news outlet will be seen to be more responsible and accountable for its content to its consumers.

The origin of the term *ombudsman* lies in medieval Scandinavian, and loosely means "representative." A number of governments, from national to local, now have ombudsmen to serve as an intermediary between the citizenry and government officials, notably in the settling of public complaints. Over the past century, the post of ombudsman has been established by companies in many industries to mediate between aggrieved customers and the organization.

While some of the duties of an ombudsman are similar to those of a public editor, the primary difference between the two roles is that the public editor is a member of the editorial staff (and may even pen a regular column), and so works on the "production" side of the news, while the ombudsman is not a member of the news staff per se, and mostly serves as a "readers' advocate." A news ombudsman at a newspaper or news station investigates complaints from the public and recommends appropriate remedies if deemed necessary; these may range from public corrections or apologies to changes in company policy or practices. Occasionally termed a "readers' representative," the news ombudsman helps his or her organization become more accessible and accountable to its audience and to increase awareness among its news staff about the public's concerns. One of the ombudsman's primary roles is to attempt to resolve issues that might otherwise become costly lawsuits. Although found much earlier in other countries, the first newspaper ombudsman in the United States was appointed in June 1967 to serve the readers of the Louisville (Kentucky) *Courier-Journal.* During the following decade many American newspapers followed suit.

Most news ombudsmen are selected from among senior staff of the organization they monitor, although some are hired from among highly experienced professionals outside the company. Their tasks vary; in general they monitor news and features for accuracy and fairness and bring substandard items to the attention of the editorial staff. They investigate and reply to complaints from the public about news coverage, and obtain explanations from editors and reporters for readers or viewers. Some supervise the preparation of corrections or apologies. News ombudsmen may initiate or coordinate public forums or reader advisory boards. At smaller newspapers they may assume news-related roles such as copy editors or proofreaders. In any event, news ombudsmen function in an advisory, rather than disciplinary, capacity within the news organization. As with all self-regulatory approaches, they serve to encourage—not force—adherence to ethical standards and practices.

While the presence of news ombudsmen in the United States is steadily increasing, questions about their effectiveness have been raised. Critics of the approach argue that ombudsmen are required to perform so many different duties—deal with complaints, monitor news staff, serve public relations functions, draft codes of ethics, and more—that they have difficulty doing any of them adequately. Other critics point to the danger of conflicts of interest when they are expected to openly criticize co-workers, superiors, and the company that pays them. Some argue that the

actions of news ombudsmen can lower staff morale. It may be difficult for an ombudsman to maintain an objective perspective when they are also required to serve other roles, especially that of reporter or editor. Finally, some publishers claim that traditional editors can perform the ombudsman's role more effectively and in a more cost-efficient way. Supporters, however, say that editors are neither as accessible to the public nor as credible as news ombudsmen.

Recognizing this need for credibility, major television news networks have recently instituted the ombudsman position as well: first NPR in 2000, followed by PBS, CNN, Fox News, and even ESPN. In April 2001, MSNBC.com announced the creation of the first Internet news ombudsman when it appointed veteran online journalist Dan Fisher to serve as an advocate for users of that news site. What impact declining newspaper revenues would have on ombudsmen was hard to judge early in 2009.

Electronic Media

Although broadcast news organizations have in place the same mechanisms covered above to police themselves, the worst excesses in radio and television news are mitigated by extensive government regulations already in place. In the United States, from the early years of radio, and due to the perceived immediacy and intrusive nature of broadcast, the federal government has reserved the right to issue licenses, limit ownership, and impose must-carry rules and equal time requirements. Unlike printed newspapers and magazines, broadcast news is seen as having the ability to come "uninvited to the home." Dramatic growth in cable television and satellite technology has significantly expanded the reach of television and radio news, making many regulations obsolete. Both broadcast and cable networks have seen the efficacy of self-regulation to help maintain public credibility.

Even more problematic in terms of ethical issues is online journalism. Thus far in the United States, the First Amendment has been held to cover online content, and except for a few acts dealing with obscenity and indecency pertaining to children, current laws on issues of privacy, plagiarism, and libel are considered sufficient. But the international distribution of online news has made self-regulation even more pressing. The 2002 decision by the High Court of Australia in the libel case *Dow Jones & Co. Inc. v. Gutnick* established the precedent that online news is "published" at the point of use (which can be anywhere), not at the point of origin. Given the great range of laws among countries, and even local governments, covering everything from objectivity to indecency (see, for instance, findings in the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals 2002 case *Young v. New Haven Advocate*), self-regulation by online journalism outlets is even more pressing as we move into the second decade of the twenty-first century.

Unfortunately, the practices and principles of online journalism are still in such flux that self-regulation is problematic. Save for corporate codes of conduct by news publishers and networks with online sites, and some efforts at "pro-am" (where professionals oversee the work of amateur journalists) news sites, there has been no move to establish parameters for or to rein in the worse excesses of the amateurs that conduct citizen journalism.

Conclusion

Self-regulation has been a topic of debate among journalists for decades, as evidenced by the professional codes of conduct. The delicate balance between freedom of news media and their responsibilities insures that the debate will continue. In recent years, high profile cases of unethical behavior by reporters and even some editors have brought increased attention to insuring that these transgressions are limited and that appropriate responses are made when they do occur. There is no single solution, not even government regulation, to guarantee that journalists act in the best interests of the people. But imposed legal approaches are sure to interfere, to some extent, with the flow of information and opinion that marks news media in a democracy. The news industry has developed several methods, with varying success, to monitor and if necessary correct its own actions. In the future, new approaches, perhaps grounded in citizen journalism, will evolve as well. Taken together, working in concert, these self-regulatory approaches move the press toward being seen as ethical, responsible, and credible in the eyes of both the public and their lawmakers.

Rex A. Martin

See also Citizen Journalism; Criticism of Journalism; Deception; Ethics; First Amendment; Hoaxes; Letters to the Editor; Media Accountability Systems; News Councils; News Values; Plagiarism; Professionalism

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SENSATIONALISM

Sensationalism, a type of news reporting that emphasizes shock value over facts, is a key ingredient of what in the United States became known in the late nineteenth century as "yellow" journalism (after a cartoon character). Yellow or sensational journalism is noted for stories that exploit, distort, or exaggerate the news. Sensationalism triumphs over factual reporting as stories are twisted into forms designed to attract readers and (more recently) viewers. The same style of sensationalized news reappeared in the muckraking journalism of the early twentieth century, the tabloid newspapers of the 1920s, and in print and electronic media in the years since.

Sensational news, however, dates back at least to the news sheets of the seventeenth century. Critics complained about an overemphasis on crime and disaster stories even then. The rise of the penny press popular newspapers in the 1830s often depended on sensational human interest stories offering graphic details even if the technology of the time couldn't provide matching pictures.

"Yellow" Origins

Yellow journalism achieved its peak fame in 1896 with the journalistic practices of competing New York City daily newspaper publishers Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst. Newspaper sensationalism dated back much earlier.

In a sense, the idea of sensational treatment of news was introduced by Benjamin Day and James Gordon Bennett during America's penny press era in the 1830s, thanks to their reliance on human interest stories. Everything and everyone, especially the underdogs of society, the butcher, the baker, the shoemaker, and especially the mistress or prostitute, was considered (and thus made) newsworthy. What Day and others did was to place emphasis on the common or unusual person (including those rarely covered in the news to that point) as he or she reflected the political, educational, and social life of the day. Their formula was to blend stories of murder, catastrophe, and love with elements of pathos to produce the human side of news. Pulitzer and Hearst would build on this model decades later.

In the late nineteenth century the development of yellow journalism reflected a society in transition. America was shifting from a predominantly rural to largely urban society. Fueled by a wave of immigrants from Europe, the nation's cities grew by nearly one-third. At the same time, the United States flexed its military might as the army evolved from a small frontier force to the army and navy that in 1898 challenged the remains of Spanish power in the Western hemisphere. As a result of war with Spain—one heavily promoted by Pulitzer and Hearst—the United States collected Puerto

Rico, Cuba, the Hawaiian Islands, and the Philippine Islands. The victory had one unintended effect—it helped promote the belligerent nationalist tone of much of the American press.

Sensationalist yellow journalism became synonymous with the journalism practiced by Pulitzer and Hearst, and soon others as well. Pulitzer's successful *St. Louis Dispatch* allowed him to enter New York journalism in 1883 with purchase of *The World*. Pulitzer's *World* utilized modest typography with headlines in small light-face type that appeared above stories of murder, mayhem, and mystery, every bit as sensational as those of one of the then-popular police gazettes.

By September 1884, *The World* reached a circulation of 100,000; within two years circulation soared to 250,000. When Pulitzer introduced the *Evening World* in 1887, the combined circulation of both editions was 374,000. Meanwhile, his Sunday edition alone reached 250,000 though half was advertising.

Pulitzer's journalism soon affected the character of much of the nation's daily press. He upset the status quo and furnished a new formula for the metropolitan daily by crafting a new concept of news, utilizing many illustrations, employing a crusading tone, and, though less obvious, revitalizing his editorial page and aggressively selling advertising space. His chief contribution was his invention of a formula that Hearst and others later adopted—sex on the front page and a kind of spurious morality on the editorial page.

Pulitzer helped introduce a new definition of sensationalism that, at its most basic, included self-promotion, an updating of the paper's layout, and adoption of an aggressive reporting style. *The World,* for instance, regularly boasted on its front page its high circulation figures and that it printed more advertising than any other paper in the country.

He made stunts a daily fixture in newspapers by 1890. They were often entertaining, sometimes educational, and nearly always attracted readers. His most ambitious was sending Elizabeth Cochran, better known to readers as "Nellie Bly," on a world voyage in an effort to beat the record of the hero of Jules Verne's *Around the World in Eighty Days*.

Thanks to improving printing technology, Pulitzer also introduced colored supplements, including an eight-page comic section, in 1893. The highlight of this section was Richard F. Outcault's "Hogan's Alley," a social satire that depicted life in a New York tenement. The leader of the gang was a one-tooth ragamuffin, "The Yellow Kid," who *World* printers clothed in a bright yellow dress. He would come to symbolize the Pulitzer-Hearst brand of sensational journalism in the 1890s.

During the 1890s yellow journalism was founded upon what journalism historian Frank Luther Mott called "familiar aspects of sensationalism—crime news, scandal and gossip, divorces and sex, and stress upon the reprint of disasters and sports." Its distinguishing characteristics included

- often-huge headlines, in black or red, that "screamed excitement, often about comparatively unimportant news";
- pictures, many without real news significance;
- impostors and such frauds as faked interviews;
- a Sunday supplement, with colored comics (something adopted by many decidedly unsensational papers in the years to come); and
- a "more or less ostentatious sympathy with the 'underdog,' with campaigns against abuses suffered by the common people."

This approach to journalism spread rapidly, influencing most metropolitan newspapers. And it clearly attracted an audience. Two types of readers, immigrants and women, were especially drawn to the yellow press. Department store advertising, directed chiefly to women in the home, also encouraged female readership.

Many who might otherwise criticize the "bottom feeding" approach of sensational news agreed that it served as something of an integrating force, helping to meld the flood of immigrants into the American mainstream. Attracted by the color and pictures, they soon learned to read the words. Further, many readers admired yellow journalism's crusades against privileged and powerful business and political interests, especially when they exposed corruption in municipal government. This motive soon morphed into the muckraking journalism of the early twentieth century, which applied some of the content and methods of sensationalism to a concerted crusade against the malfeasance of big business.

The assassination of President McKinley in 1901 marked the beginning of the end for yellow

journalism. In his first message to Congress, President Theodore Roosevelt said that McKinley's assassin had probably been inflamed by reckless journalism that appealed "to dark and evil spirits." A decline in both *The World*'s and the *Journal*'s circulation was further evidence of the public's declining interest in old-style yellow journalism.

Muckraking and Tabloids

The years leading to World War I saw an important variation of yellow journalism. Called muckraking (after the muck rake in *Pilgrim's Progress*), it was a kind of aggressive investigative reporting aimed at demonstrating the shortcomings of big business and its leaders appeared in books and magazines even more than newspapers. Muckraking authors and reporters hammered constantly at the shortcomings of the Gilded Age, often graphically demonstrating how wealth was produced from the hard efforts of working men and women.

Ida Tarbell's multipart magazine series in *McClure's* magazine exposing the methods John D. Rockefeller used to develop his Standard Oil monopoly (1904), and Upton Sinclair's novel *The Jungle* (1906) are two often-cited examples of dogged reporting that looked under rocks and described things that needed change, or the weak and defenseless that needed help. Child labor was one favorite target in an attempt to get children out of factories and into schools. The thriving Progressive political movement contributed to muckraking and gained useful ideas from it.

But following on years of yellow journalism, the muckrakers soon exhausted their readers as well. It is hard to maintain a state of ready awareness and crusading fervor all the time. Soon one social shortcoming seemed much like the next. Some readers found the constant barrage of stories so overwhelming that it seemed nothing could be done to address the problems identified. By about 1912, the muckraker's time had passed.

The appearance of tabloid newspapers in several of the largest markets in the 1920s provided the next step in sensational news. Chief among them were the *New York Graphic* and the *New York Mirror*. The tabloid offered ease of handling and illustrations—but was built on story selection that emphasized crime and scandal. The tone of such stories was less that of the crusader than of the informer or tattletale. Tabloid stories were intended to titillate more than promote change. The sensational stories were designed to build circulation (which for many years they did) while attracting advertisers who, in turn, sought exposure to the huge readership of the new tabloid papers. The *New York Daily News* managed to sneak a camera into the execution of a murderer, and ran the fuzzy resulting photo on its front page. Short, punchy headlines emphasized the most titillating aspects of *Daily News* stories.

Modern News Sensationalism

In recent decades, news sensationalism has continued in several different forms. Tabloid papers declined after 1980 as readers were drawn off by television and cable, and later by online resources.

By the 1950s, television began to add its own version of sensational news. Requiring pictures to hold viewer attention, television stations early on discovered the visual excitement of fires, accidents, and both natural and man-made disasters. The old line "if it bleeds, it leads" all too often applies to both print and broadcast news which focus on the sensational rather than what may be more important in many cities. Local television news typically centers on stories of murder, robbery and other mayhem, sometimes to the near exclusion of other stories.

A growing focus on celebrities and disasters across print and electronic news media in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century suggests a different kind of sensationalism. Here the emphasis is on the personal as well as professional lives of show business and sports figures (and sometimes people in other walks of life) to the detriment of reporting other, usually more important stories. "Gang" or "crowd" reporting, where masses of reporters and photographers all congregate around one story is an example. The televised trial of O. J. Simpson in the mid-1990s illustrated the lasting appeal of crime news and helped lead to the creation of Court TV, a cable network focused on such things. By the early twenty-first century, murders of children often dominated headlines in print and on the air for months thereafter.

In the end, sensational news reporting can be seen as pandering to the news audience's lowest

concerns—fear (of crime or disease, for example) or morbid fascination (as with those struck by disaster, celebrities in a scandal, or murder victims). On the other hand publishers and broadcasters often defend their sensationalized news as "giving the public what it wants"—there is an element of truth in the claim as circulation and viewership often increase when such sensationalized stories are covered—rather than what some critics argue the public may really need, such as important economic or political news.

Christopher H. Sterling and Anthony R. Fellow

See also Celebrity and Fan Magazines; Crime and the Courts; Ethics; Hard Versus Soft News; Hoaxes; Human Interest Journalism; Infotainment; Investigative Journalism; Muckrakers; Professionalism; Tabloid Newspapers; Tabloid Television

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Shield Law

Journalists sometimes obtain information from sources who do not want to be identified by name in news stories because they fear retribution or embarrassment. Often, this information helps journalists uncover illegal or unethical behavior by government officials or other powerful people. Journalists in many countries adhere to a long-standing tradition of protecting confidential sources' identities so that these and future sources will trust reporters with sensitive information. However, if the source's information is published and indicates the source may have committed or witnessed a crime or has information helpful to a civil litigant, the journalist may receive a legal order, known in the United States as a subpoena, ordering him or her to reveal the source's identity. Such situations create conflicts between journalists' professional standards and their duties as citizens to obey valid court orders or risk the consequences of disobeying, which can include fines or imprisonment.

Because journalists often are seen as performing a service in a democratic political system by informing the public about what governments and other institutions are doing, legislative bodies sometimes provide protection for journalists' relationships with sources through statutes known as "shield" laws. Such laws are designed to help resolve conflicts between journalists' professional duty to protect sources and the legal system's need for truthful information in the investigation and adjudication of crimes and civil wrongs. In general, shield laws give journalists a limited right to conceal source names and other unpublished information unless there is no alternative source and the information is important and relevant to a legal controversy or public security.

Overview

Specific statutes to protect journalists from being forced to reveal their sources to investigators or courts are rare outside of the United States. Other nations that give journalists at least some protection from subpoenas and similar official coercion usually do so through court interpretations of constitutional guarantees of press freedom or through

general codes of evidence or court procedure. Russia's Federal Law on the Mass Media, for example, is one of the few national laws providing for source protection, and many nations from the former Soviet Union have adopted similar legislation. However, the law allows the government to require news organizations to reveal sources if needed for a criminal investigation, and Russian journalists have found the protection to be stronger on paper than in reality. A change in Russia's Criminal Procedure Code in the early years of the twenty-first century, however, made it harder to punish the media for refusing to reveal sources, which may strengthen the position of Russian journalists.

International law also recognizes a limited right of journalists to protect sources. The European Court of Human Rights in 1996 interpreted the European Convention on Human Rights' Article 10, which guarantees freedom of expression, as providing journalists with the right to conceal source identities. And the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) recognized a limited right of war correspondents to keep their sources confidential in 2002 and reaffirmed that finding in 2005.

In the United States, the Constitution's First Amendment states that Congress cannot abridge freedom of speech or of the press, but whether that also means that journalists cannot be required to identify sources has long been a point of contention. There is no national protection for journalists and their sources at the national level, although Congress has often considered such legislation. Support for shield law legislation rises when the number of journalists facing fines or jail time increases, as was the case in 2004–06 when several journalists went to jail rather than cooperate with federal criminal investigations or individuals suing the government for violating their privacy.

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Branzburg v. Hayes* (1972) that journalists had no right to conceal information from criminal investigatory bodies known as grand juries. However, the nine members of the court were almost evenly divided on the issue and left open the question of whether journalists could conceal sources from courts in criminal and civil cases. The *Branzburg* decision was followed closely by the Watergate crisis, in which journalists using confidential sources uncovered a scandal that led to President Richard Nixon's resignation. But the 1972 court decision also was followed by a sharp rise in the number of subpoenas issued to journalists nationwide. In the lower federal appellate and trial courts, the divided opinion in *Branzburg* led many judges to rule that the First Amendment to the Constitution provides limited protection to journalists seeking to protect the names of confidential sources and other unpublished information. However, not all federal appellate jurisdictions recognize the privilege, and there is disagreement among those that do about who and what are protected. The federal courts' privilege rulings also have little effect on state courts, and vice versa.

Each of the 50 states has its own legal system that is separate from yet co-exists with the federal system. Maryland in 1896 became the first state legislature which passed a shield law for journalists, while Connecticut became the thirty-first state to do so in 2006. New Mexico's highest court adopted a formal court rule in the 1980s that provides similar protection. The District of Columbia (the nation's capital, Washington) also has a shield law among its local statutes. In most of the states without legislatively created shield statutes, courts have recognized some form of limited protection for journalists by interpreting the First Amendment or state constitutions as implying the right to conceal confidential sources. A federal evidence rule instructs federal courts to consult common law, including state court decisions, to determine whether a privilege not to testify exists.

While the state shield laws differ from each other, there are common characteristics. All of the laws define who and what is protected, and limitations on the rights of journalists.

Who Is Protected

One of the most vexing problems with creating a legal privilege that allows American journalists to escape the general citizen's duty to testify before grand juries and courts of law is defining the word "journalist." In *Branzburg v. Hayes* the Supreme Court reiterated what it had said in earlier decisions: that the First Amendment protected the rights of all individuals equally, whether or not they worked for the institutional press. The court said it would be difficult, if not impossible, to define a group called "journalists" that would

receive extraordinary First Amendment protection because journalists were not licensed or in any other way remarkable from other citizens who might inform the public about current events.

Legislation, however, allows a government to define special classes of people who receive legal benefits, as long as the legislation does not strip away rights guaranteed by the federal or state constitutions. In other words, the constitutions, as interpreted by the courts, set a baseline for rights guaranteed to all, and legislation can define classes of persons who get more rights and privileges than others, as long as the legislation does not infringe on those baseline rights of all citizens.

In the case of shield laws for journalists, states have taken several approaches to defining the class of persons who can escape the obligation to testify if doing so would identify a confidential source. Some, like Colorado, extend protection to persons employed by the traditional print media, wire services and news and feature syndicates, and electronic media, including broadcasting stations and cable television systems. Other states, such as Nebraska and Oregon, use the same list as Colorado and add persons employed by or connected with books and pamphlets. Like Colorado, Maryland includes specific media but also includes persons associated with "any printed, photographic, mechanical, or electronic means of disseminating news and information to the public" (The Reporter's Privilege). Other state shield laws are vague about who is protected, saying it may be anyone connected with an organization involved in producing news or just "the news media." Indiana and Delaware specifically require that someone seeking protection from subpoenas be paid by a media organization before she can claim to be a journalist.

State courts tend to narrowly interpret shield laws or other privileges because they may impede the search for truth. Therefore, it may be preferable from journalists' viewpoint to have broad definitions in the legislation. In a Michigan case, *In re Contempt of Stone* (1986), the Michigan Court of Appeals ruled that a television reporter was not protected by the state shield law because it only mentioned print media reporters. The legislature soon amended the law to include broadcast reporters. In 2005, a federal appellate court determined that the Alabama shield law did not protect a magazine writer because the law did not specifically mention magazines. However, in that case, *Price v. Time Inc.,* the court determined that a limited First Amendment privilege protected the writer from revealing his sources.

None of the state shield laws specifically mention the Internet. This may become increasingly problematic as more people create weblogs, or "blogs," that resemble newspapers or magazines and as mainstream media organizations increasingly use the Internet to reach audiences. In 2006, a California state appellate court determined that an Internet magazine, or "e-zine," was protected under the state shield law, which may be the first time that a state appellate court ruled on whether someone working for an Internet site was a journalist.

What Is Protected

All of the American state shield laws protect journalists from being forced to reveal the names of confidential sources. About two-thirds of them also protect unpublished information that may not have been obtained in confidence, such as reporters' notes, photographs, and outtakes from television stories. It may seem counterintuitive to protect journalists' work product, particularly when it is nonconfidential, but many journalists would argue that the added protection makes sense. Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart, in his dissenting opinion in the *Branzburg* case, suggested that reporters needed protection from subpoenas not only to keep news flowing from sources to reporters to the public but also to protect the independence of the press from government interference. Taking that line of thought a step further, protecting the press from subpoenas for all types of information would enhance its independence and keep it from being forced into becoming an unofficial investigative branch of the government. Journalists have also argued, and courts have sometimes agreed, that news organizations are uniquely vulnerable to subpoenas because they gather information and advertise that fact, creating an undue burden for the media.

State shield laws differ in language regarding what types of information are protected from subpoenas, but it is safe to say that all of them protect journalists from being forced to reveal confidential sources. Only three—in Louisiana, New York, and North Carolina—specifically

protect "nonconfidential" information. Other states, however, imply such protection by listing the types of things protected, including notes, documents, photographs, films, recordings, tapes, and reports, to use one example from Colorado. Other state laws simply say that journalists do not have to disclose "any information" or something similar. Personal observations of criminal activity generally are not protected.

Scope of Protection

In the *Branzburg* decision, Justice Stewart's dissent argued that the government should not be able to subpoena journalists to appear before grand juries without first showing that the information being sought was highly relevant to the investigation, critically important, and unavailable from other sources. Federal courts interpreting the federal constitutional privilege often use this test for balancing the needs of journalists and those seeking information from them, so it has become known as the "Stewart three-part test." However, the test is included in most state shield laws, including some written before *Branzburg* was decided. The test creates what is known as a qualified or limited privilege, meaning that unless someone can satisfy the three requirements of the test, she cannot require a journalist to testify or provide documents.

Some shield laws, however, including those in California and Nevada, do not have qualifying language and thus can be read as absolute. These laws do not provide exceptions to the rule that journalists cannot be forced to cooperate with officials or civil litigants. While this is true in theory, it is not always true in practice. In California, for example, the state's highest court ruled in *Delaney v. Superior Court* (1990) that journalists could be required to testify if failing to do so might harm the Sixth Amendment right of a defendant to a fair trial. In Nevada, the state Supreme Court ruled twice that the shield law had been superseded by another state law requiring disclosure before reversing itself in 2000 and finding that the law created a qualified privilege, despite its absolute language. New York's shield law is a bit of a hybrid, providing absolute protection for confidential information and qualified protection for nonconfidential material.

Conclusion

Shield laws providing journalists with protection from being forced to reveal sources or to provide documents to courts or investigators are largely an American phenomenon. These state laws generally define who is protected under the law and whether those persons may also protect from disclosure unpublished information, such as notes, photographs, and outtakes, that are not confidential. The laws generally are qualified, allowing ways for people seeking information from journalists to persuade courts to order the journalists to cooperate. Even those that are absolute in tone have not been interpreted that way by state courts.

As the Internet becomes more of a news outlet for both mainstream media and citizen journalists, the definition of "journalist" in state shield laws likely will cause controversies over whether a new breed of reporter is included. This tension may force legislatures to amend the laws. At the same time, a lack of consistency in U.S. federal law may spur Congress to act by passing a federal shield law applicable to all federal courts and grand juries. If Congress does not act, however, more states may decide to put their protections for journalists in writing to avoid local versions of controversies in the first years of the twenty-first century that led federal judges to jail journalists to force them to reveal sources.

Anthony L. Fargo

See also Blogs and Bloggers; First Amendment; Free Expression, History of; Investigative Journalism; Investigative Reporters; Presidential Scandals, Coverage of; Press and Government Relations; Professionalism; Secrecy and Leaks; War Correspondents

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Shortwave Radio

Shortwave radio is a means of broadcasting over great distances, one that has been used for decades for international propaganda. Since the late 1990s, depending on the service, shortwave has been increasingly superseded by satellite-distributed broadcasts and audio streaming on the Internet.

Origins

Experiments with shortwave radio transmission date to the early 1920s, with much of the important work being done by amateur or "ham" operators. Guglielmo Marconi and other radio innovators also played a part in the technology's development. Pioneer American AM station KDKA in Pittsburgh established an experimental shortwave transmitter in Nebraska in the early 1920s to try retransmitting its signal to the west coast—and farther. A few other stations did likewise, but the limited number of shortwave receivers held back development. Amateur operators sent the first shortwave signal across the Atlantic in 1923. Shortwave was also used for long-distance telephone service across oceans—transatlantic service opened in 1927.

Shortwave came to be called "short" as it was developed because its wavelengths (associated in numerous specific bands within the 3- to 30-MHz portion of the spectrum) are shorter than the long wavelengths then widely used. Shortwave today is also called high-frequency (HF) radio.

Shortwave broadcasts proved themselves in tropical climates in the late 1920s where standard (AM) radio signals were often blotted out by atmospheric interference. Furthermore, the shortwave transmitters needed less power to disseminate a good signal than did the standard stations. By the 1930s, shortwave broadcasting was becoming an established presence in many tropical areas.

Journalism on the Air

Shortwave became a vital part of global journalism in the late 1930s as a growing number of foreign correspondents used the technique to send their reports to and from various continents, especially between Europe and the United States. This was cutting edge technology at the time, and it amazed American listeners to be able to hear Hitler or other European leaders, as well as American correspondents, broadcasting live rather than by means of delayed recording.

CBS led the way in applying shortwave technology among American networks. Cesar Saerchinger arranged all sorts of CBS broadcasts from Britain and Europe, most of them focusing on cultural or entertainment events and venues. NBC's Max Jordan covered Europe in somewhat the same way, slowly moving from arranging light fare to covering hard news. A young Edward R. Murrow, replacing Saerchinger in 1938, began by simply continuing what his predecessor had done—until events forced a change.

During the September 1938 Munich crisis, Murrow worked with a number of stringers to pull together reports for the network (always referred to simply as "New York"), providing the first multicity roundups of reports from journalists in Berlin, Vienna, Rome, Paris, and London, where he was based. This involved working closely with European broadcast organizations, split-second timing, and "getting air" from New York. Back in New York, H. V. Kaltenborn virtually lived in a studio for a month, catching breaks and sleep as he could. Only in that way could the multilingual journalist provide running commentary as well as

translations of important overseas broadcasts given the time zone differences between the continents.

But shortwave transmissions could be notoriously unpredictable, as weather conditions, time of day, and other factors could make a voice fade and then get louder and then fade again—if static didn't obliterate the material entirely. So while broadcasts could be carefully scheduled, and laboriously prepared, they did not always get through. This was a problem of the physical properties of the spectrum used by shortwave signals and could not be overcome. It troubled international radio links for decades.

By the early 2000s, many broadcasters had abandoned shortwave service to some parts of the world. The BBC World Service, for example, now relies on web-based service for North America, Australia, and New Zealand, where high penetration of computers and web access makes such an approach viable as well as far less expensive (not a minor factor as budgets and personnel came under pressure to cut costs). German shortwave broadcasters, among others, soon followed suit.

International Services

Starting in the late 1920s and accelerating over the next decade, international shortwave served a variety of purposes. One was to link distant colonies to the home country, something the Dutch first accomplished in 1927, and the French began in 1931. The British Broadcasting System inaugurated its "Empire Service" in 1932, tying worldwide colonies to the mother country. In 1935, King George V was able to send a Christmas message to the whole Empire using shortwave. A closely related purpose was to broaden interest in and the appeal of a nation's culture—indeed, this turned out to be the most lasting role of shortwave transmission. Carrying the music, art, language, and history of a country to listeners elsewhere was a continuing appeal of the service. In 1933 Radio Luxembourg began a commercially based music and entertainment service that proved hugely popular when European domestic systems were devoted to culture and high-brow entertainment. The appeal of this station troubled other countries who could do little about it.

Probably the best known rationale for shortwave broadcasts was for political or religious persuasion. Radio Moscow was one of the first international broadcasters to utilize shortwave when it began service in 1929, soon joined by most European Nations. What little U.S. international radio there was in the 1930s was in the hands of private operators, including networks (NBC was particularly active) interested in expanding markets and religious broadcasters seeking converts while retaining those already in the fold. There was little interest in shortwave listening within the United States.

As Europe spiraled toward war, shortwave propaganda broadcasts from Germany and Italy began a veritable "radio war" with British and French radio services. In early 1942 the official U.S. shortwave Voice of America begin operating. And during the fighting yet another role for shortwave appeared—so-called black propaganda stations that while originating outside a country were made to sound as though domestic dissidents were broadcasting to their fellow countrymen. Propaganda services reached a peak during World War II with all fighting powers adding to the on-air cacophony. Some countries sought to electronically "jam" reception of the enemy broadcasts by transmitting noise on their channels. "Tokyo Rose" broadcast to American troops from Japan and "Lord Haw-Haw" to allied forces from Berlin in an attempt to weaken their fighting morale. They encouraged tuning in by playing the latest popular music amongst the propaganda rants. In many cases, the fighting men enjoyed the music and ignored the rest.

The cold war from the late 1940s to 1990 made international shortwave radio even more intense. The Voice of America sought to counter the growing broadcasts from the Soviet Union and its satellite nations, all of them transmitting in many different languages. The United States also began (but hid their official funding of) Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which targeted their news and cultural programming to Eastern Europe and Russia, respectively. New voices were heard—China became an important international broadcaster in its own and many western languages. Albania provided its own shrill version of communist propaganda. Some neutral nations—India among them—broadcast their own views.

The end of the cold war drastically changed international shortwave as traditional enemies

began to work together. Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty essentially merged and began to operate out of cities they had once targeted, and extend their programming into the Middle East. The United States began transmitting other shortwave (as well as FM) radio services into the same region, plus less successful shortwave transmissions into Cuba (Radio Martí) and China (Radio Free Asia), both of which were heavily jammed by their target country's governments.

At the same time evangelical Christian stations greatly increased their shortwave transmissions, often using many more languages (more than 100) than official government services. And a growing number of advertiser-supported commercial services targeted Africa and other regions lacking entertainment (chiefly music, which travels well across borders and cultures) in their own domestic service.

By the 1990s, the benefits of direct satellite broadcasting became increasingly apparent and shortwave transmissions began to decline in favor of the newer technology. The arrival of the Internet in the mid-1990s and its accelerating availability over the next decade created yet another option for effecting international communications at far less cost than big and expensive shortwave transmitters.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Audio and Video News Services; Foreign Correspondents, Electronic; Satellite News Gathering; Streaming Media; U.S. International Communications

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SIMULCASTING

To simulcast is to provide the same program at the same time over two or more electronic media (broadcast, cable, or satellite) channels—a simultaneous broadcast. Most typical is simulcasting of broadcasts over an AM and FM station in the same market, or over both a radio and a television station. But there are many variations and the most common today is a radio station simulcasting its signal over the Internet. The relevance of simulcasting to journalism is found most strongly in sportscasting.

Origins

The first widespread use of simulcasting in the United States utilized AM and FM stations in the late 1940s. As the new FM service developed, network and AM broadcasters argued that the most efficient way to build its audiences was with popular AM program fare, both news and entertainment. Given that the new service had little or no money to invest in program personnel or content, the idea made some sense. Of course simulcasting also obviated any reason for consumers to buy FM receivers given their existing radios could provide all the available programming. Indeed, some critics argued simulcasting was really just a plot by the AM business to prevent FM from developing into a competitor. Further, the American Federation of Musicians struck many stations, arguing that musicians should be paid twice if their performances were going to be carried on both AM and FM stations.

The musician's demand was finally resolved among the parties, but the larger AM-FM simulcasting issue took longer, only being put to rest in the 1960s with a series of "nonduplication"

decisions by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). These required co-located AM and FM stations to program at least half their time on the air separately. The policy argument held that simulcasting was a waste of spectrum space. Broadcasters argued their programs were none of the government's business. But the FCC decisions were upheld despite numerous court appeals. By the early 1980s, the now independently programmed FM business surged ahead of AM listening nationwide—and by the early twenty-first century accounted for nearly 80 percent of all radio listening.

Another application of simulcasting came in the late 1950s with experimental stereo radio broadcasts, usually of music. Before FCC approval of FM stereo technical standards in 1961, co-located AM and FM stations could share a broadcast with one providing the left sound channel and the other the right, though their quality was anything but equal. Likewise, a television and radio station (ideally FM, so both audio channels were of the same quality) could provide, say, right and left stereo channels of a music performance. An early British example came in 1974, when the BBC broadcast a recording of Van Morrison's London Rainbow Concert simultaneously on both its BBC2 television channel and on Radio 2. American public television and radio stations were the most likely to offer such broadcasts, especially when airing a live concert.

Broadcast and Internet Simulcasting

WXYC, a student-operated station at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, began simulcasting its off-air (broadcast) signal on the Internet on November 7, 1994, using technology developed at Cornell University. It claims to have been the first radio station in the world to offer a concurrent Internet simulcast of an off-air signal. Many stations soon followed suit, and by the early twenty-first century such simulcasting (also termed *audio streaming*) had become common, aided by the spread of broadband connections. Listeners could tune in to stations well beyond off-air listening range. Satellite radio services also simulcast their hundreds of channels of music and talk programming for subscribers over the air (to special receivers) and on the Internet.

In September 2006, CBS became the first network to offer a live simulcast of its evening news broadcast over the Internet. CBS also made the *CBS Evening News* available as an on-demand program accessible after the simulcast, and allowed viewers to build their own broadcast online by choosing individual reports from each program.

Sports

Professional sports events often feature simulcast play-by-play broadcasts on radio and television. Typically, one or two announcers provide coverage on both media. The practice was common in the early years of television when many people lived far from a station, but since the 1980s, most teams have employed separate on-air personnel for television and radio coverage. Chick Hearn and Rod Hundley were the last broadcasters in professional basketball to simulcast. In baseball, Vin Scully continues to simulcast the first few innings of games. By the early 2000s, the National Hockey League had two remaining teams of broadcasters that simulcast: Daryl Reaugh and Ralph Strangis (in Dallas) and Rick Jeanneret and Jim Lorentz (in Buffalo).

In December 2007, a professional football game between the New England Patriots and the New York Giants was carried on the NFL Network (which is available on cable in fewer than 40 percent of the nation's homes) and was simulcast on both CBS and NBC, thus reaching virtually every television home.

Changing Technology

As a part of American radio industry consolidation and cost-cutting since the mid-1990s, simulcasting has often involved transmitting the same programming over multiple stations owned by the same entity. Talk and music programming heard in one market may be presented in others at the same time, sometimes using a centrally located announcer or newscaster using voice tracking technology.

Cable television systems simulcast network programs. On some cable systems, analog-digital simulcasting (ADS) means that analog channels are duplicated as digital subchannels. Digital tuners are programmed to use the digital subchannel instead of the analog. This allows for smaller, cheaper cable boxes by eliminating the analog

tuner and some analog circuitry. The primary advantage of ADS is elimination of interference, and as analog channels are dropped, the ability to transmit ten or more standard definition television (or two high definition) channels in their place. The primary drawback is the common problem of overcompression which can result in fuzzy pictures or pixelation (breaking up of the image).

Simulcasts using satellite links raise a different challenge, as there is a significant delay because of the uplink and downlink distances required (nearly 50,000 miles round-trip). Likewise, any simulcasting involving video compression also has a significant additional delay, which is noticeable when watching a local signal from a direct broadcast satellite.

One other application is common in Canada because of heavy viewing of American television programs along the common border. Signal substitution (also known as simulcasting, sim-subbing or commercial substitution) occurs when a cable or satellite company inserts the signal of a Canadian television station onto the channel of an American station that is showing the same program at the same time. Canadian cable and satellite operators only perform commercial substitution when requested to do so by a Canadian network or station–in which case by Canadian law, they must comply.

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See also Federal Communications Commission (FCC); Streaming Media

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Singapore

Singapore, one of the most networked societies in the world (both literally and figuratively), is also one of the key media centers in the Asia-Pacific region. Singapore has a multiethnic population of 4 million—consisting of 75 percent Chinese, 14 percent Malays, 8.8 percent Indians and 2.2 percent "others"—and is one of the most affluent nations in Asia, as well as globally. It is also a major Asian financial center, with English as its dominant working language; as such, it attracts many global media to base their Asian operations in Singapore.

Singapore is a one-party state, having been ruled by the People's Action Party (PAP) government since 1959. Described by most observers as an authoritarian regime that is hypersensitive to political criticism, the government is nevertheless astute in its social, economic, and media planning. Its desire is for Singapore to become a vibrant global media and journalism hub under its *Media 21* strategic plan unveiled in 2002 designed to see the media sector's economic contribution reach 3 percent of the nation's GDP by 2010.

Regulation

Singapore's Ministry of Information, Communication and the Arts (MICA) has regulatory oversight of Singapore's media industry in economic as well as social, cultural, and political terms. MICA works hard to attract both internal, and especially external, investments in the sector to fulfill its *Media 21* ambitions. In this regard, Singapore is a successful media center that not only provides technical and technological support to global media companies, digital media trials and projects but also plays regular host to major media trade events and conventions such as BroadcastAsia and MIPAsia.

The "regulatory" aspect of Singapore media is where most critical debates ensue. Like most aspects of life, the media in Singapore—for domestic consumption particularly—are heavily controlled. The government openly rejects the role of the media as a Fourth Estate, accepting instead the "development press model," which presents the media as party to the nation-building process. Its role is therefore to "inform, educate and entertain" as per government edict and policies.

MICA actively polices the media with the assistance of its statutory board, the Media Development Authority (MDA)—formed in 2003 through the

merger of the Singapore Broadcasting Authority, the Films and Publications Department, and the National Film Commission. A good way of differentiating their roles is to perceive MICA as the regulator of print media and MDA as the regulator of broadcasting; screen-based media such as films, mobile-TV, and Internet TV; and newer services, including digital media and games. Where the two agencies converge is over censorship and political communication.

Journalism in Singapore can be broadly divided into three categories: broadcast, print and newer media (including the Internet). Until 1980, the government ran all television and radio stations under a government department, Radio and Television Singapore. This became a statutory body, the Singapore Broadcasting Corporation, through an Act of Parliament before it was corporatized to become Singapore International Media (SIM) in 1994. No longer a statutory board, SIM is a private company wholly owned by the government through its state sovereign wealth fund Temasek Holdings. SIM was subsequently restructured and renamed the Media Corporation of Singapore (MediaCorp) in 1999.

The key legislation governing print media is the Newspaper and Printing Presses Act (NPPA). Enacted in 1974, and amended several times thereafter to tighten its juridical reach, the NPPA empowers the government to determine the composition of a newspaper company's board of directors. With the NPPA's structure and mechanism in place, the control of both domestic and foreign presses and publications has been formidable. Following the passage of this law, many foreign media were taken to task for their reports of unsavory aspects of the government. Foreign publications falling victim to this aspect of the law included the *Far Eastern Economic Review, The Economist, The Asian Wall Street Journal* and *Asiaweek*. Over the past 35 years, Singapore-circulated editions of such publications as *Newsweek, The Times* (London), *The Star* (Malaysia), *Time,* and *International Herald Tribune* have had their editors and/or journalists arraigned on charges of publishing defamatory or libelous articles.

These extensive regulations are deemed to be overly oppressive by many. In its *Annual Worldwide Press Freedom Index 2007,* Reporters Without Borders ranked Singapore a lowly 141 out of 169 nations because its media were not only seen as lacking independence but were also heavily engaged in self-censorship to avoid government crackdowns.

Print Media

At first glance, Singapore appears to house a thriving local print journalism environment that exists alongside wide access to international news and titles—its main English and Chinese language newspapers enjoy strong circulation numbers and its Malay and Tamil newspapers are relatively vibrant despite their small readership base. However, a pattern of mergers and politically motivated closures of various newspaper companies, which began in the mid-1980s, has resulted not only in fewer mainstream newspapers as compared to the 1980s, but also in the formation of the Singapore Press Holdings (SPH), essentially a government-linked print media monopoly. At the start of 2008, 15 newspapers—of which 14 belong to the SPH stable—were in active circulation. Only the tabloid-sized English language daily *Today* is owned by MediaCorp. The 164-year-old *Straits Times* is the flagship English-language daily for SPH as well as Singapore.

Broadcast Media

In broadcasting, the state-owned MediaCorp operates all 7 licensed broadcast television channels, as well as 14 radio channels. To cater to Singapore's multilingual and multicultural audiences, broadcast television channels are quite varied. They include the following:

- Channel 5 (mass English-language channel)
- Channel 8 (mass Mandarin-language channel)
- Channel U (mass Mandarin-language channel)
- Suria (Channel 12; mass Malay-language channel)
- Central (Channel 12; Tamil-language, arts and children's entertainment channel)
- Channel NewsAsia (predominantly English-language news and current affairs channel, also broadcast regionally via satellite)
- TV Mobile (broadcast via digital transmission to public trains and buses)

Due to Singapore's close proximity to Johor Bahru, Malaysia's southernmost city, as well as Indonesia's Batam Island to the south, Singaporeans can receive up to 16 additional broadcast television signals from their closest neighbors (although very few actually tune to these foreign channels).

Private ownership of satellite dishes is illegal in Singapore, although major foreign companies and foreign embassies can be granted special licences to mount dishes on their premises. Starhub Cable Vision (SCV) is the only subscription TV provider in Singapore, offering more than 100 channels—including international news such as CNN, BBC, CNBC Asia, and others—over its nationwide cable network. Singaporeans have access to most of the mainstream global satellite cum cable channels via SCV, although an amendment to the Singapore Broadcasting Act (in 2001) gave the government absolute power to restrict the broadcasting rights of any foreign broadcaster if it was found to be meddling with domestic politics.

With the exception of four radio stations operated by the Singapore Armed Forces Reservists' Association (SAFRA) Radio and SPH UnionWorks, radio stations are run by MediaCorp. Radio in Singapore is technologically advanced, with most of the stations accessible via the Internet and available in Digital Audio Broadcasting (DAB) mode, known as "Smart Radio" in Singapore.

Duopolistic Monopoly

In April 2000, Singapore experimented with limited media liberalization when it introduced competition between the two core local print (SPH) and broadcast media (MediaCorp) players by allowing both companies to operate in each other's turf. That year, SPH became a two-channel broadcaster while MediaCorp ventured into newspaper publishing. This move to liberalize the media was done in part to support Singapore's nascent creative industries and to prepare the media sector for global expansion. Government recognized that the economic framework of Singapore's media sector had to shift away from a monopolistic structure—at least in appearance—in order for the rest of the world to take its global media ambitions seriously.

However, the plan to inject "competition" was a dismal financial failure and a public relations disaster. Based on the sizeable losses that both players sustained over the three-year period after the introduction of competition, it was clear that a monopoly was more realistic for Singapore. At the start of 2005, MediaCorp regained its monopoly on broadcasting under a new entity called MediaCorp TV Holdings (20 percent owned by SPH). Likewise, SPH regained its print media monopoly, with the exception of the tabloid *Today*.

Nevertheless, mainstream media in Singapore remain a duopoly in structural terms, although they are very much a monopoly from a political and journalistic perspective since all forms of media and public communication are, as media researcher Cherian George writes, "subordinate to a common purpose, of which the government is the ultimate oracle." Indeed, Singapore's international journalistic notoriety stems from this very premise.

Internet Media

In 1992, the government proclaimed that Singapore would become the "intelligent island-state" of the Asia-Pacific region by the year 2000. Today, with virtually all households and businesses connected to broadband and more than two-thirds of the population computer-literate, Singaporeans are considered more tech-savvy than Americans, Britons, or Australians. With relatively few regulatory restraints compared to traditional media, the Internet has enabled individuals and groups to create websites or blogs to publicize their own agendas. This unlegislated shift in the media regime has also led to a mushrooming of alternative online media in Singapore.

The potential use of the Internet for alternative discourse was neutralized, however, by a series of laws and self-regulatory codes aimed at controlling political use of the Internet. As early as 1996, the authorities introduced a raft of regulatory guidelines to ensure that online "prohibited material"—defined as "material that is objectionable on the grounds of public interest, public morality, public order, public security, national harmony, or is otherwise prohibited by applicable Singapore laws"—were minimized or restricted (Lee 2002). In addition, a decision was made in 1997 to block 100 pornographic sites via the proxy servers of mass Internet service providers in Singapore. Although this was clearly censorship, the government softened its

impact by arguing that this was really a moral gesture to demonstrate Singapore's societal conservatism and was not politically motivated.

The infamous 100 blocked sites remain blocked and are updated by the MDA periodically to ensure their currency. Still, the effectiveness of such rulemakings have declined with the proliferation of blogs, social networking sites, and video/file-sharing websites simply because they are difficult to police. Being a globally minded technologically deterministic society, it is likely that any future changes to media and journalism in Singapore will come from the digital realm.

Terence Lee

See also Asia, Central, South, and East; China; Hong Kong; India

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Social Movements and Journalism

Social movements have relied heavily on news media not only to publicize their missions and goals but to create positive attitudes and opinions from the public. However, mainstream news media have often portrayed social movements as marginal or even deviant groups. As information and communication technologies (ICTs) develop, the relationship between journalism and social movements become more complex than ever before. The Internet age has empowered social movements to frame issues and publicize their activities without relying on major news media. Furthermore, the Internet has allowed ordinary citizens to report on movement-related issues through blogs, electronic bulletin boards, and online discussion forums using text, audio, and video formats. This ability of citizens to easily transmit and receive news and information without the media filter has transformed the relationship between journalism and social movements.

News Media and Social Movements

Inasmuch as social pressure groups seek to mobilize people who support their objectives and build networks among other groups, they need effective and efficient methods of communication. Communicating face-to-face and disseminating posters or distributing fliers take time, money, and manpower. Mass media, such as newspapers, radio, and television, have historically played vital roles in mobilizing people and forming networks. Given the powerful impact of media on the public's perception and attitude toward public affairs and issues, media can be the most influential means of mobilizing public support. To draw news media attention, social pressure groups have often created events, such as protests and demonstrations that fit the news media's desire to dramatize them with conflict and tension. Furthermore, news coverage has focused more on protesters' appearance and actions than on their core messages and themes.

As an agent for social control, mainstream news coverage of social movements tends to rely on the degree to which a given movement challenges the status quo. Resource-rich groups with large amounts of financial resources and human resources (e.g., staff, members, and volunteers) may get frequent media attention, while resource-poor groups can be marginalized and decentralized due to their relative scarcity of political power. However, even resource-rich groups cannot ensure positive and sustainable news coverage because journalists depend on political and economic elites as news sources, including governmental officials, policy makers, politicians, and the military; these

individuals often have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo, thus, spinning controversial social movements in a negative way to the media and the public. This is especially apparent when radical social movements oppose the current political and social systems.

Numerous historical events demonstrate how mainstream news media portrayed and represented social movements in distorted and negative ways. For example, during the 1960s and 1970s, television news dramatized the anti–Vietnam War protestors and demonstrators by focusing on their violent actions, such as their blocking of roads and attacks on police, rather than on major goals and messages of the movements. During the early years of the gay rights movement of the 1970s and the arrival of the AIDS epidemic in the 1980s, for another example, news media continued to describe gays and/or lesbians as deviant and even criminal groups who were harmful to society. In the early twenty-first century, news media still focus more on negative and stereotypical images of gays, lesbians, bisexual, and transgender groups-a local evening newscast introducing a gay-themed story using footage of bawdy gay pride marches, for example. This type of news coverage may have a significant impact on the general public's perceptions, attitudes, and opinions toward social movements.

Technology and Social Movements

Marginalized and resource-poor movements seek alternatives independent from mainstream media and are often able to use new technologies to their advantage. For example, in the 1979 Iranian revolt, when college students seized the American Embassy in Tehran and held 52 U.S. diplomats hostage, fax machines played a vital role for students to disseminate their missions, goals, and activities. A decade later, radio (and extensive international television coverage) played a crucial role in spreading the goals of insurgents in Beijing's Tiananmen Square in 1989.

Recently, the Internet has become an effective strategic tool and a modern alternative to mainstream media. The Internet allows movement groups to build support through their own websites without any constraints, empowering social movement groups to produce their own ideas, news, strategies, and tactics—indeed, their very identity. The Internet can remove barriers to the rapid diffusion of protest goals, tactics, and strategies as it overcomes the limit of time and speed. Once a message is posted on a given website, it is immediately accessible regardless of geographic barriers and media coverage. Social movements are increasingly going global, connecting groups through online networks. In the Internet age, social movements can also be virtual, which is often called cyberactivism, Internet activism, or hactivism. Perhaps most importantly, the Internet empowers social movement groups, connecting disparate individuals and groups so that they can collectively work for or against specific entities or other groups. For example, social movement groups organized antiglobalization protests during the World Trade Organization summit in Seattle in 1999 when individuals and groups delivered news and information regarding the summit in effective and efficient manners through e-mails and websites. In turn, digital communication technologies in the antiglobalization movements enabled people to organize collective actions that attracted and influenced public opinion.

Journalism and Social Movements in a Digital Age

The relationship between journalism and social movements has become more dynamic as ITCs have empowered social movement groups to communicate directly without relying on mainstream news media. As mentioned, this can be seen in the events in Seattle in 1998, as well as in the anti–Iraq war protests in 2003 in such cities as New York, Washington, D.C., and Chicago. Through their own websites, social movements can report and deliver news and information regarding their missions/goals and activities so that they can frame the issues themselves without relying on news media and communicate directly with the general public. Movement activists and ordinary citizens who have become citizen journalists through innovative technologies, such as weblogs, wiki, and podcasting, increasingly compete with traditional and mainstream journalists. In this regard, citizen journalism may influence how the general public perceives social movements in a more supportive and positive way, in contrast to traditional journalism, which tends to marginalize and decentralize

social movements by showing radical and violent images rather than core messages of movements. This is especially true for those groups who oppose the government, such as the anti-WTO movement in Seattle in 1999 and the anti–Iraq war movements of the first decade of the 2000s.

Yet, although the Internet can be an effective and supplemental tool to mobilize people quickly with low cost and deliver information and news quickly, there is a distinct disadvantage to protest diffusion through the Internet in the sense that the Internet can provide false and misleading information. This lack of information credibility can lead to social movements being compromised rather than bolstered by the Internet. In turn, the general public may not trust the information and news put out by movement organizers.

Moreover, while the Internet plays a vital role in affecting movements' strategies and tactics, mobilizing people easily, and disseminating information quickly, mainstream media with their large (if declining) audiences are still powerful in terms of affecting movement groups' objectives and goals, which in turn can influence movements' successes. For example, MoveOn.org, a liberal and progressive political movement group, has been successfully using digital communication technologies, especially websites, to frame their activities on their own and mobilize the general public who can support their goals and missions.

Lastly, and most importantly, power and market forces, such as elite groups, big media organizations, and large corporations may hamper social movements' activities to maximize the potentials and possibilities of the Internet. In other words, those popular and visible websites by political, economic, and major news media organizations can keep people from visiting alternative movements' websites. Although the Internet can be a movement medium itself for social movement groups, it can also be a mainstream medium for elite groups, preexisting news organizations, and larger corporations. In this vein, the Internet's contributions to social movement groups should be considered within the context of the dynamic relationships among power structures, market systems, mainstream news media, and social movements.

In conclusion, ICTs have empowered social movements to create their own online media and communicate with not only members and volunteers, but also with potential donors and supporters through various technologies, such as blogs, wikis, e-mails, and social networking sites (e.g., MySpace and Facebook) without relying on mainstream news media. Nonetheless, mainstream media can impact movements' success by influencing movements' tactics, strategies, and activities, as well as by shaping the general public's attitudes, perceptions, and opinions toward social movements. As mentioned earlier, although antiwar movements have attempted to organize protests and deliver their goals and missions to the general public, mainstream media's coverage has often depicted those groups as marginalized and decentralized by dramatizing protesters and focusing more on provocative images than major issues. This competition for the public's attention between legacy media organizations and the self-generated newer media utilized by many social movements will no doubt continue as media technologies develop and more message power is put in the hands of individuals.

Seungahn Nah

See also Agenda Setting; Alternative and Underground Newspapers; Blogs and Bloggers; Citizen Journalism; Framing; Political Reporters; Polls and Public Opinion

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Social Network Websites

Except for a brief period in their nascent stage—when Meetup.com was an emergent tool designed to create community offline—social networking websites have become the venues in which young people interact in cyberspace. With their ease of access and increasing cache of tools for self-expression and communication, these sites have become one of the most popular ways for youth and others to engage each other and anyone who cares to visit a profile. While other forms of social media—such as blogs, content communities and podcasts—bring together Internet users online, only social networking websites facilitate this interaction primarily for social interaction. One of the essential characteristics of social networking websites is participation—outside of the basic support infrastructure of such sites, the content is entirely user-generated and user-aggregated. A second is community formation—networking sites form the basis of many virtual communities among friends or by commonly shared interests.

The sites allow users to create personal profiles, or pages that contain personal information about that user. Users build their own networks by linking to other profiles and inviting the creators of other profiles, in turn, to link to their own. Users maintain and update their profiles by adding new material and communicating through blogs or other posts to other members of their personal network.

Development

In the 1990s, when consumer World Wide Web technologies were still being developed, analysts spoke of the web's potential as a social connector, creating communities and bringing people together in ways never before thought possible. These idealistic conversations made their trial run with Classmates.com, established in 1995 to reunite long-lost high school friends online. After that, a handful of networking sites spun off the Classmates.com concept, but none took off in the ways that craigslist (launched in 1995), Friendster (2002), and Meetup.com (2004) did in later years. Among these sites, craigslist has grown substantially, serving primarily as an online marketplace based in major cities around the United States and the world. While it fits the networking website definition broadly with its role as social connector, it does not allow its users to create individual profiles.

Facebook was launched in 2004, initially as a space for current college friends and classmates to interact, though it has since broadened to appeal to other groups. Until 2007, the site was considered to be more "closed" than its major competitor, MySpace, which does not require a user to give accurate personal information in order to build a profile. Facebook has grown tremendously, but still plays second fiddle to MySpace, which (as this is written) by far dominates the online social networking arena.

In July 2005, when MySpace was receiving more web hits than Google, Rupert Murdoch (1931–), owner of News Corporation, purchased it for $580 million. The acquisition acknowledged young people's movement away from traditional media, as time spent online was replacing that in front of television receivers. Murdoch's strategy was to expand MySpace into overseas markets, and in November 2006, he announced a Japanese joint venture expansion. Although the site has a level of mass appeal, it has also cultivated a niche as the home of many popular music artists, who have created their own profiles on MySpace as a way of reaching tens of millions of consumers. Emerging from the Los Angeles music scene in 2003, MySpace rapidly became popular with teenagers and young adults. Users often combine streaming video and sound clips to their profiles, along with more conventional text and images. Members communicate with each other by sending messages that are posted on publicly visible bulletin boards, and profiles often list musical tastes, personal heroes, and basic personal information such as date of birth, marital status, or career.

According to a 2007 study by the Pew Internet & American Life Project, among all teens who have created a personal profile on a social networking site, 85 percent used MySpace, 7 percent used Facebook, and 1 percent used Xanga. The most popular of these by far—MySpace—had amassed 107 million members as of 2006.

By 2007, some media analysts began labeling what might be called the balkanization of online social networking. There are now an estimated several hundred networking websites, many of which cater to users who wish for more control and privacy over their networks, as well as many who are more interested in building online relationships around a niche interest. For the latter, there are sites like Dogster, which by definition weed out users who are not interested in sharing information and building a community around canine interests. It is unlikely that these specialty interest networking sites will overtake a giant like MySpace anytime soon, but they are important because they represent the desire for control over content and medium by users that was first given voice by the advent of online social networking. The diversification of networking sites has also made online networking more accessible to older users, many of whom would not have otherwise been compelled to participate in what is generally seen as a youth activity.

Privacy Concerns

Along with the rise in popularity of social networking websites among teens have been concerns about user exposure to predators. The darker side of social networking is in part due to the open nature of most of the sites, where mobility and access are essential to producing greater exposure as well as the easy expansion of individual networks.

In April 2006, MySpace took steps to warn its users against the threats of online pedophiles and other predators, who could potentially victimize users who either "friend" them or leave identifying information for any to see on their profile. The company placed warning ads on the site and announced the installment of an online security officer to patrol the site for potential predators as part of a larger campaign, which came in response to the arrests of two men who had allegedly use MySpace to meet two minors.

The Pew Internet & American Life Project study estimates that among the more than half of all American youth that go online, those between the ages of 12 and 17 have their own profiles on social networking websites. This high concentration of youth in such an anonymous setting, combined with the relative ease with which anyone can develop a personal network, is what has worried parents and advocacy groups.

Networking Websites and the Future of Journalism

Author John Pavlik writes that if newspapers are an editor's medium and broadcasting is a producer's medium, then the Internet is, if anything, a journalist's medium. Not only has the Internet embraced all the traditional storytelling tools of traditional media, but it has incorporated new tools as well, which allows journalists to tell stories with increasing dexterity. The Internet has also introduced a new degree of interactivity to journalism, in which news consumers increasingly participate in the news-creation process, and professional journalists must cater to more fragmented audiences.

Social networking websites have slowly crept into the world of online journalism as these two phenomena have burgeoned (especially the latter). In an April 13, 2005, speech in which Rupert Murdoch discussed News Corporation's purchase of MySpace, he admitted that his company had been risking the loss of a generation of news consumers who prefer not to have their news neatly packaged and presented to them in a tidy box. MySpace—a social networking site that to him represented a younger generation's preferred way of mediating information—allowed users to have control over their own media, in some cases generating it themselves. In the April speech Murdoch insisted that traditional journalists would still retain their role in the new media world he envisions, as suppliers of original content, but profile managers would have the control over its presentation and aggregation. The growing potential of revenue generated by ads sold on networking sites like MySpace indicates that networking websites could draw advertisers even further away from traditional media such as print newspapers. Although networking sites may represent a threat to traditional journalism—though this is debatable—blogs may be the online social medium representing more significant competition to news gathering as we know it.

The most recent phenomenon as these volumes went to press was the growing journalistic use of Twitter. Though infamously restricted to no more than 140 characters per message (thus calling for *very* concise writing), Twitter offered yet another way for virtually anyone to rapidly report breaking news. Whether Twitter would prove of lasting value could not be discerned by mid-2009, though its news applications appeared to be growing.

Conclusion

Social networking websites are perhaps most remarkable for their ability to foster intricate and complex webs of interaction in an increasingly fragmented culture whose digitization might otherwise hamper community-building efforts. The sites are, in many ways, a blank slate providing only the basic infrastructure necessary for facilitating users' self-expression. However, as the sites are increasingly seen as a high-potential market, the rise in advertising may turn some users away.

MySpace's explosion in popularity and Rupert Murdoch's subsequent high-profile purchase of the service illustrate the enormous hype surrounding social networking. But the medium is relatively young, and the new media landscape continues to evolve rapidly. The rise in user-generated content and the interest in virtual communities, however, appear to be two trends that will contribute to the changing definition of journalism and media more broadly. Indeed, social networking sites were one of the Internet's first significant attempts to bring virtual communities and journalism together.

Jesse Holcomb

See also Advertising; Blogs and Bloggers; Chat Rooms; Citizen Journalism; Editing, Online and Digital; Internet Impact on Media; News Aggregators

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Sound Bites

A sound bite is an audio snippet (often a phrase or sentence) excerpted from a longer quotation, speech, or interview. They are most often heard from political figures but can be used for anyone of interest to the media. By definition, a sound bite lacks context, save what a program announcer, anchor, or host provides. Insertion of sound bites into news broadcasts, while a valuable way of adding variety and reality, is also susceptible to manipulation and requires ethical decision making on the part of news media. Politicians and others in public life quickly learn to produce on-demand sound bites during media interviews as they make it more likely their words will be used on the air.

Most often a short phrase or sentence, a sound bite captures the essence of what the speaker is saying. Such moments stay in the listener's memory and serve as a sample of the larger message. Put another way, the best ones hit home. They may be off-the-cuff remarks or carefully preplanned. Broadcast and cable make heavy use of sound bites and they are increasingly evident on the Internet as well. And they can have negative repercussions for unwary political candidates or show business figures where a momentary comment can haunt a speaker. Senator George Allen (R-VA) learned this in 2006 when an offhanded racist comment became a widely distributed sound bite which helped cost him re-election.

The abbreviating trend in political candidate sound bite use shows up clearly in network evening newscast statistics. In covering presidential elections, 1968 newscasts used campaign speech sound bites averaging 43 seconds in length (easily a paragraph and often longer); by the 1972 race, that figure had dropped sharply to 25 seconds; it declined further to less than 10 seconds by 1984; and under 8 seconds (a short sentence or phrase) by 1992. It

has stayed about the same in elections since. The process of using tinier sound bites contributed to personality-based coverage that stressed the "horse race" aspect of campaigns, as it was extremely difficult to say much of substance about issues in such brief snippets. On the other hand, by the early 2000s, broadcast networks often provided longer excerpts on their affiliated cable channels or posted them online.

Political sound bites are but one part of a larger trend—the ever shorter story on most television newscasts. Audiences were presumed to have short attention spans, and thus stories needed to be "punched up" with visual and sound reality material while still being kept very short. By the early 2000s, a news story of three minutes would be unusual on the television network evening newscasts. In this sense, the use of sound bites merely parallels other trends to brevity in television (including more widespread use of short commercials—ten seconds or even shorter—to squeeze more in and cut the costs of each individual spot). Television news stories are getting shorter, the number of different visual elements (and sometimes sound bites) has increased, and the result is a faster-paced news program.

Two older examples of the staying power of a sound bite demonstrate the value of using the right words at the right time and place. In a speech delivered by then–Federal Communications Commission Chairman Newton Minnow early in 1961—otherwise forgotten today—he described commercial television as "a vast wasteland" and the term stuck. Likewise a political speech of some complexity can be reduced to a handful of words—the term *iron curtain* was not original to Winston Churchill, but when he used it deftly in a March 1946 speech, it soon became a description of the cold war divide in Europe.

The increasing use of sound bites—and their diminishing length—is the result of several factors. They are a product of a decline in listener and viewer attention span. They can help capture the essence of what someone is saying by briefly summarizing a longer statement. Stations and networks often prefer their own analysis to candidate oratory. Politics seem to interest fewer listeners and viewers, and thus stories are compressed to make way for other news. And technology has lent assistance. The switch from film to videotape made editing tiny sound bites far easier. Use of visual captions can identify a speaker without taking valuable extra air time to do it aurally. Digital recording and editing methods make sound or image bits even easier to produce and distribute.

The term *sound bite* can also mean very different things, far removed from journalism. A sound bite can refer to natural sounds (such as a busy street, waves on a beach, or a thunderstorm) that may be used as background for an onsite report or simply as standalone effects. They can be excerpts from motion picture or video soundtracks or musical works, old radio shows, or even bits of audio recordings of print media. Indeed, collections of sound bites are often packaged and sold. While by definition the term usually refers to audio, it has also been applied to visual bites, or even to restaurant reviews.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Cartoonists, Political; Government, Federal, Coverage of; Government, State and Local, Coverage of; Political Reporters; Presidents, Coverage of; Satirists, Political; Talk and News Radio

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South America

Journalism in South America encompasses myriad forms and functions, making simple generalizations impossible. Instead, the development of the profession in the region has been influenced by such diffuse factors as competing press models, shifts in media economies, diverse audiences, changing regulatory environments, political instability, and emergence of new technologies, among others. Numerous problems exist for the practice of journalism according to Western standards of a free press, but advancements in the form of dramatic developments in communication technologies, growth of professional associations, and educational opportunities hold promise for the future.

Access and Audiences

According to the United Nations, the population of South America in 2007 was over 373 million, with Brazil (186.8 million), Colombia (44.9 million), and Argentina (38.7 million) forming the most populated countries. More than three-fourths of the continent's populations live in urban areas, with that figure even higher in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Ecuador have somewhat larger rural populations, comparatively. Geographical location, language, literacy, and income, among other variables, have implications for audience access to media. Poorer and rural populations tend to depend more on broadcasting for news and entertainment, and radio and television have provided both in areas plagued by higher rates of poverty and illiteracy. Communications researcher Joseph Straubhaar describes other recent trends in programming: initially dependent on imported programming from developed countries, more South American prime-time broadcast material is now locally or regionally produced; and *telenovelas*—dramatic soap operas now exported worldwide—and reality show programming are especially popular.

Since the 1990s, pay television has also grown considerably, especially among the urban middle- and upper-middle classes. High penetration of pay television is seen in Argentina, which has higher rates of cable subscribers than the rest of South America. Writer John Sinclair attributes the success of cable television in Argentina in part to the government-mandated lack of networks in the country initially put in place in order to tighten controls over content. Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, and Chile also historically boasted significant audiences for print media, as newspapers played important roles in those countries. But over-the-air broadcasting remained the medium of choice for many throughout South America, as poorer sectors of the population tended to be restricted from print or cable offerings by the cost, literacy rates, limited circulation, infrastructure, or language. Most mainstream print or television products in South America exist in Spanish, with the notable exceptions of Portuguese-language media in Brazil, English in Guyana, Dutch in Surinam, and French in French Guiana, among others. Pay television offerings have English-language channels, as well. However, sizeable indigenous populations speak other languages or live in remote areas and therefore can be more limited in their media options.

Access to Internet technologies also remains, for the most part, a luxury reserved for urban middle- and upper-classes, as Straubhaar discusses. Poor infrastructure to rural areas and costs are associated with fewer home Internet connections. However, since the late 1990s, Internet use has increased in Latin American nations, notably Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina. For those who can afford to use them, Internet cafes are increasingly common across much of South America, particularly in urban areas. However, a 2008 report issued by the World Economic Forum observed that various Latin American nations—among them, Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Peru, and Venezuela—have fallen in rankings measuring access and investment in Internet technologies and infrastructure, in comparison to efforts in other countries.

Changing Press Models

Journalism has a long history in South America. While forms of mass communication existed before colonial powers arrived, as writer Leonardo Ferreira discusses, by the late nineteenth century most South American nations had established Spanish- and Portuguese-language presses.

Hybrid press models would emerge and blend in South America during much of the twentieth century. As researcher Silvio Waisbord discusses, one model was in the tradition of European partisan press, where journalists acted as advocates for particular political or ideological perspectives, infusing articles with opinion, rather than remaining neutral observers. Here, journalists had "missions": to espouse certain political views, earn public support for a government or political party, and promote or interpret certain political realities. Political conflicts played out on front pages, or could even birth new outlets, as Waisbord notes was the case in Colombia, including *El Espectador* in 1887 and *El Tiempo* in 1911. Political leaders became publishers and editors, such as Argentinian Bartolome Mitre of *La Nación*. The idea of journalists as active advocates or political militants continues to some extent, in various parts of Latin America. Outlets directly tied to partisan interests and transparent in their ideological loyalties exist among South American newspapers and broadcasters, particularly in countries where political parties are strong, as in Colombia and Uruguay. However, by the early twentieth century, another model had arrived to the continent.

The second model of journalism adhered more to one seen in the United States, where the emphasis was on a complete separation from official influence over content, and toward an "objective," information-centered style of reporting. In comparison to the partisan model, in this sense newspapers were commercial enterprises geared for mass audiences, rather than select sectors. Waisbord discusses how this model arrived on the heels of global transformation, as a wave of globalization swept Latin American countries. New communication technologies and media services—such as photography, film, and wire services—and reorganization of newsrooms pushed transformation, as did a shift toward commercial logics to maximize audiences. At the same time, a growing middle class, emerging private sector, and spread of market research influenced adoption of a business model. Various newspapers shifted to a version of this model, including Argentina's *La Nación,* Chile's *El Mercurio, O Estado de São Paulo* of Brazil, and *El Comercio* of Peru.

However, in South American newsrooms, the U.S. model of the journalist as an impartial purveyor of objective information did not fully consolidate. The state remained an important variable in how journalists and media professionals could ply their professions. Media organizations' abilities to survive without important government subsidies and favorable regulatory decision making in the face of limited market potential and economic and political upheaval was precarious. After various Latin American nations began nationalizing important advertising sectors, such as telephones, airlines, electric companies, mining industries, and others, the state had more financial control over media. Democratic instability could mean contentious relations with various governments, and those who found their editorial line at odds with regime leaders could find their organization censured or closed, as was the case with *La Prensa* and Argentine President Juan Perón's administration in the early 1950s. Other times, media executives formed tight relations with political actors, in the name of partisanship, national security, and economic policy. During the Salvador Allende presidency in Chile in the early 1970s, the daily *El Mercurio* called for the overthrow of the President. In Brazil, top newspapers supported a 1964 coup d'état.

Journalism Education and Licensing

Initial journalism education in Latin America also reflected differing perspectives. Scholars have shown how some public universities, more oriented toward European counterparts, emphasized liberal arts education based on humanities and social sciences, while some private Catholic programs offered more skills-based courses in order to ameliorate societal problems by bringing them to public attention. Argentina and Brazil were among the first nations in Latin America to offer courses in journalism, with programs initiated in Buenos Aires and La Plata in 1934 and courses offered by the Federal University in Rio de Janeiro a year later.

Two nongovernmental regional organizations with interests in journalism and education are the International Center of Higher Journalism Studies for Latin America (CIESPAL) and the Latin American Federation of Social Communication Programs (FELAFACS). In 1959, what would become CIESPAL was established in Quito, Ecuador, to promote the professional and educational advancement of journalism in Latin

America. The center reflected the split between skills training and social communication. At CIESPAL, the emphasis shifted from more skills-based training to be more in line with the model of nonskills training, with an emphasis on critical teachings on social responsibility by the 1970s. By the 1990s, however, CIESPAL was balancing those aspects with a return to professional training, following the U.S. model of journalism education. Conversely, skills training had returned to the forefront in some cases, such as Brazil, during military regimes, when leaders emphasized skills in terms of national economic development, or as nations sought "modernization."

By the 1990s, the number of university programs in communication, as well as students in both skills-based and social communication programs, had significantly increased. Founded in 1981, FELAFACS was formed to support teaching and professional practice. The federation supports research and development, provides resources and otherwise foments communication programs in Latin America. Currently, it counts with hundreds of affiliates.

In some Latin American countries, in order to practice journalism, journalists were required to become a member of a professional organization or to have a journalism degree from certain "recognized" universities, something known as "colegios." By 1993, such policies were enacted in various nations, including Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Peru, and Venezuela, even if they were not always in force, as writer Jerry Knudson notes.

Alternative and Community Media

In contrast to mainstream media, South America's alternative presses have functioned under various types of regimes in previous decades, as alternative voices to the political, economic, or social "dominant orders," as Waisbord described them. He notes how these publications initiated investigative reporting into areas where mainstream players feared to tread. One of the most famous journalists was Argentine Rudolfo Walsh, who gained fame, in part, with his reports on politically motivated killings.

Community radio networks in Bolivia owned or affiliated with mining unions or miners have served important functions in regions where geography, poverty, and illiteracy affect media access. In Venezuela, community broadcast media have flourished, and steps to grant them legalized status or licenses have increased in recent years. Various Chilean radio stations played important roles before and during the transition to democratic rule, providing dissenting voices and opposing views to that of the dictatorship.

Watchdog Journalism

One important shift that occurred in South American journalism in the late twentieth century was the shift of watchdog reporting to mainstream media. Watchdog media are those that critically scrutinize events, issues, and power actors to publish information others would not want in the public eye. In regions struggling with deep inequality, a weak rule of law, and ongoing political or economic instability, such reporting has important roles in ongoing processes of democratization. Watchdog media have brought attention to human rights abuses and broaches of civil liberties, high level corruption, mismanagement, and other wrongdoing. Such reporting can lead to government investigation, judiciary proceedings, resignations, or jail time for those found guilty.

Waisbord chronicled various examples of watchdog reporting in South America, including: reporting by Peruvian newsweeklies such as *Caretas* on high-level corruption and state-sanctioned killings in the 1980s and 1990s (others implicated the administration of then-President Alan García in fraud); Brazil's *Folha de São Paulo*'s coverage of high level corruption, plans to buy votes toward presidential reelection, and payoffs in construction of a railway; Argentine media coverage of official involvement in human rights abuses, illegal weapons sales, and homicide within military ranks; and reports from Colombian outlets like *El Espectador* and *Cambio 16* on terrorism wreaked by paramilitary forces and drug cartels, and secret dealings between those forces and public officials.

Observers of Latin American journalism attribute the emergence of muckraking and more assertive forms of reporting in the region to influences operating simultaneously within, between, and external to newsrooms. Increases in private sector advertising, decreases in partisan direct controls, and continuing democratization allowed space to report on official misconduct. As audiences

responded to publications of scandals, market competition increased, spurring further publication of official misdeeds. Politicians noted the growing importance of such stories in election outcomes, and strategic release of information could work to derail opponents or lend a hand to allies. In other cases, journalists' focus on public sphere values changed newsrooms. These "newsroom entrepreneurs," in writer Sallie Hughes's words, steered newsroom coverage in new directions; organizational ideologies influenced reporting toward, or conversely, away from particular political and economic power actors.

In recent years, some have noted declines in watchdog performance in various respects, attributing them, in part, to economic pressures, newsroom shifts, changes in media-state relations, personnel shifts, organizational ideologies, corporate interests, and other variables.

Challenges for Free Press

The Western ideal of a press free from state bonds and located within a context of democratic institutions working in the public interest has for decades mixed with European values regarding socially responsible presses in South America. By the late twentieth century, many countries overcame periods of authoritarian rule, and direct threats to journalists (such as kidnappings and killings) faded somewhat as democratic administrations came to power. Liberal market policies prompted growth of private sector advertising, and various news organizations gained a measure of economic distance from the state.

Various scholars and watchdog groups have argued, however, that attempts to control media have shifted from direct methods to more indirect ones in recent years. Researchers Sallie Hughes and Chappell Lawson, the nongovernmental organization Freedom House, and others attribute low press freedom in Latin America to such control mechanisms as arbitrary regulation and an unwelcoming legal environment where news organizations or individuals may be easily sued in criminal court; oligarchic ownership patterns; highly concentrated private sector advertising; economic instability; varying levels of journalistic professionalism; perceived impunity for those who attack journalists; and little widespread access to alternative sources of information. All of this is exacerbated by extreme poverty and social inequality for a large part of the population.

Media organizations across much of the region have struggled with constant change in their political and economic environments. This unevenness has had implications for performance, as outlets have had to walk a fine line between, as Waisbord put it, "the rock of the state and the hard place of the market." Television was launched to further state or military interests in various countries; many also saw it as a tool for social development. In Uruguay and Chile, universities and churches owned stations mandated to promote educational and cultural goals. But broadcaster relations with the state varied, especially with changes in regime type. Military regimes in Peru and Argentina weakened commercial broadcasting and instituted direct control over content; in Brazil, close relations developed between military leaders and national broadcasters, resulting in less critical coverage of those in power. In Chile, administrators appointed by the military regime held key positions in governing television programming. By the 1980s and 1990s, deregulation and privatization liberalized media markets and broadcasting became more market oriented. But states still retained various means of media control, even with extensive privatization and deregulation. Regulation may give the state political control over media, including broadcast licensing, permit requirements, content restrictions, tariffs on technology, and taxation, and in some cases, with little public input.

Legislation to control media content—such as criminal libel laws or "insult" laws—remains in effect in various parts of Latin America and can be used to silence those who criticize powerful actors. Most Latin American nations punish libel as a criminal offense; according to the Committee to Protect Journalists, journalists were convicted of defamation in Uruguay, Peru, and Ecuador in 2007. In some nations, perceived "insults" or affronts to dignity toward public officials can be punished in the form of *desacato* (insult) laws. Conversely, legal infrastructure to protect or aid journalists is too often superficial, or lacking altogether. Shield laws, or legislation that protects journalists from revealing confidential sources, may not be in force, or if they are, could mean expensive court proceedings. Legislation and initiatives to provide access to

public information have expanded in recent years, yet actual compliance is, in various cases, not fully realized or enforced. State officials may still deny requests for information or ignore them altogether, and the strategic use of state information for particular benefit remains systemic in Latin America. Journalists often must depend on personal relationships for information, rather than access to databases or records. In Venezuela, President Hugo Chavez's contentious relationship with the country's private media has resulted in a stricter legal environment for journalists and an expanded state role in media. Chavez's administrations have increased punitive measures for breaking *desacato* laws, substantially increased spending in state media, and expanded a law of "social responsibility" that limits media content decisions, including mandated transmission of official messages by broadcasters.

Concentrated massive holdings in the hands of a few families or corporations were, in many cases, the consequence of tight media-state relations over a period of time, as Hughes and Lawson describe. In terms of ownership patterns, the South American media landscape is dominated by a few corporate giants, like Globo in Brazil, Venevisión of Venezuela and Grupo Clarín in Argentina. In the case of Globo, relationships between broadcasters and political leaders allowed it to become one of the dominant players in the hemisphere, as it tempered critical content and censored oppositional voices for years, while currying favor with authoritarian leaders. Grupo Clarín rose from the initial holding of the Argentine newspaper, *Clarín,* eventually diversifying holdings into print, broadcast, pay television, distribution, transmission, and production outlets, among others.

By the time democratic rule returned to Chile in the 1990s, writer Rosalind Bresnahan described the presence of an "impressive array of independent media" existing in the country. However, scholars charge that the newly democratic Chilean state failed to support these diverse voices, awarding state advertising primarily to outlets aligned with official views, and with few constraints on ownership concentration, cross-ownership, and foreign investment. Licensing requirements impeded development of independent broadcast voices, as the required technical report for a license was expensive and something smaller independent entities could rarely afford. In several cases, advisors to Pinochet utilized their elite positions in a central state-owned bank to take over ownership of important newspapers and magazines.

Proponents of Internet expansion into developing countries argue that this technology will mitigate inequality by giving more people access to diverse information. But while some countries have been able to facilitate Internet access, what has been done has not significantly closed the digital divide in Latin America. Monopolistic holdings in communication and information industries, controlling major portions of broadcast media, print, pay television, or Internet, can have implications for content or access. Those who can afford Internet access or cable or satellite television subscriptions, and speak English, Spanish, or Portuguese, can readily find alternative news sources. But those who speak traditional indigenous languages or live in areas with less access to media technology infrastructure, lower literacy rates, higher poverty rates, and less education represent significant pockets of South America that are poorly served by increasing media offerings. Such populations can depend on local, community-based radio stations that sometimes operate without official sanction (such as licenses), and they are threatened by so-called market reforms and media concentration.

Importantly, Latin America can be a dangerous place to be a journalist. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), instances of attacks against media professionals continue in Latin America, with few aggressors brought to justice. Recent instances of attacks in South America have occurred, according to the CPJ. Among their other examples: In Brazil, two reporters and their driver were kidnapped and tortured in 2008 while working in a neighborhood of Rio de Janeiro. In Bolivia in 2008, journalists were attacked by both pro-government and opposition factions, and one reporter for a state-run radio station died after being beaten by protestors. By the end of 2008, the CPJ had ranked Colombia and Mexico among the top places in the world for impunity of those who attack journalists.

Further, disparate journalistic standards and training affects how well information is conveyed. Lack of access to formal training in new technologies or education including emphasis on normative principles, can be problematic. Low salaries and long hours compound the problem. Alleged reports of journalistic corruption in the region, in the

forms of bowing to pressure to temper critical content, self-censor, or engage in other ethical compromises, have surfaced periodically.

Conclusion

Journalism in South America remains a mix of influences, subject to the seemingly constant flux of political and economic environments, publishing for disparate audiences mired in deep inequality, and sometimes in the face of limited access to educational and training opportunities or to newer communication technologies. More recent turns to democratic governance and market policies throughout South America have reduced somewhat the direct influence of the state in media function, but most governments retain strong forms of control over media enterprises. Ongoing processes of ownership concentration continue to place media holdings in the hands of a few corporations, a trend seen in other regions of the world. Although newer communication technologies have been made available throughout the continent, access to those media is often limited by geography, language, income, or education. These factors pose significant challenges for a substantial portion of the region's population. A weak rule of law that plagues the region has implications and import for media function, particularly when it comes to investigations into illicit dealings.

South American journalists have managed to overcome formidable challenges in presenting information in the public interest. Exposure of high-level instances of corruption, abuses of human rights, reports on ties between *narcotraficantes* and public officials, and fraud continue, even when such publication has resulted in physical retaliation against journalists. And in perhaps the most positive sign, journalism and mass communication programs continue to draw interest among Latin American students. FELAFACS cites continued growth of and interest in programs of communication, social communication, and journalism in Latin American universities and colleges.

Juliet Gill Pinto

See also Central America and the Caribbean; Comparative Models of Journalism; Development Journalism; Mexico

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Special Interest Journalism Organizations

As noted elsewhere, journalists are joiners. Perhaps nowhere is that more evident than among the host of specialized journalism organizations—essentially those not covered in other organizational entries. It seems there is hardly a professional journalism role that does not boast at least one association for the sharing of ideas, best practices, and concerns about policy or economic incursions into the work of members.

Some of the groups noted below have formed because they could not join existing organizations. This was true of several women's journalism groups that were controlled by and limited to male membership for decades. Likewise, photographers came together in two different groups in the mid-1940s to seek more overt recognition for the creative efforts of their members in an era when photographs were rarely credited. So did editorial cartoonists, the most famous of whom were widely recognized and could thus help form an association to support the efforts of other cartoonists. Both the American Meteorological Society (AMS) and the National Weather Association (NWA) have certified broadcast meteorologists. As of 2008, nearly a thousand television weather people had been certified by the AMS; starting in 2009, they will issue Certified Broadcast Meteorologist certifications that stations can display. Some groups helped small professional subgroups—ombudsmen are one example—seek comfort and support from others scattered across many markets.

The well-known National Press Club of Washington, D.C., began more as a social gathering place, eventually becoming both an important source of news and a model for countless other similar groups in other cities. It also reflected the social pressures on journalism (and American society generally) which led to very public controversies about the admission of black and later female journalists to its membership roles. Its debates and eventual admission decisions were widely reported simply because of the club's visibility across the capital city and the country at large.

As media change, so do the organizations serving them. The Society of Newspaper Design dropped the "paper" in its name as members increasingly worked across multiple media. The growing number of online journalists—some professionally recognized but many more not—created its own group to help achieve both recognition and common standards. The photographers' groups eventually admitted those doing video for television news. Several groups have formed to protect the interest of reporters and other journalists as government and technology clash and put pressure on rights of access.

The information on each association below is based largely on their individual websites.

Specialized Journalism Organizations

The groups briefly profiled here provide a sense of the wide variety of journalism interests that are represented by organized associations. One group has even cropped up to keep all the many association leaders informed of what other groups are doing. Viewed either separately or together, these groups fill two functions that are similar to those of other news-related organizations—they provide a place for interchange of common concerns and ideas, and they lobby (though few would agree to that verb) for their particular interests. The difference is that the groups described below are more focused—either on a narrow portion of the broad journalism field, or some quite specific aspect of it.

Association of Alternative Newsweeklies

The Association of Alternative Newsweeklies (AAN, http://aan.org/alternative/Aan/index) is a group of "alt-weekly" news organizations that cover every major metropolitan area and reach a print and online audience of more than 25 million in the United States and Canada. AAN was founded in Seattle in 1978 with 30 newspaper members. The 130 papers that now make up the association publish in 41 states and 4 Canadian provinces. These are not mainstream publications, but rather weeklies with a strong focus on local news, culture, and the arts; an informal and sometimes profane style; and an emphasis on strong point-of-view reporting and narrative journalism.

Association of American Editorial Cartoonists

The Association of American Editorial Cartoonists (AAEC, http://editorialcartoonists.com) promotes the interests of staff, freelance, and student editorial cartoonists in the United States. Formed in 1957 by a small group of newspaper cartoonists led by John Stampone of the *Army Times,* the AAEC was created to promote public interest in editorial page cartoons and to encourage closer contact among political cartoonists, of whom nearly 300 are members. The AAEC website offers dozens of new editorial cartoons each day, and an archive of nearly 40,000 more cartoons, most from recent months.

Council of National Journalism Organizations

The Council of National Journalism Organizations (CNJO, http://www.cnjo.org) developed in recognition that there *are* a lot of journalism groups, and that some cooperation and coordination among them would be useful. CNJO was founded in 1991 as the Council of Presidents of National Journalism Organizations to encourage the exchange of information and ideas among national news and editorial associations. By the early twenty-first century, more than 60 organizations belonged to the council, which focuses on such shared concerns as administrative efficiency of member organizations, professional development and standards, diversity in staffing and coverage, the free flow of news and information, and technological and professional innovations. The council usually meets twice annually and the The American Society of Newspaper Editors serves as its informal secretariat.

National Press Club

More than a century old and one of the best-known journalism organizations, the National Press Club (NPC, http://npc.press.org) began in 1908 as a club for journalists in the nation's capital. A success from the beginning, by 1925 the NPC began to construct its own building in downtown Washington just two blocks from the White House, including office space for Washington news bureaus with the NPC occupying its top several floors. It opened in August 1927 and was substantially modernized in the 1980s. Because the NPC was originally open only to white male journalists, the Women's National Press Club was formed in 1919. Reflecting its location and the times, only in 1955 did the NPC vote to admit African American journalists, but women had to wait until early 1971 after a long and contentious battle for their admission. NPC is best known for its newsmaker luncheon speakers who often provide headline stories. NPC membership is open to all active and former journalists, government information officers, and to those considered by journalists to be mainstream news sources. Journalists in many of the country's larger cities have since formed their own press clubs.

The Online News Association

The Online News Association (ONA, http://www.journalists.org), founded in 1999, is composed largely of professional online journalists. Its more than 1,200 members gather or produce news for digital presentation. They include news writers, producers, designers, editors, photographers, and others who produce news for publication on the Internet or other digital delivery systems. One of ONA's concerns is to achieve recognition for its members as "real" journalists amidst the growing tensions created by the steady decline in traditional newspapers.

Organization of News Ombudsmen

Formed in 1980, the Organization of News Ombudsmen (ONO, http://www.newsombudsmen.org) has a membership made up of newspaper ombudsmen worldwide. It organizes annual conferences for discussion of newspaper and other news media practices and issues connected with the often difficult task of being an ombudsman.

Photography

The long struggle for recognition of their work underlines the formation of journalistic photographic organizations. For decades, staff-provided photos appeared with little (and usually no) attribution and the profession was scarcely regarded

as such. The two major associations were founded within two years of each other, growing out of the widely respected role of photographers during World War II, when a number of them lost their lives.

American Society of Media Photographers

Founded in 1944, the American Society of Media Photographers (ASMP, http://www.asmp.org; originally the Society of Magazine Photographers) has become an important resource for community, culture, commerce, and periodicals relating to their photography. ASMP focuses on copyright protection of photos, better working conditions for photographers, combating work-for-hire practices, and providing legal advocacy and lobbying.

National Press Photographer's Association

The National Press Photographer's Association (NPPA, http://www.nppa.org) was founded in 1946. In its early years, NPPA sought to get cameras allowed into courtrooms and to improve government/media relations. NPPA hosts national and regional workshops on everything from general photography methods and motivations to television photography and technology. NPPA, with more than 8,000 members, is open to professional news photographers and others who have a direct professional relationship with photojournalism.

Women

As is discussed elsewhere, women struggled for decades to achieve recognition and parity with their male journalism colleagues. This was but one part of the larger fight for equal treatment in society at large and it took years to take hold.

Association for Women in Communications

What is now the Association for Women in Communications (AWC, http://www.womcom.org) began as the Theta Sigma Phi professional sorority before World War I. It developed into a national network during the 1930s and founded a national office in 1934. It continued to expand in the decades that followed. At its 1972 convention, it became Women in Communications, and (a bit ironically) allowed men to become active members. In 1996, Women in Communications, Inc. was replaced with The Association for Women in Communications. The wide variety of media disciplines represented within the association include print and broadcast journalism, television and radio production, film, advertising, public relations, marketing, graphic design, multi-media design, and photography.

Association for Women in Sports Media

The Association for Women in Sports Media (AWSM, http://www.awsmonline.org) is a volunteer-managed group founded in 1987 to provide support and advocacy for women working in sports writing, editing, broadcast and production, and public and media relations. By the early twenty-first century its membership included more than 400 men and women in the industry as well as students aspiring to sports media careers.

Journalism and Women Symposium

Beginning with a 1984 conference at the University of Missouri, the Journalism and Women Symposium (JAWS, http://www.jaws.org) developed into a more formal organization by the early 1990s. JAWS brings together women journalists and journalism educators and researchers to annual conferences of its several hundred members.

Policy

There are a growing number of groups concerned with the status of journalists and journalism, and that advocate for strong news values, freedom of the press, and more open access to government agencies and officials.

Committee of Concerned Journalists

The Committee of Concerned Journalists (CCJ, http://concernedjournalists.org) is a consortium of journalists, publishers, owners and academics worried about the future of the profession. Starting

in 1997, CCJ organized an ongoing examination of modern news gathering. CCJ held 21 public forums attended by 3,000 people and involving testimony from more than 300 journalists. Later it developed a college-level course to focus on its concerns about whether independent journalism can survive the bottom-line emphasis in most media amidst growing technological change.

Committee to Protect Journalists

The Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ, http://www.cpj.org) was founded in 1981 by a group of foreign correspondents to promote press freedom worldwide by defending the rights of journalists to report the news without fear of reprisal. It investigates cases of journalist harassment and punishment, of which there are more nearly every year, many in developing nations.

National Freedom of Information Coalition

What would become the National Freedom of Information Coalition (NFOIC, http://www.nfoic.org) first met in 1989 in Dallas as the National Freedom of Information Assembly. Its focus was to protect the public's (and therefore journalism's) right to know. In 1991, the group was formally renamed the National Freedom of Information Coalition. NFOIC offers annual grants to foster creation and growth of state coalitions to protect public rights to an open government, following guidelines established by the federal Freedom of Information Act.

Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press

The Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press (RCFP, http://www.rcfp.org) was created in 1970 when news media faced a wave of government subpoenas demanding that reporters name their confidential sources. The committee was a plaintiff in several early test-case lawsuits relying on the efforts of volunteer lawyers from several Washington, D.C., firms. In recent years, the RCFP has built coalitions with other media-related organizations to protect reporters' rights to keep sources confidential and to watch legislative efforts that impact the public's right to know. RCFP issues a quarterly journal and numerous publications advising reporters and editors of their varied legal rights and limitations across the 50 states.

Advertising, Marketing, and Public Relations

Growing out of most traditional news media organizations' reliance on advertising support, there may be more groups concerned with advertising than other journalism organizational categories. Some center on improved methods of advertising, while others are more concerned with ethical issues. All of them reflect the cyclical ups and downs of the advertising and advertising-supported media worlds.

Ad Council

Since its formation in 1942 as the War Advertising Council (which began with a campaign to sell government revenue-generating war bonds), the Ad Council (http://www.adcouncil.org) is the country's leading producer of public service announcements and print advertising. Among its campaigns in print and broadcasting have been those for the Red Cross, polio vaccines, various educational efforts, and preserving the environment.

American Association of Advertising Agencies

The American Association of Advertising Agencies (AAAA, http://www2.aaaa.org/Portal/Pages/default.aspx) was formed in 1917 and is the trade association of advertising agencies. Its members produce approximately 80 percent of the total advertising volume placed by agencies nationwide. Although virtually all of the large multinational agencies are members, most (60 percent) bill less than $10 million per year.

Association of National Advertisers

The Association of National Advertisers (ANA, http://www.ana.net) is the trade association of large national companies that advertise in mainstream media. ANA's membership includes 400 companies with 9,000 brands that collectively spend over $100 billion in marketing communications and advertising. ANA acts as a lobby for

these companies, while encouraging improved marketing practices.

International Newspaper Marketing Association

What became the International Newspaper Marketing Association (INMA, http://www.inma.org) was formed in 1930 and went through several interim names. By 2007, its members were improving marketing activities of newspapers. The INMA has more than 1,000 members in 70 countries, most of them senior marketing officers at daily newspapers. The organization's role has become more complex as newspapers (especially in North America) have entered a period of declining circulation and advertising.

Public Relations Society of America

Formed in 1947, the Public Relations Society of America (PRSA, http://www.prsa.org) is the world's largest public relations organization. Its nearly 21,000 members, organized into more than 100 chapters, represent business and industry, technology, counseling firms, government, associations, hospitals, schools, professional services firms, and nonprofit organizations. PRSA is active in supporting college and university courses and training in public relations practices and ethics.

Technology Focus

Several news organizations center on the professionals involved with the physical production of print and electronic media. As with other groups, they center on shared communication and some lobbying for member concerns.

Society for Technical Communication

What became the Society for Technical Communication (STC, http://www.stc.org) dates to 1953 when two organizations concerned with improving the practice of technical communication were founded: the Society of Technical Writers, and the Association of Technical Writers and Editors. They merged in 1957 to form the Society of Technical Writers and Editors. In 1960, STWE merged again, this time with the Technical Publishing Society, to become the Society of Technical Writers and Publishers. The present name was adopted in 1971. STC is the world's largest professional society dedicated to the advancement of technical journalism across all media platforms.

Society of News Design

The Society for News Design (SND, http://www.snd.org, formed in 1979 as the Society of Newspaper Design) is an international professional organization in the United States and more than 50 other countries, concerned with the design and layout of newspapers and magazines. SND started with 35 members and by the early twenty-first century had more than 2,200. It conducts newspaper design workshops and exhibitions, among other functions.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Academic Associations; Archives and Museums; Editors' Organizations; Electronic Media Organizations; Foundations, Research Centers, and Institutes; International Journalism Organizations; Investigative Journalism Organizations; News Councils; Publishers' Organizations; Reporters' Organizations

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Spin

Spin refers to the emphasis placed on a certain interpretation of an event. In journalism, spin

involves public relations (and other) professionals paid to emphasize a particular point of view, thereby seeking to manipulate or control the framing of news coverage. The practice of spinning stems primarily from public relations and marketing, though often at the expense of journalistic autonomy and fair and balanced reporting.

Origins

The term *spin* originated with the spinning of yarn or fabric, or the weaving of a tale or a story. William Safire, political columnist and former speechwriter for President Richard Nixon and Vice President Spiro Agnew, suggested in 1975 that spinning was used in the 1950s as a means of telling events; the "spin on a story." Others, including political scientist John Anthony Maltese and media researcher Jerry Palmer, attribute the beginnings of journalistic spin to the Nixon Administration's Office of Communications (1969–74), the goals of which were to ensure that the administration's political team disseminated the agreed upon "truth" so that all media received the same story. These spin goals remain top priorities for political and corporate handlers and other "spin doctors."

Public relations (PR) experts have long utilized media exposure to publicize a product or company, or to further an agenda, but spinning is more than simply a PR maneuver. Spin professionals actively seek to seize control of a story from journalists and thereby exploit media audience reach. Spin professionals seek to use news media to directly influence audiences. As politics is so determined by public opinion, spinning, or spin control, is widely employed in the management of candidates, elected officials, and political issues.

In order to emphasize positive portrayals and minimize negative or controversial aspects in media coverage, spin professionals maintain a strong relationship with news media and journalists. They provide information structured to promote the desired spin about an individual/event/company, by adhering to journalistic conventions such as story construction. To ease this process, spin professionals understand how journalists research and write stories and take advantage of that process for their clients.

Selling the Spin

All news stories are dependent on sources. Potential spin of a news story depends upon sources that are readily available, especially trustworthy, or intriguing. Spin professionals can serve as sources or can provide journalists with sources that will tell the story from the desired angle.

For spin professionals, the ongoing nature of news requires that journalists be provided with plenty of information surrounding news events to ensure that an agreeable package of news will result. Journalists experience pressure to complete multiple stories per day, work under extreme deadline pressures, and have to balance their time in checking facts, background and historical research, and interviewing sources for multiple potential news items. Providing helpful information tends to increase the likelihood of journalists with approaching deadlines and little time for their own legwork to disseminate a story as the spin professionals have constructed it.

The threshold of the story—whether the events have importance for many people—is another crucial news value utilized by spin professionals. In order to appeal to diverse audiences, stories need to be of interest to a wide variety of people. Journalists seek to make news stories unique but applicable to the larger tapestry of daily events for consumers. It is in this balance that news values and the decision of how to spin the story become exceedingly important. Spin professionals take advantage of this balance by emphasizing implications of the event(s) for the greatest number of people, increasing the importance it will have to audiences—and thus to journalists serving these audiences. Again, with spin professionals shaping the news values while providing information to journalists, thereby saving them work, it is more likely that the desired spin on new stories will be distributed "as is" through media outlets. An example of successful spinning would be the reporting on the economic stimulus package of 2008. With information from the federal government and Internal Revenue Service, journalists focused on telling taxpayers how to get their checks, amounts that could be expected, and any exemptions or special circumstances surrounding receiving payment. Less visible in the news coverage is discussion of where the money was coming

from, potential ethical issues in redistributing these finances, and the possible ramifications the stimulus package might have for the economy in the future.

Pseudoevents, or "controlled leaks" are yet another strategy of spin professionals' role in controlling media information. Pseudoevents can involve the "strategic release" of "secret" information to journalists (such as a new political platform or new direction a company might be taking) disguised as a leak in the system or even a breach in security. The salacious nature of secretive information maneuvering its way into a news item makes the issues even more newsworthy. The leak plays upon the news value of unexpectedness and titillates journalists to tell the story inherently (and likely unknowingly) created for them by the spin professionals. At times, these events occur simply in order to be broadcast and witnessed by the public. With pseudoevents, or events manufactured and publicized through media by publicists or media agents, news media become "intermediary" witnesses to the events. Therefore, these events also must be constructed to conform to the expectations of journalistic elements and news items.

For example, with the increased public sensitivity toward environmental issues and the ethical responsibilities of corporations to "go green," a company might stage a pseudoevent to draw attention to their environmental policy and utilize the news media to potentially increase attention and consumer favor. To accomplish this, spin professionals for this company might design a press release much like a news story would be constructed complete with an interesting angle (how the company is taking part in saving the earth), any important related information (what the company is doing and how they're doing it), and the relevance for audiences (audiences supporting this company are helping the company better the earth). Providing journalists with all basic story information limits the amount of legwork that needs to be done and also lessens the potential that journalists might discover that this release of company news wasn't actually news at all but a disguised advertising ploy to cater to environmentally conscious consumers through news media.

When spin professionals are constructing media releases or press conferences they must clearly set out the newsworthiness of the constructed story, describing the relevance for audiences, enhancing the rarity or novelty of the event, and also ensuring that their structure of storytelling coincides with news story construction so that journalists can easily and quickly incorporate the details into a news package. Spin professionals apply these news values to information given to journalists in an effort to ease the work of journalists and ensure that efforts to disseminate a particular spin on an event/news item will be successful.

This involvement of spin professionals in the news process has increased the sensitivity of journalists and media organizations to the ploys of press conferences, inside sources, video news releases, and contact with marketing/PR personnel in general. Since spin professionals are seeking to control and manipulate the framing of news items, it is the responsibility of news professionals to maintain control and objectivity over story angles and content and to be able to report facts to the public without the taint of public relations angles. Therefore, the relationship between public relations specialists and journalists becomes strained and both parties struggle over control of the news content. This tension forces journalists to even more critically examine sources, not just for the veracity of their statements but also for the sources' potential motivations in giving information to journalists. When journalists abandon the qualities of autonomy and objectivity, they cease to work for the public and merely become puppets furthering the agenda of spin professionals working for politicians, governments, or corporations. Considering again the stimulus package coverage, regardless of political persuasion, few journalists or media outlets tackled the larger issues related to the stimulus package and instead coverage tended to be relegated to the dissemination of the payments instead of challenging audiences to question whether this was an appropriate move for the future of the American economy.

Spin professionals working for politicians are particularly concerned with managing not only the image of the individual but also managing the agenda or the types of issues typically represented and discussed regarding the politician. One strategy might include emphasizing a stance on education, even though the politician might feel more strongly about other issues, simply because their opponent has a weak position on education and

that issue is of concern to the voting public. It is then up to spin professionals to provide statements to news media emphasizing the candidate's education platform, in turn driving stories concerning the candidate's stance on education. Since it is not easy to access politicians or CEOs of large corporations directly, journalists do rely upon spokespersons, and are thus at their mercy for the type of information given and the angles or framing of a news story. Again, a tension arises between the motive-driven professionals and the objectively stanced journalists in providing news to the public.

Journalists, aware of spin professionals' motives, should carefully scrutinize press releases, source statements, and invitations to events. Journalists have also challenged attempts to spin the news by portraying spin professionals as forces seeking to manipulate audiences by controlling news stories. An example might be spin professionals seeking to use news media to propagate their view of a highly contentious issue, such as global warming. Because global warming is so contested, journalists are wary of accepting information at face value and instead seek to form a balanced news item presenting both sides of the issue. This process makes spin attempts for these types of contested issues much less attractive for spin professionals as there remains strong criticism and strong counterarguments to both sides of the debate and their viewpoint might become lost. By focusing on attempts to exploit media, journalists aim to portray spin professionals in a poor light while remaining as champions of truth and objectivity for the public. These portrayals tend to increase a "spin cycle" of cynicism, which diminishes the level of trust audiences have in both spin and news professionals.

Framing

An important element in spinning a news story is to impact its framing. Framing emphasizes certain issues while diminishing the importance of others. Framing differs from spinning in that spin refers to overall construction of a story (whether it is told, who the sources are, and what the outcomes are) while framing is selecting the particular lens utilized to convey an angle on events. While journalists might be provided with a finely spun news item by spin professionals, the story still needs to have a frame or angle to help shape the story, such as human interest or public health consequences. It is in this construction of story frames, particularly for negative stories, that control over framing becomes contested. Spin professionals may seek to determine the frame of the story. Journalists are concerned with news values and employing a frame that emphasizes the most interesting, valuable, or even salacious aspects of a story while spin professionals remain focused on limiting damage to political or corporate reputations and promoting positive association.

For example, after a nationwide pet food recall in 2007, spin professionals for the pet food companies sought to emphasize the lack of regulation of pet food products by the Food and Drug Administration (employing a responsibility frame) and also promised manufacturers would no longer use imported products in pet food (the consequences frame). However, news media tended to focus on the human interest/emotional framing of the stories, including affected pet owners discussing how their pets became sick and died because of the pet food companies. Journalists also provided information as to what products to avoid, and about potential class action lawsuits (placing the onus back onto the companies and empowering consumers to act). Spin professionals in this instance were not only seeking to use media to explain the companies' position but also to focus the story frames on shifting responsibility and positive steps that would result from the incidents. By framing the story in human interest terms, journalists largely resisted spin attempts in this case.

In other cases, spin professionals might speak simply to the language used in news stories. This strategy seeks to ensure that journalists will use this same language so that readers and viewers will do so as well. For example, spin professionals working for a political candidate might seek to promote a potentially controversial education issue as "for the good of children." When constructing stories about the candidate, spin professionals hope that journalists will incorporate this phrase into the news piece. Then when audiences think about and form opinions regarding the candidate, "for the good of the children" becomes a positively placed salient point in their minds.

Spinning news is not a novel concept. As companies, organizations, and political parties began to understand the massive reach of news media, they

sought to utilize this tool to promote their interests. Though it is unclear precisely when spinning first became integrated into the journalistic landscape, it is clear that the involvement of spin professionals in the news process creates a tension that remains ever present and unresolved. Spin professionals still seek to control the angle, frame, and language of news items while journalists struggle to maintain objective control of the information. Overall, the most significant ramification of news spinning is the potential of audiences to become a part of the spin cycle and ultimately not only distrust corporations, organizations, politicians, and their spin doctors but also the journalists that propagate their stories. In the end, if audiences distrust involvement of spin doctors and integrity of journalists, it is questionable whether news media will have the power that they once enjoyed.

Ally Ostrowski

See also Bias; Credibility; Ethics; Framing; News Values; Objectivity; Professionalism; Video News Releases

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SPORTSCASTERS, RADIO

Traditionally, sportscasters come in two kinds: *play-by-play announcers* who call the game action and *color commentators* who add background details on plays or players during pauses in field or on-court action. At the broadcast network level, especially for football sportscasts, guests supplement the host color commentator. Most are former players or coaches, filling time by speculating on what the game coaches might do next or how the opposing team might react.

Development

Sportswriters began to summarize games and report their outcomes in late-nineteenth-century newspapers, slowly evolving their reports into game "stories." Starting in the 1920s, radio broadcasters began airing quite imaginative "live" game recreations, and as remote radio transmission improved, sportscasters began delivering actual play-by-play reports of professional baseball games and boxing matches. In the 1930s, sports over the radio were one of the few affordable entertainments, and sportscasters became easily recognized personalities for thousands and then millions of fans. Some legendary radio play-by-play announcers enjoyed careers spanning 30, 40, or 60 years, making their voices familiar to generations of Americans. Some even moved successfully into television in the 1950s.

Radio sportscasters usually announce alone or in pairs, including guests only during rain delays and other long breaks in the on-field action. A single sportscaster (or pair) often stays with a professional or college team for many seasons, and fans come to associate that voice with the home team. Unlike television, which needs fresh

content beyond what viewers can see for themselves, on radio play-by-play sportscasters fill most of the air time by reporting in detail the action on the on-field or in an arena, leaving color sportscasters to supply limited explanation, speculation, or prediction.

Sports programming remains a mainstay of network radio, and since 2000, the all-sports format has been adopted by at least one local radio station in most large cities. Such stations both broadcast over the air and stream over the Internet a mix of live games, sports talk, and sports news, adding still more voices to the flood of network and local game sportscasting of baseball, basketball, football, and hockey. On radio, telephone interviews with coaches or journalists and audience call-in programs fill many of the nongame hours. Such call-in shows encourage ordinary people to get on the air and comment on sports, coaches, and athletes, making the callers sportscasters of a sort, an aspect of the larger social phenomenon of participatory and user-controlled media. At the same time, alongside its video and audio of games, the Internet carries thousands of amateur and professional sports blogs, adding further commentary and analysis of varying quality.

Initially on radio and later on television, dozens of sportscasters achieved national renown by covering one or two teams for many decades. The most important of them were experienced professionals who changed how sports were experienced by fans and consequently influenced generations of sportcasting successors. Among the celebrity superstars of radio, a few stand out for their extraordinary influence, longevity, and expertise.

Selected Radio Sportscasters

Mel Allen (1913–96)

The Yankees were America's team for many long years, and Mel Allen was the voice of the Yankees for 25 years, beloved by millions across the country in the 1940s, 1950s, and into the 1960s. One of the second generation of nationally known sportscasters—who actually attended games rather than recreating them—Allen announced the play-by-play for dozens of World Series, including those the Yankees won, as well a dozens of All-Star Games, and college bowl games, including 14 Rose Bowls. Briefly, he also announced for the New York football Giants, but is best known for his baseball sportscasting. Trademark phrases uttered in his memorable Southern voice ("How about that!" and "Going, going, gone") have joined the all-time legends of sportscasting. His contemporaries labeled him the best play-by-play announcer ever, voting him Sportscaster of the Year for 14 years in a row. Late in his career, he hosted the syndicated highlights show, *This Week in Baseball* (1977–96), and in the 1990s, he recorded the play-by-play for two early computerized baseball games. Allen received every prestigious award for sportscasting, some many times, and alongside Red Barber, he was the first broadcaster to be inducted into the Cooperstown Baseball Hall of Fame. Allen also appears in the National Sportscasters and Sportswriters Association and Hall of Fame, the American Sportscaster Hall of Fame, and the Radio Hall of Fame.

Red Barber (1908–92)

Barber was baseball's classic announcer, broadcasting for more than six decades, making his one of the longest-ever media careers. A contemporary of Mel Allen and Ernie Harwell, Barber was among radio's most popular and influential play-by-play sportscasters, attracting huge audiences for home-team games and audiences in the tens of millions for dozens of World Series games. Best known as the voice of the Brooklyn Dodgers for more than two decades, he followed Mel Allen as play-by-play announcer for the New York Yankees and the football Giants (1954–66). Notably, he was chosen to anchor the first televised professional baseball game in 1953, but one of his most important influences on the game of baseball and the practice of sportscasting was his quiet acceptance of the first black player in major league baseball, Jackie Robinson, in his on-air announcing. For the last decade of his life, National Public Radio audiences benefited from his Friday morning commentary on sports. Like his successor-in-spirit Bob Costas, Barber continues to be recognized for his exceptionally intense preparation before games and his phenomenal memory. Unlike the flamboyance of the preceding generation of sportscasters, Barber represented

the consummate professional, exhibiting reserve and understatement rather than hyperbole even at peak moments. He instituted the kind of objective reporting of game events that is associated with professional sportscasting today. Barber and Mel Allen were the first broadcast inductees in the Cooperstown Baseball Hall of Fame. Barber also appears in the National Sportscasters and Sportswriters Hall of Fame, the American Sportscaster Hall of Fame, and the Radio Hall of Fame.

Ernie Harwell (1918–)

Harwell, who was a network radio sportscaster for many years, is nonetheless best remembered as the voice of the Detroit Tigers. After working as a sportswriter and then announcing the Atlanta Crackers, Harwell was hired in 1948 as a Dodgers fill-in announcer, and worked with such luminaries as Red Barber and Russ Hodges, announcing for the Brooklyn Dodgers, the New York Giants, and the Baltimore Orioles. In 1942, he hosted the first national radio broadcast of the Masters golf tournament, and in 1951, he called the first coast-to-coast network television broadcast of a sporting event. Although he announced several World Series and All-Star baseball games, and many football games on television, he eventually found his home in Detroit in 1960, staying for 42 years with the Tigers, with a few ups and downs in the 1990s as ownership changed. Unlike some staccato announcers and other boisterous ones, Harwell is known as a lyrical announcer, sounding more like a poet or preacher than most sportscasters. During games, he often paused to allow stadium noise to be heard, talked of the fans, and quoted poetry. His call of a home run ("That ball is looooong gone!") has moved into the lexicon of baseball sportscasting history. Harwell's style suited Detroit fans and made him the most famous man in Michigan at one time. Although he retired from the Tigers in 2002, he has since guested on ESPN, Fox Sports Network, and local stations. He has also written six books about baseball. Honored by the Baseball Hall of Fame, Harwell was also inducted into the National Sportscasters and Sportswriters Association and Hall of Fame and the Radio Hall of Fame, among his many other awards.

Graham McNamee (1888–1942)

McNamee is credited with inventing network sportscasting. For two decades beginning in 1923, he broadcast professional baseball for WEAF, the predecessor of the NBC Red network, and the first radio broadcast of a World Series. After the formation of NBC in 1926, along with political and public event coverage, he announced major tennis matches, championship boxing events, and hundreds of network baseball and college football games, including the first broadcast of a Rose Bowl. Most notably, he called the 1927 "fight of the century" between Gene Tunney and Jack Dempsey in his usual emotional and embellished fashion, an heroic style of dramatized announcing suited to audience expectations at the time. Much admired for his trained and vibrant voice, McNamee spoke with careful diction even at the heights of hyperbole, and influenced contemporary sportscasters across the nation (not necessarily for the better) while attracting many aspirants to this new kind of career. He was the first star sportscaster, generating mountains of fan mail, although he knew little about sports and treated it like news headlines. Nonetheless, in his day, a sporting or political event was known as important if McNamee was announcing it. He is credited with developing color announcing, generating celebrity status for top sportscasters, and building a national fan base for major sports. Most famous of the first generation of sportscasters, he was posthumously inducted into the National Sportscasters and Sportswriters Hall of Fame and the American Sportscasters Hall of Fame.

Lindsey Nelson (1919–95)

Nelson was known as the great storyteller, for his ability to see the patterns in game actions and to tell the story of the game or of a player's season or career. His first experiences were as a sportswriter and then a baseball game recreater (announcing after the fact) for the Liberty radio network. Beginning in 1952, Nelson produced and announced a wide variety of sports at NBC radio and television, and in 1962 he left the network to become the first voice of the New York Mets. After 17 years with the Mets, he went west for three years, serving as the San Francisco Giants announcer, and then

retired to teach at the University of Tennessee. He was elected to the Radio Hall of Fame, the National Sportscasters and Sportwriters Hall of Fame, and the American Sportscasters Hall of Fame, and he received a Lifetime Achievement Emmy Award in 1991. In these award ceremonies, Nelson was praised again and again for his honey-voiced wit, his personal and on-air charm, his accuracy in announcing, and his outstanding storytelling ability.

Bill Stern (1907–71)

Stern was also a legendary storyteller, known for his dramatic flair and outright imagination in creating details for his stories. Initially an actor, his radio career began in 1925 as a play-by-play football announcer. But he grew up in a time when fledgling sportscasters listened to game summaries over the telephone and, then for the radio audience, made up actions to fit the scoring. Later during his long career, Stern rarely felt awkward about creating events on the field that would enhance a game's story or fill in what he had missed. He often said his job was to entertain more than report perfectly. Among the lasting legends of sportscasting, he acknowledged introducing a "lateral of the football" to the correct player on the many occasions when he had reported the ball in the wrong hands. This imaginary lateral was his much-joked about solution when he finally figured out his error and realized who actually had [or had had] the ball. Stern joined NBC in 1935 as host of *The Colgate Sports Newsreel,* a popular 15-minute radio show of sports highlights and commentary, one of the first sports talk programs of any kind. He was also the sportscaster for Friday night boxing matches, and boxing commentary continued as one of his specialties well into the television era. After nearly 20 years, he left NBC for ABC to host *Bill Stern Sports* (titles vary). This 15-minute talk program consisted largely of Stern telling tall tales about sports-related events, some too fantastic to believe. Drawing on his training as an actor, he told his stories with pregnant pauses, exaggerated drama, and colorful emotion, but fans found them invariably entertaining. Stern also was sports director for the Mutual Broadcasting System during the late 1950s, and for more than a decade, his voice could be heard in movie theaters narrating MGM's *News of the Day* newsreels. Acknowledging his pioneering of sports talk radio and his wide influence as a national sportscaster, he was inducted into the Radio Hall of Fame, the National Sportscasters and Sportswriters Hall of Fame, and the American Sportscasters Hall of Fame.

Many other sportscasters had long professional and influential careers in radio, and were additional examples to be included here, it would be hard to choose among such notables as the Cubs and the White Sox's announcer Jack Brickhouse; the St. Louis Cardinal's (and CBS Radio's) Jack Buck; the old garbler Dizzy Dean; the voice of boxing great Don Dumphy; the voice of the New York Knicks, Jets, football Giants, and Yonkers Raceway Marty Glickman; and still others. In addition, many sportscasters whose radio careers took off in the 1940s crossed over into the television era.

Increasing Competition

Until recently, broadcast radio had been unique among media because it alone had the ability to reach cars and people on the move or away from their home bases. Portable radios used to be a necessity for such activities as camping, going to the beach, and get-togethers, and for many decades, radio baseball announcers could be heard on summer afternoons in many backyards and most public places. In the 1990s, satellite services extended network radio's reach but also increased competition for listeners by bringing many more audio channels and many more sports. After 2000, the spread of iPods, video cell phones, and wi-fi Internet connections brought even more competition for the public's ear. Coverage of sports has remained one of radio's major programming formats and has become crucial to its fight for survival in many cities. For the foreseeable future, radio sportscasters will continue filling essential announcing and commentating roles on the air and on the web.

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See also Sportscasters, Television; Sports Journalism; Sportswriters

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Sportcasters, Television

Sportscasters are among television's larger-than-life personalities. The very best have endured on the air across decades of ever-changing players, revolving coaches, and up-and-down seasons, reaching generation after generation of fans. But the era of great sportscasters is fast disappearing. For newcomers, becoming a giant among colleagues is unlikely because the conditions of viewing sports and thus of experiencing sportscasters have changed drastically since the 1990s.

At the network level, teams of play-by-play and color commentators accomplish the game announcing, often covering different leagues within a sport, and as the seasons change, they typically cover several different sports. Their specialties are breadth rather than focused depth, and unlike local announcers, network sportscasters generally hide personal preferences for specific teams. They can show themselves as fans of a sport, such as baseball, golf, or hockey, but cannot favor a particular team except on talk shows where they normally draw on their expertise rather than personal fan preferences. Although cable network sportscasters more often concentrate on a single sport, rather than jump from sport to sport as broadcast network sportscasters do, cable uses the same team approach, matching a high level of game-calling experience in a play-by-play announcer with player, team, and league knowledge in a color announcer. A network's inherent need to balance its game coverage creates distance from the teams and keeps fans equally at a distance from the announcing personalities.

At the local or regional level, announcers are often hired by a team or league and are expected to promote the home team. Personality counts nearly as much as expertise because sportscasters have become part of the entertainment. At the same time, shortened contracts for many local sportscasters have dissipated much of the consistency and predictability that long characterized local sports coverage, reducing fans' dependence on home announcers and thus undercutting identification with individual sportscasters.

Development of Sportscasters

Sporting events were among the very first programs carried on television, and borrowed radio sportscasters used their voices to interpret what viewers could barely see on the first black-and-white television screens. With their small, lighted arenas, boxing, roller derby, and wrestling were ideally suited to the bulky, light-demanding cameras of the 1950s, and the early television sportscasters invented highly original ways to announce, explain, and add color to the events. By the mid-1960s, color and better equipment enhanced the coverage of baseball and football, and a new group of sportscasters emerged with faces as well as voices.

ESPN was formed in 1979, showcasing television's preeminent sports program *SportsCenter*, and sports began providing all-day/everyday content for cable television. Soon, HBO delivered premium (subscription) boxing and other sports events and regional channels sprouted, and the number of sports channels has only grown. Today, sportscasters announce on Fox's more than 20 regional networks, plus its national cable sports network that carries the National Football League (NFL), Major League Baseball (MLB), and the National Association for Stock Car Auto Racing (NASCAR), along with tennis and golf. ESPN also occupies half a dozen channels of television, radio, and the Internet, with hosts and guests providing a continuous stream of sports talk and news along with live or taped games, highlights, and scores. In addition, cable networks MSNBC, TNT, TBS, and WBN carry live games, as well as the Spanish-language

Univision and Telemundo. The U.S. satellite services, DirecTV and Dish Network, each provide a dozen or more premium sports packages of football, baseball, soccer, hockey, basketball, boxing, and wrestling. All these television sports services transmit the words of hundreds of sportscasters daily—all competing for the fan's eye and ear.

As television became more flexible and sophisticated, studio and sideline announcers supplemented the traditional play-by-play and color commentators, and computerized score boxes, multiple crawls, virtual on-field symbols, and other colorful graphics added visual interest to the screen—but at the same time, they took away many of the conventional functions of sportscasters, such as saying the score, bringing up players' and teams' past performances, and giving updates on concurrent games. Nowadays, game teams—one for each of a dozen or so markets—come packaged with before and after studio commentary that typically includes former players, former coaches, and longtime sports journalists. Coverage splits for the actual games and reforms in the studio at halftime and postgame analyses. Especially on Fox NFL Sports, the national group of sportscasters hosts the entire set of games as a single event, although only one game is televised in any market.

The Big Changes

As with all media programming, the coverage of sports has been altered by economic pressures and changing technologies. In particular, four factors affecting sports consumption stand out because they have altered the role of sportscasters.

First, the number of competing sources of sporting events, and thus announcers, has proliferated. On any weekend day and most weeknights, games and sports news and talk fill dozens of channels of broadcast, cable, and satellite television; AM, FM, Internet, and satellite radio; and more recently, cell phones, iPods, and Blackberrys. When watching or listening, present-day fans commonly jump back and forth between multiple media sources, dividing their sports consumption among multiple sources over their lifetimes, thus feeling far less involvement even with preferred event announcers than in the pre-remote control past.

Second, teams and leagues continually switch their media affiliations. It used to be that NFL football—the most popular televised sport of all—always appeared alternately on just two of the largest broadcasting networks. Horseracing and car racing were only on ABC. In the past a single radio station would carry a local team's basketball or baseball games for years on end and consider that sport an integral part of its image. Today, however, national and regional leagues change networks almost annually, and individual games appear unpredictably on broadcast and cable channels (fans must scour the TV listings to keep up). Because network sportscasters are employees of the networks, when the National Football League or the Olympics or some other sports league switches networks, the games or events get new announcers. Long-term stability no longer characterizes either national or local sports media and sports announcing.

Third, games and events can be viewed without sound. Much television is consumed virtually soundlessly via hand-held media or office computers and in such public places as bars, clubs, offices, and restaurants. On-screen graphics supply the information that once came from sportscasters. Even home viewing of sports often occurs in groups where conversation takes priority over listening. Subtitling has become the norm in public locations and during many private parties, so that the "sports announcing" is communicated largely by means of abbreviated words captioned on the screen. Announcer personalities are lost in the anonymity of soundless and computerized television.

Fourth, television programs have shorter life spans. The longest-running television sports program, *Wide World of Sports,* aired for more than four decades but is now gone. *The George Michaels Sports Machine,* a classic, has faded away. ESPN's daily *SportsCenter* commands center stage, but it follows a news wheel format of scores and highlights and seems surrounded by an ever-shifting array of talk series. Fans have too many choices—in sports as well as other programming—and all types of hit television programs now have lives measured in a few seasons rather than the decades of their predecessors.

Future groups of sportscasters may be as informed, articulate, and personable as their predecessors, but because the sports scene has expanded from handfuls of stations and just three broadcast networks to dozens of broadcast and

cable television channels supplemented by the Internet in a wild tumble of multiple competing, conflicting, and repeating voices, building the giant fan bases of earlier times has become nearly impossible for the newest sportscasters.

Selected Television Sportscasters

The true giants of sportscasting have been loved (or cordially hated) by fans in the tens of millions. These are the legendary sportscasters who set the standards against which others are measured. All exhibit longevity, exceptional expertise, national popularity, and uncommon influence, as evidenced by large audiences, celebrity status, and major awards from peers.

Harry Caray (1920–98)

Caray is fondly remembered at the entrance to Chicago's Wrigley Field in a larger-than-life-size statue holding a beer can and waving at the fans. Although he had 25 years as the popular radio sportscaster of the St. Louis Cardinals and spent 11 seasons broadcasting the Chicago White Sox, the world best remembers him as the exuberant play-by-play announcer of the Chicago Cubs. Known as the fan's fan, he probably became so popular because he announced the "Cubbies" during the early television era. His appeal reached across television screens to fans at home, and they could see him waving, singing, and generally exhibiting the oversize personality they came to adore. Caray became a bigger draw than the perennially losing Cubs because he made it fun to be a fan, even of a losing team. His criticisms of management and players stirred up controversy, but his optimism season after season helped fans keep rooting (and watching). Repeated surveys showed that baseball fans wanted to drink a beer and talk baseball with him more than with any other sportscaster. His contemporaries inducted him into the Baseball Hall of Fame, the American Sportscasters Hall of Fame, the Radio Hall of Fame, and the National Sportscasters and Sportswriters Hall of Fame.

Howard Cosell (1918–95)

Cosell, the unforgettable iconoclast of American television, had an indelible influence on sportscasting. Trained in law, Cosell became a journalistic pundit whose topic was sports, particularly boxing and football. His exceptionally erudite commentary took the issues he addressed far beyond the world of sport, and he fearlessly tackled the controversies of his day. In particular, he vocally supported Muhammad Ali at a time when it was highly controversial for a sportscaster to boost a black athlete. Roone Arledge (1931–2002) hired him as a commentator for ABC's *Monday Night Football,* where he analyzed and criticized sports management and athletes for 13 years, raising such contentious issues as players' off the field behavior and the lack of effort they put into unimportant games in order to avoid injury, topics not normally fodder for bland network sportscasting. His abrasive personality made him "the sportscaster fans loved to hate," but viewers by the millions tuned in to hear what he would say, and the issues he raised often became the topics of the next day's sports news. During tense moments in a network football game, viewers unexpectedly heard Cosell announce John Lennon's murder, and he then pointed out to diehard football fans that "this was just a football game" while truly momentous things were going on elsewhere. He also was a field reporter for several Olympics; called horse racing and major league baseball games; hosted a television talk show, *ABC Sportsbeat*; and had his own radio talk show, *Speaking of Everything.* He wrote several books, among them *Like It Is* (1974) and *I Never Played the Game* (1985), in which he coined the word "jockocracy" to describe television's custom of making ex-players into color commentators, a practice he despised because he thought most players untrained and unprepared for the job. In part because of his distinctive voice and his abrupt speaking style, Cosell was the subject of thousands of jokes and imitations during his lifetime. He was so well known he portrayed himself in several movies and was the subject of a 60-minute television biography. At the same time, he was widely respected by his peers for pioneering serious sports journalism. In addition to receiving several Emmy awards and other honors, Cosell appears in the National Sportscasters and Sportswriters Hall of Fame and the American Sportscaster Hall of Fame.

Bob Costas (1952–)

Costas is known as a perfectionist sportscaster, recognized by fans and peers for his phenomenal memory and exhaustive preparation before games and sports anchoring. He is widely quoted as a sports authority, especially on the topic of baseball, his particular love, about which he wrote the best-selling *Fair Ball: A Fan's Case for Baseball* (New York: Random House, 2000). After 7 years at KMOX Radio broadcasting St. Louis Spirits games, he moved to NBC, where for nearly 30 years, he was in-studio host for National Football League coverage; play-by-play announcer for National Basketball Association Finals and Major League Baseball games; and anchor of pre- and postgame NFL broadcasts, Super Bowls, the World Series, and All-Star games. He became world famous for his insightful hosting of seven (to date) NBC Olympics. He is known for shutting himself away for weeks of preparation before a big event, emulating his ABC Olympic predecessor, Jim McKay. In addition to game sportscasting on NBC, the formidable Costas hosted his own television sports talk shows, *Later with Bob Costas* as well as *Football Night in America,* and on HBO he anchored *Inside the NFL* and *On the Record with Bob Costas* (renamed *Costas Now*). He also filled in as host on *Larry King Live* in 2005. He has been awarded nearly 20 Emmys for his outstanding broadcasting, sportscasting, and sportswriting; received a Curt Gowdy Award for his baseball sportscasting; and was honored eight times as Sportscaster of the Year, placing him in the National Sportscasters and Sportswriters Hall of Fame. Loyola College in Maryland gave him an honorary doctorate in humane letters, an unusual award for a sportscaster. And his career is far from over.

Curt Gowdy (1920–2006)

Gowdy was a classic network generalist, sportscasting all major network sports in the pre-cable era and serving as NBC's premier announcer from the 1960s into the mid-1980s. He started in big-time sportscasting as partner to New York's long beloved Mel Allen (1913–96) in 1949, and then he became the voice of the Boston Red Sox for 15 years. Nicknamed the Cowboy, Gowdy exhibited exceptional versatility as NBC's lead play-by-play announcer for network football and baseball, as well as a wide range of sports, gaining an additional nickname as the "broadcaster of everything." In his soft, unemotional, and rather gravelly voice, he called dozens of college basketball championships, Rose Bowls, Super Bowls, and the World Series, and worked on eight Olympics, along with a hectic schedule of regular and postseason NBC games. He most loved hosting *The American Sportsman* on ABC, a genial, slow-paced program about fishing and hunting. For 20 years, it featured Gowdy and a celebrity outdoorsman tramping around and talking while fishing or hunting in beautiful wilderness locations, often in his native Wyoming. He retired from regular broadcasting when the show was canceled. In his later years, he produced and hosted *The Way It Was* and was a commentator for *Inside the NFL*. He wrote two books, *Cowboy at the Mike* (1966) with Al Hirshberg, and *Seasons to Remember: The Way It Was in American Sports, 1945–1960* (1993) with John Powers. Gowdy was the first sportscaster to receive a Peabody Award for excellence in broadcasting. He was also given the Pete Rozelle Award and a Lifetime Achievement Emmy. He appears in the National Sportscasters and Sportswriters Hall of Fame, American Sportscasters Hall of Fame, National Baseball Hall of Fame, American Football League Hall of Fame, and more than a dozen other halls of fame, and a Wyoming state park was named after him.

John Madden (1936–)

Madden has a gargantuan personality that has fostered many nicknames: the Telestrator-Magician, America's Biggest Commuter, the Road Warrior, and, owing to the ubiquity of one particular endorsement deal, the Voice of Ace Hardware. After a successful career as head football coach of the Oakland Raiders (capturing the highest winning percentage in football history), he turned to broadcasting professional football, serving as game commentator for 21 seasons on CBS and Fox in the 1980s and 1990s. He punctuates his announcing with humorous asides and onomatopoetic sounds (boom, bang, pop, and so on), making his unique delivery a memorable part of his exceptionally lucid commentary. Early on, he popularized the use of light-pen telestrators, electronic devices

that superimpose diagrams on top of football footage, which became staples of modern football analysis. He was the last expert analyst for *Monday Night Football* on ABC and then shifted to NBC when the show moved to ESPN. Madden is the only major sports commentator to appear on all four networks. He also provides the voice for the top-selling *Madden NFL* series of video games, and in addition to promoting Ace Hardware he has appeared as the commercial spokesman for Outback Steakhouse, Miller Lite, and Sirius Satellite Radio, among other companies. On Sunday mornings, he can be found on Sirius's *The Stadium Tailgate Show,* and with columnist Dave Anderson (1929–), he has written several books, including *Hey Wait a Minute, I Wrote a Book* (1984), *One Size Doesn't Fit All* (1988), and *All Madden: Boom! Bam! Boink!* (1996). One of Madden's eccentricities is that he has foresworn airplane travel and goes everywhere in a giant customized bus, even crossing the country weekly during the winter season for his stints as football commentator. He reports logging 80,000 miles annually from his home in California to New York studios and east-of-California football arenas. He has won 14 (so far) Emmy Awards for Outstanding Sports Event Analyst, a Pete Rozelle Award, and appears in the Pro Football Hall of Fame. He won 24 Emmys, among many other awards, for his sports work before retiring in April 2009.

Jim McKay (1921–2008)

McKay was television's most beloved jack-of-all-sports for more than 60 years. Although versatile enough to announce any sports event, his premier accomplishments were the hosting of 12 Summer and Winter Olympics, mainly on ABC, and his hosting of more than 40 years of television's quintessential sports anthology show, ABC's *Wide World of Sports* (1961–98). Made possible by the development of videotape, the show consisted of tape footage from varied international and archetypal American sporting events, ranging from the highly unusual—even oddball—events in strange out-of-the-way places to highlights of traditional games, races, and events in major cities. McKay calculated that he traveled some 4.5 million miles over the world capturing events for *Wide World* (reported in his book *My Wide World,* 1973). McKay had the ability to move from playful and light-hearted fare, such as his enthusiastic coverage of a local firemen's bucket-up-a-ladder carrying contest, into more serious and awestruck reporting, such as his coverage of a daredevil skydive from a Mexican cliff or his extolling of an acclaimed racehorse's beauty. *Wide World* was a weekend television staple for millions of sports fans until it was killed off in the late 1990s by cable and Internet networks, which could deliver the same out-of-the-way sporting events that had once given the program its uniqueness. Hosting all Olympiads from 1960 to 1988, McKay set the pattern for expert host commentary that continues to characterize Olympic coverage, moving smoothly back-and-forth between studio and venue as the technology developed. His most famous announcing occurred during the Munich Olympic massacre in 1972, and he has been widely recognized for his dedicated and sensitive journalism that rose far above routine sports coverage. He has also covered special-event sports such as the British Open (golf), the Kentucky Derby (horse racing), the Indianapolis 500 (and other car races), and the first Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) World Cup held in the United States. In 1992, McKay hosted a television sports special, *Athletes and Addiction: It's Not a Game*. He received 19 Emmy Awards for his outstanding journalistic achievements and excellence in sportscasting, and the George Polk Memorial Award, a Peabody Award, numerous awards from horseracing organizations, and medals from Austria and Germany. He was inducted into the U.S. Olympic Hall of Fame and the American Sportscasters Hall of Fame. McKay died in June 2008.

Leslie Visser (1953–)

Visser is the first and only woman (so far) to be enshrined in the Pro Football Hall of Fame. Honored as a sportswriter and sportscaster for more than 30 years, Visser has been an undoubted pioneer many times over. In the 1970s, she was the first woman beat writer assigned to professional football at *The Boston Globe,* and she became the first woman sportscaster to be taken seriously by professional football. Because of her expertise, CBS Radio made her its first woman NFL color analyst, and CBS Television made her

the first woman to be assigned to a Super Bowl sideline and the first woman to make a Super Bowl trophy presentation. At ABC, she was the first woman to host *Monday Night Football.* When recognized by the Pro Football Hall of Fame in 2006, she was honored for being the first—man or woman—to have been a sportscaster on the Final Four, the Super Bowl, college football, the World Series, the pro-basketball finals, the Triple Crown, Wimbledon, the U.S. Open, the World Figure Skating Championship, and the Olympics, a list of achievements astounding for its breadth and evidence of Visser's sportscasting versatility. Employed primarily by CBS, she has also been a reporter for HBO's *Real Sports* and contributed to ABC's *Wide World of Sports.* Visser has won the Gracie Allen Award for women making exemplary contributions and a Compass Award for altering the direction of football sportscasting. She was named the best woman sportswriter in America in 1983, and won the Women's Sports Foundation Award for Journalism in 1992. For her pioneering accomplishments, she served as the first woman sportscaster to carry the Olympic Torch. She was also inducted into the New England Sports Museum Hall of Fame, and she continues to cover professional football and college basketball at CBS.

Dick Vitale (1939–)

Vitale is college basketball's over-the-top colorcaster. A basketball specialist with favorites (particularly Duke University), Vitale has been venerated (and sometimes reviled) by basketball fans throughout the country for nearly three decades. When his name is associated with a college game, it gains instant importance. Coming to sportscasting in 1979 after several years of college and pro basketball coaching, he joined the fledgling ESPN, and he has since called more than a thousand games for the network, usually as color commentator. His signature catch-phrases ("It's awesome baby!"), his raspy New Jersey accent, and his exuberant delivery make him instantly recognizable on television and radio. Nearly every sentence out of his mouth is an exclamation. He coined many terms that moved into the basketball lexicon ("Diaper Dandy" for a top freshman, "PTPer" for a prime-time performer), and his super-animated style has influenced college fandom. Not only does Vitale himself exhibit consistent vocal enthusiasm for the game, he actively encourages fans to become involved, holding up fan enthusiasm as a crucial game element. He is credited with stimulating an explosion in fan participation in college basketball nationally in the 1980s. Even as he was a relative newcomer, *Basketball Times* named Vitale as one the sport's most influential personalities. In addition, he is a much-requested motivational speaker and philanthropist, known for his many charities and fundraising efforts on behalf of children. His voice appears on several computer/video basketball game series and in three popular videos distributed by ESPN Video; he has made cameo appearances in several movies, starred in several television commercials, and has a Wednesday evening segment on *SportsCenter* called "Dick Vitale's Fast Break." He writes regular columns for *Basketball Times* and *ESPN The Magazine* and serves as a basketball analyst for ABC Radio and ESPN Radio. Acclaimed for his wide knowledge of college and pro basketball, he has been profiled on HBO's *Real Sports,* received two Cable Ace Awards, and was inducted into the NCAA Hall of Fame. Among other recognitions, he received a Curt Gowdy Award and was honored with the first-ever Ethics and Sportsmanship in Sports Media Award in 2003 by the Institute for International Sports. Despite an exceptionally hectic schedule, he has managed to write seven books, including *Holding Court: Reflections on the Game I Love* (with Dick Weiss, 1983); *Vitale: Just Your Average Bald, One-Eyed Basketball Wacko Who Beat the Ziggy and Became a PTP'er* (with Curry Kirkpatrick, 1988); *Time Out, Baby!* (with Dick Weiss, 1991); and *Living a Dream: Reflections on 25 Years Sitting in the Best Seat in the House* (also with Dick Weiss, 2003).

Other Preeminent Sportscasters

In addition to the sportscasters described above, many fans would point to others equally deserving of mention for their expertise, longevity, popularity, and influence on subsequent sportscasters. Among many longtime baseball favorites are the Red Sox's Ken Coleman (1925–2003), the Pittsburgh Pirates' Bob Prince (1916–85), the

Brooklyn and then Los Angeles Dodgers' Vin Scully (1927–), the Baltimore Orioles' Chuck Thompson (1921–2005), and the Milwaukee Brewers' Bob Uecker (1935–), along with NBC's commentator Joe Garagiola (1926–). On the football side, the most prominent, with long broadcast careers and a decided impact on subsequent sportscasters, are the NFL's classic play-by-play man Frank Gifford (1930–), the colorful voice of great football moments Brent Musburger (1939–), ABC college football's voice Keith Jackson (1928–), longtime NBC NFL sportscaster Al Michaels (1944–), the Packers' terse Ray Scott (1920–98), CBS's football and basketball anchor Jim Nantz (1959–), and the NFL's top all-around number-one announcer Pat Summerall (1930–). For his exceptional versatility and influence on aspiring broadcasters, the professional and polished Dick Enberg (1935–) deserves mention. In the 1980s, ESPN's first major personality, the witty and charismatic Chris Berman (1955–), became known for his clever ways of filling empty time on early cable. In addition to his recognized expertise in anchoring *SportsCenter* and calling baseball and hosting football, Berman fostered a tradition of gags and humor in ESPN sports talk. In other sports, notables include tennis's Bud Collins (1929–), who anchored professional tennis matches for more than 35 years on NBC; the Pro Bowler's Tour Chris Schenkel (1923–2005), also an expert in golf, horseracing, tennis, boxing, the Olympics, and nearly everything else in sports; and the popular Olympic host Greg Gumble (1946–), the first African American to announce a Super Bowl. Dozens of others are nationally or locally admired and have been much emulated.

In addition to Leslie Visser, few women sportscasters have scaled the heights of sportscasting fame. The best known include the very first woman sportscaster Donna DeVerona (1947–), ESPN's Robin Roberts (1960–) and Gail Gardner (ca. 1950–), NBC's Hannah Storm (1962–), and CBS's tennis announcer Mary Carillo (1957–). Few newcomers, however, are likely to rank among the all-time greats because the conditions of sportscasting have altered so greatly. The loss of longevity (Roberts and Storm both moved out of sportscasting into network daytime talk television) and the clutter of the media environment diminish the achievements of even the best of today's sportscasters, irrespective of gender.

Other sportscasting personalities worthy of mention do not call games but talk about them, interview athletes and coaches, and stir up lots of debate. Jim Rome (1964–), host of *The Jim Rome Show,* generates weekly storms by challenging his guests and spouting unconventional views of games, players, and events. On the less than serious side is Bob Uecker, comic host of the *Wacky World of Sports*. Someone who also deserves mention is *Sports Illustrated*'s controversial sportwriter Frank DeFord (1938–). Although not a play-by-play or color announcer for most of his career, his appearances on HBO's *Real Sports* and weekly on-air essays on NPR's *Morning Edition* provide exceptionally insightful analyses of college and professional sports, often with a biting and sardonic tone.

What's Ahead

In conventional advertiser-supported broadcasting, the enormous and steadily rising cost of sports rights fees means that the entities that can afford to air them must attract audiences so large that advertisers will pay enough to cover costs. The newer models for sports presume that fragmentation will continue, that international distribution of sports will grow (a two-way street with programming coming into the United States as well as going out), and that pay-per-use satellite, cable, and streaming Internet distribution will eventually provide much of day-to-day access to sports events.

For television sportscasters, the future is likely to hold more jobs but of a specialized nature, focusing on newer or imported sports, teen sports, or women's sports, and generally lacking the opportunity to become widely known. Fads will drive much interest in sports in the coming decades. In the future, sportscasters whose skill, knowledge, and aptitude coincide with a rise in the audience's interest in a sport will become briefly popular, and luck in timing will affect the salience of individual sportscasters' careers.

Susan Tyler Eastman

See also Sportscasters, Radio; Sports Journalism; Sportswriters

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Sports Journalism

Throughout history, sports have been an occupation for some members of the leisure class, a restorative or leg up for some members of the working class, and an entertaining spectacle for many people in both classes. In parallel, sports journalism began as a means to chronicle the recreational pursuits of the leisure class, and while there are still magazines on yachting and fly fishing, sportswriting has expanded along with the leisure time and income of the working class to focus primarily on professional sports and their feeder leagues. For economic reasons, most sports journalism focuses on athletes and games that typically draw tens of thousands of fans to stadiums and arenas, hundreds of thousands to newspaper and magazine sports pages, and millions to television and radio broadcasts.

Sports journalism is the linchpin in a symbiotic business relationship whereby professional sports teams, and their counterparts in the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), make money by attracting increasing numbers of high-paying fans, piquing their interest through promotion in sports stories. The media that produce and distribute those stories, in turn, make money by bolstering their audience and selling space or time among their sports stories to advertisers. And advertisers make money by producing ads for companies that serve or make products for major sports' well-defined audience of middle-to-upper income male fans/consumers.

Sports journalism in North America overwhelming comprises stories and broadcasts on professional football, baseball, basketball, and hockey, along with NCAA football and basketball games. Sports that do not have enough stoppages in play or cannot be predicted to end within a regular timeframe, such as soccer (i.e., "football" outside of North America) and cricket, do not meet advertisers' needs and therefore receive less airtime, no matter how popular they are elsewhere around the world. Columbia University historian Jacques Martin Barzun, wrote in 1954: "Whoever wants to know the heart and mind of America had better learn baseball, the rules and realities of the game," but the oft-edited ending of his quotation is, "and do it by watching first some high-school or small-town teams." The reality today is that soccer is more popular than baseball and American football on the fields of most American suburbs and cities, but the media keep people's mind on football and baseball and their advertisers' pitches.

Origins

Sports journalism in America dates to the 1830s, when Vermont publisher William Trotter Porter began producing *Spirit of the Times*. It started out just covering hunting and fishing, but Porter later promoted more competitive sports, such as rowing, yachting, and even baseball. One of the first newspaper sports stories ran on July 4, 1847, when the *Chicago Tribune* chronicled the city's annual Independence Day footrace.

As early as 1858, crowds gathered outside Western Union telegraph offices for round-by-round news of big prizefights across the eastern half of the United States. Such fights and their far-flung fans became international affairs in 1866,

with the laying of the first successful transatlantic cable. The bible of baseball, *The Sporting News,* began publishing in 1886. And in that decade, Joseph Pulitzer's New York *World* opened a new front in New York City's "yellow journalism" circulation wars by creating the first separate sports department at a newspaper. Not to be outdone, William Randolph Hearst then bought the *New York Journal* and in 1895 made it the host of the newspaper industry's first modern sports section. At the fin de siècle, while other newspapers relied on telegraph or nascent telephone lines for their sports coverage, another New York penny paper, the *Herald,* scooped the competition by hiring Guglielmo Marconi to use his new wireless invention to provide up-to-the-minute accounts of the America's Cup yacht race of 1899.

Most early sportswriting was florid, self-conscious, and self-congratulatory; sportswriters knew their job was to convey the escapist and entertainment values of sport while promoting their home teams and, in turn, their home newspaper. Take, for example, the *Chicago Tribune*'s coverage of the first two games of the 1906 World Series, between the Cubs and their upstart cross-town rivals, the White Stockings:

> Civil war breaks loose here today in Mr. Murphy's ball yard, and this morning sporting blood flows red and warm in the veins of the jungle. The big town on the rim of the lake is baseball dizzy, which is several degrees worse than batty. . . . Second Game—Over in the stockyards district, where gentle deeds and smells are rare, the Cubs dragged the Sox around their own killing beds and slaughtered them to a finish. Score: 7 to 1. (Ward 1953, 164)

Such hyperbole and overwriting characterized sportswriting—not just on baseball and not just in Chicago—until American sports lost their innocence, in the 1919 "Black Sox" scandal. When the heavily favored Chicago White Sox lost that year's World Series to the Cincinnati Reds in five games, the *Tribune* reported on rumors that flew more fast and furious than any of the Sox's pitches or bats. It took another full year for the truth to emerge that eight Chicago players had accepted bribes ranging from $5,000 to $20,000 to lose the series, and the *Tribune* joined newspapers around the continent in reporting every shameful detail of the charade.

Sports on the Air

Part of baseball's recovery came out of thin air. Radio announcers reported the results of the 1920 World Series from a station in Detroit, although radio sets had not yet been mass marketed. Promoters launched that process in conjunction with the July 2, 1921, heavyweight fight between Jack Dempsey and French champion "Gorgeous" Georges Carpentier. An estimated 300,000 people heard the radio broadcast of that fight over loudspeakers set up in theaters, lodge halls, ballrooms, and barns across the country. On August 5, 1921, Pittsburgh pioneering station KDKA carried the first live broadcast of a baseball game, with Harold Arlin doing the play-by-play of the Pirates' 8–5 win over the Phillies at Forbes Field. Since the World Series began in 1903, telegraph operators in multiple cities had been reporting pivotal games in "real time" by reflecting updates on elaborate scoreboards that showed ongoing game statistics to throngs of fans in downtown streets. And into the late 1920s, until radio networks spanned the continent, baseball announcers often relied on telegraph reports to "recreate" far-off games as if they were there, in the press box. The telegraph report might say no more than "Foxx flies center," novelist James Michener recounted, but from that, a master re-creator such as St. Louis's Frank Murray would broadcast,

> Jimmy Foxx, second only to Babe Ruth, hunches his mighty shoulders and swings with all his power. Gomez fools him with a low curve that misses the bat by a foot. Jimmy steps out of the batter's box, rubs resin on his immense hands and comes back, glaring. He takes ball one. Lefty Gomez studies him and delivers another tantalizing twister, and again Foxx misses by a foot. Quick delivery: ball two missing the outside corner. Now, Foxx means business. He crowds the plate, daring Gomez to throw at him. The ball comes in high, nothing on it. Foxx swings. [Here Murray raps the desk with his knuckles to simulate the sound of a bat on ball.] What a clout! DiMaggio goes back, back, back. He's on the track, right up against the wall. A leap! He spears it in his gloved hand. The crowd roars. (quoted in Michener)

The visual immediacy of actual sports footage, seen in the ballpark or, later, on television, paled in comparison to the colorful and creative images presented by radio recreators during these early days of sports reporting. Even today, some fans prefer to listen to baseball games rather than watch them on television, and many fans prefer to watch football games on television rather than in the stadium, where most seats are far from the action (and far from free). The first American televised sports event was an experimental broadcast of a meaningless Ivy League baseball game between the Princeton Tigers and the Columbia Lions, in 1939. Only a few hundred Americans owned television sets then. Sports did not begin to become a staple of network television until the mid-1950s, after the rising popularity of local sports broadcasts proved that men would skip weekend chores and family outings to watch games on television. As radio did before it, television often made watching sports at home better than watching from a seat at the stadium, but it accomplished this largely with technology rather than personality. Thanks to the development of close-up shots, instant replays, wireless microphones, and, most recently, high-definition pictures and audio, sports telecasts often exceed the sights and sounds from even the best seats at the game.

The New York Yankees had allowed the televising of several home games in 1946, and NBC aired the 1947 World Series between the Yankees and the Brooklyn Dodgers, but it was not until 1961 that televised sports began to come of age, based on two developments that year. On April 29, ABC's *Wide World of Sports* debuted, with its theme song literally trumpeting how producer Roone Arledge and announcer Jim McKay would be "Spanning the globe to bring you the constant variety of sport … the thrill of victory…and the agony of defeat." It eschewed North America's major team sports in favor of more individualistic, telegenic endeavors such as mountain climbing, figure skating, and track. It made heroes of loners and showed the tears of losers.

Arledge and McKay also teamed up for ABC's seminal telecasts of the Olympics, where Arledge first tried many of the zooms and replays that other networks copied for their Olympics broadcasts—and for sports telecasts of all kinds. Radio coverage of the Olympics began with the 1924 Games in Paris, and television coverage began as early as the 1936 Berlin Olympics. Television coverage did not reach a worldwide audience until the 1956 Olympics in Melbourne, Australia, but after that, television rights for the Olympics mushroomed from $600,000 for the 1964 Tokyo Games to $1.7 billion for the 2008 Beijing Games. Television rights cost a mere $47 million for the Munich Games in 1972, when McKay anchored ABC's coverage of the biggest *news* story in Olympic history. He stayed on the air for 14 hours without a break after the Black September terrorist group took 11 Israeli athletes and coaches hostage. At 3:24 a.m. German time (9:24 p.m. in New York), McKay delivered the news of an attempt to rescue the hostages: "When I was a kid my father used to say 'Our greatest hopes and our worst fears are seldom realized.' Our worst fears have been realized tonight. They have now said there were eleven hostages; two were killed in their rooms yesterday morning, nine were killed at the airport tonight. They're all gone."

The second 1961 landmark for televised sports came on September 30, when football-loving President John F. Kennedy signed a bill exempting the National Football League (NFL) from antitrust laws, allowing franchises to cooperate as a single corporation rather than compete with each other on television contracts, gate receipts, and salary caps for players. Television became the key to transforming the NFL from a laughable confederation of unprofitable franchises and an afterthought to college football into the most popular league in North America, flush with an expanded roster of the most valuable sports teams in the world, having relegated college football to its minor league. Unlike baseball, football offered a ball that was easy to see on television and field action that was easier to anticipate and capture on camera. And unlike Major League Baseball, NFL franchise owners agreed early on to equally share all revenue from television contracts. That enabled the NFL to establish on-field parity among its teams, giving small-market franchises such as Green Bay the same ability to pay and keep their star players as the franchises based in New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago. Combined with the NFL's earlier innovation of allowing teams to go in reverse order of their finish in the previous year's standings when it came time to draft college

football stars, the NFL made it a reality that any team could beat any other team on any given Sunday. That balance yielded games that kept fans glued to their television screens, which pleased advertisers and led to proliferating revenues for the league. By 2000, for instance, the NFL's annual revenue for national broadcast television rights amounted to $660 million, compared with $345 million for Major League Baseball, $120 million for the National Hockey League (NHL) (total for Canada and the United States) and $660 million for the National Basketball Association (NBA), which was similarly well-suited for television and followed the NFL's lead on revenue sharing and reverse-finish drafting of college players.

The NFL cemented its place at the center of sports journalism on September 21, 1970, when Roone Arledge brought it to prime time, launching ABC's *Monday Night Football,* with play-by-play man Keith Jackson flanked by former Dallas Cowboys quarterback Don Meredith and Howard Cosell, a New York broadcaster famous from his verbal sparring matches with boxer Muhammad Ali throughout the 1960s. After a hit first season, Jackson returned to broadcasting college football, and former New York Giants running back Frank Gifford stepped in between Meredith's sing-song pone and Cosell's circumlocutions. Whereas *Wide World of Sports* placed athletics on a pedestal, *Monday Night Football* erased the line between sports and entertainment. Along with Meredith's singing "Turn out the lights" as games wound down, the show started opening in 1988 with upbeat music and country singer Hank Williams Jr. demanding, "Are you ready for some football, the Monday night tradition?"

Monday Night Football migrated in 2006 to ESPN, the all-sports cable channel that launched in 1979. ESPN, which originally stood for Entertainment and Sports Programming Network and initially relied on fillers such as logrolling and beach volleyball, but it began to grow exponentially when ABC television acquired it in 1984 and it telecast its first NFL games in 1987. Also in 1987, ESPN began to span the sports globe, telecasting the America's Cup yacht races live from Australia, and in 1988 it opened the first of its 34 international ESPN channels, in South and Central America. It began showing Major League Baseball games in 1990, launched ESPN Radio in 1992, and introduced the ESPN2 supplementary cable channel in 1993. Along with acquiring Monday Night Football, ESPN rounded out its multimedia sports empire by launching ESPN.com in 1995 and *ESPN The Magazine* in 1998. By 2008, nearly 100 million homes subscribed to ESPN on cable, and it produced more than 5,100 hours of programming a year, covering 65 sports. ESPN's trademark shows, *SportsCenter* and *Baseball Tonight,* gave fans a full hour of highlights from every teams' games, along with analysis, predictions, and repartee from a panel of anchors and famous ex-athletes—plus, taped versions of the shows repeated all night long, so fans who missed their local news and sports broadcast could still catch their favorite team's highlights on ESPN.

On radio, sports joined right-wing politics as one of the mainstays of "talk radio" in the 1980s and '90s, with program hosts airing telephone calls from opinionated fans and provoking more reaction with their own rants and predictions. Many of these AM broadcast sports talk stations became affiliated with ESPN Radio or Fox Sports. Starting in 2001, however, much of the sports talk and attention shifted to satellite radio. That's when XM satellite radio launched its round-the-clock baseball channel, Home Plate, along with play-by-play for every Major League Baseball game, followed the next year by Sirius satellite radio's 24/7 football channel and coverage of every NFL game. By the time the two satellite radio companies merged in 2008, they also had channels devoted exclusively to the National Basketball Association, the National Hockey League, professional golf, and stock car racing.

Blogging the Bouncing Balls

The problem with sports talk radio, from the fans' perspective, is that often there wasn't time for everyone to get on the air and have their say. That's not a problem on the Internet, where anyone with web access can start a sports blog—or at least write a response to someone else's blog entry. Initially, in the late 1990s, most of the traffic went to mainstream media such as espn.com, *Sports Illustrated*'s cnnsi.com, and large newspapers' websites. There, staff sportswriters augmented their print or broadcast stories with extra tidbits, insights, predictions, and opinions. Those blogs

gave fans an opportunity to concur or disagree with the writers—and the moves made by the athletes, coaches, or general managers of their favorite teams. Occasionally, staff writers even responded to a blogger's question or comment, stepping into the unfamiliar territory of creating a conversation between the journalists and their audience.

Early in the twenty-first century, some of the online respondents became so prolific that they started their own sports blogs. No longer did they need mainstream sportswriters to start the conversation. Sports bloggers—free of the sportswriters' need to appear "objective" and maintain locker-room sources—could be as critical and outrageous as they wanted in their comments. Some started blogs on topics sportswriters rarely mentioned, such as minor league baseball and kick boxing, but most focused on the major men's pro and college sports. Few of the bloggers did much original reporting of their own, but some nonetheless gained a reputation for being so provocative and entertaining that they garnered a significant following—and the advertising to go with it. In a May 2008 ranking of the "100 Most Valuable Sports Blogs," the top 15 sites each had a value exceeding $1 million, based on their traffic and referred-link ratings. The top-ranked sports blog, an irreverent critique of off-field scandals and on-field blunders called deadspin.com, had an average of 650,000 page views per day and was valued at $16.5 million.

Sports in Print

Television, radio and the Internet, of course, did not kill print sports journalism. On August 16, 1954, Time Inc. launched a weekly sports magazine in response to audiences spending less time reading and more time watching the new medium of television. Chock full of glossy color photographs and stories of woods and waters where television cameras did not go, *Sports Illustrated* (*SI*) catered mainly to the elite, affluent outdoorsman for its first five years. It carried far more stories about hunting and yachting than baseball or football. But under new editor Andre Laguerre, *SI* applied its high-style writing to attract the burgeoning audiences of the National Football League and Major League Baseball, which was expanding with teams on the West Coast and elsewhere. Whereas the venerable *Sporting News* remained full of statistics and quotidian team updates, and while *Sport* magazine idolized athletes, *SI* took fans inside the locker rooms, explained what made stars "tick," and sometimes shined a harsh light on the hypocrisy of sports—and society. It ran series on the contemporary black athlete, women's rights in athletics, and the effects of technological advancements in sports. It springboarded the careers of some of the century's most innovative sportswriters, such as Frank Deford, Dan Jenkins, George Plimpton, and John Feinstein. But *SI* did not take itself too seriously. Deford and Jenkins alternated their wry accounts of on-field action with humorous off-field anecdotes and outlandish remarks. And then there's the annual swimsuit issue, which began in 1964 and continues to feature bikini-clad models in exotic locales on its cover and in color spreads inside. Other sports magazines tried to imitate *SI* by shifting to more critical reporting, but they fell victim to its supremacy in style and Time Inc. marketing synergy. Its main competitor, *Sport,* was a monthly that had launched in 1946, but it was losing money when it ceased publication in 2000. *SI*'s enduring legacy is the way that metropolitan newspaper sportswriters have imitated its insider irreverence and, occasionally, its investigative initiative on issues such as college sports recruiting abuses and pro stars' illegal steroid use.

Sports Books

The year 1970, when ABC launched *Monday Night Football,* also marked a sea change in sports *writing*. It came from an unlikely source: a once-promising but then washed-up major league pitcher, Jim Bouton. His book, *Ball Four,* coauthored by sportswriter Leonard Shecter, was Bouton's diary of his 1969 season with the Seattle Pilots, which was the team's only year of existence. Rather than the typical dreamer's tale or bench jockey's take on inside baseball, *Ball Four* busted wide the locker room law that "What you see here and what you say here, stays here." Instead, Bouton gleefully detailed his teammates' and opponents' (and his own) petty jealousies, crude humor, drinking, sexual exploits, and routine use of drugs to enhance their performance and forget their failures. He named names, from desperate minor leaguers to legendary Mickey Mantle. En

route to the best-seller list and critical acclaim, Bouton endured tremendous criticism from nearly everyone involved with Major League Baseball, including Commissioner Bowie Kuhn. Bouton's *Ball Four,* however, showed daily newspaper sportswriters they could and should do more than shill for the home team.

Among Bouton's skillful successors has been John Feinstein, a sportswriter for *The Washington Post* and *Sports Illustrated* whose 1987 profanity-laced book, *A Season on the Brink,* told the inside story of the 1985–86 Indiana University basketball team and its volatile coach, Bobby Knight. Feinstein was less critical but no less incisive in his 1995 book about life on the pro golf tour, *A Good Walk Spoiled,* in which he uses the New Journalism techniques of multiple-source interviewing, no attribution, and concise description to recreate key moments on the 1994 PGA (Professional Golfers' Association) tour.

A new generation of sports biographies and autobiographies also combine the narrative techniques of New Journalism with the inside stories—if not the tell-all tawdriness—of *Ball Four*. Hank Aaron, in his 1992 book, *I Had a Hammer,* co-authored by sportswriter Lonnie Wheeler, revealed the extent of hate mail and death threats he received before breaking Babe Ruth's career home run record in 1974. And in his 2006 book *Clemente, Washington Post* associate editor David Maraniss melded the storytelling ability of an historical novelist with the probing techniques of an investigative reporter. He drops attribution almost entirely but then appends the book with 22 pages of endnotes listing his sources for every opinion, allegation, and recreated internal thought in the book.

Investigative and sports journalism have teamed up in the twenty-first century. In 2000, *St. Paul Pioneer Press* sports reporter George Dohrmann won a Pulitzer Prize for his stories revealing that an academic staff member routinely wrote class papers for University of Minnesota men's basketball players. The revelations disqualified the surging team from the NCAA championship tournament, much to the chagrin of Gopher alumni, and led to the resignations of the university's basketball coach and athletics director. In 2006, *San Francisco Chronicle* investigative reporters Mark Fainaru-Wada and Lance Williams released the book *Game of Shadows,* which detailed the evidence that Olympic and professional athletes had been using steroids and other performance-enhancing drugs obtained from a Bay Area lab. The evidence included sealed grand jury testimony by and against Barry Bonds, baseball's single-season and career home run record holder. When Williams and Fainaru-Wada refused to reveal their confidential source for Bonds' grand jury testimony, they were held in contempt and sentenced to prison. Congressional intercession and further evidence spared them from confinement, but their book and its evidence led to Bonds' forced retirement from baseball and indictment on perjury charges.

Race and Gender

The reporting on Bonds, an African American, rekindled charges among some blacks that much sports journalism is prejudiced. Going back to before Jackie Robinson broke baseball's color barrier in 1947, sportswriters had been alternately mirroring and protesting prejudice in society. "The king is dead. Long live the king, even though he be a Negro," the *Chicago Tribune* trumpeted in its story on Jack Johnson's July 4, 1910, defeat of Jim Jeffries for the heavyweight boxing title (quoted in Ward). The press later dubbed boxer Joe Lewis "the brown bomber" and hailed his victories, but they added insult to injury after Max Schmeling defeated him on June 19, 1936. "The colored boy stood up to a beating seldom delivered in any ring," the *Chicago Tribune* reported (quoted in Ward). Similarly, sportswriters almost always referred to Jesse Owens as "colored" (while not mentioning the race of white athletes), but they portrayed his four gold medals in the 1936 Olympics as a victory for the United States over Hitler's Nazi Germany.

Sports stories have long belittled women, too, with backhanded compliments. In 1926, when Frenchwoman "Mlle. Suzanne Lenglen, queen of the tennis world," played American "Miss Helen Wills" in Cannes, it was "the most dramatic, most grueling athletic contest every played by two women. The score was 6–3, 8–6" in Lenglen's favor, the *Chicago Tribune* reported. Ten years later, it also reported that, "The amateur swimming career of Eleanor Holm Jarrett, pretty backstroke-record holder, came to an abrupt end" for breaking training rules by drinking too much alcohol

aboard ship en route to the Berlin Olympics (quoted in Ward). Similar treatment of women athletes continues, such as during the 2008 Beijing Olympics, when Dara Torres ("HOT U.S. Swimmer in 5th Olympics," as one website introduced her) got as much attention in stories—and photos, including a micro-bikini shot on nytimes.com—for being a 41-year-old mother with rippling abdominal muscles as for winning three silver medals. Moreover, women still do not get sports coverage anywhere near proportionate to their participation rates. Since the 1972 passage of the U.S. Title IX law requiring equal access to sports in high schools and college, females now account for more than 40 percent of the scholastic athletes, and the United States now has women's professional leagues in basketball and soccer. But major newspapers devote just 8 to 13 percent of their sports coverage to women, and television gives less than 8 percent of its sports coverage to women, according to the Women's Sports Foundation. A peer-reviewed research study of ESPN *SportCenter* found that its coverage of women's sports stories actually fell, from 5 percent in 1997 to 2.1 percent in 2004.

After World War II, during which black men fought alongside whites and women filled many jobs previously reserved for men, including sportswriting, newspaper sports pages reflected society's begrudging acceptance of women and people of color. Sometimes, sportswriters even championed the causes of Jackie Robinson, Muhammad Ali, Bill Russell, Roberto Clemente, and Martina Navratilova. For example, longtime *Washington Post* columnist Shirley Povich wrote in 1970,

> The trouble with Arthur Ashe wanting to play tennis in South Africa is that he lacked a choice of colors at birth.... Ashe was born a Negro, and in South Africa black ain't beautiful.... In all truth it must be noted that South Africa is not discriminating against Ashe as a person. South Africa discriminates against all Negroes.

Many sportswriters joined most of white America in vilifying 1968 Olympics sprinters Tommie Smith and John Carlos for their gloved "Black power" protest on the medal stand. By 1976, however, liberals began to speak out against America's "love 'em and leave 'em" treatment of black athletes. Popular historian and novelist James A. Michener went so far as to join activist Harry Edwards in calling for black parents to steer their sons away from sports scholarships, arguing, "Sports are the opiate of the black masses."

Conclusion

Sports journalism in North America's metropolitan areas has largely ignored the pursuits of amateur athletes and only occasionally championed the equitable treatment of minorities and women in athletics and society at large. Instead, sportswriters and sportscasters have primarily perpetuated a system of entertaining fans and thereby raising revenue for the journalists' employers, their outlet's advertisers, and the professional sports teams and NCAA. Sports journalism represents a respite for audience members enervated by the concerns and calamities of news and daily living. It can be lively, it can be refreshing, and it can make money. Not many other areas of journalism could say that at the start of the twenty-first century. In the future, Internet bloggers might be able to write as lively as professionals, bloggers might force sportswriters to be more critical of multimillionaire athletes and billionaire franchise owners, and sports journalists surely will have to interact more with their audiences online. The sports leagues, however, are unlikely to relinquish any more of the rights to retransmit their games until new media mavens, like their satellite television and radio forebears, are able to offer them large audiences and large fortunes.

Michael Dorsher

See also African American News Media; Chicago; New Journalism; Sportscasters, Radio; Sportscasters, Television; Sportswriters

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SPORTSWRITERS

While sports coverage is often called "the toy department" in many newsrooms, sportswriting is fiercely competitive, difficult to succeed at, and harder yet to sustain. Sportswriters must pay attention to detail like a copy editor, analyze events like a political reporter, dig into some stories like an investigative journalist, work under tight deadlines like a cops reporter, and, ideally, write like a poet. Those who master this art are often the best writers on their publications—and the ones many readers turn to first. Sportswriters and the athletes they cover have a symbiotic relationship they seldom acknowledge but ignore at their mutual peril. Surly athletes can suck all the fun out of games for sportswriters, and unscrupulous sportswriters can rob athletes of the chance to perform well.

Not only must sportswriters continually find new ways to chronicle dozens of games each season, they must continually heighten fans' interest in their professional and major college home teams. They seldom cover amateur or women's sports, because revenue-generating teams lure them with extensive privileges and promotional information. Sportswriting is essential to teams maintaining their fan base and revenue, and it is essential to newspapers maintaining their readership and revenue, because sports pages deliver to advertisers a concentrated—and prized—readership of men ages 18 to 49.

Selected American Sportswriters

The following brief profiles of some of the best American sportswriters over the past century are far from comprehensive. It reflects the bias of modernity by including writers who have viewed sports with a critical eye and by leaving off those, such as Grantland Rice, who made heroes of players. It includes two African Americans but no female sportswriters or writers about what the world calls football (soccer). Over the past 100 years or so, according to the erudite George Plimpton, the best U.S. sportswriting has reflected games that require the greatest courage or skill: American football, boxing, golf and, especially, baseball. All of these sportswriters have chronicled at least some of those sports.

Henry Chadwick (1824–1908)

Chadwick was the first to make a full career of sports writing, and he promoted baseball as our "national pastime." Chadwick's father was a social reforming English journalist who fell so far out of favor that the family moved to New York when Henry was 13. Just four years later young Chadwick had his first journalism job, reporting cricket scores to *The New York Times*. By 20, he

was a regular contributor to the *Long Island Star,* reporting on all manner of sport and diversions: sailing, horse racing, cricket, billiards, and even chess and theater. He was 31 when he found his life's passion. In 1856, on his way home from a cricket match, he came across a baseball game at Elysian Fields in Brooklyn. "It was not long before I was struck with the idea that base ball was just the game for a national sport for Americans," he wrote afterward. "From this game of ball, a powerful lever might be made by which our people could be lifted into a position of more devotion to physical exercise and healthful out-door recreation than they had hitherto, as a people, been noted for" (Orodenker 2001). In 1858, Chadwick became the world's first baseball editor, at the *New York Clipper,* and he published the first book of "Base Ball Rules." Chadwick developed the box score, and in 1867, he unveiled the first system for scoring a baseball game, with letters denoting every batter's outcome, including the still-used S for sacrifice and K for strikeout. He also devised the first player statistics: batting average and earned run average.

In his final years, Chadwick debated how baseball began, contending it evolved from the old English game of Rounders. Though a commission ultimately decided that Abner Doubleday had invented the game, Chadwick disagreed. But he got his due, being inducted into the founders wing of the National Baseball Hall of Fame when it opened in Cooperstown in 1939, 100 years after Doubleday supposedly invented Chadwick's "national game."

Red Fisher (1926–)

Fisher has covered the national pastime longer and more authoritatively than anyone else, but hardly any U.S. fans know his work. That's because the nation in question is Canada, and the game he covers is hockey. As the Montreal Canadiens celebrated their one hundredth anniversary in 2008 and 2009, Fisher had been covering them for more than 50 of those years. His first game in the press box at the Montreal Forum was March 17, 1955, the night of the infamous "Richard Riot," when fans caused more than $500,000 damage and threw vegetables at Clarence Campbell, then-president of the National Hockey League, because he had suspended Canadiens' icon Maurice Richard for wielding his stick in a fight. Fisher went on to cover 17 of the Canadiens' Stanley Cup titles (out of their professional leagues-leading total of 24 championships) and to become the ultimate sportswriter insider. Players, coaches, and general managers alike sought his advice. Unlike other insiders, Fisher reported his behind-the-scenes stories, often resorting to the passive-voice catch phrase "he was told" to signify his part in the dialogue with players and hockey executives. Fisher covered the Canadiens for the *Montreal Star* from 1955 until it closed in 1979, and he has covered them for the *Montreal Gazette* since then. The Hockey Hall of Fame named Fisher to its writers wing in 1985, and Sports Media Canada gave him its Lifetime Achievement Award in 1999.

Sid Hartman (1920–)

Hartman is one of the worst sports*writers* in the nation, by his own admission. But by all accounts, the Minneapolis *Star Tribune* columnist is one of the best sports *reporters* in the world. "Don't worry about writing; give us the news," Hartman's first editor, Dick Cullum, told him. "Writers are a dime a dozen. Reporters are impossible to find." Even into his mid-80s, the indefatigable "Sir Sidney" still worked daily, scooping reporters a quarter of his age and breaking more national sports stories than any other regional journalist. He was the first to report, for instance, that Ara Parseghian was quitting as Notre Dame football coach in 1975 at the height of his success. Hartman "makes the rounds" to all of the Minnesota Gophers, Twins, Vikings, Timberwolves, and Wild practices to interview coaches and players, but his secret weapon is his large black book of telephone numbers—home, office and mobile—for nearly every sports figure in the country. He has a remarkable ability to track down whoever is in the sports spotlight and, because of his reputation for amiability, they almost always take his call.

Dan Jenkins (1929–)

Jenkins is a throwback to the Ring Lardner school of sportswriting, crafting stories populated by colorful, down-home—and often, fictional—characters. But Jenkins has focused on football

rather than baseball, and his satire is often more profane than Lardner's could be. "I guess by now there can't be too many people anywhere who haven't heard about Billy Clyde Puckett, the humminest sumbitch that ever carried a football," Jenkins wrote in his 1972 breakout novel, *Semi-Tough*. Like many of his story subjects and characters, Jenkins grew up dirt poor in the heart of Texas. He dropped out of Texas Christian University to start writing sports for the *Fort Worth Press* in 1948, moved over to the *Dallas Times Herald* in 1960, and graduated to *Sports Illustrated* in 1962. He wrote hundreds of features on football and golf for *SI* through 1984, when editors accused him of slipping from sublime to silly. Since then, he has dichotomously split his sportswriting between *Playboy* and *Golf Digest,* and he has written more than 20 books. Unlike Lardner, who did as much of his reporting from the dugout and stands as the press box, or Plimpton, who actually got onto the field, Jenkins is infamous for collecting his information on the nineteenth hole and living as large as his characters.

Roger Kahn (1927–)

Kahn titled his 1972 then-and-now book about the Brooklyn Dodgers *The Boys of Summer,* a phrase that has since become the wistful appellation for all professional baseball players. Kahn, who grew up in Brooklyn, worked as a newspaper sportswriter from 1947 to 1976, and has written nearly two dozen books. Kahn dropped out of New York University and began covering sports for the *New York Herald Tribune* when he was 19. He started ghostwriting magazine stories for Jackie Robinson in the early 1950s, and he first saw Willie Mays play when he began covering the New York Giants in 1954. In 1960, Kahn was among the first sportswriters to analyze the ascendancy of football. He wrote about hockey, and he covered presidential campaigns in 1964 and 1968. But like a runner retreating to the bag between pitches, Kahn has always returned to baseball. "The romance between intellectuals and the game of baseball is, for the most part, one-sided to the point of absurdity," he wrote in a 1957 essay. Major league stars are "demigods" to the intellectuals, but players rank the intellectuals "several notches below umpires" (Orodenker 1996).

Sam Lacy (1903–2003)

Lacy lived and worked in a parallel universe to Shirley Povich—but for even longer. Lacy lived to be 99, with all but four of his 85 years in the African American press based in Washington, D.C. In 1920, Lacy turned down a job at the *Washington Tribune* black newspaper and admission to Howard University to play baseball for two years in the Negro Leagues, in Atlantic City and Baltimore. He played little, but he became convinced that blacks were good enough to play in the major leagues. Lacy spent the next two decades advocating for baseball's integration while he wrote sports columns for the *Washington Tribune* from 1928 to 1940, the *Chicago Defender* from 1940 to 1943, and his final newspaper, the Baltimore-based *Afro-American*. Finally, on Lacy's forty-second birthday, the Brooklyn Dodgers' Branch Rickey signed Jackie Robinson and then asked Lacy and fellow black journalist Wendell Smith to be Robinson's caretakers during spring training in segregated Florida. If it hadn't been for their advocacy and friendship, Robinson said after his retirement, he would not have made it in the major leagues. Lacy kept editorializing and pushing for better treatment of black athletes in college sports, pro football, and golf into the twenty-first century.

Ring Lardner (1885–1933)

Lardner set the standard for sportswriting, elevating it from an amalgam of agate type and cheerleading to the level of literature. Ringgold Wilmer Lardner's parents named him after a Civil War admiral and a cousin who had died just before he was born in the southwest Michigan town of Niles. Starting in nearby South Bend, Indiana, Lardner held ten sportswriting jobs from 1905 to 1929, often quarreling with his bosses over his fanciful style and brash opinions. Between assignments and jobs, he wrote 23 books, many of them compilations or expansions of his columns, plus two Broadway plays and a syndicated comic strip on baseball. He rose to prominence in 1913, writing the *Chicago Tribune*'s "In the Wake of the News" syndicated sports column that continues today. By 1916, Lardner had published *You Know Me Al,* a collection of six short stories based on his columns about Jack Keefe, a composite character

presented as a plain-spoken pitcher for the Chicago White Sox. Lardner used "slanguage" to make players and characters relatable to his sports page readers. He wrote extensively about football, boxing, and theater, too, but it was baseball, with its leisurely pace, that best lent itself to his flights of fantasy and labyrinthine digressions. However, he could be direct and biting, too, as he showed when he was the first sportswriter to publicly accuse the Chicago White Sox of throwing the 1919 World Series to the Cincinnati Reds. It took another 11 months for eight Sox players to confess to accepting bribes to throw those games, but the "Black Sox" scandal soured Lardner on baseball for life. He continued to write about the game, usually cynically, but turned more attention to his other loves, the theater and his wife and four sons, all of whom became writers. Nothing is more depressing than an old baseball writer, Lardner said, and he never became one. He died at age 48 from tuberculosis.

Westbrook Pegler (1894–1969)

Pegler was a complicated man whose convictions carried him to national prominence and the Pulitzer Prize but ultimately left him in shame and stewing with stomach cancer. He spent the first few years and latter half of his 57-year career in news, but he is best remembered for his sportswriting. A lover of baseball, Pegler used sports as a springboard for satire and social reform and worried more about prose than box scores. With typical irreverence, Pegler called sports' golden age between the world wars "The Era of Wonderful Nonsense," due to the Black Sox scandal and several prize-fight fiascos that distracted people from the Depression and foreign affairs. In 1925, the *Chicago Tribune* hired him as its New York–based editor and syndicated sports columnist. He kicked at such sacred cows as Army football and Notre Dame football coach Knute Rockne, questioning the teams' recruiting tactics and indifference to athletes' education. And in contrast to Lardner, Pegler wrote almost ruefully about the 1919 Black Sox scandal, saying the eight bribed White Sox could hardly be blamed for naively trying to recoup some of the riches team owners had amassed off them. In late 1933, Pegler shifted from writing about sports in a political fashion to writing about politics in a sporting fashion when Scripps-Howard gave him a $75,000 contract amid the Depression. Pegler, however, took time from his political writing to cover the 1934 World Series, and he wrote his greatest sports stories about his trip to the 1936 Winter Olympics in Germany. Pegler had urged a boycott of the Nazi-hosted games, but failing that, he wrote unflinchingly of how "the German people's favorite sport is to be shoved around by men in uniform" (Orodenker 1996).

George Plimpton (1927–2003)

Plimpton never wrote sports for a daily newspaper, but he authored many memorable pieces for *Sports Illustrated* along with nearly 20 books on sports. Moreover, his cameo appearances in pro games made him the most widely known sportswriter of the twentieth century. Showing readers how hard it is to do the things professional athletes make look so easy, Plimpton trained and played with the pros in exhibition football, baseball, basketball, hockey, boxing, tennis, and golf. He was earnest and courageous but abysmal in all of them—even the sport he played all his life, tennis. But Plimpton accomplished his goals: He survived and gained a unique perspective. "Sportswriters," he said, "have never given the reader a sense of what it's like to be part of a team, of the mystique, ritual, frights and fears of the game" (Orodenker 1996). Plimpton felt compelled to do that through his hands-on exploits because no sportswriter has ever been as overeducated as he, a graduate of St. Bernard's Prep School, Phillips Exeter, Harvard, and King's College, Cambridge. In contrast to sportswriters such as Red Smith and Shirley Povich, who loved reporting but sweated through the writing, Plimpton suffered primarily at the front end of the process, admitting he was often "scared half to death" on the field, rink, court, or ropes. He kept up the derring-do into his mid-50s, then died at age 76 from natural causes.

Shirley Povich (1905–98)

Povich spent his entire 75-year career with *The Washington Post*. In fact, his column might have saved the newspaper, according to its former publisher, Don Graham, who, when Povich died, proposed that many if not most of *the Post*'s 50,000 readers bought the paper in order to read Povich's column every day. Povich, like his New York

counterpart and friend, Red Smith, worked hard at reporting on sports expansively and writing about it economically. He witnessed and reported on nearly all of the major sporting events of the twentieth century, from Walter Johnson and the Washington Senators' only World Series title in 1924 to Cal Ripken's surpassing of Gehrig's consecutive games string in 1995. In between, Povich helped lead the movement to integrate major league baseball and football, and, thanks to his first name, got a mistaken listing in the 1959 *Who's Who of American Women.* (While he was growing up in Bar Harbor, Maine, Shirley was a common boy's name.) Povich made summer money caddying for wealthy vacationers. Among them was Ned McLean, then-owner of *The Washington Post,* who was so taken by the young boy's wit and ambition that he gave him a job at the *Post* and made him the nation's youngest sports editor, at age 21. Povich kept writing for the *Post* until the day before he died, at age 93, having contributed more than 600 columns even after he "retired" in 1974.

Red Smith (1905–82)

Smith was the first major sportswriter to graduate from college, and it showed: He once compared the New York Giants football team to Spartan king Leonidas at Thermopylae. Smith wrote eruditely, concisely, and incisively over a 55-year career that began before Babe Ruth's "called-shot" home run in the 1932 World Series and extended beyond Reggie Jackson's three-home-run game in the 1977 Series. Walter Wellesley Smith grew up in sports-mad Green Bay, Wisconsin, and earned his degree from Notre Dame while it was winning titles under coach Knute Rockne and the "Four Horsemen" running backs. Smith graduated cum laude and went to work for the *Milwaukee Sentinel* in 1927 as a general assignment news reporter. He got his nickname in 1936, when he moved up to the *Philadelphia Record* and equivocated on how his first byline there should read, because he disliked the formality of his first and middle names. The slot editor decided he should be "Red" Smith, and it stuck. He became a columnist in 1939, and in 1945 he achieved his goal of reporting in the nation's sports capital, New York. He covered baseball, boxing, football, and horse racing for the *Herald Tribune* until it closed in 1967. He continued covering those sports as a syndicated columnist until 1971 and for *The New York Times* until his death in 1982. In 1975 he became one of a handful of sportswriters to win journalism's highest honor, the Pulitzer Prize.

Wendell Smith (1914–72)

Smith was the greatest of all black sportswriters, according to none other than Sam Lacy. A star pitcher during high school in Detroit, Smith earned a degree at West Virginia State College and started sportswriting for the *Pittsburgh Courier,* an African American newspaper, in 1937. He covered the Pittsburgh Crawfords and Homestead Grays in the Negro Leagues, and he started interviewing major league players and managers when they were in Pittsburgh, but he had to talk with them at the visiting teams' hotel, because he couldn't get a press pass to work at the Pirates' Forbes Field. It was Smith who recommended Jackie Robinson to the Dodgers' Branch Rickey. Smith's banner year was 1948 when he moved up to the *Chicago American* black newspaper, covered the Summer Olympics in London, got credentials to report on the Chicago White Sox, and became the first black member of the Baseball Writers Association of America. Also that year, he ghost wrote *Jackie Robinson: My Own Story.* Smith continued to cover the major leagues, and in 1962 he was nominated for a Pulitzer Prize for his stories exposing—and ending—the humiliating "Jim Crow" segregation that black players had suffered annually during spring training in Florida. In contrast to Lacy, Smith died young. Cancer killed him at age 58, just a month after the death of his friend Jackie Robinson.

Conclusion

Sportswriters today are better educated and equipped than before to meet the many challenges of their craft. But they also face more competition, not only within their own ranks but especially among the many media and sports vying for attention. Many newspaper readers still turn to the sports pages first, but there are far fewer readers and newspapers than earlier sportswriters had at their disposal. Economic pressures are sapping much of the literature from sportswriting, while it trends

more toward multimedia punditry. Newspapers and magazines have trimmed their sports staffs and cut the travel budgets for those who remain. At the same time, sportswriters get pushed and pulled to regularly provide commentary on TV and radio talk shows, leaving them less time for reporting and refining their writing. In sports, as in political reporting, whether instant analysis equates to increased insight is yet to become evident.

Michael D. Dorsher

See also African American News Media; New Journalism; Sportscasters, Radio; Sportscasters, Television; Sports Journalism

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STAR News (Asia)

STAR News Asia provides news and information services by satellite to more than half of the world's population spread over 50 countries. News is delivered primarily in English, but channels also carry newscasts in other languages, notably Chinese in China and Taiwan, and Hindi in India. When STAR began to cover Asia via satellite in the early 1990s, it was a pioneer in creating competition for government-owned media, programming demand in a growing middle class, and a culture for consumerism.

STAR (Satellite Television Asian Region) is owned and operated by News Corporation (News Corp.), a global media conglomerate headed by Rupert Murdoch (1931–), the Australian media mogul who is now a U.S. citizen. As a risky upstart unseating monopolies and offering audiences more choices, STAR exemplifies traits associated with Murdoch's other media enterprises. But Murdoch did not launch STAR, instead buying a controlling share (64 percent) of young news-and-entertainment STAR-TV in July 1993.

STAR was begun by HutchVision, the broadcast subsidiary of Hutchison Whampoa, a Hong Kong conglomerate owned by Li Ka-shing (1928–), the richest man in Hong Kong at the time. He had the foresight to work with the Chinese government to launch the AsiaSat satellite, on which he began broadcasts of STAR in December 1991, setting him ahead of the other main Asian competitor, Television Broadcasts (TVB) AsiaSat1 had been the first commercial satellite to provide regional coverage of Southeast Asia. Li's early move gave STAR a wide territory across which to establish a brand. STAR broadcast its five channels free, with revenue generated by the advertisers Li brought in as investors. With its satellite transmissions, STAR broadcast 24 hours a day to 38 countries stretching from the Middle East to Indonesia. News programming was provided by the British Broadcasting Corporation, a business partner. Less than two years later, and already enjoying an estimated audience of 45 million viewers, Li sold STAR-TV to Murdoch for a profit, even though the service had not yet broken even.

Murdoch's purchase of a controlling share in STAR-TV proved to be a catalyst for commercial satellite competition in Asia. STAR's rival was TVB, a consortium that was already Hong Kong's leading broadcaster. TVB, whose programming included CNN for news coverage, began leasing satellite capacity to expand its reach. The field widened with regional satellites and the digital compression that allowed more room for channels

on them, along with cable TV and phone services. Availability of distribution and content choices focused debate on the effectiveness of pan-Asian advertising as a revenue stream in markets so segmented by cultures and languages. Murdoch's addition of pay TV platforms soon after his purchase helped address this shift. Like Li had done, Murdoch put his sons in managerial positions in order to train and test them for the succession of his global dynasty. James Murdoch (1972–) was running the STAR satellite business in the early twenty-first century.

Transnational satellite broadcasting ushered in wider access to information and entertainment for many Asians, including those of the world's two most populous nations, China and India. Though STAR was programmed from its Hong Kong headquarters, its footprint, or the geographic reach of its satellite signal, extended across Asia to include countries with government-run media that often delivered governmental propaganda as news and did not permit foreigners to own media outlets or distribute programming. Without having to air competing viewpoints, the government voice became the unchallenged authority in interpreting events and disseminating information. Lacking competition from private media enterprises, the state-run channels had little incentive to engage their audiences' interest. With its new voices and wider scope of services, STAR quickly secured millions of viewers. While it did not capture a majority of viewers from the national media, STAR did introduce a new way of presenting information and entertainment, including added foreign perspectives, more attention to media image and modern editing techniques, and commercial priorities. The access epitomized by STAR signaled the beginning of the end of restrictive and sometimes repressive national media environments.

STAR News Asia's newscasts are modeled on those of contemporary Western-style programs. The most dramatic regional and international stories of the day are covered first and repeatedly. Pleasant anchors announce headlines and cut away to packaged coverage in which reporters provide stand-up narration of events. STAR News anchors have garnered name recognition with their audiences, and some have gained celebrity status. To appeal to contemporary audiences in an increasingly competitive market, STAR News Asia updated its logo and on-air look in 2006. The news service shares the STAR menu with an increasingly diverse array of programming, from international sports and entertainment channels to locally produced entertainment and joint ventures.

Amid debate as to whether Western media transmit undue cultural influence, News Corp. has cooperated with Asian governments to develop programming, affiliate with existing channels that broadcast in indigenous languages, involve local talent, and cover stories of regional interest. But the sailing has not always been smooth; some media changes have been initiated in response to cultural and political upheavals. For example, shortly after acquiring STAR, News Corp. dropped *BBC World News* from its telecasts to China. In a September 1993 speech from London, Murdoch predicted that satellite broadcasting would hasten the downfall of authoritarian administrations. Viewing such transnational satellite broadcasts as a threat to its control, China began a crackdown on illegal satellite dishes and reinforced national programming requirements, moves that stunted STAR's growth and potential influence. China took issue with STAR's use of BBC news because of the news service's portrayal of China's Cultural Revolution leader Mao-Tse Tung. Early in 1994, Murdoch split the satellite beam into a north and a south footprint, with the northern beam reaching China and the southern beam reaching India. Two footprints meant that different programming and advertising could be carried to separate audiences. Murdoch appeased the Chinese by dropping BBC service from its northern footprint.

With the advent of satellite broadcasting, burgeoning Asian middle classes demanded balanced information and better programming as well as the products they saw advertised. STAR's two different footprints enabled focused appeals to regional audiences. That, in addition to its partnerships with other non-English channels, attracted more advertisers seeking access to the new consumer populations. In 1995, STAR-TV leased transponders on AsiaSat2, allowing even more tailored channels of programming, languages, and advertising.

As part-owner of British Sky Broadcasting (BSkyB), News Corp. provides its material for STAR News Asia's international coverage. Before making Sky News its Asian news service, STAR carried Sky News on pay channels and on its

Middle East platform. STAR also offered pay channels in Indonesia, Asia's third most populous country, prior to the 2006 acquisition of STAR's first terrestrial broadcast network. To secure regulatory and public approval for a 20 percent stake in Indonesia's ANTV, which is watched by about 5 percent of that country's 180 million viewers, STAR made assurances that broadcast control would remain in local hands and that corporate resources would improve news quality in what is already a competitive media environment and a booming television advertising market.

The STAR system is taking advantage of technology in its production and distribution of news and entertainment in order to reach diverse, new audiences. Having opened up Asia, home to two-thirds of the world's population, STAR is now positioning itself prominently in global media convergence. Its 2006 alliance with China Mobile provided STAR with access to 260 million wireless subscribers, while its holdings in DirecTV, the largest U.S. satellite broadcaster, means that it can beam its Asian news and information across the world to overseas Chinese.

STAR News Asia plays a significant role in the STAR-TV system, which as Asia's largest satellite broadcaster, provided unique access to new audiences and unprecedented competition to government-owned media. STAR is an important player helping to define new and integrated media service. Although STAR initially envisioned its Asian appeal to be the top 5 percent of the population, it has expanded to seek a mass audience by redefining service as a series of interconnected localized appeals.

Therese L. Lueck

See also Asia, Central, South, and East; Asian American News Media; Australia; Cable Television; China; Convergence; Distribution; Dow Jones; Fox News; India; Mass Media, Decline of; Satellite News Gathering

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Stars and Stripes

Stars and Stripes is the daily newspaper published for American military servicemen and U.S. Department of Defense civilians, contractors, and their families. Unique among the many military publications in the world, *Stars and Stripes* operates free of any government control or censorship. It has been published continuously in Europe since 1942, and since 1945 in the Pacific. *Stars and Stripes* has one of the widest distribution ranges of any newspaper in the world; between the Pacific and European editions, it is read in over 50 countries where there are American bases, posts, ships, or embassies. The newspaper publishes approximately 80,000 copies in the Pacific and Europe combined, 363 days each year.

Origins

This military newspaper was first published during the American Civil War, the initial issue produced when Union soldiers of three Illinois regiments set up camp in Bloomfield, Missouri, in November 1861. Upon finding the local newspaper offices abandoned, four ex-newspaper writers decided to print a one-page newspaper for their regiments, relating the troops' daily activities. They named it *Stars and Stripes* but ceased publication when the Union forces continued their advance a few days

later. The Department of Defense has officially recognized Bloomfield as the birthplace of the paper, and the *Stars and Stripes* Museum and Library is located there.

The World War I version first appeared in February 1918 in Paris. It was produced weekly by an all-military staff to provide information to the doughboys of the American Expeditionary Force. At its peak, it had eight pages and claimed more than a half-million readers. It relied upon the improvisation of its staff, many of whom became famous and influential members of postwar American media (editor Harold Ross, for example, returned home to found *The New Yorker* magazine). The *Stars and Stripes* ceased publication after the war ended in November 1918.

In April 1942 in a London print shop, a small group of servicemen founded a four-page weekly version of *Stars and Stripes* for American soldiers in Britain; the new version quickly grew into an eight-page daily newspaper. It was graced by the work of talented young journalists such as Andy Rooney, Steve Kroft, Louis Rukeyser; author Shel Silverstein; and cartoonists Vernon Grant and Bill Mauldin. The latter's famous "Willie and Joe" cartoons laid the foundation for his later work, which garnered two Pulitzer Prizes. Eventually, several editions were published simultaneously in the European theater, some printed very close to the fighting fronts in order to get the latest information to the most troops. At one time, there were as many as 25 publishing locations in operation in Europe, North Africa, the Middle East, and Hawaii. Throughout the war, *Stars and Stripes* had a friend and protector in General Dwight Eisenhower, Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, who issued a "hands-off" policy and defended the paper against protests by others. By V-J Day, August 15, 1945, circulation had risen to a million readers.

When World War II ended, the paper was instructed by the Department of Defense to continue to publish as long as U.S. troops remained abroad. As wartime enlisted staff were demobilized, the newspaper built an experienced staff of full-time civilian journalists, augmented by a small contingent of military journalists and photographers. The paper's reporters joined the troops in the field throughout the Korean and Vietnam conflicts. During the 1991 fighting in Iraq, the paper established a Middle East bureau for reporting the war, as circulation of *Stars and Stripes* nearly doubled within weeks. During the early 2000s Iraq war, reporters from the paper were embedded with military units in Kuwait and Iraq, as well as on Navy ships in the region. Staffers are still reporting from those countries, and thousands of copies of the paper are being printed daily in Iraq and Afghanistan for distribution.

Stars and Stripes Today

In the face of rising costs, in the 1990s the production of *Stars and Stripes* was reorganized. A central editorial office was established in Washington, D.C., that receives news stories, photos, and advertisements from bureaus around the world through a high-tech electronic publishing system with editors then creating electronic pages for different editions that are sent to printing plants around the world by satellite. Since the reorganization, the website has been expanded, a *Stars and Stripes* version for ships at sea was developed and, in 2004, online electronic subscription service was pioneered. The paper is distributed at no charge to troops in combat theaters, offered for sale in coin boxes and military exchanges at bases, and has home delivery to subscribers in several countries. After the restructuring, advertising grew from $3 million to nearly $10 million a year by 2007.

Stars and Stripes maintains news bureaus in Europe, the Pacific, and the Middle East. In addition to national and international news and sports stories, the newspaper seeks to provide all the elements of the hometown papers servicemen left behind, from columns to coupons, comics and crossword puzzles. The "Letters to the Editor" pages have long been a popular feature and forum for lively discussions on issues of interest to members of the military services. In 2008, five daily editions were published: Mideast, Europe, Japan, Korea, and Okinawa. The regional editions, besides the above, offer topical information on political, cultural, and sporting events at the theater military bases and in surrounding communities.

Unlike many of its military media counterparts, *Stars and Stripes* takes no editorial position of its own but strives to maintain a balanced presentation of issues and opinions. The staff, a combination of military and civilian personnel, has been trained in the traditions of American journalism. An ombudsman,

usually a civilian ex-editor, protects the paper's First Amendment rights and investigates any allegations of censorship or news management by government departments or officials. As revised Department of Defense Directive 5122.11 states:

> *Stars and Stripes* is a Department of Defense-authorized daily newspaper distributed overseas for the U.S. military community. Editorially independent of interference from outside its own editorial chain-of-command, it provides commercially available U.S. and world news and objective staff-produced stories relevant to the military community in a balanced, fair, and accurate manner. By keeping its audience informed, *Stars and Stripes* enhances military readiness and better enables U.S. military personnel and their families stationed overseas to exercise their responsibilities of citizenship.

Stars and Stripes is recognized by both journalists and readers as the "G.I.'s newspaper" and has a proud history of being a credible news source. The paper has but one specific mission: to bring American military personnel and their dependents the same international, national, and regional news and opinion from sources available to newspapers throughout the United States.

Historically, *Stars and Stripes*' role becomes most visible in times of overseas conflict, when it expands dramatically to serve a growing number of military personnel. But throughout its tenure as the servicemen's newspaper, it has served to connect American servicemen abroad with each other and with the American home front.

Rex A. Martin

See also First Amendment; Military and the Media; War and Military Journalism; War Correspondents

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St. Louis

St. Louis was acquired by Thomas Jefferson as part of the Louisiana Purchase from the French government in 1803. The Lewis and Clark Expedition left St. Louis to explore the West the following year and later settled in the city after the completion of their mission. St. Louis elected trustees in 1808 and was incorporated the following year on, November 9, 1809. By the start of the next century St. Louis was the fourth largest city in the country and host of the historic 1904 World's Fair, backdrop for the 1944 Hollywood musical film, *Meet Me in St. Louis*.

To appreciate St. Louis's historic status as an early national news leader, a visitor to today's "Gateway City" might want to first visit the historic "Old Courthouse" located downtown—the site of the famed *Dred Scott* Supreme Court pre-Civil War slavery decision, not far from the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. In exiting the rear doors of the Old Courthouse, the visitor might note the plaque toward the base of the stairway. That is where the Society of Professional Journalists (Sigma Delta Chi) honors Joseph Pulitzer (1847–1911), who bought and merged two newspapers—the *St. Louis Post* and the *Dispatch*—and began an era of what would become known as "New Journalism."

St. Louis gained a nineteenth-century reputation as a Midwest capital of commerce; a place where those heading west could be outfitted—but also, eventually as a center of aggressive, enterprising reporting based primarily on the popular image of the city as the "Gateway to the West."

Print Media

Joseph Pulitzer emigrated to the United States from Hungary to fight with the Union Army in the

American Civil War (1861–65). Told about the major population of German-speaking immigrants, he moved to St. Louis and went to work on a German language newspaper, *Westliche Post*. He became fluent in English, emerged as a leading political reporter, studied law, and held office as state senator. As a newspaper person, he emphasized the importance of accuracy and good writing, and the necessity of the press's watchdog role. He took advantage of his location to focus on sensational stories such as the exploits of the infamous desperado, Jesse James, and the James Gang, in post–Civil War America.

Pulitzer competed with Joseph McCullagh, editor of the *Morning Globe,* who merged his paper with the *St. Louis Democrat* to achieve Associated Press membership. McCullagh provided coverage of religious news and often focused on railroad expansion, as St. Louis became an initial hub for the Midwestern and then transcontinental railroads. Once Pulitzer bought and merged the two local newspapers—the *Post* and the *Dispatch*—other publishers throughout the United States began to copy this reporting style, especially William Randolph Hearst, who became acquainted with Pulitzer's New York *World* as a student at Harvard.

Hearst is often mentioned along with Pulitzer because of his role as a competitor using the same brand of aggressive journalism in New York City in the age of "New Journalism." Tackling local "big wigs," utility companies, and slumlords, Pulitzer's properties, especially, highlighted the sensational, regularly publishing stories with headlines such as "How Babies Are Baked," and "Lines of Little Hearses" that targeted the treatment poor families received at the hands of ruthless landlords. Pulitzer published a platform of principles with practices he endorsed without fear or favor of the upper class, traditional newspaper supporters, and also produced an advertising code to address editorial conflicts. Once his paper became dominant in St. Louis, he expanded further into the New York City media market.

The *Post-Dispatch* captured many major stories. When the *Titanic* sank in April 1912 with 2,201 people on board, a *Post-Dispatch* reporter, Carlos Hurd, was aboard the rescue ship, the *Carpathia*. Hurd interviewed survivors picked up from the freezing water. When World War II ended in 1945, a *Post-Dispatch* reporter, Virginia Irwin, was the first of two civilians into Berlin. While Pulitzer's newspaper maintained a competitive edge, it was subsequently led by sons and grandsons, whose names eventually appeared on the editorial page, or the "dignity page," as it was dubbed by the first Pulitzer.

While St. Louis was once home to over a half dozen daily newspapers in recent years, it has become, like most major American cities, home of but one remaining daily newspaper, and although the *Post-Dispatch* is the sole survivor of a once highly competitive newspaper market, it now struggles with a host of alternative media sources, including community-based suburban publications and the tabloid weekly, *Riverfront Times,* as well as "new media" online websites including those associated with competing television stations such as the market-leading NBC affiliate KSDK-TV, "NewsChannel 5" (formerly owned by the Pulitzers in an advertising market that their company once dominated). The *Post-Dispatch*'s last newspaper competitor, the *St. Louis Globe Democrat,* closed its doors in 1986, after operating as a part of a government-endorsed "joint operating agreement" along with the *Post-Dispatch*. In the final analysis, they shared a printing operation that was only capable of producing one Sunday edition.

While Pulitzer's prize possession, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* remains Midwest-based (now owned by Lee Enterprises of Iowa), the name Pulitzer continues to be associated with the distinguished journalism prize bearing his name, a by-product of a $2 million endowment he made to the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism in New York City. Over the years, the *Post-Dispatch* received five Pulitzers for "meritorious service" and achieved distinction through prominent employees such as Washington bureau chief Marquis Childs, known for political and economic reporting as well as for books he published; and editorial cartoonist, Daniel Fitzpatrick, who also received two Pulitzer Prizes, one of them for his Vietnam political cartoons.

During the time of the original Joseph Pulitzer in the post–Civil War era, a prominent magazine publisher, William Marion Reedy, also based his operations in St. Louis. His magazine, the *Mirror,* attracted attention for the scope of feature material it included and because of the prominent writers

Reedy encouraged and supported, including novelists Kate Chopin, Alice French, and Fannie Hurst, and poets Orrick Johns and Vachel Lindsay. Unlike national competitors in the magazine field—people such as Cyrus Curtis of *Ladies' Home Journal*; Samuel S. McClure of *McClure's, Munsey's,* and *Cosmopolitan*; and Harold Ross of *The New Yorker*—Reedy was born and raised in St. Louis. He was iconoclastic and searched the nation for talented writers with the same restless mindset and orientation. His magazine enjoyed a national and international readership but the critical focus and overall content of the magazine remained to a large measure on St. Louis and the American Midwest. The legacy of Reedy is carried on today by the *St. Louis Journalism Review,* the nation's last remaining local critical journalism review.

Broadcasting

For an extended period in radio, CBS owned-and-operated network station, KMOX, was a high-powered AM clear-channel operation, meaning its broadcast signal was dominant and did not compete with others in the region. It dominated the market as "The Voice of St. Louis" pioneering call-in talk radio with active listener participation. KMOX was the on-air home of the St. Louis Cardinals baseball team. Before the national move toward broad expansion of the total number of professional baseball teams, St. Louis was the southern- and the western-most major league franchise, and was thus able to attract listeners from divergent parts of the country. Sportscasters such as former players Dizzy Dean and Joe Garagiola, as well as Jack Buck and Harry Caray (before he migrated to the rival Chicago Cubs) were an important element of that scene. Many national radio sports announcers and network television program hosts gained their start at KMOX, including Bob Costas, Dan Dierdorf, and Joe Buck.

St. Louis briefly caught network attention when a CBS-TV documentary titled "Sixteen in Webster Groves," which examined teenage life in middle-class America's wealthy suburbs, aired. The program aired in February 1966 and required a follow-up program six months later and an extended debate over the beliefs, attitudes, and values reflected by the teenagers, who were portrayed in the film as ultra-conservative and very materialistic clones of their parents. The follow-up program represented the first time a national television network returned to a community to access the effects of its initial broadcast. The result was that there were threats on the FCC license of its local affiliate, KMOX, leveled by prominent members of that community, including a columnist for the *Post-Dispatch* and a large number of local broadcasters who happened to live in Webster Groves. In terms of additional national exposure, that same CBS affiliate station, now KMOV, later market tested "live" ENG (electronic newsgathering equipment) gear which was later adopted by CBS News nationally.

Today, St. Louis boasts a half dozen competitive TV stations: KTVI 2 (Fox), KMOV 4 (CBS), KETC 9 (PBS), KPLR 11 (CW), KDNL 30 (ABC), and KSDK 5 (NBC), the perennial market leader. St. Louis is known as having the highest overall rated Public Broadcast Service television station in the nation, in KETC, Channel 9, with a popular weekly talk series, *Donnybrook,* among the highest rated pubic affairs program offerings, hosted by the former editor of the now-defunct *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* Martin Duggan. St. Louis is also one of the few cities in the United States with an independent community radio station, KDHX.

In the first decade of the 2000s, the city's most dominant media entity is its leading television station, NBC affiliate KSDK (formerly KSD-TV), the nation's first Pulitzer-owned station and a perennial news ratings winner. Former Penn State professor Dan Pfaff uncovered the source of that station's original call letters: the initials of Pulitzer's mother, Kate S. Davis (KSD) in his 1991 book, *Joseph Pulitzer II and the Post-Dispatch*. That station went on the air on February 8, 1947, and drew heavily from the staff of its associated radio station. In some instances, its reporters filed stories jointly for radio and television and used information from the Pulitzer newspaper. The TV station had a staff of distinguished on-air contributors including news director Frank Eschen, a Missouri journalism school graduate, as well as a cast of talented entertainers.

The major stories during early TV journalism in St. Louis included coverage of the kidnapping of Bobby Greenlease, the six-year-old son of millionaire car dealer Robert Cosgrove Greenlease—which began in Kansas City and ended in St. Louis. Other major televised stories included a mine explosion

leaving 100 trapped underground and the death of an archbishop on the eve of being named a Cardinal in the Catholic Church. In other televised news, St. Louis was a host city for Senator Estes Kefauver's televised crime hearings in the early 1950s, in which the Tennessee senator traversed the country uncovering organized crime in America's big cities. Television coverage of a holdup at Southwest Bank provided shocking images to audiences nationwide and thrust the story into the national consciousness. The infamous holdup was later translated into a motion picture starring Steve McQueen, *The Great Bank Robbery*. In 1965, the Gateway Arch structure was completed and then dedicated by the National Park Service three years later. The completion was covered live by all local stations. The architect Eero Saarinen's design of the Gateway Arch commemorates Thomas Jefferson's westward expansion, and an award-winning documentary film, "Monument to the Dream," about the building of the Arch is shown daily in the Museum of Western Expansion, beneath the base of the Arch. The notable symbol and logo for the city has become emblematic of St. Louis's transformative era, which looks forward but also reflects the city's past.

Michael D. Murray

See also Broadsheet Newspapers; New Journalism; Tabloid Newspapers

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Streaming Media

Audio and video streaming is a distribution technique for multimedia content. Streaming, as opposed to downloading, allows users to watch or listen to the content immediately without having to wait until the whole file is downloaded. Streaming has become a commonplace technique for media organizations to reach their audiences. Likewise, citizens are gaining the capacity to stream their own content as the costs continue to drop.

Advances in bandwidth availability, computer processing power and digital compression techniques allowed streaming to take off in the mid-1990s, making it a practical reality for those with broadband connections. Increases in bandwidth—that is, the capacity of a given channel to carry data—allowed for the streaming of multimedia content (such as music or video) with large file sizes, as opposed to text that demands far less bandwidth. Continuing increases in computer processing power and advances in compression techniques have enabled a significant decrease in the amount of information that streaming techniques requires. While the content will be of somewhat lower quality due to this compression, most users find this an acceptable tradeoff in exchange for faster speeds and more convenience.

To listen or watch content over one's computer has become widely accepted over the years. A 2007 report by the Pew Internet & American Life Project states that 57 percent of Internet users have watched videos online and that most of them share what they find with others (Madden 2007). With Internet access no longer confined to desktop computers, people are increasingly accessing streaming content by means of a wide variety of mobile devices, such as cell phones. These will not replace television receivers for watching news anytime soon, but they can be useful for those on the move, or at work or traveling.

A variety of multimedia content, including most forms of audio and video, can be streamed. Listening to radio online is the most popular example of audio streaming. In contrast, podcasts, though a popular method of listening to radio online, usually have to be downloaded first and cannot be streamed. Podcasts, however, offer the advantage of syndication; users can subscribe to them and download new episodes automatically. Video requires more bandwidth than audio because of the vastly greater amount of information that is transmitted. Steady increases in bandwidth, with broadband Internet, made video streaming feasible, while the advent of video streaming sites like YouTube has made the practice extremely popular.

Streaming content can be prerecorded or live. Prerecorded content can be streamed at any time a user requests it, whereas live content is streamed at a scheduled time, such as a conference talk or a sports event. A media player is required to stream content. The player can be external, as with software such as Windows Media Player or QuickTime, or the player can be embedded in the website, which is how YouTube works.

Buffering is a technique that complements streaming. If an Internet connection is not fast enough, or is unstable and often interrupted, content may not stream smoothly and "lags" might occur—small intermittent breaks in the streaming process where the streaming cannot continue until either the connection is again stable or fast enough. To prevent these lags, streaming software relies on buffering. Buffering is the process where content is preloaded into memory (e.g., "the buffer") until it is full before it is actually streamed—in other words, buffering makes sure that there is sufficient content to allow the content to be played uninterrupted. While content is being streamed, software will continue to fill the buffer to ensure a smooth and uninterrupted streaming experience.

Commercial Implications

Increasingly, media organizations offer users streaming content from their own websites or those of third-parties such as movies and television shows on Hulu (http://www.hulu.com) or radio shows on Live365 (http://www.live365.com/index.live). With television shows, the content is usually made available a day or two after it is first aired in its original medium. From a user perspective, streaming has an advantage over downloading, in that the user does not have to wait until content is completely downloaded before use. The disadvantage of streaming is that users cannot permanently save content to their computers as they would if content had been downloaded.

However, from a commercial point of view, streaming as a form of distribution has commercial value for content providers, precisely because it does not allow users to save content while downloading does. Without a saved copy, users cannot share content with others; streaming thus allows content providers much greater control of distribution. Providers can exploit the commercial value by either charging for access to the content or by carrying advertisements (or both). Advertisements can be placed in the stream before the content is played. For advertisers, this method is desirable because users cannot skip commercials. However, users often find this way of displaying ads annoying, especially if the advertisement takes a long time. Another way to place ads is in the context of the content, for example, in a sidebar next to a video clip on the website.

While streaming generally does not permit users to save content, it is not impossible to do so. The act of recording, ripping or capturing streams, sometimes called de-streaming, saves the streaming content on a hard disk. This is neither trivial nor straightforward, especially if users seek a perfect digital copy. Analog copies are easier to capture and save (akin to recording a radio show with a microphone), but would degrade the level of quality. While it is technically not impossible to record streaming content, content providers have a business incentive to make it as hard as possible for users to do so.

Citizen Journalism

What effects will audio and video streaming have on the ways the public receives and understands information? Every technological advance changes the relationship between the news and the public in its own way. For example, the television changed the dynamics of the Vietnam War. Dubbed the first "television war," it was the first time that a war was brought prominently into the living rooms of American families. Conventional wisdom argues

that one of the effects was that it accelerated a loss of public support for the war, although some scholars disagree. With the introduction of cable television, scholars have similarly tried to understand its effects on the 1990–91 Gulf War. CNN made its name during the Gulf War by broadcasting around the clock and providing the public a sense of immediacy of the war that was different from before the advent of cable television. Since the introduction of streaming, we have seen a few interesting developments suggesting how the nature of news production and consumption is changing. For example, watching live streams became a popular phenomenon during the initial stages of the 2003 war in Iraq when live video transmitted from Baghdad became available at any time to anyone with an Internet connection. People also increasingly share clips with each other, with clips sometimes becoming so popular that they are considered "viral." The possibility of clips going viral has led campaigns in the 2008 presidential election in general and during the debates in particular to be extremely careful not to make gaffes in order to avoid having a "YouTube moment"—a moment where a mistake is made that will be widely shared and watched on YouTube.

A telling example of such a YouTube moment and how users are sometimes able to shape news is the role citizen journalism played in the 2006 Virginia Senate Race. In his reelection campaign, Senator George Allen (R-VA) used the racial slur "macaca" to refer to an Indian American who happened to be filming a campaign event for use by the opposing candidate. Quickly uploaded onto YouTube, the clip was widely shared around the blogosphere, generating much controversy and bad publicity for Senator Allen, who subsequently lost an election he had been favored to win.

Technological advances have increasingly lowered barriers to streaming and allow users to stream content, not just to receive it. Cell phones and digital cameras that are capable of recording video are becoming more affordable. Plus, users no longer need their own web sites to stream content because numerous websites exist that can do streaming for them. The result is that citizens can effectively create their own newscasts. CNN is leveraging this fact through their iReport website by asking users to submit news stories to them. Bloggers are also using video streaming to provide commentary, allowing them to respond to television journalism, much in the way they have previously responded to print journalism.

Opportunities of low cost live streaming for journalism are manifold. One opportunity for institutions is to raise accountability and increase their interactions with the community. For example, news organizations can stream editorial meetings of the newsroom, making the community a part of the newsroom and keeping the journalists accountable to the public. Another opportunity arises when citizens have access to the news and can act as journalist when professional journalists do not have access. For example, Congressman John Culberson (R-TX) used his cell phone to stream discussions that continued after the House of Representatives was adjourned and thus after C-SPAN had stopped recording.

The ability of individuals to stream live content raises opportunities but also ethical questions for journalists. In June 2008, a man drove a truck into a crowd in Tokyo's Akihabara district, and went on a stabbing spree that resulted in seven deaths and many others injured. Two friends sitting in a nearby café saw the commotion and took their cameras and laptops with high-speed wireless cards to the scene, filming and streaming what was happening. Television had video to tell the story, but faced numerous ethical questions about just how much to show.

Legal Implications

Issues of legal liability are relevant when the user created the streaming content, but there is generally no legal liability if a person merely embeds content created and hosted by other sites, for example, when someone embeds a clip from YouTube on a blog. This rule covers most content, except in the case when it involves federal crimes, intellectual property, and electronic communications privacy. For example, in August 2008, a blogger was arrested for streaming songs from an unreleased Guns N' Roses album on a blog that provides "uncensored music reviews and interviews" (Ardia 2008). The creator of streaming content may also have legal liability if material is defamatory or invades privacy of others. If recording is done in a public space, there is generally no reasonable expectation of privacy, although obtaining prior consent and providing notification are

helpful in minimizing liability. If material is created or hosted by a third-party, however, simply streaming it will not result in liability, according to the immunity provisions of Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act, except in the cases when it involves federal crimes, intellectual property, and electronic communications privacy (Citizen Media Law Project 2008).

Conclusion

For media organizations, reaching audiences has become easier with the capacity to stream content wherever there is access to the Internet. By offering streaming content, people can watch shows they missed at any other moment in time. With the proliferation of mobile devices, they can also watch streams at any place they want, as long as they have connection and do not mind the smaller screen and lower quality. Technological advances make it increasingly possible for people to share content, but also to stream their own content in a cost-effective way, using a cameraphone and web services, effectively making every citizen with a camera and Internet connection a potential live reporter. The ability of citizen journalists to stream content carries both opportunities and many legal and ethical implications; we have barely begun to understand what this means for journalism's future.

Lokman Tsui

See also Blogs and Bloggers; Citizen Journalism; Digital Journalism Tools; Editing, Online and Digital; Podcasting

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STRINGERS

See Freelance Writers and Stringers

STUDENT JOURNALISM

Student journalism is practiced across the United States in schools of every level. Not merely limited to schools of journalism, the roles of both student journalists and their publications are diverse. A school publication can report on the school administration; entertain as well as inform its student audience; serve as a window to outsiders; and serve as a training ground for students who hope to become professional journalists. While a few of the largest daily student newspapers offer some coverage that goes beyond their campus, the majority of student newspapers are intensely local, focusing on issues that pertain only to the campus community. Those that do reach beyond the campus grounds typically use stories from wire services.

College and University Papers

The first campus newspaper in the United States was a weekly established at Dartmouth College in 1839. The *Yale Daily News* began publishing in 1873, and still appears at the New Haven, Connecticut–based university. While the first weekly newspaper at Harvard was established in 1856, the *Harvard Crimson* did not go daily until 1883. By the late

nineteenth century, most colleges and universities had at least a weekly newspaper and many already had daily ones. Through the twentieth century, as educational opportunities and institutions expanded, the number, size, and frequency of student newspapers increased as well.

Early collegiate newspapers were small and self-sustaining, having minimal staff, and only limited circulations to support their small budgets. As the size of universities expanded, this press model began to shift. Newspapers, as well as other campus publications, began to depend on student activities fees for their expanding budgets. With schools directly funding campus publications, publication boards of campus administrators were often established to oversee the allocation of funds and, sometimes, the activities of the publications. In some instances, the newspaper and other campus publications were overseen by journalism departments. This dependency on university funds has often caused tension between student editors and school administrators, who may try to influence the content of the publication.

The relationship between publication and school may indicate not only the role the publication has in the school community but also its financial structure. Such relationships can take one of three forms: direct control, amorphous, or independent. With the direct control model the student newspaper is directly controlled by the administration. An amorphous situation occurs when the student newspaper is dependent on university funds but is governed by students. And the independent model is exactly that, as the publication does not receive school funds. Many of the oldest and most respected student publications, such as the *Harvard Crimson* and *Yale Daily News,* are independent.

Regardless of the financial relationship, a paper's student staff is usually comprised of volunteers with little experience. While student publications provide a training ground for students who aspire to a career in journalism, relatively few student journalists continue in the profession. Student publications try to retain staff members by offering scholarships, stipends, and other forms of compensation if possible.

Student journalists are all subject to the same legal standards to which professional journalists are bound, such as libel. But students were not always granted First Amendment protection. In the United States, students began to challenge this imbalance in the 1960s and 1970s. The landmark case that established students' right of free expression was *Tinker v. Des Moines Community School District* (1969). Though not specifically concerned with student journalists, the decision established the student journalist's rights of free speech.

In *Papish v. University of Missouri Curators* (1973), the Supreme Court established that student editors could not be expelled for distributing an underground publication on campus. Barbara Papish, a graduate student at the University of Missouri, published an underground newspaper called the *Free Press Underground*. Its contents were controversial, and the university disapproved, when copies of the *Free Press Underground* were distributed on campus to visiting high school students and their parents. Papish was expelled after she published a cartoon the university deemed obscene. After she sued for reinstatement, the Supreme Court ruled in her favor.

While the *Papish* case established the rights of student editors, it was not the last dispute between student journalists and school administrators at the high school or college level. One of the most salient issues in student journalism is censorship and advanced approval of content prior to publication. Professional organizations, including the Society of Professional Journalists, oppose this practice. While many high schools and universities have established publications as free forums for students to develop editorial and news articles, others do not allow for this.

High School Papers

In the U.S. Supreme Court case *Hazelwood School District v. Kuhlmeier* (1988), a high school student newspaper issued as part of a journalism class operated according to the requirement that all articles be approved by the principal prior to printing. In this instance, the principal chose to censor two articles: one about pregnant students and another about students whose parents were recently divorced. In both instances, the principal felt that though the students' names were not included, their identities were apparent, and the discussion of contraception was not appropriate for younger students. The students sued the school district, and the trial court sided with the students. The appeals

court sided with the students, but by a vote of 5 to 2, the Supreme Court reversed again to side with the school.

The Court concluded that public school newspapers that were part of a curriculum were not established as forums for student expression, and were thus subject to a lesser degree of First Amendment protection than those publications offering independent forums of student expression. While the decision has no bearing on private schools, it is important in that censorship by public school administrators in "nonforum" publications is legal when they can justify that their decision has a legitimate educational purpose. *Hazelwood* also established that public school officials cannot ban in-school distribution of underground or independent student publications if they are free forums of expression. Since the Hazelwood ruling, student journalists often contact local media to print their censored articles, drawing attention to the act of censorship as well as exposing the material to a larger audience.

In April 2005, a federal Court of Appeals decided in *Hosty v. Carter* (Seventh Circuit) that the Supreme Court's decision concerning high schools in *Hazelwood* was also applicable to public colleges and universities under its jurisdiction, which includes Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin. While this ruling creates no precedent for other states, student journalists within those three states must establish their publication as open forums of student expression in order to gain full First Amendment protection, or they could be subject to oversight by university officials.

These federal court decisions underline some of the basic rights of (and restrictions upon) student journalists. It is important to remember that these precedents are applicable only to public schools—schools that are funded by the government. There have been so few cases of freedom of the press brought by private school students and/or teachers that there is not yet an established precedent in that area.

Substantial technological advances have increased students' ability to publish. The popularity of weblogs, or blogs, and software that simplifies publication of websites will expand student journalism and allow student journalists to reach out to new audiences. High school and college/university journalism allows students to exercise their right of free speech and gives them training in a field essential to the sociopolitical culture of the United States.

Nell McGarity

See also Alternative and Underground Newspapers; Censorship; Education, Journalism

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Sunshine Law

In 1976, Congress passed the Government in the Sunshine Act (5 U.S.C. 552b), which took effect the next year. The legislation was modeled on an earlier Florida Sunshine Act. Its purpose was to provide Americans with open access to the meetings of some 50 federal agencies, commissions, and boards. Partly in response to the Watergate scandal earlier in the decade, this law and other antisecrecy measures were enacted to make sure that government agencies, deliberations were open to public scrutiny. The act works in concert with the Federal Advisory Committee Act of 1972, which required that all meetings of federal advisory committees serving the executive branch be open to public observation.

Both this and similar state statutes do not affect or govern the meetings of legislative bodies such as Congress. While sessions for the House are typically

open, the U.S. Senate occasionally holds closed meetings to discuss treaties or personnel issues. For example, during the impeachment trial of President Bill Clinton in 1999, the Senate heard evidence in open session but met in closed session to deliberate.

Generally, agencies must provide at least one week's notice prior to each meeting. The law defines a "meeting" as deliberations of a quorum of members that result in conduct of agency business. This "sunshine" notice must provide the time, place, and subject of the meeting. In addition, the agency must provide the name and phone number of a designated official or contact information regarding whether the meeting is to be open or closed. According to the act, meetings cannot be presumptively closed. Therefore, an agency must vote in advance and make a written copy of the vote available to the public. A majority of the agency must vote in favor of closure and then the agency must also provide a full written explanation of its actions for closing part or all of a meeting.

The law provides for nearly a dozen exemptions that qualify for closing meetings and they are similar in nature to those included in the Freedom of Information Act. They include the following:

1. Issues of national defense and foreign policy
2. Discussion of internal personnel rules and practices
3. Statutory exemptions provided under law
4. Trade Secrets and proprietary information that would injure parties if made public
5. Accusation of crime or formal censure
6. Personal privacy
7. Investigatory records such as those collected by law enforcement
8. Financial institution reports
9. Disclosure of information that could lead to financial speculation or that would frustrate implementation of agency policy.
10. Issuance of subpoena, participation in civil action or proceeding, or formal agency
11. Adjudication

Some executive agencies such as the Federal Trade Commission hold many closed meetings because much of the work of the commission encompasses issues that fall under exemption 10. Lastly, agencies must provide Congress with an annual report regarding their policies, an accounting of the number of meetings held, and whether exemptions applied to the meetings.

The law also includes a general prohibition on *ex parte* communication between government agency decision makers and outside interested parties as a result of this legislation. *Ex parte* literally means "for one party." The idea is that last-minute lobbying should not take place so that one interested party has a better chance to succeed in a decision or rulemaking.

The presumption of closure may be challenged by anyone through the federal District Court system although the courts have strictly interpreted the law in a number of instances. Several examples illustrate problems with the law. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission used the tenth exemption to block access to a meeting where it was discussing the reopening of the Three Mile Island power plant. In another example, the U.S. Court of Appeals said that the law did not apply to the President's Council of Economic Advisors since the purpose of the council was strictly advisory. However, many examples illustrate the significance of the law. The law has opened the door for gavel-to-gavel coverage of important hearings and meetings by C-SPAN and has provided for creating online services like Thomas, a Library of Congress database for federal legislative information.

Critics of the Sunshine Act assert that opening meetings has a tendency to subvert truly open debate at meetings since the participants may be concerned that their remarks will be transcribed or broadcast. Because meetings are open, many chairs of agencies and commissions are reluctant to bring an item to the floor unless they are sure of the outcome of a vote. Journalists frequently complain that commission and agency meetings often seem scripted with commissioners reading from prepared statements and voting in predetermined ways. The Sunshine Act prevents commissioners at federal agencies from informal discussions whenever the number of participants would constitute a quorum, such as three or more at the Federal Communications Commission. As a result, commissioners often resort to using memos or deputizing aides to meet in a commissioner's place as one way of circumventing the intent of the Sunshine Act.

Most states have passed parallel legislation designed to open state and local government agencies to the same level of scrutiny required in the federal law. All 50 states have enacted open-meeting laws but it is difficult to make generalizations

about the different laws. The Reporter's Committee on Freedom of the Press published a comprehensive examination of both the open-meeting and open-records laws in 2001 and concluded that the best laws are those that define a meeting by specifying the number of members of the board, agency, or commission who must be present to constitute a quorum. Laws that are less specific or simply refer to all "regular" or "formal" meetings are less effective. Similar to the federal law, most state statutes provide for closed meetings or "executive sessions" in cases where personnel matters or invasion of privacy may be at issue. Other reasons for meeting in "executive session" may include issues of public safety and labor negotiations. Most states include a provision in their legislations that bars any final actions from being adopted in "executive session." Therefore boards or commissions must reconvene in public before adopting a final determination. Similar to federal legislation, most open meeting statutes require a notification to the public as to when a meeting is to be held. The notification must be given far enough in advance so that interested parties can attend and most laws provide for actions to be taken if the law is violated.

The advent of electronic communications has had an impact on government in the sunshine. For example, the Florida Sunshine Law mandates that cities keep a permanent record of all e-mails sent or received by public employees. The North Dakota law defines all e-mail correspondence as a "meeting" and requires that e-mails to and from public officials must be made public upon request. Some states have enacted Sunshine-style laws that require reporting of the amounts of money or emoluments that pharmaceutical companies pay physicians in connection with marketing activities related to new prescription drugs. A 2007 study in *The Journal of the American Medical Association* found that reporting in some cases was spotty and that companies failed to provide specific information identifying the recipients of gifts.

The Sunshine Laws have allowed journalists insights into the workings of government in a variety of surprising ways. Adding e-mail to the filing requirements of the act has given reporters the ability to look into back-channel communications that often preface a public vote on controversial issues. E-mail messages retrieved during the Iran-Contra scandal between Colonel Oliver North and Admiral John M. Poindexter, then national security advisor under President Ronald Reagan, provided important information regarding the illegal use of funds. In other instances, messages obtained by *The Arizona Republic* showed that e-mail sent among council members in Phoenix calculated the number of votes needed to pass bills related to public financing of public projects and crimefighting.

Voicemail messages and faxes are also subject to the law. In 1995, the president of the school board in Jefferson County, Colorado, used voicemail messages to inform other members of the board about his planned testimony against a proposed educational governance bill. Also in that year, the chairman of the board of regents at the University of Nevada at Las Vegas was found to have violated the law on open public meetings when he sent faxes to many of the board members seeking their approval to issue a press release. These examples illustrate the ability of access laws to provide the public with insight into the public policy process.

With the increasing use of private contractors and outsourcing of some traditional government functions, the application of open records laws becomes a legitimate question. Electronic data collection and use of electronic memoranda also raise questions about whether these actions constitute meeting under the meaning of the statute. The nation's heightened interest in security after the events of 2001 poses further issues for those seeking government in the sunshine.

Fritz Messere

See also Congress and Journalism; Freedom of Information Act (FOIA); Government, Federal, Coverage of; Presidents, Coverage of; Press and Government Relations; Privacy; Secrecy and Leaks

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Supreme Court and Journalism

The American constitutional guarantee of a free press works because an independent judiciary headed by the U.S. Supreme Court has enforced the promise for more than 200 years. The courts are the instrument that gives life to the First Amendment's words that "Congress shall make no law…abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press…." There is almost nothing that American journalists do that has not been affected by rulings of the Supreme Court.

While protecting essential elements of news media freedom, the Supreme Court (and the lower courts which must follow its rulings) has sought to balance the rights of journalists against competing claims to constitutional protection. These include rights to reputation and privacy, fair trial rights, and the needs of government to maintain order and public safety. In determining the rights and duties of the press, the Court usually has given reporters no greater rights than nonjournalists have, the First Amendment's "press clause" notwithstanding.

American federal and state constitutions protect the rights of people to speak and write freely.

The U.S. Constitution, the supreme law of the land (by virtue of Article VI, the Supremacy Clause) seems to protect the news media doubly. To the generalized protection of expression ("free speech" in the First Amendment) a second clause was added guaranteeing freedom of the press. Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart, in a 1974 speech at Yale, observed that journalism was the only occupation singled out for explicit constitutional protection, "to create a fourth institution outside the Government as an additional check on the three official branches."

That status was not always honored. Barely ten years after the Constitution was adopted in 1789, two dozen editors were arrested—and eight punished—under the Alien and Sedition Act for criticizing the John Adams administration. Later, during the Civil War (1861–65), publishers perceived as sympathetic to the Confederacy faced imprisonment or the closing of their newspapers. In 1918, the Supreme Court failed to even mention the First Amendment when it upheld the contempt conviction of a Toledo, Ohio, newspaper and its editor for their sharp attacks on a judge's rulings in a streetcar dispute.

Three Landmark Decisions

Not until 1925 did the Supreme Court take a first (and giant) step toward recognizing the importance of a free press. While the justices upheld the conviction under a New York law of Socialist leader Benjamin Gitlow for publishing a "Left Wing Manifesto" advocating the violent overthrow of the government, they also proclaimed that under less harmful circumstances the right to print such statements would be among the fundamental liberties protected from state penalty by the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, or, in the case of a limitation imposed by Congress, the First Amendment.

The decision made clear that most legal perils to which the press is exposed arise under state law. For example, there is no federal libel law. Until the early twentieth century, it had been assumed the Bill of Rights (1791) limited only the exercise of federal power. The decision in *Gitlow v. New York* made the free speech–free press guarantees of the First Amendment universal. Whether a case arose under local, state, or federal law, *Gitlow* made it clear that attempts to punish authors, either by the criminal process or by entitling aggrieved parties to use a state-created cause of action for civil damages, clashed with rights protected by the First and Fourteenth Amendments.

Two later decisions, issued three decades apart, are also of towering significance to journalists. In one, the Court ratified the principle that prior restraints on speech and on the press are

presumptively invalid, except in the rarest situations. In the other, it gave the mass media almost complete freedom to report on issues and personalities of public importance without fear that making a mistake could result in ruinous liability.

The Supreme Court first wielded its constitutional sword to strike down a law as a violation of press freedom six years after the *Gitlow* decision. It happened in the case of publishers of a small Minnesota weekly who repeatedly accused local officials of letting "Jewish gangsters" control gambling, bootlegging, and racketeering in Minneapolis, and were ordered to stop publishing under a state law that declared "malicious, scandalous or defamatory" publications a public nuisance.

In its 1931 *Near v. Minnesota* decision, the high court concluded that the shutdown order was akin to censorship, which is never permitted except under very exceptional circumstances (such as reporting troopship sailings in times of war). The Court observed that the First Amendment grew out of the eighteenth century commentaries of the British jurist William Blackstone, who asserted that if harm occurred, the appropriate remedy was to make the publisher answer *afterwards* for printing things that were "improper, mischievous or illegal." The First Amendment was intended to codify Blackstone's abhorrence of *prior* restraints.

The other momentous Court decision—and one which dramatically enlarged press freedom—was its 1964 *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan* ruling. It turned the law of libel upside down in an expansive reading of the First Amendment that literally created a right to be wrong in many instances. Historically, the courts had demanded little of those who claimed a defamatory statement injured their reputation. The burden was on the publisher to prove the statement was true. The circumstances under which the publication occurred, or the fact that the publisher believed the information was accurate, did not alter the risk of liability.

The change in the Court's perspective grew out of the civil rights revolution of the 1950s and 1960s in the American South. Activists seeking integration were often met by brutal efforts to suppress their actions—dogs, fire hoses, tear gas, and truncheons. Annoyed at scathing criticism in the press, especially in Northern news media, Southern officials attempted to silence critics by seizing upon minor errors to file multimillion-dollar libel suits heard by sympathetic local juries. L. B. Sullivan, the Montgomery, Alabama, commissioner responsible for the police department, was awarded $500,000 after *The New York Times* carried a full-page advertisement by civil rights leaders in 1960 charging that peaceful student demonstrators had been met by "a wave of terror." Three other city commissioners and the Alabama governor also sued.

Unanimously overturning the state libel award, the Supreme Court declared that debate on public issues should be "uninhibited, robust and wide open." It said that libel suits like Sullivan's were really a disguised effort to revive discredited laws against sedition (criticism of government), and that public officials accused of wrongdoing had ready access to the media to set the record straight if they were falsely depicted. It concluded that inadvertent error had to be accommodated to provide the necessary breathing-space for public debate, and that public officials could recover damages for a defamatory falsehood relating to their official conduct only when they could prove a news agency acted with "actual malice"—that is, published a story knowing it was false or with "reckless disregard" of whether it was false or not.

In subsequent decisions, the Court added public figures to the category of libel plaintiffs who must meet the higher burden of proving "actual malice" to prevail against news media (*Curtis Publishing Co. v. Butts,* 1966; *Associated Press v. Walker,* 1967). And to receive punitive damages, even nonpublic figures were required to show "actual malice" on the part of the media (*Gertz v. Robert Welch, Inc.,* 1974). Most importantly, the Court rejected the notion that carelessness or the failure to adhere to the standards of a responsible publisher constituted "reckless disregard." Media defendants would be liable for printing or broadcasting false and defamatory statements only if they knew the allegations were untrue or inherently improbable; were made despite a high degree of awareness of their probable falsity; or were made while entertaining serious doubt about their accuracy, or in a deliberate, intentional and purposeful effort to avoid the truth.

Heightened concern about protecting news media from vexatious lawsuits had turned the traditional process upside down. The parties who filed suit would now have the burden of proving each element of libel, including showing that the statements at issue were false and defamatory and made

with the requisite level of fault. The news media no longer had strict liability for what they published about public issues and personalities. The only cost to the media—the price they had to pay for the protection of the "actual malice" requirement—was that they could no longer claim their internal decision-making processes were protected from disclosure by the First Amendment. The state of mind and knowledge of journalists working on a story was now a relevant matter for courts to consider when determining whether a news organization had acted with "actual malice." Office memos, unpublished material, and notes and testimony about editorial decisions would have to be provided when "actual malice" was asserted.

As in the earlier *Near v. Minnesota* case, the *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan* decision balanced competing interests. While it weighed heavily in favor of First Amendment protection, the decision left room for public figures and public officials to prevail in the most egregious cases. Despite the categorical language of the First Amendment forbidding restrictions on the press ("Congress shall make no law…"), the Court has always rejected the view of absolutists such as Justice Hugo Black, who asserted that "no law" meant "just that." The Court left the door open to prior restraints and libel judgments against the mass media in narrowly defined circumstances.

Balancing Rights

To date (mid-2009), the Supreme Court has never upheld a prior restraint by government against the news media. In the 1971 Pentagon Papers case, for example, the Court said the government had failed to show direct, immediate, and irreparable harm that would result from *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* publication of the Defense Department's 7,000-page history of how the United States went to war in Vietnam. In other contexts, the Court has implied that restraints *might* be proper when spoken or written words are likely to incite imminent lawless conduct, or pose a clear and present danger of grave, immediate injury. However, no such case involving the mass media has been the subject of a Supreme Court ruling.

In some instances, restraints are made possible by statute, such as in cases of copyright infringement or commercial appropriation of someone's name or image. The Supreme Court, in *Roth v. United States* (1957), has also ruled that obscenity is beyond constitutional protection. But the Court has stated repeatedly that prior restraints are the most serious and least tolerable interference with the right to speak and publish freely.

Despite the "press clause" in the First Amendment, which would seem to provide explicit protection for journalists, the Court has generally considered news media issues under the broader "free speech" provision protecting expression by anyone. In one case, the Court appeared to rely on the "press clause" in connection with invalidating a state law imposing a special, discriminatory tax on newspapers, but that was a rare occurrence.

The Court's refusal to give the media more First Amendment "freedom" than other public "speakers" resulted in rulings that journalists have no rights bestowed by the First Amendment to resist grand jury subpoenas, or to enter and report from prisons, or to enter private property without permission just because something newsworthy is occurring there. Nor do they have any special right to travel to countries that the State Department has declared off-limits. In one case in 1981, *Haig v. Agee,* the justices upheld the Secretary of State's revocation of a passport to a former CIA agent-turned-journalist who wished to expose undercover intelligence operations. The high court said the Secretary's action did not impermissibly burden the agent-turned-reporter's freedom to travel or speak, or impede his ability to criticize government policies and practices.

Of course, lawmakers are always free to provide more protection to the news media than the Court says the Constitution requires. This happened in 1980 after the Court ruled, in *Zurcher v. Stanford Daily* (1978), that the First Amendment did not exempt journalists from a search of their files by police with a warrant, looking for information a paper may have kept confidential. Responding to the contention of journalists that newsgathering would be jeopardized without the means to keep some things secret, Congress specifically nullified the high court decision by enacting limitations on news room searches with the Privacy Protection Act of 1980. The restrictions apply to state and local law enforcement officers—as well as federal—and cover a reporter's notes and other material wherever they may be found.

News Reporting and Gathering

The high court has never been comfortable with one pivotal question: whether the right to *report* news freely implies a right to *gather* that news just as freely. Presumably, you can't have one without the other.

The issue was first broached in its 1972 ruling on subpoenas, *Branzburg v. Hayes*. In a 5–4 decision, the Court concluded it was more important to prosecute crimes than to write about them, and that press claims about confidentiality would have to give way when a reporter's testimony was needed. This is why confrontations occur between judges and the news media over the issue of subpoenas to journalists. When *New York Times* reporter Judy Miller was imprisoned for 85 days in 2005 for refusing to disclose her news sources in a leak investigation, she could expect no help from the Supreme Court.

Nonetheless, Justice Byron White hinted at a right of access in the *Branzburg* decision, noting that "without some protection for seeking out the news, freedom of the press could be eviscerated." How much protection? The Court mentioned protection from rogue prosecutors and subpoenas that had only a remote and tenuous connection to an inquiry. However, beyond that, the high court has been silent—with one exception.

Under English common law, individuals had a right to inspect and copy court records, a right of access found as well in American traditions. Courts and court records are presumptively open. Exceptions must be rare and carefully justified. But, here too, the press has no greater right than the general public. In one instance—involving Oval Office tape recordings used in the early 1970s Watergate trials—the Supreme Court, in *Nixon v. Warner Communications* (1978), said the right had been supplanted by an act of Congress specifically directing how the material was to be made public.

If the high court has refused to recognize news people as privileged characters, it is also fair to say it has generally sought to avoid clashes between news media and competing interests, and erected high—although not insurmountable—obstacles in the way of those who would impair First Amendment freedoms.

The 1954 wife murder trial of Dr. Sam Sheppard presented a conflict between his Sixth Amendment right to trial by an impartial jury (made applicable to the states through the Fourteenth Amendment's due process language) and the First Amendment rights of news media to cover legal proceedings energetically and to report whatever they wished. Some news reports headlined highly prejudicial allegations about Sheppard that were never presented in court. Reporters and photographers crowded the courtroom. In hearing an appeal years later, the Supreme Court described the scene as a "media circus." Who had the superior right, news media or a criminal defendant? Which amendment was more important, the First or the Sixth?

The Court declined to say in *Sheppard v. Maxwell* (1966). Instead, it said the trial judge failed to conduct the trial properly and ordered a new one. The justices said the judge should have taken greater steps to control media conduct in the courtroom and to shield jurors from prejudicial publicity. It said he should have considered other measures to reduce the effect of outside influences, such as delaying the trial, moving it, or requiring more extensive questioning of prospective jurors to weed out those who had been swayed by stories in the press. It said that judges could issue "protective orders" (what news media call "gag" orders) limiting what parties could say to reporters. But—mindful of the First Amendment—it declined to lay down rules for media conduct.

The principle of avoiding direct media restraints was developed further in subsequent cases. When a Nebraska judge presiding over a pre-trial hearing in a grisly mass-murder case excluded reporters who refused to omit from their stories details that were strongly implicative of the defendant's guilt, the high court rebuked the judge. In *Nebraska Press Association v. Stuart* in 1976, it said editors, not judges, decide what goes into the paper or on the air. It said the judge should have considered alternative measures such as those described in the *Sheppard* decision.

The Court has developed a number of formulas for protecting news media from being punished when they publish truthful information, lawfully obtained. Commonly, it asks whether a court prohibition was justified by an "interest of the highest order," an interest that outweighs the First Amendment. For example, only a handful of states prohibit naming a rape victim in a news story. Others make it unlawful to publish the name of a

juvenile offender, or a judge or attorney who is the subject of a disciplinary proceeding. In each instance, the Supreme Court has said the state interest at stake was not of "the highest order," and was insufficient to override the First Amendment.

Deference to the First Amendment figured in a significant case involving a federal prohibition, the portion of the anti-eavesdropping laws that forbids not only the interception of other people's phone calls, but also the divulging of the contents. In its 1991 *Bartnicki v. Vopper* decision, the Court said the First Amendment right of the people to know about issues of public concern was more important than the federal prohibition on revealing the contents of telephone conversations, especially when the divulgence was made by someone who was not a party to the illegal interception. It said the federal law had to give way in the case of a Pennsylvania radio station that broadcast a recording it received of an illegally intercepted phone conversation concerning a threat of violence in a local labor dispute.

In contrast to *Bartnicki,* a public "right to know" was given short shrift by the Court in a case involving newspapers in Minneapolis and St. Paul. After pledging confidentiality to a political operative who was spreading "dirt" about opposing candidates, the newspapers concluded that the fact that he was engaged in such reprehensible behavior was more important than the information he provided. It printed his name. Thereafter, he was fired and sued the newspapers for breaking their promise. Upholding a $200,000 jury award, the Supreme Court, in *Cohen v. Cowles Media* (1991), rejected the notion that the papers were immune from suit merely because the information was truthful and important to the electorate. The Court said a promise is a promise, and repeated the familiar refrain that the Constitution gives journalists no greater privileges than others have.

In another case, *Morison v. United States* in 1988, the Supreme Court sustained the conviction of a U.S. Navy civilian employee—who moonlighted as a journalist—for giving classified satellite photographs to *Jane's Defense Weekly,* his after-hours employer. He was imprisoned for four years for violating the espionage laws despite his claim that he sought only to enlighten the public. And, in still another case, *Snepp v. United States* in 1980, the Court summarily let the government seize the profits of a former CIA agent's unauthorized book about the agency, based on a breach of the author's CIA employment contact.

Nonetheless, the Court has not been indifferent to the First Amendment claims of book authors. It struck down a New York "Son of Sam" law, aimed at compensating victims of crimes by giving them the entire proceeds of the sale of a criminal's story. In *Simon & Schuster, Inc. v. New York Crime Victims Board* (1991), the justices said the law went too far in penalizing a convicted person's thoughts and recollections—expressive activity protected by the First Amendment.

The Supreme Court has not been presented with a situation that would pose the most contentious constitutional conflict, the prosecution of a full-time journalist for publishing or broadcasting information that fell clearly within the prohibitions of the Espionage Act. In 1917 to 1918 during World War I, during the cold war in 1957, and on three occasions during the 1970s, Congress declined to specifically criminalize press disclosure of classified information. Although a claim has been made occasionally—even by several Supreme Court justices—that a prosecution would be constitutionally permissible in such a case (suggesting that legitimate national security concerns would trump the First Amendment), the high court has avoided dealing with the issue. Congress's repeated refusal to authorize such prosecutions would seem to settle the matter. As with the legislation limiting newsroom searches, Congress has shown a willingness to give journalists greater rights than other people have—a proposition which the Court has just as consistently rejected.

The Supreme Court's reluctance to give reporters special privileges is evident in its rulings on workaday activities of news media. The Court has declined to excuse trespass or other breaches of the law by a journalist, merely because the news person was engaged in reporting at the time. Reporters have been punished for accompanying civic protestors onto private property, entering public schools and military sites without permission, and testing the enforcement of a law by violating it. In a 1999 ruling, *Wilson v. Layne,* the justices declared that reporters have no right to enter private property even when they are invited to "ride along" by public safety officers executing a search or arrest warrant. While the Court has recognized the right of

the public to receive information—for example, in commercial and political advertising cases—it has rejected the argument that a public "right to know" excuses forbidden conduct, except in the unusual circumstances of the *Bartnicki* case.

In some instances, states have attempted to tell media what they *must* do—the flip side of trying to say what they *can't* do. To provide time for the electorate to reflect on the candidates, an Alabama law barred newspapers from editorializing for or against a candidate on election day. A Florida law required newspapers to provide reply space to candidates they criticized. Both were overturned by the Court, which concluded the First Amendment prohibits government from dictating the content of newspapers (*Miami Herald v. Tornillo* [1974]; *Mills v. Alabama* [1966]). (On the other hand, radio and television stations have to obey congressionally mandated "equal time" and candidate access requirements, but broadcasting is a federally licensed and regulated industry, unlike other media.)

At one time, reporters were subject to punishment for criminal libel as well as civil suits in most states. The premise behind such laws was that some defamatory statements are so inflammatory that merely uttering them posed an immediate prospect of violence and a breach of the peace. However, with rare exceptions, such laws have been repealed or abandoned after the Court declared that they constituted a "heckler's veto" in which the crime was measured more by the lack of self-control of the listeners than by the conduct of the speaker, and could not be sustained without meeting the *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan* standard of actual malice.

Limiting the Media

The Court has always given great weight to the states' determination—through state-enacted libel laws—that the right of people to protect their reputations is just as important as rights of free speech and of the news media. For that reason, the justices have been slow to apply the protection of the *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan* decision too generously or to extend other privileges to news media that might sharply limit libel suits.

For example, the Court ruled that the protection given to opinion may be lost if a statement in a newspaper or broadcast implied knowledge of an objectively verifiable fact. Thus, in *Milkovitch v. Lorain Journal* (1991) it found that a sports columnist, who wrote that everyone who attended an athletic contest "knew in his heart" that the school had lied about what happened when a fight broke out, had stated a fact, not opinion, and could therefore be sued for libel. In other cases, it refused to confer "public figure" status on a prominent Palm Beach socialite, a mental health researcher who received major grants of public money, and a man who had been held in contempt for declining to testify in a grand jury investigation of Communists. In each instance, the individual needed only to show negligence rather than "actual malice" to recover for defamatory misstatements.

The news media did not fare well in other situations, either. When *The Nation* magazine obtained a pre-publication copy of President Gerald Ford's memoirs in 1979 and scooped the publisher by printing excerpts concerning Ford's pardon of Richard Nixon, the Court, in *Harper & Row v. Nation Enterprises* (1983), said the news value of the roughly 300 words taken from the book did not excuse the copyright infringement, and was nothing less than "piracy."

When a CBS News reporter sought the FBI's computerized criminal histories—so-called rap sheets—of individuals he was writing about, the Court, in *Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press v. Justice Department* (1989), created a far-reaching exception to the federal Freedom of Information Act, asserting that computers had altered the nature of privacy rights. It said information reporters might otherwise be entitled to, stored in practical obscurity, could now be summoned at the push of a button—an unwarranted and unacceptable invasion of personal privacy.

Furthermore, the Court has disappointed journalists by ignoring an important development, the defense of "neutral reportage." A number of jurisdictions have shielded news media from liability when they fairly and accurately report what was said about a person on a matter of public concern, even if the statements were false and defamatory and not otherwise privileged. Despite the importance of such protection, and the patchwork of state laws that do or do not apply it, the high court has not responded to press entreaties to address the issue. Nor has the Court grappled with the nettlesome issue of when news organizations must

disclose confidential sources in response to non-grand jury subpoenas.

Siding With the Press

On the other hand, there are plenty of cases in which the Court sided with the news media. In a case in which a noted psychoanalyst was quoted as saying he would be regarded as "the greatest analyst who ever lived," a statement he denied making, the Court, in *Masson v. New Yorker Magazine* (1991), ruled that altering a person's quotes in ways that made him look vain and foolish was not a knowing falsehood if it reflected the meaning of what he said. In a noteworthy exception to the normal rules, *Bose v. Consumers Union* (1984), the Court said appellate courts could reconsider factual determinations that were reached at trial when a newspaper or broadcaster is being sued for libel. It has encouraged trial and appellate courts to grant summary judgments in libel cases when it is clear to the judges that a suit will not succeed. That means news organizations often can avoid the burden of trial.

In an important "false light" case, *Time, Inc. v. Hill* (1967), in which *Life* magazine greatly exaggerated details of a family's ordeal at the hands of escaped prisoners, the Court extended the *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan* "actual malice" requirement to privacy suits, as well as libel. The justices did the same thing in striking down an emotional injury award to the Reverend Jerry Falwell, who had been the subject of an unseemly parody in Larry Flynt's *Hustler* magazine. In *Falwell v. Flynt* (1986), the Court implied that public personalities have to put up with the rough and tumble of press characterizations and caricatures and could never sue successfully for emotional injury in such cases.

However, in another "false light" case, *Cantrell v. Forest City Publishing* (1974), the Court upheld a judgment against a Cleveland, Ohio, newspaper whose reporter falsely implied he had interviewed the widow of a victim of a bridge collapse. The Court said the paper was guilty of "calculated falsehoods" and "reckless untruth," sufficient to meet the "fault" element it imposed in libel suits.

Rulings on Broadcast Journalism

The high court has had several occasions to consider federal regulation of radio and television journalism. Although the 1934 Communications Act creating the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) specifically prohibited the government from censoring broadcasters, the FCC has over the years adopted a number of rules to regulate broadcast content, consistent with that mandate that licensees should operate "in the public interest, convenience or necessity."

In that regard, the high court affirmed the FCC's authority to compel stations to sell time for federal candidate's campaign advertisements and provide equal opportunities to all qualified candidates for the same public office. However, in *Arkansas Educational Television Commission v. Forbes* (1998), it also upheld an exemption from the equal time rule for broadcasters exercising journalistic judgment in selecting candidates for interviews in "bona fide" news programs and broadcast debates—even on public television stations. In its most celebrated case involving broadcasters, the high court upheld the constitutionality of the FCC's Fairness Doctrine in the 1969 *Red Lion Broadcasting v. FCC* decision. The justices said that the FCC could require a Pennsylvania radio station to give a person air time to reply to a personal attack. It reasoned that the First Amendment rights of the public outweighed the rights of broadcasters. In later years the Court and the FCC showed flagging interest in the rule, and some skepticism, and in 1987 the FCC abandoned its Fairness Doctrine altogether.

Conclusion

Several themes emerge from the high court's many decisions dealing with the mass media. The Court has generally been loath to read the press clause of the Constitution's First Amendment as giving journalists greater rights or privileges than other persons have. The Court has also been skeptical of claims that journalists need to be exempt from rules that may hamper the gathering of news.

On the other hand, the large number and variety of rulings demonstrate the Supreme Court's keen interest in the news media, and the Court's understanding of its role as guardian of a free press. It has placed the burdens heavily on those who would curtail what the media prints or broadcasts. It has almost always tipped the scales of justice in favor of news media whenever discussion of public

issues was at stake, recognizing that the First Amendment serves two constituencies—the media's right to publish or broadcast and the public's right to receive what the news media report.

American news media are free because the Supreme Court and the independent judiciary have kept them free.

Carl Stern

See also Access to Media; Censorship; Crime and the Courts; First Amendment; Freedom of Information Act (FOIA); Free Press and Fair Trial; Indecency and Obscenity; Libel; Privacy; Shield Law; Sunshine Law

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SYNDICATION

See Feature Syndicates; News Syndication

Tabloid Newspapers

Strictly speaking, the term *tabloid* refers to some newspapers' size, which is half that of a standard broadsheet. However, over the years it has taken on a broader definition that has less to do with size and more to do with the presentation and style of news. "Tabloid" is now commonly used to describe a particular kind of formulaic, colorful narrative, coupled with dramatic visuals, and usually perceived as distinct from standard, "objective" styles of journalism. Tabloid style is typically seen by critics as inferior, appealing to base instincts and public demand for sensationalism over information. While the term is used to describe both print and electronic news, this entry focuses on print tabloids.

In the twenty-first century, in both the United States and Europe, there are three main types of tabloid. First are the weekly publications often known in the United States as "supermarket tabloids," which focus on celebrity gossip and notable human-interest stories, with the exemplar being the *National Enquirer*. Related, but somewhat different, are daily tabloids, which cover breaking news as well as similar human interest stories, such as the New York *Daily News* and *Post* or the British *Sun, Star,* and *Daily Mirror*. Finally, and generally in response to falling circulations and competition from new media, some newspapers have "gone tabloid" in size if not style, or have launched additional tabloid versions, aimed at such audiences as college students and rail commuters.

Development

True "tabloids" emerged in Britain during the first decade of the twentieth century and in the United States in the 1920s. Entertainingly sensational, they were written in the idioms of the people, as William Randolph Hearst (1863–1951) proudly declared when launching the American *Daily Mirror* in 1924. However, the roots of tabloid journalism can be traced back further to the sensational broadsheets and ballads of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which circulated by the thousands in Europe and the United States. Their subject matter would be familiar in any tabloid today—sensational crimes, gossip about the rich and famous, and dramatic human interest tales about heroism, strange births, and unusual happenings.

In the United States, these themes made their way into the "penny press" of the 1830s, as Benjamin H. Day's (1810–89) New York *Sun* and James Gordon Bennett's (1795–1872) *Herald* targeted a growing mass of semiliterate urbanites with exciting human interest stories. The papers sold for one cent, compared to other papers' six-cent subscription, and were smaller and more portable, foreshadowing the appeal of later tabloids. Equally important were the papers' writing tone. The *Sun* adopted the motto "It Shines for All" and assumed a plain-spoken style, using vivid, active language and colloquialisms and breaking up stories into short paragraphs, a style very different from the wordy colonial press. This clear, active style became the model for journalism; tabloid journalism simply developed the style at its

most formulaic. The penny press also developed new information-gathering techniques, relying on reporter "legwork" and interviews, rather than official documents such as court records.

The 1880s saw more changes that established the tabloid style. Joseph Pulitzer (1847–1911) bought the moribund New York *World* in 1883, launching what soon became known as "yellow" journalism. Pulitzer embarked on a crusade against government corruption, white slavery scandals, and other exciting topics, written in dramatic style. By 1886, *The World*'s daily circulation was the largest of any newspaper ever; in addition to current news and advertising, it ran such features as women's pages, etiquette hints, and advice columns. Reporters built on the style of the penny papers, producing stories full of detailed description and colloquial dialogue. Pulitzer's success spawned imitators, most notably Hearst, who in 1896 bought the New York *Journal,* which in addition to human interest stories, included features like comics, sports, and short, pithy editorial content. Only a slight change in format was required to produce the first tabloids.

True Tabloids Emerge

The first real tabloid was the *Daily Continent,* founded in 1891. However, in direct competition with the Hearst and Pulitzer giants, it failed, and it was left to Alfred Harmsworth (later Lord Northcliffe) (1865–1922) to establish the tabloid as a viable form in Britain. In 1898, Pulitzer invited Northcliffe to produce a New Year's Day tabloid edition of *The World*; although it sold over 100,000 more copies than usual, Pulitzer was not convinced. It was not until 1919 that the first successful U.S. tabloid picture paper, the *New York Daily News,* was established, under Joseph Patterson (1879–1946) and R. R. McCormick (1880–1955).

The *News* was modeled on Northcliffe's British ventures, with short, "personality" stories, and specials like a beauty contest and detective series. Within two years, the *News* had New York's largest circulation, at 400,000, and by 1938, its daily circulation was 1,750,000, with the Sunday edition reaching 3,250,000. Hearst, who was losing circulation to the *News,* established the American *Daily Mirror* in 1924, the same year the New York *Evening Graphic* was founded, launching the era of "jazz journalism." From 1919 to 1929, three New York tabloids vied for an audience with increasingly sensational stories, and the tabloid writing style came into full flower. Indeed, the *Graphic*'s style and content was so extreme that it was dubbed the "Pornographic." Several celebrated murder cases spurred circulation wars; in 1928, the *News* sold a half million extra papers with its retouched photo of murderer Ruth Snyder in the electric chair, obtained by a photographer with a camera attached to his ankle. The interwar tabloids faced a barrage of criticism; they were seen as degrading, demoralizing villains that pandered to the lowest instincts. They pioneered such techniques as composite photographs, reenactments, and dramatically rewritten "quotes." With the arrival of the depression, the tabloids lost appeal. The *Graphic* went under, the *News* prospered by becoming more respectable, featuring more hard news, and the *Mirror* began a steady decline until it closed in 1963. The truly lurid tabloids disappeared, and by 1937, there were 49 successful tabloids, all "middle-of-the-road" big city dailies, featuring the lively, brief reporting of news, features, gossip, and sport that continues today.

In Britain, the trajectory of the tabloid was different, although also built on the development of a "common people's" idiom in the early nineteenth century. However, the British tabloid also incorporated a strong political streak that emerged in the 1830s with a series of radical papers. Tabloids developed within a context of the establishment of a strong sense of proletarian identity, a feature that was largely absent in the U.S. context. Since the early twentieth century, British tabloids have taken much more overt political positions than their U.S. counterparts, ranging from the consistently left-leaning *Daily Mirror* through the conservative *Daily Mail,* to the current market leader, Rupert Murdoch's (1931–) *Sun,* which has switched political stances several times since it was launched in 1964. Other British tabloids include the *Daily Express* and the *Star,* which takes a largely apolitical position and focuses on often lurid celebrity gossip. Since the 1930s, the British tabloids have been in a virtually continuous circulation war. This has been characterized not only by political stridency, but also by the rise of the undraped "page 3 girl," introduced in the *Sun* in 1969. Now many tabloids feature a daily topless

photo of young female models, several of whom have become celebrities in their own right. British tabloids are also far more explicit about sexual matters, unlike the more staid U.S. papers, in spite of the latter's reputation as "scandal sheets."

The American "Supermarket Tabloid"

A new tabloid era dawned when Generoso Pope (1927–88) bought the struggling *National Enquirer* in 1960. At first, his strategy echoed the 1930s *Graphic,* focusing entirely on gruesome murders and traffic accidents, with a sprinkling of mysteries, unusual human interest tales, and often vicious celebrity gossip. Wherever possible, stories featured photos of dead and mutilated bodies. By the late 1960s, circulation had stalled, and Pope pioneered a key change. Noticing the decline of newsstands and other news outlets, he turned to supermarkets, a previously untapped outlet. His new format was "family-friendly," reportedly modeled on *Reader's Digest,* and eschewing both overt violence and explicit sex. Although the writing style was similar, the *Enquirer* did not compete directly with the daily city tabloids; its appeal lay in the titillating nature of the stories, whether the events happened the previous week or two centuries earlier. Pope moved the *Enquirer*'s operation from New York City to Florida in 1971. By this time, the paper was available in all major supermarket chains and its circulation reached 4 million by 1974, the year Rupert Murdoch entered the American tabloid wars with the launch of the full-color weekly *Star*. This drew on Murdoch's proven expertise with the tabloid format in Australia and Britain, with a strong emphasis on sex and working class consciousness. However, after a fast start, it faltered; Murdoch had apparently misread American tastes. He quickly adapted the formula, specializing in celebrity coverage, which has continued into the early twenty-first century.

Meanwhile, in 1980, Pope counterattacked, going to a color format, and launching the low-budget *Weekly World News,* using the old one-color presses. The *News* represented a smaller but quite successful thread in the U.S. tabloid story, specializing in bizarre, basically fictional stories about aliens, psychic predictions, and human freaks. In 1989 MacFadden Holdings bought the paper after Pope's death, later adding the *Star* in the 1990s. MacFadden was subsumed by American Media, and in 2000, the conglomerate also swallowed up the three competing tabloids run by Globe Enterprises—the *Globe, National Examiner,* and *Sun*—and the entire operation consolidated in Boca Raton, Florida. The *Star* moved back to New York in 2003 and in 2004 switched to a higher-grade, magazine format.

Modern Tabloids

Today, the tabloid is ubiquitous, but not uniform. In terms of size, the term "tabloid" is now virtually meaningless, at least in Europe, since many "quality" papers have now switched to a tabloid size, including the London *Times* and the *Independent,* although using the term "compact" to avoid negative connotations. In the United States, many mainstream newspapers have added special tabloid editions or supplements designed to appeal to a younger market, such as the *St. Petersburg Times*' tabloid *TBT*.

Similarly, the "tabloid" is no longer defined by content as it often covers the same topics as mainstream journalism, although more flamboyantly. Essentially the tabloid, whatever its actual size, is defined by its style. Tabloid narrative eschews the "inverted pyramid" format, preferring a "teasing" introduction, followed by the complete tale, laid out concisely. The style has changed little since the 1930s, and allowing for differences in local idiom, it is similar across the English-speaking world. Adjectives abound; stories are "amazing," "baffling," "untold," or "incredible." Particular story types call for familiar words: Heroes are "spunky," or "gutsy"; a male celebrity may have a "gal-pal" or "cutie," while women will have "boy toys" or "hunks." Small children are "tots," dogs are "pooches," husbands are "hubbies," and unsavory types are "creeps" or "sickos." These familiar, stock clichés produce a short-hand style that invites readers into the shared tabloid assumptions of good and bad, appropriate and inappropriate. Reporters recombine information in familiar patterns, giving tabloids their distinctive flavor of titillating novelty delivered with soothing predictability. Standard interview practice is to ask questions requiring a yes or no answer; the question then becomes the quote, producing interview subjects who are consistently "shocked," "flabbergasted," and "bowled over."

Certainly there are differences among recognizable tabloids. British dailies cover politics and "hard" news, although much more briefly and superficially than "quality" newspapers, while much of their space is devoted to celebrity news, sensational human interest stories, advice, and so on. Their U.S. daily counterparts, such as the *New York Daily News,* offer a similar mix, which is proving very successful. Even as newspaper readership is generally declining, the early-twenty-first-century New York City "tabloid war" between the *Daily News* and the Murdoch-owned *Post* produced higher circulations for both papers. U.S. supermarket tabloids rarely touch hard news at all, and now position themselves as competitors of celebrity magazines such as *People, Us,* or *In Touch*. A small group of publications, including the *Weekly World News, National Examiner,* and *Sun,* delivers a mix of alien sightings, biblical predictions, and cheerfully ridiculous fables to a small but loyal following, usually enjoying them from an "ironic" perspective. Tabloids across the world contain familiar mixes of heavily illustrated news, entertainment, sports, and other features; for instance, the largest circulation newspaper in Europe is Germany's *Bild-Zeitung,* which bases its style on British tabloids.

"Tabloidization"

Tabloids have always been blamed for a cheapening of journalistic discourse. "Tabloidization" has become a familiar term used to describe an inexorable decline in "real" journalism, usually framed in terms of increasing trivialization, where celebrity gossip crowds out serious news, and human interest stories receive more coverage than important international events.

However, it is important to consider tabloidization in context. A movement to clearer, more accessible news that speaks more directly to readers does not necessarily equate with a decline in standards. In Mexico, a move toward a more tabloid style has signaled positive forces for social reform and democratic participation, as elite controls on news have loosened. Similar changes are noted in Eastern European nations, where the emergence of more personal, tabloid-like styles go hand in hand with a more open and accessible press. In China, irreverent tabloid media have led the fight against government repression, and the regime has responded by closing some down. Several commentators have pointed out that if done well, "tabloid" features, such as emphasis on the personal over the institutional, can make news more direct and effective.

Thus it is important to understand cultural specificities when discussing tabloidization, or any other journalistic quality. Even in two societies as apparently similar as Britain and the United States, there are significant differences in tabloid media, and thus the implications of tabloidization. British dailies and American weeklies may feature similar layouts, writing styles, and a celebrity focus, and journalists have moved comfortably between the two genres and nations for years. However, they also reflect distinct cultural milieus, notably the much more prurient approach to sex in Britain. Rather ironically, U.S. critics decried the "tabloidization" of mainstream journalism during coverage of the 1998 Bill Clinton/Monica Lewinsky scandal, but in fact, the mainstream press offered far more explicit details than did the tabloids, which did not wish to offend readers with details of cigars and stained dresses. In the early twenty-first century, the supermarket tabloids are struggling, mainly because their gossipy style is no longer unique. The *National Enquirer,* which in the 1980s boasted a circulation of over 5 million, now barely sells 1 to 2 million copies a week.

Today, the definition of "tabloid" is increasingly murky. As a term, it seems to function most effectively as a kind of demon that is evoked wherever there are debates about journalistic standards and quality. As a style, it continues to have robust appeal, even as it continues to permeate the entire journalistic scene, from print, to television, to the Internet.

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See also British Tabloid Press; Hard Versus Soft News; Human Interest Journalism; Infotainment; Objectivity; Sensationalism; Tabloid Television

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Tabloid Television

As the term suggests, *tabloid* originates in print journalism where it refers to a diminutive newspaper format. In keeping with their ease of handling, tabloid-sized newspapers are generally regarded as having little engagement with "serious" news, instead exhibiting a predominant concern with trivia and sensation. Just as tabloid newspapers are regarded as dealing with "less serious" news in an attempt to increase their market share, such changes in television have come to be referred to by the term tabloidization. Other related terms are newszak, dumbing-down, infotainment, and, less disapprovingly, personalization and democratization. As is clear from these terms, there are different values attached to this process, which can be seen as detrimental to journalism, or, more positively, as a key driver of the masses to news media.

Development

Across Western media, many believe there is an underlying obligation for media, largely seen as part of the public sphere, to foster citizenship and civic responsibility. Since the 1980s, however, increasing commercial pressure in the form of competition from cable and satellite outlets, the information industries' growing internationalism, and a slackening of government and state regulation have threatened this public service media model. This has resulted in a blurring of the boundaries between public and private, information and entertainment. Recent years have seen a conflation of news and talk programs as journalists shift to being journalist-hosts in studio-based shows that feature audience-centered discussions of topical events. Indeed, there has been such a narrowing between news and entertainment that news/entertainment talk shows had become major forums for presidential candidates in the United States by 1992. For example, Bill Clinton made a saxophone-playing appearance on the *Arsenio Hall Show* in 1992, and more recently during the 2008 presidential election, candidates have appeared on shows such as *The View* (ABC) and *Saturday Night Live* (NBC).

In 1995, the year's "national news event," extensively covered not only on talk shows but also on news programs, was the O. J. Simpson trial, during which television news programs often carried clips of reaction on the talk shows and talk shows carried clips of the footage gleaned from news programs. News merged with and became dependent upon entertainment. Increasingly, it is the norm for "serious" broadcast news reporting to include stories about the personal lives of celebrities among the top stories, and for politicians to readily appear on such talk shows as Oprah Winfrey. This increased focus on personalities, one component of tabloidization, has increasingly become a feature of news and current affairs programming as broadcasters seek new audiences. "Newszak" refers to formerly informational programs, such as *60 Minutes* (CBS), that have developed more in line with traditional notions of entertainment. Thus, while the topics covered in tabloid television can be seen as entertainment-focused, tabloidization also indicates a series of journalistic practices.

Emphasis on the Personal

Part of this process is related to language, where there is a tendency towards more informality, characterized by the use of humor and colloquial speech. There has been an increase in the use of conversational styles in the media since the late 1970s, which has had the positive effect of allowing more people to better understand the complex social and political issues covered by the media. Linguistically, this informality can be as simple as the use of "Hi" rather than "Good evening" to greet an interlocutor, or an exchange of unscripted,

personal anecdotes among news anchors between stories (often dubbed "happy talk"). The viewer overhears personal comments about a journalist's life and thus may regard them as more familiar and trustworthy. A well-known example of a journalist that built a sense of empathy with her audience is longtime NBC morning show host Katie Couric, whose private tragedies served to emphasize her personal appeal and made her one of the most popular television figures of her generation. Yet her switch to become evening news anchor on CBS did not allow her the flexibility on the air she had long enjoyed, and her audiences dwindled. Drawing upon a similar focus on personality, when CBS correspondent Kimberley Dozier was badly injured while reporting from Baghdad in 2006, she returned to the network a year later to make a documentary about her experiences. This example of a correspondent becoming the story enabled her to produce personally informed reports that highlighted the experiences of Iraqi people as well as U.S. service personnel.

In similar fashion, within the course of an interview with a public figure such as a politician or company executive, questions might be asked about their private lives or personal opinions with interviewer and interviewee exchanging anecdotes. Associated with this informality and bonhomie, the use of humor in tabloid broadcasting adds greatly to its entertainment value. Where this appears in programs traditionally devoted to serious news, it has given rise to the term *infotainment*. Such programs include *The O'Reilly Factor* (Fox News Channel), which is well known for its confrontational approach to public debate, and the parody of this, *The Colbert Report* (Comedy Central) that covers similar topics but through highly satirical journalism. Elsewhere, politicians regularly appear on talk shows where the associated informality and humor help them reveal a more personal, human side than would otherwise be visible in official appearances. Dumbing-down journalism is seen by many in the television business as an essential factor in increasing public engagement in politics, meaning that tabloid television shows engage audiences who might otherwise be unresponsive to more conventional media coverage of politics.

There are many advocates of personalization within the journalism business. Ian Hargreaves, former editor of a mainstream daily in the UK, has come out in favor of a shift to focus reporting towards more personal topics. Among the advantages of the personal in the news, he argues, is that journalists can put more resources into writing about, for example, bio-ethics, birth technology, and the perceived breakdown in family life—all issues resulting from the increasing public prominence of women. Journalism scholar Brian McNair emphasizes the positive aspects of the rise in consumer and life-style content, arguing that this reflects recent advances of women in society which have feminized and humanized what had been a male-dominated news agenda, rendering it less pedagogic and more personal. Viewed this way, journalism has become more democratic, and its increased personalization enables more citizens to engage in issues.

Research into viewer responses to American news and current affairs programs suggests that people find it easier to remember and debate human interest topics which might otherwise be regarded as unimportant. As one researcher found, viewers were able to relate these personalized stories to their own experiences, thus ensuring that these narratives, and the issues they dealt with, were remembered. Conversely, she also found that it was difficult for viewers to recall and discuss foreign news stories with a degree of enthusiasm or confidence; stories, that is, which might not lend themselves so easily to immediacy and personalization. Evidence of a deficit of public attention to private matters is also apparent in the American public's responses to news in the United States. A 2008 report by the Pew Research Center shows that, in the middle of a presidential election campaign in 2008, most of those questioned were more interested in the rising price of gas than in the election.

This growing focus on personalized, entertainment-orientated television news has been criticized by many academics. Journalism scholar Bob Franklin warns that "entertainment has superseded the provision of information; human interest has supplanted the public interest; measured judgment has succumbed to sensationalism; the trivial has triumphed over the weighty; the intimate relationships of celebrities, from soap operas, the world of sport or the royal family are judged more "newsworthy" than the reporting of significant

issues and events of international consequence." Hargreaves's support for the tabloidization of journalism is tempered by his condition that politics and foreign affairs should remain serious topics. The argument follows that traditional news values have been undermined by a new set of priorities and that infotainment has extended too far into the media.

The direct link between tabloidization and commercial interests was clear in an apparent direct application of capitalism in tabloid journalism where the prevailing motivation is profit, not ethics. Such links to financial imperatives can be seen as sullying the integrity of the journalist, particularly those involved in making documentaries, which are widely regarded as one benchmark of investigative journalism. Film scholar Bill Nichols suggests that documentary makers have been accused of compromising their agenda and abandoning the "discourses of sobriety" in order to meet demands of program producers who require entertainment to fill their prime time schedules.

This raises issues of "quality" in journalism. But such value judgments often reflect long-held assumptions as to what is public/serious and what is private/trivial. Although researcher Martin Montgomery argues that there has not been a noticeable tabloidization of British news broadcasting in the period 1985 to 2006 in terms of the news agenda, he also observed that there is an increasing tendency in broadcast news for correspondents to start their reports on even the most "serious" topics (such as reporting from war zones or disaster areas) with comment about what it "feels like" rather than what is actually happening. This emphasis on emotion may well engage a wider range of viewers without necessarily making those viewers better informed about specific factual details.

It has been argued that the tabloidization of television and other media ignores the importance of engaging citizens who are, as a consequence, kept badly informed and disenfranchised. For example, media studies researcher Colin Sparks argues tabloid journalism has "little or nothing to contribute to the life of the citizen." The same features designed to make complex matters accessible are criticized for oversimplifying political issues or the dynamics of international affairs, reducing these to polarities of good and bad, winners and losers. Similarly, personalization of politics (on television and elsewhere) is criticized for shifting the emphasis away from polices to personalities. Media theorist Neil Postman was one of the first academics to express concern about the spread of tabloidization of broadcast media, warning that news and politics had been transformed into "congenial adjuncts of show business."

Even the congenial forms of address, so carefully cultivated, are open to criticism, as the shift away from formality and associated personalization has led to accusations of a lack of deference towards those in authority, coupled with perceived declining standards of literacy in the wider society. In Britain, for example, this is most noticeably found in the virtual absence of English regional accents among national news presenters and where attempts to introduce any new presenter with a marked regional identity are greeted by vociferous complaints from viewers.

Uses and Effects

The trend toward tabloid television has changed the way that many public figures engage with the medium. There is an increasing willingness of politicians to appear on talk shows where they are subjected to questioning which veers away from tough issue-oriented questions or partisan debate, favoring instead questions which emphasize the personal and private in a nonconfrontational way. This does have its benefits. Research suggests that in this way many Americans who might otherwise have entirely ignored the presidential election campaign were exposed to at least some information about the candidates. Potential voters who were otherwise unlikely to engage with "serious" news programs, were more likely than their better-informed compatriots to make their voting decisions based on the personal characteristics of the candidates than on public policy issues.

It is easy to sustain a set of links between forms of journalism and public engagement with the dominant news agenda. A Pew Research Center report of 2007 found in a survey of public knowledge of news and current affairs, the best-informed received their information from cable programs such as *The Daily Show, The Colbert Report,* and *The O'Reilly Factor;* Internet sites such as those of major newspapers; broadcast television such as *The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer;* and radio, such as

NPR and Rush Limbaugh. The least well-informed group got their news from Fox News on cable; morning and local news programs on the broadcast networks, and online discussion boards and blogs rather than major newspaper websites. While local news was the most-watched (71 percent of those questioned), followed by Fox News (43 percent) and CNN (39 percent), it seems that these were also the least informative. Only 17 percent of those interviewed watched *The O'Reilly Factor,* 12 percent *The Daily Show,* and 15 percent *NewsHour,* but these gave the most reliable information based on the questions asked by the researchers.

However, it is significant that the questions related to hard news, such as identifying world leaders and international events. A more nuanced account of the relationship between television, journalism, and public knowledge can be found in research by Jody Baumgartner and Jonathan Morris, which found that young Americans who watched *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart* reported an increased confidence in their ability to understand complex contemporary political issues. However, the researchers also concluded that the humor used to negatively portray politicians led to greater cynicism toward the political system and news media in general, resulting in less willingness to participate in politics among younger potential voters.

Much of the expressive power of the term *tabloid television* rests in its ability to cut across genres and take on various meanings in different contexts. While some see it as being a positive development, for others it embodies declining standards in journalism. There is irony in the fact that tabloid television is able to present itself as being on the side of ordinary people, yet is itself driven by economic interests of media corporations. Yet if there is a need to engage a wide-ranging potential audience (which is, after all, the aim of commercial sponsors), it is argued that there must be a balance between informing and entertaining rather than seeing these as stark polarities.

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See also Cable News; Criticism of Journalism; Hard Versus Soft News; History of Journalism: 1995 to Present; Human Interest Journalism; Infotainment; Media Literacy; News Values; Parody of News; Sensationalism; Tabloid Newspapers; Talk and News Radio

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Talk and News Radio

Talk radio and news radio are two once-distinct program formats that have morphed into a single format at many stations. Yet leading industry publications do not measure the two formats separately. As a combined entity, news/talk is measured by *Inside Radio* as the second most popular radio genre, with more than 2,000 stations identified as programming news/talk out of the nation's almost 14,000 radio stations. The radio rating service, Arbitron, breaks the category down into all news, sports talk, news talk, and

personality talk. When all of those are combined, news/talk/information stations enjoy more listeners than any other format. So-called news/talk stations generally have a far heavier emphasis on talk. On the other hand, an all-news station, as its name suggests, is often exclusively news.

A modern news/talk radio station might have a good deal of news and weather, as well as a heavy emphasis on traffic reports during the morning and afternoon "drive time." Most of the other time slots will consist of talk programming that might be consumer oriented, political, or related to the personal, such as call-in advice programs. Many stations will run a combination of these different types of talk shows. Each type of show has a different demographic appeal and will be programmed according to who is listening at any given hour. For instances, a personal advice program aimed at stay-at-home mothers might be on during late morning after children are at school. While most talk radio skews toward an older demographic more interested in current events and ideas and more used to a slower-paced form of radio, sports talk tends to have a younger, male demographic.

All news radio is often a combination of national and local news as well as features and other information programming. There is a heavy emphasis on weather and traffic throughout the day. Much of all news radio is aimed at commuters who need to navigate city traffic, who need to know the weather forecast, and who have an interest in events local, national and international. The demographic tends to be older.

The antecedents of modern talk radio can be heard in the medium's earliest days when local and national radio had professors, preachers, book reviewers, comedians, and others talking to a passive audience. The formats of these programs did not include listener participation. As the programming became interactive, talk radio became so much a part of the American culture that expressions such as "longtime listener, first-time caller" and "ditto, Rush" tell millions of listeners that one's dial is regularly tuned to talk radio.

Developing All News

All-news programming was one experiment that resulted from television forcing radio to change. Until roughly 1950, radio provided a mix of drama, comedy, news, and music and sought to be all things to all listeners. With television taking over that broad role by the early 1950s, radio had to change and over the next decade became a demographically targeted niche medium to ensure its survival.

Historians often cite XTRA as the first all-news radio station broadcasting to the United States. It started 24-hour news programming in 1961, licensed in Tijuana, Mexico, but directed toward southern California with far more power than the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) would have allowed any American station. The station tried not to note its Mexican origin but rather attempted to blend in as a Los Angeles area station, often announcing the address of its Los Angeles sales office. Legendary radio programmer Gordon McLendon (1921–86) developed this initial all-news format. But there was at least one attempt to do all-news earlier. In May 1960, San Francisco station KJBS changed its call letters to KFAX ("K-Facts"). A UPI report published in *The New York Times* in 1960 said the "all-news" station, "is devoting its programming entirely to current events, background material and editorials." The experiment, trying to be for listeners what newspapers were to readers, lasted only four months before changing to religious programming.

But the idea would soon succeed elsewhere. WNUS in Chicago ("W-news") was among the first successful all-news stations. Also programmed by McLendon, WNUS signed on as all news in 1964 and is regarded as the first such station in the United States. It lasted four years. WINS in New York followed in 1965, followed by WCBS two years later. WAVA and WTOP in Washington, D.C., and KCBS in San Francisco all initiated all-news programming about the same time.

The Westinghouse or "Group W" stations included all-news WINS (New York), KYW (Philadelphia), and KFWB (Los Angeles). They featured a 20-minute news "clock" allowing listeners to hear the day's events in a listening period roughly equivalent to the average commute. The stations advertised with the slogan, "You give us 22 minutes, we'll give you the world." The tightly controlled format meant that listeners always knew when they could hear weather, traffic, sports, or news. CBS competed head-to-head with

the Westinghouse stations in New York (with WCBS) and Los Angeles (KNX) featuring network newscasts at the beginning of the hour and a longer local news block. With industry consolidation three decades later, both news stations in New York and Los Angeles came under the same owner, with one station offering a quick headline format and the other a longer-form news approach.

The earliest all-news stations relied heavily on wire services and provided a "rip-and-read" headline service without any reporters. But it has slowly evolved into a more complex offering. By the early 2000s, all-news stations were generally of the 20-minute clock headline type pioneered by Group W or the longer form pioneered by the CBS all-news stations. In both cases, the stations have sizeable news staffs including anchors, reporters, copy editors, assignment editors, and managers as well as a technical and web staff. These stations continue to thrive in major cities where traffic congestion is heavy and traffic reports come every few minutes around the clock. But all-news stations sometimes stray from the format. Even the most committed, such as KNX (Los Angeles) set aside a few hours for a call-in information program. In 2007, the station had a weekly computer show on Saturdays. Other all-news stations offer occasional feature programs as well as lucrative sporting events.

Radio networks dwindled by the 1960s into providers of only news and little else. Their offerings were often limited to hourly short newscasts. NBC Radio started a News and Information Service (NIS) in 1975. Local stations could subscribe to this service and receive a full hour of news, every hour of the day. Too few stations were willing to pay for the service and it became an economic albatross, closing down after less than two years. NBC would later find success in programming talk through its Talknet service, which featured a variety of call-in talk programming. Started in late 1981, Talknet provided stations with call-in talk shows in all day parts. With the FCC Fairness Doctrine still in place, the talk shows tended to be tamer information shows rather than the currently ubiquitous political talk radio programs. Featured hosts talked about finance, health and relationships. Talknet disappeared from the radio in the mid-1990s, the result of many ownership and management changes in network radio.

All news proved too expensive for stations outside the biggest markets. When a station promised to deliver news and only news at all hours of the day and night, that promise became harder and more costly to deliver where events were few. This led stations to fill time with relatively inexpensive talk programming, much of it nationally syndicated rather than locally produced. This hybrid—typically news during morning and afternoon drive periods with talk and information programming during other parts of the day—lead to the now very popular news/talk format. A quarter century ago fewer than 50 stations featured news-talk formats. By the early 2000s, the number was nearly 2,000. The combination is relatively cheap to produce and delivers a wealthy and well educated demographic to advertisers. Some of the best demographics, especially in terms of audience educational level, can be found on public radio, which is a fertile ground for talk programming. National Public Radio features a number of programs geared to news, talk, and information. *Morning Edition* and *All Things Considered* mix hard news, long features, and interviews during the morning and evening drive-time period. *Day to Day,* with Alex Chadwick and Madeleine Brand, takes the formula and skews it more toward features and off-beat interviews suitable for late morning or early afternoon. *Talk of the Nation* with Neal Conan (1949–) is a more traditional interview program with listener call-ins. Unlike some commercial radio shows, this program allows guests time to make their points without the combativeness often on display elsewhere. The forum it provides is the opposite of many commercial radio talk shows, and Conan takes no obvious political point of view.

Public Radio is also known for talk shows that are different from others. *Car Talk* is a show to help listeners with their car problems, but even those with no interest in cars enjoy listening because of the amusing banter of the hosts, Tom and Ray Magliozzi (1936– ; 1948–). They are on almost 600 public radio stations. NPR also has a throwback to one of the oldest forms of talk on radio, the quiz show. *Wait Wait . . . Don't Tell Me!* is a quiz show that is more about satirizing the news of the week than it is about winning the game, but it is also highly informative about the events of the week.

Demographics

News and news-talk is popular with radio listeners. With Americans having longer commutes, and spending more time in their cars generally, radio continues to be an important medium. Arbitron ratings show that while radio has lost many younger listeners, it has declined less rapidly than other mature media. More than 90 percent of Americans older than 12 listen to radio sometime during the week. A 2006 Pew Research Center for the People & the Press survey of news consumption showed that three-quarters of radio listeners tune to radio for information.

News-talk listeners tend to be older and better educated. Arbitron, in its 2007 "Radio Today" research, estimates that more than 43 percent of news/talk/information listeners have college degrees with another 32 percent having some college and an additional 20 percent being high school graduates. News/talk/information listeners are also the most likely of any radio listeners to have postgraduate degrees and to have investments. It is a well-off audience with about 40 percent reporting household income in excess of $75,000 per year and another 23 percent having an income of $50,000 to $75,000. A news-talk or information station was—as of 2007—number one in 6 of the 20 largest U.S. media markets. Talk listeners are more likely to own their own home than listeners to other formats but are less likely to have children at home. News-talk does best in New England and on the west coast. Nationally, listeners tend to spend more than nine hours per week tuned to news talk radio. The audience is overwhelmingly white, with only about 6 percent black and 4 percent Latino. The audience for news talk is mostly male—about 56 percent. Two-thirds of listeners are married. Most are white-collar workers. The average listener age is 58 with three-quarters of the listeners over 45 and more than half over 55. The audience also tends to skew Republican with 36 percent identifying themselves as Republican, 27 percent as Democrats, and 26 percent as Independent.

On stations devoted to sports programming, the hosts talk about local and national sports teams and sports figures and take calls from listeners to discuss and often argue about, teams, players, or data. A number of shows are syndicated nationally, including the popular Jim Rome (1964–) show. Rome is known for his self-described "aggressive, informed, rapid-fire dialogue" on his sports radio show. According to Arbitron, more than 500 stations broadcast in this format in 2006. It is overwhelmingly a male audience at 86 percent. The average age of a listener is 47 with two-thirds of listeners in the key demographic of 25 to 54 years old. It is a wealthy audience with almost half the households earning $75,000 or more. It is also a highly educated demographic with almost 80 percent reporting a college degree or some college education.

Talk

Talk has been a part of radio since the medium began. Talk radio in the early days was a one-way process, featuring someone addressing the listening audience. This might include a university lecturer, a politician, or a firebrand such as Father Charles E. Coughlin (1891–1979)—a right-wing preacher whose anti-Semitic tirades reached as many as 45 million people—or Aimee Semple McPherson (1890–1944)—described as a "celebrity faith healer." But modern talk radio is an interactive medium. The interactivity can come from co-hosts or ensemble players, interviews, listener call-ins, or some combination of these.

Modern talk radio is often credited to Barry Gray (1916–96) in New York who in 1945 put a phone call with band leader Woody Herman on the air and interviewed him. This type of "interactive talk" was to become the staple of talk radio and began its rise in popularity in the 1950s. In 1956, Long John Nebel (1911–78) offered the first nationwide call-in talk show on the Mutual Broadcasting System. One technological invention in the late 1950s helped open the format to listener calls—the seven-second delay. This ability to place time between what was said and the time listeners heard the comment, enabled announcers or engineers to "bleep," or cut, any caller comment that might run afoul of FCC language policy and result in a fine.

Talk radio went through a number of iterations as it developed. In the early 1960s, the call-in host sometimes spent as much time insulting or yelling at his guests as he did partaking in enlightening discourse. The guests were often provocative—a neo-Nazi, a Ku Klux Klansman, a Satanist, or anyone

else out of the mainstream was likely to pop up as a guest. The biggest on air figures included Joe Pyne (1925–70) and Alan Burke (1922–92). Both also had television talk shows that are recognized as among the first tabloid television shows. Pyne was an arch-conservative, pro–Vietnam War, chain-smoking veteran of World War II who was not shy about telling his audience he had a wooden leg as a result of his service. Alan Burke, also a conservative, tried taking a more urbane approach but still delighted in insulting his guests.

In the 1960s and 1970s, talk radio formats developed where people could talk about anything no matter how intimate. Bill Ballance (1918–2004) of KGBS in Los Angeles originated this approach in his show *Feminine Forum,* which combined true confessions and audio voyeurism. The approach was often referred to as "sex radio" or "topless radio." The FCC denounced the format in 1973 and threatened fines—and Ballance quickly changed his show. But one can hear the progeny of this format on the air today.

Like so much in the evolution of radio, the dominance of AM talk grew out of competitive pressure and countervailing regulation. As FM developed into prominence beginning in the 1960s, music began to shift to the higher-fidelity service. AM stations increasingly focused on providing information, making it the perfect home for talk formats. This trend was aided when in 1987, the FCC abandoned its Fairness Doctrine. No longer would broadcasters have to give equal time to various sides of an issue. This opened the door for the largely right-wing political talk—opinionated and unbalanced—that dominates so much of talk radio today.

Notable Talk Radio Hosts

Jim Bohannon (1944–)

Bohannon is the host of a late night national radio talk show. He has been on radio since 1960. A Vietnam veteran, Bohannon was transferred to Washington, D.C., by the Army. He worked at Washington news radio stations WTOP and WRC. He also worked in radio news at WCFL, Chicago. In the 1980s, Bohannon started filling in for Larry King on the radio. He rose to prominence in 1993 when King left his overnight talk show on the Mutual Broadcasting System to devote full time to his television show. The Bohannon show presents guests on all sides of the political spectrum and has a middle-of-the-road point of view. He has been inducted into the Radio Hall of Fame, which says that Bohannon is a self-described "militant moderate" and "voice of reason." In addition to this talk show, Bohannon hosts *America in the Morning,* a network radio news and information program that airs just before drive time. Bohannon's shows are carried by Westwood One, the successor company to the Mutual Broadcasting system.

Neal Conan (1949–)

Conan is host of NPR's *Talk of the Nation,* a serious call-in program that offers a discussion of wide-ranging ideas and issues. Unlike commercial radio talk hosts, Conan does not seek out shouting and polemics that masquerade as discussion. Instead, he gives his subjects time to develop their arguments and present them calmly and fully instead of in short, snappy sound bites. His program is unique in that it provides more light than heat. A longtime political reporter, Conan has been with National Public Radio for more than a quarter century. He has worked for the network in New York, Washington, and London. Conan took a leave of absence from NPR in 2001 to follow his dream of being a play-by-play baseball announcer. He worked for a minor league team and wrote a book about his experience.

Sean Hannity (1961–)

Hannity is one of the younger generation of conservative talk show hosts in the Rush Limbaugh (see next page) mold. His program is similar in approach to Limbaugh's show, stressing patriotism and conservative Republican causes. In addition to his radio program, he has a successful show on the Fox News Channel. Hannity grew up on Long Island, dropped out of college, and worked in construction and as a bartender. His broadcast career started in Alabama and met with success at his next stop in Atlanta on WGST. Hannity moved to WABC in New York City in 1997. His show started national syndication on the ABC Radio Network on September 10, 2001. Hannity is now heard on more than 500 radio stations and he is ranked second in talk show audience by *Talkers* magazine. Hannity has written two best-selling books and his media empire includes "Hannidate"—described by his website as "the place where people of like conservative minds can come together to meet."

Laura Ingraham (1964–)

Ingraham, also a conservative, is the lone woman political talker in the *Talkers* top five, A Dartmouth College graduate, Ingraham earned her law degree at the University of Virginia. She was a clerk to Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas and was a speech writer in the final years of the Reagan administration. Ingraham practiced law as a white-collar criminal defense attorney. Her radio program is conservative talk oriented and takes on "the liberals," Hollywood, and the media. Ingraham started as a conservative commentator on television before beginning her nationally syndicated radio show in 2001. Her show is currently syndicated by Talk Radio Network.

Larry King (1933–)

King has been talking on the radio for more than 50 years. He started to gain fame by interviewing celebrities on Miami radio in the late 1950s. By the 1960s he was a well-known Miami personality. It was also during this period when he ran into legal troubles and eventually declared bankruptcy. With his career seemingly in ruins by the mid-1970s, the head of the Mutual Broadcasting System took a chance in 1978 and offered King the overnight talk slot. King worked from midnight until 5:30 a.m. doing a program that combined interviews, call-in questions to the guest, and "open-phone" America where callers could talk to King about anything. The program grew from a handful of affiliates to more than 500 in the 16 years it was on Mutual. King is known for his "everyman" style of questioning guests where he asks simple questions that often elicit revealing answers. He prides himself on doing very little preparation for interviews and not reading the books of authors he speaks with. King left his radio show to devote full time to his CNN television program.

Rush Limbaugh (1951–)

Limbaugh is widely considered to be the person most responsible for the rise of conservative political talk. A cigar-smoking conservative who made an art form out of attacking Bill and Hillary Clinton in the 1990s, his show has consistently been the number one show on talk radio with more than 600 stations carrying his program. Limbaugh started his career as a disc jockey and moved into talk radio in the 1980s with nationwide syndication of his show by 1988. By the start of the 1990s, Limbaugh was gaining a sizeable audience and considerable power, with some crediting him with helping sway the electorate to vote for a Republican congress in 1994. In 2003, Limbaugh admitted addiction to prescription painkillers and, in 2004, he divorced his third wife. These controversies had no effect on the loyalty of his conservative audience.

Joe Pyne (1925–70)

Pyne was doing conservative talk radio well before the genre became popular. Less an ideologue and more a manic right-wing screamer, Pyne was famous for insulting his guests and telling them to "go gargle with razor blades." He started in local radio in the late 1940s saw his popularity rise through the 1950s and reach its peak in the mid- to late 1960s when he also had a television talk show, a precursor to shows such as Jerry Springer. Pyne was known for his wooden leg, a result of combat in World War II. He had no patience for "hippies," "women's libbers," anti-war demonstrators, or anyone who displayed anything less than unwavering patriotism. A heavy smoker, Pyne died of lung cancer.

Laura Schlessinger (1947–)

Schlessinger has one of the most listened to radio talk shows, syndicated on about 300 radio stations. She dispenses advice on relationships, child rearing, and every type of personal problem. Regardless of the caller, the advice runs along conservative traditional lines. Women are advised to stay home with their children; couples are warned against divorce. On her website, she says she "preaches, teaches, and nags about morals, values and ethics." While some listeners might think "Dr. Laura" is a psychotherapist handing out advice, Schlessigner actually holds a PhD in physiology. She has a certificate in marriage, family, and child counseling. Her family values credentials were challenged by some on the left after reports of her infidelity in her first marriage and the surfacing of nude pictures taken by her lover when she was in her twenties.

Ed Schultz (1954–)

Schultz is one of the most listened-to liberal radio talk show hosts. His program, broadcast

from North Dakota, is syndicated on about 100 radio stations. Schultz started out as a conservative talker and changed to what has been described as a "progressive liberal" early in the twenty-first century. Some of his views are antithetical to what one might think of as modern American liberalism: he is a gun owner, is anti-abortion, and opposes gay marriage. Schultz does not scream or rant on his radio show, preferring a low-key approach as opposed to other radio talkers. He claims to have switched from a conservative to liberal viewpoint after his girlfriend—now wife—took him to a soup kitchen to meet "the bums" that he would rail against on his conservative show.

Richard Landesberg

See also Air America; Audience; Indecency and Obscenity; Mass Media, Decline of; Mutual Broadcasting Systems; National Public Radio; Newscasters, Radio; Rip-and-Read News

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TASS and Russian News Agencies

Although formally named TASS only in 1925, the international Russian news agency began operating in the early twentieth century and after numerous changes in name and control grew to become one of a handful of powerful global news agencies. But TASS is only the oldest among several Russian news agencies that have formed since 1991.

Origins

The Wolff and Reuters news agencies were both operating in Russia by the middle of the nineteenth century, sending chiefly business news. The first foreign news telegram appeared in Russian newspapers in 1856. A decade later, the Tsarist government authorized the operation of the Russian Telegraph Agency (RTA) as the country's first news agency, though it lasted but three years, and Wolff continued to dominate the provision of foreign news in the major Russian newspapers. In 1871 an International Telegraph Agency (MTA) was formed in St. Petersburg, then the country's capital city. It held a monopoly on provision of foreign news to that city and Moscow. Five years later a private agency—though one with a government subsidy so that it would send official news to the foreign press—was formed as the Agence Générale Russe. In 1882, the Northern Telegraph Agency (STA) began operating, also with a government subsidy, though it closed down about a decade later. Finally, a new Imperial RTA appeared in 1895, again privately held but with a government subsidy. It soon

signed an exchange agreement with the Havas news agency.

The inception of what became TASS dates to mid-1902. In an attempt to broaden world knowledge of developments in Russia, a Commercial Telegraph Agency (TTA) was formed in St. Petersburg in 1902, becoming the St. Petersburg Telegraph Agency (SPTA) in 1904. This time, the new agency was created as an official government news source, subordinate to the ministries of finance, foreign affairs, and the interior. Its stated purpose was "to distribute political, financial, economic, trade, and other information of public interest within the country and abroad. . . ." The new entity soon signed exchange agreements with the major European agencies, effectively terminating any privately owned competition within Russia.

Seized by Bolsheviks in the late-1917 revolution, the PTA was soon redefined to become the central information agency of the new Soviet Union. Western news agency personnel were ejected from the country. A year later PTA and the Sovnarkom Press Bureau were merged to become the Russian Telegraph Agency (ROSTA). ROSTA was both a news and propaganda agency during the civil war, printing newspapers and thousands of propaganda posters. Its focus was almost entirely domestic at this point, though it developed formal ties with the United Press in 1922, the Associated Press three years later, and the major European news agencies. In mid-1925, it was renamed the Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union or TASS.

On June 24, 1941 (two days after Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union), the Soviet Information Bureau (Sovinformburo) was created under the central government to oversee coverage of international, military, and domestic events in print and on radio. Three years later, a special bureau on propaganda for foreign countries was made a part of Sovinformburo. In early 1961, the Novosti Press Agency succeeded Sovinformburo, becoming the leading information and press body for Soviet government organizations. Novosti soon had bureaus in over 120 countries and published 60 illustrated newspapers and magazines in 45 languages with a combined circulation of more than 4 million copies. In 1989, a TV center opened, becoming the TV-Novosti television company. In mid-1990, the Information Agency Novosti (IAN) took over these tasks with bureaus in 120 countries. IAN also published 13 illustrated magazines and newspapers.

TASS continued to operate as a state-owned monopoly for more than a half century. While providing service to only a limited number of countries in the early 1950s, within a decade TASS coverage had greatly expanded because the agency provided its services at no cost. Developing nations in Africa and Asia were quick to allow TASS in, given the expense of using Western news agencies—and their desire to break with former colonial masters. Within the Soviet Union, TASS was strengthened because Western news agencies were limited as to the number of staff they could employ in Moscow and Leningrad. Through the cold war—into the 1980s—TASS was often accused by western governments and news sources of providing a means of distributing Soviet propaganda as well as a cover for Soviet intelligence activities, though the blatancy of such content diminished by the 1980s. TASS reports were seen as a good indicator of official Soviet government opinion. As with its Chinese counterpart, the New China News Agency, TASS distributed confidential and unfiltered news reports to the country's political leadership.

By the late 1970s, the TASS agency had several hundred journalists serving the needs of 13,000 subscribers, among them some 4,000 newspapers. More than 500 newspaper-pages' worth of information was transmitted daily. Its 40 bureaus covered 110 countries. Teleprinter and radio links were used to transmit most foreign news while feature and other material went out by mail. Two-way teleprinter links connected the Moscow headquarters with 300 domestic towns and cities and nearly 30 countries. News was transmitted in six languages, including English. TASS radio teletype service was received in 50 countries.

Modern Russian Agencies

In 1989, three years into Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's "perestroika," or openness regime, the privately owned Interfax News Agency (IAN) was formed in Moscow as the first entity to compete with the state-run TASS agency. By 2001 Interfax had about 1,000 staff members located in 70 nations, and it produced 1,500 political and financial news stories daily. Related Interfax agencies were formed in several former Soviet countries and in the Far East. The Interfax Group is a network of about 30 companies in Russia, the

Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), China, and several Central European countries. It publishes news in Russian, English, Ukrainian, Kazakh, and German and provides about 100 specialized services.

IAN gave way in September 1991 to the Russian Information Agency [RIA] Novosti under the Russian Press and Information Ministry. RIA Novosti had about 80 bureaus and news offices abroad, over 1,500 subscribers in CIS countries and about a hundred elsewhere. In 1993 RIA Novosti became a state news–analytical agency with RIA-Radio and, by 1997, TV channel Kultura. In May 1998, the agency was renamed the Russian Information Agency Vesti, though it retained the media name of RIA Novosti.

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, TASS was renamed in early 1992 as ITAR [Information Telegraph Agency of Russia]-TASS. It has retained its status of being the state's official central information agency. It has more than 130 bureaus and offices in Russia, 62 of them in 59 other countries. ITAR-TASS also cooperates with more than 80 foreign news agencies. ITAR-TASS provides 45 round-the-clock news–cycles in six languages and more than 40 information bulletins and operates the largest photo agency in the country. Of the numerous Russian news agencies, it remains the best and most widely known.

Prime-TASS, formed in 1996, with ITAR-TASS taking a 35 percent share in ownership, is Russia's leading business news agency. Privately owned, the agency has no political affiliations. With about 250 permanent staff and scores of stringers across Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States, it provides live coverage of major economic and political news in Russia and the 14 former Soviet states, especially in commodity, energy, and financial markets coverage, as well as Russian and CIS banking and corporate news. The Russian-language service puts out over 400 news and analysis pieces daily. While the agency distributes exclusive information from the Russian government, the Central Bank, and parliament, its editorial policy is independent.

In June 2003 Prime-TASS announced a content exchange and sales partnership with Dow Jones Newswires, so that both partners distribute, market, and sell the other's products in their respective markets. In February 2004 the two services launched DJ Forex, the first Russian-language news service to focus on the foreign exchange markets. The service is targeted at Russians actively trading in currencies, including foreign exchange traders, customers of bank foreign exchange trading portals, and corporate treasury departments.

Prime-TASS's English-language service publishes more than 100 daily news and analysis pieces produced by Western-educated Russian translators, reporters, and editors and rewritten for Western clients. The Russian-language and English-language wires are synchronized so that major news in both languages appears at almost the same time. Many English-language stories and features, such as those highlighting civil unrest or the benefits of democracy, never appear on the Russian wire.

Finally, the Regnum News Agency is a recently formed Russian federal news agency covering domestic news from within Russia and its neighboring countries. Regnum obtains information from its correspondents, affiliate news agencies, and partners to provide coverage of the different regions of Russia, neighboring countries of Europe, and the Transcaucasian area.

Each of these Russian news services has an extensive multilingual web presence as well, though some of these are available only to subscribers.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Comparative Models of Journalism; Free Flow of Information; Globalization; Havas; New China (Xinhua) News Agency; Reuters; Russian Federation; Wolff

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Technology Journalism

See Innovation Journalism; Science and Technology Journalism

Telegraph

The telegraph was an electrical network that enabled transmission and receiving of coded electrical signals across wires. The system, used first in Britain and then the United States, was largely developed by Samuel F. B. Morse, and was first demonstrated publicly in 1844. Few new communication technologies have had the impact on society and culture that the telegraph did. It helped open the American West and maintain European colonial empires, revolutionized warfare and business, and changed the way people thought and what they thought about. People could stay in touch with distant relatives, order products from distant stores, and remain connected to a broader culture. But perhaps its most profound effect was on the nature of news. Readers, through reports brought to their local paper by telegraph, came to understand events as connected, to think globally and to see similarities between themselves and those in far away places. The public's perception of what was important was no longer limited to the local, but evolved to encompass the national and international as well.

Origins

While a professor of design at New York University in 1835, Morse demonstrated that coded signals could be transmitted by wire. He had learned of the work of British inventors William Cooke and Charles Wheatstone, whose system of telegraphy began operating there in the 1830s. Morse used pulses of electrical current to deflect an electromagnet, which moved a marker to emboss a strip of paper with dots and dashes. Working with others, he developed what became the Morse code so that in different combinations, these dots and dashes represented individual letters of the alphabet. Morse transmitted his first telegraph message in January 1838 across two miles of wire near Morristown, New Jersey. Following that, he received a $30,000 grant from Congress to construct an experimental line from Washington to Baltimore, a distance of about 40 miles. Six years later, in May 1844, Morse sent the message "What hath God wrought" (quoting the Bible, Numbers 23:23) from the old Supreme Court chamber in the U.S. Capitol building to his assistant Alfred Vail at the Mount Claire railroad depot in Baltimore. The Post Office operated the line from 1844 to 1847, when they sold it to private interests.

Even before this first line had reached Baltimore, the telegraph had shown its worth in the rapid transmission of news. The previous month the Whig party had held its national convention in Baltimore and had nominated Henry Clay as its presidential candidate in the upcoming election. This information was carried by railroad to Annapolis Junction, which the telegraph wire had reached, from which Vail wired it to the Capitol. The news of Clay's nomination was published the next day in local newspapers. It was the first American news report dispatched by electric telegraph, an omen of the future of journalism. News could now be sent across great distances in a short amount of time, slowed only by the process of encoding and decoding the dots and dashes. For the first time, information could outpace land and sea transportation speeds.

These successes proved the reliability and utility of the telegraph, and Morse quickly obtained private funds to extend the line north to Philadelphia and New York. The New York to Boston line went into operation in 1846. By the end of that same year, state capitals in Albany and Harrisburg were connected to the main line. Small telegraph companies sprang up across the East and South, connecting cities and the towns by wire much as the railroads were doing—indeed the two services often used similar rights of way. Western Union,

founded in 1851, opened its first transcontinental telegraph line in 1861, mainly along railroad routes. Spanning North America, the growing number of networks in the eastern states were connected to the small network in California by a line that ran from Omaha, Nebraska, to Carson City, Nevada, via Salt Lake City on October 24. (The famous Pony Express system for moving mail and messages ceased operations two days later.)

After three previous failures, the first successful transatlantic telegraph cable was completed in July 1866. With completion of the transatlantic cable, information and news could flow between European and North American cities in a matter of minutes. Further undersea telegraph lines expanded across the globe in coming decades.

Telegraphic News Agencies

The impact of the growing telegraph technology on journalism was soon obvious, for editors now could obtain information on events while it was still "new." Many newspapers hired reporters or established bureaus in other major cities to collect and send news back. But this independent reporting was enormously expensive, not the least because each paper paid the full rate for transmission to the telegraph companies. It was common knowledge among newspaper editors that telegraph companies were selling news from their various offices to anyone, even though it was gathered by the staff of a specific newspaper. In 1848, David Hale, publisher of the New York *Journal of Commerce,* learned that certain telegraph companies were even investigating the concept of setting up subsidiary organizations to gather and transmit news for sale. The dangers were obvious. With no government regulation or supervision, telegraph companies could make it impossible for any news but their own to move by wire. Newspapers would be forced to surrender the function of news gathering, and the news itself would be reduced to a commercial and unreliable commodity by those outside the journalism profession. Hale approached James Gordon Bennett, publisher of the New York *Herald,* about the threat.

The two proposed resurrecting a previous scheme by newspapers to pool resources. In May 1846 Moses Yale Beach (1800–68), publisher of the New York *Sun,* forged an agreement with four other New York papers to deliver news of the ongoing Mexican-American War. In the plan, dispatch riders from the front raced to Montgomery, Alabama, to place news reports on mail coaches, which carried them 700 miles to the nearest telegraph station. In offering an equal interest in the express venture to the other papers, Beach effectively created the first cooperative news service. In 1848, Beach formulated a similar venture to obtain and share European news from ships arriving at New York harbor, naming it the Harbor News Association. Hale and Bennett proposed to charter a new organization, forming the "General News Association of the City of New York" in 1851, including *The New York Times* and the New York *Tribune* with the earlier five. It was soon renamed the Associated Press (AP), America's first "wire service."

The AP, under the leadership of its first directors, Alexander Jones (1802–65) and Daniel Craig (1811–95), took on the task of joint telegraphic transmission of news stories to provide its members with a comprehensive summary of daily news. Spurred by the outbreak of the Civil War, the association expanded to include newspapers in other East Coast cities; this would be the first time that battles and developments of a war could be reported to the public within a day or so. Beginning in 1875, successive directors of the AP, over the objections and legal challenges of Western Union, secured leases on telegraph lines, allowing its messages to move untroubled by delays from other traffic. By 1892, the news agency was using nearly 23,000 miles of leased telegraph wires. The success of the AP soon lead to the birth of other wire services including the Western Associated Press, Southern Associated Press, United Press, and International Press.

Use of the telegraph to transmit news stories also led, inevitably, to a more precise and concise journalistic style. Because early telegraph lines were unreliable and prone to failure, the opening paragraphs of a news story, which came to be known as the "lead," presented the most important facts. The rest of the story contained details and background. If telegraph service was interrupted during transmission, at least the most important part would reach the editor. AP correspondents during the Civil War were even ordered to put the most important news in the first

sentence, with less crucial information following in the lead. The uncertainty and the expense of telegraph service contributed to reporters changing from a chronological style of reporting to a fact-based organization of information. Thus, the "inverted pyramid" style of writing was developed. Uncertainty also led to the practice of confirming both stories and sources, with editors often sending back messages asking for more details or ensuring that the original message was not a hoax (as might be transmitted by rivals).

Impact

Historians credit the technical shortcomings and expense of telegraph messages with a terse journalistic style, and a shift away from the flowery nineteenth-century type of news writing. An experienced Morse operator could transmit or decode 40 to 50 words a minute. Lengthy stories took an inordinate amount of time to send, and cost more. Hence, "telegraphese" evolved as an elliptical style of writing. Personal observations by reporters and other embellishments were eliminated as excess verbiage. The extensive use of abbreviations and code phrases to compress meaning into a small number of characters for ease of transmission over telegraph lines spread through journalism as well as business. Soon large commercial telegraph code books were published, less for secrecy than for keeping costs down by letting a brief combination of letters or numbers stand for a complex transaction or idea. Getting the news reading public to accept the new form of news writing took some years, but that terse, impersonal, inverted pyramid style remains the norm for breaking news.

Despite its wonders, technical limitations led to the eventual demise of the telegraph. In 1913, Western Union developed multiplexing, making it possible to send up to eight messages simultaneously over a single wire (four in each direction). Shortly before, in 1906, the teleprinter, an electromechanical typewriter, allowed transmission of news stories directly to editorial offices, and in 1914 the Associated Press adopted it for their wire service. By the 1930s a worldwide network of 60-word-per-minute teletype machines were in use by major news agencies. And, at first within cities, and more slowly over distances, the telephone displaced the telegraph, doing away with the need for codes and letting reporters speak directly to editors. The telegraph remained an important mode of news communication through and even after World War II. Western Union announced the discontinuation of all telegram service in January 2006. Only 20,000 telegrams had been sent the year before, compared to 20 million in 1929.

The telegraph ushered in an era of rapid, regular, and reliable communications. As a result, the telegraph transformed the nature and style of journalism. Newspapers could deliver the latest information on events and details could be quickly checked and confirmed. Readers came to expect newspapers to report national and global events in a timely manner.

Rex A. Martin

See also Associated Press; Cables, Undersea; Facsimile; Havas; International News Service; Reuters; Telephone; Teletype; United Press International; Wolff

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Telegraph Cables

See Cables, Undersea

Telephone

The telephone, an initial version of which was patented by Alexander Graham Bell in 1876, emerged from research into improving telegraphy. The innovation was a mechanism for delivering voice and audio signals over a short distance via wires. As with most technical developments, however, a number of possible uses were envisioned for this system of distributing sound. One interesting early application was the news and entertainment services offered in the 1890s to subscribers in several European and American cities. These "telephone newspapers" operated as early wired broadcast systems, offering a mix of news, lectures, and a wide range of other information and entertainment options (including church services, concerts, and class lessons). However, with the rise of telephone's second major innovation, the concept of a switched network, where signals were directed to specific recipients rather than broadcast generally, systems found increasing value in the telephone as an interpersonal communication device rather than as a mass medium. With the rise of radio, the remaining "telephone newspapers" were quickly supplanted by the more mass-oriented broadcast medium.

Development and Diffusion

Telephony's two innovations, combined, helped set it apart from existing communication systems, broadened its usability, and prompted its growing diffusion. First, its use of the voice rather than Morse code for messages created a system that could be used by almost anyone. Second, its development as a switched system allowed for a more private, point-to-point network and permitted more efficient accommodation of multiple occasional users. This allowed for development of an interactive, and broadly public, telecommunication system. Widely established in America and Western Europe by World War I (1914–18), the telephone had a number of broad social and economic impacts. Diffusion continued worldwide, particularly in urban areas, and more widely in the United States as a result of a set of policies promoting the idea of universal service. By World War II (1939–45), the telephone was nearly ubiquitous in urban areas, providing local, long distance, and (expensive) international connections.

The initial impact of the telephone on the practice and profession of journalism was arguably as transformative as that of the telegraph, although developing more slowly and on a different scale. The telegraph transformed the industry; it emphasized timeliness and, through the rise of news agencies, standardized reporting styles. The telephone more slowly transformed the newsroom for it allowed reporters to phone in breaking stories, rather than having to travel back to the paper's home office to write them. While having some impact in terms of saving time (and promoting same-day publication), the greater effect was on the structure and operation of newsgathering. Instead of reporters being solely responsible for every component of a story, from coverage and research to writing final copy, the process was increasingly divided up among specialized workers. A field reporter might gather information, from which a rewrite editor or desk reporter would assemble the story into finished form. While a single person could serve all of these roles, efficiency suggested that the time, energy, and expense of traveling back and forth from the newsroom to story locations could be better served by separating the functions. In addition, the telephone allowed editors and reporters to more quickly reach each other, allowing rapid changes in assignment depending on breaking events. In larger papers, this led to the rise of a city editor, who could track and shift assignments as warranted by the day's events.

The impact of the telephone on broadcast station newsroom structure and operations was not as significant, as radio news operations were relatively small until the mid-1930s. Still, the telephone contributed to the rise of radio journalism as competition for print on both a national and local level.

By 1930 radio networks had emerged, using leased telephone lines to feed network signals to affiliate stations, allowing for the development of regional, then national programming, including

newscasts. Starting in the mid-1930s, U.S. radio networks had created news organizations providing national coverage in regular newscasts, sometimes supplemented by smaller local news operations at affiliate stations. The ability to provide national coverage was a competitive advantage unmatched by any newspaper of the period, offering a niche for the small, often underfunded news operations to develop.

Another competitive advantage came from the ability to use the telephone for "live" reports from the scenes of breaking news. Hampered by the mechanics of printing and delivery, newspapers could not bring breaking stories to the public as quickly as could radio. Nor, print media journalists discovered, could their reports have the same impact. Epitomized by CBS reporter Edward R. Murrow's live dispatches from London during the 1940 Blitz of London by Nazi Germany, reports from the scene brought an immediacy that newspapers could not and became a staple of radio journalism.

The early days of television journalism were able to incorporate some of radio's application of the telephone, but on a limited scale. Reliance in the early 1950s on film, and (after 1956) videotape, for visual news coverage limited stations' ability to go "live." By the 1970s, television (and later cable) news organizations were able to integrate microwave and satellite systems in their efforts to expand the range of "live" coverage.

The Cell Phone Revolution

Wireless telephones offered a different level of freedom and opportunity in news reporting. News organizations were generally quick to take advantage of various wireless telephone systems. Like the telephone emerging from the telegraph, the cell phone as a communications system had its own wireless precursors in the early commercial application of radio telephony. Prior to World War I, the primary commercial foundation for radio was as an adjunct to the telephone, although it was mostly for maritime and long distance applications. However, after World War I, the emerging potential of radio as broadcasting quickly pre-empted by the commercial business model. After World War II made more frequencies and new technologies economically viable, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), in 1947, authorized mobile telephony as a local service option. However, technology and spectrum availability severely limited its use, as few channels were made available over what were generally large urban coverage areas, and these required high power levels for transmission at both ends of the line.

The concept of cell phones was developed (starting in the late 1940s in AT&T's Bell Labs) as a means around these limits—by breaking the larger radio signal coverage area into smaller cells, the limited number of channels could be reused across multiple cells throughout a given area, and the smaller distances required less transmission power. A simple cell system would permit more users and let them use smaller, more portable handsets. The remaining technical challenge was the development of a management system which could track users and switch calls from cell to cell during travel. The development of information processing technologies made the concept viable in the late 1970s, and the FCC authorized commercial cell phone services in 1982. Demand for analog cell phones quickly outstripped the limited initial bandwidth assignments, leading to continued rounds of increased channel allocations, and the gradual shift to digital cellular systems in the 1990s that allowed for greater multiplexing, letting more users on the system simultaneously.

Diffusion and adoption of cell phone systems has continued at high levels, fed by a combination of their economic advantages (cell technologies offer both lower construction and operating costs than traditional switched telephone systems) and rising demand tied to the convenience, freedom, and range of services offered by modern cell phones. Further, the diffusion of cell phone systems has been global in scope, aided by the use of largely compatible technologies around the world, and the development of multistandard cell phones. The economic advantages of cell phone technologies, and the speed with which they could be introduced, contributed to their becoming the telephone system of initial choice in many developing nations.

On a fundamental level, the cell phone has increased the impact of the telephone on journalism. With access to a wired outlet no longer required and flat-rate national access to a system for direct connection between reporter and newsroom increasingly offered by service providers, the

cell phone has expanded the scope, speed, and reach of reporting. No longer tied to wires and physical locations, the global scope of cell phones (and related satellite phone systems) means that reports can be made, live, from virtually any spot on the globe that a reporter can reach. But the modern cell phone is more than a wireless phone. Modern cell phones often incorporate the potential for text and digital communications, picture taking, and even the creation of short video clips. While such images and video are generally not up to the technical standards of professional news outlets, they enable visual media to tap into that sense of immediacy without requiring extra equipment (particularly for unanticipated news events).

A Changing Landscape

The rise of the cell phone as a multimedia device has also contributed to the development of citizen journalism; those at the scene of breaking news can use their cell phones to capture images and video of events and share them with friends (and sometimes the news media). This may have a growing impact on the practice of journalism, as reporters may no longer be the first people with recording devices to reach the scene of a newsworthy event and may increasingly rely on footage captured by private citizens to put together their reports.

Cell phone–based citizen journalism could come to challenge traditional media on several levels. Content from cell phones feeding blogs can bring a speed and immediacy to coverage of breaking news that traditional news outlets would be hard pressed to match. And not only may these new citizen journalists be first with the news, their independent documentation of events may increasingly be used to challenge other, particularly "official," reports.

Benjamin J. Bates

See also Citizen Journalism; Convergence; Recording; Telegraph

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Teletype

A teletype (teleprinter, teletypewriter, or TTY for TeleTYpe/TeleTYpewriter) is a now obsolete electro-mechanical typewriter which can be used to communicate typed messages from point to point through a simple electrical communications channel, line or wireless. The most modern form of these devices was fully electronic and used a visual display unit with a hard copy printer. The term *teletype* was a trademark of the major American company that manufactured the machines, the Morkrum Company, though it came into general use as well. For much of the twentieth century, teletypes were a vital part of news agency communication with subscriber newspapers.

Origins

The mechanical typewriter was developed in 1867 and was in large-scale U.S. production within a decade, directed primarily at government and business office use. In telegraph offices, operators would listen to the Morse sounder and directly type plain language messages (transcription) onto telegram forms for hand delivery to recipients. Developing a means of mechanizing that transfer would greatly speed up communication.

American engineer Charles Krum began to develop such a device, with financial support from Jay Morton of the Morton Salt Company. To exploit their efforts, the Morkrum Company was founded in 1906 to make Krum's machines, into which an operator would type alphanumeric characters.

New York and Boston were linked in 1910 and the Associated Press began to transmit news to competing New York newspapers four years later. Other news agencies followed suit.

By 1918, the company employed 200 people. The first general purpose teletype that used that name in marketing appeared in 1922. In 1925, a merger between Morkrum and Kleinschmidt Electric Company created the Morkrum-Kleinschmidt Company, which in 1929 became the Teletype Corporation. Some 25,000 teletypes had been sold by this point. In 1930, Teletype Corp was purchased by AT&T and became a subsidiary of its Western Electric manufacturing arm.

For much of the twentieth century, teleprinters (the European term; in the United States, they were called teletypes after the American company that made them) were employed extensively by news agencies and businesses in general. In 1925, the Press Association, the domestic British news agency, began to use a teleprinter network to serve London-based daily newspapers. By 1929, the Reuters and Havas news agencies inaugurated the use of teleprinter networks to service, respectively, Europe and Latin America. But expansion across national borders was often slow due to developing technical standards, overall cost, and agreements on tariffs for journalists and other users.

Concurrently developed with these expanding teleprinter networks was telex (or TWX in AT&T parlance). Starting in the 1930s, large telecommunication carriers began to develop systems that used telephone-like rotary dialing to connect teleprinters. These new devices were called "telex," (combining *tel*eprinter and *ex*change), and they sent code in a system of automated message routing. The first wide-coverage automatic public telex network was implemented in Berlin and Hamburg by the German post office in 1932 and was quickly followed by other technically capable nations before World War II. Although often expensive, telex aided foreign correspondents in getting stories back to their news agencies or papers.

Wartime demand pushed the American Teletype Corporation's machine production up fifteenfold from 1939 to 1944 (by which time 90 percent of its effort was war related), and similar demand impacted Creed, the British teleprinter firm. Communication between Prime Minister Winston Churchill in London and President Franklin Roosevelt in Washington, for example, often used teletype machines with encrypted communication.

Teleprinter networks greatly expanded in Europe and elsewhere after World War II. In Britain, a multichannel teleprinter network connecting newspapers throughout the country was opened in 1949. Six separate channels were used with a capacity of 400 words per minute. The Exchange Telegraph Co. and British United Press operated teleprinter networks of their own to the London and a few provincial papers. Yet by the early 1950s, nearly 30 nations, including 8 in Europe and 9 in the Americas, still lacked teleprinter networks for the press. Developments of coaxial cable and radio links helped expand teleprinter links later in the decade and into the 1960s.

The Teletype Corporation moved to Skokie, a northern suburb of Chicago, in 1960, thus allowing its 6,000 workers to be housed in one modern factory. By the early 1980s, the company introduced new models with electronic display terminals and a variety of printer types.

Demise

A combination of changing technology and regulation ended the long reign of the teletype. Teleprinter operations gradually declined with the introduction of fax and visual display units (cathode ray tubes) from the late 1970s. Today, any personal computer with a printer equipped with a serial port can emulate the functionality of a teleprinter.

In 1984, the divestiture of the Bell System resulted in the Teletype name and logo being replaced with that of AT&T as consolidation started to take its toll. Operations were consolidated in Arkansas and the last remnants of Teletype Corp disappeared by 1990 as manufacturing shifted to overseas sites. Today, its former Skokie, Illinois, headquarters and factory site is a shopping mall.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Agence France-Presse; Associated Press; Cables, Undersea; Facsimile; Havas; International News Service; News Syndication; Printing; Reuters; Telegraph; United Press International; Wolff

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Television Evening News

See Evening News, Television

Television News Magazines

A television news magazine is a program offering several (typically three or four) segments that each focus on a different story, often presented by a different reporter. Such programs generally focus on soft rather than harder cutting-edge news, on stories driven by personality, investigative reporting, crime news, celebrities, and social trends. Most of them have increasingly trended toward tabloid news.

Origins

By the late 1970s, commercial network documentaries were disappearing given their reliance on a single hard news topic per program, their production cost, relative lack of advertiser interest, and the controversy (and sometimes legal actions) that often resulted from their airing. Only public television's PBS offered regular documentary series. As cable networks developed in the 1980s, they took over much of the documentary role from the broadcast networks. One question facing the broadcast news divisions was how to fully utilize the reporters and stories that often could not fit into the half-hour evening newscasts. Compared to comedy and drama, news material was relatively inexpensive to produce—and while it appealed to smaller audiences than entertainment, those viewers were influential. What was needed was an additional way to feature those reporters and stories without building whole programs around each of them. Perhaps a program with multiple segments was an answer.

One early example of this "magazine" concept applied to television was *Omnibus* (1952–61), what might be dubbed a high-brow cultural variety program. It was broadcast on Sunday afternoons or evenings (in the days before more lucrative professional sports crowded out culture programming), funded by the Ford Foundation, and hosted by the urbane former BBC journalist Alistair Cooke. *Omnibus* featured diverse programming about science, the arts, and the humanities, and included original dramatic works, interviews with celebrated people, and performances by many famous actors, singers, and dancers. It aired originally on CBS, then ABC, before finally moving to NBC in 1957, where it was irregularly scheduled until its demise.

Another application of the magazine approach could be found in the ABC network's *Wide World of Sports* which, beginning in 1961, offered programs made up of multiple segments featuring different sports and locations. Viewers could often see sports that had little presence on television outside of the Olympics, or little previous exposure at all. Originally designed as a summer replacement, the 90-minute telecast became a permanent part of the network's offerings (and was still on the air in the first decade of the 2000s).

Finally, two foreign television news-related programs provided more controversial examples of what could be accomplished with the television news magazine. The BBC's *That Was the Week That Was* series lasted for two seasons (1962–63), and focused on a satirical look at news events. NBC ran an American version in 1964 to 1965. *This Hour Has Seven Days* aired by the Canadian CBC network (1964–66), melded satire with serious segments. Both the British and Canadian series, which provided multiple segments or stories in each broadcast, were popular but created huge controversies at the same time. The mix of satire and news was simply too controversial for many viewers, especially in stories that parodied national leaders or concerning social or political subjects that some viewers perceived as very serious matters, not to be treated with humor.

60 Minutes

The pioneering American network news magazine, CBS television's *60 Minutes,* developed from an idea of longtime CBS news producer Don Hewitt. In a now-famous memo written in 1967, Hewitt asked network officials if "somewhere in all the minutes of make-believe . . . couldn't we make room for 60 minutes of reality?" (quoted in Murray 1999, 237). The resulting program initially aired on September 24, 1968. Designated for Tuesday nights, alternating weeks with other CBS News programs, it featured the quite different reporting styles of Mike Wallace and Harry Reasoner. The trademark Aristo stopwatch opening was at first used only as background to the ending credits, but was quickly added to begin the program. Early seasons were a mite precarious as competing entertainment programs kept its ratings low.

60 Minutes first shifted to its Sunday evening perch in January 1972, though there was more schedule tinkering until 1975 when the Sunday night slot became permanent. The program has remained there ever since and is now the longest running television program still in production. It does still face a problem—preemption for afternoon professional sports programming that run long. In 1980, the program achieved the top spot in prime-time ratings of all network shows, and rarely fell out of the top ten programs for years thereafter. Success bred revenues as large audiences allowed a higher charge to advertisers who clamored to reach the news magazine's upper-middle-class audience.

The gist of the program has remained unchanged from day one—three or four segments or stories, each reported by one of the *60 Minutes* team of journalists. The program staff consists of numerous production teams, each of them working on a variety of stories and vying for inclusion in the broadcast. The stories varied widely, and ranged over both hard and softer news. From time to time, alterations in approach were tried. During most of the 1970s, the brief "Point/Counterpoint" debates were featured. During each program a given issue would be discussed by James J. Kilpatrick on the political right and Nicholas von Hoffman (later Shana Alexander) on the left. The now trademark light commentary by Andy Rooney at the program's end replaced the debate in 1979.

The biggest changes came in the lineup of star reporters who were the public face of the program. Harry Reasoner left after just two years when he moved to ABC in 1970—but returned in 1978 and stayed a dozen more years. When he departed, reporter Morley Safer was added (and by the late 2000s was the longest-serving member of the reporting team). Dan Rather was a *60 Minutes* reporter beginning in 1975, departing when he became the network news anchor in 1981 (he returned briefly in 2005–06). Ed Bradley began his quarter century with the program in 1981, and Diane Sawyer was the first female reporter on the series, serving from 1984 until her, departure for ABC in 1989. Meredith Vieira replaced her and correspondent Steve Kroft joined the program the same year. Leslie Stahl joined in 1991, and Christiane Amanpour served for a decade beginning in 1996 before departing for CNN, the same year Bob Simon joined the program. Scott Pelley became part of the team in 2003. Mike Wallace, the senior reporter in every sense of the word, retired in 2006.

After four decades on the air, *60 Minutes* has become the quintessential news magazine, and one that has avoided some of its competitor's problems. It has successfully melded hard and softer news and avoided the overall trend toward tabloid content.

More Magazines

Tracing the growing success of *60 Minutes* and acknowledging the lower cost of news compared to most entertainment programming, ABC and NBC networks slowly joined the newsmagazine bandwagon and CBS created additional such programs.

The first challenge came from ABC with its *20/20.* Originally created as a temporary summer replacement, the inaugural broadcast in 1978 (a decade after the premier of *60 Minutes*) received scathing reviews. The network made drastic changes to the program and the semiretired Hugh Downs was recruited to take on the role of sole host on the following week's program. *20/20* slowly evolved into a standard newsmagazine broadcast once a month before acquiring a regular Thursday night slot beginning May 31, 1979. Barbara Walters joined the cast in 1979 as something less than a co-anchor and soon became a regular special contributor in the fall of 1981. In

1984 she became Hugh Downs's equal, thus reuniting a duo that had already anchored together on NBC's *Today* from 1964 to 1971. The team would remain together on air until 1999 when Downs retired. Walters served as solo anchor as other co-anchors were tried with her. Walters chose to go into semiretirement as a broadcast journalist in 2004, remaining a frequent contributor. ABC News reporter Elizabeth Vargas was promoted to the co-anchor spot.

Only in 1985 did CBS add a second news magazine to its successful *60 Minutes*. Named for the New York City location of CBS News, *West 57th* would run for four years with Meredith Vieira and Steve Kroft sharing the anchor role. Each broadcast provided several segments. A third CBS program, *48 Hours*, drew its idea and original format from the September 2, 1986, CBS documentary "48 Hours on Crack Street" about the drug crisis plaguing many American neighborhoods. Like the original documentary, the series originally focused on showing events occurring over a 48-hour span. This approach was phased out by the early 1990s, and the program now delves into a single subject (typically crime and human interest mysteries), examining it from multiple angles with saturation coverage and action style. It remained on the air into the latter part of the first decade of the 2000s.

PrimeTime Live began on ABC in 1989, hosted by Sam Donaldson and Diane Sawyer, the latter lured away from CBS and a slot on *60 Minutes*. At first, the program was broadcast live and used a studio audience. Interviews made up part of its content. Over time the format changed and the audience was eliminated. Investigative reporting, including the use of hidden cameras, became a trademark of the program. It was melded into *20/20* from 1998 to 2000, and then reemerged in 2000 with Charles Gibson having replaced Donaldson.

NBC Dateline first aired in 1992, co-hosted by reporters Stone Phillips and Jane Pauley, though many others contributed. It quickly established itself with a focus on human interest and crime stories, prompting some criticism about its tabloid focus. Ann Curry has served as the program's anchor since 2005.

Over strong objection by producer Don Hewitt, CBS sought to expand its news magazine franchise still further when it introduced *60 Minutes II* in 1999. Hewitt was said to have hated the reuse of his program's name. Appearing at first on a Wednesday evening, later Friday, the program had a separate production and on-air staff from the Sunday night original. Although it won numerous awards, it ran into trouble in September 2004 when it broadcast a segment narrated by Dan Rather alleging that President Bush had been declared unfit for duty while in the Texas Air National Guard in the 1970s. The authenticity of the documents on which the segment was based were fairly quickly called into question, and after an investigation, a number of producers were forced to resign. Dan Rather resigned his CBS anchor post in 2005—and *60 Minutes II* ended in September. Reporters Bob Simon and Scott Pelley moved to the Sunday night program.

Comment

The news magazine format has proved an enduring one because of its appeal and relatively low cost. Some programs have been controversial and a few have led to court cases. The clear trend in recent years has been to a more tabloid approach in lieu of hard news. The programs are heavily promoted on their respective network evening news programs and elsewhere. They draw decent ratings, especially given their low cost.

Since the first airing of *60 Minutes* in 1968, the competitive picture for the broadcast networks has changed considerably. Public television has taken over much of the public service documentary role once held by the networks and cable television has since the 1980s offered stiff competition for hard and soft news formats. News magazines have generally succeeded (some have been short-lived) because of their combination of relatively low cost with respectable audience ratings. They rarely add much to the day or week's news menu, though occasional controversies (not to say scandals) highlight their role, as well as their limitations. The longevity of several news magazines attests to a winning combination of economics and appeal.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also ABC News; Anchors, Television; CBS News; Commentators, Television; Documentaries, Television; Evening News, Television; Foreign Correspondents, Electronic; Fox News; Hard Versus Soft News; Interviewers; NBC News; Recording; Reporters, Radio; Reporters, Television

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Terrorism, Coverage of

Political violence—especially its two most significant and visible forms, terrorism and political assassination—has arguably been an important journalistic topic since the creation of newspapers. News of the 1865 assassination of U.S. President Abraham Lincoln, the first President to die from violence in office, was transmitted within a day from coast to coast by telegraph, and newspapers covered the event and its aftermath for days, though more extensively in some areas of the country than others. While a far cry from the almost instantaneous, worldwide blanket coverage of the September 11, 2001, attacks, it is noteworthy for its time.

Given that they are political events intended to send a political message, terrorism and to a lesser extent assassination are loaded terms. There is nevertheless some degree of consensus about each. Terrorism generally refers to violence or threatened violence against civilians to achieve a political or social objective, whereas assassination is the politically motivated murder of an individual, usually a government official, candidate, or politician.

The very substance of these events makes them irresistibly newsworthy. They are significant, exciting, dramatic, controversial, and emotional, all key ingredients for major news stories. Furthermore, the perpetrators of these acts recognize their attractiveness to the media. Media coverage helps create the "propaganda of the deed," as one Italian radical long ago put it. A number of media observers believe terrorism and assassination have a symbiotic relationship with media journalism. Each benefits, at least to some degree, from the other. Terrorists, and sometimes assassins, need publicity to communicate their violent political message to target governments and publics, inspire and possibly build a following, gain support and prestige, and help achieve their policy goals in the process. The media in turn are provided with a subject and story that appeals to audiences and most journalistic values.

Several key issues surround the journalistic practices regarding these events, including how journalists go about covering them; assessing the nature of that coverage; the impact of terrorism and assassination journalism on the public, the government, and the perpetrators themselves; responses to these perceived effects; and the impact of new media technologies.

Reporting Events

Although every case of terrorism or political assassination is unique, journalists appear to approach major acts of political violence in similar ways, treating these events much like other major crises. Prominent, in-depth, and even saturation coverage generally follows, sometimes driving all other news off the front pages or lead broadcasts. The assassination of President John F. Kennedy in November 1963 became a major media event, with all other programming blocked out by the three major networks, with no commercials, for four days afterward. The September 11, 2001, attacks in New York and Washington, D.C., dominated news for weeks, to the extent of almost eliminating other stories. Similarly, the 1998 U.S. Embassy bombings in Africa remained the top

story in many countries' newspapers for almost two weeks, replacing other stories. Some scholars argue that even minor terror attacks—such as the mostly unsuccessful World Trade Center bombing in 1993, or the burning of various new housing developments by "eco-terrorists" in the early twenty-first century—merit substantial coverage, due to their newsworthiness. Similarly, one study of newspaper editors following two attempts on President Ford's life found that even unsuccessful assassination attempts were front-page news.

Both terrorism and assassination journalism likewise share attributes from other reporting genres, including those for disasters, crime, and war. Like disasters, major terror attacks and assassinations create a "breaking news" crisis atmosphere and lead to a focus on the rescues and emergency personnel, victims and their loved ones left behind, the damage (physical or otherwise) caused, and the healing or repair of it in the aftermath. The search for those responsible; the investigation into the attacks, their meaning, planning, and execution; and even postmortem into causes and future preparations, parallels quite closely the motifs of "true crime" journalism. If a military or police-type response from the government is launched, such as is the case in certain terrorist incidents, then a combat mode of reporting is utilized, as the retaliation is chronicled and evaluated for its degree of success. The degree of adherence to these elements depends upon the nature of the violence: a hostage crisis, for example, or a lone assassin, will probably be portrayed only as a crime drama. Yet, in major terror attacks, a pattern does emerge: the initial shock, horror, and disaster response; the investigation, the pursuit of the culprits, and eventually perhaps their being brought to justice; or lastly, a military action to do just that.

On-the-spot, observational reporting may be limited by the context of these events, depending upon whether reporters are directly on the scene and what access they have. For example, during the Kennedy assassination, most White House and other correspondents were traveling on a bus in the motorcade far from the President's limousine. Journalists were thus forced to rely on secondhand accounts from spectators and to a lesser extent from local reporters who knew the area and had better access and sources. On the other hand, the locus of the September 11, 2001, terror attacks in New York and Washington, D.C., the attack sites were easily accessible to journalists, since most national news originates from those two cities—indeed, this may have been one reason why buildings like the World Trade Center were chosen as targets. Proximity also affects the type and amount of stories and subject matter. Comparative studies of media coverage of terrorism from North America, Europe, and Africa confirm that portrayal of these events is influenced by where they take place. Terror attacks that occur in the host nation or locality of a media outlet receive different treatment that those that occur on the other side of the globe. In particular, coverage is greater and is more likely to focus on the victims and impacts on the local level. Even coverage of attacks on foreign soil often contain a local component, such as listing victims from the outlet's own town or country and official reaction from its own leaders in addition to the nation that was struck.

While globalization of media and international journalism may theoretically mean that cases of political violence in one locale will be covered by the media of another, it is nevertheless the case that local angles continue to influence the coverage of these events. One can only presume that a similar pattern exists with regard to political assassinations.

It is also clear that terrorism and assassinations promote a "journalism of unity," that celebrates or emphasizes community values in media portrayals. Indeed, media coverage of the aftermath, the victims, and mourning help bring the community back together and see their interconnections. It commemorates and reconstitutes the common identity of the society and reinforces its worth against the forces that attacked it. Such coverage may also help shape the collective memory of the event (or person) in the future, helping to construct powerful symbols that leaders, journalists, or others may subsequently draw upon. Examples include depictions of the heroic martyrdoms of Abraham Lincoln, John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, and Yitzhak Rabin following their assassinations, or the public, mediated memorial services for the victims at "Ground Zero" of the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City in 1995, the American Embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, in 1998, and the twin towers of New York's World Trade Center in 2001, following the terrorist attacks in each place.

Factors that influence reporting political news in general similarly effect coverage of acts of terrorism, such as the competition among political actors for control of the news agenda and the nature and interests of the society within which journalists operate. Studies of coverage of the Palestinian *intifada* uprising and cross-national comparisons of terror attacks demonstrate that cultural or ethnocentric biases color the depiction and interpretation of acts of political violence. These differences may be related to audience tastes as well: Osama Bin Laden may be covered quite differently in Western as opposed to Arabic media outlets, for example, in part because of their public's differing political sympathies.

Assessing Terrorism News

These features of terrorism and assassination journalism have inevitably led to assessments of that coverage and how well journalists do their jobs. Since political violence is so extreme, and leads to loss of life, it is not surprising that reporting of it generates intense debate among media watchers. Several evaluations of terrorism and assassination journalism can be found in the literature on this topic.

Coverage "Overkill"?

Some observers argue that media overplay these events, giving them far more attention than they merit. As noted earlier, even minor terror attacks and failed assassination attempts result in heavy, and often lasting, coverage by the media. Granted, assassinations of heads of state or major terrorist attacks that cause great human suffering and physical damage like those of September, 11, 2001, rightly deserve great media attention, but one could make the case that even the John F. Kennedy and Yitzhak Rabin assassinations or the September 11 attacks were overblown, given that they completely dominated the news for a week or more to the expense of all other topics. The argument is that by making political violence so prominent, journalists inadvertently contribute to the propaganda, prestige, and psychological impact of terrorists and assassins, providing them with the public attention they desire.

Too Sensitive to Perpetrators?

A related critique charges that media coverage is too sensitive to those who commit such acts. By treating them as major news figures, sometimes on par with government leaders, the argument goes, the media intentionally or unintentionally grant them and their political agenda a soapbox. For example, the deadly bomber of the Murrah Federal Builidng in Oklahoma City, Timothy McVeigh, was granted interviews by media outlets to express his views and perspectives. Likewise, videotaped messages by leaders of the Al Qaeda terror network instantly become big news in media outlets across the world upon release, and the Israeli media gave Yigal Amir, the right-wing extremist who killed Rabin, a vehicle to justify why he did it. Still, other studies argue that while indeed terrorists receive coverage, the tone is rarely favorable.

Too Progovernment?

Others argue instead that journalists may be too "progovernment" or cede too much control to officials and dominant elite perspectives following these incidents. While not advocating that the press provide equal treatment to terrorists, nevertheless this perspective suggests that journalists go to the opposite extreme and grant the government too much unquestioned authority. By relying upon official sources and responses, becoming "cheerleaders for the system," and presenting "rally 'round the flag" depictions of national unity that follow major attacks or assassinations, reporters surrender their neutral observer status as well as fail to perform their critical, independent "watchdog" function. Instead, journalists become openly favorable toward the government in power, as when, in the weeks after September 11, American television reporters wore flag lapel pins, unabashedly cheered on the United States in the war against Afghanistan, or publicly proclaimed their support for the government—as CBS News anchor Dan Rather did on a talk show by saying, "If [George Bush] wants me to line up [to fight], just tell me where." This approach in turn narrows the range of ideas presented by the press, thus stifling debate and depriving the public of information that might provide valuable reflection and democratic deliberation. Some might rebut that given the patriotic response by the public (their audience) and politicians (their

sources), it is not surprising that journalists would react similarly. But this critique essentially says that uncritically passing on government propaganda is just as bad as passing on the extremist propaganda of those who commit political violence.

Too Sensational?

Another perspective—not necessarily at odd with the others—criticizes journalists for sensationalism. Journalists hype up the drama, focus on (some say exploit) the victims and the "human angle" of the tragedy, thus trivializing it. In this view, the journalistic focus on blood, damage, and chaos—or personalization and conflict—comes at the expense of discussions of the larger contexts that might help the public understand terrorism and political violence.

Too Much Fear-Mongering?

A related critique attacks news media for playing on or creating public fears. The excessive amount of dramatic, sensationalistic coverage noted above has the effect of exaggerating the threat of political violence and unnecessarily heightening public anxiety. Indeed, some studies have shown that attention to crime news promotes greater anxiety; while the evidence is less clear with terrorism, some evidence suggests a similar pattern, where those who pay greater attention have greater fear, and support government actions.

Who "benefits" from this supposed media fear-mongering isn't exactly clear. Critics who see journalism as aiding terrorists and the like believe that it serves perpetrators' goals of terrorizing the population and undermines security efforts. Others, such as David Altheide in *Terrorism and the Politics of Fear* (2006), believe instead that journalists help create a climate of fear that helps governments justify increased security measures, reductions in civil liberties, and greater power and control over society in response, all in the name of fighting terrorism and political violence. Of course, both perspectives could be true.

Copycat or Contagion Effects?

Perhaps the biggest issue concerning the journalism of political violence is what impact it has on future acts. Does media coverage of political violence beget more such violence? Critics charge that by granting terrorists and would-be assassins publicity and status, both for themselves and their causes, journalists encourage people to engage in violence for political ends. As former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher put it, the media provide the "oxygen of publicity" to the fire of terrorism. Just as media coverage of mass murderers may encourage "copy cats," so too does coverage of these actions. Proponents of this view believe that if the media would not cover these events—or at least, would not cover them so extensively and/or favorably—much of the incentive to engage in political violence would cease to exist.

Such an argument would seem to have merit. Terrorists clearly know that media coverage and the publicity it generates is a key component of their actions. As September 11, 2001, showed, they clearly stage events to maximize their media impact. Some studies of this so-called contagion theory have found greater incidents of terrorism in an area following heavy media coverage of terrorism. Likewise, coverage of bomb threats against schools and nuclear power plants tend to increase future threats.

In addition, media attention given to perpetrators grants them celebrity status that may help them achieve their own personal or political aims. Though most criminals shun public attention to their activities, many (but not all) who engage in political violence want it. The lavish media attention that Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh, Olympic and abortion-clinic bomber Eric Rudolph, and especially "super terrorist" Osama bin Laden received turned them into household names, as was the case with assassins like Lee Harvey Oswald, Kennedy's killer. This attention is clearly attractive to those seeking fame and a platform for their views, as demonstrated by John Hinckley, who shot and seriously wounded President Reagan in 1981; Mark Chapman, the slayer of rock star John Lennon in 1980; and "Unabomber" Ted Kaczynski, who sent mail bombs to prominent scientists and business leaders in the 1990s.

Yet others think the case for "contagion" is overstated and hard to prove. Political violence existed before the media, and perpetrators have goals beyond just media attention. Furthermore,

some believe that such claims may just be an excuse used by government officials to justify more control and censorship over the media.

Responses: Censorship and Reporting Codes

Given the various presumed and known effects of terrorism media reporting, policy responses have been proposed and implemented to mitigate supposed negative effects. The two main approaches are government-mandated censorship (in varied degrees and forms) and journalistic codes of conduct.

Some analysts and policy makers believe that the stakes are so high that government secrecy toward and censorship of the media is required. They advocate governments withholding information or mandating blackouts of terrorist incidents. At the extreme, they believe governments should actively prevent media from disseminating some types of information during or after such events, a policy known as prior restraint.

Given the values of free speech and press underlying journalism, formal censorship is utilized much more often in authoritarian regimes than in democratic nations. It is sometimes, however, used even in democracies, such as when the United Kingdom banned media broadcasts by or about figures in the Irish Republican Army and its Sinn Fein organization during "the Troubles" in Northern Ireland in the 1970s and 1980s. In ostensibly democratic Russia, since 2001, the Putin regime has implemented an expanding policy of access restrictions, intimidation, physical and legal attacks on journalists, and formal censorship to control information about the conflict in Chechnya and the resulting terror attacks by Chechen rebels. The Russian legislature passed legislation in 2005 forcing all media organizations to clear stories beforehand with government counterterrorism agencies, in addition to other limits on the media.

Proponents of censorship argue that there are limits to free speech, and that the lives of actual or potential victims, and safety in general, outweigh unlimited freedom of the media to publish. Opponents retort that censorship rarely works, overstates the degree to which journalists cause or influence political violence, and destroys the very freedom that democratic governments are supposed to protect. In any event, the rise of "new media" outlets such as international cable and satellite television, the Internet, and interactive wireless phones, have effectively decreased the ability of many governments to control coverage of political violence, much like other topics.

Less extreme is the argument that journalists and media organizations should practice informal self-censorship and not publicize information that might inhibit law enforcement efforts or aid terrorist aims. For example, the major American television networks delayed, heavily edited, or even refused to broadcast some videotaped messages from Osama Bin Laden and Al Qaeda at the request of the Bush administration so as to not help the terrorist organization pass on hidden messages to its followers or grant too much attention to it. This approach obviously only works when the media organizations are sensitive to government calls or possible public backlash against the effects of their coverage.

Along these lines, media outlets, recognizing the ramifications of their actions, have developed formal "reporting codes" for use during terrorist attacks, hostage situations, and the like. A number of outlets, including CBS, the BBC, UPI, and some newspapers have formal reporting guidelines for covering terrorism. Such codes give journalists ethical and practical guidelines to follow when dealing with terrorist attacks, including ways to avoid undermining legitimate government security efforts, what information to report, and when to report it. Political scientists David Paletz and Laura Tawney, in their 1992 study of such policies, classified broadcasting agency codes into a continuum of five levels of formality. They conclude that in general, there was a strong sense that terrorism was certainly a newsworthy topic, but also policy preferences toward avoiding sensationalism, coupled with "the desire not to legitimate terrorism or provide a platform for terrorists . . . and to avoid coverage which might endanger hostages." However, not all media outlets develop policies with such sensitivity. A cross-national study of newspaper editors found that while some editors were aware of the potential for their organizations to be used for terrorist ends, as terrorism studies researcher Alex Schmid wrote in 1992, "the division of labor between the terrorist as fear generator and the unwitting editor as fear amplifier and transmitter has not been fully perceived by all those responsible for the media."

No matter how formal the reporting codes may be, however, these voluntary restraints are just that—voluntary. Training of producers, editors, and journalists in these standards and codes of conduct may be varied or spotty. News organizations, in the heat of the moment, up against competition from rivals, facing time pressures, production constraints, and the like—especially given today's global "24/7" news environment—may throw such standards out the window in practice. The perceived lack of responsibility on the part of journalists is in fact one reason why governments and even publics in democracies often favor more heavy-handed controls on media coverage.

It should be noted that these policy debates center almost exclusively on coverage about terrorism. Coverage of political assassinations has not led to the same calls for restraint, nor thoughtful reflections about its ramifications. Perhaps this is because, with the exception of coverage of the pursuit or prosecution of culprits, these events are so unexpected and final that control over their coverage seems irrelevant. There is some implication, however, that media attention may encourage publicity-seeking assassins. As for reporting codes or policies, political assassination coverage has likewise not provoked the same degree of journalistic self-reflection as to how these events should be covered. In the study of failed assassination attempts mentioned above, the editors surveyed seemed relatively oblivious to the idea that there might be a problem or that reporting policies for these events might be necessary. In that survey, 60 percent of editors believed that a newspaper's policy ought to include giving full details and factual coverage of such events without sensationalism, but 40 percent said that a general policy was difficult if not impossible because each event was unique and had to be handled differently. Beyond their policy of giving assassination attempts prominent coverage, the study found editors didn't contemplate the issue of whether their coverage encourages future assassination attempts, nor did they have a formal policy for doing so.

Conclusion

Finding the proper balance in tone or amount of coverage for these types of events is difficult. Journalists seem to be in a no-win situation in covering political violence: they face criticism for giving too much coverage, or not enough; for being too easy on the perpetrators, or being too easy (or hard) on the government; for trivializing coverage by focusing on the human angle, or being insensitive to the needs of victims.

On one hand, media are criticized by governments, law enforcement officials, and some "security-sensitive" scholars and related professionals for overblowing terrorism and assassination coverage and giving undue publicity to its perpetrators. On the other, they are criticized by other observers for passivity, following the government line, uncritically celebrating community values, feeding unreasonable fears and/or exploiting the tragedy of the victims or allowing governments to do so for political ends. Yet it is hard to argue that major terror attacks or political assassinations should not be "news" or that the media should ignore the victims.

The question is how journalism can play its proper democratic function as independent and enlightening critic in the face of events that fundamentally strike the body and soul of the polity. There are no obvious answers. Still, there is no doubt that given the symbiotic relationship between journalism and political violence, this genre of reporting will continue to be prominent, and controversial, just like its subject.

Todd M. Schaefer

See also Censorship; Crime and the Courts; Natural Disasters, Coverage of; News as Narrative

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Theories of Journalism

Theories of journalism define its nature and role within the context of different societies. These normative theories do not seek to predict or interpret news media phenomena, nor do they simply describe press systems. Instead, they reflect how news media ideally *should* be structured and operated under certain political conditions and social values. Press theories provide a framework to examine the relationship of journalism and society as well as what is expected of the media according to the social environment. A basic intent of the theories is to set out ideal standards against which the performance of each news media system can be evaluated. Another important goal is to compare key aspects of journalism in different societies and categorize news media systems around the world by the essential similarities and differences. Theories of journalism, therefore, serve as guides for journalists, media critics, and scholars in the field of mass communication.

Origins

Theories of journalism derive from multiple sources. Basic elements have been drawn from perceptions about the press as disparate as those of authoritarians in the late Renaissance, John Milton, John Stuart Mill, Thomas Jefferson, Karl Marx, and Vladimir Lenin. More specific ideas centered upon professionalism, ethics, and social control. The first attempt to systematically study the role and function of mass media within a specific social setting was the work of the Hutchins Commission in the 1940s. In response to the increasing criticisms of the American press, which appeared to be moving toward sensationalism, commercialism, and monopoly—and away from objectivity—Henry Luce, co-founder of *Time* magazine, funded an independent commission of inquiry to deflect possible government intervention. Chaired by Robert Hutchins, chancellor of the University of Chicago, the commission was charged with investigating the state of journalism and the media more generally and making recommendations concerning their role. *A Free and Responsible Press,* the commission's 1947 report, provided a framework for assessing the social responsibilities of American journalism.

Subsequent studies by media scholars compared and contrasted news media systems in different social environments. Several theories of journalism have developed since the mid-1950s. Regardless of how many typologies may be suggested, there are only a few widely accepted approaches to society-news media classification. They are known as *Four Theories, Five Concepts,* and *Three Movements.* Other perspectives are more or less variations of these three models.

Four Theories

No framework of theorizing the relation between journalism and society has been more influential than the University of Illinois Press's all-time nonfiction best-selling book, *Four Theories of the Press.* First published in 1956, it has been widely taught in journalism courses and translated into more languages than any other media textbook. The authors, Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm, proposed a typology of four theoretical categories for understanding news media systems: authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility, and Soviet communist. The proposition underlying the *Four Theories* model was that news media always reflect a country's system of social control.

Authoritarian theory is the oldest concept of journalism, appearing in England in the sixteenth

and seventeenth centuries. Johannes Gutenberg's innovation of printing with movable type in the fifteenth century led to a communication revolution that challenged both church and state monopolies on knowledge. In response, governments severely restricted the press to maintain absolute authority. The authoritarian concept evolved from the philosophy espoused by such thinkers as Plato, Niccolo Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, and Georg Hegel. They all consider the individual to be subordinate to society. Possession of knowledge is the province of authorities who justify their control as a means to protect social order. In an authoritarian system, the main purpose of journalism is to support and advance government policies. News media are allowed to operate with government's permission and subjected to government patents, guilds, licensing, and censorship. Although private ownership is provided, news media are obligated to endorse the version of the truth supplied by the national leadership. Journalism must function for "the good of the state" and cannot challenge, criticize, or in any way undermine government's authority. The authoritarian theory of journalism flourishes wherever a "strongman" type of government exists. The concept is widespread in several regions of the world, including parts of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Libertarian theory of journalism took root in England and the United States in the seventeenth century and arose in opposition to the authoritarian doctrine. Approval of the English Bill of Rights in 1689 laid the foundation for individual liberties. The concept of a libertarian press was drawn from the writings of John Stuart Mill, John Milton, John Locke and philosophical principles of rationalism and natural rights. Libertarianism means that humans, as rational beings, are able to distinguish between truth and falsehood. The American Bills of Rights a century later expanded libertarian principles to include freedom of the press. In the libertarian view, news media must have an independent and autonomous role to help discover truth and to place a check on government. Libertarian journalism must be free to express ideas without fear of government interference. The separation of journalism and government insures the right of all people with economic means to have access to news media. The media are controlled by "the self-righting process of truth" in a "free marketplace of ideas." In other words, individuals search for truth from competing claims. The libertarian news media, for the most part, are privately owned and free to inform, criticize, entertain, and sell. However, they are barred from defamation, obscenity, indecency, and wartime sedition. Libertarian journalism tends to exist in multiparty political economies featuring free-market capitalism. The news media systems in countries like Germany, France, and Japan are typical examples.

Social responsibility theory is a modification of the libertarian notion. It was born in the United States in the 1940s, when increasing monopolistic conditions and questionable practices on the part of news media led to the advocacy of more moral restrictions on their freedom. The writings of the Commission on Freedom of the Press (the Hutchins Commission), the work of practitioners, as well as various news media codes of ethics formed the basis of the social responsibility concept. This theory differs from libertarianism in seeing the chief purpose of journalism as raising conflict to the plane of discussion rather than checking government. Under the social responsibility theory, everyone with something to say has the right to use news media. A socially responsible media are controlled by community opinion, consumer action, and professional ethics. Journalists must avoid serious invasion of privacy rights and vital social interests. Although the free news media are privately owned, government can take over to ensure public service. The social responsibility theory implies recognition by journalists that they must fulfill obligations to warrant their freedom. Those responsibilities are (a) servicing the political system by providing information, discussion, and debate on public affairs; (b) enlightening the public so as to make it capable of self-government; (c) safeguarding the rights of the individual by serving as a watchdog against government; (d) servicing the economic system, primarily in bringing together the buyers and sellers of goods and services through the medium of advertising; (e) providing entertainment; and (f) maintaining its own financial self-sufficiency so as to be free from the pressures of special interests. Social responsibility theory guides most journalism operating in the United States.

Soviet communist theory of journalism stands at the other end of the spectrum. It flowed from the thoughts of Marx, Lenin, and Joseph Stalin with a mixture of Hegel and nineteenth-century Russian thinking. This theory is based on the premise that such ideas as rationalism and individual rights to know government business are unrealistic. Therefore, journalism in the Communist model functions to transmit governmental social policy rather than to search for truth. The press operates as a collective propagandist, agitator, and organizer to support the government and thus serve the people. Communist news media are considered integral parts of the state. They are controlled by the Communist party government apparatus. Within that system, self-criticism of failure to live up to Communist planning is encouraged, but journalists cannot criticize Party objectives. The Communist concept is an offshoot of authoritarianism but differs from its roots in several aspects. The Soviet news media model disapproves of private ownership, removes the profit motive, and emphasizes media as instruments of government. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, news media in North Korea and Cuba remain as typical examples of communist journalism in its traditional form.

Revisiting Four Theories

The four theories of journalism were revised and expanded when Ralph Lowenstein, a media scholar, added a new category based on news media ownership. Slightly different tittles were given to two of the four basic concepts proposed by Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm. Authoritarian and libertarian remained the same. Soviet communist was renamed as *social authoritarian theory* to remove the negative connotations of the original term and also to broaden its application. Social responsibility became *social libertarian* to be rid of the ambiguity in the original term and to reflect the roots of this theory in libertarianism. *Social centrist* was the new theory of journalism that institutes government or public ownership to assure the operational spirit of libertarianism.

In an attempt to broaden the social responsibility concept into a more active role, proponents of *civic* (or *public*) *journalism* suggested that news media should engage audience members in reporting important civic issues. Journalists are encouraged to reach out to the public, to give voice to the people's agenda, and to meet the needs of various social groups. Civic journalism moves beyond the role of a detached reporter in the marketplace of ideas to the role of a fair-minded participant in public life. Although the civic journalism concept has achieved only qualified success in the United States, it has been seen as a direct response to the call for socially responsible news media with a solid commitment to community service. The American civic journalism model has also been experimented with in other countries, including New Zealand.

Five Concepts

As the world's news media adapt to changing social needs, new theories of journalism have emerged to update the basic model proposed in 1956. The *Five Concepts* typology, first introduced by media scholar William Hachten in 1981, is a major deviation from the *Four Theories* approach. Significant changes have been made to sort global journalism into five distinct theories: Western, revolutionary, developmental, authoritarian, and communist. The basic tenet of this classification is that differing perceptions about the nature and role of journalism reflect the values of sociopolitical systems and historical and cultural traditions of the nations within which it operates.

The Western concept combines elements of both libertarianism and social responsibility. The theory holds that a government should not interfere in the process of collecting and disseminating news. News media are independent of authority and exist outside government. Under the Western concept, the press has the right to report and comment on, as well as criticize government without restraints. To maintain its autonomy, news media must be financially strong and profitable. Meanwhile, the privately owned press system has obligations of public service that transcend moneymaking. The Western theory is practiced in democracies with market economies that have an established traditional of independent journalism. Examples of nations meeting these criteria include Britain, Canada, Japan, and the United States.

The revolutionary concept is concerned with illegal and subversive communication, using news media to

overthrow a government or wrest control from alien or rejected rulers. Historically, effective use of communication has been a part of every revolution. In the United States, for example, Thomas Paine used pamphlets to help inspire the rebellion against Britain. In his writings, Jefferson advocated and justified the people's right to revolution. The theory of revolutionary journalism stemmed from Lenin's ideas of utilizing a newspaper as a cover for a revolutionary organization. By definition, revolutionary news media are those of people who believe that the ruling government does not serve their interests. Revolutionary journalism generally functions to (a) end government monopoly on information, (b) organize insurgents, (c) destroy the legitimacy of the rulers, (d) bring down the alien or rejected rulers. The words of the *Pravda* in the 1917 Russian Revolution and the underground press in Nazi-occupied France were classic examples of revolutionary journalism. A contemporary case was the use of audiocassettes and photocopiers by supporters of the Ayatollah Khomeini against the Shah's regime in Iran in 1979.

The developmental concept assumes that news media can function as multipliers of efforts to promote social change. This theory is a mixture of social responsibility ideals, communist ideas, as well as resentments against the West by impoverished and media-poor nations. In its basic form, the developmental concept posits that individual rights are necessarily subordinate to the larger goals of nation-building. Therefore, all instruments of mass communication must be mobilized, directed, and controlled by the central government to serve national goals in economic development, political education, and eradication of illiteracy. Development journalism should support authority rather than criticize or challenge it. News media freedom can be restricted according to the development needs of the society. Since information is a scarce national resource, news media are state property and are used to further national development. Along the same line, a nation can claim a sovereign right to control both foreign journalists and the flow of news back and forth across its borders. Although the concept of development journalism was seen as an emerging pattern associated with the non-communist nations of the developing world, it appeared to be losing momentum by the mid 1990s. Good examples of developmental media can be found in Brazil, Ghana, Honduras, and Zimbabwe, among many others.

Authoritarian and communist concepts in Hachten's classification of news media systems are similar to those of Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm in *Four Theories of the Press*. In the *Five Concepts* model, the developmental and communist theories of journalism are variations of the traditional authoritarianism. Within authoritarian societies, diversity of views is wasteful and irresponsible, while consensus is a sensible goal for journalism. Therefore, journalists generally exercise self-censorship and maintain the status quo. Therein lies a major difference between authoritarian and communist concepts. The communist news media system is planned and built as part of change and to help accomplish change. Another distinction is related to media ownership. Communist news media are state property as opposed to the privately owned press in the authoritarian model.

Revising Five Concepts

Several modifications of the *Five Concepts* typology have been postulated since the mid-1980s. Within the Western concept, media scholar Robert Picard identified democratic socialism along with social responsibility and libertarianism as coequal subcategories. The *democratic socialist theory* was drawn from a mixture of modern Marxist thoughts and the writings of classic liberal philosophers. The roles of democratic socialist journalism are to provide an avenue for expression of diverse voices and to promote democratic governance. News media are operated for the citizen's use and for the protection of the citizen's social, political, and economic rights. In a democratic socialist system, the media are instruments of the people and public utilities rather than tools of the state or privately owned institutions. To ensure the existence of news media plurality and the ability of citizens to access them, the state can intervene in media economics and ownership. Ultimately, this theory of journalism holds that ownership would be public and not-for-profit, through foundations, nonprofit corporations, journalist-oriented cooperations, and other collective organizations. Democratic socialist journalism lies somewhere between the social responsibility and developmental theories.

Along the same vein, *democratic participant theory* represents an effort to expand the boundary of the *Five Concepts* to include an alternative journalism approach. Media theorist Denis McQuail emphasized the role of news media in supporting cultural pluralism at a grassroots level. Public participation and empowerment of pluralistic groups are central to democratic participant journalism. The theory contends that individual citizens and minority groups have a right to be served by news media according to their determination of need. Therefore, the organization and content of news media can be directly controlled by group members rather than the powers of state or industry. Meanwhile, democratic participant journalism systems may receive government subsidies and training to provide their own audiences with nonmainstream, local, small-scale, interactive, and participative news media forms. The democratic participant and democratic socialist concepts represent a reaction against the abuses of private media ownership as well as state control of news media. The two evolving theories of journalism emerged in twentieth-century Western Europe and are active in Scandinavian countries.

Two other concepts of alternative journalism reflect somewhat radical theoretical perspectives on the role of news media. One is emancipatory journalism, and the other is communitarian journalism. *Emancipatory media theory* calls for a reconceptualization of development journalism by charging news media with an activist role in social change. This theory requires bottom-up reporting in forms and formats that challenge and force oppressive structures to change. By disseminating the views and priorities for development of people at the grassroots level, emancipatory journalism empowers marginalized groups and mobilizes action against unequal power. Examples of emancipatory media can be found in, among other locations, rural areas of Bolivia, Uganda, and Zambia.

Meanwhile, the concept of *communitarian journalism* emphasizes the ethical imperative of news media to engage in dialogue with the public it serves. This antilibertarian theory urges journalists to abandon the role of neutral observer in order to help construct community identity. Under the communitarian view, news should be an agent of community formation, and the goal of reporting is not intelligence but a like-minded philosophy among the public. In some respects, the communitarian concept of journalism is reactionary to "mainstream" or "dominant" news media theory. This theory does not seem to have traveled far.

Three Movements

A new approach to theorizing the operation of the media in different social settings emerged in the 1980s when scholars challenged an ideological bias underlying the libertarian-authoritarian dichotomy. According to J. Herbert Altschull, all news media systems are agents of power, and beliefs about journalism in each system are held so passionately that they are not subject to rational or critical analysis. One system's faith may be another's folly. Therefore, the operation of a news media system can only be judged against the ideal values knowable for the specific society. In devising a value-free classification, Altschull conceptualized theories of journalism as three movements of a global symphony: market, Marxist, and advancing. The three movements differ in their journalistic purposes, articles of faith, and views on news media freedom.

Market journalism is assigned with the roles of (a) seeking truth, (b) being socially responsible, (c) informing the people in a nonpolitical way, (d) serving the people impartially, (e) supporting capitalism, and (f) being a watchdog of government. In the market movement, news media should be free of outside interference to serve the public's right to know. Journalists seek to learn and present the truth and must report fairly and objectively. In the market views on news media freedom, journalists are free of all outside controls and not servile or manipulated by power. No national media policy is needed to ensure free journalism. The market movement links to the First or Western World.

Marxist journalism also seeks truth and social responsibility as defined by its own standard. Marxist media educate the people in a political way and serve them by demanding support for socialism. News media, as collective organizers, are assigned the purpose of molding views and changing behavior. In the Marxist system, journalism helps transform false consciousness and educate workers

into class consciousness. News media should provide for the masses and facilitate effective change. Journalists are believed to report objectively about the realities of experience. The Marxist theory of journalism views news media as part of the government. Consequently, a national media policy is required to guarantee that journalism takes a correct form. A free journalist should report the opinions of all people, not only those of the rich. Moreover, a journalist is required to counter oppression. The Marxist movement corresponds to practice in much of the former Soviet Bloc, China, North Korea, and Cuba.

Advancing journalism is the third model of the *Three Movements* classification. The roles assigned to the advancing media can be compared to those of the Marxist movement, but with some variations. In an advancing society, the first purposes of journalism remain serving truth, being socially responsible, and educating people in a political way. However, advancing journalists serve the people, by seeking, in partnership with government, beneficial social change. In addition, news media must be instruments of peace. The advancing movement believes that news media are unifying forces that serve the interests of the people by avoiding divisive reporting. The advancing journalist is meant to be a part of two-way exchanges, not merely one-way flow of information from journalists to the masses. Proper journalism is participatory. Under the advancing theory, news media freedom is less important than the viability of the nation. A national media policy is needed to safeguard journalistic freedom. Meanwhile, free media are not much concerned with freedom of mere information. It is more important that journalists be assured freedom of conscience than that they be flooded with information. The advancing movement applies to much of the developing or Southern World.

Closely connected to the *Three Movements* are the *three world perspectives* outlined by journalism researchers L. John Martin and Anju Grover Chaudhary. They chose the political designations of First, Second, and Third World as the basis for classifying press systems and theorized the three perspectives from six functions of journalism: the concept of news; the social, political, and economic role of the media; the educational, persuasive, and opinion-making function; the entertainment function; press freedom; and media economics.

Conclusion

Since the mid-1950s, increasingly complex theoretical ideas have expressed what news media should do under certain social norms. Normative theories of journalism, organized from various perspectives, have supplied different criteria for evaluating and comparing news media systems. By the turn of the twenty-first century, the *Four Theories* model continued to exert an immense influence. Despite its oversimplified and value-laden view, the work has been widely cited in journalism and mass communication.

Changing media, political, and economic landscapes across the world have outstripped the *Four Theories,* however, as well as two later typologies—*Five Concepts* and *Three Movements*. There have been criticisms that existing theories of journalism were constrained by the ideology and historical circumstances of their inception. The concepts of communist and Marxist media, for example, have been mostly voided with the demise of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. In the post–cold war world, a more flexible version of media theory is needed to cope with the differences between orthodox communism (as in Cuba or North Korea) and the "pragmatic market socialism" of China, Laos, or Vietnam. Along the same line, changes in media technology have made it almost impossible to match a theory of journalism and a type of society. In the era of globalization, the World Wide Web has linked people across borders, enabling them to seek, receive, and disseminate information via transnational media that are beyond state control. On the other hand, the Internet has also provided an easy means for even the smallest groups to produce their own media, thereby creating a fragmented audience—an indicator of a Balkanization of the larger society. In settings where vastly diverse news media no longer operate as one system with shared ideals and values, traditional theories of journalism may become irrelevant.

Hai L. Tran

See also Alternative and Underground Press; Civic Journalism; Comparative Models of Journalism; Development Journalism; Press and Government Relations

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Trade Magazines

Trade magazines are a genre of periodicals intended for specific professional communities. Also known as the trade press, trade magazines differ from general audience publications through their limited focus on a single profession or trade and their use of jargon and concepts familiar to the targeted field. Trade magazines play a crucial role in creating common bonds of community for business and industrial sector professionals who are spread throughout the larger society. These periodicals serve many functions for their communities: they act as primary disseminators of industry-specific news and advances within the field and offer a forum for addressing concerns and challenges, a place to share ideas and suggestions, and a site for targeted advertising and employment listings.

Trade magazines closely resemble general interest magazines with reporter-created articles and, most often, advertising for products and services applicable to the specific business or industry. For some professions, the trade press may also take the form of a newspaper or newsletter. These trade newspapers vary by their frequency, size, and circulation and may appeal to a specific geographical area or profession.

Some trade magazines are distributed to individual subscribers at no charge if those subscribers are a part of the business or industry in question. This "controlled circulation" type of publication subsists on advertisers, eager to reach those focused individuals. In addition, because of their subject matter, many organizations and businesses subscribe to trade magazines for the benefit of their employees. In that sense, trade magazines become a regular part of organizational communication.

Origins

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, trade magazines were important in the growth of professionalism. The term *professional* denotes special expertise in a particular area above that of the general population, often involving special training to gain that expertise. A profession is thus a community of individuals that share this expertise. Members of a profession attempt to erect boundaries between those who qualify as a professional and those who do not. In some instances, boundaries are maintained through official licensing, whether from an organization or from the government. For example, to be licensed as a medical doctor requires passing a series of required exams to qualify as such. While other professions lack such rigid professional boundaries, their members still maintain a sense of themselves as a specific community. It is here where trade magazines have been—and remain—important tools for establishing a professional community.

This process can be observed through the example of electrical experts in the nineteenth century. The growing number of electrical experts (in telegraphy, lighting, power, and transport) all called themselves electricians—and initiated several trade magazines in which they not only shared

innovations but also discussed the social importance of their field. As electricians sought to more clearly define their profession, their magazines became an important means for developing a shared technical lexicon. As a textual community—diffused in space, but united through the common consumption of trade publications—electricians sought to establish their expertise and authority as professionals, clearly separating themselves from nonelectricians. The trade press became an important component in the establishment of professional identities. Instead of general audience media or publications specific to a place, the trade press created communities based on an individual's employment activities.

As a professional sensibility took hold and industries grew large enough, trade magazines began to flourish. For example, *Publishers' Weekly* began servicing the publishing industry in 1872. In 1884, *The Journalist* (later *Editor & Publisher*) started as an early effort to provide a trade magazine for newspaper journalists. *Variety* began covering the stage and vaudeville entertainment industry in 1905—predating the modern motion picture industry and broadcasting.

In many instances, trade magazines develop out of professional organizations. The American Institute of Certified Public Accountants began publishing the *Journal of Accountancy* in 1905 and the *Journal of the American Dental Association* debuted in 1913. A publication shared among members has been the staple of professional organizations.

As new lines of business and industry have developed, so have trade magazines. In between the world wars, changes in media production led to the creation of *Graphic Arts Monthly* in 1929, *Advertising Age* and *Hollywood Reporter* in 1930, and the daily version of *Variety* in 1933. Broadcasting trade periodicals appeared with the innovation of radio in the 1920s—and the first trade magazines dealing with air transport appeared late in the same decade. New developments ushered in new titles: *Plastics World* (1943) and *Plastics Engineering* (1944) covered the emerging plastics industry; *Food Service Magazine,* reporting on the restaurant and foodservice industry, was introduced in 1956; and *Electronic Media* (1982) covered visual electronic media (television, cable, and video). Likewise, the rise of digital information technology has more recently led to the creation of trade magazines such as *Database Trends and Applications* (2000), *Boardwatch Magazine* (1989), and the *Web Developer's Journal* (1997).

Changing Technology

Coming up with a comprehensive list of trade press publications is a daunting task. The *Encyclopedia of Associations* notes there are over 100,000 nonprofit membership associations worldwide. There are thousands of different trades and professional associations that go with them. To serve these many players, the trade press market is diffuse, with hundreds of publishers putting out products. Reed Business Information, for example, publishes 80 business periodicals in the United States and many more throughout the world. One count by the American Business Media (formally the American Business Press) lists over 6,000 print and online trade publications.

Among the vast numbers of trade publication, circulations range from a few thousand to a few hundred thousand depending on the size of the community being targeted. For example, the *ABA Journal,* the official magazine of the American Bar Association, has a monthly circulation of 368,000 with a reach of 552,000 members of the legal profession as of 2007. The magazine estimates that it reaches half of the entire U.S. legal community each month. By comparison, *The World of Professional Pet Sitting* with its circulation of over 8,000 serves as the official publication of Pet Sitters International and as an example of a magazine for a newer and more specialized business.

The trade press has participated in the shift from print to electronic publishing forms taking place at the turn of the twenty-first century. Like consumer magazines and newspapers, the majority of trade publications have developed an online presence. In some cases, these websites produce much of their own content on an ongoing basis instead of following the regular publication calendar. This is true, for example, of the magazine industry's chief trade magazine *Folio.* While it remains a print publication, the website enlists a number of bloggers and hosts online forums on many topics to ensure a steady stream of new content. This emphasis on online content and readers has impacted trade magazines. In 2004, *Editor & Publisher* switched from a weekly to a monthly publication. The website became the place for

breaking news about the newspaper industry while the magazine became home to longer, more in-depth reporting. While trade magazines usually require subscription fees, online trade magazines vary in the degree of free content they display.

Before the Internet, the expense of creating, printing, and distributing a new trade magazine for often small, specialized audiences made such publication viable for only a handful—and sometimes only one—publication to exist for a given business or industry community. However, with their low barriers to entry, blogs have become a staple for individuals in various trades. These have become important alternative communication channels to traditional trade publications. For example, since 2005, the Airline Blog (theairlineblog.blogspot.com) has provided news and analysis of the passenger airline industry in much the same way traditional trade magazines have done, including the trade magazine *Aviation Week*, but in a new medium with increased interactivity. Similar to what has happened to journalism generally, competition from new media forms is transforming the trade magazine business. In 2007, advertising in business-to-business magazines dropped nearly 6 percent from the year before. It is likely that online sites will continue to draw advertising dollars and audiences away from their print counterparts.

Conclusion

Trade magazines have long played an important role in circulating information, research, ideas, and news to specific businesses and industries. Such publications help overcome geographic barriers to create a sense of community among individuals practicing the same profession. The growth of professionalism, including the rise of business and trade associations and organizations, encouraged development of more specialized publications. Trade magazines helped create the common identity of communities in many fields. As new industries have emerged, so have trade magazines to serve them. Like their general audience cousins, trade magazines have been learning to adapt to new media technologies.

Although vibrant around the world, the trade press is perhaps the most ignored sector of journalism. Because trade press publications are specialized, they are rarely seen by those outside of the field, making them invisible to most of the population. However, in aggregate, trade publications form a large part of the journalism landscape and play an essential role within the businesses and industries they serve.

Matt Carlson

See also Blogs and Bloggers; Business Journalism; Business Magazines; Professionalism

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Travel Journalism

Travel is a common topic for writers, yet travel journalism has a rather ambiguous definition. Though it appears at first glance to be fairly self-explanatory, the field as a whole is complex, broad, and lends itself to many different forms and styles of journalism. Indeed, it is difficult to pin down a single representative example of travel journalism, because it can be tailored to suit almost any literary need. In the sense of being any communication about a voyage outside one's immediate vicinity, travel journalism can be found in almost every type of publication or periodical. Magazines are devoted to the subject, newspapers have weekly columns, and popular travel destinations readily provide their own literature.

Why, then, is travel literature such a gray area if it is such a popular subject? The genre is certainly well known to almost everyone—whether in the

form of a guidebook on a vacation hotspot, an exposé on political unrest in a foreign country, or a restaurant review from an out-of-town diner. Indeed, the average person comes across this form of journalism quite often. Many people fancy themselves to be amateur travel writers, imagining an *Indiana Jones* style of adventuring and coming back to tell tales of exotic locations. However, this glorified view does not accurately reflect the actual profession.

Development

In the broadest sense, travel journalism has been around since the written word began. Explorers, after surveying new land, would come back with tales of new cultures and places. Marco Polo's *Il Milion* was widely popular among thirteenth-century Europeans, and publications from missionaries and explorers were published for those who remained at home (and who often financed the voyages). In later centuries, tales came back to the old country extolling the beauties and abundance of the new American continent. Early-nineteenth-century writers became famous with tales of their voyages: notable authors like Herman Melville gained fame with his chronicles of voyages as a sailor (*A Narrative of Adventures on the South Seas*), as did Robert Louis Stevenson (*In the South Seas*), James Cook (*The Journals of Captain Hook*), and Paul Theroux (*The Happy Tales of Oceana*).

As technology expanded during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, making faraway destinations less expensive and quicker to reach, greater accessibility allowed travel writing to rapidly develop. Early publications like *National Geographic* (first published in 1888) began as research journals but slowly changed to allow armchair travelers—those who read for entertainment value with no intention of traveling to the destinations covered—to go to remote, foreign locations. Although the magazine was published irregularly for the first decade of its existence, it had become a monthly magazine by the late 1800s. Initial readership was low but quickly escalated with the introduction of photography—most notably color photographs of the natural world by 1910. The boost that color photography, maps, and in-depth articles gave to National Geographic as it lengthened the magazine in the 1950s indicated that the thirst for travel coverage among the public was large. Many other publications stepped into the growing market. *Travel and Leisure* (introduced in 1971) targets budget-minded travelers, while *Conde Nast Traveler* (introduced in 1987) caters to higher-end travelers, although both claim to appeal to both demographics. Travel and tourism is ranked as the third largest retail-sales industry in the United States, so it is no surprise that the travel writing featured in books, magazines, and newspapers is so popular.

By the 1990s, travel journalism was further aided by printing developments including digital typesetting and inexpensive color printing, which enabled publications to easily and instantaneously publish at a minimal cost. Technological advances have yielded everything from travel blogs, which provide a venue for anyone to post photos and stories from vacations, to multimillion-dollar companies, such as the cable Travel Channel. Inexpensive flights and the tendency for most households to own at least once car has also made travel and short vacations more affordable and accessible, increasing the interest in travel writing. Travel is presented as an affordable respite, not an unattainable luxury reserved for the wealthy.

Forms of Travel Writing

There are four major kinds of travel journalism, most of them familiar to the average reader.

Destinations

The most-well-known style of travel journalism is the destination piece, which is usually a feature article in a magazine or and newspaper focusing on a specific journey. Such pieces are intended to appeal to both armchair travelers and avid world explorers. Although *National Geographic* offers a mix of destination pieces and (more recently) exposes, these pieces are often included in magazines that are mainly devoted to coverage of other topics like politics (*Newsweek*), fashion (*Maxim*), or music (*Rolling Stone*). Major dailies such as *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* have weekend travel sections featuring destination pieces. These articles require little previous knowledge, allow for escapism, and provide insight (to the reader) on new cultures and people. These

pieces are often produced by freelance writers and can cause controversy when the derivation and possible bias of the piece is unclear. For example, celebrity magazine *People* may feature an article on a resort a famous person just visited, but readers may not know if the destination advertises in the magazine or made a financial deal with celebrities in order to be featured. The destination may not be all that the article promises, but as the magazine is not for travelers, it has no expectation of providing unbiased reviews.

Exposés

A popular style of travel journalism related to destinations is exposés. These are usually investigative stories focused on a serious issue (illegal diamond smuggling, minority oppression) in a location foreign to the intended audience. These pieces are not intended to encourage travel but, rather, to inform readers of what is happening somewhere else. They are often political in nature and may make judgments on the social or humanitarian acceptability of the problem covered. Pieces falling into this category are usually aimed at consumers of hard news and are more likely to be found in news publications like *Newsweek* or *Time* rather than niche or entertainment magazines and papers. Exposés are a very popular type of story for television travel journalism as they are both informative and entertaining.

Guidebooks

One of the oldest types of travel journalism is the guidebook, or travel guide. Created for travelers planning trips to specific destinations, they come in many varieties. Guidebooks are produced by both freelance and staff writers who work for such publishers as Fodor's and Lonely Planet and include (sometimes) candid reviews of hotels and restaurants, cultural advice, tips for pretrip planning, maps and local information, and suggestions of what to do and see. They can cater toward youth backpackers (*MTV Travel Guides*), or older, more experienced travelers (the *Rand-McNally* series. These publications, which are intended to be used day-to-day, include specific information rather than anecdotal or emotional perspectives that are often found in shorter destination pieces. Guidebooks have a built-in conflict of interest in that they are usually positive in tone, as the publisher benefits when tourists choose to travel (and thus purchase the guidebook).

Novels and Travelogues

Another mass-consumed style is the travel novel. These are intended for audiences reading at home, not for readers desirous of a step-by-step guide. They may be long and often share more about the author and his or her life experience than they do the location being visited. Famous examples of this genre of writing include John Steinbeck's 1961 novel about traveling with his French poodle, *Travels with Charlie,* and Ernest Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises,* which follows a group of American and British expatriates living in France and traveling to Spain. Modern-day popular authors have achieved notoriety via this genre of journalism, such as Bill Bryson with titles like *In a Sunburned Country,* recalling his travels in Australia. Whether pensive, humorous, thought provoking or morose, travel-based novels are intended to contribute to the reader's literary repertoire, not necessary encourage visitation.

Multimedia

The most recent travel journalism format is one that encompasses many of these genres of writing, but presents them via a different platform. Multimedia travel journalism combines television and online venues to present travel stories with video and sound. Such journalism can be found in destination piece form, such as programs on the Discovery Channel and Travel Channel cable networks; in exposé form, as in programs like *60 Minutes* or *Anderson Cooper 360* that cover world issues; and in travel guide form, such as *Ecoluxe* on the Travel Channel, which offers advice on the best hotels and travel deals.

Online travel journalism has become ubiquitous since the turn of the twenty-first century and the increase in travel blogging, which allows anyone to post photos and reviews of his or hers travels. Independent-minded blogs operate on a small scale, usually for friends of the creator, and can complement larger media operations, such as online or print travel magazines. Broadband video is increasingly

available online, with almost any city, country, or travel-related organization featuring video tours on its website. Guidebooks and audio books are also available for download online.

Issues

Although travel journalism is a popular style of writing, it is not without controversy.

Objectivity

Objectivity arises in all facets of travel journalism, but especially with regard to guidebooks. There are many pressures to create positive travel pieces. Often, in order to be featured on television or in a publication, resorts or other destinations (especially newer ones) will offer the writers free or heavily subsidized trips to encourage coverage of what the location wants to see featured. Naturally, this raises issues of bias and objectivity, especially with freelance writing and program producing. Among these issues is whether the end user will be given a valid picture of the destination if the report is only providing a positive view and if it is fair to accept such perks (many newspapers and some magazines ban them) and then report negatively. The only regulations on these issues are those decided by the publishers and broadcasters.

Moreover, the issue can take on important diplomatic or trade relations. If a country encourages travel with luxury resorts, yet fails to mention a thriving drug trade, is that a reputable practice? Because business and tourist travel revenue looms large for many cities and nations, how accurately travel writing portrays such places assumes a larger importance.

Ecotourism

The American approach to travel has increasingly become "green," with earth-friendly products and services becoming more important to the American consumer. Included in this "green" lifestyle is a desire to explore so-called off-the-map destinations that are not traditional tourist attractions. Ecotours and vacations that put the traveler close to nature have become increasingly popular, but raise another controversy: the potential spoiling of natural habitat due to increased tourism. Many spots around the globe face a difficult dilemma—balancing increased revenue from tourism with the ecological destruction such tourism can bring over time. In the context of "green" tourism, travel companies must consider the ultimate well being of the destination—writing a guide to Easter Island, for example, may gain new business for the publisher, but easing the difficulty of traveling to that area only serves to bring new human strains on the environment, like pollution, new noise and light patterns, and human waste on the island.

This creates a very modern-day problem for travel authors and publishers. The public demand for "eco-friendly" lifestyle choices—including travel—means that ecotourism articles are very popular and lucrative. However, publishing these articles encourages travel, which can have harsh environmental consequences. All players in the travel journalism industry—writers, publishers, editors, and consumers—must be aware of these issues. Currently, some individual ecosystems (again, Easter Island) regulate visitation, but time will tell how the industry handles this growing concern.

Cultural Blending

A major controversy that has grown with the advent of cyber communications is cultural blending. Heavy visitation into a culture that is unfamiliar with foreigners can lead to dramatic change to the original culture. Languages, traditions, and cultural values can be lost or blended into dominant foreign cultures as more outsiders come. This poses a potential problem for travel journalists, who must decide whether or not to publish what could be a unique article, but could also result in the destruction or dissolution of a private society. Like ecotourism writing, a balance has to be found between in-demand articles and the ethical and moral concerns of forever changing an established culture.

Associations

With a field as large and diverse as travel writing it can be difficult to distinguish the professional from the amateur. The major organizations for travel journalists are the North American Travel Journalists Association, and the Travel Journalists Guild, though membership in these is by no means

a prerequisite for making a living as a travel writer. However, members can gain a network through which to find writing assignments, and companies seeking writers may feel more confident in one who is part of a reputable organization.

Travel journalism is a broad, well-rounded field offering many different styles of writing. With such technologies as high-definition television and online photo sharing, anyone can access, or even create, a wide variety of travel journalism pieces. Travel journalism, arguably the first kind of journalism created, has evolved into a thriving business, found in many forms of publication, photography, television, and web presentations.

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See also Blogs and Blogging; Books as Journalism; Environmental Journalism; Globalization, Coverage of

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Type and Typography

Typography concerns the design, arrangement, placement, and usage of machine-printed type. Although the notion of mechanical printing predates Johann Gutenberg, the father of modern printing, by at least six centuries, for all intents and purposes, the history of typography begins with the German goldsmith's invention of the letterpress around 1450. Gutenberg's invention was so well conceived that it remained the principal method of printing for more than 400 years. Gutenberg's process for printing from movable type brought together four skills: calligraphy, chemistry, metallurgy, and engraving. The key to the system was metal type.

Gutenberg used steel punches and brass molds to cast individual letters from an alloy of lead, tin, and antimony. Each character was cast hundreds of times as a separate block, then the thousands of individual letters were assembled into pages. After printing, the pages could be disassembled and the type cleaned and reused. Type was stored in compartmentalized storage cases—capital letters in an upper case and small letters in a lower case (thus the terms we still use today)—and pulled out letter by letter to set the lines. The German inventor also had to develop a method of holding the type in place for printing, a slow-drying ink sticky enough to adhere evenly to the metal type, and a press capable of forcing the paper down onto the type for an even impression. Gutenberg modeled his printing press after the wine and cheese presses in use at the time and formulated a linseed oil–based ink, using lead and copper compounds for pigment.

The 42-Line Bible

Bringing all the elements together, Gutenberg began working on the first typographic book, a two-volume, folio-sized (11.75 x 15 inches) Latin Bible. The pages were printed in two columns; the first nine pages had 40 lines per column, the tenth page had 41 and the remaining 1,270-plus pages had 42 lines per column. This may have been the layout of the manuscript he followed, or he may have started a 40-line Bible and increased the number of lines per column to save time and paper. Forty-eight copies of this landmark publication,

out of an estimated press run of about 200, are known still to exist (one is always on display at the Library of Congress, for example). Gutenberg's 42-line Bible remains a magnificent example of the printer's art.

Development of the printing process and printing the 42-line Bible was expensive. Over a period of years, Gutenberg borrowed a considerable sum from wealthy Mainz merchant Johann Fust, putting his printing equipment up as collateral. In 1455, just as the Bible printing neared completion, Fust foreclosed on Gutenberg for nonpayment and seized possession of the equipment and all work in progress. Fust then hired Gutenberg's chief assistant, Peter Schoeffer, to finish production. It is unknown whether Gutenberg had any further hand in completing the project or reaped any financial benefits from his work. But his invention quickly spread throughout Europe. It is estimated that by 1500, there were already more than 1,000 printers operating out of some 200 locations in Europe. The basic printing process remained little changed for the next 400 years. Typography, on the other hand, began to change almost immediately. Gutenberg's heavy Textura typeface was quickly eclipsed by more graceful, easier-to-read letterforms.

Development of Typography

The 42-line Bible was designed and printed to look like a handwritten manuscript. According to early accounts, Fust tried to sell the Bibles as hand-copied originals before being found out in Paris. But during the first fifty years of printing, the so-called *incunabula* period (1450–1500), typographers such as Erhard Ratdolt and Claude Garamond started moving type design away from its dependence on calligraphic models to letterforms more in accordance with metal type and the technical possibilities of printing.

According to the best estimates, close to 10,000 different typefaces have been created since Gutenberg. Early on, printers began to experiment with the size, shape, weight, and spacing of the letters. In particular, they produced typefaces with variations in

- *Letterstrokes,* the lines that are drawn to form the letters. These can vary from hairline to quite thick or can be monotonal, with little or no variation at all.
- *Serifs,* the finishing strokes at the end of a letter's main stroke. Serifs can be rounded or flat, straight or cupped, bracketed or unbracketed—or missing entirely.
- *Finials and terminals,* the final or ending stroke forming a hook or a ball that is attached to some curved letterforms.
- *Counters,* the enclosed or partly enclosed white space within letters.
- *Ascenders and descenders,* the strokes which rise above or go below the main body of some lowercase letters such as *b* and *h* and *p* and *y*. No uppercase letters have ascenders and the *Q* is the only uppercase letter with a descender.
- *X-height,* the height of the body of lowercase letters in proportion to the ascenders and descenders. The measure is actually based on the letter *x*.

Letterforms also vary in posture—whether the letter sits straight or seems to lean; weight, which can range from light to extrabold; and width, which can expand or condense a standard shape. Over the centuries, typographers have tried in several ways to classify the multitudes of type designs. Perhaps the most common is to group typefaces according to common characteristics, into faces, subgroups, families, and fonts.

Faces of Type

Black Letter

Gutenberg modeled his first typeface after the calligraphy of the local German monks. The face of type that developed from Gutenberg's first font is known as "black letter" because of the heavy, compact strokes of the letters. This face is also known as "text" because of its early association with the text or body copy of printed books. Today it is sometimes referred to as "Old English," although old English is actually a particular typeface of the black letter and not a face itself.

Black letter faces feature pointed letters that look as if they were drawn with a broad-nibbed pen. The vertical stems are tightly spaced with pronounced stroke contrast. The terminals often have diamond-shaped finishing strokes. Because of the centuries of tradition associated with this face,

many newspapers still use black letter type for their nameplates.

Roman

Gutenberg purposely designed his type to look like the hand lettering it replaced. But within 20 years, printing had expanded south to Italy, and there a new face of type soon developed that has remained dominant through five centuries. In the spirit of the Renaissance, Italian printers moved away from handwriting as a model toward the simpler, more open letterforms chiseled on Roman buildings. The first truly successful roman typeface was introduced in 1470 by Nicholas Jenson, a French-born Venetian publisher and printer. Jenson's roman face was refined by fellow Venetian publisher, Aldus Manuticus, and his typographer Francesco Griffo. Griffo also produced the first italic typeface, although his design had only lowercase letters set with regular roman capitals. Matching italic capitals were added by another Viennese printer in 1524. The influence of Venetian printers soon made roman type dominant in all Europe outside the German-speaking areas. Development has continued through the generations, with the romans still the most numerous typefaces by far, and the most popular for text type. Most books, nearly all newspapers, and at least half of all magazines use roman typestyles for body copy. One of the most popular is Times New Roman, designed in 1931 under the direction of Stanley Morison. Times New Roman was designed for the exclusive use of *The Times* of London, but was released for general sale a year later. It has become one of the most widely used typefaces in the English-speaking world, not just by newspapers, but by book and magazine publishers, advertisers, and printers.

Roman types are defined by contrasting thick and thin strokes and the presence of a finishing stroke or serif at the end of the major stem and hairline strokes. Because these faces are so profuse and so varied, they are usually divided into subgroups based on three characteristics: contrast in the thickness of letter strokes; stress—the angle or axis of the curves; and serif treatment. "Old face" or "old style" types feature strokes that make a gentle transition from thick to thin. Serifs are bracketed or molded into the terminals of the main strokes. The serifs of the ascenders in the lowercase slant and at the bottom of the uppercase E and top of the uppercase T extend outward. The axis of the curves is inclined to the left. Modern romans were popularized by Giambattista Bodoni, the renowned Italian type designer and friend of Benjamin Franklin, after their prototypes were introduced by French typographers in the late 1700s. In the moderns, the last vestiges of type's origin as handwritten letterforms disappeared. Rather, these faces have a distinct mechanical look reflecting strict emphasis on form and structure. These faces have a strong contrast between thick and thin strokes. Serifs are straight, thin and unbracketed. The serifs on the lowercase ascenders are horizontal. Stress is vertical. Many designs fall somewhere between old style and modern with characteristics of both. Contrast between thick and thin strokes is not as pronounced as in modern, but more than in old style. Serifs are bracketed and those of the lowercase ascenders are oblique, but the slant is not as steep as old style. These faces are known as transitional roman.

Some typographers would classify italic typefaces as a separate face, but it is better to look at them as roman. Like the romans, they have strokes of various thicknesses. They have serifs or curved finishing strokes called finials. Their letter shapes correspond to their companion roman face. Their most striking difference is their slant to the right.

Romans come in every weight and size and are suitable for almost any application.

Sans Serif

Second only to romans in number and frequency of use are sans serif faces. *Sans* means "without" in French, and as the name implies, none of the members of this large face of type has serifs of any kind. Their variety comes from variations in stroke thickness and weight differences. Modeled after the flat, uniform strokes of ancient Greek letters, the first recorded sans serif typeface was introduced in 1816, but the designation sans serif was not applied until 1832. They had become very popular by the mid-1800s. Their stature was propelled further a century later by the German Bauhaus Institute, which emphasized functional design in furniture, architecture, product design, and typography. In the

last half century, their popularity has increased to the point that today the use of sans serif faces rivals that of romans.

Sans serifs can be divided into two easily distinguishable categories: monolines and gothics. Monolines, sometimes called true sans serifs, have little or no variation in the thickness of strokes. They are geometric, precise, and elegant. Their letterforms are round and lightweight as compared to gothics. Gothics have some variation in the letter strokes, although the contrast is not as apparent as in romans. Thickness variations are often found where curved and stem strokes connect, causing them to look somewhat less graceful than their monotonal counterparts.

At one time, most newspapers set their headlines in a roman typeface, but now more than half use sans serif or a combination of serif and sans serif. The switch to sans serif for body type, however, has not been as pronounced. Roman typefaces are less monotonous, are considered easier to read than sans serif faces, and have been retained by most newspapers for text type. But sans serifs play an increasingly important role in advertising, magazines and newsletters, consumer product labeling, and web design.

Square Serifs or Egyptians

About the same time sans serif type was launched by William Caslon IV early in the nineteenth century, a fourth face of type was introduced by another English typefoundry, the Vincent Figgins Foundry in London. The first of the square serif faces was listed in the catalog as "Egyptian," and the name stuck. There was a great fascination at this time, both in England and America, with all things Egyptian, intensified by Napoleon's invasion and occupation of Egypt in 1798 and 1799, and the discovery of the Rosetta Stone in 1799. This tablet of black basalt had parallel inscriptions in Greek and Egyptian hieroglyphic characters that provided the key to deciphering the ancient Egyptian writing. Whether Figgins wanted the shape of his letters to call to mind Egyptian architecture or to suggest the visual qualities of popular Egyptian artifacts, the face became associated with the tremendous interest in Egyptian culture.

Egyptian faces are also called "square serifs," "slab serifs" and "antiques," but the Egyptian designation is the most prevalent, leading to names such as Cairo, Karnak, and Memphis.

Egyptian faces are characterized by pronounced square or rectangular serifs, uniform stroke formation, and short ascenders and descenders. Serifs vary from tall serifs thicker than the stem strokes of the letters, to monoline types with little or no contrast between the serif and letter thickness, to more moderate serifs which contrast with stroke thickness.

The Egyptian faces were designed for advertising purposes rather than for book or newspaper printing. They are monotonous and tiring when used for body copy, but work well for headings and headlines. In the mid-1800s, they were used extensively for theatrical posters in large sizes, often from wooden rather than metal type. Since then, they have gone through several periods of decline and revival. Today they are popular for newspaper and magazine ads, especially for reverses, white lettering on a dark background, and surprints, copy that is printed over photographic illustrations.

Hand-Formed

With scripts and cursives, typography comes full circle. These forms are designed, as was Gutenberg's first typeface, to resemble handwriting. They are meant to emulate letters written with hand-held instruments—first quill pens, then fountain pens, brushes, broad-nibbed lettering pens or felt-tip markers. Together, scripts and cursives make up the hand-formed face, sometimes shortened to "hands."

Script letters generally slant to the right and the lowercase letters connect or appear to connect. The capitals are graceful and flowing and can stand alone without connecting to the lowercase letters. Cursives also slant like handwriting, but neither the upper or lowercase letters connect. Cursive faces often include flourished capitals and may also include some alternate lowercase characters. Cursives are sometimes confused with roman italics, but italic typefaces have serifs that cursives do not. Some typographers refer to all hand-formed faces as "scripts"—those with connecting letters as "formal scripts," and those with letters that do not connect as "informal scripts."

Hand-formed faces, both scripts and cursives, have proliferated since the 1930s, but only a few

examples produced before that time are still in use. These faces are much more difficult to read than serif or sans serif faces. Newspapers and magazines occasionally use them for titles, headings and subheads. Their more common use is for announcements, invitations, letterheads, and in retail advertising.

Decorative

Gutenberg's 42-line Bible had blank spaces left for decorative initials to be drawn in later by a scribe. Soon afterward, printers were using two-part blocks to stamp in highly ornate capitals after the text was printed. From there it was but a short step for typographers to "embellish" existing, identifiable letterforms.

Actually this sixth face is not a face at all. Rather, it is a catchall category for the great number of miscellaneous designs that do not have the distinctive characteristics of the other faces. Also known as "novelty," "specialty," "ornamental," or "mood," this category includes standard forms that have been modified with outlines, inlines, shadows, and textures; typefaces that have been decorated with flowers or leaves or other designs; and specially created faces with letters fashioned from natural forms such as paper clips, wooden logs, or smoke.

These typefaces are very rarely used in news typography. In other uses they are attention grabbers used almost exclusively for display type expressing ideas of a few words.

Families and Fonts

Within the faces and subgroups are the various individual typefaces. Most of these have a number of closely related faces, all very similar in design but varying in posture, weight, or style. The collection of related designs all bear the name of their parent typeface and are known as families. A font consists of the upper- and lowercase alphabet, numbers, punctuation marks, and symbols in any one size of a particular typeface.

Before computerization, each font of a typeface had to be cast separately, and most type was available in fewer than a dozen standard sizes. Measurement was not standardized until the late 1800s, when a point system was adopted by the U.S. Type Founders association. A point equals just under 1/72 of an inch. Another common measurement used by typographers is the pica. A pica equals 12 points. So there are approximately six picas or 72 points to the inch.

With the advent of photocomposition and digital composition, designers are no longer limited to a few faces in a limited number of sizes. The computer age has given every desktop publisher easy access to virtually every typeface that has ever existed.

But typography is more than just the development of typefaces. It is also their selection and arrangement to convey a message. In this respect, typography revolutionized human society. Printing—first books, then newspapers and magazines—became the basis for education and enlightenment that began the modern information age, to which the print news media are so indispensable.

Jim Martin

See also Facsimile; Newsprint; Printing; Teletype

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Underground Press

See Alternative and Underground Newspapers

United Press International

United Press International (UPI), a 1958 amalgamation of the International News Service and United Press, was a major American news agency for more than seven decades. Owned in the early twenty-first century by News World Communications, UPI is now but a shadow of the international news and information provider it once was.

Origins

Though founded under its present name in 1958, UPI traces its roots to United Press Associations (UP). Publisher E. W. Scripps, in order to battle AP's then-restrictive membership policies, had formed three regional Scripps news services in the early 1900s, and merged them to become the UP on June 21, 1907. He argued there should be no restrictions on which papers (369 of them at first) could buy his developing news service. He hired Roy Howard to lead the wire service and it is Howard who is largely credited for the spirit of innovativeness and doggedness at UP, pioneering the use of bylines on wire service reports and offering feature stories long before they appeared on the AP. In its early years, as the number of subscribers doubled, the UP scrounged and scraped to cover the Mexican revolution and the growing labor movement, and then it scored big with coverage of the tragic 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire in New York City.

"Thud-dead! Thud-dead! Thud-dead!" began UP correspondent Bill Shepherd's account of the gruesome fire that killed 146 people, many of whom jumped from high windows to avoid the flames. "I learned a new sound," he wrote, "a more horrible sound than description can picture. It was the thud of a speeding, living body on a stone sidewalk" (Gordon and Cohen 1990, 7). Such writing became a hallmark of UP's approach, and it was well received by newspapers and readers alike. It also became part of the correspondent lore of wire service competitiveness that veteran AP and UPI staffers shared with younger cohorts.

Among these stories of UP's early years was its handling of the Armistice ending World War I. Receiving word from a bogus informant, the U.S. Embassy in Paris passed word to UP that an armistice had been signed. On November 7, 1918, UP ran the bulletin pronouncing the war's end and tens of thousands of Americans poured into the streets to celebrate. For hours, the AP stubbornly held out for official word and was subjected to angry demonstrations and cries of being pro-German. When the AP was able to confirm that the Germans had not yet signed the agreement, UP was forced to issue a correction, and the AP was redeemed. Three days later, the war did officially end. The UP restored some of its reputation when roles were reversed in 1927 and the AP prematurely reported that Charles

Lindbergh had landed safely after the first solo transatlantic flight from New York to Paris.

Competing after the war with "The Ring" news agency cartel operated by Reuters, Havas, Wolff, and the AP, UP became the first American news service to provide service to subscriber newspapers in Europe, South America, and the Far East. Indeed, its success was such that Reuters invited it to join the ring in 1912. UP turned down the offer and continued to expand. Direct service to Europe came in 1921, China a year later, and, through a subsidiary, colonies of the British Empire by 1922. By 1929, UP was serving nearly 1,200 newspapers in 45 countries. Despite the Depression, that number grew to 1,715 newspapers and radio stations (UP was the first news agency to serve them, starting in 1935) by 1939.

UP staffers often toiled in less than optimum conditions and the agency was seriously understaffed. But the circumstances became something of a badge of honor, and many who went on to television news fame with CBS, including Walter Cronkite, recalled their work for UP as demanding yet enjoyable. As a UP war correspondent, Cronkite covered D-Day, parachuted with the One Hundred and First Airborne, flew bombing missions over Germany, covered the Nuremburg trials, and opened the UP's first postwar Moscow bureau.

World War II helped boost the UP as newspapers sought the latest and most compelling accounts of the battles in Europe and in the Pacific. UP, with the only news transmission system in Hawaii, helped break the news of the 1941 Pearl Harbor attack. Toward the end of the war, the UP scored major scoops with stories about the crossing of the Rhine River by Allied forces and the joining of American and Russian troops in Germany. The UP gave rise in this period to some of the biggest names in journalism. Besides Cronkite, UP claimed credit for the early careers of David Brinkley, Merriman Smith, Howard K. Smith, H. Allen Smith, Eric Sevareid, and Helen Thomas, among others.

Thomas, who joined UP in 1943, began as a radio news writer for the agency and was one of its longest-serving and best-known correspondents. Early on in her career, she covered several capital beats including the Department of Justice, FBI, and Capitol Hill. In 1960, she began covering President-elect John F. Kennedy and has reported on every White House administration since. She resigned from UPI in 2000, when the agency was acquired by News World Communications. She is known for her hard-hitting questions and persistence during briefings and press conferences, and more recently stridently challenged President George W. Bush on his reasons for going to war in Iraq.

When she first joined the UPI White House staff, Thomas worked for UPI's Merriman Smith—known to UP colleagues as "Smitty." Smith had covered the administrations of President Roosevelt and President Truman, but he is most remembered for his coverage of the assassination of President Kennedy. Riding several cars behind the President in the Dallas motorcade on November 22, 1963, Smith was able to grab the car phone first, battling AP's Jack Bell, who pounded on Smith's back for the phone. Smith dictated to UPI that three shots had been fired at the motorcade. Arriving at Parkland Hospital, he was able to confirm that the President had been hit and was first to report that the President had died, minutes ahead of AP. He flew back to Washington, D.C., in *Air Force One* with new President Lyndon Johnson and Mrs. Kennedy and witnessed Johnson's swearing in. For his coverage of the assassination, Smith received the Pulitzer Prize, one of ten eventually earned by the agency.

In the early 1950s, UP expanded its technology with the teletypesetter, which allowed news stories to be set into type at subscribing newspapers. It began a newsfilm service for television stations as well as a facsimile service for news pictures in 1952. The news agency turned 50 in 1957. But all was not well behind the scenes.

Merger

The amalgamated UPI was formed in 1958 when UP merged with William Randolph Hearst's International News Service (INS) under Scripps's leadership. The merger was the ironic result of a 1945 federal antitrust action against the Associated Press, which, for many years, had refused membership (and thus news service) to many of Scripps's and Hearst's newspapers. When the government ruled that AP's actions constituted a violation of antitrust law, the AP was forced to open up its membership to any paper or broadcast station willing to pay for its service. Many papers subsequently dropped the weaker agencies for the AP, leaving the UP and INS financially weak.

Discussions to merge the two wire services had taken place many times, some as early as the 1920s, but the changing competitive landscape created by the AP lawsuit made the situation one of some peril. On May 24, 1958, UP and INS became United Press International (UPI) serving roughly 5,600 print and broadcast clients. The AP at that point served more than 7,000 U.S. and international news organizations.

The coverage of Kennedy's assassination five years later was proof that despite the financial urgency of the merger, UPI could provide a lively news report of aggressive spot news and interpretation that often matched the AP's dependable and accurate, if more stodgy, news reporting. UPI began an audio service of news and actualities for radio stations the year of the merger. But UPI's doggedness would not be enough to sustain the agency as a long-term competitor.

UPI's Decline

During the 1960s, both UPI and AP were roughly comparable in terms of their financial security, technological innovation, and customer relations. UPI was at least marginally profitable. By 1970, however, UPI was beginning to suffer pressure from the costs associated with technology upgrades, aggressive news coverage by broadcast television, and the decline in number of local daily newspapers. The chief subscriber problem was that fewer papers could afford subscriptions to two at least partially overlapping news agencies—–and given the choice, they nearly always chose the more robust AP. UPI was soon losing $3 million to $4 million a year.

The introduction of computers in the 1970s and satellites (where UPI was a pioneer) a decade later proved to be an enormous expense and led to major personnel shifts and some layoffs. On March 18, 1974, the reporters' Wire Service Guild struck UPI, the first strike ever in the agency's history. The financial stresses began to show. In the summer of 1974, UPI established a 15-member Newspaper Advisory Board to address common management concerns and policies for all UPI subscribers. By 1977, the board approved UPI rate hikes of 9.5 percent and ended its practice of price bargaining to gain subscribers. In 1978, during negotiations with the Wire Service Guild, UPI asked for a wage freeze for most of one year to help offset a $2.2 million annual jump in its costs of leased telecommunications circuits. The union agreed to the request. The situation grew dire enough by 1979 that UPI sought to entice more than 40 news organizations to become partners in UPI, but the request failed, and the Scripps Company put UPI up for sale in 1980, at which point UPI served more than 7,000 subscribers (including 2,250 in 92 countries), most of which were broadcasters. Indeed, UPI was the world's largest privately owned news service. But the inception of Cable News Network (CNN) that same year was another indicator of the changing news agency marketplace. UPI operated 177 bureaus around the world with some 1,200 staff in the United States and 580 abroad.

On June 2, 1982, Scripps sold the New York–based UPI for a nominal one dollar to Media News Corporation, a group specially formed to acquire the troubled agency. It was reported in the trade press that Scripps had given Media News $12 million in cash and forgiven debt to rid itself of the continued costs of operating UPI. The UPI Audio service became the UPI Radio Network in 1983. But the new owner could not stop the financial losses that continued to mount. In 1984, the guild at UPI accepted a 25 percent pay cut for three months and the firing of 100 staff. The atmosphere affected the leadership, and by 1985, just three years after the ownership change, UPI was forced to file for bankruptcy.

A year later Mario Vazquez Rana, a millionaire publisher of daily newspapers in Mexico, bought the agency and invested almost $7 million on new technology. But Rana's acquisition prompted cancellations by many subscribing newspapers and other clients and led to the resignations of several top managers. Industry leaders viewed the sale to Rana as further evidence of UPI's decline. Others viewed Rana's inability to speak English and his unfamiliarity with American journalism as significant hurdles to rescuing UPI. In 1988, Rana handed off control of UPI to Dr. Earl W. Brian and sold his World News Wire (WNW), part of the Financial News Network, an irrevocable proxy to operate UPI for at least ten years. Under the agreement, Rana gave up all management and financial obligations, though he retained ownership. Dr. Brian was chairman of Infotechnology, Inc., an information technology company based in New

York, and that company became a minority investor in WNW. But faced with rising costs and declining subscribers, WNW cut more jobs. In 1990, the Securities and Exchange Commission announced a formal investigation into the company, and WNW announced that it might be forced to sell due to UPI's increasing debt.

In 1991, UPI filed again for bankruptcy, listing total liabilities at $65 million owing to some 4,000 creditors. It was serving just 16 percent of American daily papers, down from more than half in 1966. It emerged from bankruptcy again in 1992 thanks to a group of Saudi investors. Middle East Broadcasting Center Ltd., a London-based television news and entertainment company, acquired UPI in bankruptcy court for nearly $4 million in cash. The court selected the Saudi investors over religious broadcaster Pat Robertson, who also sought control of the wire service. At the time, UPI had about 450 full-time staff members and 2,000 part-time employees. By 1997, however, those numbers were down to about 300 staff members and 800 part-timers, serving about 1,000 broadcast and 1,000 newspaper and Internet clients. The UPI Radio Network accounted for about half the new service's income, but was closed down in August 1999. UPI adopted a new writing style for its main news feed, limiting its stories to no more than 350 words.

In May 2000, News World Communications, a conservative media group founded by the Rev. Sun Myung Moon that includes *The Washington Times* newspaper, purchased UPI for an undisclosed sum, pledging to retain its editorial independence. At the time of that sale, UPI had dwindled to 157 employees and the Washington, D.C., headquarters building was soon put up for sale. The rest was a slow but continuing dwindling of people and capacity. By 2007, it appeared that UPI had only a handful of reporters, all based in Washington and no longer reporting breaking news.

Conclusion

United Press International (UPI) began in 1907 as United Press and became UPI in 1958 when UP merged with the International News Service. While UP and later UPI maintained an active competitive alternative to the Associated Press for much of the twentieth century, it ultimately failed due to the costs of changes in information technology and within the newspaper business that began in the 1970s. Surviving "Unipressers" left behind a record of which they could be proud.

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See also Associated Press; International News Service

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USA Today

Launched in the fall of 1982 as "the country's first national, general-interest daily newspaper" with the express intent of supplying an enjoyable, easy read, especially to affluent Americans on the move, *USA Today* met with immediate critical derision. Its emphasis on short, tight writing, generous use of photos and graphics, and expanded attention to lifestyle and sports earned it the moniker "McPaper," the "fast food" of newspapers.

Wags likened the encounter with *USA Today* to "reading the radio," and said the paper might win a Pulitzer for "best paragraph." Industry analysts were skeptical as well, doubtful that a new paper could succeed in an era when dailies were closing.

From the start, however, readers were enthusiastic, advertisers responded, and after five years of losing money, *USA Today* began to turn a profit in 1987. Ultimately, the paper would achieve both editorial and financial success, and would continue to gain circulation even as the newspaper industry overall posted steep declines. Moreover, its editorial innovations would have lasting influence, as other papers came around to the snappy style and visual pizzazz that had worked for *USA Today*.

Launch and Development

The brainchild of Gannett Corp.'s then-CEO and publisher Al Newharth, *USA Today* reflected the ambition, brashness, and ingenuity that led others to call its founder both a tyrant and a genius. When the initial edition of 155,000 copies came off the presses on September 15, 1982, Newharth's determination to defy convention could be seen on the very first page: The previous day, Princess Grace of Monaco had been killed in a car accident, and Newharth had insisted on leading with that story, a controversial choice since most other papers led with the killing of Lebanon's President-elect. That first issue, printed and distributed in the Washington-Baltimore area, sold out.

A quarter of a century later, *USA Today*'s basic configuration remained much the same. Enduring characteristics included the four color-coded sections, titled News, Money, Sports, and Life, with only the main story on each section front long enough to "jump" to an inside page; a color weather map of the United States dominating the back page of the news section; and a daily amalgamation of paragraph-long news briefs from each of the 50 states.

In subtler ways, *USA Today* had changed a great deal. Initial emphasis on domestic over international news had given way to much greater attention to global affairs; and while celebrity and entertainment news and sports coverage remained staples, solid beat and enterprise reporting as well as special investigations had earned the paper editorial respect. Reporters regularly used open records laws to gain comprehensive information for features on issues of nationwide interest, from salaries of college presidents and sports coaches to transportation safety.

In its initial years, *USA Today* was a drain on the Gannett organization in several respects. To staff its newsroom, the paper cannibalized labor from Gannett's extensive local newspaper chain; of more than 200 reporters and editors starting out, two-thirds came from other Gannett papers while remaining on the loaner papers' payrolls. *USA Today*'s circulation grew to more than a million in its first half-year, making the paper the third largest and fastest-growing in the country, but the operation was losing more than $10 million a month. Cumulatively, *USA Today* had lost an estimated $300 million after tax by the time it posted its first monthly operating profit, in May 1987; and by its tenth anniversary in 1992, with cumulative deficit of some $800 million, it had yet to show an annual profit—that turning point came in 1993, a dozen years after the project's start.

From the nation's capital, *USA Today*'s publication expanded via satellite technology to 15 additional metropolitan areas within six months; by the 1990s, the paper was printed at 39 presses at 36 printing sites. The need to attract national advertising dictated the decision to print in full color from the start; advertisers otherwise had little reason to choose *USA Today* over magazines. Gannett already used full-color printing at *Today* (now *Florida Today,* in Brevard County, begun in 1966), the chain's first venture in starting a new paper (as opposed to acquiring an existing paper—through purchase), but quality control for picture reproduction at diverse printing sites around the country proved a major challenge in the early days.

Distribution was another challenge; since local papers would always hold an advantage for garnering local subscriptions, *USA Today* depended largely on daily sales. A great deal of planning went into the design of coin boxes, resulting in striking newsracks mounted on pedestals that resembled TV sets, the paper visible through a window and serving as its own advertisement. At first, returns of unsold papers were huge, and complaints about old papers left in racks common; in addition, delivery arrangements ran into union opposition that included a major confrontation with the Teamsters in Philadelphia. The racks also were costly to maintain. As the paper itself gained

ground, however, the racks, too, acquired acceptance as a familiar sidewalk fixture.

An experiment during the summer of 1985 affirmed reader enthusiasm while illuminating the need to strike a balance between circulation ambitions and advertising revenue. Under an arrangement with food processing company General Mills, customers could send in eight proof of purchase seals to get a free six-month subscription to *USA Today,* with General Mills paying for the first 52,000 takers and the paper covering the rest—but rather than the anticipated hundred thousand responses, half a million new subscribers took the deal, with the extra printing and delivery required nearly crushing the three-year-old operation.

A more successful endeavor was targeting travelers through what came to be called "blue-chip circulation"—bulk sales to airlines and hotel chains. Eastern and Delta were the first airlines to distribute *USA Today* to their customers, and the hotel program took a leap when Marriott and Sheraton signed on. In two decades of steady growth, such sales rose from about 15 percent of circulation in 1987 to more than half the paper's circulation by 2007.

USA Today's national circulation surpassed 1.5 million in 1987, second only to *The Wall Street Journal,* with all but a few pockets of the country having same-day delivery. It reached 2 million by 1993 and passed the *Journal* to take the top spot in 1999. When *USA Today* turned 25 in 2007, its circulation was nearly 2.3 million and still growing, albeit slowly, and the paper continued to outperform industry trends as most others were recording circulation and advertising losses.

A website "relaunch" in March 2007 heralded *USA Today*'s move into interactive "network journalism" that also included mobile text and video feeds, messaging, and podcasts. Within two months, the company claimed a web audience of 11 million unique visitors per month, with online revenue growing faster than print. Plans for further extending the *USA Today* name included the opening of *USA Today* stores selling branded souvenirs and the introduction of *USA Today*–branded games.

Major Controversies

USA Today's greatest credibility crisis followed the 2003 Jayson Blair plagiarism and story fabrication scandal at *The New York Times,* when Jack Kelley, a 21-year veteran and star international reporter at *USA Today,* turned out to have had a much longer career of deception than Blair. Initially, an anonymous complaint set off an inquiry focusing on a single story, but the investigation eventually broadened, and three experienced journalists from outside the paper were enlisted to do a thorough review. They determined that Kelley had plagiarized, fabricated, and embellished extensively over at least seven years of reporting from many parts of the world and that his star status had insulated him from editorial scrutiny. The team examined and researched 720 articles Kelley had written from 1993 to 2006, and found evidence of substantial malfeasance in about 100 of the stories. Among his many fantasies that *USA Today* had carried as fact were purported eyewitness accounts of a night spent with Egyptian terrorists, a high-speed chase after Osama Bin Laden, and the aftermath of a suicide bombing—complete with the description of a decapitated head rolling down the street.

Also highly embarrassing, if less sensational, was the controversy surrounding a special two-page promotional piece, using the likeness and logo of *USA Today,* created for the pharmaceutical giant Glaxo Wellcome in 1998 for distribution at an international AIDS conference in Geneva. The "articles" in the phony paper, written by Glaxo publicists and quoting Glaxo officials as main sources, focused on the drug company's AIDS remedies. Critics charged that this "special edition" was easy to confuse with a real issue of the newspaper and unacceptably blurred the lines between editorial content and advertising. *USA Today* acknowledged it had provided a similar service hundreds of times for other advertisers and said such materials were carefully controlled and not intended to confuse.

Lasting Impact

USA Today's early use of telephone polls to invite reader involvement were precursors of today's Internet interactivity; its info-graphics, sidebars, and lists presaged the sort of information segmentation that is now widespread on the web; and its quest to develop a cross-platform identity that spans old and new media anticipated the emphasis on branding that is now commonplace for news

organizations. Most influential of all, however, was the paper's overall editorial vision. In valuing terse prose, pioneering the use of information "nuggets," and above all, elevating the role of graphics, *USA Today* forever changed how news is packaged. Largely because of its example, art and design, which were once service departments, are now integral to news content. The very features for which the paper drew ridicule at the outset—shorter stories, more photos, expanded sports coverage, splashy graphics, and other departures from "serious" news—became precisely those other media organizations would emulate. Its full-color weather map may be the most widely imitated newspaper innovation ever.

Judy Polumbaum

See also Deception; Distribution; Gannett; Newspaper Design; Printing; Sports Journalism; Weather Journalism

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U.S. International Communications

U.S. international communications refer to American government-sponsored efforts at publicizing information about the country's actions, goals, and image abroad. Although they date back to World War I, when President Woodrow Wilson formed the Committee on Public Information in 1917, its activities ended as the War came to a close in 1919, and sustained attempts at reaching international audiences were not exercised prior to World War II.

Since 1945, U.S. international communications predominantly refers to the country's official broadcasting, such as, among others, the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe, whose task was to disseminate information and views from the U.S. standpoint to foreign audiences during the cold war. These organizations are often credited with playing a crucial role in bringing down the Iron Curtain. After the attacks of September 11, 2001, these communication outlets have continued to promote America's image abroad, this time with an increasing focus on the Middle East.

Origins

The first sustained effort at reaching out to foreign audiences, U.S. international radio broadcasting in languages other than English, came as a reaction to Nazi radio propaganda during World War II. After the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, President Roosevelt formed a Foreign Information Service (FIS), under the leadership of playwright Robert Sherwood, who also wrote presidential speeches. Sherwood then initiated broadcasting to Europe via privately owned (shortwave) radio stations.

The Voice of America (VOA) was founded under the auspices of FIS on February 24, 1942, and continued to operate after World War II as international broadcasting in foreign languages became a common phenomenon worldwide. An umbrella organization that handled all of the U.S. government's international communication efforts (non-military), the United States Information Agency (USIA), was created in 1953 under President Dwight Eisenhower (1953–61), and VOA became the agency's largest department. During its existence, USIA played an important role in informing the foreign press and public about U.S. government activities. The most prominent among USIA's activities targeted toward the international press was the so-called Washington File, a daily text and information service. Washington File staff would distribute texts on most important global events,

which were then given to foreign government officials and the press for publication in newspapers, TV, and radio. In addition to the Washington File, USIA also published electronic journals and posters. In the United States, the agency ran Foreign Press centers to assist foreign journalists.

As of October 1999, USIA activities in the field of nonmilitary international broadcasting were fully taken over by the Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG) and the agency itself ceased to exist.

Voice of America (VOA)

The Voice of America is a "multimedia international broadcasting service" that is funded by the U.S. government through the BBG. As of 2008, VOA broadcasts more than 1,000 hours of news and cultural programming to an international audience of roughly 115 million people in 45 languages. Determined to present "straight-arrow news, public service programming, and enlightened comment to people everywhere, the organization adopted the motto of letting 'the facts be submitted to a candid world'" (Heil 2003).

After the end of World War II in 1945, VOA was brought under the supervision of the State Department and suffered cuts in the number of broadcast services, from almost 40 to 23, and by April 1946 nearly two-thirds of its staff had been dismissed. Congress was not eager to allocate funds for its continued operation in 1946 and 1947. But development of the cold war set the scene for VOA's continuing operation. Once again, the government was reacting to propaganda, this time on behalf of the Soviet Union, as well as to the Berlin Blockade in 1948 to 1949, when the USSR prevented ground access to parts of Berlin occupied by the Americans, British, and French. This was the context for passage of the benchmark "United States Information and Educational Exchange Act," also known as the Smith-Mundt Act, which gave statutory standing to VOA but did not create guidelines as to who would control its programming. A substantial debate followed on the ultimate purpose of VOA broadcasting: whether it should merely report what took place in America, or whether it should be used as a foreign policy instrument to counter the Soviet Union. Congress decided the latter should prevail and by the middle of 1951, new services were introduced, amounting to 45 languages, and 400 more airtime hours per week.

During the domestic "red scare" of 1953 led by Senator Joseph McCarthy, however, Congress had begun to suspect that VOA broadcasts were favoring communism and conducted several hearings to investigate the issue. The charges were not proven, but many dismissals took place, the budget was reduced, and language services were cancelled. Even before the hearings ended, President Eisenhower had undertaken a review of U.S. foreign information activities and decided to create the U.S. Information Agency, and VOA came under its supervision, also moving its headquarters from New York to Washington, D.C. There it diversified its content, introducing more music programs, such as *Jazz Hour,* which became popular in Eastern Block countries and helped promote American culture. VOA also introduced slow-paced English-language broadcasts, meant to facilitate comprehension of American English.

Supported by USIA, VOA employees drafted an organizational charter in 1960, a formal statement of broadcasting principles that became an institutional constitution. The charter held that "news will be accurate, objective and comprehensive [that] VOA will represent America, not any single segment of American society [. . .] and will therefore present a balanced and comprehensive projection of significant American thought and institutions" (VOA website). The charter was later signed into law by President Gerald Ford (1974–77) in 1976 and it formally protects the independence and integrity of VOA programming.

Despite numerous success stories, such as the milestone coverage of Neil Armstrong's 1969 landing on the Moon, when 450 million people all over the globe tuned into VOA (the largest audience in the history of radio), the available financial resources from the government were not sufficient and led again to flagging broadcasting standards. However, during the Reagan administration (1981–89), VOA received new resources of $1.3 billion to refurbish its programming. New language services were introduced, most notably to Afghanistan because of the 1980 Soviet intervention there.

During 1990s, major institutional restructuring took place as the USIA formed a Bureau of

Broadcasting, which brought under the same organizational umbrella numerous U.S. international broadcasting institutions: VOA, WORLDNET Television and Film service, and Radio and TV Marti, which broadcast to Cuba. Under the 1994 International Broadcasting Act, signed by President Bill Clinton (1993–2001), new managing institutions were formed, including the International Broadcasting Bureau (IBB), also within USIA, as well as the BBG. The close of the decade saw further restructuring following President Clinton's Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act of 1998.

Thus on October 1, 1999, the BBG became an "independent federal entity" supervising IBB, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, and the more recent Radio Asia, founded five years earlier. USIA was abolished and its activities placed under State Department jurisdiction. With the end of the cold war, many of VOA's East European services were deemed superfluous and underwent restructuring. However, new services were introduced as well, such as the Kurdish one in 1992, which began broadcasting to Iraq and Iran. This decade also saw the beginning of VOA's simulcasting tradition. In 1994, VOA started offering its programming online, thus becoming the first international broadcaster to do so. By 1999 most of the programs in all VOA languages were available in this form. After the events of September 11, 2001, BBG refocused its efforts toward the Middle East. VOA's Arabic Services was replaced with Radio Sawa (*Together* in Arabic), which seeks to attract larger audiences by operating like a commercial station with music and entertainment. BBG also added TV Alhurra (*The Free One*), Arabic satellite news, which airs throughout the Middle East. As for Iran, Radio Farda (*Tomorrow*) was introduced, a cooperative effort between VOA and Radio Free Europe.

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty (RFE/RL)

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty used to be two separate radio services that were officially merged in 1975 into one organization known today as RFE/RL. The organization was long described as private, but was in fact also funded from the start by the U.S. government. It broadcasts to Southeastern and Eastern Europe, Russia, the Caucasus, the Middle East, and Central and Southwestern Asia. By the first decade of the twenty-first century, RFE/RL produced more than 1,000 hours of programming per week in 29 languages. It is the second-oldest U.S. international broadcaster with a specific programming mission, which is why it also merits additional attention.

RFE/RL's role in international broadcasting has always differed from the rest of the U.S. government-sponsored outlets, which were meant to be surrogate radios—their programming dealing with the issues related to the specific country for which the broadcasting was intended. The underlying idea was to provide the kind of broadcasting that might have been present had the respective countries been in the position to enjoy full media freedom. This programming was hence different from that of the VOA, whose content focused more on events and issues within the United States, and whose primary goal was to present official government policy without emphatic expression of political arguments. Another trademark feature of RFE/RL was that its programming was targeted primarily toward elites of the oppressed societies, rather than the masses, which is why the programming often included more sophisticated news analysis.

Free Europe Inc. was established in 1949 with the purpose of programming to East European countries behind the Iron Curtain. The Radio Liberty Committee Inc. was founded two years later with the goal of reaching out to the peoples inside the Soviet Union. Both organizations were funded by the CIA, as well as with the help of private donations. The involvement of the CIA was not initially made public. Despite the connection to the CIA, RFE/RL experienced little editorial supervision from the U.S. government. The public only learned that the funding of the radios was CIA managed in 1967, when *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* broke the news. Only a small part of the radios' budget was coming from public funding campaigns such as "Crusade for Freedom," during which people were asked to contribute money so that the radios could continue to operate, thus supporting freedom from communism in Europe. The official involvement of the CIA ended in 1971. Ever since the beginning of the 1970s Congress has appropriated funds for RFE/RL during allocation of the yearly budget for the federal government—as with the VOA. BBG now allocates money to RFE/RL through a grant.

Perhaps the most famous event in the history of radio and U.S. international broadcasting took place in late 1956 during the Hungarian Revolution, when radio organizations were accused of promoting an uprising against communism in their broadcasts. The uprising eventually resulted in the deaths of 10,000 to 20,000 people when the Soviets put down the revolt. The United Nations, the West German government, and the Council of Europe as well as the U.S. Congress investigated the nature of the broadcasts and RFE was absolved from accusations that it was inciting an uprising. Yet the organization was criticized for leaving an impression that the West would whole-heartedly aid the revolution.

That the RFE/RL contributed to the later fall of communism is widely accepted. For decades during the cold war the jamming of RFE/RL's signal by the Soviet and East European governments was a regular practice. After the fall of communism in 1989 to 1990, however, the organization underwent considerable deliberations as to whether it was still needed. While the organization continued to operate, many RFE/RL services were shut down. Among other language services suspended were Hungarian in 1993, Polish in 1997, and Czech in 2002.

New services were gradually opened reflecting the regional strategic shift in the organization's broadcasting aims and adapting to regional political developments. In 1998, it opened a Persian service as well as Radio Free Iraq in Arabic. With the 1990s conflict in Kosovo between the Serbs and Kosovo Albanians, it introduced broadcasts to Kosovo in Albanian; and in Afghanistan it started broadcasting in both Dari and Pashto from 2002. As of 2008, it offered 18 services in 28 languages. The closure of the East European services and the shift of resources toward the Middle East has been the subject of some controversy.

Into the New Century

A discernable overarching programming trend in U.S. international broadcasting since the year 2000 has been the idea of marrying the mission to the market. To an extent sparked by the need to reach out to the Arab world after September 11, the underlying idea behind this trend has been to modernize American international broadcasting to attract bigger audiences. To this end, the broadcasting services introduced after September 11 (such as Arabic Radio Sawa, as well as Iranian Radio Farda) are more focused on entertainment, with shorter news formats as well as more music. Radio Farda, for instance, broadcasts more hours of American and Iranian pop music than news. Since Farda is a joint project of RFE and VOA, this programming presents a departure from traditional in-depth news reporting that targets elites. The trend is evident in more than broadcasting to the Middle East. The RFE/RL Russian Service was trying to introduce similar changes in its news format after receiving feedback that their broadcasts resembled old-fashioned dissident programming from the time of the cold war. Programming content continues to be the subject of much political dispute. A typical example of such disagreement is the appearance of the leader of Hezbollah, a terrorist organization famous for its anti-Americanism, on Alhurra TV. Whether U.S. government–funded broadcasts should give voice to anti-American ideology has raised questions among politicians in Congress.

The Voice of America and Radio Free Europe have played a significant role in conveying U.S. policies to foreign audiences since World War II. They played a significant role in the battle against communism as well as in making American culture and lifestyle more desirable abroad. The organizations also helped reduce traditional U.S. isolationism by promoting American involvement in international affairs. As part of government-sponsored informational activities, international broadcasting also presents an important public diplomacy tool, along with government-sponsored international cultural and educational activities. After the events of September 11, the organizations continued to be relevant by shifting their aim to a regional focus on the Middle East. The content and format of U.S. government–funded international communications has always been the subject of political dispute.

Tijana Milosevic

See also Agence France-Presse; Al Arabiya; Al Jazeera; British Broadcasting Corporation; Chinese Television; Deutsche Welle; International Journalism; International Journalism Organizations; New China (Xinhua) News Agency; TASS and Russian News Agencies; War and Military Journalism

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V

Video

See Audio and Video News Services; Streaming Media

Video Journalism

Video journalism is a form of video news production in which one person shoots, writes, and edits news stories using digital technologies, to be disseminated via broadcasting cable, or broadband Internet. Video journalists (VJs), also known as "backpack journalists" (BPJs) or "mobile journalists" (MoJos), may work for television stations, cable services, newspapers, websites, or citizen journalism organizations. They might, also be independent freelancers. Their work is often stylistically different from traditional television journalism, and in some settings, it is taking on a distinct narrative form.

Brief History of Video Journalism

While so-called one-man bands have long existed in television news and documentary film production, they tended to be the exception. Single-person units were more often found in smaller markets, where young reporters would shoot, write, and edit their own material as they worked their way into larger markets where they'd work as part of a team with a photographer and (though no longer) sound technicians. Conventional television newsgathering generally still involves teams of videographers, reporters, and producers to shoot, write, and narrate stories.

While the term *video journalism* came into popular use relatively recently, its history goes back to the last decade of the twentieth century, and it is rooted in both documentary filmmaking and photojournalism. Many of the earliest documentary filmmakers, such as Robert Flaherty (who produced *Nanook of the North*) or employees of the Lumière brothers, shot their own film, despite cumbersome, heavy equipment. The earliest video cameras were enormous, but by the 1970s it was possible for one person to carry a video camera and recorder and soon such electronic news gathering (ENG) became the norm for television news. In 1972, documentary filmmaker Jon Alpert started the Downtown Community Television Project in an old firehouse in New York City to teach non-professionals how to create video programs.

In the late 1980s, Michael Rosenblum, a former network television producer, saw potential in the new, highly portable "Hi-8" video cameras and established "Video News International." VNI deployed VJs who, by working as solo international correspondents, formed an operation that was cheaper to operate and more mobile than a conventional broadcast television network. VNI eventually became New York Times Television and years later was folded into the larger Times newsgathering operation.

Video journalism's dramatic growth is due in great part to the smaller camera, which, at five

pounds, weighs about one-sixth that of a conventional TV camera. However, a number of other key technologies also fueled the expansion of video journalism, including lighter-weight laptop computers, user-friendly video editing software, wireless Internet, and the availability of faster broadband connections.

Fans of video journalism consider it a distinct narrative form, due to the more flexible technology and its singular authorship. The host of Australia's VJ-staffed *Dateline* program, Jana Wendt, noted that "One of the benefits and charms of this style is that you can get in where others cannot" (quoted in Fidgeon 2004). Jon Alpert, who continues to produce documentaries around the world, says it is easier to blend in and look like a tourist in countries that are hostile to journalists. Rosenblum teaches that video journalism has the potential for what he calls a "new grammar," with greater intimacy, access, depth, ownership, reality, freedom and a more intensely local perspective. David Dunkley Gyimah, a video journalist who conducts workshops in Britain, writes, "I represent a new discourse in story telling and journalism blurring the boundaries between technologist and artisan, the net and TV, a writer and visual blogger."

Styles of Video Journalism

VJ stories, whether produced for an institution like the BBC, *The Guardian,* or activist websites such as Indymedia, vary widely in length, narrative structure, authorship, strategies for proximity and temporality, and modes of audience-address. Some institutions insist on a standup (a short appearance by a reporter, also known as a "piece to camera" in Britain) in every story, in accordance with local news formats, while others use only the voices of the story's subjects. This diversity of format is likely to continue as the convergence of print, television, and other media platforms affects contemporary news organizations.

Not all institutions are adopting video journalism in the same way, changing its form and process to fit the media logic of various operations. The BBC, for instance, has trained hundreds of VJs for its Nations and Regions division (the local news arm of the BBC), but many of them do not shoot stories on a regular basis. In places such as Oxford, England, however, a nearly all-VJ staff produces a daily hyper-local (community level) newscast, something that was not financially possible just a few years earlier. A television station in San Francisco, KRON, was among the first local stations in the United States to convert to an all VJ staff; yet KRON's stories are almost indistinguishable from those produced by competing, non-VJ stations. Many other U.S. stations employ all VJ staffs; others are introducing VJs as part of their employee mix.

Video journalists are becoming increasingly important to newspapers, where web video is considered crucial to competitiveness in an increasingly convergent environment. It is here that video journalism is taking on a more distinctive form. Newspaper VJs may edit in a pure documentary style using only interview sound to create a narrative; they may use text-titles on the screen to help the story along, or they may even record their own voiced narration. Dirck Halstead, one of the original members of VNI, has become a leader in helping still photographers make the transition to video through his annual "Platypus" workshops, and he maintains a website devoted to the practice. Halstead encourages his students to create their own storytelling style and avoid trying to copy TV news.

Recognition of video journalism as a distinct form became more widespread after the turn of the twenty-first century. The flagship professional publication of the National Press Photographer's Association (NPPA), *News Photographer,* began using the term regularly in 2004. Two years later the NPPA's annual "Best of Photojournalism" contest included an entry for solo video journalists. Significantly, in 2008 the organization considered changing its name to the Society of Visual Journalists in order to recognize the changes underway for its membership; the motion was tabled for further study.

Issues and Controversies

Video journalism has drawn considerable criticism and resistance, particularly among traditional television journalists. The amount of time and effort needed for a VJ to deliver a quality story disrupts the workflow for many local television news operations. In some the BBC locations, many VJs have not put their new skills into practice with any regularity. Safety concerns come into play for some stories, particularly potentially violent situations. Finally, some traditional television journalists

believe that video journalism lowers the quality of television news both technologically and journalistically and that it simply represents an attempt to do more with less money—and fewer employees.

Video journalism has the potential to disrupt many aspects of newsgathering. As more journalists wield their own cameras and write multimedia stories, the nature of newswork, the resulting narratives, and journalists' own identities are likely to shift. Video journalism requires a journalist's physical presence—something long taken for granted by photojournalists but not necessarily by text-based journalists, who may do much of their fact-gathering remotely. Still photographers, whose previous job was to capture one decisive moment extremely well, are being asked to learn how to learn an entirely new technique. Video journalism involves not only a moving image but audio as well in the form of interviews and background audio. Those who previously might have written captions only are expected to be visual storytellers, who produce, write, and occasionally even narrate complete news packages.

The relatively low cost of video journalism has made it a popular tool for citizen journalists. In 1999, activists armed with lightweight video cameras were able to produce a form of "counter coverage" of the protest against the World Trade Organization in Seattle. Since then, citizen video journalism has taken root with human rights groups such as Witness.Org, and other populist activist organizations devoted to giving voice to those outside the mainstream media. The video site YouTube makes it possible for anyone, from the occasional amateur hobbyist to the devoted activist, to upload video stories to the world. IndyMedia, a now-national network of grassroots organizations, teaches multimedia and video production to volunteers as a counterbalance to mainstream journalism. Such efforts echo the early efforts of Alpert at the DCTV in New York—though today the technology far more accessible, in financial and practical terms, than ever before.

Video journalism's strongest advocates consider it to be a new narrative form, not merely a faster, cheaper way to produce television. But filmmakers like Alpert, whose documentary projects have garnered 15 Emmy awards, might argue that the form is not new at all—only its mainstream acceptance is new. Video journalism is indeed taking hold in a variety of media institutions, changing journalistic identity and daily newsroom practices along the way. Travis Fox, an award-winning VJ for WashingtonPost.com, sees no end to the possibilities for this emerging news practice: ". . . as the technology gets simpler, if more individuals shoot and cut video—like they create writing—you are going to get a lot more interesting styles, and a lot richer body of work as a whole."

Mary Angela Bock

See also Citizen Journalism; Convergence; Electronic Newsgathering; Photojournalists; Reporters, Television

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Video News Releases

Video News Releases (VNRs) are public relations tools frequently used by corporations, nonprofit

organizations, and government entities. Any VNR is the television equivalent of a press packet. It includes an entire TV news story being promoted by the organization. A typical VNR contains many parts:

- A package complete with narration from a "reporter" who actually works for the PR firm creating the VNR.
- A "donut" version of the same package so a reporter or anchor from the television station simply can add his or her voice in the appropriate spots, giving the false appearance the reporter or anchor played a more active role in the creation of the story.
- Extra interview segments, sound "bites" typically 5 to 15 seconds, from on-camera experts quoted in the story.
- Extra video of the subjects mentioned in the story. For example, let's say the VNR was from the National Cattleman's Association and concerned an increase in the use of beef in restaurant meals. The extra video (the trade slang is B-roll), may include shots of cattle, cattlemen, wrapped beef in a supermarket, and a waitress delivering some beef-related meal to a customer. These typically will include natural sound of the action being shown.
- A suggested script for the story (often presented as a full screen or more of text against a bland background) so the producer or reporter more easily can craft the material into an item for one of that day's newscasts.

VNRs began in the 1970s as rather obvious promotional items, often sent to television news operations through the mail in the form of videotapes with an attached hard copy of additional information and the suggested script. VNRs today, however, are more subtle, pervasive, and technologically sophisticated. Several large firms specialize in their creation and distribution, mostly through satellite feeds but also as high-quality streaming video to be downloaded. The VNRs even will include an encoded "tag," known as the Sigma system, so their actual use by station, market, length, and time of day can be tracked.

Sometimes it takes a careful and trained eye to spot a VNR in use, but certain examples may help. If a viewer is watching a health news story involving new cancer research, the piece might include interviews at a lab thousands of miles away. The name of a drug company sponsoring the research is shown on close-up shots of bottles and stationery. It is possible these bits of video were assembled and distributed by the station's affiliated network news operation, but it is far more likely they came from a VNR created at the behest of the medical journal or the drug company. Or, to take another example, a viewer notices a brief news story about a growing trend in consumers buying used cars from car rental companies. The copy is not blatantly promotional, but all the sound bites and video show representatives or logos of only one car rental firm. This story may very well be a VNR from that company.

Television newscasts often conclude with a kicker, a short amusing story meant to leave viewers feeling upbeat. The kicker could be the new Miss World as she rides a new roller coaster, or cute kids test marketing green and purple ketchup all over hamburgers and hot dogs. Both of these likely are VNRs, the former perhaps from the amusement park promoting the new ride, the latter from the foods corporation launching the new ketchup.

Some early research efforts to study VNR usage made the mistake of sending surveys to news directors. Few responded, and even fewer admitted to much VNR usage. News directors, especially in large markets, concern themselves with big matters such as hiring, firing, relations with station management, and techniques to improve ratings. Day-to-day, newscast-by-newscast decisions about individual stories use tend to fall to producers for those programs. The best usage data likely come from the Sigma tracking.

Research by Mark Harmon and Candace White in 2001, using Sigma tracking, found widespread use of VNRs, especially in a short form in which only 20 or 30 seconds was used for video, a quick sound bite, or both. They found greatest VNR use during times when newsroom resources are stretched thin, such as early morning, noon, and soft feature–oriented early afternoon newscasts. VNRs rarely appear in the hard-news opening segments of newscasts but creep in as health segments, soft features, or kickers later in programs.

One *New York Times* report found several news directors decrying VNRs as unethical misrepresentations, only to be confronted by tracking data showing significant VNR use in their own

newsrooms. Perhaps the most famous and controversial VNR use, one that raised both ethical and legal questions, was a Department of Health and Human Services VNR promoting the Bush Administration's Medicare plan in 2004. It featured narration from a fake reporter named Karen Ryan and was used in its entirety by several local TV news operations.

The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) heightened the debate about VNRs in the fall of 2007. The FCC fined Comcast Corporation $4,000 for airing within a news program a VNR touting a product, Nelson's Rescue Sleep, without identifying Nelson as the video source (Gelles 2007).

Critics of VNRs assail them on ethical grounds, the most common argument being that VNRs deceive the audience into thinking they are seeing the results of station news gathering and editorial decision making rather than a well-crafted pitch from a corporation or a government agency. One also could argue that VNRs waste time that could be spent on genuine news gathering and thus facilitate the understaffing of news operations. The Center for Media and Democracy has taken on the task of quantifying and disclosing what it calls the widespread and undisclosed use of fake news.

Mark Harmon

See also Credibility; Deception; Evening News, Television; Hard Versus Soft News; Morning Television; Newsroom Culture; Objectivity; Sound Bites; Spin

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Videotex and Teletext

For a relatively brief period during the 1970s and into the early 1990s, these twin technologies appeared to offer a viable means of transforming the news (and many other) businesses. Videotex (spelled without the final "t") worked through cable while teletext used part of the television over-the-air transmission channel. Both services offered access to a digital database of information that could be ordered up—as text and very basic graphics—on a television screen. Save for one exception, however, none of the several technical systems survived long (though the French Minitel operation lasted for about two decades). Today the Internet offers far more breadth and depth of service, is accessed more easily, and is presented in finer graphic form. But the Internet as we know it today did not then exist, and the personal computer was a brand-new and expensive technology.

Development of these services began in Britain British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) engineers discovered a way of using spare capacity in the television channel's vertical blanking interval (VBI, the thick black bar that separates television pictures and is normally not seen). Originally developed for the use of those hard of hearing, and then applied only internally, the resulting BBC teletext system was announced in 1972, and a public test of the "Ceefax" ("see facts") system began two years later. British independent (commercial) television offered an advertiser-supported teletext service called "Oracle" by 1977. Although this system began with only about 30 "pages" or screens of information, by utilizing more of the VBI, they had ramped up to 600 or so by the early 1980s, serving an audience of 1.5 million homes with television receivers equipped to decode the signals. Content initially echoed and then expanded upon the main broadcast channel—program listings, expanded information from newscasts, and directory services. Videotex (called viewdata in Britain) was introduced by the British Post Office as "Prestel" in 1976. By the early 1980s, it hosted more than 150 service providers providing hundreds of pages of largely directory-type information to a largely business audience (the service had failed to penetrate the expected residential market). All of these services lasted into the early

1990s; after that, computer-based Internet offerings proved far superior.

France's National Center for Telecommunications Studies began to develop its "Antiope" videotex/teletext system in the early 1970s as well. A videotex service marketed as "Teletel" was by 1981 providing stock market and agricultural reports, news and weather, and traffic updates, adding up to thousands of available pages of information. Beginning a year later, French Telecom sought to end the expense of regularly updating and publishing paper telephone directories with its "Minitel" videotex system, which developed rapidly thanks to the utility giving away the "dumb" terminals that looked a bit like later laptop computers but lacked their capabilities. Service users were then charged depending on the type of information and amount used, much as was the case with telephone service. By 1990, Minitel reached about 5.5 million subscribers, or about a quarter of the French population, doubling that by the end of the century. Although French Telecom sought to make their terminals Internet friendly, the long-lasting system had largely disappeared by 2005, pushed out by far more capable personal computers and widespread Internet services.

Canada's government backed the development of its "Teledon" videotex system, announced in 1978. This offered much improved graphics over the British and French systems, and versions could be provided by either broadcasters or cable systems. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) began to offer its version in 1981, providing program directories, news reports, and the like. But when field tests showed a public resistance to the high-priced terminals, the experiment ended in 1985.

The American experience with videotex and teletext was considerably different. Indeed, it may have started earlier—with RCA experiments utilizing the VBI to send fax messages to homes in the 1960s. But most American efforts were based on one or more of the systems already described. Of the many experiments run during the 1980s, several focused on journalistic offerings. Time Inc. considered both videotex and teletext and decided in 1983 that to offer either would merely divide up their existing magazine audiences. Knight-Ridder newspapers offered an experiment called "Viewtron" in Miami, and Times-Mirror tested its "Gateway" system in Los Angeles. Closely watched due to the importance of both newspaper chains, the companies offered extensive videotex systems that both drew on and expanded their big-city newspaper content. In one sense, these chains were playing it safe and testing the waters of a technology that some thought might replace the printed newspaper. But both closed down by 1986 when they failed to achieve much audience penetration, despite having spent millions of dollars on development and promotion.

Videotex and teletext systems failed for many reasons, but chief among them was a failure to achieve a viable market, defined as sufficient user interest. Somewhat cumbersome to use, and even then providing (in modern terms) too little information in a not very user-friendly fashion, these early attempts to provide information electronically foundered on multiple incompatible technical systems, fuzzy marketing, and their use of the television—rather than the (then rare in homes) computer—screen. Today's Internet offerings are vastly broader, faster to access, easier to use, and nicer to view. In a sense, videotex and teletext pioneers had the right idea but lacked the technology to make it successful.

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See also British Broadcasting Corporation; Canada; Computers in Journalism; Convergence; Desktop Publishing; France; Graphics; Social Network Websites

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Violence Against Journalists

Investigating stories, let alone actually reporting them, can be a very dangerous profession. Indeed, each year several dozen reporters are killed (or otherwise threatened) for doing their jobs, most of them in developing nations or countries with repressive political regimes. Being the bearers of bad or unwanted news can and has made journalists targets for reprisal for many years. Indeed, the problem may be getting worse.

Journalists are special targets for repression because by shedding light on people or events they can rouse public opinion domestically or abroad. Indeed, news people can create or change the political agenda, and often have. Foreign journalists are often most feared in developing countries as they may have access to widespread distribution of their investigative stories.

What Can Happen

The Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) is an independent, nonprofit organization founded in 1981 to track attacks of various kinds on journalists and to try to prevent them. In nearly three decades of effort around the world, the CPJ has classified the various things that can happen to journalists. The list includes the following potential actions, listed alphabetically. In the course of pursuing a story, a journalist may be

- abducted;
- attacked physicall;
- censored (defined as "suppressed, banned, or closed down"), expelled, and harassed (defined as "access denied or limited; materials confiscated or damaged; entry or exit denied; family members attacked or threatened; dismissed or demoted [when it is clearly the result of political or outside pressure]; freedom of movement impeded; [or] detained for less than 48 hours");
- imprisoned ("arrested or detained by a government entity for at least 48 hours");
- killed (includes those journalists killed in crossfire or while covering dangerous assignments or where the motive is unconfirmed);
- made the subject of legal action ("such as having [needed] credentials denied or suspended fined sentenced to prison; visas denied or canceled; passage of a restrictive law; libel suit intended to inhibit coverage");
- missing or vanished ("where no group has taken responsibility for the journalist's disappearance"); and
- threatened with physical harm or some other type of retribution.

The CPJ issues an annual report detailing the various attacks on journalists during the previous year. From 1992 through 2008, they document more than 720 journalists who have been killed. Most at risk have been print media reporters (32 percent of reported deaths), followed by broadcast reporters (21 percent) or editors (16 percent). Nearly 18 percent have been video or still photographers. One can readily follow the continuing problem in the daily press and online as attacks on the press are widely covered in Western media.

And while not clear in the list provided above, intimidation of publishers or media owners can have the same effect—scaring off nosy reporter employees who may be getting too close to information that would be embarrassing (or worse) if publicized. In many developing countries, the threat of losing one's job is a serious one, often hard to overcome just to get the story. Such indirect threats are much harder to trace but can have effective results in closing down reporting efforts.

Sources of Violence

Unfortunately there are many potential sources of attacks on journalists. While government officials are often thought the most likely perpetrators, especially in repressive political regimes, they are not alone. Criminals of various kinds (especially those dealing in drugs), shady business owners or managers, crooked sports teams, rival journalism entities—indeed anyone whose activities may be uncovered by investigative journalists may be the source of threats—or worse—to journalists.

Journalists typically get into trouble in countries that either have strongman repressive regimes or have very weak governments and multiple groups contesting for power or economic gain. In either of these extremes, there are "interests" who do not want their activities discussed (exposed might be a better term) in news media. The latter nearly

always means newspapers, but in nations with high rates of illiteracy, reporters for radio or television may become the prime targets because of the audience reach of their employers.

The problem has become systemic in some countries, leading to various means of tracking which countries are especially dangerous for reporters. Entities in Europe and America both track press freedom (for attacks on news people are one way to assess that measure) on a continuing basis, with cumulative annual summaries. Even the United Nations has become involved in expressing concern in resolutions, though how effective that can be in practical terms "on the ground" is less clear.

Examples of attacks on journalists during the first decade of the twenty-first century have included predictable trouble spots. For example, a multiyear, ongoing struggle between drug cartels and various federal and local Mexican government bodies has led to a rising death toll, and a number of incidents of threats or worse to journalists trying to cover the conflict. For a much longer period, many Latin American media, especially investigative newspaper reporters, have been under pressure not to report too closely on the often cozy relationships between business owners and government officials. In Venezuela, a Caracas television station was forced off the air by the populist government which did not approve of its critical reporting. Several Central American countries have seen local media censor their own reports and reporters to avoid trouble.

Where actual military action breaks out, reporters can be in special danger. Ongoing and sometimes shooting conflicts between Israeli and Palestinian extremist factions in Gaza and the West Bank are an example of a long-running story well worth reporting, though often dangerous to cover. The mix of religion, politics, and control of land is complex and incendiary. Emotions run high on both sides, leaving an uncomfortably narrow ground for those in the middle—who may include journalists. Likewise, reporters embedded with American units in Iraq and elsewhere have often been subject to attack just as if they were armed soldiers. Russia, as well as some of the former Russian republics now independent of Moscow, have all too often been in the news for attacks (often killings) of journalists, especially those reporting on dissidents or the shortcomings or even illegal actions of government or military officials. Dissent of any kind is labeled as "terrorism" and reporting about it can and has led to attacks on the reporters. And if, as has often happened, the attackers are not identified or are protected by the powers that be, a clear message is sent to other journalists.

Countries that lack a viable government or strong social controls are the most dangerous of all. Somalia, for example, became a center of concern with rising action by pirate groups that—quite literally—abducted huge ships and held them for ransom. Trying to report this important story is almost impossible as no one can or will guarantee the safety of reporters. Afghanistan is another such country where since 1980, outside of a few cities, nobody seems to rule and the safety of anyone (journalists included) is at risk. The same situation has developed in the tragic ethnic warfare afflicting many African states where one's tribal (or religious) identity is far more important than anything else. Rural parts of many other developing nations are just as dangerous. In such conditions, potential news sources, too, are subject to reprisal and rapidly disappear.

High-Profile Cases

While all too many attacks on journalists are only reported locally, a few cases have received widespread coverage. Most take place in tension-filled areas (or countries with strong-arm governments) where journalists are trying to report facts that one side or another clearly does not want heard.

Among those was the early 2002 murder of *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl near Karachi, Pakistan. He had driven to a supposed meeting with a local political leader when he was kidnapped by an Islamist group who videotaped his murder several days later when their list of demands (including the release of specified prisoners in Pakistani and U.S. prisons) went unmet. His body was found months later. The brutality of the recorded killing created widespread revulsion and remained in the news for some time. Several men were later arrested and convicted for the crime, though none had been put to death (despite their sentences) by the time this volume went to press.

Through 2008 to 2009, a number of Russian journalists were attacked, and several were

murdered, though nobody was arrested for the crimes. Several of the attacks took place in Moscow, and some of the victims were gunned down in broad daylight in gang execution style. In nearly every case, the journalist attacked had been pursuing stories unfavorable to the government of Vladimir Putin, though no direct connection was ever proved.

Likewise, many journalists have come into the line of fire (quite literally) in both Mexico and Colombia, where drug cartels are seeking dominance and resisting government attempts to crack down on their activity. Journalists are among the many who have fled the city of Juarez, across the Rio Grande from El Paso, Texas, as the total number of drug-related killings rose to thousands every year. Intimidating reporters works to the drug lords' interest, as less reporting of their activity is beneficial to staying in business.

What Can Be Done

Shedding light on the problem—as the CPJ and other groups do very well—is clearly the first step in trying to combat violence against journalists. Reporters and editors know better than most other groups how to get necessary attention focused on an issue, including their own safety. Rousing public outrage at attacks on reporters and other journalists is one way to achieve a degree of "crowd" protection.

There are many practical things journalists can do to reduce their exposure to trouble. Keeping in close touch with editors and colleagues (and their own families) is important. Working in teams with others rather than alone, if possible, can be helpful as well. Avoiding dangerous locations (nighttime visits to isolated spots, for example) is also an obvious safeguard, if one that is not always possible given the need to make confidential meetings with important sources. Making sure colleagues are aware of where a journalist is operating can be useful. Certainly an ability to speak the local language (something too few American reporters in many countries can do) may be helpful as well.

In the end, however, journalists must, by the nature of their profession, often take risks to get information for their stories. As long as their reporting threatens some established interest, they may be placing their media employer, their jobs—or themselves—in danger.

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See also Civil Unrest, Coverage of; Embedded Reporters; Free Expression, History of; Investigative Journalism; Military and the Media; Risk and News; Social Movements and Journalism

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Wall Street Journal, The

The Wall Street Journal, the flagship publication of Dow Jones, is a primary American business newspaper, largely devoted to financial news and issues. Launched in 1889 to cover the Wall Street stock market, it has expanded its coverage in recent decades to report on politics, culture, and technology. The *Journal* launched an Asian edition in 1976, a European version in 1983, and its online edition in 1996. In 2006, Dow Jones claimed that the paper and its various editions had a worldwide circulation of more than 2 million readers, with over 900,000 paying online subscribers. It was the largest circulation newspaper in the United States until November 2003, when it was surpassed by *USA Today*.

History

In 1882, with two associates, newspaperman Charles Dow founded Dow Jones and Company Inc., "a news agency for the financial world." In November 1883, the company began producing the *Customers' Afternoon Letter,* a printed two-page summary of the reports dispatched that day. On July 8, 1889, the *Afternoon Letter* became *The Wall Street Journal*. The four-page newspaper sold for two cents, with advertising priced at 20 cents a line.

Two years previous, the company had joined in an agreement with Clarence Barron to exchange financial news items. Barron managed a news bureau in Boston and had been producing a business newspaper for several years covering that city. The two offices, Dow Jones in New York and Barron's in Boston, reinforced one another's coverage of American business. In 1896, Barron expanded coverage into Philadelphia with the *Financial Journal*. But it was *The Wall Street Journal,* now six pages, that had the strongest reputation, and increasingly its stories reported on the national economy as well as the New York Stock Exchange. In 1898 a morning edition of the *Journal* was added.

When Charles Dow died in 1902, the circulation was about 7,000. In March 1903, Barron, along with *The Wall Street Journal*'s then-editor Thomas Woodlock, bought Dow Jones for $130,000. Unhappy with the profits of the company, in 1912 Barron took over as president of Dow Jones and appointed himself as editor of the *Journal*. The paper soon reached 50,000 subscriptions.

Barron died in 1928, and was succeeded as president by Hugh Bancroft, his son-in-law, who served as president for the next five years; the Bancroft family would control the company until 2007. Kenneth Hogate became the *Journal*'s managing editor, with the mandate to make it the United States' first national newspaper. The first issue of *The Wall Street Journal's Pacific Coast Edition,* published in San Francisco to carry West Coast financial news, appeared eight days before the October 1929 stock market crash. Although the paper was hard hit by the Depression—circulation dropped below 30,000—Hogate began a series of changes in 1934 that would eventually shape *The Wall Street Journal* into a new kind of daily

newspaper. Among these was the "What's News" digest and the paper's now iconic front-page design. The newspaper won its first Pulitzer Prize in 1947 for its editorials; it had won 33 by 2006.

The man who most shaped the modern *Wall Street Journal* was Bernard "Barney" Kilgore, who became editor in 1941. He expanded coverage to all aspects of business, economics, and consumer affairs, as well as any aspect of American life that had an impact on business. He also decreed that not all stories had to be in the inverted pyramid style of reporting; instead, he not only encouraged reporters to produce in-depth stories, but to experiment with literary styles. Coverage of the stock market and corporate America remained the prime objective, but it no longer dominated the pages. Kilgore also ended the use of photographs in the *Journal,* for both aesthetic and financial reasons, declaring them to be an unnecessary and frivolous expense.

Kilgore pioneered the use of layout delivery from a central location to regional printing plants for home and newsstand delivery across the United States. A southwest edition was launched in 1948, printed in Dallas, and a Midwest edition in 1951. Kilgore's system of regional printing plants became the model that other national newspapers such as *USA Today* and *The New York Times* later followed. By the time of Kilgore's death, circulation had reached 1.1 million.

In 1976, the *Asian Wall Street Journal* was launched, with its regional offices in Hong Kong. With nine printing plants and 15 news bureaus in countries from China to Australia, it is the largest regional paper serving the Far East. Average paid circulation for the first half of 2007 was over 80,000, with a total readership estimated by the publishers to be over 370,000. *The Wall Street Journal Europe* was begun in 1983. Printed in six countries, it is distributed in over 50 countries; total readership in April 2008 was 219,000.

In December 2007, Dow Jones shareholders approved the company's acquisition by Rupert Murdoch's News Corp. The controversial $5 billion sale added *The Wall Street Journal* and *Barron's* to Murdoch's news empire, which already included Fox Television, the *New York Post,* and *The Times* of London. At the time, *Journal* staffers and union representatives feared that the merger would have a negative impact on the quality and independence of the paper's news-gathering role, while academics and others condemned such major corporate consolidation of news media as a threat to democracy and free speech.

In 2006, *The Wall Street Journal* had a staff of more than 750, part of the Dow Jones network of more than 1,800 news staff worldwide. The company owns 17 printing plants in the United States, with a combined print run of the various editions of the *Journal* of over 2 million copies daily from Monday through Friday. Newsprint is supplied by plants that Dow Jones owns. The Asian and the European versions continue to grow annually. The *Journal* publishes four regional editions across the United States, and is distributed through a complex same-day delivery system.

The paper retains its focus on corporate news and political reporting, but has added several sections in response to the changing interests of its affluent readership. The second section covers the marketplace, and includes coverage of the health, technology, and media industries. Another section focuses on money and investing for investment professionals and advisors. The "Personal Journal" section covers personal investments, careers, and cultural pursuits. Other sections explore real estate, travel, and sports. Special reports offer the editors' picks about topics as varied as personal health and fitness, travel and leisure, cars and gadgets, fashion and food, and education.

The Wall Street Journal Interactive Edition, now *The Wall Street Journal Online,* was launched in 1996; it is held to be the largest paid-subscription online site in the world, with nearly a million readers in mid-2007. *The Wall Street Journal Report* is a syndicated television show and has run nationally since 1982. *The Wall Street Journal Report* and the *Dow Jones Report* are radio broadcasts that are aired and updated throughout the business day on stations across the country. "JournalPhone" is an interactive financial news service with real-time stock market updates accessed by telephone.

Few newspapers have been as successful, innovative, and influential as *The Wall Street Journal.* Under the guidance of a series of insightful editors the paper set the standard for business journalism, then expanded its coverage to other facets of American life. In the process it became the nation's first national newspaper. With its overseas versions and successful online version, the largest paid

news site on the Internet, it might be argued that the *Journal* is on its way to becoming the first global newspaper.

Rex A. Martin

See also Business Journalism; Dow Jones

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War and Military Journalism

With few exceptions, the American public supports the country's armed forces at the onset of war—and so have American news media. War's early stages encourage patriotic sentiment, a phenomenon known as rallying around the flag. New York editor Horace Greeley (1811–72) famously called for the invasion of the Confederacy by placing "Forward to Richmond!" in the masthead of the *New York Tribune* at the start of the Civil War in 1861. In 1898, New York press barons William Randolph Hearst (1863–1951) and Joseph Pulitzer (1847–1911) clamored for hostilities with Spain during the two months between the mysterious destruction of the battleship U.S.S. *Maine* in Havana harbor and the congressional declaration of war. Rarer is the case of the press achieving peace despite public support for war. One example occurred in 1895, when Pulitzer's New York *World* editorialized against efforts by Congress and President Grover Cleveland to intervene in a boundary dispute between Venezuela and British Guyana. While the majority of American newspapers echoed the government's talk of possible war with Britain, Pulitzer defused the crisis by publishing telegrams of good will from British government and church officials.

Passions for war erode with time, both among the public and the news media. Lengthy wars are difficult to justify to a large and heterogeneous nation with a continuing strain of isolationism in some quarters. It is equally difficult to long sustain a belligerent mood among civilians whose lives are little affected by distant conflicts. Although the connection between war news and public opinion is complex and not yet fully understood, extended combat provides journalists with prolonged opportunities to portray war's violence, scandal, heroism, and human error, as well as to raise questions about strategy and tactics, all of which become linked with shifts in public attitudes.

World War I proved an aberration. The press and public were slow to support American belligerence, even after Congress voted overwhelmingly for a declaration of war in April 1917. America had supported neutrality, and President Woodrow Wilson had won a second term in 1916 by campaigning on the theme of having kept the United States out of war. In the first six weeks after the congressional declaration, only 73,000 Americans volunteered for service. Wilson responded with a campaign to mobilize public opinion. The federal Committee on Public Information, which Wilson created, fomented pro-war attitudes by distributing thousands of press releases and millions of propaganda pamphlets and posters, and by censoring unpleasant news of the war in Europe. According to photography historian Susan Moeller, the military and government suppressed all civilian combat photography during World War I because they realized the danger to morale posed by images of trench warfare, gas attacks, and wide-scale devastation. The combination of censorship and propaganda created anti-German hysteria by war's end in 1918.

Images, more than the printed or spoken word, are credited with significantly impacting audiences' interpretations of war. "The transformation of mass calamity into individual people and incidents arrests the viewers," Moeller noted. "Through photography,

war becomes personal and comprehensible—more than just grand patriotic schemes and unintelligible statistics" (Moeller 1989, 377). The press and public hailed the government's release of photographs of casualties halfway through World War II as a worthy documentation of the nation's sacrifice. Two decades later in the Vietnam War, video, film, and photographic images of combat and its victims had a different result, feeding a growing debate over conduct of the war. While only 26 percent of Americans opposed sending troops to South Vietnam in March 1966, 60 percent did so by January 1973. Many military and government officials blamed television in particular—the Vietnam War was the first to be extensively covered by TV network correspondents (critic Michael Arlen dubbed it "The Living Room War")—for the loss of public support. The U.S. Army, however, noted in its official history of the war that rising casualty rates had a greater impact than television on public opinion. According to the official Army history, in the Korean and Vietnam wars, each increase of a factor of ten—from a hundred casualties to a thousand, from a thousand to ten thousand, and so on—prompted a decrease of 15 percentage points in public support for the war (Hammond 1996, 262).

News images of war affected public opinion in a variety of ways in later wars. The press and public expressed amazement at government-supplied video of high-tech weapons during the Persian Gulf War of 1991, followed by revulsion at images of death and destruction from the war zones and Iraqi cities. Live images from the armed forces advancing into Iraq in 2003 captured the public's imagination and gave concrete evidence of the assault's swift success. Later, images of tortured Iraqi prisoners and the results of ongoing violence contributed to a loss of public support for the war.

Apart from opinion about warfare itself, the public's view of the armed forces—shaped by the mass media—remained high in the early twenty-first century. Surveys by the Pew Research Center found more than 80 percent of Americans expressed favorable views of the military in 2005 and 2007, while at the same time opposition to the war in Iraq steadily increased. Similarly, the press lauded the sacrifice of individual soldiers, sailors, and airmen in the twenty-first century's first decade. *The New York Times* and other news media published the names and photographs of the servicemen and -women killed in Iraq beginning in 2003. The practice had historical roots. Publications during World War I printed heroic portraits of Americans who died in France, and *Life* magazine honored the 12,987 Americans killed in World War II combat up to July 1943 by printing all of their names. Fighting personnel, especially in death, remain icons even while public and press support for war fades.

Coverage of the Armed Forces

Army

The U.S. Army historically has been the largest and most easily covered branch of the armed services. Correspondents have generally been welcomed to army installations at least since troops marched on Mexico in the 1840s. Reporters usually have access to both officers and common soldiers for information, and they sometimes can witness enough of battle to draw their own conclusions. The amount of coverage, as well as its tone, often depends on the battlefield commander. Restrictive and suspicious generals such as William Tecumseh Sherman in the Civil War and Douglas MacArthur in World War II tried to minimize or otherwise control press coverage of their troops. Other military leaders, such as Col. Theodore Roosevelt in the Spanish-American War and General Dwight D. Eisenhower in World War II, allowed free access. The latter two received adulatory press coverage and parlayed their popularity into the presidency.

News coverage of the Army also has benefited from simple logistics. Combat on the ground offers the most consistent day-to-day source of news, unlike sea and air battles, which tend to be episodic, unpredictable, and widespread and thus hard to access. In addition, ground-based communication has historically provided the most reliable means of sending news from the battlefield; correspondents often resort to using their own means to transmit stories and pictures. Those covering a battle from the deck of a warship, however, have little choice but to rely on naval cooperation. Correspondents stationed at air bases may have greater flexibility than those at sea, but relatively few journalists actually accompany air combat missions.

The Army's most devoted chronicler was Ernest Taylor "Ernie" Pyle (1900–45), who covered various units in World War II. Pyle hailed infantrymen as the "mud-rain-frost-and-wind boys."

He reported the war from the point of view of one soldier at a time because each man's experience, though a small part of the big picture, was real and understandable to a mass audience. His devotion to the infantry helped popularize an image of "G.I. Joe" as an ordinary man doing extraordinary work. More than a half century later, the Department of Defense's embedding program during the Iraq war of 2003 allowed hundreds of journalists to mimic Pyle's methods and gave the public a close-up view of combat units, primarily in the Army and Marine Corps.

Other notable journalists associated with coverage of the Army include Homer Bigart (1907–91) and Rick Atkinson (1951–). Bigart earned a reputation as a no-nonsense reporter in World War II and the Korean and Vietnam wars. His aggressive, critical reports on strategic and tactical problems in fighting the Vietnam War, reported in the *New York Herald Tribune* and *The New York Times*, helped establish the dominant tone of war coverage of the 1960s and 1970s. Atkinson led *The Washington Post*'s coverage of the Persian Gulf War and the 2003 invasion of Iraq. In the latter, Atkinson embedded with the headquarters of General David Petraeus of the Army's 101st Airborne Division.

Navy

The U.S. Navy historically served as America's first line of defense. Warships at sea or in foreign ports were among the first units to see action through World War II. Their isolation at sea makes them more vulnerable than ground and air units, and therefore potentially more newsworthy. Yet the navy has received less wartime attention from the news media than would be suggested by its important role in national defense.

There are two main reasons for this disparity. First, correspondents may not be on hand to witness naval encounters at sea, or may lack the ability to transmit information to distant audiences in a timely manner. The first accounts of the U.S. Navy's Asiatic Squadron's decisive encounter with Spanish warships in Manila Bay in 1898 reached America in the most truncated form. The telegraph cable connecting the Philippines and Hong Kong had been cut after the battle, leaving American readers only with the news that "heavy losses" had been inflicted during the fighting. Full accounts of Admiral George Dewey's victory arrived nearly a week later, when the American ships and correspondents reached Hong Kong. During the early months of World War II, naval battles in the Pacific also were underplayed by the news media. Chief of Naval Operations Ernest King set the tone for truncated news coverage of the Navy in 1941 and 1942 with his reluctance to release information about battles out of concern that the news might prove useful to the enemy. Office of War Information Director Elmer Davis said of King that his "idea of War Information was that there should be just one communiqué. Some morning we would announce that the war was over and that we won it" (Sweeney 2006, 87). Adding to the lower coverage of the navy during World War II were the difficulties faced by shipboard correspondents and the lack of such correspondents on the vitally important submarines. The vulnerability of ships historically has raised concerns among high-ranking naval officers about the risk of news to operational security. Newspapers underplayed accounts of the pivotal 1942 Battle of Midway because of the navy's reticence to discuss the battle in detail—it had gained a tactical advantage beforehand by breaking the Japanese navy's operational code, information which had to remain secret during the war. In addition, King insisted during the war's first months that full accounts of sinkings had to be withheld from publication in order to keep valuable information from the enemy. *New York Times* reporter Hanson Baldwin (1903–91) protested and helped gain a partial relaxation of the policy in October 1942. The navy still kept many secrets, however, and until late in the war insisted on banning press use of names of ordinary sailors from news accounts of battles. Relations between the navy and news media became strained again in 1983 during the American invasion of the Caribbean island of Grenada. A naval blockade kept reporters off the island during the initial invasion. The navy detained two correspondents who tried to run the blockade and ordered a fighter jet to fire warning shots at other journalists who approached the island in a private boat.

Marines

Though part of the navy, and smallest of the four services, the U.S. Marine Corps has enjoyed

one of the closest relationships with the press, resulting in disproportionate coverage during wartime. The increased attention dates to World War I, when American censors decreed that individual units of the armed forces could not be identified in dispatches from the Western Front. Instead, reporters wrote about "the American Army" and other branches of the Allied armed services in combat. Floyd Gibbons (1887–1939) of the *Chicago Tribune* and other journalists effectively skirted the order. They wrote about "Marines" in combat. As American Marines fought in relatively small numbers along a small part of the American sector, which was dominated by Army troops, their coverage seemed more intimate and personal. Gibbons' account of the Marines in the Argonne Forest brought their renowned fighting ability to world attention. In subsequent wars, the Marines have often spearheaded invasions or taken on the heaviest fighting—from Guadalcanal in World War II to the retreat from the Chosin Reservoir early in the Korean War, to Khe Sahn in South Vietnam—resulting in extensive coverage.

The Marine Corps ensured it would receive an extra measure of news coverage through the creation of an organization of combat correspondents working under the corps' Public Relations Department in World War II. Unique among the armed forces, the combat correspondents consisted of civilian journalists recruited and trained by the corps. If the reporters and photojournalists passed the notoriously difficult Marine basic training at Parris Island, North Carolina, they were shipped to combat zones. As Marines, the correspondents were expected to fight and then file dispatches and photographs. During World War II, they carried eight-pound Hermes typewriters along with all other standard combat gear. More than 40 died in World War II and later conflicts.

During the 2003 invasion of Iraq, the Marines invited embedded journalists to experience an unusual degree of transparency. "Go wherever you want, ask whatever you want," Marine Colonel Bryan McCoy told John Koopman (1956–) of the *San Francisco Chronicle* upon his arrival at division headquarters. "As long as you know that and I know that you're not going to abuse that trust, do whatever you want; talk to whoever you want; write whatever story you want" (Katovsky and Carlson 2003, 115, 121).

After Gibbons, perhaps the most notable chronicler of the Marines was photojournalist and writer Dickey Chapelle (born Georgette Louise Meyer, 1918–65). Chapelle, who worked for *National Geographic* and other magazines, covered Marines in battle at Iwo Jima and Okinawa during World War II, and on patrol in South Vietnam. She earned Marines' respect for her toughness and willingness to gather news as close to combat as possible. "In fatigues and helmet," said a Marine Corps commander in Vietnam, "you couldn't tell her from one of the troops, and she could keep up front with the best of them" ("The Press: Woman at War," 54). Chapelle died of shrapnel wounds from a Viet Cong booby trap.

Air Force

Media coverage of the U.S. Air Force, newest of the service branches, has been shaped by the inaccessibility of warplanes to most journalists, as well as public and journalistic fascination with high-technology weaponry—a phenomenon the media watchdog organization Fairness & Accuracy In Reporting calls "weapons fetishism." Air combat has captivated the public since World War I, when aviators in biplanes fought dogfights and harassed ground troops but had little impact on the outcome of the war. Journalists including Edward R. Murrow (1908–65) of CBS and Walter Cronkite (1916–2009) of the United Press observed bombing raids during World War II, and William L. Laurence (1888–1977) of *The New York Times* accompanied the atomic attack on Nagasaki, Japan, in 1945. During the Korean War, when the air force first fought as a separate branch of the armed services, *Life* photographer David Douglas Duncan (1916–) became the first journalist to fly aboard a fighter jet. Like many journalists covering air war, his accounts focused more on the experience of high-speed combat than on tactics and strategy.

For such context, journalists covering the air force typically have turned to official sources at air bases, the Pentagon, and the White House. During the Persian Gulf War, most journalists relied on military briefings and other official sources for news of air strikes against Iraq. Military-supplied video of the air war dominated television coverage and contributed to record ratings for cable news programs, but the images distorted perceptions

about the war. Journalists and the public initially marveled at the precision of laser-guided "smart" bombs and Patriot interceptor missiles in action. It was not until after the war that the Defense Department revealed Patriots destroyed only 40 percent of the Iraqi "Scud" missiles aimed at Israel, and that the telegenic smart weapons accounted for only 7 percent of bombs dropped on Iraq.

War Coverage and "Spin"

The armed forces received supportive news coverage at the beginning of most American wars, including those of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. The war in Iraq proved popular, at first, and that popularity raised public support for the military and the news media. During the first weeks of the war in Iraq in spring 2003, a Pew survey found 85 percent of Americans reported having at least a fair amount of confidence in military information, compared with 81 percent similarly confident that the news media were reporting the war accurately. Four years later, however, those percentages fell to 21 percent for the military and 27 percent for the press. Military operations were marked by a series of scandals, including intelligence failures, prisoner torture at Abu Ghraib, and inadequate health care for injured veterans at Walter Reed Hospital. Press coverage also suffered lapses, including lack of skepticism about White House claims of weapons of mass destruction and hasty, erroneous reporting on the rescue of captured Army Private Jessica Lynch. Thus, the war tarnished both press and military. Extended news coverage helped undermine public opinion, prompting some military observers to question whether, if future military actions are to be effective, they must be fought to swift and decisive conclusions—before long-term coverage has an impact.

In the late twentieth century, journalists confronted increasing efforts by military and government news sources to put a positive "spin" on coverage of combat. Official attempts to slant the news toward supportive, noncontroversial coverage have existed for many decades. During World War I, military censors allowed correspondents to file reports for American newspapers when soldiers in the American Expeditionary Force captured their first German prisoner. The censors deleted the fact that in their nervous excitement, the Americans bayoneted the soldier and he died. At the conclusion of World War II, military censors prevented *Chicago Daily News* correspondent George Weller (1907–2002) from filing dispatches about his touring the city of Nagasaki a few weeks after it was leveled by an atomic bomb in 1945. Weller had written the first accounts of radiation sickness, but military authorities preferred to sanitize news that might provoke sympathy for the bomb's victims or imply that the bombing was inhumane. The federal government continued to spin news about atomic weapons for many years. Amid growing public fears about radioactive fallout during atomic tests in the 1950s, the U.S. Civil Defense Administration published a pamphlet that said, "Fallout is nothing more than particles of matter in the air." Acknowledging that the particles were radioactive, the pamphlet added, "Radioactivity is nothing new . . . the whole world is radioactive."

While efforts to spin stories continued in the early twenty-first century, journalists found new allies and adversaries in attempting to report fully and accurately. The advent of cable television and the World Wide Web, and weblogs ("blogs") in particular, allowed nonjournalists to publish their own critiques of government news management and the media's presentation of the news. Some of the information on independent websites was of high value—the website Iraq Body Count, for example, provided reliable documentation on casualties after the U.S. military refused to give figures to reporters—but other sites reported rumors or focused on some elements of war news to the exclusion of others. "If you rely on newspapers and TV networks for your news, chances are you have no idea that the controversial performance of western reporters in Iraq is emerging as a big issue," the conservative magazine *U.S. News & World Report* noted in October 2003 (Leo, 59). Citing allegations on the Internet and on the conservative Fox News network, as well as six members of Congress, the magazine accused journalists of reporting little but bad news out of the ongoing conflict in Iraq. *U.S. News* credited Internet bloggers, notably University of Tennessee law professor Glenn Reynolds's "Instapundit" website, with leading the campaign for more "balance" in coverage of the war. Meanwhile, commercial radio, led by the conservative, continental-wide

Clear Channel chain of stations, contributed to the spin on war news by banning antiwar songs and using the airwaves to organize prowar rallies.

While right-wing observers assailed the news media for a perceived lack of support for the war, left-wing observers added their critiques as well. For example, during the months leading to the invasion of Iraq in 2003, *New York Times* reporter Judith Miller (1948–) published stories bolstering the American government's case that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction. The presence of such weapons became one or the government's key reasons to invade. However, the invading troops found little or no credible evidence of the existence of nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons. Miller and *The New York Times* took heavy criticism from the Fairness & Accuracy In Reporting watchdog group and the liberal online magazine *Slate* over their failure to see through the government's prowar publicity campaign. After the war began, left-wing critics accused the media of playing down the war's impact on Iraqi civilians. Fuller accounts were available not only on the web, but also in satellite broadcasts from international news organizations, such as the BBC and the fledgling Arabic-language al Jazeera network in Qatar.

Changing Dynamics of War Reporting

The task of covering war has grown more complex since the first professional war correspondents rode into Mexico with the U.S. Army in the 1840s. Partisanship was the norm for the American press until the beginning of the twentieth century, and news stories about the Mexican-American War, Civil War, and Spanish-American War reflected the patriotic tenor of the home front. Coverage was relatively easy—journalists wrote not only what they saw, but what they thought about it. The rise of objectivity as the goal of a more professional press, targeting mass audiences, coincided with the onset of total war and widespread censorship in World War I. That combination of factors made the job of reporting war more difficult. Restrictions on journalist movements along the Western Front, particularly in the early years when England and France suffered heavy losses, were coupled with military censorship that prevented correspondents from sending home true accounts of the horrors of gas and machine gun attacks, trench warfare tactics, and massive casualties. Journalists relied heavily on official accounts of action, essentially allowing government sources to "spin" the news for civilian consumption. Only after the war, as veterans came home and the censorship lifted, did families in Allied countries get a more complete picture of the war. World War II was heavily covered by more than 1,000 accredited American correspondents, but military restrictions and patriotic self-censorship once again sanitized much of the news.

Not until the conflict in Vietnam, when television cameras dramatized combat and the lack of field censorship in the undeclared war allowed virtually unrestrained coverage, did Americans witness the scope of combat's violence. Television dominated the news media in the 1960s and 1970s, when only three major networks existed and cable did not yet provide news competition. News accounts tended to have high credibility levels, with CBS News anchorman Walter Cronkite sometimes described as the most trusted man in America. Thus, the era of the Vietnam War is considered by many observers as the pinnacle of American war correspondence.

Conclusion

Journalists of the twenty-first century contend with much more competition than existed during the Vietnam War. Technology has empowered not only journalists in new media of communication, such as the World Wide Web, but has also shortened the production cycle for news, making information available nearly instantly from any point on the globe through the use of mobile and satellite phones, Internet connections, and broadcast signals. Journalists enjoyed as much access to the armed forces during the Iraq war as they had in Vietnam, easing their ability to gather news. However, the competition to be first among the many outlets of news to report significant developments raised the danger of publishing or broadcasting erroneous information, as well as the risk of having those errors dissected and criticized via the web and other watchdog outlets. In addition, the so-called War on Terror added new dimensions to war coverage, placing new burdens on journalists to assess progress against an enemy that does not fight with conventional armies or tactics. Given the continuing advances in technology and the difficulty of stamping out stateless

terrorism, war coverage is unlikely to become any less demanding.

Michael S. Sweeney

See also Cable News; Embedded Reporters; Military and the Media; Terrorism, Coverage of; War Correspondents

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War Correspondents

War correspondence emerged in Europe during the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars (1789–1815) as British newspapers sought to speed information from the continent to growing lists of subscribers. The identity of the first war journalists is subject to debate, in part because questions have been raised since. Were they true reporters? Were they hired specifically to write about war?

Pioneers

Journalists of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries rarely acted as field correspondents, relying instead on letters from soldiers, gossip, and other newspapers as means of collecting information. Furthermore, "war correspondence" implies a measure of substantial, purposeful coverage, yet early chroniclers included amateurs and victims of circumstance. Some historians nominate John Bell (1745–1831) of London's *Oracle and Public Advertiser,* who witnessed cannonading from a Flemish tower in 1794, as the first war journalist. However, Bell was visiting the Continent intending to round up letter writers for the *Oracle;* it was only after he arrived that he decided to report on his own. The first journalist commissioned to cover war news probably was diarist and lawyer Henry Crabb Robinson (1775–1867). The London *Times* hired him in 1807 to write about Napoleon's army on the Continent. Although Robinson described the Battle of Freidland and other military actions, he never witnessed combat. Instead, he gathered information from hotels and German-language newspapers. The first to report as an eyewitness from a war zone may have been Charles Lewis Gruneison (1806–79), who wrote about engagements of the Spanish civil war of the 1830s for the London *Morning Post.*

War correspondence became widely established by the middle of the nineteenth century, when American journalists observed the Mexican-American War (1846–48) and Irish-born correspondent William Howard Russell (1821–1907) helped topple the British government by exposing the barbarity and mismanagement of the Crimean War (1853–56) in the London *Times.*

Elements of the Job

War correspondence is widely considered one of the most significant forms of journalism. "War journalists are thought to do what all journalists do, only in a more heightened, vibrantly important

fashion," wrote professors Stuart Allan and Barbie Zelizer.

> To cover a story will entail, more likely than not, encountering conditions of an entirely different order than anything ordinarily associated with newswork. Images of the war reporter as adventurer or risk-taker, in the optimum sense, or as daredevil, fortune-hunter, or rogue, in the negative, help to fuel their celebration in novels, films, plays, and other fictional treatments. (Allan and Zelizer 2004, 4)

The work can be rewarding. Top war correspondents have won many Pulitzer Prizes and other honors. However, journalists who report from war zones typically suffer higher casualty rates than actual combatants, as was the case in America's wars of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. In addition, war correspondents suffer higher rates of divorce and substance abuse than their counterparts. According to a study by Canadian psychiatrist Anthony Feinstein, 29 percent of war journalists suffer post-traumatic stress disorder as a result of their prolonged exposure to violence.

In addition to the physical and psychological toll, war's horrors create difficult choices for journalists. The high drama of combat coverage can expand audiences for newspapers, radio, television, and Internet news sites. However, if journalists share detailed accounts of violence, they risk alienating the public as well as the armed forces and the government that typically provide them logistical support. Correspondents also must choose between the news industry's norm of objectivity and their own pro- or antiwar attitudes. They often compromise by practicing a measure of self-censorship. "We edited ourselves much more than we were edited," novelist John Steinbeck wrote of his time as a World War II correspondent. "We felt responsible to what was called the home front. There was a general feeling that unless the home front was carefully protected from whole account of what war was like, it might panic." He concluded that war reporters who tried to tell the unvarnished truth faced expulsion by military authorities (Steinbeck 1986, xvii). *New York Times* war reporter Christopher Hedges (1956–), writing about the wars at the end of the twentieth century, similarly noted the anger war correspondents created among their audiences when their stories and pictures exploded popular myths. For example, journalists debunked initial reports of heroic resistance by Army Pfc. Jessica Lynch to avoid capture during the 2003 invasion of Iraq. A year later, journalists revealed that former National Football League star Pat Tillman, whom the Army had awarded a posthumous Silver Star for heroism in Afghanistan, had died from friendly fire. The delayed truth led to widespread public suspicion that the Pentagon had tried to manipulate the news for public relations purposes.

Correspondents of the nineteenth century favored patriotic, subjective views of war. Civil War photographer Alexander Gardner (1821–82), for example, captioned a photograph of dead Confederate soldiers at Gettysburg with reference to death as the "price of their treason," and reporter Richard Harding Davis (1864–1916) confessed that he wanted to cheer as he watched Colonel Theodore Roosevelt lead a charge in the Spanish-American War. The tone of coverage changed in the twentieth century as the news industry moved toward standards that included balance and emotional distance. Journalists wrote more critically about war, including American tactical defeats during World War II, and the Korean and Vietnam wars. Journalists' clashes with the military and the government grew notably during the Vietnam War, when correspondents in South Vietnam reported discrepancies between what they saw and what official sources told them. The American government and military attempted to shape ("spin") more supportive coverage during later wars by expanding restrictions on accredited journalists in war zones. Many journalists countered by avoiding accreditation or traveling in territory not under American military control, becoming "unilateral" reporters.

By the beginning of the twenty-first century, war correspondence took on added difficulties as America fought new kinds of enemies. The so-called War on Terror, launched after the attacks of September 11, 2001, shifted military operations from the clash of armies to widespread, small-scale actions targeting bands of guerrillas. Skilled journalists reported on pacification campaigns that included elements of economics, religion, public opinion, and politics, expanding the definition of "war correspondent" to its broadest limits.

Some Noted American War Correspondents

Christiane Amanpour (1958–)

Amanpour had much of her life shaped by conflict. Born in London to a British mother and Iranian father, she grew up in Iran and fled with her family after the Islamic Revolution toppled the government of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. She worked briefly for a Rhode Island radio station before moving in 1983 to CNN, the fledgling, 24-hour cable TV news network created by Ted Turner (1938–). As a CNN international correspondent, Amanpour reported from virtually every major conflict of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. She achieved fame filing stories with Peter Arnett from Baghdad during the Persian Gulf War of 1991, helping establish CNN as a serious outlet for war coverage and drawing criticism from some conservatives for reporting from an enemy capital during wartime. Similar criticisms arose during the 2003 invasion of Iraq by American, British, and allied forces. Amanpour said the administration of President George W. Bush and its supporters among conservative media outlets created a "climate of fear and self-censorship" to distort news of the war. The conservative Fox News replied by calling her a "spokeswoman" for the terrorist al-Qaeda organization. With her outspoken advocacy of civilian victims, particularly during the Balkan conflicts of the 1990s, Amanpour focused attention on whether war correspondents should remain emotionally detached from the news they report. "There are some situations one simply cannot be neutral about, because when you are neutral you are an accomplice. Objectivity doesn't mean treating all sides equally. It means giving each side a hearing," she said after the ethnic clashes in Sarajevo, Bosnia (Schmitt 1996).

Peter Arnett (1934–)

Arnett, a native of New Zealand, covered the Vietnam War from 1962 to its end in 1975 as a print reporter and moved on to a series of subsequent wars. He won a Pulitzer Prize for the Associated Press in 1966. His stories captured the confusion and chaos that became a hallmark of the Vietnam War. During the 1968 Tet Offensive, when Viet Cong guerrillas surprised U.S. forces by carrying out numerous coordinated attacks across South Vietnam, Arnett published a statement from a U.S. officer that became widely quoted by the war's opponents: "It became necessary to destroy the town to save it." After joining CNN in 1981, Arnett helped push the cable network to its highest ratings by reporting live from Baghdad during the Persian Gulf War a decade later. Along with colleagues Earl Holliman (1948–98) and Bernard Shaw (1940–), Arnett reported live, via telephone, from a hotel room as an American-led coalition began bombing Baghdad. Later reports featured live television broadcasts from the hotel and city streets. Arnett's stories about the bombing of buildings he identified as a civilian air raid shelter and a baby milk factory, recording significant non-military casualties, prompted a sharp response from the White House and dozens of members of Congress. However, after CNN aired video of civilian casualties, the rate of American missile attacks on Baghdad declined. General Norman Schwarzkopf, the architect of the assault that liberated Kuwait during the Persian Gulf War, questioned whether the public needed to see news from the enemy's point of view. A Gallup poll on that issue, taken shortly after the bombings depicted in Arnett's reports, reported 69 percent of Americans in favor of journalists reporting for the U.S. media from Baghdad. He had narrated a CNN-*Time* magazine news story alleging American use of poison gas in the Vietnam War. The Pentagon vigorously protested the story as false, and CNN issued a retraction. CNN reprimanded Arnett in 1998 and fired him in 1999. Arnett reported later wars for other networks.

Richard Harding Davis (1864–1916)

Davis, an immensely popular reporter and novelist, portrayed warfare as a masculine adventure in the 1890s, but within two decades turned toward a more negative view of war's tragedy and bloodshed. Davis first found fame writing newspaper stories about New York City theaters and slums. Newspaper baron William Randolph Hearst (1863–1951) hired Davis in 1897 to cover the Cuban rebellion against Spain. Davis developed a detail-driven narrative style that attracted readers. Two of his stories from Cuba stoked anti-Spanish opinion during the months leading to the Spanish-American War. The first portrayed a young Cuban guerrilla as steadfast and heroic while awaiting execution by a Spanish firing squad. The second

described Spanish authorities boarding an American steamship, where Davis said they undressed and searched a Cuban woman suspected of smuggling rebel documents. An illustration in Hearst's *New York Journal* exaggerated the details and portrayed the woman as being stripped naked in front of a group of Spanish men. Davis subsequently covered virtually every major armed conflict until his death, including the Greco-Turkish War (1897), the Spanish-American War (1898), the Boer War (1899–1902), the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05), and the opening weeks (1914) of World War I. Davis's accounts of the Rough Riders, an American volunteer unit in Cuba during the Spanish-American War, helped establish the reputation of Theodore Roosevelt as a colorful and active leader. Although Davis witnessed many problems that hampered the American invasion of Cuba, he did not publicize them. He rationalized that they would do little but raise an outcry from soldiers' families. Davis filed his final war dispatches in 1914, reporting as a neutral observer during the German invasion of Belgium. Captured by the Germans and accused of being a British spy, Davis barely managed to avoid execution.

Floyd Gibbons (1887–1939)

Gibbons, a reporter for the *Chicago Tribune,* covered General John "Black Jack" Pershing's pursuit of Mexican insurgent and border raider Pancho Villa in 1916. A few months later, when Germany declared its intention to fight a World War I naval blockade by resuming unrestricted submarine warfare in the North Atlantic, Gibbons deliberately sought to book passage to Europe aboard a nonmilitary ship likely to be targeted. A U-boat sank the *Laconia* in February 1917, providing Gibbons with a first-person account of German naval combat. Gibbons, who survived in a lifeboat, said the submarine surfaced and its captain called out to ask the ship's identification. Gibbons's story fueled anti-German sentiment in the United States, as the captain apparently did not know he had targeted a transport carrying civilians. After America entered the war, Gibbons renewed his contacts with General Pershing, commander of the American Expeditionary Force. Pershing forbade correspondents from mentioning specific military units in their dispatches, but Gibbons circumvented the rule's intent by publicizing the relatively small contingent of Marines on the Western Front. Gibbons lost an eye to a German sniper's bullet while witnessing the Marines advance into Belleau Wood in 1918. France awarded Gibbons the Croix de Guerre. Gibbons's eyepatch became a central part of his later public image.

Marguerite Higgins (1920–66)

Higgins covered World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War for New York City newspapers. Her exceptional ability to gather information as well as her knack for being in the right place at the right time made her one of the top correspondents of the twentieth century. She demonstrated women could cover combat effectively and shared a Pulitzer Prize for international reporting in 1951. Higgins reported on the liberation of the Dachau concentration camp in 1945 and the postwar Nuremberg war crimes trials for the *New York Herald Tribune*. She complained about the paper transferring her to its Far East bureau in spring 1950; the Korean War broke out three weeks later. Her initial eyewitness dispatches accurately described the rout of American and South Korean troops by better-equipped North Korean invaders. She saw soldiers killed in close fighting and survived repeated shellings. General Walton Walker banned her and other women from the front lines on the pretense of a lack of toilets, but General Douglas MacArthur rescinded the order and expressed his confidence in Higgins. She and another *Herald Tribune* reporter, the veteran combat correspondent Homer Bigart (1907–91), developed a hostile rivalry, pushing each other to take ever-greater risks. Higgins waded ashore during the pivotal invasion of Inchon in September 1950. She and Bigart survived the Korean War and reported the early stages of American involvement in South Vietnam. Higgins, reporting for *Newsday,* remained supportive of the American military presence in South Vietnam and the rationale for intervention, while Bigart grew increasingly skeptical of America's strategy and tactics. Higgins died of leishmaniasis, a tropical disease she contracted on assignment in South Vietnam, and was buried in Arlington National Cemetery.

George Wilkins Kendall (1809–67)

Kendall, co-founder of the *New Orleans Picayune,* fought as a volunteer in the Mexican-American War and became one of the first American war correspondents when he filed dispatches from the Rio Grande Valley, Veracruz, and Monterrey. Along with about ten other journalists, Kendall moved freely among the American lines and believed mixing civilian and military responsibilities did not compromise his role as a journalist. He helped capture a Mexican flag, served as an aide-de-camp, and answered to the title "Major." Kendall established a communication system linking the Mexican interior with New Orleans, the closest American city, by horse and steamship. It proved more reliable than the military dispatch system and earned the nickname "Mr. Kendall's Express." Typesetters aboard the *Picayune*'s ships prepared stories for the press while steaming toward port. From New Orleans, the accounts reached cities along the East Coast via railroads and the first telegraph lines. The system resulted in a series of scoops for Kendall, including the news of war's end. The *Picayune* sped the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo to New Orleans, printed an "extra" edition, and sent copies to the East Coast. The *Baltimore Sun* reprinted the news and forwarded copies to the White House before official accounts had arrived from the War Department.

Edward R. Murrow (1908–65)

Murrow (born Egbert Murrow) helped establish broadcasting as the pre-eminent news medium with a series of reports for CBS News from Europe during World War II and from East Asia during the Korean War. Murrow majored in speech in college and learned how to write and speak for the ear instead of the eye, a difference that made his radio broadcasts dramatic yet accessible to a mass audience. Broadcasting live from the streets and rooftops of London during the Nazi Blitz of 1940, Murrow evoked sympathy for the British from listeners in the United States. His broadcasts contributed to a shift in public opinion to favor sending more military assistance to Britain while the United States remained technically neutral. After America entered the war, Murrow reported about bombing raids on the continent and from the newly liberated Buchenwald concentration camp, lending his credibility to stories about the Holocaust. Murrow pioneered television documentaries at CBS and briefly returned to war correspondence during the Korean War. One of his initial reports, filed during the first weeks of fighting on the Korean Peninsula in 1950, accurately portrayed the rout of South Korean and American forces and raised questions about military decisions. Murrow's report said, "When we start moving up through dead valleys, through villages to which we have put the torch by retreating, what then of the people who live there?…Will our reoccupation of that flea-bitten land lessen or increase the attraction of communism?" CBS, fearing the story could raise North Korean morale and put the network's broadcasting license in jeopardy, refused to air the story (Persico 1998, 292). Murrow protested but failed to overturn the decision. Like those of Ernie Pyle, Murrow's later stories from South Korea depicted the lives of common soldiers, a less controversial subject than his hard-edged commentaries. A Murrow documentary, *Christmas in Korea,* portrayed United Nations troops during the year-end holiday and contributed to Murrow's reputation as a master storyteller in the new medium of television.

Ernest Taylor "Ernie" Pyle (1900–45)

Pyle set a much-emulated standard for detailed observation of ordinary people and events, which he called "the worm's-eye view" of war, in syndicated newspaper columns during World War II. Born on a sharecropper's farm, Pyle discovered journalism while attending Indiana University. After leaving school, he took jobs as a copy editor and aviation columnist in Washington, D.C., before beginning a seven-year assignment as a traveling correspondent for the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain. After the beginning of World War II in Europe, he filed stories from London during the German air raids of 1940. He became an accredited reporter with the U.S. Army after America joined the Allies. Pyle reported from North Africa in 1942, Sicily and the Italian mainland in 1943, France in 1944, and the Pacific in 1945. He typically spent weeks with troops near the front lines before retreating to write a series of columns. Pyle repeatedly suffered depression and physical breakdowns after long exposure to combat. He vowed to make the Okinawa campaign of spring 1945 his final tour before retirement, but a Japanese sniper

killed him on Ie Shima. Pyle's folksy columns, written like plain speech, read like letters from the front, endearing him to civilians and soldiers alike. His most famous column described a group of soldiers quietly saying goodbye to the body of their captain, killed during combat in the Italian mountains. The *Washington Daily News* set the column in large type as the only story on its front page, and a Hollywood filmmaker re-created the scene from Pyle's description as the climax of the 1945 movie *The Story of G.I. Joe.*

"Shadow"

Shadow, a remarkably reliable and insightful newspaper reporter for the Confederacy during the Civil War, hid his identity behind a pseudonym. Civil War correspondents often used colorful pen names to shield themselves from military reprisals and to circumvent their editors' ban on earning extra pay by filing for multiple papers. Shadow distinguished himself by writing clearly and honestly as the Confederacy suffered a series of setbacks. He reported from the Western front from June 1863 to January 1865, first for the *Memphis Daily Appeal* and later for the *Mobile Advertiser and Register*. Historians have tried to identify Shadow through comparing his movements with those of Confederate reporters, by searching historical archives, and by performing computer-assisted analyses of writing samples. Autobiographical details are sparse in Shadow's dispatches, but he volunteered that he had served as "captain of a company of Confederate pikemen [infantrymen] at Nashville after the fall of Fort Donelson in February 1862." Opinion about Shadow's identity primarily has settled on either John H. Linebaugh, a *Daily Appeal* reporter known to have used the pen name Ashantee, or Henry Watterson, who became editor of the *Louisville Courier Journal* in 1868.

George Washburn Smalley (1833–1916)

Smalley reported for the *New York Tribune* on the Army of the Potomac during the Civil War and later formed a European news bureau to telegraph news to the United States via the newly laid transatlantic cable. Trained as a lawyer, Smalley switched to journalism at the start of the Civil War. In September 1862, he demonstrated resourcefulness in covering the Battle of Antietam, the bloodiest day in American military history. Smalley ran errands for Union General Joseph Hooker during the battle, allowing him close observation of the fighting. After dark, Smalley rode for six consecutive hours to reach the nearest telegraph office only to find it shuttered. When the office opened an hour later, Smalley sent a short dispatch about the Union victory, then journeyed by train to Baltimore and New York. He wrote his account while en route, handing it to printers at the *Tribune* when he arrived more than a day after the battle. Having avoided Union military censorship, Smalley produced the first detailed account of the battle, recounting the fierce fighting that turned back the Confederate invasion of Maryland yet blaming Union generals for errors that blunted the victory. Fourteen hundred newspapers reprinted Smalley's report. Two years after the war's end, in 1867, Smalley traveled to Europe to organize an overseas network of reporters for the *Tribune*. He set up a partnership with the *London Daily News* to pool resources. Reporters, including Moncure D. Conway (1832–1907), sent the syndicate news of the opening battles of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. Another syndicate reporter delivered to Smalley's London office the most important news of the war: an account of the collapse of the French army at Sedan and the capture of Emperor Napoleon III. White had attempted to cable the news from Belgium, but telegraph operators refused to believe the story or to wire it to England.

Conclusion

The role of correspondents in wartime has evolved over nearly two centuries and, for a segment of the American news media, has come full circle. Journalists who covered the wars of the nineteenth century practiced advocacy and in some cases assisted in the battles they covered. A more detached, objective approach arose in the wars of the mid-twentieth century as correspondents attempted to portray more of warfare's violence and create more nuanced accounts of the origins, strategy, tactics, and costs of battle. As television grew to dominate the news media coverage of war in the late twentieth century, television images from war zones gave viewers the most detailed view of war. War-zone television broadcasters drew record television

ratings, becoming visibly associated with the combat they covered. With greater exposure came greater public scrutiny of their motives and attitudes. Journalists such as Christiane Amanpour and Peter Arnett did not merely report on war; their opinions also became news in ways that earlier correspondents could not have imagined. Conservative, prowar media outlets such as Fox News recognized the immediate economic benefits of having correspondents and commentators provide patriotic coverage. They mixed nineteenth-century advocacy with straight reportage to attract large audiences during the rally-'round-the-flag effect of America's entry into war with Iraq in 2003.

News media pundits debated the significance of war correspondents' personal views, as well as the use of nationalistic appeals to build audiences. The central question, left unresolved at the start of the twenty-first century, was whether a war correspondent could be simultaneously patriotic and objective. While the debate sparked caustic exchanges between conservative cable TV networks and their competitors, the ability of war correspondents to actually influence short-term public opinion remained in doubt. "Does the media shape public opinion?" war correspondent Christopher Hedges asked rhetorically. "Not in war. When everyone's waving a flag, the media waves a flag. When middle-class families start wondering why their boy is coming home in a rubber bag, then the media starts asking questions, too" (Ferrari 2003, 204). Amanpour said she believed war journalism cannot have a significant impact on public policy unless the government has failed to create and execute its own policy.

Army studies charting changes in public opinion during the Vietnam and Korean wars suggest media opinion about wars lags behind public opinion. Public support for those wars fell 15 percentage points with every tenfold increase in casualties, independent of the content and tone of news coverage. For example, when American casualties rose from 100 to 1,000, public support dropped 15 percentage points. Future war planners likely will emphasize the need to fight swift, high-tech wars—not to manage media coverage as much as to directly influence public opinion by minimizing casualties. Finding ways to cover swift, conventional wars as well as unconventional engagements with terrorists and guerrillas likely will remain issues for war correspondents, as will finding the proper balancing point between objectivity and advocacy.

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See also Cable News; Embedded Reporters; Fox News; Military and the Media; War and Military Journalism

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WASHINGTON, D.C.

As the seat of the United States federal government, Washington, D.C., serves as a magnet for print and broadcast journalists from around the world. Indeed, news media have been attracted to the capital city since the government moved there from Philadelphia in 1800. Over the next two centuries the Washington press corps grew in size and complexity along with the nation, and rose and fell in public esteem along with attitudes toward the government. Local Washington media struggled to compete with national reporters, emerging as another significant force in American journalism.

The federal government both generates and manipulates the news. Decisions by Presidents, executive agencies, Congress, and the Supreme Court affect the lives of all citizens and claim a prominent place on front pages and in broadcast news programs. Having a large stake in their news coverage, political office-holders seek to shape that coverage through news releases and conferences, interviews, background briefings, and leaks. To get beyond the press release, Washington reporters have cultivated well-placed sources throughout the government, and have been willing to risk imprisonment to protect those sources from exposure. Because of these intimate relationships, critics have accused the Washington press of shielding officials from appropriate scrutiny.

When the federal government first located in Washington, political parties established newspapers there as official organs. The *Federalist* newspaper immediately suffered a blow when its party lost the election of 1800 and began a decade of descent into extinction. The victorious Democratic-Republican Party established the *National Intelligencer,* which promoted the policies of President Thomas Jefferson (1801–09) and his immediate successors. The *National Intelligencer* reaped profitable federal printing contracts and in return its staff provided stenographic services for the debates in Congress. Copies of the *Intelligencer* were mailed free to newspapers elsewhere in the growing country, which reprinted its verbatim accounts of congressional debates.

Growing regional tensions in the 1820s rendered inadequate the *National Intelligencer*'s monopoly on Washington reporting. Southern planters and Northern business leaders sought news of pending tariff legislation that would affect them financially and sent their own reporters to spend the congressional session in Washington and cover developments from an agrarian or commercial perspective. Without needing to duplicate the *Intelligencer*'s verbatim accounts, they crafted critical analyses of the legislative battles they witnessed. Since they mailed their stories back to their papers, they became known as Washington correspondents. Members of Congress came to distinguish between the impartial reporters, to whom they gave access to the House and Senate floors, and the critical correspondents, whom they relegated to the public galleries. Seeking to placate the growing press corps, in 1841 Senator Henry Clay, a Kentucky Whig with presidential ambitions, persuaded the Senate to establish the first press gallery, just above the presiding officer's dais in the Senate chamber. The House set up a similar press gallery when it moved to its current chamber in 1857. By contrast, the White House did not designate a press room until the construction of the West Wing in 1902.

Technology speeded the news from Washington. The first trains reached the capital in the 1830s, and in 1844 Samuel F. B. Morse publicly demonstrated his telegraph at the Capitol, with signals carried on wires to Baltimore. "What is the news from Washington?" was one of the first messages from Baltimore, whose newspapers were the first to publish telegraphic dispatches from Washington. Several New York newspapers soon pooled their resources to establish the Associated Press, to provide telegraphed news.

The Civil War (1861–65) swelled the ranks of the Washington press corps, as newspaper correspondents arrived to cover both the government and the military campaigns fought near the capital. They set up offices in a row of small buildings along Fourteenth Street, flanked by the telegraph office and the major hotels, where news could be gathered in the lobbies and at the bar, conveniently located between the White House and the Capitol. Known as Newspaper Row, it flourished for the rest of the nineteenth century, and in 1927 was replaced by the National Press Club building.

Newspapers initially paid their Washington correspondents only for the months that Congress was in session, about half the year. Most returned to their home papers during the long adjournment.

To supplement their incomes, some of the leading correspondents also took part-time jobs as clerks for congressional committees. Since many of their papers were overtly partisan, as was their reporting, working for the politicians they covered was not seen as a conflict of interest. Congress traditionally has been the most open branch of the federal government, with members eager to be interviewed and quoted. Nineteenth-century reporters could talk to Presidents of the United States but generally could not quote them directly. Not until the impeachment trial of President Andrew Johnson (1865–69) in 1868 did a chief executive seek to influence public opinion by granting on-the-record interviews. Johnson recognized that more citizens would read newspapers than his official proclamations, and his use of the press to state his case contributed to his acquittal.

During the late nineteenth-century Gilded Age, some Washington reporters engaged in lobbying and some lobbyists posed as journalists. When the press became implicated in the lobbying scandals it was reporting, leaders of the Washington press corps approached the Speaker of the House and the Senate Rules Committee in 1879, proposing that reporters take over accrediting members of the congressional press galleries. Reporters elected a Standing Committee of Correspondents to judge accreditation and enforce new rules adopted by the House and Senate that prohibited reporters from lobbying and provided press passes only to those who reported to a daily newspaper by telegraph. (Press gallery rules and the names and affiliations of all accredited reporters, commentators, and photographers are published each year in the *Congressional Directory*.) These rules eliminated lobbyists from the press gallery but also shut out women and racial minorities. Newspapers hired women reporters to cover social aspects of Washington news, which did not qualify for the expense of telegraphing, so they mailed their stories instead. The nineteenth-century black press consisted entirely of weekly papers, and the white dailies did not hire African American journalists. Not until the 1940s did many women or any racial minorities obtain access to the press galleries.

The congressional press galleries provided a convenient working environment, with easy access to sources and telegraph offices. By contrast, nineteenth-century reporters had to stand outside the White House to interview arriving and departing presidential visitors. The executive branch did not provide much hospitality toward the press corps or generate enough news to keep reporters in Washington year-round. Papers instead relied on the wire services for Washington news during congressional adjournments. President William McKinley (1897–1901), a former representative, brought a congressional sensibility to the White House in 1897, inviting the press inside to encourage a more positive treatment of his administration. McKinley's dynamic successor, Theodore Roosevelt (1901–09), set up the first press room and gave informal interviews while he was being shaved. Roosevelt provided news on slow Sundays to assure himself Monday headlines, and floated trial balloons to test public sentiments. Woodrow Wilson (1913–21) initiated the formal weekly presidential press conference and used his mastery of facts, language, and wit to win over the largely Republican press corps. (Outside of the South, the overwhelming majority of American newspapers were then published by Republicans.)

White House press relations declined during the 1920s, when reporters could identify the tight-lipped President Calvin Coolidge (1923–29) only as "a White House spokesman." Herbert Hoover (1929–33) required reporters to submit questions in writing in advance, and simply ignored those he did not want to answer. Presidential press relations changed dramatically when Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933–45) inaugurated his twice weekly press conferences in the Oval Office to win favorable press coverage for New Deal programs. Doubting that he could ever win over Republican papers' editorial pages, Roosevelt concentrated on cultivating the sympathies of their Washington reporters. Although he reserved the right to go off the record, he usually allowed them to quote him directly. FDR also made skillful use of radio to speak directly to the public, both through formal addresses and informal "fireside chats."

Radio had begun covering Washington as early as its coverage of Coolidge's state of the union message in 1923, but under congressional press gallery rules, radio reporters could not obtain press passes unless they also reported for a daily newspaper. Responding to the radio reporters' complaints, Congress created a separate Radio Correspondents Gallery in the House and Senate in 1939 (it later

became the Radio-TV Gallery). Congress also established Periodical Press Galleries and a Press Photographers Gallery. Each of the new galleries elected its own standing committees to judge accreditation (and each committee handled both the House and Senate galleries). Only in Washington, D.C., does the government separate its press galleries according to their technologies, or allow the journalists themselves to control press accreditation.

The rise of the United States as a world power brought greater numbers of foreign correspondents to Washington. During World War I (1914–18), the federal government established a Committee on Public Information, headed by the former journalist George Creel (1876–1953), to promote favorable reporting on the American war effort. The Creel Committee financed foreign correspondents both during the war and during the Senate debates on the Treaty of Versailles to end the war. Foreign correspondents at first based their operations in New York to monitor American commercial activities, and visited Washington only occasionally for political news. World War II (1939–45) and the cold war (1945–90) made Washington a more essential location for international news. The U.S. Information Agency established a Washington Foreign Press Center to provide press briefings, reference services, and communications facilities to assist the labor of the many small, under-funded foreign press bureaus. The United States also created the Voice of America to broadcast news in many languages, aimed against the Germans during World War II, and then expanded against Soviet influence during the cold war.

The growth of the federal government saw a corresponding spread of press secretaries, agency public affairs or press officers, formal news conferences, and reams of press releases. Reporters grew used to taking handouts from the executive departments, which helped explain complex programs, and which they could rewrite and submit as their own articles. Over time, elected officials began placing political consultants and pollsters on their staffs to shape favorable news coverage and public opinion and turn the governing process into a "permanent campaign."

The Washington press corps expanded from a few hundred to several thousand during the twentieth century, and slowly became more diverse. Long barred from political news assignments, women reporters got a boost from First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, who from 1933 to 1945 held press conferences open only to women. During World War II, women took over the assignments of male reporters who had gone overseas as war correspondents and combatants. Although the men reclaimed their jobs after the war, women continued reporting on politics and government. As reporters for weekly papers, African Americans faced barriers until 1947, when the Senate Rules and Administration Committee ordered the Standing Committee of Correspondence to grant accreditation to a representative of the National Negro Publishers Association, because its membership included the first black daily paper, the *Atlanta Daily World*. The later need to cover the brewing civil rights movement slowly pushed the mainstream press to hire more minority reporters.

Commercial television gave new visibility to events in Washington. When television covered congressional hearings it made national stars out of legislators such as Senator Estes Kefauver (D-TN), whose investigation into organized crime was televised in 1951. The cameras helped demolish the public standing of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (R-WI) by exposing his bullying tactics during the televised Army–McCarthy hearings in 1954. Washington-based Sunday-morning news programs such as *Face the Nation* and *Meet the Press* regularly gave air time to government officials. Candidates made increasing use of television in their campaigns, and the 1960 televised debates between John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon played a deciding role in their presidential contest. In 1955, Dwight Eisenhower (1953–61) had been the first President to allow television cameras to record his press conferences, but in 1961 Kennedy became the first to permit live broadcasts of press meetings. As more Americans admitted to getting their news from television rather than newspapers, the networks' evening news programs expanded to a half hour in 1963, and Washington news became a staple of their nightly reports.

Since liberals dominated the federal government from the 1930s to the 1960s, sentiments in the Washington press corps shifted to the left with their sources. Conservative politicians complained of a "liberal bias" in the news and during Richard Nixon's (1969–74) presidency, Vice President Spiro Agnew publicly attacked the network correspondents as an "unelected elite" who provided a

distorted view of federal policies and American values. Compiling an "enemies list," the Nixon administration used federal agencies to harass prominent journalists. When a burglary occurred at the Watergate headquarters of the Democratic National Committee in 1972, most of the Washington press corps accepted Nixon's denial of any involvement. *The Washington Post* instead launched a series of exposés that traced the scandal back to the Committee to Reelect the President and the White House. The *Post* relied on inside information from within the government. Its source, known as "Deep Throat," was much later revealed to be the deputy director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, W. Mark Felt, who leaked elements of the growing scandal to prevent Nixon from sabotaging the FBI investigation. Eventually, Congress and the rest of the press corps pursued the scandal, resulting in Nixon's 1974 resignation to avoid impeachment.

The ascendancy of *The Washington Post* reflected the changing status of the local Washington media that had long been regarded as provincial and overly influenced by whatever administration held power. Until the 1960s, the Washington bureau of *The New York Times* fielded as many national reporters as did any of the Washington newspapers. Once the *Post* became more profitable, it expanded its staff and could tackle issues with reporters from multiple desks, including its national, international, metro, and even lifestyle sections. The Washington Post Company offered a nationally syndicated news service that distributed both its news reporting and Washington columnists who offered their opinion on national and international developments.

As C-SPAN (Cable-Satellite Public Affairs Network) began televising the House (1979) and Senate (1986) floor debates together with selected committee hearings, news briefings, and other Washington events, news from the capital became more publicly accessible. In 1990 telegraph offices and teletype machines were removed from the Capitol since news could now be collected and disseminated electronically via telephone, and soon by email and the Internet. Newspapers and networks launched their own news websites, and self-selection webloggers—bloggers—gained public attention with their freewheeling commentary and criticism. Websites provided access to wire service reports before they could appear in print or on the evening news programs. When the bloggers sought press credentials, however, they renewed the problem of defining who was a legitimate news reporter and forced the Washington news corps to undergo further self-examination.

Proliferating Washington news outlets were ironically greeted by mounting public indifference to their reports. The twentieth century ended with news media shifting attention from politics and government to cultural and consumer news. Some news organizations cut the size of their Washington bureaus, until the shock of the attacks on September 11, 2001, renewed interest in what the government was doing. So long as the United States stands as a superpower in world affairs, homeland security persists as an issue, and the policies of the federal government impact on the daily lives of its citizens, the news from Washington will remain a sought-after commodity.

Donald A. Ritchie

See also African American News Media; Bandwagon Journalism; Congress and Journalism; Election Coverage; Government, Federal, Coverage of; News Conferences; Political Reporters; Presidential Families, Coverage of; Presidents, Coverage of; Press and Government Relations; Press Pools; Reporters, Print; Reporters, Radio; Reporters, Television; Reporters' Organizations; Satirists, Political; Secrecy and Leaks; Supreme Court and Journalism; Telegraph

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Weather Journalism

While weather-related disasters have been newsworthy since the day of the town crier, weather has been an inherent part of the daily news only since the mid-1800s. Weather journalism, complete with forecasts, warnings, and records, is now expected in local newspapers and news broadcasts. Arrival of the telegraph in 1844 and the rise of meteorology as a science over the next two decades combined to make weather "news."

Origins

The electric telegraph allowed reports of weather conditions across a wide area to be received almost simultaneously. As scientists came to understand the complex interactions among atmosphere, land, and water, this allowed forecasts to be made given conditions nearby and elsewhere. British hydrographer Francis Beaufort and his protégé Robert Fitzroy are the two most credited with the birth of weather forecasting as a science. Beaufort's development of his Wind Force Scale and "Weather Notation" coding, along with his production of reliable tide tables for the British Isles, which motivated similar efforts elsewhere in Europe and North America, laid the foundation for documenting weather conditions. Continuing Beaufort's work, Fitzroy invented the "storm glass" (barometer) in 1854. A costly storm in 1859 inspired Fitzroy to develop weather charts based on barometric and wind force readings sent to him by naval stations using telegraph lines. These readings allowed predictions of bad weather to be made in advance, which he termed *forecasting*. The "Weather Book," which he published in 1863 setting forth his methods, was critical in establishing meteorology as an acceptable field of scientific study. Both Beaufort and Fitzroy were influential in British governmental circles and, though ridiculed at times, their work eventually gained public credibility, was accepted by the Royal Navy for navigation purposes, and formed the basis for modern meteorology.

In 1849, Joseph Henry, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, organized the first network of meteorological observers in the United States who reported to him daily by telegraph. Their reports included temperature readings, wind directions and velocities, and precipitation measurements. By the late 1850s Henry was displaying daily weather maps of the observations for the public. In 1860, the Dutch chemist C. H. D. Buys Ballot, who developed theories of air currents and the behavior of large weather systems, began issuing the world's first storm warnings in Holland, based on telegrams from observers at six places in that country. At the same time, Robert Fitzroy was collecting weather data from a network of English and continental stations and using the information to construct "synoptic" weather charts, with tentative forecasts of coming weather fronts. In August 1861, British newspapers began occasionally carrying Fitzroy's weather forecasts, which were based on his daily weather charts.

Although New England printer Ebenezer Merriam, who originated a theory of cycles of atmospheric phenomena, had occasionally offered weather forecasts in New York newspapers as early as 1853, it was not until the consolidation of telegraphic service by Western Union in 1866 that an organization was in place to supply extensive weather data. The Associated Press had an early weather-reporting network, but there is no evidence that there was any consideration given to supplementing its brief reports of temperature and precipitation with forecasts. Instead, a few papers carried reports of the previous day's local weather.

In 1868 meteorologist Cleveland Abbe at the Cincinnati Observatory attempted to launch a quasi-private meteorological news service, seeking financial support from the Associated Press, Western Union, the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, and several local newspapers. His plan included a system of 100 reporting stations, which

would supply weather data to a central location where his staff would use it to compose a daily forecast. The Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, whose president published the *Cincinnati Commercial,* funded the project for three months in 1869. But Abbe never had more than ten reports on any one day and was able to provide only occasional forecasts. He continued to receive limited support from Western Union in the collection of weather observations after this three-month trial, but he fell short in raising funds or promoting his forecasts. His "Weather Bulletin" was not even published in the *Cincinnati Commercial.*

Growing Sophistication

It was left to the federal government, with its bigger budget and continent-spanning system of military bases, to provide regular weather reports and forecasts to the public. The United States Weather Bureau was founded in February 1870 through a joint congressional resolution. Its mission was to "provide for taking meteorological observations at the military stations in the interior of the continent and at other points in the States and Territories… and for giving notice on the northern Lakes and on the seacoast by magnetic telegraph and marine signals of the approach and force of storms." The new agency was assigned to the U.S. Army Signal Corps. In 1890 the Weather Bureau became a civilian agency and was transferred to the Department of Agriculture; in 1940 it moved to the Department of Commerce. Finally, the bureau was renamed the National Weather Service in 1967, and became part of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, still in the Department of Commerce.

The Weather Bureau originally divided up the country east of the Mississippi River and around the Great Lakes into forecast "zones." The first "official" weather forecast in the United States was issued at noon on November 8, 1870, by Increase Lapham, an author and naturalist known as the "Father of the Weather Service," out of Chicago warning of high winds and falling barometric pressure. By the end of 1871 new zones were being established to the west. Forecasts were initially sent from Washington to local telegraph and railroad stations around the country, where they were posted on public message boards. Copies were also sent to the Associated Press and other news agencies for distribution to daily newspapers. By 1873, thousands of U.S. Post Offices displayed the forecasts. Within a few years, a series of diplomatic agreements between many nations to share information—based on the belief that the accuracy of weather predictions would improve with more reporting stations, the detail and frequency of observations, and the speed with which they could be reported—led to the regular release to the press in Europe and North America of international weather updates generated by national weather services.

Most of the data collection and forecasting by the National Weather Service is aimed at public use, and is made available to news media in many formats. Most Weather Service products (reports and forecasts) intended for publication are written using basic meteorological terminology in narrative sentence format. Among these, the main offerings include Zone Forecasts (seven-day predictions of expected weather conditions within each area of the country); Short-Term Forecasts (six-hour, localized, event-driven weather reports and alerts during significant or fast-changing conditions); Surf Zone Forecasts (for local beach regions, including coastal weather hazards); and Area Forecast Discussions (a semi-technical product explaining the scientific rationale behind forecasts and summarizing current watches/warnings/advisories intended for weather journalists).

Perhaps the most iconic feature of weather reporting is the weather map; no other kind of map—printed or broadcast—is so recognizable or has such a persistent following. Although there had been earlier printed weather maps, in April 1875 the *Times* of London printed the first daily weather map showing the previous day's weather across the British Isles. As a one-time experiment, the *New York Herald* published America's first weather map in 1876. On May 9, 1879, the *New York Daily Graphic* began regular publication of a weather map, crafted by Stephen Horgan, inventor of the halftone engraving screen. But it was not until August 1934, when the conservative *New York Times* began publishing one on a daily basis, that the weather map was widely accepted as more than simply a curiosity by news readers. The next year the Associated Press Wirephoto network began transmitting weather maps via telephone lines to its members. In 1960, NASA launched its

first geosynchronous weather satellite, TIROS-1, which sent back pictures of the United States from space; the National Weather Service provided these to newspapers and television stations for use with their weather coverage.

After the launch of *USA Today* in 1982, newspapers throughout the world began dropping their black-and-white weather maps and satellite photos in favor of colorful weather infographics. One of the key staff of *USA Today* was George Rorick, who had been recruited specifically to create an eye-catching weather page. He crafted a cheery, colorful, easily readable daily weather report, highlighted by a large weather map. From its inception, the weather map of *USA Today* received praise and engendered much envy on the part of its competitors. Media critic Peter Boyle declared the map "the most imitated feature in American journalism." In a 1987 poll of newspaper editors, more than half had increased their weather coverage, and 25 percent admitted the increase was spurred by the popularity of the *USA Today*'s presentation of the weather.

Weather on the Air

The British Broadcasting Company (predecessor of today's BBC) may have aired the world's first radio weather forecast—a shipping warning—in November 1922 on behalf of the British Meteorological Office. On March 26, 1923, the BBC began broadcasting daily radio reports and forecasts. In November 1936, the BBC experimented with the world's first televised weather maps; the map filled the entire screen, with an off-camera narrator commenting on the next day's weather. Following the suspension of service during World War II, BBC television resumed showing weather maps with captions. A shadowy hand sketched isobars and numbers on a map while an off-screen voice, backed by soothing music, supplied pertinent information. Other television networks and local stations soon followed suit.

The idea of "personalized" weather forecasting was first raised in 1953. The BBC's then-director, Sir Ian Jacob, noted a "young but highly professional meteorologist" (according to his papers in the Churchill Archives Centre at Cambridge) who made the point that it would be better if, instead of just maps and charts, the weather forecaster actually appeared on screen to explain these and to educate the public about the science behind the forecasts. On January 11, 1954, George Cowling of the British Met Office became the first British on-air weatherman in a live, five-minute segment on BBC television. Within three years, the "weatherman" was an integral part of the morning and evening newscast at most local television stations around the world.

In America, television weather reporting has vacillated between the silly and the serious. At first, weather was often treated as a light diversion from the seriousness of the news. WNBT-TV (later WNBC) broadcast the first regular American weather segment in 1941; sponsored by Botany's wrinkle-proof ties, on these weathercasts a cartoon character named "Botany Lamb" sang the forecasts. After that light-hearted start, trained meteorologists dominated the profession in the late 1940s. These weathercasts bore little resemblance to the graphic-oriented ones now common, as most were (according to researcher Mark Monmonier) a "no-frills, dry and pedantic" reading by those looking for extra income in a part-time gig on television.

The 1950s were the most uninhibited period in American television's weather coverage. Since most of the data and forecasts were taken directly from the U.S. Weather Bureau, stations resorted to a variety of puppets, costumes, animals, and other gimmicks to present the weather in a more "entertaining" manner. It was during this period that women first made forays into this heretofore exclusively male bastion. By 1955, women represented the majority of on-air weathercasters, most selected for their sex appeal to television viewers. (A national online poll by *Playboy* in 2007 to choose the "sexiest weathercaster" indicates such trends still continue.) Advances in technology leading to the use of satellite and radar imagery brought another era of serious weathercasting to television in the 1970s. In the 1980s and 1990s, the "happy talk news" (a description first coined by newsman Al Primo in 1974) style was developed, encouraging more interaction and joviality among the on-air news personalities. The weathercasters were once again expected to deliver a more lighthearted balance to the hard news of the day.

The changeable tenor of American weather reporting during its early years—fluctuating as it did between offering information and providing

entertainment—gave rise to efforts by professional organizations to grant credibility to those who met their (sometimes controversial) standards. The American Meteorological Society began their "seal of approval" program in 1957 and conferred it on those weather journalists that met the society's guidelines for "completeness, clarity and professionalism." The society's system remains in effect, although it has gone through significant changes over the past decades, including requirement of a meteorological degree. Between 1959 and 2004, the seal of approval has been granted to more than 1,300 television stations and 150 weathercasters. In February 1982, in reaction to another move in the general trend toward entertainment over information, the National Weather Association created an alternate credential for weathercasters; although it does not have an educational requirement, it requires passing a written exam, professional development (including approved courses and workshops), and periodic recertification. Despite sometimes divergent attitudes toward these efforts, many on-air weathercasters are required to be certified in some manner for employment.

As with newspapers, graphics have been an important element of televised weather reporting. From television's earliest days, and continuing at some stations into the late 1960s, weather graphics often consisted of maps and weather symbols drawn on butcher paper or equally crude chalk renderings on a blackboard. In the 1950s, more advanced weathercasters worked with grease pencils in hand, sketching on a plastic backdrop. To the horror of the American Meteorological Society, most television weathercasters of the time were better cartoonists than meteorologists. By the late 1960s, clever set designers had developed the technique of painting maps on metal surfaces, which allowed the weather reporters to use magnetic letters, numbers, and symbols to depict dynamic weather conditions.

With the advent of computerized graphics in the late 1980s and early 1990s (the first use of a computerized weather display was by the BBC in February 1985), it has become standard procedure for weathercasters to work in front of a green or blue chroma-key wall while animated weather graphics and maps are electronically shown behind them. The weathercasters use small, handheld remote controls to change the images. Thorough preproduction preparation is vital in order for the wide assortment of data and graphics to appear effortless and in proper sequence. Increasingly, video footage is included in weather broadcasts for dramatic effect.

Commercial Weather Services

Modern meteorology relies on increasingly expensive technology (both to gather information and to display it), as well as extensive training, which puts the production of sophisticated weather reports and forecasts beyond the capability and budget of many local news outlets. In 1962 the first private weather service in the United States since Abbe's abortive attempt was established in State College, Pennsylvania, by Joel Myers, a graduate student at Pennsylvania State University. His AccuWeather service was launched to provide forecasts to a Pennsylvania gas utility company, but soon grew to include service to ski resorts, construction companies, fuel oil dealers, and a number of other businesses. In 1971, AccuWeather offered its services to radio and television stations. In 1974, the forecasting company began serving newspapers; by 1983 it was transmitting weather data, maps, and text to newspapers' typesetting equipment. In 1986 it pioneered the electronic delivery of complete weather pages to subscribing newspapers.

AccuWeather's history has been marked by innovation in the reporting of weather. In 1975, it was the first to introduce seven-day local forecasts for television, and in 1983 it began offering ready-for-air color weather graphics. In 1986, AccuWeather began satellite delivery of weather radar images. After years of operating from various converted buildings, in 1998 the company moved into a custom-designed video production facility in central Pennsylvania with satellite uplinks and Internet distribution. By 2005, it had 18 digitally equipped studios scattered across the United States, and most broadcast station subscribers received reports via digital lines with recorded forecasts transmitted over the Internet as MP3 or WAV files. In 2002, the company began service to PDAs and cell phones. In 2005, AccuWeather had several hundred broadcast stations and newspapers across North America as clients, and continues as the most successful private meteorological service in the world.

Although the oldest and largest, AccuWeather is not the only commercial weather service in operation. The National Weather Service lists over 300 private sector meteorological services that provide forecasts and reports in the United States. Only a few of these—such as CompuWeather (founded in 1976) and Intellicast (1996)—offer national and international coverage to the news industry. Most serve either a limited geographical region (such as the Baja Weather Service or New England Weather Associates) or a specific commercial industry (such as Aviation Weather, Inc. or Roffer's Ocean Fishing Forecasting Service, Inc.). Meteorology remains an expensive and sophisticated venture.

For years on-air weather broadcasters sought credibility as hard-working journalists, even as technological advancements in meteorology very slowly changed audience expectations. The public demanded ever more visual presentations backed by more data and interpretation. In 1982, the Weather Channel cable network was launched to deliver timely weather news 24 hours each day, seven days a week. It was founded by Chicago WLS-TV meteorologist John Coleman and Landmark Communications' Frank Batten. Based in the northwest Atlanta suburbs, the Weather Channel originally obtained its regional data from the U.S. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration and local forecasts from the National Weather Service. Since 2002, however, it has compiled data and done local forecasting in-house at its Atlanta complex.

By 2006 the channel reached over 87 million households and was offered on 95 percent of all cable systems nationwide. With a staff of over 120 weather journalists, the Weather Channel provides reports on national and local conditions, observations for regional areas, local and regional radar, satellite images, extended forecasts, and special weather-related original series. Its best known programming, the "Local on the 8s" segment that debuted in 1996, gives information on local conditions and forecasts and warnings inserted through special proprietary equipment available to cable systems that carry the channel. The channel also operates weather networks in Canada and Latin America, as well as weather websites in the United Kingdom, France, and Germany.

In addition to its television content, the Weather Channel provides weather services to radio stations and newspapers and maintains an extensive online presence, both through its own website, which attracted 20 million users per month in 2006, and through feeds to other news websites around the world. The Weather Channel website provides a wide variety of content beyond the traditional weather reports, forecasts, and satellite images; it offers video, blogs, and reader-generated content on everything from health to history—all with a weather theme. The Weather Channel radio network supplies weather forecasts to over 250 markets across the United States, along with immediate information on severe weather conditions. Through a partnership with Universal Press, it offers a syndicated weather page to over 157 newspapers (as of 2007) with a combined circulation of about 23 million subscribers. It also provides weather information to the *USA Today,* as well as that paper's international editions.

While the Weather Channel website might be the most used by the public, most online news sites offer weather related content. Many include webcams, weather alerts and real-time data, and updated forecasts. More and more people are turning to their computers for local weather news. However, the future of weather reporting may lie in the proliferation of mobile devices, from cell phones to personal digital assistants (PDAs). Firms such as AccuWeather and My-Cast already offer customizable weather services via satellite for a number of handheld communication devices, even GPS navigation systems. Like financial news and sports, weather reporting is becoming more personal and immediate through such technology.

A 2004 survey of 3,000 people conducted by the management firm Ipsos-Reid and the Weather Channel found that over 80 percent of adults check daily weather forecasts on some news medium. News directors and editors view weather as an integral part of every broadcast or newspaper edition. All agree that weather journalists have a responsibility to simplify complex meteorological concepts and data and deliver news and forecasts in a manner that strives to be accessible, timely, newsworthy, and, above all, accurate.

Rex A. Martin

See also Associated Press; Computers in Journalism; Graphics; Science and Technology Journalism; Telegraph; *USA Today*

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Web News

See Internet Impact on Media

Weekly Newspapers

According to the Newspaper Association of America, a weekly newspaper is one published less than four times a week. Most are based in smaller communities and tend to have lower circulations than daily newspapers. They often serve two or more small towns or even an entire county. In 2006, there were just under 8,000 such newspapers published in the United States, with a total circulation exceeding 50 million. These figures do not include alternative weeklies and weekly free shoppers aimed at specific audiences.

Origins

In the English-speaking world, the first newspapers were produced only when some noteworthy event occurred. As printing became more economical and public literacy increased, a burgeoning interest in world affairs created a market for regular news reports. The first periodically published newspaper was the *Weekly Newes* in 1622, and it set the precedent for weekly news production (the first daily newspaper, the *Daily Courant* of London, would not appear until 1702). First published in April 1704, the *Boston News-Letter* was a weekly half-sheet, a single page printed on both sides. By 1750, 14 weekly four-page newspapers were being published in the six largest colonies. After independence, weekly newspapers thrived in the new United States. The *Maryland Gazette,* now a twice-weekly subsidiary of *The Capital,* is the oldest continuously published weekly in America, its first issue appearing in 1727. During the westward expansion, a weekly newspaper was one of the signals of the "arrival of respectability" in small towns across the country. Today, local weekly newspapers continue that tradition of fostering a sense of community, civility, and neighborliness.

Most weekly newspapers started as family-owned businesses. Typically, all the business functions, and often the editorial chores, are handled by family members. The majority of weekly newspapers remain locally owned; in 2006, for example, 52 percent of the 141 weekly newspapers in North Carolina were independently owned and managed. However, as newspapers became more expensive to publish and new generations declined to join the "family business," many weeklies have been purchased by newspaper chains, either regional or national. The McClatchy Company, the second-largest newspaper publisher in the United States, owned 46 weekly newspapers in 2007, while the Gannett Company, the largest, published nearly 1,000 nondaily newspapers that year. These companies often have a business manager overseeing several weeklies in a state or region, with individual editors at each newspaper. These managers and editors enjoy considerable autonomy, often more so than their daily newspaper counterparts in the newspaper chains.

In such an atmosphere, it may be surprising that most modern technological advances in newspaper production have been pioneered by weekly newspapers—in part because newspaper unions are stronger at large urban papers. Cold type first replaced Linotype at weeklies. Weekly newspaper

staff were doing layout with personal computers—usually Macintosh—perhaps a decade before it became common at the large urban daily newspapers. Weekly newspapers in Illinois were among the first to convert from petroleum-based ink to soybean ink. Use of digital cameras for news was begun by reporters at weekly newspapers that lacked photojournalists on staff. Tom Terry, who formerly owned three award-winning weekly newspapers, credits this nimbleness on the part of weeklies to the absence of layers of management that can curtail innovation due to concerns about cost effectiveness and reliability. Once proven to be useful in the production of weekly newspapers, technological innovations are adopted and adapted by major newspapers.

In contrast to the declining readership of daily newspapers, in recent years weekly newspapers have shown strong circulation gains, especially in suburban communities. Weekly newspaper circulation tripled between 1965 and 1998. According to the Newspaper Association of America, in 1996 there were 6,580 weekly newspapers with an average circulation of 6,977 readers; by 2003, there were 6,704 weeklies with an average circulation of 7,490. The readership of the largest weekly newspapers rivals that of many daily newspapers serving urban areas; the largest paid weekly was the *People's Weekly World* (New York) with 67,000 subscriptions while the largest free one, the *Trend Midweek* (Bucks County, Pennsylvania), distributed an average 625,000 copies each week in 2004. In 2005, weeklies were received in over 60 percent of the nation's households, an increase of one-third since 1970. Although there are no firm statistics, the Newspaper Advertising Bureau's industry experts estimate that weeklies now generate $3 billion to $5 billion in annual advertising revenues.

Some weeklies, particularly those in upscale suburbs, offer sophisticated coverage of community concerns. Others feature a homey mix of household tips and local social events. Small town weekly newspapers are more traditional. The success of all these approaches is sometimes called "telephone book journalism" because of the emphasis on names and addresses, drawing on the theory that many people buy newspapers to see their names in print. It is undeniable that what weekly newspapers have in common is that they cover their communities in a detail that metro daily newspapers have neither the staff nor space to match. To the discomfort of the metropolitan dailies, many advertisers are following their customers to the suburban weeklies. Advertisers have found that space in such weekly newspapers costs less and is more likely to reach potential customers.

Content

In general, traditional weekly newspapers follow a format similar to that of daily newspapers, although the primary focus is on items of local interest. While the typically small staff of a weekly newspaper produces local news, sports, entertainment, and editorial pieces, much of the space is filled with material not produced by the reporters. For instance, the "family news pages," which include the announcements of births, engagements, weddings, anniversaries, and obituaries, are usually extensive. Also prominent in weekly newspapers is the public record section, which offers summaries of police incident reports, fire department calls, and court decisions and settlements. Many weekly newspapers feature a listing of building permits that have been issued locally. The minutes of school board and city council meetings are frequently published verbatim.

In addition, public notices often fill several pages in weekly newspapers. Most American states have laws that dictate that a municipality and/or county must designate an "official newspaper," which is required to publish all public notices. Public notices include announcements about public hearings, adoption of local ordnances, government financial reports, and notices by the court system and local law enforcement agencies (such as bench warrants, divorce settlements, and foreclosures). Since weekly newspapers tend to cover multiple towns or a county, by default these are often the "official newspaper" for the region. Two examples are the *Clayton County Register,* the official newspaper of Clayton County, Iowa, and the *Bitterroot Star,* the official newspaper for several communities in the Bitterroot Valley in Montana.

Alternative newspapers are usually published on a weekly schedule as well. In 1955, a group of bohemian friends living in New York City's Greenwich Village, including Norman Mailer and Don Wolf, decided to launch a community newspaper, one that offered a counterculture view of

the issues. The weekly *Village Voice* became the prototype for the many alternative newspapers launched during the 1960s. An alternative newspaper foregoes general news in favor of opinionated reviews, columns, editorials, in-depth examinations of controversial topics and lifestyles, and feature stories that highlight local people and culture. Typically, alternative newspapers are published in tabloid format on a weekly schedule, often with controlled circulation. Most metro areas of the United States boost at least one alternative paper, although a few are published in rural towns or suburban locales. There appears to be an expanding audience for alternative weeklies; circulation for such doubled between 1990 and 2008 to 7.6 million readers. This may be due to the fact that the alternative weekly newspapers are redefining themselves. The most successful of these—the *Village Voice, L.A. Weekly, Boston Phoenix,* and *Seattle Weekly*—have prospered by attracting young professionals rather than the disaffected radicals who were the original audience. In 2007, the Association of Alternative Newsweeklies represented 130 established alternative newspapers with a readership of more than 20 million.

Twenty-First-Century Trends

As with other technological advances, weekly newspapers adapted to the Internet much quicker than the large daily newspapers. Among the first was *ThisWeek* (Columbus, Ohio), which began in 1989 and now consists of 22 "pages" of local news and events. Although there are no firm figures of weekly newspapers online, the 2007 listings in *Editor & Publisher* indicate that over half of the weekly newspapers published in the United States now have an online presence. These online papers offer both traditional news items and local advertising and services not usually found in any newspaper, ranging from traffic and weather cams to reader-generated community calendars to reporters' blogs. In 1999, the *Southport* (UK) *Reporter* was launched as a web-only weekly newspaper, perhaps signaling a new trend in weekly newspapers. According to Nielson Online, newspaper websites attracted more than 66.4 million unique visitors in the first quarter of 2008, a record number. Although there is no distinction made between visitors to weekly newspaper sites as compared to those to daily newspaper sites, increasingly a reader traveling anywhere in the world can check up on his or her hometown news.

Although the Internet has opened new opportunities for weekly newspapers, it also offers significant challenges. Weekly newspapers face increased competition from Internet sites such as craigslist for classified advertising, especially for jobs, real estate, and cars, the local advertising of which has long been a key source of revenue. In terms of news content, weekly newspapers face increased competition from bloggers, especially in the recent trend toward "placeblogging." Placeblogs—such as Baristanet, Buffalo Rising, and Fresno Famous—are sometimes termed *hyperlocal sites* because they focus on news events and items that cover a particular area in great detail, in places that might be too physically small or sparsely populated to attract traditional newspaper coverage. Because of this, many readers have associated placebloggers with "citizen journalism." Weekly newspapers, which have long faced competition for local advertisers and audiences from television and radio, now have new challenges for hometown attention.

The weekly press embodies most precepts of American journalism. Traditional weekly newspapers focus on local issues and individuals, serve as public record, entertain and enlighten, and contribute to a sense of community. Alternative newspapers offer contrasting viewpoints to the mainstream, are vocal watchdogs for the public, and set new agendas for their readers. With longer deadlines and "shelf life" than daily newspapers or broadcast news, the weekly press remains one vital heartbeat of modern journalism.

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See also Alternative and Underground Newspapers; Free Newspapers; History of Journalism: Before 1861; Media Ownership; Newsweekly Magazines

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Wire Services

See individual news agencies

Wolff

Formed shortly after the Havas and Reuters news agencies, for 75 years Wolff served as the primary German news agency, and one of a handful of international news services.

Origins

Bernhard Wolff (1811–79) originally studied medicine. In 1847 and 1848 he served as a translator of medical and also financial news for the developing Havas Agency in Paris. After returning to Berlin and acting as editor of a newspaper, Wolff formed his own financial news cooperative in 1849. The Berlin Telegraphische Anstaltt made early use of the spreading network of electric telegraph lines. Most of Wolff's initial clients were banks and other businesses, not newspapers.

Taking over several smaller competitors, he broadened his operation to cover general news in 1855 and took on newspaper clients. By 1859, Wolff was exchanging news with both Havas and Reuters. The operation underwent several name changes, finally becoming the Wolff'sche Telegraphische Büro. The Prussian government began contributing some financial support (and indirect control) by 1865.

A secret 1869 agreement between the government and the news agency gave the latter priority use of the expanding network of German telegraph cables in return for which Prussia gained some degree of control over the political news transmitted and even the hiring of staff. With this, the news agency became effectively an instrument of Prussian official policy (but it also achieved primacy in issuing official news), and Dr. Wolff retired as managing director in 1871.

News Cartel

As early as 1856, Wolff, along with Havas in France and Reuters in Britain, signed an exchange agreement to share financial news from their own countries. It soon expanded to more general news, and in 1859 to agreement to create joint offices in different cities, subject at different times to the imperialist moves by the countries' respective governments.

By 1870, the three agencies established a cooperative news cartel, soon dubbed "The Ring," each agency taking responsibility for part of the world (Wolff covered Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Scandinavia) and thus eliminating overlapping reporting and their related costs. For many years, Wolff controlled the national news bureaus in Sweden and Norway. Being the smallest of the three, Wolff was subject to its partner's agreement to any expansion of its services—for which it paid a premium. All three made effective use of the growing web of undersea cables as well as land telegraphy and were accordingly often called "wire" services. With some changes, the cartel agreement was renewed in 1890 and again in 1914.

Decline

Increasingly by the turn of the twentieth century, Wolff was seen as an agency of the Prussian, and later German, governments. With the outbreak of World War I in August 1914, the agency was cut off from its usual news sources and many of its clients when all German undersea cables were cut by the allies. Further weakening its once strong national role, the German government set up a separate wireless news bureau, Transocean, in 1915. Wolff came under full government control in 1917 to 1919. The loss of the war a year later, and Germany's subsequent occupation and economic

turmoil (and growing news competition) greatly weakened the Wolff agency during the Weimar Republic of the 1920s, and Reuters and Havas now served many of its non-German territories.

Wireless technology allowed for more efficient news delivery. Larger newspaper subscribers used teleprinters served—by 1932—by a multiple address radio system. By the early 1930s, Wolff fielded the largest number of reporters outside of Germany and distributed many specialized news services (including those for finance, sports, and editorials) within the country.

After some three quarters of a century of operation, however, the Wolff agency was effectively closed in 1933 by the new Nazi regime, to be replaced by the government-controlled Deutches Nachrichten Büro. With its increasingly overt propaganda content, the new agency helped bring about the demise of The Ring news agency cartel with Havas and Reuters.

Christopher H. Sterling

See also Cables, Undersea; Germany; Havas; Reuters; Telegraph

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Women in Journalism

Women have been a part of journalism for centuries, although many of their names and faces might not be familiar to the average person. From newspaper printers in the seventeenth century to the anchors of television newscasts in the twenty-first, women journalists have climbed out of the print shops and on to the front pages and top broadcasts of journalism. The road was not always a smooth one. Many media scholars, journalism organizations, and newsroom executives maintain that having diverse representation of journalism staffs in terms of gender, race, ethnicity, and religion is crucial to making certain the voices of *all* the public, not just a privileged few, are heard. Although great strides have been made by women in journalism, in 2009 women still were seeking equal representation in the highest newsroom ranks.

Development

Some of the earliest women to enter journalism came from families operating printing presses. From the late seventeenth into the eighteenth centuries, men who worked as printers often trained their wives and daughters to help with the family business. Printing businesses sometimes involved publishing a small newspaper. Mary Katherine Goddard, who worked in her brother's print shops, is among the most famous of these early printers. During the American Revolution, she became editor and publisher of Baltimore's first newspaper, the *Maryland Journal,* and was the first to print the Declaration of Independence with the names of the signers.

Margaret Fuller is often cited as the first woman to work at a major newspaper. In the 1840s Fuller worked for the *New York Tribune* and is believed to be the first woman foreign and war correspondent. Among other events, she covered the Italian revolution for the *Tribune*. Most women journalists, however, didn't find themselves overseas covering wars. Before the U.S. Civil War, magazines geared specifically to women began as a way to attract circulation revenue (and eventually advertising dollars), opening up new opportunities for women writers and editors. After the Civil War, technological production improvements and postal system changes lowered the cost of producing magazines and made them easier to distribute. About 40 magazines existed in the United States in 1800. By 1900, that number increased to 5,500. The Civil War itself also opened up new avenues for women journalists as they took on slavery and

the right to vote for both blacks and women. In 1868, two of the most famous crusaders for women's suffrage, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, published and edited *The Revolution,* a newspaper focused on equal rights for women. More newspapers focused on women's rights followed, as did publications and stories aimed at social reform. In the 1890s, Ida Wells-Barnett risked her life calling for a stop to the lynching of black Americans. After her newspaper office was burned, she moved from Memphis to New York, where she continued writing.

By 1886 some 500 women worked on a regular basis in American newsrooms. They took their craft seriously and began to form press associations. Among the earliest were the Woman's Press Club of New York and the Woman's National Press Association. Such groups allowed women journalists to build solidarity, as they would not be allowed into male-dominated journalism clubs until the 1970s.

While the nineteenth century brought women journalists initial opportunities to lobby for social reform, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were a period dominated by stunt journalists and "sob sisters." Stunt journalists were those who did something sensational to get attention. Foremost among them was Nellie Bly, who traveled around the world in 72 days in order to beat the character in author Jules Verne's novel, *Around the World in 80 Days*. Sob sisters were women journalists covering crime and romance whose stories were meant to make the reader weep. A woman journalist might play both roles. Publishers employed stunt journalists and sob sisters to increase circulation.

Making Headway

Women journalists in the early twentieth century wanted to right wrongs and expose abuses of power. They were known as muckrakers, and among them was journalist Ida Tarbell. Through meticulous reporting, she exposed the unfair business practices used by John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company. Her work, first featured in *McClure's Magazine,* became a widely read book in 1904 and led to government prosecution of Standard Oil for violations of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

The 1920s brought a new opportunity for women journalists with the advent of radio. But because of narrow male ideas about acceptable voices on the air, few were permitted to broadcast, let alone to provide news. Men's voices were thought to have more "authority." Other than singers and other entertainers, women who made it to radio's airwaves found themselves on informational programs focused on home and domestic issues.

At about the same time, journalism schools were beginning to open their doors to women students. While women could attend, they often were encouraged to focus on marriage and family rather than on a career in journalism. Women students were often given lighter assignments such as a soft feature story instead of a hard-hitting headline story. Some of those who graduated found it difficult to get journalism jobs. By 1900, the number of full-time women journalists was 2,193. By 1910, the number of women writers and editors was estimated at more than 4,000. By 1930, that number grew to 12,000.

World War II brought many employment opportunities to women as newspaper and broadcast companies had to fill spaces when men left to serve or cover the war. Women took positions as reporters, editors, and newscasters. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt worked to help women journalists by holding women-only press conferences and providing stories to women reporters. CBS hired one of the first women broadcast news executives, Helen Sioussat, to take the place of legendary broadcast journalist Edward R. Murrow as director of talks when Murrow went to Europe to cover the war. Helen Thomas, a wire service reporter who covered U.S. Presidents for more than 40 years, got her start in journalism in 1943 because of vacancies left by men. Thanks to these and other wartime efforts, women's journalistic work became more widely recognized. The first woman awarded a Pulitzer Prize, in 1937, was Anne O'Hare McCormick, who won for her foreign correspondence for *The New York Times*. Sigrid Schultz became one of the first women radio foreign correspondents and broadcast the bombing of Berlin.

Changing Work Conditions

As men returned from the war, many women lost their positions or ended up in different jobs. The 1950s brought a renewed interest in women-specific pages in newspapers and programs on radio and nascent television. While these topics did

provide jobs to women, many yearned for something more. Marguerite Higgins, who had covered World War II for the New York *Herald Tribune,* went on to become the first woman to win a Pulitzer Prize for international reporting in 1951 for her coverage of the Korean War. But even she could not escape smears that her success was based on her gender more than her talent. Higgins, like so many other women journalists, often faced discrimination or harassment. The civil and women's rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s led to landmark legislation that aimed to change the work environment. Yet even in the 1970s, women journalists at *Newsday, The New York Times,* and other major news organizations complained that employers were discriminating based on gender. Complaints often led to action, with financial settlements and affirmative action plans to hire and promote women in the newsroom.

In broadcasting, a 1971 ruling by the Federal Communications Commission held that women should be given equal hiring opportunities. Building on the ruling, women pushed for increased hiring and promoting in broadcast news. But women still continued to face harsh criticism. Barbara Walters became the first woman to anchor a nightly network newscast in 1976 but faced criticism for her million dollar salary, her appearance, and her way of speaking. Though she left the newscast within two years, she remained a major figure at ABC for decades, becoming one of the medium's top interviewers.

In the 1970s, while women were using the courts to increase hiring and promotion equality in newsrooms, women students increased to a majority of undergraduate journalism majors at American colleges. This created a growing pool of candidates for journalism jobs. But the fight for gender equality continued in the 1980s, centering on gender and age. Christine Craft, a 37-year-old woman television anchor in Kansas City, was fired in 1981 after a consultant's report said viewers thought she was too old, not attractive enough, and not deferential enough to men. She initially won her 1983 sex discrimination suit but lost on appeal in 1985 and the Supreme Court declined to hear the case in 1986. Age discrimination was an issue that continued to trouble women broadcast journalists far more than males in the early twenty-first century. Yet in many markets, a woman co-anchor of evening station newscasts is now common.

The women's rights movement and increased feminist activity in the 1970s and 1980s were accompanied by an examination of the role of and description of women in the media. Researchers including Donna Allen, H. Leslie Steeves, and Maurine Beasley began studying the absence of women in media portrayals and stories as well as their roles (or lack thereof) as makers of journalistic and media stories. For example, researchers studied (and continue to study) the number of male sources in stories compared to the number of female sources in stories.

In 1981, 1982, and 1992, Indiana University scholars conducted surveys that showed women made up a third of newsroom staffs. According to the U.S. Census, the workforce as a whole was made up of 42 to 45 percent women during the same time period. In the 1990s newspapers, for example, sought to increase readership by focusing on attracting women and realized their women staffers helped in the effort. A version of the "women's" pages returned, now more broadly dubbed "life" or "style" with a focus on domestic issues and needs—indeed, anything of concern to women.

In 1993, the second woman co-anchor of a network evening news program, Connie Chung, joined the *CBS Evening News* with Dan Rather. Amidst criticism of some of her stories and style, she accused CBS of sexism and left in 1995. Only a decade later, the same *CBS Evening News* became the first network evening newscast to feature a solo woman anchor when Katie Couric moved over from a successful morning career at NBC's *Today* show.

Noted Women in Print Journalism

Nellie Bly (1864–1922)

Bly was one of the earliest investigative reporters. Born Elizabeth Jane Cochran, Bly wanted to report on how the mentally ill were treated and famously had herself committed to a mental institution in pursuit of a story. Her stories of abuse, neglect, and poor sanitation at the Women's Lunatic Asylum on Blackwell's Island led to reform in care for the mentally ill. She also became known as the first "stunt reporter," and her feats included having herself arrested so she could reveal the inside of women's prisons and pretending to be unemployed so she could show how employment agencies worked.

Margaret Bourke-White (1904–71)

Bourke-White was the first woman photographer to be hired by a major publication when she went to work for *Fortune* magazine in 1930. She was the first woman photojournalist at *Life* magazine in 1936 and one of her photos, of the construction of Fort Peck Dam in Montana, was featured on the inaugural cover. She worked there until the 1950s. She also made news as the first Western photographer allowed into the Soviet Union. Her photographs of the Great Depression, World War II, and many foreign countries were widely distributed.

Katharine Graham (1917–2001)

Graham helped *The Washington Post* become one of the most respected U.S. newspapers. She served as publisher and chair of the board of the newspaper after the death of her husband in 1963. Graham was lauded for her 1970s decision to run the Pentagon Papers story—the story of a secret U.S. government study on Vietnam—after *The New York Times*'s publication of the same study was stopped by a court order. She also supported the 1972 to 1974 Watergate investigation of political scandals that lead to the downfall of President Richard Nixon and that made two of her reporters, Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, journalism legends.

Marguerite Higgins (1920–66)

Higgins earned her master's degree at Columbia University's journalism school. She became the first woman to win a Pulitzer Prize for international reporting in 1951 for her coverage of the Korean War. Higgins also covered World War II and was among the first journalists to report on the U.S. military's seizure of the Dachau concentration camp, writing a haunting eyewitness account. In her final years, she reported the early Vietnam War.

Clare Boothe Luce (1903–87)

Luce, who worked as a magazine editor and writer in her early years, became known as a playwright and politician. Luce met her husband, Henry R. Luce, publisher of *Time* and *Life* magazines, in 1935 after her four-year stint as an editor at *Vogue* and *Vanity Fair*. She wrote several plays that were turned into movies including *The Women, Kiss the Boys Goodbye,* and *Margin for Error*. After working as a war correspondent for *Life* from 1939 to 1940, Luce served in the U.S. House of Representatives as a Republican from Connecticut from 1943 to 1947 and ambassador to Italy from 1953 to 1956.

Eleanor "Cissy" Patterson (1881–1948)

Patterson was part of one of the U.S. major newspaper families, the Medill family, and left her own mark on the newspaper industry as editor and owner of the *Washington Times* and *Washington Herald,* which she merged into the *Washington Times-Herald*. Among her famous family members were her grandfather, Joseph Medill, editor in chief of the *Chicago Tribune,* and her brother, Joseph Medill Patterson, publisher of the *New York Daily News*. She was known for her wit and eccentricity. She went undercover to report her stories, fired employees on impulse, and carried a gun for protection. She published two novels under the penname Eleanor Gizycka, *Glass Houses* (1926) and *Fall Flight* (1928).

Ethel L. Payne (1911–91)

Payne is known as "the First Lady of the black press." Focusing on civil rights and international news, she spent much of her career working for the black press and was the first black woman to work as a commentator for a major broadcast network, CBS. Much of the award-winning journalist's work appeared in the *Chicago Defender*.

Gloria Steinem (1934–)

Steinem co-founded *Ms.,* a magazine aimed at telling stories from a feminist perspective, in 1971. At first, it was a one-time insert in *New York* magazine, for which Steinem was one of the original writers. In 1972 *Ms.* became its own publication. The feminist icon, author, and organizer has continued to work as a contributing editor at *Ms.* She also is co-founder of the Women's Media Center, a group whose goals include ensuring that women and their experiences are shown in the media and that women media professionals have equal opportunities.

Ida Tarbell (1857–1944)

Tarbell, an early investigative journalist, was one of the "Muckrakers," a group of journalists whose work ferreted out corruption and abuse of power in American society. Her most famous work, *History of the Standard Oil Company*, first appeared in *McClure's Magazine* and was ranked the number five news story of the twentieth century by a group of 36 judges (journalists and journalism teachers) working under the auspices of New York University's journalism department.

Helen Thomas (1920–)

Thomas became the "dean of the White House press corps" and "the First Lady of the press." For more than 40 years, Thomas covered U.S. Presidents for United Press International. She was the first woman to close a U.S. presidential news conference by saying, "Thank you, Mr. President" while covering President John F. Kennedy. She was also the first woman officer of the White House Correspondents Association. Thomas was named one of the 25 most influential women in America by the *World Almanac* in 1976.

Dorothy Thompson (1893–1961)

Thompson was the first American woman to head a news bureau in Europe. After working on the suffrage movement and in publishing, Thompson headed to Europe where, after three years writing news stories, she became the Berlin bureau chief for the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* and the New York *Evening Post* in 1924. Thompson returned to New York in 1928 and continued to write for magazines and newspapers. She was expelled from Germany because of her opposition to the Nazi government. She became a syndicated columnist for the New York *Herald Tribune* and was a well-known political analyst in the 1930s and 1940s. She also wrote a nonpolitical column for *Ladies Home Journal* for 20 years.

Noted Women in Broadcast News

Christiane Amanpour (1958–)

Amanpour, chief international news correspondent for CNN, brought wars, international crises, and interviews with top world leaders to television screens from the 1990s and into the twenty-first century. One of a growing number of women foreign correspondents, Amanpour credited her experiences as the daughter of a privileged Iranian for her desire to be a journalist. Educated in England and the United States, Amanpour not only covered world events but explained the context and people behind those events. She has received numerous awards for her reporting efforts.

Katie Couric (1957–)

Couric became the first woman solo anchor of a weekday network evening news broadcast in 2006. She also worked as a correspondent for the CBS news program *60 Minutes*. Couric was co-anchor of NBC's morning *Today* show for 15 years, from 1991 to 2006. Before that, she worked as a TV journalist for more than a decade for ABC, NBC, and CNN, starting in local television news in her native Washington, D.C. Couric has won numerous awards.

Pauline Frederick (1906–90)

Frederick was a pioneering radio and later television news reporter for both ABC and then NBC when women were rare on the air. The award-winning reporter earned a bachelor's degree in political science and a master's degree in international law from American University. At the urging of one of her professors, she focused on journalism. Despite her educational qualifications, she had a difficult time breaking into political journalism early on because she was a woman, but she kept trying and eventually covered the Nuremberg trials for ABC radio. She built her final two decades on NBC television on her detailed knowledge of the United Nations.

Anne Garrels (1951–)

Garrels, senior foreign correspondent for National Public Radio (NPR), has won numerous awards for her reporting, including the Courage in Journalism Award from the International Women's Media Foundation for her reporting from Iraq during the American invasion. During the early days of the Iraq war, she was one of only a few non-embedded U.S. journalists who stayed in Baghdad and reported live

when the Americans invaded and Baghdad fell. She wrote *Naked in Baghdad: The Iraq War and the Aftermath as Seen by NPR's Correspondent Anne Garrels,* which mixed reportage with personal reflections and stories depicting her daily life of a war correspondent. Prior to joining NPR in 1988, Garrels reported for NBC and ABC News.

Gwen Ifill (1955–)

Ifill has worked as moderator and managing editor of *Washington Week* and senior correspondent for *The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer* since 1999. Ifill joined PBS after five years at NBC News as chief political and congressional correspondent. Before NBC, she was a journalist for *The New York Times, The Washington Post,* the *Baltimore Evening Sun,* and *Boston Herald American.* She got her first full-time journalism job at the Boston *Herald* after a staff member left a racially derogatory note for her when she was an intern. The *Herald*'s editors hired her in response to the note.

Jane Pauley (1950–)

Pauley is best known as the longtime morning host of NBC's *Today Show,* where she worked from 1976 to 1990, and as correspondent and host for *Dateline NBC* from 1992 to 2003. She left *Today* amid media rumors of ageism when she was replaced by the younger Deborah Norville. Pauley also anchored the weekend edition of *NBC Nightly News,* appeared as a regular substitute anchor on *NBC Nightly News,* and hosted *Time and Again,* a news program that delved into NBC's news archives to highlight a particular moment in American history.

Cokie Roberts (1943–)

Roberts, born Mary Martha Corinne Morrison Claiborne Boggs, has served as a political analyst for ABC News and a senior news analyst for National Public Radio (NPR). During her more than 40 years in broadcasting, Roberts covered Congress for NPR for more than ten years, co-anchored the ABC program *This Week* with Sam Donaldson from 1996 to 2002, served as a substitute host for ABC's *Nightline,* and authored four best-selling books including *Ladies of Liberty* in 2008.

Diane Sawyer (1945–)

Sawyer, award-winning reporter and co-anchor of ABC's *Good Morning America,* ranked 65 on *Forbes* magazine's list of "The 100 Most Powerful Women in the World" in 2008. Sawyer, who started out as a weather reporter in Kentucky, worked in U.S. President Richard Nixon's administration as part of the Nixon–Ford transition team and assisted Nixon with writing his memoirs. She worked for CBS as a reporter and co-anchor from 1978 to 1989 and became the first woman correspondent on *60 Minutes* in 1984. Sawyer left CBS to co-anchor *Primetime Live* in 1989. She began co-anchoring *Good Morning America* in 1999.

Carole Simpson (1940–)

Simpson, the first African American woman to anchor a major broadcast evening newscast, brought the news to American audiences as weekend anchor on ABC for 15 years from 1988 to 2003. During her career, she won every major broadcast award, and in 1992 she was named Journalist of the Year by the National Association of Black Journalists. She founded the International Women's Media Foundation.

Helen Sioussat (1902–95)

Sioussat was an early woman network news executive. She served as director of talks and public affairs for CBS from 1937 to 1958. Sioussat replaced famed broadcaster Edward R. Murrow in the role when he left it to cover World War II. She oversaw hundreds of broadcasts a year and created the first program to focus on talking about television.

Sigrid Schultz (1893–1980)

Schultz was the first woman radio foreign correspondent, and she made her mark with the Mutual Broadcasting System during World War II. In 1926, Schultz was named correspondent-in-chief in Central Europe for the *Chicago Tribune,* a position that is believed to have made her the highest ranking woman journalist in Europe at the time. She spoke three languages, including English and German. Because she was known as an anti-Nazi, she often had to leave Germany to file her stories.

Nina Totenberg (1944–)

Totenberg, National Public Radio's (NPR) legal affairs correspondent, has explained legal issues and Supreme Court rulings to Americans for decades. Her award-winning coverage has been lauded by media organizations and the American Bar Association. Totenberg, who joined NPR in 1975, gained national attention in 1991 with her stories about Oklahoma Law Professor Anita Hill's allegations of sexual harassment by then–Supreme Court justice nominee Clarence Thomas.

Barbara Walters (1929–)

Walters was the first woman to anchor a weekday U.S. network newscast and became known for her interviews with heads of states and celebrities. After more than a decade at the *Today* show on NBC, Walters headed to ABC in 1976 to co-host the nightly news. She faced criticism for the way she spoke, the questions she asked, and the money she made. After being released from the newscast within two years, she rebuilt her career with interviews with heads of states and celebrities. She became known for getting her interview subjects to talk about things they wouldn't talk about with other journalists. She also started *The View* in 1997, a weekday TV show that focuses on women's views of current events and issues.

Linda Wertheimer (1943–)

Wertheimer has reported stories on National Public Radio (NPR) for more than 30 years. She was the director of NPR's flagship news program *All Things Considered* when it debuted in 1971. From 1974 to 1989 the award-winning reporter covered national politics. She became one of the first women to anchor network coverage of a presidential convention and election night in 1976. Wertheimer hosted *All Things Considered* from 1989 to 2002 and then became NPR's first senior national correspondent.

Conclusion

Research indicated in 2002 that women were less likely than men to stay in journalism throughout their careers. Some reasons that women left the field included a desire for more time with their families; a need for a different, more flexible, or more lucrative career; and a feeling that they had hit a "glass ceiling," meaning they had gone as far as they could.

In 2006, women made up two-thirds of students graduating from American journalism and mass communication college programs, a fact that had not changed since the late 1970s. About the same percentage (68 percent) of master's degrees in the field were granted to women, along with 58 percent of doctoral degrees in 2006.

Yet women journalists, in the early twenty-first century, still had not yet reached true equality in newsrooms, particularly in the highest ranks of management and in prestige reporting positions. Surveys by organizations such as American Society of Newspaper Editors continued to show most high-ranking positions were still held by men in 2008.

While it was clear in 2008 that women had come a long way in journalism, it was also clear they still faced many obstacles on their journey into positions of power. For women in journalism, the fight to reach the top in equal numbers continues.

Marsha Ducey

See also Anchors, Television; Criticism of Journalism; Diversity: Employment; Muckrakers; Reporters, Radio; Reporters, Television; Women's Magazines

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Women's Magazines

The first American women's magazine, *The Lady's Magazine and Repository of Entertaining Knowledge,* appeared in Philadelphia in 1792. Between 1806 and 1849, women founded and edited 25 women's magazines, and before the Civil War, about 100 national and regional women's periodicals were published. Aimed at the elite, most were modeled on English magazines and focused on fashion, manners, and literature. *Godey's Lady's Book* (1830–98) is considered the first popular modern women's magazine. In the 1890s, Congress lowered postal rates, printing technology was revolutionized, and manufacturers sought outlets to advertise their mass-produced goods. Consequently, publishers dropped magazine prices, circulation skyrocketed, and middle-class homemakers replaced upper-class "ladies" as the magazines' readers.

Women's magazines have played an important historical role. At a time when few women attended college, they educated readers about a wide range of topics and offered correspondence classes and even scholarships. During the fight over the Equal Rights Amendment (1970–79), some women's magazines pushed for passage of the constitutional amendment. Magazines continue to keep women informed about developments in health, science, the environment, and the economy.

Today most magazine readers are women, and women's magazines are big business. Ownership is concentrated in the hands of a few publishers, for example, Advance Publications (Condé Nast Publications and Fairchild), Meredith Corporation, Hearst Corporation, Hachette Fillipachi Media, and Time Warner Company. There is also foreign ownership—Germany's Gruner + Jahr and Bauer Verlagsgruppe, France's Hachette Fillipachi, and Mexico's Editorial Televisa are examples. This trend goes two ways—U.S. women's magazines, such as *Cosmopolitan, Harper's Bazaar, Vogue,* and *Glamour,* have editions in other countries. Male editors and publishers have dominated many women's magazines for years. For example, *Redbook,* founded in 1903, didn't have its first woman editor until 1982. In recent decades, the number of female editors and publishers has increased dramatically.

Service Magazines and the Seven Sisters

Service magazines, which focus on the home and include helpful articles readers can use in their daily lives, dominate the women's category. Fashion and beauty magazines and periodicals that focus on smaller, specific audiences follow this group in readership and ad revenue.

The famous Seven Sisters, the nation's best-selling mass-market women's periodicals, are all service magazines. They include *Ladies Home Journal* (1883), *Good Housekeeping* (1885), *Redbook* (1903), *Better Homes and Gardens* (1924), *Family Circle* (1932), and *Woman's Day* (1937). These titles have dominated newsstand and subscription sales for generations. While their combined 1979 circulation of 45 million dropped to 26.5 million in 2007, they remain among the most popular U.S. magazines of any kind.

The one sister missing from the list above is *McCall's*. In 1873, tailor James McCall founded a magazine to promote his dressmaking patterns. Over time, *McCall's* developed into a large-format glossy and changed ownership several times before German publisher Gruner + Jahr bought it in 1994. G+J later teamed with talk-show host Rosie O'Donnell to overhaul *McCall's* image to attract younger readers. Renamed *Rosie,* it took over *McCall's* 4.2 million readers when it was launched in April 2001. Despite this strong start, O'Donnell quit in September 2002 over editorial differences, and the magazine ceased publication.

While *McCall's* was never resuscitated, the other sisters fared better. *Ladies Home Journal,* the eldest sister and one of the leading magazines of the twentieth century, was the highly successful product of a husband-and-wife team. Cyrus Curtis, the publisher, was on the cutting edge of changes taking place in the magazine industry during the late nineteenth century. For six years, his wife Louisa Knapp edited the magazine, which had grown out of a newspaper column she wrote. Her editorial mix of advice, household hints, inspirational articles, short stories, and serialized novels, combined with his promotion of the magazine, allowed its circulation to jump from 31,000 five months after it was founded in 1883 to more than 1 million ten years later. The *Journal,* still one of the country's most popular magazines, had a 2008 circulation of 3.8 million.

Circulation for *Good Housekeeping,* the second eldest sister, is even higher—4.7 million, as of 2008. Its current editorial mix of inspirational and personal stories and articles on the home, cooking, entertaining, style, children, and family has changed little since it was founded in 1885. *GH* went through several owners before William Randolph Hearst bought it in 1911. Because of its Good Housekeeping Research Institute (GHRI) and its famous Good Housekeeping Seal, *GH* has long been associated with consumer protection and quality. In 1900, the GHRI began rigorously testing products *GH* advertised. Manufacturers often bought advertising just to get the sought-after seal.

Redbook, with a 2008 circulation of 2.2 million, has had more incarnations than the other sisters since it was founded in 1903. Originally a short-story magazine for men and women, it became a general-interest magazine in the late 1920s. After World War II, it became a service magazine aimed at young adults. When Hearst bought it in 1982, fiction was de-emphasized and women (18–34) who juggled home and career became its audience.

Better Homes and Gardens was one of the country's largest magazines at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Because of its features on building and remodeling projects, male readers were a significant part of its 7.7 million circulation in 2008. In 1922, publisher Edwin Meredith founded *Fruit, Garden and Home,* which became *Better Homes and Gardens* in 1924. The fledgling magazine benefited from great timing: many middle-class Americans were buying, building, and remodeling homes and were interested in learning more about homes, landscaping, and gardening. Starting with a circulation of 150,000, it quickly garnered a mass audience, hitting 1 million by 1928. Today the magazine focuses on decorating, home improvement, recipes and food, gardening, crafts, family, and health.

Family Circle (1932; 3.9 million in 2008) and *Woman's Day* (1937; 3.9 million in 2008) began as grocery store giveaways during the Depression. *Family Circle* was a collaboration between Harry Evans, a *Life* editor, and Charles E. Merrill, founder of Merrill Lynch. At first it was sold to three grocery chains and featured articles on food, childcare, fashion, and beauty, as well as short stories and coverage of movies and radio. In 1945, it changed from a weekly to a monthly publication, and in 1946, it was first sold for five cents. By 1951, it was distributed at 14 grocery chains. *Woman's Day,* which was designed to make customers at A&P grocery stores buy more, carried content similar to *Family Circle*'s. It actually began a year before *FC* did, but its official starting date is 1937, shortly after the A&P chain opened its first supermarket in 1936. *WD* sold for two cents.

Newer Service Magazines

Woman's World (1981; 1.3 million in 2008) competes with *FC* and *WD* at grocery checkout counters. The weekly tabloid, published by Germany's Bauer Verlagsgruppe, runs short stories, profiles, service pieces, and weight-loss stories, hence its nickname—"Weight Loss World." Bauer also launched *First for Women* (1989; 1.3 million in 2008) as a competitor for the Seven Sisters. It is also distributed at grocery stores.

Martha Stewart Living (1990; 2 million in 2008), which focuses on cooking, entertaining, decorating, and gardening, grew out of Stewart's best-selling cookbooks. Two publishing companies turned down her idea for a guide to living well before Time Warner accepted it. Stewart's TV show came afterward. She gained control of her magazine in 1997, when she bought it and combined it with her other activities in Martha Stewart Living Omnimedia Inc.

Talk-show host Oprah Winfrey in partnership with the Hearst Corporation started *O, the Oprah Magazine* (2000; 2.3 million in 2008). With Winfrey's name and a blend of articles on traditional

women's fare and spiritual growth, the oversized *O* was off to an extraordinary start with newsstand sales alone of 1.6 million its first week. By February 2008, the newsstand average was down 25 percent to just under 837,000 from the second half of 2007. Some of its decline was blamed on disenchanted John McCain and Hillary Clinton supporters offended by Oprah Winfrey's outspoken support of Barack Obama in the 2008 presidential election. However, there was also an overall decline of over 11 percent in newsstand sales of all magazines during the same time period, according to the Audit Bureau of Circulations. This newsstand trend has been blamed on the recession and the price of gas, which discourages frequent trips to the grocery store. The following women's magazines have had declines: *Cosmopolitan* (6 percent), *Glamour* (18 percent), *Family Circle* (20 percent), *Women's Day* (22 percent), *Redbook* (33 percent), *Better Homes and Gardens* (39 percent), and *Ladies Home Journal* (40 percent).

Fashion Magazines

Fashion and beauty magazines, the second-largest grouping of women's magazines, have their critics, and their content is dissected in university classrooms across America. Nonetheless, they are an important part of the women's niche. Two of them—*Harper's Bazaar* and *Vogue*—have molded taste in fashion, entertainment, literature, art, and photography for more than a hundred years.

Book publisher Harper and Brothers founded *Harper's Bazaar* (1867; 700,000 in 2008). Originally aimed at middle- and upper-class women, it covered household affairs and fashion. Today it strictly covers fashion and beauty, emphasizing what's new and upcoming. Some of its editors, considered fashion icons, have helped advance the careers of talented photographers (Richard Avendon), designers (Christian Dior), and illustrators (Erté). Although this Hearst publication's circulation is small, ad revenue is high because of its affluent readership.

Vogue, Harper's longtime rival, led it in circulation (1.3 million) in 2008, although it was down 6 percent in the first half of 2008. When *Vogue* was founded in 1892, it was a society newspaper. After publisher Condé Nast bought it in 1910 and began transforming it into a limited-circulation magazine, its wealthy readership turned to it for news of high fashion and high society as well as coverage of art, culture, politics, and ideas.

Nast, who founded the Vogue Pattern Company in 1914, created the Hollywood Pattern Book during the Depression to provide young women with inexpensive patterns based on movie stars' clothes. Renamed *Glamour of Hollywood* in 1939, it was transformed into a hybrid fanzine/fashion magazine with a circulation of 200,000. Today *Glamour* (2.3 million in 2008) is aimed at young women interested in fashion, beauty, health, relationships, and careers.

Fashion designers, manufacturers, and buyers have long read *Women's Wear Daily,* Fairchild Publications' trade newspaper for fashion industry coverage, scoops, trends, and society gossip. *WWD*'s John Fairchild thought consumers would be interested in a magazine with a similar editorial mix, so he published his company's first magazine, *W* (1972). The oversized fashion/lifestyle periodical covers art, culture, and entertainment. Though it has never had a huge circulation (470,000 in 2008), its readers have median household incomes of $159,560 and can afford the couture it features, which in turn attracts high-end advertisers, rendering its modest circulation numbers largely moot.

In 1985, Hachette Filipacchi Media published an English-language version of the French fashion magazine *Elle* in America. Today *Elle* (meaning "she") has a 2008 circulation of 1.1 million and has 39 editions in 60 countries, making it the world's largest fashion magazine. Another French fashion import, *Marie Claire,* arrived in the United States in 1995. The Hearst Corporation is its franchisee. Its slogan—"more than a pretty face"—is reflected in content that keeps readers abreast of current affairs around the world. U.S. circulation in 2008 was 1 million; worldwide circulation was 21 million in 2007.

Three other start-ups in the 1990s included *Allure* (1991; 1 million in 2008), *InStyle* (1994; 1.7 million in 2008), and *More* (1998; 1.3 million in 2008). *Allure* focuses more on beauty than on fashion. In each issue, readers get celebrity beauty tips and expert advice. Time Inc.'s *InStyle,* a thick oversized magazine, covers celebrity lifestyles and teaches its readers simple ways to get the style and

look of their favorite celebrities. *More* filled a need for a magazine for women 40 and older. Published by Meredith, it covers health, career, money, and travel and uses models older than 40 in its fashion and beauty sections.

Condé Nast's *Lucky* (2000; 1.1 million in 2008), a shopping magazine, started a new trend—the magalog. Blurring the line between magazines and catalogs, it is based on Japanese shopping magazines, features little editorial content, and includes detailed listings of where to buy products it features.

In a Class of Their Own

Cosmopolitan (1886; 2.9 million in 2008) and *Ms.* (1972; 100,000 in 2008) magazines have some things in common. Neither fits the standard women's magazine stereotype, and both have contributed to the feminist movement in their own way. *Cosmopolitan* was transformed in 1965, when Helen Gurley Brown, author of the 1962 best-seller *Sex and the Single Girl,* became the magazine's first woman editor, despite having no editorial experience. The Hearst Corporation hired her to change *Cosmo*'s audience from housewives to younger career women. Many critics argue that in recent years *Cosmopolitan* has been reversing the accomplishments of the feminist movement, but when Brown first switched the magazine's focus to sex, a previously taboo topic, she freed women to talk openly about sex, including topics such as birth control and sexually transmitted diseases. Gloria Steinem and Patricia Carbine, editors and founders of *Ms.* magazine, are the flip side of the flamboyant Brown. Carbine, a publishing executive, and Steinem, a journalist who helped start *New York* magazine, worked with many colleagues to create a magazine that reflected the goals of the second woman's movement. Its first issue in July 1972 sold out in four days. *Ms.,* an influential voice for almost 40 years, has covered topics that were being ignored by the mainstream press. Some of the topics it ran that were not covered in the other women's magazines included date rape, black feminism, marriage contracts, passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, decriminalization of abortion, and welfare. It has struggled over the years but is still published.

The Future

Circulation numbers for most women's magazines dropped dramatically in the first half of 2008. Newsstand sales of *Good Housekeeping, Marie Clair, O, Glamour, Vogue,* and *Teen Vogue* tumbled by double-digit percentages. Still the six remaining Seven Sisters accounted for a combined 26,230,132 in all of 2008. This was down by about 300,000 from 2007. Many factors are blamed for circulation woes: the economic downturn that began in 2007; massive amounts of free content on the Internet, including digital magazines, blogs, and social networking websites, such as Facebook; and the myriad of news and entertainment options on cable television. Others blame women's magazines themselves, arguing that there are too many competing titles and that publishers expect unrealistic profits. Still others complain that content doesn't adequately reflect readers' changing lifestyles and concerns.

The future of women's magazines is uncertain. Some predictions are downright dire. In the magazine industry in general, paper prices and printing costs are increasing, bankruptcies are on the rise, CEOs are stepping down, ad sales are dipping, and more than 500 magazines went out of business in 2008. There is speculation that 50 percent of all magazines may go under or have their frequency scaled back. In the first part of 2009, Meredith, which publishes several women's titles, slashed 250 jobs. While it's not unusual for women's titles to come and go, new business models and ways of engaging readers are being sought. A switch to strictly online women's magazines is a possibility. However, many women have been resisting online versions of their favorite magazines for a variety of reasons—some complain about design and content and that the website is there solely to push the print magazine, not to bolster or supplement it. While women's magazines will probably be around for a while, they will increasingly have to justify their presence in the marketplace as they attempt to remain relevant in a new media environment in which free content is easily accessible and audiences are fractured.

Victoria Goff

See also British Magazines; Diversity: Content; Feminist News Media; Food Journalism; Lifestyle Journalism; Social Movements and Journalism; Women in Journalism

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Section I

Journalism, Media, and the Law

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Section I Introduction

Journalism is the most pervasive and contentious of professions. The reporting process pushes journalists to vigorously pursue, confront, or on occasion pick apart people and institutions on all levels. Then news stories are put out for public consumption and have an impact on every corner of society. By its very nature, journalism breeds broad scrutiny, strong reactions, and a legal tug-of-war mentality—the right of the public to know versus the outcry to control the aggressiveness of the press. This section recognizes the demand for journalism students, new hires, and veterans alike to know where their professional rights end and legal restrictions begin.

Journalism and media law is rooted in the Constitution and the First Amendment promise of a free press. It is an enormous area of the law with a long history and a penchant for growing ever more expansive each year. There has been a steady stream of federal and state legislation to address key issues in reporting that arise, and to mirror the ever-changing attitudes toward the role of journalism across the country. In more recent years, major technological innovations in news delivery and communications have added a massive collection of media rules and regulations as well. And the courts' interpretation of all these considerations has caused the body of law governing journalism and media to burgeon exponentially.

All the relevant documents in journalism and media law could easily fill several complete reference volumes. Such a compendium might be a boon to certain law students but far exceeds the day-to-day needs of most journalists. So this Journalism, Media, and the Law section focuses on a "representative sampling" of only the most important documents addressing the most essential issues. Subjects under consideration run from key constitutional amendments, national security concerns, and First Amendment issues—like danger speech, prior restraint, and libel—to privacy protection, public records access, confidential sources, copyright, and regulating electronic media. Each of these selected subjects then offers one to three government acts or landmark cases that greatly impact the way journalists of all stripes do their jobs.

The length of various laws and court decisions—often in the scores or even hundreds of pages—also factor into the way individual documents are treated here. The section adopts a "key documents" rather than full primary documents approach in the print version of Volume 5. This means a number of the legal documents have been edited down to make them more accessible without losing their original intent or import. For instance, most Supreme Court decisions stick to just the majority opinions with footnotes and summaries removed. Yet, in *Branzburg v. Hayes,* a rare landmark dissenting opinion is included with the majority opinion for the edification of the reader.

The introduction for each key document chosen usually begins with some perspective on the journalistic issue or aspect of the law at hand. Readers then get a sense of the case or piece of legislation in question and how it advances or dramatically changes the body of law on that subject. Ultimately, the introduction should also spell out how the document substantially affects a journalist's approach to a particular part of their work or mission. If studied and used correctly, certain documents can help embolden journalists in areas where the law is clearly on their side. And other documents can communicate the need for caution where the law clearly fails to support a journalistic practice or mindset.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

Constitutional Amendments

Bill of Rights (1791)

Introduction

The Bill of Rights, the first ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States, established a collection of basic human prerogatives on a federal level that mirrored many of the rights already guaranteed by individual states. The First Amendment—designed to protect freedom of speech and of the press, along with freedom of religion and the right to peaceable assembly—became the basis for many of the laws that govern the practice of journalism in the United States. The Fourth and Sixth Amendments, to a lesser degree, also influenced the legal guidelines for journalists.

The meaning of the First Amendment for journalists is largely based on the way the Supreme Court and more minor courts interpret the original intent of the framers of the Bill of Rights. Various justices over the years have embraced a number of different theories on just how freedom of speech and of the press should be defined. These theories have run the gamut from zero tolerance for government censorship of free speech or the press to claims that the language of the Constitution is fluid and leaves all protections under the First Amendment open to continual reinterpretation.

The question of what constitutes seditious behavior on the part of the press became one of the earliest and most consistently important challenges to the First Amendment. Over the years, especially in time of war or national emergency, people in power often equate criticism of the government and its elected officials with disloyalty. Prior restraint, another key First Amendment issue, deals with censorship of the press and what it can cover before publication. Most legal experts agree that the First Amendment was meant as a protection against the government predetermining what the public should be allowed to know or discuss. First Amendment issues like "hate speech"—the use of abusive or derisive language to describe people in terms of race, religion, or gender—deal more with the attempt to set tolerable limits for the press rather than absolutes.

The Sixth Amendment demands that a man accused of a crime be "confronted with witnesses against him" and that he needs to "have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor." This gives the Sixth Amendment a direct impact on the journalist's ability to protect "anonymous sources" and to honor "confidentiality agreements" in criminal cases. The Sixth Amendment also provides for a "public trial" and strives to guarantee a fair trial with an "impartial jury." This can put the Sixth Amendment in direct conflict with the First Amendment when judges worry that press coverage of witnesses or criminal suspects might prejudice the public and, in turn, the jury.

The Fourth Amendment protects the right of people to be "secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects" in respect to "unreasonable searches or seizures" and stipulates that no warrants be issued without "probable cause." There is an argument that the Fourth Amendment can be used to protect the press from unwarranted searches of newsrooms or workplaces where nobody accused of a crime—or involved in a crime—works. This means the Fourth Amendment can be used to argue against the seizure of reporter's notes, photographs, or other relevant news gathering material without "probable cause."

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

Constitution of the United States: Bill of Rights

I—Freedom of Speech, Press, Religion and Petition

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

II—Right to keep and bear arms

A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

III—Conditions for quarters of soldiers

No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

IV—Right of search and seizure regulated

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

V—Provisions concerning prosecution

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

VI—Right to a speedy trial, witnesses, etc.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

VII—Right to a trial by jury

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reexamined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

VIII—Excessive bail, cruel punishment

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

IX—Rule of construction of Constitution

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

X—Rights of the States under Constitution

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Bill of Rights. United States Constitution Amendments 1–10, http://www.gpoaccess.gov/constitution/browse2002.html#annotations (accessed July 2, 2008).

Antigovernment Issues and National Security

The Alien and Sedition Acts (July 14, 1798)

Introduction

Four separate 1798 laws passed by Congress in rapid succession—euphemistically titled The Naturalization Act, The Alien Act, The Alien Enemies Act, and The Sedition Act—comprise The Alien and Sedition Acts. The first three laws allow the president to lengthen residence requirements for citizenship and to remove or imprison aliens deemed dangerous to the country, especially in time of war. The Sedition Act—in particular Section 2—attempts to carry over an ominous British practice of punishing editors, journalists, and others who write and utter views that defame or breed contempt for the government, or who stir up rebellious behavior in the United States.

The Sedition Act clearly targeted pro–Thomas Jefferson publications that criticized the administration of President John Adams. More than a dozen prosecutions were mounted under this law and a number led to the conviction of prominent newspaper publishers. The attempt to silence the press backfired on Adams and apparently contributed to his losing bid for re-election in 1800. The Sedition Act was allowed to expire in 1801.

The Sedition Act was an early example of laws that serve to have a "chilling effect" on certain kinds of writing, speech or political activity. These laws look to punish what should be acceptable behavior by journalists and others after the fact, and then they prompt people to hesitate to write or speak the next time. Other versions of these laws—the 1918 Sedition Act, the Smith Act of 1940, and the USA Patriot Act passed in 2001—coincide with government anxiety over "seditious" activities produced by World War I, the cold war, and the threat of terrorism after the attacks on September 11, respectively.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

Fifth Congress of the United States:

At the Second Session,

Begun and help at the city of Philadelphia, in the state of Pennsylvania, on Monday, the thirteenth of November, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven.

An Act Concerning Aliens.

SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That it shall be lawful for the President of the United States at any time during the continuance of this act, to order all such aliens as he shall judge dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, or shall have reasonable grounds to suspect are concerned in any treasonable or secret machinations against the government thereof, to depart out of the territory of the United States, within such time as shall be expressed in such order, which order shall be served on such alien by delivering him a copy thereof, or leaving the same at

his usual abode, and returned to the office of the Secretary of State, by the marshal or other person to whom the same shall be directed. And in case any alien, so ordered to depart, shall be found at large within the United States after the time limited in such order for his departure, and not having obtained a license from the President to reside therein, or having obtained such license shall not have conformed thereto, every such alien shall, on conviction thereof, be imprisoned for a term not exceeding three years, and shall never after be admitted to become a citizen of the United States. Provided always, and be it further enacted, that if any alien so ordered to depart shall prove to the satisfaction of the President, by evidence to be taken before such person or persons as the President shall direct, who are for that purpose hereby authorized to administer oaths, that no injury or danger to the United States will arise from suffering such alien to reside therein, the President may grant a license to such alien to remain within the United States for such time as he shall judge proper, and at such place as he may designate. And the President may also require of such alien to enter into a bond to the United States, in such penal sum as he may direct, with one or more sufficient sureties to the satisfaction of the person authorized by the President to take the same, conditioned for the good behavior of such alien during his residence in the United States, and not violating his license, which license the President may revoke, whenever he shall think proper.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, whenever he may deem it necessary (for the public safety, to order to be removed out of the territory thereof, any alien who may or shall be in prison in pursuance of this act; and to cause to be arrested and sent out of the United States such of those aliens as shall have been ordered to depart therefrom and shall not have obtained a license as aforesaid, in all cases where, in the opinion of the President, the public safety requires a speedy removal. And if any alien so removed or sent out of the United States by the President shall voluntarily return thereto, unless by permission of the President of the United States, such alien on conviction thereof, shall be imprisoned so long as, in the opinion of the President, the public safety may require.

SEC. 3. And be it further enacted, That every master or commander of any ship or vessel which shall come into any port of the United States after the first day of July next, shall immediately on his arrival make report in writing to the collector or other chief officer of the customs of such port, of all aliens, if any, on board his vessel, specifying their names, age, the place of nativity, the country from which they shall have come, the nation to which they belong and owe allegiance, their occupation and a description of their persons, as far as he shall be informed thereof, and on failure, every such master and commander shall forfeit and pay three hundred dollars, for the payment whereof on default of such master or commander, such vessel shall also be holden, and may by such collector or other officer of the customs be detained. And it shall be the duty of such collector or other officer of the customs, forthwith to transmit to the office of the department of state true copies of all such returns.

SEC. 4. And be it further enacted, That the circuit and district courts of the United States, shall respectively have cognizance of all crimes and offences against this act. And all marshals and other officers of the United States are required to execute all precepts and orders of the President of the United States issued in pursuance or by virtue of this act.

SEC. 5. And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for any alien who may be ordered to be removed from the United States, by virtue of this act, to take with him such part of his goods, chattels, or other property, as he may find convenient; and all property left in the United States by any alien, who may be removed, as aforesaid, shall be, and remain subject to his order and disposal, in the same manner as if this act had not been passed.

SEC. 6. And be it further enacted, That this act shall continue and be in force for and during the term of two years from the passing thereof.

Jonathan Dayton, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

TH. Jefferson, Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate.

I Certify that this Act did originate in the Sentate.

Attest, Sam. A. Otis, Secretary

APPROVED, June 25, 1798.

John Adams

President of the United States.

Transcript of Alien and Sedition Acts (1798). 5th Cong. 2d sess. November 13, 1797. http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=16&page=transcript (accessed December 17, 2007).

An Act Respecting Alien Enemies

SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That whenever there shall be a declared war between the United States and any foreign nation or government, or any invasion or predatory incursion shall be perpetrated, attempted, or threatened against the territory of the United States, by any foreign nation or government, and the President of the United States shall make public proclamation of the event, all natives, citizens, denizens, or subjects of the hostile nation or government, being males of the age of fourteen years and upwards, who shall be within the United States, and not actually naturalized, shall be liable to be apprehended, restrained, secured and removed, as alien enemies. And the President of the United States shall be, and he is hereby authorized, in any event, as aforesaid, by his proclamation thereof, or other public act, to direct the conduct to be observed, on the part of the United States, towards the aliens who shall become liable, as aforesaid; the manner and degree of the restraint to which they shall be subject, and in what cases, and upon what security their residence shall be permitted, and to provide for the removal of those, who, not being permitted to reside within the United States, shall refuse or neglect to depart therefrom; and to establish any other regulations which shall be found necessary in the premises and for the public safety: Provided, that aliens resident within the United States, who shall become liable as enemies, in the manner aforesaid, and who shall not be chargeable with actual hostility, or other crime against the public safety, shall be allowed, for the recovery, disposal, and removal of their goods and effects, and for their departure, the full time which is, or shall be stipulated by any treaty, where any shall have been between the United States, and the hostile nation or government, of which they shall be natives, citizens, denizens or subjects: and where no such treaty shall have existed, the President of the United States may ascertain and declare such reasonable time as may be consistent with the public safety, and according to the dictates of humanity and national hospitality.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That after any proclamation shall be made as aforesaid, it shall be the duty of the several courts of the United States, and of each state, having criminal jurisdiction, and of the several judges and justices of the courts of the United States, and they shall be, and are hereby respectively, authorized upon complaint, against any alien or alien enemies, as aforesaid, who shall be resident and at large within such jurisdiction or district, to the danger of the public peace or safety, and contrary to the tenor or intent of such proclamation, or other regulations which the President of the United States shall and may establish in the premises, to cause such alien or aliens to be duly apprehended and convened before such court, judge or justice; and after a full examination and hearing on such complaint. and sufficient cause therefor appearing, shall and may order such alien or aliens to be removed out of the territory of the United States, or to give sureties of their good behaviour, or to be otherwise restrained, conformably to the proclamation or regulations which shall and may be established as aforesaid, and may imprison, or otherwise secure such alien or aliens, until the order which shall and may be made, as aforesaid, shall be performed.

SEC. 3. And be it further enacted, That it shall be the duty of the marshal of the district in which any alien enemy shall be apprehended, who by the President of the United States, or by order of any court, judge or justice, as aforesaid, shall be required to depart, and to be removed, as aforesaid, to provide therefor, and to execute such order, by himself or his deputy, or other discreet person or persons to be employed by him, by causing a removal of such alien out of the territory of the United States; and for such removal the marshal shall have the warrant of the President of the United States, or of the court, judge or justice ordering the same, as the case may be.

APPROVED, July 6, 1798.

Alien and Sedition Acts 1798. A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774–1875. (Stats at Large of USA, 5th Cong., 2d. sess.) http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsl&fileName=001/llsl001.db&recNum=689 (accessed December 18, 2007).

Fifth Congress of the United States:

At the Second Session,

Begun and help at the city of Philadelphia, in the state of Pennsylvania, on Monday, the thirteenth of November, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven.

An Act in Addition to the Act, Entitled "An Act for the Punishment of Certain Crimes Against the United States."

SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That if any persons shall unlawfully combine or conspire together, with intent to oppose any measure or measures of the government of the United States, which are or shall be directed by proper authority, or to impede the operation of any law of the United States, or to intimidate or prevent any person holding a place or office in or under the government of the United States, from undertaking, performing or executing his trust or duty, and if any person or persons, with intent as aforesaid, shall counsel, advise or attempt to procure any insurrection, riot, unlawful assembly, or combination, whether such conspiracy, threatening, counsel, advice, or attempt shall have the proposed effect or not, he or they shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and on conviction, before any court of the United States having jurisdiction thereof, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, and by imprisonment during a term not less than six months nor exceeding five years; and further, at the discretion of the court may be holden to find sureties for his good behaviour in such sum, and for such time, as the said court may direct.

SEC. 2. And be it farther enacted, That if any person shall write, print, utter or publish, or shall cause or procure to be written, printed, uttered or published, or shall knowingly and willingly assist or aid in writing, printing, uttering or publishing any false, scandalous and malicious writing or writings against the government of the United States, or either house of the Congress of the United States, or the President of the United States, with intent to defame the said government, or either house of the said Congress, or the said President, or to bring them, or either of them, into contempt or disrepute; or to excite against them, or either or any of them, the hatred of the good people of the United States, or to stir up sedition within the United States, or to excite any unlawful combinations therein, for opposing or resisting any law of the United States, or any act of the President of the United States, done in pursuance of any such law, or of the powers in him vested by the constitution of the United States, or to resist, oppose, or defeat any such law or act, or to aid, encourage or abet any hostile designs of any foreign nation against United States, their people or government, then such person, being thereof convicted before any court of the United States having jurisdiction thereof, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars, and by imprisonment not exceeding two years.

SEC. 3. And be it further enacted and declared, That if any person shall be prosecuted under this act, for the writing or publishing any libel aforesaid, it shall be lawful for the defendant, upon the trial of the cause, to give in evidence in his defence, the truth of the matter contained in publication charged as a libel. And the jury who shall try the cause, shall have a right to determine the law and the fact, under the direction of the court, as in other cases.

SEC. 4. And be it further enacted, That this act shall continue and be in force until the third day of March, one thousand eight hundred and one, and no longer: Provided, that the expiration of the act shall not prevent or defeat a prosecution and punishment of any offence against the law, during the time it shall be in force.

Jonathan Dayton, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Theodore Sedgwick, President of the Sentate pro tempore.

I Certify that this Act did originate in the Sentate.
Attest, Sam. A. Otis, Secretary

APPROVED, July 14, 1798
John Adams
President of the United States.

Alien and Sedition Acts 1798. A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774–1875. (Stats at Large of USA, 5th Cong., 2d. sess.) http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsl&fileName=001/llsl001.db&recNum=689 (accessed December 18, 2007).

A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774–1875 Statutes at Large, 5th Congress, 2nd Session

CHAP. LIV.—An Act supplementary to and to amend the act, inituled [sic] "An act to establish a uniform rule of naturalization; and to repeal the act heretofore passed on that subject."

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That no alien shall be admitted to become a citizen of the United States, or of any state unless in the manner prescribed by the act intituled [sic] "An act to establish an uniform rule of naturalization; and to repeal the act heretofore passed on that subject," he shall have declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States, five years, at least, before his admission, and shall, at the time of his application to be admitted, declare and prove, to the satisfaction of the court having jurisdiction in the case, that he has resided within the United States fourteen years, at least, and within the state or territory where, or for which such court is at the time held, five years, at least, besides conforming to the other declarations, renunciations and proofs, by the said act required, any thing therein to the contrary hereof notwithstanding: *Provided*, that any alien, who was residing within the limits, and under the jurisdiction of the United States, before the twenty-ninth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and ninety five, may, within one year after the passing of this act—and any alien who shall have made the declaration of his intention to become a citizen of the United States, in conformity to the provisions of the act, intituled [sic] "An act to establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and to repeal the act heretofore passed on that subject," may, within four years after having made the declaration aforesaid, be admitted to become a citizen, in the manner prescribed by the said act, upon his making proof that he has resided five years, at least, within the limits, and under the jurisdiction of the United States: *And provided also*, that no alien, who shall be a native, citizen, denizen or subject of any nation or state with whom the United States shall be at war, at the time of his application, shall be then admitted to become a citizen of the United States.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That it shall be the duty of the clerk, or other recording officer of the court before whom a declaration has been, or shall be made, by any alien, of his intention to become a citizen of the United States, to certify and transmit to the office of the Secretary of State of the United States, to be there filed and recorded, an abstract of such declaration, in which, when hereafter made, shall be a suitable description of the name, age, nation, residence and occupation, for the time being, of the alien; such certificate to be made in all cases, where the declaration has been or shall be made, before the passing of this act, within three months thereafter; and in all other cases, within two months after the declaration shall be received by the court. And in all cases hereafter arising, there shall be paid to the clerk, or recording officer as aforesaid, to defray the expense of such abstract and certificate, a fee of two dollars; and the clerk or officer to whom such fee shall be paid or tendered, who shall refuse or neglect to make and certify an abstract, as aforesaid, shall forfeit and pay the sum of ten dollars.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted,* That in all cases of naturalization heretofore permitted or which shall be permitted, under the laws of the United States, a certificate shall be made to, and filed in the office of the Secretary of State, containing a copy of the record respecting the alien, and the decree or order of admission by the court before whom the proceedings thereto have been, or shall be had: And it shall be the duty of the clerk or other recording officer of such court, to make and transmit such certificate, in all cases which have already occurred, within three months after the passing of this act; and in all future cases, within two months from and after the naturalization of an alien shall be granted by any court competent thereto. And in all future cases, there shall be paid to such clerk or recording officer the sum of two dollars, as a fee for such certificate, before the naturalization prayed for, shall be allowed. And the clerk or recording officer, whose duty it shall be, to make and transmit the certificate aforesaid, who shall be convicted of a willful neglect therein, shall forfeit and pay the sum of ten dollars, for each and every offence.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted,* That all white persons, aliens, (accredited foreign ministers, consuls, or agents, their families and domestics,

excepted) who, after the passing of this act, shall continue to reside, or who shall arrive, or come to reside in any port or place within the territory of the United States, shall be reported, if free, and of the age of twenty-one years, by themselves, or being under the age of twenty-one years, or holden in service, by their parent, guardian, master or mistress in whose care they shall be, to the clerk of the district court of the district, if living within ten miles of the port or place, in which their residence or arrival shall be, and otherwise, to the collector of such port or place, or some officer or other person there, or nearest thereto, who shall be authorized by the President of the United States, to register aliens: And report, as aforesaid, shall be made in all cases of residence, within six months from and after the passing of this act, and in all after cases, within forty-eight hours after the first arrival or coming into the territory of the United States, and shall ascertain the sex, place of birth, age, nation, place of allegiance or citizenship, conditions or occupation, and place of actual or intended residence within the United States, of the alien or aliens reported, and by whom the report is made. And it shall be the duty of the clerk, or other officer, or person authorized, who shall receive such report, to record the same in a book to be kept for that purpose, and to grant to the person making the report, and to each individual concerned therein, whenever required, a certificate of such report and registry; and whenever such report and registry shall be made to, and by any officer or person authorized, as aforesaid, other than the clerk of the district court, it shall be the duty of such officer, or other person, to certify and transmit, within three months thereafter, a transcript of such registry, to the said clerk of the district court of the district in which the same shall happen; who shall file the same in his office, and shall enter and transcribe the same in a book to be kept by him for that purpose. And the clerk, officer or other person authorized to register aliens, shall be entitled to receive, for each report and registry of one individual or family of individuals, the sum of fifty cents, and for every certificate of a report and registry the sum of fifty cents, to be paid by the person making or requiring the same, respectively. And the clerk of the district court, to whom a return of the registry of any alien, shall have been made, as aforesaid, and the successor of such clerk, and of any other officer or person authorized to register aliens, who shall hold any former registry, shall and may grant certificates thereof, to the same effect as the original register might do. And the clerk of each district court shall, during one year from the passing of this act, make monthly returns to the department of State, of all aliens registered and returned, as aforesaid, in his office.

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted,* That every alien who shall continue to reside, or who shall arrive, as aforesaid, of whom a report is required as aforesaid, who shall refuse or neglect to make such report, and to receive a certificate thereof, shall forfeit and pay the sum of two dollars; and any justice of the peace, or other civil magistrate, who has authority to require surety of the peace, shall and may, on complaint to him made thereof, cause such alien to be brought before him, there to give surety of the peace and good behaviour during his residence within the United States, or for such term as the justice or other magistrate shall deem reasonable, and until a report and registry of such alien shall be made, and a certificate thereof, received as aforesaid; and in failure of such surety, such alien shall and may be committed to the common gaol [sic], and shall be there held, until the order which the justice or magistrate shall and may reasonably make, in the premises, shall be performed. And every person, whether alien, or other, having the care of any alien or aliens, under the age of twenty-one years, or of any white alien holden in service, who shall refuse and neglect to make report thereof, as aforesaid, shall forfeit the sum of two dollars, for each and every such minor or servant, monthly, and every month, until a report and registry, and a certificate thereof, shall be had, as aforesaid.

SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted,* That in respect to every alien, who shall come to reside within the United States after the passing of this act, the time of the registry of such alien shall be taken to be the time when the term of residence within the limits, and under the jurisdiction of the United States, shall have commenced, in case of an application by such alien, to be admitted a citizen of the United States; and a certificate of such registry shall be required, in proof of the term of

residence, by the court to whom such application shall may be made.

SEC. 7. *And be it further enacted,* That all and singular the penalties established by this act, shall and may be recovered in the name, and to the use of any person, who will inform and sue for the same, before any just, justice, or court, having jurisdiction in such case, and to the amount of such penalty, respectively.

APPROVED, June 18, 1798.

Alien and Sedition Acts 1798. *A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774–1875*. (Stats at Large of USA , 5th Cong., 2d. sess.) http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsl&fileName=001/llsl001.db&recNum=689 (accessed December 18, 2007).

Clear and Present Danger Speech

Brandenburg v. Ohio *(1969)*

Introduction

The judicial question of exactly when speech becomes actionable or seditious, and exceeds the protection of the First Amendment, has plagued American courts and journalists from the nation's inception. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, in a 1919 unanimous Supreme Court decision for *Schenck v. United States*, argued that governments were obligated to prohibit speech that posed "a clear and present danger" to the country. However, the tests for when speech becomes threatening enough to constitute a clear and present danger remained inconsistent for 50 years until the decision in *Brandenburg v. Ohio* created a distinct measuring stick.

The *Brandenburg* Test, or Incitement Test, stipulates that advocating violent behavior as an abstract concept or philosophy remains protected by the First Amendment. Yet the decision noted that speech that clearly "intends" to incite "imminent" violence or illicit actions, and is "likely to incite or produce such actions," loses that protection. As a result, the *Brandenburg* Test demands that the time span between advocating for violence or illegal actions and the expectation of the action occurring must be short, and there should be a strong chance the action will take place.

Clarence Brandenburg, a Ku Klux Klan leader, invited a television reporter and cameraman to film a rally where hooded people carried guns, burned a cross and speeches were made. He was filmed making offensive racial remarks and qualified threats against the President, Congress and the Supreme Court that included statements like "it's possible that there might have to be some revengeance [sic] taken." Brandenburg was convicted of breaking an Ohio sedition law, but the Supreme Court's *per curiam* opinion surmised that a state statute that fails to meet the incitement standards "intrudes upon the freedom guaranteed by the First and Fourteenth Amendments." The *Brandenburg* Test can also likely serve as a buffer for journalists speculating about certain violent or illegal actions.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

U.S. Supreme Court
BRANDENBURG v. OHIO, 395 U.S. 444
(1969) 395 U.S. 444

BRANDENBURG v. OHIO.

APPEAL FROM THE SUPREME COURT OF OHIO.

No. 492.

Argued February 27, 1969.

Decided June 9, 1969.

PER CURIAM.

The appellant, a leader of a Ku Klux Klan group, was convicted under the Ohio Criminal Syndicalism statute for "advocat[ing] . . . the duty, necessity, or propriety [395 U.S. 444, 445] of crime, sabotage, violence, or unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform" and for "voluntarily assembl[ing] with any society, group, or assemblage of persons formed to teach or advocate the doctrines of criminal syndicalism." Ohio Rev. Code Ann. §2923.13. He was fined $1,000 and sentenced to one to 10 years' imprisonment. The appellant

challenged the constitutionality of the criminal syndicalism statute under the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution, but the intermediate appellate court of Ohio affirmed his conviction without opinion. The Supreme Court of Ohio dismissed his appeal, sua sponte, "for the reason that no substantial constitutional question exists herein." It did not file an opinion or explain its conclusions. Appeal was taken to this Court, and we noted probable jurisdiction. 393 U.S. 948 (1968). We reverse.

The record shows that a man, identified at trial as the appellant, telephoned an announcer-reporter on the staff of a Cincinnati television station and invited him to come to a Ku Klux Klan "rally" to be held at a farm in Hamilton County. With the cooperation of the organizers, the reporter and a cameraman attended the meeting and filmed the events. Portions of the films were later broadcast on the local station and on a national network.

The prosecution's case rested on the films and on testimony identifying the appellant as the person who communicated with the reporter and who spoke at the rally. The State also introduced into evidence several articles appearing in the film, including a pistol, a rifle, a shotgun, ammunition, a Bible, and a red hood worn by the speaker in the films.

One film showed 12 hooded figures, some of whom carried firearms. They were gathered around a large wooden cross, which they burned. No one was present [395 U.S. 444, 446] other than the participants and the newsmen who made the film. Most of the words uttered during the scene were incomprehensible when the film was projected, but scattered phrases could be understood that were derogatory of Negroes and, in one instance, of Jews. Another scene on the same film showed the appellant, in Klan regalia, making a speech. The speech, in full, was as follows:

> "This is an organizers' meeting. We have had quite a few members here today which are—we have hundreds, hundreds of members throughout the State of Ohio. I can quote from a newspaper clipping from the Columbus, Ohio Dispatch, five weeks ago Sunday morning. The Klan has more members in the State of Ohio than does any other organization. We're not a revengent organization, but if our President, our Congress, our Supreme Court, continues to suppress the white, Caucasian race, it's possible that there might have to be some revengeance taken.
>
> "We are marching on Congress July the Fourth, four hundred thousand strong. From there we are dividing into two groups, one group to march on St. Augustine, Florida, the other group to march into Mississippi. Thank you." [395 U.S. 444, 447]

The second film showed six hooded figures one of whom, later identified as the appellant, repeated a speech very similar to that recorded on the first film. The reference to the possibility of "revengeance" was omitted, and one sentence was added: "Personally, I believe the nigger should be returned to Africa, the Jew returned to Israel." Though some of the figures in the films carried weapons, the speaker did not.

The Ohio Criminal Syndicalism Statute was enacted in 1919. From 1917 to 1920, identical or quite similar laws were adopted by 20 States and two territories. E. Dowell, A History of Criminal Syndicalism Legislation in the United States 21 (1939). In 1927, this Court sustained the constitutionality of California's Criminal Syndicalism Act, Cal. Penal Code 11400-11402, the text of which is quite similar to that of the laws of Ohio. Whitney v. California, 274 U.S. 357 (1927). The Court upheld the statute on the ground that, without more, "advocating" violent means to effect political and economic change involves such danger to the security of the State that the State may outlaw it. Cf. Fiske v. Kansas, 274 U.S. 380 (1927). But Whitney has been thoroughly discredited by later decisions. See Dennis v. United States, 341 U.S. 494, at 507 (1951). These later decisions have fashioned the principle that the constitutional guarantees of free speech and free press do not permit a State to forbid or proscribe advocacy of the use of force or of law violation except where such advocacy is directed to inciting or producing imminent lawless action and is likely to incite or produce such action. As we [395 U.S. 444, 448] said in Noto v. United States, 367 U.S. 290, 297-298 (1961), "the mere abstract teaching . . . of the moral propriety or even moral necessity for a resort to force and violence, is not the same as preparing a group for violent action and steeling it to such action." See also Herndon v. Lowry, 301 U.S. 242, 259-261 (1937); Bond v. Floyd, 385

U.S. 116, 134 (1966). A statute which fails to draw this distinction impermissibly intrudes upon the freedoms guaranteed by the First and Fourteenth Amendments. It sweeps within its condemnation speech which our Constitution has immunized from governmental control. Cf. Yates v. United States, 354 U.S. 298 (1957); De Jonge v. Oregon, 299 U.S. 353 (1937); Stromberg v. California, 283 U.S. 359 (1931). See also United States v. Robel, 389 U.S. 258 (1967); Keyishian v. Board of Regents, 385 U.S. 589 (1967); Elfbrandt v. Russell, 384 U.S. 11 (1966); Aptheker v. Secretary of State, 378 U.S. 500 (1964); Baggett v. Bullitt, 377 U.S. 360 (1964).

Measured by this test, Ohio's Criminal Syndicalism Act cannot be sustained. The Act punishes persons who "advocate or teach the duty, necessity, or propriety" of violence "as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform"; or who publish or circulate or display any book or paper containing such advocacy; or who "justify" the commission of violent acts "with intent to exemplify, spread or advocate the propriety of the doctrines of criminal syndicalism"; or who "voluntarily assemble" with a group formed "to teach or advocate the doctrines of criminal syndicalism." Neither the indictment nor the trial judge's instructions to the jury in any way refined the statute's bald definition of the crime [395 U.S. 444, 449] in terms of mere advocacy not distinguished from incitement to imminent lawless action.

Accordingly, we are here confronted with a statute which, by its own words and as applied, purports to punish mere advocacy and to forbid, on pain of criminal punishment, assembly with others merely to advocate the described type of action. Such a statute falls within the condemnation of the First and Fourteenth Amendments. The contrary teaching of Whitney v. California, supra, cannot be supported, and that decision is therefore overruled.

Reversed.

Brandenburg v. Ohio, 395 U.S. 444 (1969).

Prior Restraint

Near v. Minnesota *(1931)*

Introduction

The Supreme Court has determined over the years that a free press cannot function when prior restraint is tolerated. In essence, prior restraint is in place when either government approval must be given before news can be published and ideas spoken—or when the dissemination of certain ideas or information gets stopped by the government altogether. Prior restraint has come to be seen as the most egregious form of media censorship because it allows government to keep news from the court of public opinion.

The 1931 Supreme Court decision in *Near v. Minnesota* set the modern standards for challenging the constitutionality of prior restraint. Jay Near and his partner published a weekly newspaper that vehemently attacked government officials in Minneapolis for not stopping the illegal actions of Jewish gangsters around the city. The paper's anti-Semitic articles also repeatedly charged that just about every gangster in Minneapolis was a Jew. City officials in their case against Near invoked a state nuisance law that allowed local courts to issue an injunction to halt publications that had printed malicious, scandalous or defamatory copy, unless the publisher could prove the claims true and well intended.

In a 5–4 decision, the Supreme Court found the Minnesota statute unconstitutional primarily because it permitted courts to totally preclude the publishing of news or criticism of public officials rather than allowing them or others to sue for libel after the material appeared in print. The Court essentially ruled that one of the main purposes of the First Amendment was to prevent prior restraint of publications and speech. Chief Justice Charles Evan Hughes in his opinion for the Court stipulated however that prior restraint was not necessarily applicable in all cases. Hughes wrote that prior restraint could be acceptable to stop the publishing of obscene pieces, material that incited violence or the overthrow of the government by force, and words that obstructed recruitment by the military or gave away vital information about the troops during a war.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

U.S. Supreme Court
***Near v. State of Minnesota Ex Rel. Olson*, 283 U.S. 697 (1931)**

No. 91
Argued January 30, 1930.
Decided June 1, 1931.

Mr. Chief Justice HUGHES delivered the opinion of the Court.

Chapter 285 of the Session Laws of Minnesota for the year 1925 provides for the abatement, as a public nuisance, of a 'malicious, scandalous and defamatory newspaper [283 U.S. 697, 702], magazine or other periodical.' Section 1 of the act is as follows:

> Section 1. Any person who, as an individual, or as a member or employee of a firm, or association or organization, or as an officer, director, member or employee of a corporation, shall be engaged in the business of regularly or customarily producing, publishing or circulating, having in possession, selling or giving away.
>
> '(a) an obscene, lewd and lascivious newspaper, magazine, or other periodical, or

> '(b) a malicious, scandalous and defamatory newspaper, magazine or other periodical,
>
> -is guilty of a nuisance, and all persons guilty of such nuisance may be enjoined, as hereinafter provided.
>
> 'Participation in such business shall constitute a commission of such nuisance and render the participant liable and subject to the proceedings, orders and judgments provided for in this Act. Ownership, in whole or in part, directly or indirectly, of any such periodical, or of any stock of interest in any corporation or organization which owns the same in whole or in part, or which publishes the same, shall constitute such participation.
>
> 'In actions brought under (b) above, there shall be available the defense that the truth was published with good motives and for justifiable ends and in such actions the plaintiff shall not have the right to report (sic) to issues or editions or periodicals taking place more than three months before the commencement of the action.'

Section 2 provides that, whenever any such nuisance is committed or exists, the county attorney of any county where any such periodical is published or circulated, or, in case of his failure or refusal to proceed upon written request in good faith of a reputable citizen, the Attorney General, or, upon like failure or refusal of the latter, any citizen of the county, may maintain an action in the district court of the county in the name of the state to enjoin [283 U.S. 697, 703] perpetually the persons committing or maintaining any such nuisance from further committing or maintaining it. Upon such evidence as the court shall deem sufficient, a temporary injunction may be granted. The defendants have the right to plead by demurrer or answer, and the plaintiff may demur or reply as in other cases.

The action, by section 3, is to be 'governed by the practice and procedure applicable to civil actions for injunctions,' and after trial the court may enter judgment permanently enjoining the defendants found guilty of violating the act from continuing the violation, and, 'in and by such judgment, such nuisance may be wholly abated.' The court is empowered, as in other cases of contempt, to punish disobedience to a temporary or permanent injunction by fine of not more than $1,000 or by imprisonment in the county jail for not more than twelve months.

Under this statute (section 1, clause b), the county attorney of Hennepin county brought this action to enjoin the publication of what was described as a 'malicious, scandalous and defamatory newspaper, magazine or other periodical,' known as The Saturday Press. published by the defendants in the city of Minneapolis. The complaint alleged that the defendants, on September 24, 1927, and on eight subsequent dates in October and November, 1927, published and circulated editions of that periodical which were 'largely devoted to malicious, scandalous and defamatory articles' concerning Charles G. Davis, Frank W. Brunskill, the Minneapolis Tribune, the Minneapolis Journal, Melvin C. Passolt, George E. Leach, the Jewish Race, the members of the grand jury of Hennepin county impaneled in November, 1927, and then holding office, and other persons, as more fully appeared in exhibits annexed to the complaint, consisting of copies of the articles described and constituting 327 pages of the record. While the complaint did not so allege, it [283 U.S. 697, 704] appears from the briefs of both parties that Charles G. Davis was a special law enforcement officer employed by a civic organization, that George E. Leach was mayor of Minneapolis, that Frank W. Brunskill was its chief of police, and that Floyd B. Olson, the relator in this action, was county attorney.

Without attempting to summarize the contents of the voluminous exhibits attached to the complaint, we deem it sufficient to say that the articles charged, in substance, that a Jewish gangster was in control of gambling, bootlegging, and racketeering in Minneapolis, and that law enforcing officers and agencies were not energetically performing their duties. Most of the charges were directed against the chief of police; he was charged with gross neglect of duty, illicit relations with gangsters, and with participation in graft. The county attorney was charged with knowing the existing conditions and with failure to take adequate measures to remedy them. The mayor was accused of inefficiency and dereliction. One member of the grand jury was stated to be in sympathy with the gangsters. A special grand jury and a special prosecutor were demanded to deal with the situation in general, and, in particular, to investigate an attempt to assassinate one Guilford, one of the original defendants, who, it appears from the articles, was shot by gangsters after the first issue of the periodical

had been published. There is no question but that the articles made serious accusations against the public officers named and others in connection with the prevalence of crimes and the failure to expose and punish them.

At the beginning of the action on November 22, 1927, and upon the verified complaint, an order was made directing the defendants to show cause why a temporary injunction should not issue and meanwhile forbidding the defendants to publish, circulate, or have in their possession any editions of the periodical from September [283 U.S. 697, 705] 24, 1927, to November 19, 1927, inclusive, and from publishing, circulating or having in their possession, 'any future editions of said The Saturday Press' and 'any publication, known by any other name whatsoever containing malicious, scandalous and defamatory matter of the kind alleged in plaintiff's complaint herein or otherwise.'

The defendants demurred to the complaint upon the ground that it did not state facts sufficient to constitute a cause of action, and on this demurrer challenged the constitutionality of the statute. The district court overruled the demurrer and certified the question of constitutionality to the Supreme Court of the state. The Supreme Court sustained the statute (174 Minn. 457, 219 N. W. 770, 58 A. L. R. 607), and it is conceded by the appellee that the act was thus held to be valid over the objection that it violated not only the State Constitution, but also the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

Thereupon the defendant Near, the present appellant, answered the complaint. He averred that he was the sole owner and proprietor of the publication in question. He admitted the publication of the articles in the issues described in the complaint, but denied that they were malicious, scandalous, or defamatory as alleged. He expressly invoked the protection of the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The case then came on for trial. The plaintiff offered in evidence the verified complaint, together with the issues of the publication in question, which were attached to the complaint as exhibits. The defendant objected to the introduction of the evidence, invoking the constitutional provisions to which his answer referred. The objection was overruled, no further evidence was presented, and the plaintiff rested. The defendant then rested, without offering evidence. The plaintiff moved that the court direct the issue of a permanent injunction, and this was done. [283 U.S. 697, 706] The district court made findings of fact, which followed the allegations of the complaint and found in general terms that the editions in question were 'chiefly devoted to malicious, scandalous and defamatory articles' concerning the individuals named. The court further found that the defendants through these publications 'did engage in the business of regularly and customarily producing, publishing and circulating a malicious, scandalous and defamatory newspaper,' and that 'the said publication' 'under said name of The Saturday Press, or any other name, constitutes a public nuisance under the laws of the State.' Judgment was thereupon entered adjudging that 'the newspaper, magazine and periodical known as The Saturday Press,' as a public nuisance, 'be and is hereby abated.' The judgment perpetually enjoined the defendants 'from producing, editing, publishing, circulating, having in their possession, selling or giving away any publication whatsoever which is a malicious, scandalous or defamatory newspaper, as defined by law,' and also 'from further conducting said nuisance under the name and title of said The Saturday Press or any other name or title.'

The defendant Near appealed from this judgment to the Supreme Court of the State, again asserting his right under the Federal Constitution, and the judgment was affirmed upon the authority of the former decision. 179 Minn. 40, 228 N. W. 326. With respect to the contention that the judgment went too far, and prevented the defendants from publishing any kind of a newspaper, the court observed that the assignments of error did not go to the form of the judgment, and that the lower court had not been asked to modify it. The court added that it saw no reason 'for defendants to construe the judgment as restraining them from operating a newspaper in harmony with the public welfare, to which all must yield,' that the allegations of the complaint had been [283 U.S. 697, 707] found to be true, and though this was an equitable action defendants had not indicated a desire 'to conduct their business in the usual and legitimate manner.'

From the judgment as thus affirmed, the defendant Near appeals to this Court.

This statute, for the suppression as a public nuisance of a newspaper or periodical, is unusual, if not unique, and raises questions of grave

importance transcending the local interests involved in the particular action. It is no longer open to doubt that the liberty of the press and of speech is within the liberty safeguarded by the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment from invasion by state action. It was found impossible to conclude that this essential personal liberty of the citizen was left unprotected by the general guaranty of fundamental rights of person and property. Gitlow v. New York, 268 U.S. 652, 666, 45 S. CT. 625; Whitney v. California, 274 U.S. 357, 362, 373 S., 47 S. Ct. 641; Fiske v. Kansas, 274 U.S. 380, 382, 47 S. Ct. 655; Stromberg v. California, 283 U.S. 359, 51 S. Ct. 532, decided May 18, 1931. In maintaining this guaranty, the authority of the state to enact laws to promote the health, safety, morals, and general welfare of its people is necessarily administered. The limits of this sovereign power must always be determined with appropriate regard to the particular subject of its exercise. Thus, while recognizing the broad discretion of the Legislature in fixing rates to be charged by those undertaking a public service, this Court has decided that the owner cannot constitutionally be deprived of his right to a fair return, because that is deemed to be of the essence of ownership. Railroad Commission Cases, 116 U.S. 307, 331, 6 S. Ct. 334, 388, 1191; Northern Pacific Railway Company v. North Dakota, 236 U.S. 585, 596, 35 S. Ct. 429, L. R. A. 1917F, 1148 Ann. Cas. 1916A. So, while liberty of contract is not an absolute right, and the wide field of activity in the making of contracts is subject to legislative supervision (Frisbie v. United States, 157 U.S. 161, 165 , 15 S. Ct. 586), this Court has held that the power of the state stops short of interference with what are deemed [283 U.S. 697, 708] to be certain indispensable requirements of the liberty assured, notably with respect to the fixing of prices and wages. (Tyson v. Banton, 273 U.S. 418 , 47 S. Ct. 426, 58 A. L. R. 1236; Ribnik v. McBride, 277 U.S. 350, 48 S. Ct. 545, 56 A. L. R. 1327; Adkins v. Children's Hospital, 261 U.S. 525, 560 , 561 S., 43 S. Ct. 394, 24 A. L. R. 1238). Liberty of speech and of the press is also not an absolute right, and the state may punish its abuse. Whitney v. California, supra; Stromberg v. California, supra. Liberty, in each of its phases, has its history and connotation, and, in the present instance, the inquiry is as to the historic conception of the liberty of the press and whether the statute under review violates the essential attributes of that liberty.

The appellee insists that the questions of the application of the statute to appellant's periodical, and of the construction of the judgment of the trial court, are not presented for review; that appellant's sole attack was upon the constitutionality of the statute, however it might be applied. The appellee contends that no question either of motive in the publication, or whether the decree goes beyond the direction of the statute, is before us. The appellant replies that, in his view, the plain terms of the statute were not departed from in this case, and that eve n if they were, the statute is nevertheless unconstitutional under any reasonable construction of its terms. The appellant states that he has not argued that the temporary and permanent injunctions were broader than were warranted by the statute; he insists that what was done was properly done if the statute is valid, and that the action taken under the statute is a fair indication of its scope.

With respect to these contentions it is enough to say that in passing upon constitutional questions the court has regard to substance and not to mere matters of form, and that, in accordance with familiar principles, the state must be tested by its operation and effect. Henderson v. Mayor, 92 U.S. 259, 268; Bailey v. Alabama, 219 [283 U.S. 697, 709] U. S. 219, 244, 31 S. Ct. 145; United States v. Reynolds, 235 U.S. 133, 148, 149 S., 35 S. Ct. 86; St. Louis Southwestern Railway Company v. Arkansas, 235 U.S. 350, 362, 35 S. Ct. 99; Mountain Timber Company v. Washington, 243 U.S. 219, 237, 37 S. Ct. 260, Ann. Cas. 1917D, 642. That operation and effect we think is clearly shown by the record in this case. We are not concerned with mere errors of the trial court, if these be such, in going beyond the direction of the statute as construed by the Supreme Court of the state. It is thus important to note precisely the purpose and effect of the statute as the state court has construed it.

First. The statute is not aimed at the redress of individual or private wrongs. Remedies for libel remain available and unaffected. The Statute, said the state court (174 Minn. 457, 219 N. W. 770, 772, 58 A. L. R. 607), 'is not directed at threatened libel but at an existing business which, generally

speaking, involves more than libel.' It is aimed at the distribution of scandalous matter as 'detrimental to public morals and to the general welfare,' tending 'to disturb the peace of the community' and 'the provoke assaults and the commission of crime.' In order to obtain an injunction to suppress the future publication of the newspaper or periodical, it is not necessary to prove the falsity of the charges that have been made in the publication condemned. In the present action there was no allegation that the matter published was not true. It is alleged, and the statute requires the allegation that the publication was 'malicious.' But, as in prosecutions for libel, there is no requirement of proof by the state of malice in fact as distinguished from malice inferred from the mere publication of the defamatory matter. The judgment in this case proceeded upon the mere proof of publication. The statute permits the defense, not of the truth alone, but only that the truth was published with good motives and [283 U.S. 697, 710] for justifiable ends. It is apparent that under the statute the publication is to be regarded as defamatory if it injures reputation, and that it is scandalous if it circulates charges of reprehensible conduct, whether criminal or otherwise, and the publication is thus deemed to invite public reprobation and to constitute a public scandal. The court sharply defined the purpose of the statute, bringing out the precise point, in these words: 'There is no constitutional right to publish a fact merely because it is true. It is a matter of common knowledge that prosecutions under the criminal libel statutes do not result in efficient repression or suppression of the evils of scandal. Men who are the victims of such assaults seldom resort to the courts. This is especially true if their sins are exposed and the only question relates to whether it was done with good motive and for justifiable ends. This law is not for the protection of the person attacked nor to punish the wrongdoer. It is for the protection of the public welfare.'

Second. The statute is directed not simply at the circulation of scandalous and defamatory statements with regard to private citizens, but at the continued publication by newspapers and periodical of charges against public officers of corruption, malfeasance in office, or serious neglect of duty. Such charges by their very nature create a public scandal. They are scandalous and defamatory within the meaning of the statute, which has its normal operation in relation to publications dealing prominently and chiefly with the alleged derelictions of public officers. [283 U.S. 697, 711]

Third. The object of the statute is not punishment, in the ordinary sense, but suppression of the offending newspaper or periodical. The reason for the enactment, as the state court has said, is that prosecutions to enforce penal statutes for libel do not result in 'efficient repression or suppression of the evils of scandal.' Describing the business of publication as a public nuisance does not obscure the substance of the proceeding which the statute authorizes. It is the continued publication of scandalous and defamatory matter that constitutes the business and the declared nuisance. In the case of public officers, it is the reiteration of charges of official misconduct, and the fact that the newspaper or periodical is principally devoted to that purpose, that exposes it to suppression. In the present instance, the proof was that nine editions of the newspaper or periodical in question were published on successive dates, and that they were chiefly devoted to charges against public officers and in relation to the prevalence and protection of crime. In such a case, these officers are not left to their ordinary remedy in a suit for libel, or the authorities to a prosecution for criminal libel. Under this statute, a publisher of a newspaper or periodical, undertaking to conduct a campaign to expose and to censure official derelictions, and devoting his publication principally to that purpose, must face not simply the possibility of a verdict against him in a suit or prosecution for libel, but a determination that his newspaper or periodical is a public nuisance to be abated, and that this abatement and suppression will follow unless he is prepared with legal evidence to prove the truth of the charges and also to satisfy the court that, in [283 U.S. 697, 712] addition to being true, the matter was published with good motives and for justifiable ends.

This suppression is accomplished by enjoining publication, and that restraint is the object and effect of the statute.

Fourth. The statute not only operates to suppress the offending newspaper or periodical, but to put the publisher under an effective censorship. When a newspaper or periodical is found to be 'malicious, scandalous and defamatory,' and is suppressed as such, resumption of publication is punishable as a

contempt of court by fine or imprisonment. Thus, where a newspaper or periodical has been suppressed because of the circulation of charges against public officers of official misconduct, it would seem to be clear that the renewal of the publication of such charges would constitute a contempt, and that the judgment would lay a permanent restraint upon the publisher, to escape which he must satisfy the court as to the character of a new publication. Whether he would be permitted again to publish matter deemed to be derogatory to the same or other public officers would depend upon the court's ruling. In the present instance the judgment restrained the defendants from 'publishing, circulating, having in their possession, selling or giving away any publication whatsoever which is a malicious, scandalous or defamatory newspaper, as defined by law.' The law gives no definition except that covered by the words 'scandalous and defamatory,' and publications charging official misconduct are of the class. While the court, answering the objection that the judgment was too broad, saw no reason for construing it as restraining the defendants 'from operating a newspaper in harmony with the public welfare to which all must yield,' and said that the defendants had not indicated 'any desire to conduct their business in the usual and legitimate manner,' the manifest inference is that, at least with respect to a [283 U.S. 697, 713] new publication directed against official misconduct, the defendant would be held, under penalty of punishment for contempt as provided in the statute, to a manner of publication which the court considered to be 'usual and legitimate' and consistent with the public welfare.

If we cut through mere details of procedure, the operation and effect of the statute in substance is that public authorities may bring the owner or publisher of a newspaper or periodical before a judge upon a charge of conducting a business of publishing scandalous and defamatory matter-in particular that the matter consists of charges against public officers of official dereliction-and, unless the owner or publisher is able and disposed to bring competent evidence to satisfy the judge that the charges are true and are published with good motives and for justifiable ends, his newspaper or periodical is suppressed and further publication is made punishable as a contempt. This is of the essence of censorship.

The question is whether a statute authorizing such proceedings in restraint of publication is consistent with the conception of the liberty of the press as historically conceived and guaranteed. In determining the extent of the constitutional protection, it has been generally, if not universally, considered that it is the chief purpose of the guaranty to prevent previous restraints upon publication. The struggle in England, directed against the legislative power of the licenser, resulted in renunciation of the censorship of the press. The liberty deemed to be established was thus described by Blackstone: 'The liberty of the press is indeed essential to the nature of a free state; but this consists in laying no previous restraints upon publications, and not in freedom from censure for criminal matter when published. Every freeman has an [283 U.S. 697, 714] undoubted right to lay what sentiments he pleases before the public; to forbid this, is to destroy the freedom of the press; but if he publishes what is improper, mischievous or illegal, he must take the consequence of his own temerity.' 4 Bl. Com. 151, 152. See Story on the Constitution, 1884, 1889. The distinction was early pointed out between the extent of the freedom with respect to censorship under our constitutional system and that enjoyed in England. Here, as Madison said, 'the great and essential rights of the people are secured against legislative as well as against executive ambition. They are secured, not by laws paramount to prerogative, but by constitutions paramount to laws. This security of the freedom of the press requires that it should be exempt not only from previous restraint by the Executive, as in Great Britain, but from legislative restraint also.' Report on the Virginia Resolutions, Madison's Works, vol. IV, p. 543. This Court said, in Patterson v. Colorado, 205 U.S. 454, 462, 27 S. Ct. 556, 558, 10 Ann. Cas. 689: 'In the first place, the main purpose of such constitutional provisions is 'to prevent all such previous restraints upon publications as had been practiced by other governments,' and they do not prevent the subsequent punishment of such as may be deemed contrary to the public welfare. Commonwealth v. Blanding, 3 Pick. (Mass.) 304, 313, 314 (15 Am. Dec. 214); Respublica v. Oswald, 1 Dall. 319, 325, 158. The preliminary freedom extends as well to the false as to the true; the subsequent punishment may extend as well to the true as to the false. This was the law of criminal libel apart from statute in most cases, if

not in all. Commonwealth v. Blanding, ubi supra; 4 Bl. Com. 150.'

The criticism upon Blackstone's statement has not been because immunity from previous restraint upon publication has not been regarded as deserving of special emphasis, but chiefly because that immunity cannot be deemed to exhaust the conception of the liberty guaranteed by [283 U.S. 697, 715] State and Federal Constitutions. The point of criticism has been 'that the mere exemption from restraints cannot be all that is secured by the constitutional provisions,' and that 'the liberty of the press might be rendered a mockery and a delusion, and the phrase itself a by-word, if, while every man was at liberty to publish what he pleased, the public authorities might nevertheless punish him for harmless publications.' 2 Cooley, Const. Lim. (8th Ed.) pp. 885. But it is recognized that punishment for the abuse of the liberty accorded to the press is essential to the protection of the public, and that the common-law rules that subject the libeler to responsibility for the public offense, as well as for the private injury, are not abolished by the protection extended in our Constitutions Id. pp. 883, 884. The law of criminal libel rests upon that secure foundation. There is also the conceded authority of courts to punish for contempt when publications directly tend to prevent the proper discharge of judicial functions. Patterson v. Colorado, supra; Toledo Newspaper Company v. United States, 247 U.S. 402, 419, 38 S. Ct. 560. In the present case, we have no occasion to inquire as to the permissible scope of subsequent punishment. For whatever wrong the appellant has committed or may commit, by his publications, the state appropriately affords both public and private redress by its libel laws. As has been noted, the statute in question does not deal with punishments; it provides for no punishment, except in case of contempt for violation of the court's order, but for suppression and injunction-that is, for restraint upon publication.

The objection has also been made that the principle as to immunity from previous restraint is stated too [283 U.S. 697, 716] broadly, if every such restraint is deemed to be prohibited. That is undoubtedly true; the protection even as to previous restraint is not absolutely unlimited. But the limitation has been recognized only in exceptional cases. 'When a nation is at war many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its effort that their utterance will not be endured so long as men fight and that no Court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right.' Schenck v. United States, 249 U.S. 47, 52, 39 S. Ct. 247, 249. No one would question but that a government might prevent actual obstruction to its recruiting service or the publication of the sailing dates of transports or the number and location of troops. On similar grounds, the primary requirements of decency may be enforced against obscene publications. The security of the community life may be protected against incitements to acts of violence and the overthrow by force of orderly government. The constitutional guaranty of free speech does not 'protect a man from an injunction against uttering words that may have all the effect of force. Gompers v. Buck's Stove & Range Co., 221 U.S. 418, 139 , 31 S. Ct. 492, 34 L. R. A. (N. S.) 874.' Schenck v. United States, supra. These limitations are not applicable here. Nor are we now concerned with questions as to the extent of authority to prevent publications in order to protect private rights according to the principles governing the exercise of the jurisdiction of courts of equity.

The exceptional nature of its limitations places in a strong light the general conception that liberty of the press, historically considered and taken up by the Federal Constitution, has meant, principally although not exclusively, immunity from previous restraints or censorship. The conception of the liberty of the press in this country had broadened with the exigencies of the colonial [283 U.S. 697, 717] period and with the efforts to secure freedom from oppressive administration. That liberty was especially cherished for the immunity it afforded from previous restraint of the publication of censure of public officers and charges of official misconduct. As was said by Chief Justice Parker, in Commonwealth v. Blanding, 3 Pick. (Mass.) 304, 313, 15 Am. Dec. 214, with respect to the Constitution of Massachusetts: 'Besides, it is well understood and received as a commentary on this provision for the liberty of the press, that it was intended to prevent all such previous restraints upon publications as had been practiced by other governments, and in early times here, to stifle the efforts of patriots towards enlightening their fellow

subjects upon their rights and the duties of rulers. The liberty of the press was to be unrestrained, but he who used it was to be responsible in case of its abuse.' In the letter sent by the Continental Congress (October 26, 1774) to the Inhabitants of Quebec, referring to the 'five grate rights' it was said: 'The last right we shall mention, regards the freedom of the press. The importance of this consists, besides the advancement of truth, science, morality, and arts in general, in its diffusion of liberal sentiments on the administration of Government, its ready communication of thoughts between subjects, and its consequential promotion of union among them, whereby oppressive officers are shamed or intimidated, into more honourable and just modes of conducting affairs.' Madison, who was the leading spirit in the preparation of the First Amendment of the Federal Constitution, thus described the practice and sentiment which led to the guaranties of liberty of the press in State Constitutions: [283 U.S. 697, 718] 'In every State, probable, in the Union, the press has exerted a freedom in canvassing the merits and measures of public men of every description which has not been confined to the strict limits of the common law. On this footing the freedom of the press has stood; on this footing it yet stands. ... Some degree of abuse is inseparable from the proper use of everything, and in no instance is this more true than in that of the press. It has accordingly been decided by the practice of the States, that it is better to leave a few of its noxious branches to their luxuriant growth, than, by pruning them away, to injure the vigour of those yielding the proper fruits. And can the wisdom of this policy be doubted by any who reflect that to the press alone, checkered as it is with abuses, the world is indebted for all the triumphs which have been gained by reason and humanity over error and oppression; who reflect that to the same beneficent source the United States owe much of the lights which conducted them to the ranks of a free and independent nation, and which have improved their political system into a shape so auspicious to their happiness? Had 'Sedition Acts,' forbidding every publication that might bring the constituted agents into contempt or disrepute, or that might excite the hatred of the people against the authors of unjust or pernicious measures, been uniformly enforced against the press, might not the United States have been languishing at this day under the infirmities of a sickly Confederation? Might they not, possibly, be miserable colonies, groaning under a foreign yoke?'

The fact that for approximately one hundred and fifty years there has been almost an entire absence of attempts to impose previous restraints upon publications relating to the malfeasance of public officers is significant of the deep-seated conviction that such restraints would violate constitutional right. Public officers, whose character and [283 U.S. 697, 719] conduct remain open to debate and free discussion in the press, find their remedies for false accusations in actions under libel laws providing for redress and punishment, and not in proceedings to restrain the publication of newspapers and periodicals. The general principle that the constitutional guaranty of the liberty of the press gives immunity from previous restraints has been approved in many decisions under the provisions of state constitutions.

The importance of this immunity has not lessened. While reckless assaults upon public men, and efforts to bring obloquy upon those whom are endeavoring faithfully to discharge official duties, exert a baleful influence and deserve the severest condemnation in public opinion, it cannot be said that this abuse is greater, and it is believed to be less, than that which characterized the period in which our institutions took shape. Meanwhile, the administration of government has become more complex, the opportunities for malfeasance and corruption have multiplied, crime has grown to most serious proportions, and the danger of its protection by unfaithful officials and of the impairment of the fundamental security of life and [283 U.S. 697, 720] property by criminal alliances and official neglect, emphasizes the primary need of a vigilant and courageous press, especially in great cities. The fact that the liberty of the press may be abused by miscreant purveyors of scandal does not make any the less necessary the immunity of the press from previous restraint in dealing with official misconduct. Subsequent punishment for such abuses as may exist is the appropriate remedy, consistent with constitutional privilege.

In attempted justification of the statute, it is said that it deals not with publication per se, but with the 'business' of publishing defamation. If, however, the publisher has a constitutional right to publish, without previous restraint, an edition of

his newspaper charging official derelictions, it cannot be denied that he may publish subsequent editions for the same purpose. He does not lose his right by exercising it. If his right exists, it may be exercised in publishing nine editions, as in this case, as well as in one edition. If previous restraint is permissible, it may be imposed at once; indeed, the wrong may be as serious in one publication as in several. Characterizing the publication as a business, and the business as a nuisance, does not permit an invasion of the constitutional immunity against restraint. Similarly, it does not matter that the newspaper or periodical is found to be 'largely' or 'chiefly' devoted to the publication of such derelictions. If the publisher has a right, without previous restraint, to publish them, his right cannot be deemed to be dependent upon his publishing something else, more or less, with the matter to which objection is made.

Nor can it be said that the constitutional freedom from previous restraint is lost because charges are made of derelictions which constitute crimes. With the multiplying provisions of penal codes, and of municipal charters and ordinances carrying penal sanctions, the conduct of [283 U.S. 697, 721] public officers is very largely within the purview of criminal statutes. The freedom of the press from previous restraint has never been regarded as limited to such animadversions as lay outside the range of renal enactments. Historically, there is no such limitation; it is inconsistent with the reason which underlies the privilege, as the privilege so limited would be of slight value for the purposes for which it came to be established.

The statute in question cannot be justified by reason of the fact that the publisher is permitted to show, before injunction issues, that the matter published is true and is published with good motives and for justifiable ends. If such a statute, authorizing suppression and injunction on such a basis, is constitutionally valid, it would be equally permissible for the Legislature to provide that at any time the publisher of any newspaper could be brought before a court, or even an administrative officer (as the constitutional protection may not be regarded as resting on mere procedural details), and required to produce proof of the truth of his publication, or of what he intended to publish and of his motives, or stand enjoined. If this can be done, the Legislature may provide machinery for determining in the complete exercise of its discretion what are justifiable ends and restrain publication accordingly. And it would be but a step to a complete system of censorship. The recognition of authority to impose previous restraint upon publication in order to protect the community against the circulation of charges of misconduct, and especially of official misconduct, necessarily would carry with it the admission of the authority of the censor against which the constitutional barrier was erected. The preliminary freedom, by virtue of the very reason for its existence, does not depend, as this court has said, on proof of truth. Patterson v. Colorado, supra.

Equally unavailing is the insistence that the statute is designed to prevent the circulation of scandal which tends [283 U.S. 697, 722] to disturb the public peace and to provoke assaults and the commission of crime. Charges of reprehensible conduct, and in particular of official malfeasance, unquestionably create a public scandal, but the theory of the constitutional guaranty is that even a more serious public evil would be caused by authority to prevent publication. 'To prohibit the intent to excite those unfavorable sentiments against those who administer the Government, is equivalent to a prohibition of the actual excitement of them; and to prohibit the actual excitement of them is equivalent to a prohibition of discussions having that tendency and effect; which, again, is equivalent to a protection of those who administer the Government, if they should at any time deserve the contempt or hatred of the people, against being exposed to it by free animadversions on their characters and conduct.' There is nothing new in the fact that charges of reprehensible conduct may create resentment and the disposition to resort to violent means of redress, but this well-understood tendency did not alter the determination to protect the press against censorship and restrain upon publication. As was said in New Yorker Staats-Zeitung v. Nolan, 89 N. J. Eq. 387, 388, 105 A. 72: 'If the township may prevent the circulation of a newspaper for no reason other than that some of its inhabitants may violently disagree with it, and resent it circulation by resorting to physical violence, there is no limit to what may be prohibited.' The danger of violent reactions becomes greater with effective organization of defiant groups resenting exposure, and, if this

consideration warranted legislative interference with the initial freedom of publication, the constitutional protection would be reduced to a mere form of words.

For these reasons we hold the statute, so far as it authorized the proceedings in this action under clause (b) [283 U.S. 697, 723] of section 1, to be an infringement of the liberty of the press guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. We should add that this decision rests upon the operation and effect of the statute, without regard to the question of the truth of the charges contained in the particular periodical. The fact that the public officers named in this case, and those associated with the charges of official dereliction, may be deemed to be impeccable, cannot affect the conclusion that the statute imposes an unconstitutional restraint upon publication.

Judgment reversed.

Near v. State of Minnesota Ex Rel. Olson, 283 U.S. 697 (1931).

New York Times Co. v. United States *(1971)*

Introduction

Daniel Ellsberg, a minor contributor to a massive Pentagon examination of the United States' role in the Vietnam War, triggered events that led to the most prominent Supreme Court hearing involving prior restraint on the media—the Pentagon Papers case. Ellsberg took it upon himself to leak parts of the classified study to first *The New York Times* and then *The Washington Post*. The documents he gave the newspapers described the government's secret agenda for Vietnam and suggested that there had been an effort to mislead the public on foreign policy in the region. President Richard Nixon ordered the Justice Department to seek an injunction that would prevent any further publication of articles on the disputed material.

The effort of the Nixon administration to place a prior restraint on the dissemination of politically sensitive information raised a serious constitutional dilemma for the courts. The U.S. Court of Appeals in New York stopped *The New York Times* from publishing further articles on the Pentagon documents, while the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C., supported the right of *The Washington Post* to print future pieces on the topic. In *Near v. Minnesota* (1931) and other cases, the Supreme Court had already established that prior restraint on the publishing of political material was essentially contrary to the protections of the First Amendment. The burden of proof in these prior restraint cases always fell clearly on the government. The Supreme Court had reasoned in the past that it was hard to discern in advance how damaging a political article might ultimately prove to be, and the delay in publication could severely harm freedom of the press and expression in these situations.

The split decision in the Circuit Courts prompted the Supreme Court to immediately halt publication of articles on the Pentagon Papers in *The Washington Post* as well, and to move quickly on a ruling. In *New York Times Co. v. United States*, the government claimed that publishing the contents of this classified study would harm the country and its political policies in Asia. The Court decided 6–3 to deny the injunction to stop publication. The unsigned majority decision specifically declared "any system of prior restraints of expression comes to this court bearing a heavy presumption against its validity" due to the First Amendment, and therefore the government "carries a heavy burden of showing justification for the imposition of such a restraint." In this instance, the Court found that the government did not meet the nebulous "heavy burden" required to justify prior restraint.

The general perception among journalists at the time was that the findings in *New York Times Co. v. United States* thoroughly rebuked prior restraint and guaranteed freedom of the press in these cases. But some justices, in concurring and minority opinions, raised questions about how meaningful this decision would prove to be in the long run. These justices suggested several conditions where the government might better argue that prior restraint was necessary and constitutional to prevent more imminent threats to the nation's interests. And nowhere in the brief majority opinion does the Supreme Court spell out exactly what it would take to meet the threshold of proof needed to make a case for prior restraint.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

U.S. Supreme Court
***New York Times Co. v. United States*,**
403 U.S. 713 (1971)
403 U.S. 713

NEW YORK TIMES CO. v.
UNITED STATES
CERTIORARI TO THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE SECOND CIRCUIT
No. 1873.
Argued June 26, 1971
Decided June 30, 1971*

* Together with No. 1885, United States v. Washington Post Co. et al., on certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit.

PER CURIAM.

We granted certiorari in these cases in which the United States seeks to enjoin the New York Times and the Washington Post from publishing the contents of a classified study entitled "History of U.S. Decision-Making Process on Viet Nam Policy." Post, pp. 942, 943.

> "Any system of prior restraints of expression comes to this Court bearing a heavy presumption against its constitutional validity." Bantam Books, Inc. v. Sullivan, 372 U.S. 58, 70 (1963); see also Near v. Minnesota, 283 U.S. 697 (1931). The Government "thus carries a heavy burden of showing justification for the imposition of such a restraint." Organization for a Better Austin v. Keefe, 402 U.S. 415, 419 (1971). The District Court for the Southern District of New York in the New York Times case and the District Court for the District of Columbia and the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit in the Washington Post case held that the Government had not met that burden. We agree.

The judgment of the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit is therefore affirmed. The order of the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit is reversed and the case is remanded with directions to enter a judgment affirming the judgment of the District Court for the Southern District of New York. The stays entered June 25, 1971, by the Court are vacated. The judgments shall issue forthwith.

So ordered.

MR. JUSTICE BRENNAN, concurring.

I

I write separately in these cases only to emphasize what should be apparent: that our judgments in the present cases may not be taken to indicate the propriety, in the future, of issuing temporary stays and restraining [403 U.S. 713, 725] orders to block the publication of material sought to be suppressed by the Government. So far as I can determine, never before has the United States sought to enjoin a newspaper from publishing information in its possession. The relative novelty of the questions presented, the necessary haste with which decisions were reached, the magnitude of the interests asserted, and the fact that all the parties have concentrated their arguments upon the question whether permanent restraints were proper may have justified at least some of the restraints heretofore imposed in these cases. Certainly it is difficult to fault the several courts below for seeking to assure that the issues here involved were preserved for ultimate review by this Court. But even if it be assumed that some of the interim restraints were proper in the two cases before us, that assumption has no bearing upon the propriety of similar judicial action in the future. To begin with, there has now been ample time for reflection and judgment; whatever values there may be in the preservation of novel questions for appellate review may not support any restraints in the future. More important, the First Amendment stands as an absolute bar to the imposition of judicial restraints in circumstances of the kind presented by these cases.

II

The error that has pervaded these cases from the outset was the granting of any injunctive relief whatsoever, interim or otherwise. The entire thrust of the Government's claim throughout these cases has been that publication of the material sought to be enjoined "could," or "might," or "may" prejudice the national interest in various ways. But the First Amendment tolerates absolutely no prior judicial restraints of the press predicated upon surmise or conjecture that

untoward consequences [403 U.S. 713, 726] may result.* Our cases, it is true, have indicated that there is a single, extremely narrow class of cases in which the First Amendment's ban on prior judicial restraint may be overridden. Our cases have thus far indicated that such cases may arise only when the Nation "is at war," Schenck v. United States, 249 U.S. 47, 52 (1919), during which times "[n]o one would question but that a government might prevent actual obstruction to its recruiting service or the publication of the sailing dates of transports or the number and location of troops." Near v. Minnesota, 283 U.S. 697, 716 (1931). Even if the present world situation were assumed to be tantamount to a time of war, or if the power of presently available armaments would justify even in peacetime the suppression of information that would set in motion a nuclear holocaust, in neither of these actions has the Government presented or even alleged that publication of items from or based upon the material at issue would cause the happening of an event of that nature. "[T]he chief purpose of [the First Amendment's] guaranty [is] to prevent previous restraints upon publication." Near v. Minnesota, supra, at 713. Thus, only governmental allegation and proof that publication must inevitably, directly, [403 U.S. 713, 727] and immediately cause the occurrence of an event kindred to imperiling the safety of a transport already at sea can support even the issuance of an interim restraining order. In no event may mere conclusions be sufficient: for if the Executive Branch seeks judicial aid in preventing publication, it must inevitably submit the basis upon which that aid is sought to scrutiny by the judiciary. And therefore, every restraint issued in this case, whatever its form, has violated the First Amendment—and not less so because that restraint was justified as necessary to afford the courts an opportunity to examine the claim more thoroughly. Unless and until the Government has clearly made out its case, the First Amendment commands that no injunction may issue.

MR. JUSTICE STEWART, with whom MR. JUSTICE WHITE joins, concurring. In the governmental structure created by our Constitution, the Executive is endowed with enormous power in the two related areas of national defense and international relations. This power, largely unchecked by the Legislative and Judicial branches, has been pressed to the very hilt since the advent of the nuclear missile age. For better or for worse, the simple fact is that a [403 U.S. 713, 728] President of the United States possesses vastly greater constitutional independence in these two vital areas of power than does, say, a prime minister of a country with a parliamentary from of government.

In the absence of the governmental checks and balances present in other areas of our national life, the only effective restraint upon executive policy and power in the areas of national defense and international affairs may lie in an enlightened citizenry—in an informed and critical public opinion which alone can here protect the values of democratic government. For this reason, it is perhaps here that a press that is alert, aware, and free most vitally serves the basic purpose of the First Amendment. For without an informed and free press there cannot be an enlightened people.

Yet it is elementary that the successful conduct of international diplomacy and the maintenance of an effective national defense require both confidentiality and secrecy. Other nations can hardly deal with this Nation in an atmosphere of mutual trust unless they can be assured that their confidences will be kept. And within our own executive departments, the development of considered and intelligent international policies would be impossible if those charged with their formulation could not communicate with each other freely, frankly, and in confidence. In the area of basic national defense the frequent need for absolute secrecy is, of course, self-evident.

I think there can be but one answer to this dilemma, if dilemma it be. The responsibility must

* Freedman v. Maryland, 380 U.S. 51 (1965), and similar cases regarding temporary restraints of allegedly obscene materials are not in point. For those cases rest upon the proposition that "obscenity is not protected by the freedoms of speech and press." Roth v. United States, 354 U.S. 476, 481 (1957). Here there is no question but that the material sought to be suppressed is within the protection of the First Amendment; the only question is whether, notwithstanding that fact, its publication may be enjoined for a time because of the presence of an overwhelming national interest. Similarly, copyright cases have no pertinence here: the Government is not asserting an interest in the particular form of words chosen in the documents, but is seeking to suppress the ideas expressed therein. And the copyright laws, of course, protect only the form of expression and not the ideas expressed.

be where the power is. If the Constitution gives the Executive [403 U.S. 713, 729] a large degree of unshared power in the conduct of foreign affairs and the maintenance of our national defense, then under the Constitution the Executive must have the largely unshared duty to determine and preserve the degree of internal security necessary to exercise that power successfully. It is an awesome responsibility, requiring judgment and wisdom of a high order. I should suppose that moral, political, and practical considerations would dictate that a very first principle of that wisdom would be an insistence upon avoiding secrecy for its own sake. For when everything is classified, then nothing is classified, and the system becomes one to be disregarded by the cynical or the careless, and to be manipulated by those intent on self-protection or self-promotion. I should suppose, in short, that the hallmark of a truly effective internal security system would be the maximum possible disclosure, recognizing that secrecy can best be preserved only when credibility is truly maintained. But be that as it may, it is clear to me that it is the constitutional duty of the Executive—as a matter of sovereign prerogative and not as a matter of law as the courts know law—through the promulgation and enforcement of executive regulations, to protect [403 U.S. 713, 730] the confidentiality necessary to carry out its responsibilities in the fields of international relations and national defense.

This is not to say that Congress and the courts have no role to play. Undoubtedly Congress has the power to enact specific and appropriate criminal laws to protect government property and preserve government secrets. Congress has passed such laws, and several of them are of very colorable relevance to the apparent circumstances of these cases. And if a criminal prosecution is instituted, it will be the responsibility of the courts to decide the applicability of the criminal law under which the charge is brought. Moreover, if Congress should pass a specific law authorizing civil proceedings in this field, the courts would likewise have the duty to decide the constitutionality of such a law as well as its applicability to the facts proved.

But in the cases before us we are asked neither to construe specific regulations nor to apply specific laws. We are asked, instead, to perform a function that the Constitution gave to the Executive, not the Judiciary. We are asked, quite simply, to prevent the publication by two newspapers of material that the Executive Branch insists should not, in the national interest, be published. I am convinced that the Executive is correct with respect to some of the documents involved. But I cannot say that disclosure of any of them will surely result in direct, immediate, and irreparable damage to our Nation or its people. That being so, there can under the First Amendment be but one judicial resolution of the issues before us. I join the judgments of the Court.

New York Times Co. v. United States, 403 U.S. 713 (1971).

Libel Issues

New York Times Co. v. Sullivan *(1964)*

Introduction

Journalists have always felt an obligation to hold public officials to a more intense level of scrutiny than private citizens. Besieged public officials had long tried to ward off the criticism this attention produced by filing a steady stream of libel suits against the press. The frequency of these defamation charges, and the ease with which the suits were won, elevated the importance of the decision in the 1964 *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan* Supreme Court case to landmark status. Justice William J. Brennan Jr. began the majority opinion by saying that for the "first time" a case would determine how much constitutional protections should "limit a State's power to award damages in a libel action brought by a public official against critics of his official conduct."

Justice Brennan fully realized the potential impact of this case on the freedom of the press and other watchdog groups. He wrote eight drafts of his opinion in order to successfully convince initially dissenting colleagues to back a more powerful unanimous decision. The Court's ruling dramatically raised the level of proof required for a public official to win a libel suit against the press. The official could no longer triumph in a libel action by merely establishing that a journalist's statement about him had eventually been shown to be false.

Public officials now had to prove that the false statements of journalists were written or said with "actual malice" for libel to exist. This means the press had to know in advance that their comments about the officials were false or made with a "reckless disregard" as to whether they conveyed the truth. Brennan's majority opinion indicated that the actual malice standard for libel also demanded that the public official now prove that the journalist's statements were both malicious in nature and intentionally hurtful as well. Justice Arthur J. Goldberg, in a concurring opinion, suggested raising the bar even further for public servants to prove libel when he argued that the press and others be granted "an absolute, unconditional privilege to criticize official conduct despite the harm that may flow from excesses and abuses."

New York Times Co. v. Sullivan can be traced to a 1960, full-page *Times* ad based on an earlier editorial that called for readers to "heed rising voices" of peaceful civil rights demonstrators in the South. The ad recounted stories of official abuse of demonstrators in Montgomery, Alabama, and Orangeburg, South Carolina. L. B. Sullivan, the Montgomery commissioner responsible for the police department, saw the ad as false in certain claims and as an unwarranted attack on him, his city, and the police. Sullivan and a number of others sued the *Times* in the Alabama courts and won large damage decisions based on the state civil libel laws. The Supreme Court ruling effectively overturned these state libel laws and also served to empower the press in its coverage of the civil rights struggle.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

U.S. Supreme Court
New York Times Co. v. Sullivan,
376 U.S. 254 (1964)
376 U.S. 254

NEW YORK TIMES CO. v. SULLIVAN.

CERTIORARI TO THE SUPREME COURT OF ALABAMA.

No. 39.

Argued January 6, 1964.

Decided March 9, 1964.

MR. JUSTICE BRENNAN delivered the opinion of the Court.

We are required in this case to determine for the first time the extent to which the constitutional protections for speech and press limit a State's power to award damages in a libel action brought by a public official against critics of his official conduct.

Respondent L. B. Sullivan is one of the three elected Commissioners of the City of Montgomery, Alabama. He testified that he was "Commissioner of Public Affairs and the duties are supervision of the Police Department, Fire Department, Department of Cemetery and Department of Scales." He brought this civil libel action against the four individual petitioners, who are Negroes and Alabama clergymen, and against petitioner the New York Times Company, a New York corporation which publishes the New York Times, a daily newspaper. A jury in the Circuit Court of Montgomery County awarded him damages of $500,000, the full amount claimed, against all the petitioners, and the Supreme Court of Alabama affirmed. 273 Ala. 656, 144 So.2d 25.

Respondent's complaint alleged that he had been libeled by statements in a full-page advertisement that was carried in the New York Times on March 29, 1960. Entitled "Heed Their Rising Voices," the advertisement began by stating that "As the whole world knows by now, thousands of Southern Negro students are engaged in widespread non-violent demonstrations in positive affirmation of the right to live in human dignity as guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights." It went on to charge that "in their efforts to uphold these guarantees, they are being met by an unprecedented wave of terror by those who would deny and negate that document which the whole world looks upon as setting the pattern for modern freedom. . . ." Succeeding [376 U.S. 254, 257] paragraphs purported to illustrate the "wave of terror" by describing certain alleged events. The text concluded with an appeal for funds for three purposes: support of the student movement, "the struggle for the right-to-vote," and the legal defense of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., leader of the movement, against a perjury indictment then pending in Montgomery.

The text appeared over the names of 64 persons, many widely known for their activities in public affairs, religion, trade unions, and the performing arts. Below these names, and under a line reading "We in the south who are struggling daily for dignity and freedom warmly endorse this appeal," appeared the names of the four individual petitioners and of 16 other persons, all but two of whom were identified as clergymen in various Southern cities. The advertisement was signed at the bottom of the page by the "Committee to Defend Martin Luther King and the Struggle for Freedom in the South," and the officers of the Committee were listed.

Of the 10 paragraphs of text in the advertisement, the third and a portion of the sixth were the basis of respondent's claim of libel. They read as follows:

Third paragraph:

> "In Montgomery, Alabama, after students sang 'My Country, 'Tis of Thee' on the State Capitol steps, their leaders were expelled from school, and truckloads of police armed with shotguns and tear-gas ringed the Alabama State College Campus. When the entire student body protested to state authorities by refusing to re-register, their dining hall was padlocked in an attempt to starve them into submission."

Sixth paragraph:

> "Again and again the Southern violators have answered Dr. King's peaceful protests with intimidation and violence. They have bombed his home almost killing his wife and child. They have [376 U.S. 254, 258] assaulted his person. They have arrested him seven times—for 'speeding,' 'loitering' and similar 'offenses.' And now they have charged him with 'perjury'—a felony under which they could imprison him for ten years. . . ."

Although neither of these statements mentions respondent by name, he contended that the word "police" in the third paragraph referred to him as the Montgomery Commissioner who supervised the Police Department, so that he was being

accused of "ringing" the campus with police. He further claimed that the paragraph would be read as imputing to the police, and hence to him, the padlocking of the dining hall in order to starve the students into submission. As to the sixth paragraph, he contended that since arrests are ordinarily made by the police, the statement "They have arrested [Dr. King] seven times" would be read as referring to him; he further contended that the "They" who did the arresting would be equated with the "They" who committed the other described acts and with the "Southern violators." Thus, he argued, the paragraph would be read as accusing the Montgomery police, and hence him, of answering Dr. King's protests with "intimidation and violence," bombing his home, assaulting his person, and charging him with perjury. Respondent and six other Montgomery residents testified that they read some or all of the statements as referring to him in his capacity as Commissioner.

It is uncontroverted that some of the statements contained in the paragraphs were not accurate descriptions of events which occurred in Montgomery. Although Negro students staged a demonstration on the State Capitol steps, they sang the National Anthem and not "My [376 U.S. 254, 259] Country, 'Tis of Thee." Although nine students were expelled by the State Board of Education, this was not for leading the demonstration at the Capitol, but for demanding service at a lunch counter in the Montgomery County Courthouse on another day. Not the entire student body, but most of it, had protested the expulsion, not by refusing to register, but by boycotting classes on a single day; virtually all the students did register for the ensuing semester. The campus dining hall was not padlocked on any occasion, and the only students who may have been barred from eating there were the few who had neither signed a preregistration application nor requested temporary meal tickets. Although the police were deployed near the campus in large numbers on three occasions, they did not at any time "ring" the campus, and they were not called to the campus in connection with the demonstration on the State Capitol steps, as the third paragraph implied. Dr. King had not been arrested seven times, but only four; and although he claimed to have been assaulted some years earlier in connection with his arrest for loitering outside a courtroom, one of the officers who made the arrest denied that there was such an assault.

On the premise that the charges in the sixth paragraph could be read as referring to him, respondent was allowed to prove that he had not participated in the events described. Although Dr. King's home had in fact been bombed twice when his wife and child were there, both of these occasions antedated respondent's tenure as Commissioner, and the police were not only not implicated in the bombings, but had made every effort to apprehend those who were. Three of Dr. King's four arrests took place before respondent became Commissioner. Although Dr. King had in fact been indicted (he was subsequently acquitted) on two counts of perjury, each of which carried a possible five-year sentence, respondent had nothing to do with procuring the indictment. [376 U.S. 254, 260]

Respondent made no effort to prove that he suffered actual pecuniary loss as a result of the alleged libel. One of his witnesses, a former employer, testified that if he had believed the statements, he doubted whether he "would want to be associated with anybody who would be a party to such things that are stated in that ad," and that he would not re-employ respondent if he believed "that he allowed the Police Department to do the things that the paper say he did." But neither this witness nor any of the others testified that he had actually believed the statements in their supposed reference to respondent.

The cost of the advertisement was approximately $4,800, and it was published by the Times upon an order from a New York advertising agency acting for the signatory Committee. The agency submitted the advertisement with a letter from A. Philip Randolph, Chairman of the Committee, certifying that the persons whose names appeared on the advertisement had given their permission. Mr. Randolph was known to the Times' Advertising Acceptability Department as a responsible person, and in accepting the letter as sufficient proof of authorization it followed its established practice. There was testimony that the copy of the advertisement which accompanied the letter listed only the 64 names appearing under the text, and that the statement, "We in the south . . . warmly endorse this appeal," and the list of names thereunder, which included those of the individual petitioners, were subsequently added when the first proof of the advertisement was received. Each of the individual petitioners

testified that he had not authorized the use of his name, and that he had been unaware of its use until receipt of respondent's demand for a retraction. The manager of the Advertising Acceptability [376 U.S. 254, 261] Department testified that he had approved the advertisement for publication because he knew nothing to cause him to believe that anything in it was false, and because it bore the endorsement of "a number of people who are well known and whose reputation" he "had no reason to question." Neither he nor anyone else at the Times made an effort to confirm the accuracy of the advertisement, either by checking it against recent Times news stories relating to some of the described events or by any other means.

Alabama law denies a public officer recovery of punitive damages in a libel action brought on account of a publication concerning his official conduct unless he first makes a written demand for a public retraction and the defendant fails or refuses to comply. Alabama Code, Tit. 7, 914. Respondent served such a demand upon each of the petitioners. None of the individual petitioners responded to the demand, primarily because each took the position that he had not authorized the use of his name on the advertisement and therefore had not published the statements that respondent alleged had libeled him. The Times did not publish a retraction in response to the demand, but wrote respondent a letter stating, among other things, that "we…are somewhat puzzled as to how you think the statements in any way reflect on you," and "you might, if you desire, let us know in what respect you claim that the statements in the advertisement reflect on you." Respondent filed this suit a few days later without answering the letter. The Times did, however, subsequently publish a retraction of the advertisement upon the demand of Governor John Patterson of Alabama, who asserted that the publication charged him with "grave misconduct and . . . improper actions and omissions as Governor of Alabama and Ex-Officio Chairman of the State Board of Education of Alabama." When asked to explain why there had been a retraction for the Governor but not for respondent, the [376 U.S. 254, 262] Secretary of the Times testified: "We did that because we didn't want anything that was published by The Times to be a reflection on the State of Alabama and the Governor was, as far as we could see, the embodiment of the State of Alabama and the proper representative of the State and, furthermore, we had by that time learned more of the actual facts which the ad purported to recite and, finally, the ad did refer to the action of the State authorities and the Board of Education presumably of which the Governor is the ex-officio chairman…." On the other hand, he testified that he did not think that "any of the language in there referred to Mr. Sullivan."

The trial judge submitted the case to the jury under instructions that the statements in the advertisement were "libelous per se" and were not privileged, so that petitioners might be held liable if the jury found that they had published the advertisement and that the statements were made "of and concerning" respondent. The jury was instructed that, because the statements were libelous per se, "the law . . . implies legal injury from the bare fact of publication itself," "falsity and malice are presumed," "general damages need not be alleged or proved but are presumed," and "punitive damages may be awarded by the jury even though the amount of actual damages is neither found nor shown." An award of punitive damages—as distinguished from "general" damages, which are compensatory in nature—apparently requires proof of actual malice under Alabama law, and the judge charged that "mere negligence or carelessness is not evidence of actual malice or malice in fact, and does not justify an award of exemplary or punitive damages." He refused to charge, however, that the jury must be "convinced" of malice, in the sense of "actual intent" to harm or "gross negligence and recklessness," to make such an award, and he also refused to require that a verdict for respondent differentiate between compensatory and punitive damages. The judge rejected petitioners' contention [376 U.S. 254, 263] that his rulings abridged the freedoms of speech and of the press that are guaranteed by the First and Fourteenth Amendments.

In affirming the judgment, the Supreme Court of Alabama sustained the trial judge's rulings and instructions in all respects. 273 Ala. 656, 144 So.2d 25. It held that "where the words published tend to injure a person libeled by them in his reputation, profession, trade or business, or charge him with an indictable offense, or tend to bring the individual into public contempt," they are "libelous per se"; that "the matter complained of is, under the above doctrine, libelous per se, if it was published of and concerning the plaintiff"; and that it was actionable without "proof of pecuniary injury . . ., such injury being implied." Id., at 673, 676, 144 So.2d, at 37,

41. It approved the trial court's ruling that the jury could find the statements to have been made "of and concerning" respondent, stating: "We think it common knowledge that the average person knows that municipal agents, such as police and firemen, and others, are under the control and direction of the city governing body, and more particularly under the direction and control of a single commissioner. In measuring the performance or deficiencies of such groups, praise or criticism is usually attached to the official in complete control of the body." Id., at 674-675, 144 So.2d at 39. In sustaining the trial court's determination that the verdict was not excessive, the court said that malice could be inferred from the Times' "irresponsibility" in printing the advertisement while "the Times in its own files had articles already published which would have demonstrated the falsity of the allegations in the advertisement"; from the Times' failure to retract for respondent while retracting for the Governor, whereas the falsity of some of the allegations was then known to the Times and "the matter contained in the advertisement was equally false as to both parties"; and from the testimony of the Times' Secretary that, [376 U.S. 254, 264] apart from the statement that the dining hall was padlocked, he thought the two paragraphs were "substantially correct." Id., at 686-687, 144 So.2d at 50-51. The court reaffirmed a statement in an earlier opinion that "There is no legal measure of damages in cases of this character." Id., at 686, 144 So.2d, at 50. It rejected petitioners' constitutional contentions with the brief statements that "The First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution does not protect libelous publications" and "The Fourteenth Amendment is directed against State action and not private action." Id., at 676, 144 So.2d, at 40.

Because of the importance of the constitutional issues involved, we granted the separate petitions for certiorari of the individual petitioners and of the Times. 371 U.S. 946. We reverse the judgment. We hold that the rule of law applied by the Alabama courts is constitutionally deficient for failure to provide the safeguards for freedom of speech and of the press that are required by the First and Fourteenth Amendments in a libel action brought by a public official against critics of his official conduct. We [376 U.S. 254, 265] further hold that under the proper safeguards the evidence presented in this case is constitutionally insufficient to support the judgment for respondent.

I

We may dispose at the outset of two grounds asserted to insulate the judgment of the Alabama courts from constitutional scrutiny. The first is the proposition relied on by the State Supreme Court—that "The Fourteenth Amendment is directed against State action and not private action." That proposition has no application to this case. Although this is a civil lawsuit between private parties, the Alabama courts have applied a state rule of law which petitioners claim to impose invalid restrictions on their constitutional freedoms of speech and press. It matters not that that law has been applied in a civil action and that it is common law only, though supplemented by statute. See, e. g., Alabama Code, Tit. 7, 908-917. The test is not the form in which state power has been applied but, whatever the form, whether such power has in fact been exercised. See Ex parte Virginia, 100 U.S. 339, 346–347; American Federation of Labor v. Swing, 312 U.S. 321.

The second contention is that the constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and of the press are inapplicable here, at least so far as the Times is concerned, because the allegedly libelous statements were published as part of a paid, "commercial" advertisement. The argument relies on Valentine v. Chrestensen, 316 U.S. 52, where the Court held that a city ordinance forbidding street distribution of commercial and business advertising matter did not abridge the First Amendment freedoms, even as applied to a handbill having a commercial message on one side but a protest against certain official action on the other. The reliance is wholly misplaced. The Court in Chrestensen reaffirmed the constitutional protection for "the freedom of communicating [376 U.S. 254, 266] information and disseminating opinion"; its holding was based upon the factual conclusions that the handbill was "purely commercial advertising" and that the protest against official action had been added only to evade the ordinance.

The publication here was not a "commercial" advertisement in the sense in which the word was used in Chrestensen. It communicated information, expressed opinion, recited grievances, protested claimed abuses, and sought financial support on behalf of a movement whose existence and objectives are matters of the highest public interest and concern. See N. A. A. C. P. v. Button, 371 U.S. 415, 435. That the Times was paid for publishing

the advertisement is as immaterial in this connection as is the fact that newspapers and books are sold. Smith v. California, 361 U.S. 147, 150; cf. Bantam Books, Inc., v. Sullivan, 372 U.S. 58, 64, n. 6. Any other conclusion would discourage newspapers from carrying "editorial advertisements" of this type, and so might shut off an important outlet for the promulgation of information and ideas by persons who do not themselves have access to publishing facilities—who wish to exercise their freedom of speech even though they are not members of the press. Cf. Lovell v. Griffin, 303 U.S. 444, 452; Schneider v. State, 308 U.S. 147, 164. The effect would be to shackle the First Amendment in its attempt to secure "the widest possible dissemination of information from diverse and antagonistic sources." Associated Press v. United States, 326 U.S. 1, 20. To avoid placing such a handicap upon the freedoms of expression, we hold that if the allegedly libelous statements would otherwise be constitutionally protected from the present judgment, they do not forfeit that protection because they were published in the from of a paid advertisement. [376 U.S. 254, 267]

II

Under Alabama law as applied in this case, a publication is "libelous per se" if the words "tend to injure a person…in his reputation" or to "bring [him] into public contempt"; the trial court stated that the standard was met if the words are such as to "injure him in his public office, or impute misconduct to him in his office, or want of official integrity, or want of fidelity to a public trust…." The jury must find that the words were published "of and concerning" the plaintiff, but where the plaintiff is a public official his place in the governmental hierarchy is sufficient evidence to support a finding that his reputation has been affected by statements that reflect upon the agency of which he is in charge. Once "libel per se" has been established, the defendant has no defense as to stated facts unless he can persuade the jury that they were true in all their particulars. Alabama Ride Co. v. Vance, 235 Ala. 263, 178 So. 438 (1938); Johnson Publishing Co. v. Davis, 271 Ala. 474, 494-495, 124 So.2d 441, 457-458 (1960). His privilege of "fair comment" for expressions of opinion depends on the truth of the facts upon which the comment is based. Parsons v. Age-Herald Publishing Co., 181 Ala. 439, 450, 61 So. 345, 350 (1913). Unless he can discharge the burden of proving truth, general damages are presumed, and may be awarded without proof of pecuniary injury. A showing of actual malice is apparently a prerequisite to recovery of punitive damages, and the defendant may in any event forestall a punitive award by a retraction meeting the statutory requirements. Good motives and belief in truth do not negate an inference of malice, but are relevant only in mitigation of punitive damages if the jury chooses to accord them weight. Johnson Publishing Co. v. Davis, supra, 271 Ala., at 495, 124 So.2d, at 458. [376 U.S. 254, 268]

The question before us is whether this rule of liability, as applied to an action brought by a public official against critics of his official conduct, abridges the freedom of speech and of the press that is guaranteed by the first and Fourteenth Amendments.

Respondent relies heavily, as did the Alabama courts, on statements of this Court to the effect that the Constitution does not protect libelous publications. Those statements do not foreclose our inquiry here. None of the cases sustained the use of libel laws to impose sanctions upon expression critical of the official conduct of public officials. The dictum in Pennekamp v. Florida, 328 U.S. 331, 348-349, that "when the statements amount to defamation, a judge has such remedy in damages for libel as do other public servants," implied no view as to what remedy might constitutionally be afforded to public officials. In Beauharnais v. Illinois, 343 U.S. 250, the Court sustained an Illinois criminal libel statute as applied to a publication held to be both defamatory of a racial group and "liable to cause violence and disorder." But the Court was careful to note that it "retains and exercises authority to nullify action which encroaches on freedom of utterance under the guise of punishing libel"; for "public men, are, as it were, public property," and "discussion cannot be denied and the right, as well as the duty, of criticism must not be stifled." Id., at 263-264, and n. 18. In the only previous case that did present the question of constitutional limitations upon the power to award damages for libel of a public official, the Court was equally divided and the question was not decided. Schenectady Union Pub. Co. v. Sweeney, 316 U.S. 642. [376 U.S. 254, 269] In

deciding the question now, we are compelled by neither precedent nor policy to give any more weight to the epithet "libel" than we have to other "mere labels" of state law. N. A. A. C. P. v. Button, 371 U.S. 415, 429. Like insurrection, contempt, advocacy of unlawful acts, breach of the peace, obscenity, solicitation of legal business, and the various other formulae for the repression of expression that have been challenged in this court, libel can claim no talismanic immunity from constitutional limitations. It must be measured by standards that satisfy the First Amendment.

The general proposition that freedom of expression upon public questions is secured by the First Amendment has long been settled by our decisions. The constitutional safeguard, we have said, "was fashioned to assure unfettered interchange of ideas for the bringing about of political and social changes desired by the people." Roth v. United States, 354 U.S. 476, 484. "The maintenance of the opportunity for free political discussion to the end that government may be responsive to the will of the people and that changes may be obtained by lawful means, an opportunity essential to the security of the Republic, is a fundamental principle of our constitutional system." Stromberg v. California, 283 U.S. 359, 369. "[I]t is a prized American privilege to speak one's mind, although not always with perfect good taste, on all public institutions," Bridges v. California, 314 U.S. 252, 270, and this opportunity is to be afforded for "vigorous advocacy" no less than "abstract discussion." N. A. A. C. P. v. Button, 371 U.S. 415, 429. [376 U.S. 254, 270] The First Amendment, said Judge Learned Hand, "presupposes that right conclusions are more likely to be gathered out of a multitude of tongues, than through any kind of authoritative selection. To many this is, and always will be, folly; but we have staked upon it our all." United States v. Associated Press, 52 F. Supp. 362, 372 (D.C. S. D. N. Y. 1943). Mr. Justice Brandeis, in his concurring opinion in Whitney v. California, 274 U.S. 357, 375-376, gave the principle its classic formulation:

> "Those who won our independence believed . . . that public discussion is a political duty; and that this should be a fundamental principle of the American government. They recognized the risks to which all human institutions are subject. But they knew that order cannot be secured merely through fear of punishment for its infraction; that it is hazardous to discourage thought, hope and imagination; that fear breeds repression; that repression breeds hate; that hate menaces stable government; that the path of safety lies in the opportunity to discuss freely supposed grievances and proposed remedies; and that the fitting remedy for evil counsels is good ones. Believing in the power of reason as applied through public discussion, they eschewed silence coerced by law—the argument of force in its worst form. Recognizing the occasional tyrannies of governing majorities, they amended the Constitution so that free speech and assembly should be guaranteed."

Thus we consider this case against the background of a profound national commitment to the principle that debate on public issues should be uninhibited, robust, and wide-open, and that it may well include vehement, caustic, and sometimes unpleasantly sharp attacks on government and public officials. See Terminiello v. Chicago, 337 U.S. 1, 4; De Jonge v. Oregon, 299 U.S. 353, [376 U.S. 254, 271] 365. The present advertisement, as an expression of grievance and protest on one of the major public issues of our time, would seem clearly to qualify for the constitutional protection. The question is whether it forfeits that protection by the falsity of some of its factual statements and by its alleged defamation of respondent.

Authoritative interpretations of the First Amendment guarantees have consistently refused to recognize an exception for any test of truth—whether administered by judges, juries, or administrative officials—and especially one that puts the burden of proving truth on the speaker. Cf. Speiser v. Randall, 357 U.S. 513, 525-526. The constitutional protection does not turn upon "the truth, popularity, or social utility of the ideas and beliefs which are offered." N. A. A. C. P. v. Button, 371 U.S. 415, 445. As Madison said, "Some degree of abuse is inseparable from the proper use of every thing; and in no instance is this more true than in that of the press." 4 Elliot's Debates on the Federal Constitution (1876), p. 571. In Cantwell v. Connecticut, 310 U.S. 296, 310, the Court declared:

> "In the realm of religious faith, and in that of political belief, sharp differences arise. In both fields the tenets of one man may seem the rankest

> error to his neighbor. To persuade others to his own point of view, the pleader, as we know, at times, resorts to exaggeration, to vilification of men who have been, or are, prominent in church or state, and even to false statement. But the people of this nation have ordained in the light of history, that, in spite of the probability of excesses and abuses, these liberties are, in the long view, essential to enlightened opinion and right conduct on the part of the citizens of a democracy."

That erroneous statement is inevitable in free debate, and that it must be protected if the freedoms of expression [376 U.S. 254, 272] are to have the "breathing space" that they "need . . . to survive," N. A. A. C. P. v. Button, 371 U.S. 415, 433, was also recognized by the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit in Sweeney v. Patterson, 76 U.S. App. D.C. 23, 24, 128 F.2d 457, 458 (1942), cert. denied, 317 U.S. 678. Judge Edgerton spoke for a unanimous court which affirmed the dismissal of a Congressman's libel suit based upon a newspaper article charging him with anti-Semitism in opposing a judicial appointment. He said:

> "Cases which impose liability for erroneous reports of the political conduct of officials reflect the obsolete doctrine that the governed must not criticize their governors.... The interest of the public here outweighs the interest of appellant or any other individual. The protection of the public requires not merely discussion, but information. Political conduct and views which some respectable people approve, and others condemn, are constantly imputed to Congressmen. Errors of fact, particularly in regard to a man's mental states and processes, are inevitable.... Whatever is added to the field of libel is taken from the field of free debate."

Injury to official reputation affords no more warrant for repressing speech that would otherwise be free than does factual error. Where judicial officers are involved, this Court has held that concern for the dignity and [376 U.S. 254, 273] reputation of the courts does not justify the punishment as criminal contempt of criticism of the judge or his decision. Bridges v. California, 314 U.S. 252. This is true even though the utterance contains "half-truths" and "misinformation." Pennekamp v. Florida, 328 U.S. 331, 342, 343, n. 5, 345. Such repression can be justified, if at all, only by a clear and present danger of the obstruction of justice. See also Craig v. Harney, 331 U.S. 367; Wood v. Georgia, 370 U.S. 375. If judges are to be treated as "men of fortitude, able to thrive in a hardy climate," Craig v. Harney, supra, 331 U.S., at 376, surely the same must be true of other government officials, such as elected city commissioners. Criticism of their official conduct does not lose its constitutional protection merely because it is effective criticism and hence diminishes their official reputations.

If neither factual error nor defamatory content suffices to remove the constitutional shield from criticism of official conduct, the combination of the two elements is no less inadequate. This is the lesson to be drawn from the great controversy over the Sedition Act of 1798, 1 Stat. 596, which first crystallized a national awareness of the central meaning of the First Amendment. See Levy, Legacy of Suppression (1960), at 258 et seq.; Smith, Freedom's Fetters (1956), at 426, 431, and passim. That statute made it a crime, punishable by a $5,000 fine and five years in prison, "if any person shall write, print, utter or publish . . . any false, scandalous and malicious [376 U.S. 254, 274] writing or writings against the government of the United States, or either house of the Congress..., or the President..., with intent to defame...or to bring them, or either of them, into contempt or disrepute; or to excite against them, or either or any of them, the hatred of the good people of the United States." The Act allowed the defendant the defense of truth, and provided that the jury were to be judges both of the law and the facts. Despite these qualifications, the Act was vigorously condemned as unconstitutional in an attack joined in by Jefferson and Madison. In the famous Virginia Resolutions of 1798, the General Assembly of Virginia resolved that it

> "doth particularly protest against the palpable and alarming infractions of the Constitution, in the two late cases of the 'Alien and Sedition Acts,' passed at the last session of Congress.... [The Sedition Act] exercises...a power not delegated by the Constitution, but, on the contrary, expressly and positively forbidden by one of the

> amendments thereto—a power which, more than any other, ought to produce universal alarm, because it is levelled against the right of freely examining public characters and measures, and of free communication among the people thereon, which has ever been justly deemed the only effectual guardian of every other right." 4 Elliot's Debates, supra, pp. 553–554.

Madison prepared the Report in support of the protest. His premise was that the Constitution created a form of government under which "The people, not the government, possess the absolute sovereignty." The structure of the government dispersed power in reflection of the people's distrust of concentrated power, and of power itself at all levels. This form of government was "altogether different" from the British form, under which the Crown was sovereign and the people were subjects. "Is [376 U.S. 254, 275] it not natural and necessary, under such different circumstances," he asked, "that a different degree of freedom in the use of the press should be contemplated?" Id., pp. 569-570. Earlier, in a debate in the House of Representatives, Madison had said: "If we advert to the nature of Republican Government, we shall find that the censorial power is in the people over the Government, and not in the Government over the people." 4 Annals of Congress, p. 934 (1794). Of the exercise of that power by the press, his Report said: "In every state, probably, in the Union, the press has exerted a freedom in canvassing the merits and measures of public men, of every description, which has not been confined to the strict limits of the common law. On this footing the freedom of the press has stood; on this foundation it yet stands…." 4 Elliot's Debates, supra, p. 570. The right of free public discussion of the stewardship of public officials was thus, in Madison's view, a fundamental principle of the American form of government. 15 [376 U.S. 254, 276]

Although the Sedition Act was never tested in this Court, the attack upon its validity has carried the day in the court of history. Fines levied in its prosecution were repaid by Act of Congress on the ground that it was unconstitutional. See, e. g., Act of July 4, 1840, c. 45, 6 Stat. 802, accompanied by H. R. Rep. No. 86, 26th Cong., 1st Sess. (1840). Calhoun, reporting to the Senate on February 4, 1836, assumed that its invalidity was a matter "which no one now doubts." Report with Senate bill No. 122, 24th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 3. Jefferson, as President, pardoned those who had been convicted and sentenced under the Act and remitted their fines, stating: "I discharged every person under punishment or prosecution under the sedition law, because I considered, and now consider, that law to be a nullity, as absolute and as palpable as if Congress had ordered us to fall down and worship a golden image." Letter to Mrs. Adams, July 22, 1804, 4 Jefferson's Works (Washington ed.), pp. 555, 556. The invalidity of the Act has also been assumed by Justices of this Court. See Holmes, J., dissenting and joined by Brandeis, J., in Abrams v. United States, 250 U.S. 616, 630; Jackson, J., dissenting in Beauharnais v. Illinois, 343 U.S. 250, 288 -289; Douglas, The Right of the People (1958), p. 47. See also Cooley, Constitutional Limitations (8th ed., Carrington, 1927), pp. 899-900; Chafee, Free Speech in the United States (1942), pp. 27–28. These views reflect a broad consensus that the Act, because of the restraint it imposed upon criticism of government and public officials, was inconsistent with the First Amendment.

There is no force in respondent's argument that the constitutional limitations implicit in the history of the Sedition Act apply only to Congress and not to the States. It is true that the First Amendment was originally addressed only to action by the Federal Government, and [376 U.S. 254, 277] that Jefferson, for one, while denying the power of Congress "to controul the freedom of the press," recognized such a power in the States. See the 1804 Letter to Abigail Adams quoted in Dennis v. United States, 341 U.S. 494, 522, n. 4 (concurring opinion). But this distinction was eliminated with the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment and the application to the States of the First Amendment's restrictions. See, e. g., Gitlow v. New York, 268 U.S. 652, 666; Schneider v. State, 308 U.S. 147, 160; Bridges v. California, 314 U.S. 252, 268; Edwards v. South Carolina, 372 U.S. 229, 235.

What a State may not constitutionally bring about by means of a criminal statute is likewise beyond the reach of its civil law of libel. The fear of damage awards under a rule such as that invoked by the Alabama courts here may be markedly more inhibiting than the fear of prosecution under a criminal statute. See City of Chicago v. Tribune Co., 307 Ill. 595, 607, 139 N. E. 86, 90

(1923). Alabama, for example, has a criminal libel law which subjects to prosecution "any person who speaks, writes, or prints of and concerning another any accusation falsely and maliciously importing the commission by such person of a felony, or any other indictable offense involving moral turpitude," and which allows as punishment upon conviction a fine not exceeding $500 and a prison sentence of six months. Alabama Code, Tit. 14, 350. Presumably a person charged with violation of this statute enjoys ordinary criminal-law safeguards such as the requirements of an indictment and of proof beyond a reasonable doubt. These safeguards are not available to the defendant in a civil action. The judgment awarded in this case—without the need for any proof of actual pecuniary loss—was one thousand times greater than the maximum fine provided by the Alabama criminal statute, and one hundred times greater than that provided by the Sedition Act. [376 U.S. 254, 278] And since there is no double-jeopardy limitation applicable to civil lawsuits, this is not the only judgment that may be awarded against petitioners for the same publication. 18 Whether or not a newspaper can survive a succession of such judgments, the pall of fear and timidity imposed upon those who would give voice to public criticism is an atmosphere in which the First Amendment freedoms cannot survive. Plainly the Alabama law of civil libel is "a form of regulation that creates hazards to protected freedoms markedly greater than those that attend reliance upon the criminal law." Bantam Books, Inc., v. Sullivan, 372 U.S. 58, 70.

The state rule of law is not saved by its allowance of the defense of truth. A defense for erroneous statements honestly made is no less essential here than was the requirement of proof of guilty knowledge which, in Smith v. California, 361 U.S. 147, we held indispensable to a valid conviction of a bookseller for possessing obscene writings for sale. We said:

> "For if the bookseller is criminally liable without knowledge of the contents,…he will tend to restrict the books he sells to those he has inspected; and thus the State will have imposed a restriction upon the distribution of constitutionally protected as well as obscene literature.…And the bookseller's burden would become the public's burden, for by restricting him the public's access to reading matter would be restricted. . . . [H]is timidity in the face of his absolute criminal liability, thus would tend to restrict the public's access to forms of the printed word which the State could not constitutionally [376 U.S. 254, 279] suppress directly. The bookseller's self-censorship, compelled by the State, would be a censorship affecting the whole public, hardly less virulent for being privately administered. Through it, the distribution of all books, both obscene and not obscene, would be impeded." (361 U.S. 147, 153–154.)

A rule compelling the critic of official conduct to guarantee the truth of all his factual assertions—and to do so on pain of libel judgments virtually unlimited in amount—leads to a comparable "self-censorship." Allowance of the defense of truth, with the burden of proving it on the defendant, does not mean that only false speech will be deterred. Even courts accepting this defense as an adequate safeguard have recognized the difficulties of adducing legal proofs that the alleged libel was true in all its factual particulars. See, e.g., Post Publishing Co. v. Hallam, 59 F. 530, 540 (C. A. 6th Cir. 1893); see also Noel, Defamation of Public Officers and Candidates. 49 Col. L. Rev. 875, 892 (1949). Under such a rule, would-be critics of official conduct may be deterred from voicing their criticism, even though it is believed to be true and even though it is in fact true, because of doubt whether it can be proved in court or fear of the expense of having to do so. They tend to make only statements which "steer far wider of the unlawful zone." Speiser v. Randall, supra, 357 U.S., at 526. The rule thus dampens the vigor and limits the variety of public debate. It is inconsistent with the First and Fourteenth Amendments.

The constitutional guarantees require, we think, a federal rule that prohibits a public official from recovering damages for a defamatory falsehood relating to his official conduct unless he proves that the statement was made [376 U.S. 254, 280] with "actual malice"—that is, with knowledge that it was false or with reckless disregard of whether it was false or not. An oft-cited statement of a like rule, which has been adopted by a number of state courts, is found in the Kansas case of Coleman v. MacLennan, 78 Kan. 711, 98 P. 281

(1908). The State Attorney General, a candidate for re-election and a member of the commission charged with the management and control of the state school fund, sued a newspaper publisher for alleged libel in an article purporting to state facts relating to his official conduct in connection with a school-fund transaction. The defendant pleaded privilege and the trial judge, over the plaintiff's objection, instructed the jury that

> "where an article is published and circulated among voters for the sole purpose of giving what the defendant [376 U.S. 254, 281] believes to be truthful information concerning a candidate for public office and for the purpose of enabling such voters to cast their ballot more intelligently, and the whole thing is done in good faith and without malice, the article is privileged, although the principal matters contained in the article may be untrue in fact and derogatory to the character of the plaintiff; and in such a case the burden is on the plaintiff to show actual malice in the publication of the article."

In answer to a special question, the jury found that the plaintiff had not proved actual malice, and a general verdict was returned for the defendant. On appeal the Supreme Court of Kansas, in an opinion by Justice Burch, reasoned as follows (78 Kan., at 724, 98 P., at 286):

> "It is of the utmost consequence that the people should discuss the character and qualifications of candidates for their suffrages. The importance to the state and to society of such discussions is so vast, and the advantages derived are so great, that they more than counterbalance the inconvenience of private persons whose conduct may be involved, and occasional injury to the reputations of individuals must yield to the public welfare, although at times such injury may be great. The public benefit from publicity is so great, and the chance of injury to private character so small, that such discussion must be privileged."

The court thus sustained the trial court's instruction as a correct statement of the law, saying:

> "In such a case the occasion gives rise to a privilege, qualified to this extent: any one claiming to be defamed by the communication must show actual malice or go remediless. This privilege extends to a great variety of subjects, and includes matters of [376 U.S. 254, 282] public concern, public men, and candidates for office." 78 Kan., at 723, 98 P., at 285.

Such a privilege for criticism of official conduct is appropriately analogous to the protection accorded a public official when he is sued for libel by a private citizen. In Barr v. Matteo, 360 U.S. 564, 575, this Court held the utterance of a federal official to be absolutely privileged if made "within the outer perimeter" of his duties. The States accord the same immunity to statements of their highest officers, although some differentiate their lesser officials and qualify the privilege they enjoy. 22 But all hold that all officials are protected unless actual malice can be proved. The reason for the official privilege is said to be that the threat of damage suits would otherwise "inhibit the fearless, vigorous, and effective administration of policies of government" and "dampen the ardor of all but the most resolute, or the most irresponsible, in the unflinching discharge of their duties." Barr v. Matteo, supra, 360 U.S., at 571. Analogous considerations support the privilege for the citizen-critic of government. It is as much his duty to criticize as it is the official's duty to administer. See Whitney v. California, 274 U.S. 357, 375 (concurring opinion of Mr. Justice Brandeis), quoted supra, p. 270. As Madison said, see supra, p. 275, "the censorial power is in the people over the Government, and not in the Government over the people." It would give public servants an unjustified preference over the public they serve, if critics of official conduct [376 U.S. 254, 283] did not have a fair equivalent of the immunity granted to the officials themselves.

We conclude that such a privilege is required by the First and Fourteenth Amendments.

III

We hold today that the Constitution delimits a State's power to award damages for libel in actions brought by public officials against critics of their official conduct. Since this is such an action, the rule requiring proof of actual malice is applicable. While Alabama law apparently requires proof of actual

malice for an award of punitive damages, where general damages are concerned malice is "presumed." Such a presumption is inconsistent [376 U.S. 254, 284] with the federal rule. "The power to create presumptions is not a means of escape from constitutional restrictions," Bailey v. Alabama, 219 U.S. 219, 239; "the showing of malice required for the forfeiture of the privilege is not presumed but is a matter for proof by the plaintiff …." Lawrence v. Fox, 357 Mich. 134, 146, 97 N. W. 2d 719, 725 (1959). Since the trial judge did not instruct the jury to differentiate between general and punitive damages, it may be that the verdict was wholly an award of one or the other. But it is impossible to know, in view of the general verdict returned. Because of this uncertainty, the judgment must be reversed and the case remanded. Stromberg v. California, 283 U.S. 359, 367–368; Williams v. North Carolina, 317 U.S. 287, 291–292; see Yates v. United States, 354 U.S. 298, 311–312; Cramer v. United States, 325 U.S. 1, 36, n. 45.

Since respondent may seek a new trial, we deem that considerations of effective judicial administration require us to review the evidence in the present record to determine [376 U.S. 254, 285] whether it could constitutionally support a judgment for respondent. This Court's duty is not limited to the elaboration of constitutional principles; we must also in proper cases review the evidence to make certain that those principles have been constitutionally applied. This is such a case, particularly since the question is one of alleged trespass across "the line between speech unconditionally guaranteed and speech which may legitimately be regulated." Speiser v. Randall, 357 U.S. 513, 525. In cases where that line must be drawn, the rule is that we "examine for ourselves the statements in issue and the circumstances under which they were made to see…whether they are of a character which the principles of the First Amendment, as adopted by the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, protect." Pennekamp v. Florida, 328 U.S. 331, 335; see also One, Inc., v. Olesen, 355 U.S. 371; Sunshine Book Co. v. Summerfield, 355 U.S. 372. We must "make an independent examination of the whole record," Edwards v. South Carolina, 372 U.S. 229, 235, so as to assure ourselves that the judgment does not constitute a forbidden intrusion on the field of free expression.

Applying these standards, we consider that the proof presented to show actual malice lacks the convincing [376 U.S. 254, 286] clarity which the constitutional standard demands, and hence that it would not constitutionally sustain the judgment for respondent under the proper rule of law. The case of the individual petitioners requires little discussion. Even assuming that they could constitutionally be found to have authorized the use of their names on the advertisement, there was no evidence whatever that they were aware of any erroneous statements or were in any way reckless in that regard. The judgment against them is thus without constitutional support.

As to the Times, we similarly conclude that the facts do not support a finding of actual malice. The statement by the Times' Secretary that, apart from the padlocking allegation, he thought the advertisement was "substantially correct," affords no constitutional warrant for the Alabama Supreme Court's conclusion that it was a "cavalier ignoring of the falsity of the advertisement [from which] the jury could not have but been impressed with the bad faith of The Times, and its maliciousness inferable therefrom." The statement does not indicate malice at the time of the publication; even if the advertisement was not "substantially correct"—although respondent's own proofs tend to show that it was—that opinion was at least a reasonable one, and there was no evidence to impeach the witness' good faith in holding it. The Times' failure to retract upon respondent's demand, although it later retracted upon the demand of Governor Patterson, is likewise not adequate evidence of malice for constitutional purposes. Whether or not a failure to retract may ever constitute such evidence, there are two reasons why it does not here. First, the letter written by the Times reflected a reasonable doubt on its part as to whether the advertisement could reasonably be taken to refer to respondent at all. Second, it was not a final refusal, since it asked for an explanation on this point—a request that respondent chose to ignore. Nor does the retraction upon the demand of the Governor supply the [376 U.S. 254, 287] necessary proof. It may be doubted that a failure to retract which is not itself evidence of malice can retroactively become such by virtue of a retraction subsequently made to another party. But in any event that did not happen here, since the explanation given by the

Times' Secretary for the distinction drawn between respondent and the Governor was a reasonable one, the good faith of which was not impeached.

Finally, there is evidence that the Times published the advertisement without checking its accuracy against the news stories in the Times' own files. The mere presence of the stories in the files does not, of course, establish that the Times "knew" the advertisement was false, since the state of mind required for actual malice would have to be brought home to the persons in the Times' organization having responsibility for the publication of the advertisement. With respect to the failure of those persons to make the check, the record shows that they relied upon their knowledge of the good reputation of many of those whose names were listed as sponsors of the advertisement, and upon the letter from A. Philip Randolph, known to them as a responsible individual, certifying that the use of the names was authorized. There was testimony that the persons handling the advertisement saw nothing in it that would render it unacceptable under the Times' policy of rejecting advertisements containing "attacks of a personal character"; their failure to reject it on this ground was not unreasonable. We think [376 U.S. 254, 288] the evidence against the Times supports at most a finding of negligence in failing to discover the misstatements, and is constitutionally insufficient to show the recklessness that is required for a finding of actual malice. Cf. Charles Parker Co. v. Silver City Crystal Co., 142 Conn. 605, 618, 116 A. 2d 440, 446 (1955); Phoenix Newspapers, Inc., v. Choisser, 82 Ariz. 271, 277-278, 312 P.2d 150, 154-155 (1957).

We also think the evidence was constitutionally defective in another respect: it was incapable of supporting the jury's finding that the allegedly libelous statements were made "of and concerning" respondent. Respondent relies on the words of the advertisement and the testimony of six witnesses to establish a connection between it and himself. Thus, in his brief to this Court, he states:

> "The reference to respondent as police commissioner is clear from the ad. In addition, the jury heard the testimony of a newspaper editor . . .; a real estate and insurance man . . .; the sales manager of a men's clothing store . . .; a food equipment man . . .; a service station operator . . .; and the operator of a truck line for whom respondent had formerly worked . . . . Each of these witnesses stated that he associated the statements with respondent . . . ." (Citations to record omitted.)

There was no reference to respondent in the advertisement, either by name or official position. A number of the allegedly libelous statements—the charges that the dining hall was padlocked and that Dr. King's home was bombed, his person assaulted, and a perjury prosecution instituted against him—did not even concern the police; despite the ingenuity of the arguments which would attach this significance to the word "They," it is plain that these statements could not reasonably be read as accusing respondent of personal involvement in the acts [376 U.S. 254, 289] in question. The statements upon which respondent principally relies as referring to him are the two allegations that did concern the police or police functions: that "truckloads of police . . . ringed the Alabama State College Campus" after the demonstration on the State Capitol steps, and that Dr. King had been "arrested . . . seven times." These statements were false only in that the police had been "deployed near" the campus but had not actually "ringed" it and had not gone there in connection with the State Capitol demonstration, and in that Dr. King had been arrested only four times. The ruling that these discrepancies between what was true and what was asserted were sufficient to injure respondent's reputation may itself raise constitutional problems, but we need not consider them here. Although the statements may be taken as referring to the police, they did not on their face make even an oblique reference to respondent as an individual. Support for the asserted reference must, therefore, be sought in the testimony of respondent's witnesses. But none of them suggested any basis for the belief that respondent himself was attacked in the advertisement beyond the bare fact that he was in overall charge of the Police Department and thus bore official responsibility for police conduct; to the extent that some of the witnesses thought respondent to have been charged with ordering or approving the conduct or otherwise being personally involved in it, they based this notion not on any statements in the advertisement, and not on any evidence that he had in fact been so involved, but solely on the unsupported assumption that,

because of his official position, he must have been. This reliance on the bare [376 U.S. 254, 290] fact of respondent's official position was made explicit by the Supreme Court of Alabama. That court, in holding that the trial court "did not err in overruling the demurrer [of the Times] in the aspect that the libelous [376 U.S. 254, 291] matter was not of and concerning the [plaintiff,]" based its ruling on the proposition that:

> "We think it common knowledge that the average person knows that municipal agents, such as police and firemen, and others, are under the control and direction of the city governing body, and more particularly under the direction and control of a single commissioner. In measuring the performance or deficiencies of such groups, praise or criticism is usually attached to the official in complete control of the body." 273 Ala., at 674-675, 144 So.2d. at 39.

This proposition has disquieting implications for criticism of governmental conduct. For good reason, "no court of last resort in this country has ever held, or even suggested, that prosecutions for libel on government have any place in the American system of jurisprudence." City of Chicago v. Tribune Co., 307 Ill. 595, 601, 139 N. E. [376 U.S. 254, 292] 86, 88 (1923). The present proposition would sidestep this obstacle by transmuting criticism of government, however impersonal it may seem on its face, into personal criticism, and hence potential libel, of the officials of whom the government is composed. There is no legal alchemy by which a State may thus create the cause of action that would otherwise be denied for a publication which, as respondent himself said of the advertisement, "reflects not only on me but on the other Commissioners and the community." Raising as it does the possibility that a good-faith critic of government will be penalized for his criticism, the proposition relied on by the Alabama courts strikes at the very center of the constitutionally protected area of free expression. We hold that such a proposition may not constitutionally be utilized to establish that an otherwise impersonal attack on governmental operations was a libel of an official responsible for those operations. Since it was relied on exclusively here, and there was no other evidence to connect the statements with respondent, the evidence was constitutionally insufficient to support a finding that the statements referred to respondent.

The judgment of the Supreme Court of Alabama is reversed and the case is remanded to that court for further proceedings not inconsistent with this opinion.

New York Times Co. v. Sullivan, 376 U.S. 254 (1964).

Ollman v. Evans *(1979)*

Introduction

Bertell Ollman, a reputed Marxist, was hired by the University of Maryland to serve as chair of its Government and Economics Department. Noted columnists Robert Novak and Rowland Evans teamed up to write a scathing piece that appeared in *The Washington Post* and other publications questioning the wisdom of putting a Marxist in this lofty position. The university ultimately withdrew its offer to Ollman. He filed a suit against the columnists that said the article contained false facts and should be seen as defamatory because it damaged his reputation as a scholar and portrayed him more as a "political activist," "pamphleteer," and someone who would use the classroom to foment revolution.

Although the *Ollman v. Evans* case wound up at the Supreme Court, the most significant legal principles came out of the tightly contested decision rendered a step below at the United States Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C. The argument for the defense hinged on the assertion that the article offered fair opinions based on accepted reporting techniques. It is widely recognized that published opinions, even from antagonistic sources, serve the welfare of the public and fall under the protection of the First Amendment. False facts, on the other hand, can more readily serve as the basis for a libel claim. Judge Kenneth Starr wrote the 6-to-5-majority opinion favoring the defendants and their take on what constitutes opinion.

In his ruling, Judge Starr crafted what came to be known as the "*Ollman* Test" for delineating when a journalist's assertions should be perceived as a statement of fact or merely as the offering of an opinion. The test contained four basic criteria for separating fact from opinion:

1. Can the statement be shown to be true or false—with the assumption that an opinion cannot be proved to be either?
2. What is the common meaning of the words—certain words are used more frequently to state opinions?
3. What is the journalistic context for the words—readers expect to see facts asserted in a hard news story and opinions offered in a column?
4. What is the broader social context for the statement—opinions fit certain political or social settings while the reporting of facts, say at a lecture, seem expected at others?

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

Bertell Ollman, Plaintiff, v. Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, Defendants
United States District Court for the District of Columbia
479 F. Supp. 292; 1979 U.S. Dist.

September 26, 1979
OPINION BY: ROBINSON, Jr.

OPINION

MEMORANDUM OPINION AND ORDER

Before the Court is Defendant's Motion for Summary Judgment in a defamation action brought by Bertell Ollman against Rowland Evans and Robert Novak. This Court has jurisdiction under 28 U.S.C. § 1332 and Rule 56 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.

The material facts in this case are not in dispute. Plaintiff is a Marxist professor of political science. He was nominated for the position of Chairman of the Department of Government and Economics at the University of Maryland. Defendants Evans and Novak are syndicated columnists. They wrote a scathing article that questioned the nomination. Plaintiff was subsequently denied the above-stated position. He claims that the article damaged his reputation as a scholar, causing great distress and mental anguish.

The alleged defamatory article was published in The Washington Post, The New York Post, and other newspapers throughout the country on May 4, 1978.[1] Plaintiff asserts that the article is defamatory because (1) it denies Ollman's reputation as a scholar and portrays him as a political activist, (2) it states that Plaintiff is widely viewed in his profession as a political activist, (3) it alleges that Ollman is an outspoken proponent of "political Marxism," (4) it asserts that Ollman is a "pamphleteer," and (5) it contends that Plaintiff desires to use the classroom as a tool for preparing what Ollman calls "the revolution." Defendants move for summary judgment on one issue, namely: they claim that the article in question is essentially a statement of opinions and conclusions, and as such no cause of action for defamation arises.

The First Amendment precludes liability based on the utterance of defamatory opinions. As the Supreme Court stated in Gertz v. Welch,[2] "Under the First Amendment there is no such thing as a false idea. However pernicious an opinion may seem, we depend for its correction not on the conscience of judges and juries but on the competition of other ideas."[3] As the Gertz Court noted, however, "there is no constitutional value in false statements of fact."[4] For any statement to be actionable, it must depict false facts in a defamatory light.

1. The article may be summarized as follows: His (Ollman's) candid writings avow his desire to use the classroom as an instrument for preparing what he calls "the revolution." Whether this is a form of indoctrination that could transform the real function of a university and transcend limits of academic freedom is a concern to academicians who are neither McCarthyite nor know-nothing….While Ollman is described in news accounts as a "respected Marxist scholar," he is widely viewed in his profession as a political activist. Amid the increasingly popular Marxist movement in university life, he is distinct from philosophical Marxists. Rather, he is an outspoken proponent of "political Marxism." He twice sought election to the council of the American Political Science Association as a candidate of the "Caucus for a New Political Science" and finished last out of the 16 candidates each time. Whether or not that represents a professional judgment by his colleagues, as some critics contend, the verdict clearly rejected his campaign pledge: "If elected…I shall use every means at my disposal to promote the study of Marxism and Marxist approaches to politics throughout the profession." Ollman's intentions become explicit in "On Teaching Marxism and Building the Movement," his article in the Winter 1978 issue of New Political Science. Most students, he claims, conclude his course with a "Marxist outlook." Ollman concedes that will be seen "as an admission that the purpose of my course is to convert students to socialism." That bothers him not at all because "a correct understanding of Marxism (as indeed of any body of scientific truths) leads automatically to its acceptance." Non-Marxist students are defined as those "who do not yet understand Marxism." The "classroom" is a place where the students' "bourgeois ideology is being dismantled." "Our prior task" before the revolution, he writes, "is to make more revolutionaries. The revolution will only occur, when there are enough of us to make it…." Ollman's principal scholarly work, "Alienation: Marx's Conception of Man in Capitalist Society," is a ponderous tome in adoration of the master (Marxism "is like a magnificently rich tapestry"). Published in 1971, it does not abandon hope for the revolution forecast by Karl Marx in 1848. "The present youth rebellion," he writes, by "helping to change the workers of tomorrow" will, along with other factors, make possible "a socialist revolution." Such pamphleteering is hooted at by one political scientist in a major eastern university, whose scholarship and reputation as a liberal are well known. "Ollman has no status within the profession, but is a pure and simple activist," he said. Would he say that publicly? "No chance of it. Our academic culture does not permit the raising of such questions."

2. 418 U.S. 323, 94 S. Ct. 2997, 41 L. Ed. 2d 789 (1974).

3. Id., at 339-340, 94 S. Ct. at 3007.

4. Id., at 340, 94 S. Ct. at 3007.

The First Amendment requires indefeasible protection of opinion to facilitate the free flow of ideas. Opinion Qua opinion cannot provide the basis for an actionable claim. A cause of action will accrue, however, if a statement implies the existence of undisclosed "facts" which are both false and defamatory.[5] According to the Restatement (Second), Torts, § 566.

> A defamatory communication may consist of an opinion, but a statement of this nature is actionable only if it implies the allegation of undisclosed defamatory facts as the basis of the opinion.

If an author bases his opinion on disclosed facts, the opinion itself does not give rise to a cause of action. Should the underlying facts prove false, they (rather than the opinion) would be actionable. If the author supplies no such facts, but utters a defamatory opinion, a claim arises. It is the libelous underlying "facts," rather than the opinion, that makes the defamatory statement actionable.

This approach strikes a balance between competing legitimate needs. It encourages unfettered inquiry, contemplation, and communication, yet does not preclude redress to individuals for damage to their reputation. This analysis has been adopted in three jurisdictions,[6] and is adopted here.

It is imperative to distinguish between statements of opinion and assertions of fact. While the difference may be hazy at times, this Court finds that "loosely definable, variously interpretable statements…made inextricably in the context of political, social, or philosophical debate"[7] are opinions. Statements imputing objective reality, uncolored by possible interpretation or bias, are assertions of fact.

This Court has carefully parsed the article in question. While Defendants refer to Plaintiff's writings and speeches, Ollman's statements are selected to reflect Defendants' opinion. Portions contrary to Evan's and Novak's viewpoint are carefully omitted. While this may be thought of as biased journalism, it is afforded the same constitutional protection as writing thought of as "balanced."

Defendants accuse Plaintiff of being a "political Marxist," a "political activist," and a "pamphleteer." These are merely the opinions of two people, couched in obscure words that defy concrete definition. Defendants also submit that Plaintiff lacks a reputation in his field as a scholar. A person's reputation is derived from opinion. Conclusions based on opinion must by definition be opinion. Finally, Defendants' claim that "Ollman's writings candidly profess the desire to use the classroom as an instrument for preparing what he (Ollman) calls the 'revolution.'" This statement reflects nothing more than Defendants' interpretation of Plaintiff's writings.

Under Gertz and its progeny, no cause of action arises unless Defendants' opinions imply underlying false and defamatory statements of fact. No such implication is apparent. Rather, Defendants have quoted Plaintiff's writings and speeches, and have cited his campaign for election to the council of the American Political Science Association as "proof" that their allegations are grounded in fact. There is no evidence that any of the data supporting Evan's and Novak's conclusions is false or defamatory. Nor is there any reason to assume that Defendants relied on any other evidence in support of their contentions.

Accordingly, it is by the Court this 26th day of September, 1979,

ORDERED, that Defendants' Motion for Summary Judgment is hereby GRANTED.

Ollman v. Evans, 479 F. Supp. 292 (D. C. Cir. 1979).

5. Plaintiff's burden of proof depends upon whether he is a public official, public figure or private person. New York Times v. Sullivan, 376 U.S. 254, 84 S. Ct. 710, 11 L. Ed. 2d 686 (1964); Curtis Publishing Co. v. Butts, 388 U.S. 130, 87 S. Ct. 1975, 18 L. Ed. 2d 1094 (1967); Gertz v. Welch, supra. The varying burdens of proof, however, do not determine whether a cause of action has accrued. Herbert v. Lando, 441 U.S. 153 at 175-177, 99 S. Ct. 1635, 60 L. Ed. 2d 115.

6. See Hotchner v. Castillo-Puche, 551 F.2d 910 at 913. (2d Cir. 1977) Cert. den. 434 U.S. 834, 98 S. Ct. 120, 54 L. Ed. 2d 95; Buckley v. Littell, 539 F.2d 882 at 893 (2d Cir. 1976) Cert. den. 429 U.S. 1062, 97 S. Ct. 785, 50 L. Ed. 2d 777; Orr v. Argus-Press Co., 586 F.2d 1108 (6th Cir. 1978) Cert. den. 440 U.S. 960, 99 S. Ct. 1502, 59 L. Ed. 2d 773; Yerkie v. Post-Newsweek Stations, 470 F. Supp. 91 (D.Md.1979).

7. Buckley v. Littell, supra, at 895.

Privacy Protection

The Florida Star v. B. J. F. *(1989)*

Introduction

Privacy protection has generally been considered perhaps the most nebulous and contentious area of media-related law. The word privacy does not appear anywhere in the U.S. Constitution or the Bill of Rights, and privacy law did not begin to evolve until 1890 when two lawyers, Louis Brandeis (a future Supreme Court justice) and Samuel Warren, wrote an article in the *Harvard Law Review* that argued for a "right to privacy" to keep "newspaper enterprise" from invading the "sacred precincts of private and domestic life." In the decades to follow, most states passed statutes and courts generated a wide range of common law to regulate the right to privacy versus the First Amendment right of the press to foster a free flow of ideas and information. But privacy law did not get really organized until 1960 when law school dean William Prosser wrote an article that divided it into four distinct categories: appropriation (use of a name or likeness for commercial purposes), intrusion (intentionally interfering with another's solitude), private facts (publication of true and highly sensitive private information), and false light (intentionally publishing false and offensive material about an individual).

The Florida Star v. B. J. F. Supreme Court case dealt with issues that fell squarely in the private facts category. B. J. F., initials of a rape victim, filed a report containing her full name with the local sheriff's office that was left in the pressroom where a *Florida Star* reporter gained access to it. The newspaper ran a story based on the report that violated a state law prohibiting the publishing of names of sexual assault victims. B. J. F. won a settlement from the sheriff's office and a suit against the newspaper that went to a Florida appeals court. But Justice Thurgood Marshall, in a majority opinion for the Supreme Court, argued that the newspaper could not be punished in this instance because it published "truthful information" that was "lawfully obtained" and did not conflict with "a state interest of the highest order."

Private facts suits, to be successful, usually must show that the information involved is both true and intimate in nature, becomes widely published or publicized, and would clearly be embarrassing to a reasonable person. In addition, the plaintiff must prove that these intimate facts are not of legitimate concern to the public. The Supreme Court here decided that the focus should be on the significance of the story's topic rather than the revealing of a person's name in dessstermining legitimate concern to the public. In *Florida Star v. B. J. F.,* the Court held that violent crimes are publicly significant subjects and should be addressed by the media even if the name of the victim appears.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

U.S. Supreme Court
THE FLORIDA STAR v. B. J. F., 491 U.S. 524 (1989)

JUSTICE MARSHALL delivered the opinion of the Court.

Florida Stat. 794.03 (1987) makes it unlawful to "print, publish, or broadcast . . . in any instrument of mass communication" the name of the victim of a sexual offense. Pursuant to this statute, appellant The Florida Star was found civilly liable for publishing the name of a rape victim which it had obtained from a publicly released police report. The issue presented here is whether this result comports with the First Amendment. We hold that it does not.

I

The Florida Star is a weekly newspaper which serves the community of Jacksonville, Florida, and which has an average circulation of approximately 18,000 copies. A regular feature of the newspaper is its "Police Reports" section. [491 U.S. 524, 527] That section, typically two to three pages in length, contains brief articles describing local criminal incidents under police investigation.

On October 20, 1983, appellee B. J. F. reported to the Duval County, Florida, Sheriff's Department (Department) that she had been robbed and sexually assaulted by an unknown assailant. The Department prepared a report on the incident which identified B. J. F. by her full name. The Department then placed the report in its pressroom. The Department does not restrict access either to the pressroom or to the reports made available therein.

A Florida Star reporter-trainee sent to the pressroom copied the police report verbatim, including B. J. F.'s full name, on a blank duplicate of the Department's forms. A Florida Star reporter then prepared a one-paragraph article about the crime, derived entirely from the trainee's copy of the police report. The article included B. J. F.'s full name. It appeared in the "Robberies" subsection of the "Police Reports" section on October 29, 1983, one of 54 police blotter stories in that day's edition. The article read:

> "[B. J. F.] reported on Thursday, October 20, she was crossing Brentwood Park, which is in the 500 block of Golfair Boulevard, enroute to her bus stop, when an unknown black man ran up behind the lady and placed a knife to her neck and told her not to yell. The suspect then undressed the lady and had sexual intercourse with her before fleeing the scene with her 60 cents, Timex watch and gold necklace. Patrol efforts have been suspended concerning this incident because of a lack of evidence." [491 U.S. 524, 528]

In printing B. J. F.'s full name, The Florida Star violated its internal policy of not publishing the names of sexual offense victims.

On September 26, 1984, B. J. F. filed suit in the Circuit Court of Duval County against the Department and The Florida Star, alleging that these parties negligently violated 794.03. See n. 1, supra. Before trial, the Department settled with B. J. F. for $2,500. The Florida Star moved to dismiss, claiming, inter alia, that imposing civil sanctions on the newspaper pursuant to 794.03 violated the First Amendment. The trial judge rejected the motion. App. 4.

At the ensuing daylong trial, B. J. F. testified that she had suffered emotional distress from the publication of her name. She stated that she had heard about the article from fellow workers and acquaintances; that her mother had received several threatening phone calls from a man who stated that he would rape B. J. F. again; and that these events had forced B. J. F. to change her phone number and residence, to seek police protection, and to obtain mental health counseling. In defense, The Florida Star put forth evidence indicating that the newspaper had learned B. J. F.'s name from the incident report released by the Department, and that the newspaper's violation of its internal rule against publishing the names of sexual offense victims was inadvertent.

At the close of B. J. F.'s case, and again at the close of its defense, The Florida Star moved for a directed verdict. On both occasions, the trial judge denied these motions. He ruled from the bench that 794.03 was constitutional because it reflected a proper balance between the First Amendment and privacy rights, as it applied only to a narrow set of

"rather sensitive . . . criminal offenses." App. 18-19 (rejecting first motion); see id., at 32-33 (rejecting second motion). At the close of the newspaper's defense, the judge granted B. J. F.'s motion for a directed verdict on the issue of negligence, finding the newspaper per se negligent based upon its [491 U.S. 524, 529] violation of 794.03. Id., at 33. This ruling left the jury to consider only the questions of causation and damages. The judge instructed the jury that it could award B. J. F. punitive damages if it found that the newspaper had "acted with reckless indifference to the rights of others." Id., at 35. The jury awarded B. J. F. $75,000 in compensatory damages and $25,000 in punitive damages. Against the actual damages award, the judge set off B. J. F.'s settlement with the Department.

The First District Court of Appeal affirmed in a three-paragraph per curiam opinion. 499 So.2d 883 (1986). In the paragraph devoted to The Florida Star's First Amendment claim, the court stated that the directed verdict for B. J. F. had been properly entered because, under 794.03, a rape victim's name is "of a private nature and not to be published as a matter of law." Id., at 884, citing Doe v. Sarasota-Bradenton Florida Television Co., 436 So.2d 328, 330 (Fla. App. 1983) (footnote omitted). The Supreme Court of Florida denied discretionary review.

The Florida Star appealed to this Court. We noted probable jurisdiction, 488 U.S. 887 (1988), and now reverse. [491 U.S. 524, 530]

II

The tension between the right which the First Amendment accords to a free press, on the one hand, and the protections which various statutes and common-law doctrines accord to personal privacy against the publication of truthful information, on the other, is a subject we have addressed several times in recent years. Our decisions in cases involving government attempts to sanction the accurate dissemination of information as invasive of privacy, have not, however, exhaustively considered this conflict. On the contrary, although our decisions have without exception upheld the press' right to publish, we have emphasized each time that we were resolving this conflict only as it arose in a discrete factual context.

The parties to this case frame their contentions in light of a trilogy of cases which have presented, in different contexts, the conflict between truthful reporting and state-protected privacy interests. In Cox Broadcasting Corp. v. Cohn, 420 U.S. 469 (1975), we found unconstitutional a civil damages award entered against a television station for broadcasting the name of a rape-murder victim which the station had obtained from courthouse records. In Oklahoma Publishing [491 U.S. 524, 531] Co. v. Oklahoma County District Court, 430 U.S. 308 (1977), we found unconstitutional a state court's pretrial order enjoining the media from publishing the name or photograph of an 11-year-old boy in connection with a juvenile proceeding involving that child which reporters had attended. Finally, in Smith v. Daily Mail Publishing Co., 443 U.S. 97 (1979), we found unconstitutional the indictment of two newspapers for violating a state statute forbidding newspapers to publish, without written approval of the juvenile court, the name of any youth charged as a juvenile offender. The papers had learned about a shooting by monitoring a police band radio frequency and had obtained the name of the alleged juvenile assailant from witnesses, the police, and a local prosecutor.

Appellant takes the position that this case is indistinguishable from Cox Broadcasting. Brief for Appellant. Alternatively, it urges that our decisions in the above trilogy, and in other cases in which we have held that the right of the press to publish truth overcame asserted interests other than personal privacy, can be distilled to yield a broader First Amendment principle that the press may never be punished, civilly or criminally, for publishing the truth. Id., at 19. Appellee counters that the privacy trilogy is inapposite, because in each case the private information already appeared on a "public record," Brief for Appellee 12, 24, 25, and because the privacy interests at stake were far less profound than in the present case. See, e. g., id., at 34. In the alternative, appellee urges that Cox Broadcasting be overruled and replaced with a categorical rule that publication of the [491 U.S. 524, 532] name of a rape victim never enjoys constitutional protection. Tr. of Oral Arg. 44.

We conclude that imposing damages on appellant for publishing B. J. F.'s name violates the First Amendment, although not for either of the reasons appellant urges. Despite the strong resemblance this case bears to Cox Broadcasting, that case cannot fairly be read as controlling here. The name

of the rape victim in that case was obtained from courthouse records that were open to public inspection, a fact which JUSTICE WHITE's opinion for the Court repeatedly noted. 420 U.S., at 492 (noting "special protected nature of accurate reports of judicial proceedings") (emphasis added); see also id., at 493, 496. Significantly, one of the reasons we gave in Cox Broadcasting for invalidating the challenged damages award was the important role the press plays in subjecting trials to public scrutiny and thereby helping guarantee their fairness. Id., at 492-493. That role is not directly compromised where, as here, the information in question comes from a police report prepared and disseminated at a time at which not only had no adversarial criminal proceedings begun, but no suspect had been identified.

Nor need we accept appellant's invitation to hold broadly that truthful publication may never be punished consistent with the First Amendment. Our cases have carefully eschewed reaching this ultimate question, mindful that the future may bring scenarios which prudence counsels our not resolving anticipatorily. See, e. g., Near v. Minnesota ex rel. Olson, 283 U.S. 697, 716 (1931) (hypothesizing "publication of the sailing dates of transports or the number and location of troops"); see also Garrison v. Louisiana, 379 U.S. 64, 72, [491 U.S. 524, 533] n. 8, 74 (1964) (endorsing absolute defense of truth "where discussion of public affairs is concerned," but leaving unsettled the constitutional implications of truthfulness "in the discrete area of purely private libels"); Landmark Communications, Inc. v. Virginia, 435 U.S. 829, 838 (1978); Time, Inc. v. Hill, 385 U.S. 374, 383 , n. 7 (1967). Indeed, in Cox Broadcasting, we pointedly refused to answer even the less sweeping question "whether truthful publications may ever be subjected to civil or criminal liability" for invading "an area of privacy" defined by the State. 420 U.S., at 491. Respecting the fact that press freedom and privacy rights are both "plainly rooted in the traditions and significant concerns of our society," we instead focused on the less sweeping issue "whether the State may impose sanctions on the accurate publication of the name of a rape victim obtained from public records—more specifically, from judicial records which are maintained in connection with a public prosecution and which themselves are open to public inspection." Ibid. We continue to believe that the sensitivity and significance of the interests presented in clashes between First Amendment and privacy rights counsel relying on limited principles that sweep no more broadly than the appropriate context of the instant case.

In our view, this case is appropriately analyzed with reference to such a limited First Amendment principle. It is the one, in fact, which we articulated in Daily Mail in our synthesis of prior cases involving attempts to punish truthful publication: "[I]f a newspaper lawfully obtains truthful information about a matter of public significance then state officials may not constitutionally punish publication of the information, absent a need to further a state interest of the highest order." 443 U.S., at 103. According the press the ample protection provided by that principle is supported by at least three separate considerations, in addition to, of course, the overarching "'public interest, secured by the Constitution, in the dissemination of truth.'" Cox Broadcasting, [491 U.S. 524, 534] supra, at 491, quoting Garrison, supra, at 73 (footnote omitted). The cases on which the Daily Mail synthesis relied demonstrate these considerations.

First, because the Daily Mail formulation only protects the publication of information which a newspaper has "lawfully obtain[ed]," 443 U.S., at 103, the government retains ample means of safeguarding significant interests upon which publication may impinge, including protecting a rape victim's anonymity. To the extent sensitive information rests in private hands, the government may under some circumstances forbid its nonconsensual acquisition, thereby bringing outside of the Daily Mail principle the publication of any information so acquired. To the extent sensitive information is in the government's custody, it has even greater power to forestall or mitigate the injury caused by its release. The government may classify certain information, establish and enforce procedures ensuring its redacted release, and extend a damages remedy against the government or its officials where the government's mishandling of sensitive information leads to its dissemination. Where information is entrusted to the government, a less drastic means than punishing truthful publication almost always exists for guarding against the dissemination of private facts. See, e. g., Landmark Communications, supra, at 845 ("[M]

uch of the risk [from disclosure of sensitive information regarding judicial disciplinary proceedings] can be eliminated through careful internal procedures to protect the confidentiality of Commission proceedings"); Oklahoma Publishing, 430 U.S., at 311 (noting trial judge's failure to avail himself of the opportunity, provided by a state statute, to close juvenile hearing to the public, including members of the press, who later broadcast juvenile defendant's name); Cox Broadcasting, supra, at 496 ("If there are privacy interests to be protected in judicial proceedings, the States must respond by means which [491 U.S. 524, 535] avoid public documentation or other exposure of private information").

A second consideration undergirding the Daily Mail principle is the fact that punishing the press for its dissemination of information which is already publicly available is relatively unlikely to advance the interests in the service of which the State seeks to act. It is not, of course, always the case that information lawfully acquired by the press is known, or accessible, to others. But where the government has made certain information publicly available, it is highly anomalous to sanction persons other than the source of its release. We noted this anomaly in Cox Broadcasting: "By placing the information in the public domain on official court records, the State must be presumed to have concluded that the public interest was thereby being served." 420 U.S., at 495. The Daily Mail formulation reflects the fact that it is a limited set of cases indeed where, despite the accessibility of the public to certain information, a meaningful public interest is served by restricting its further release by other entities, like the press. As Daily Mail observed in its summary of Oklahoma Publishing, "once the truthful information was 'publicly revealed' or 'in the public domain' the court could not constitutionally restrain its dissemination." 443 U.S., at 103.

A third and final consideration is the "timidity and self-censorship" which may result from allowing the media to be punished for publishing certain truthful information. Cox Broadcasting, supra, at 496. Cox Broadcasting noted this concern with overdeterrence in the context of information made public through official court records, but the fear of excessive [491 U.S. 524, 536] media self-suppression is applicable as well to other information released, without qualification, by the government. A contrary rule, depriving protection to those who rely on the government's implied representations of the lawfulness of dissemination, would force upon the media the onerous obligation of sifting through government press releases, reports, and pronouncements to prune out material arguably unlawful for publication. This situation could inhere even where the newspaper's sole object was to reproduce, with no substantial change, the government's rendition of the event in question.

Applied to the instant case, the Daily Mail principle clearly commands reversal. The first inquiry is whether the newspaper "lawfully obtain[ed] truthful information about a matter of public significance." 443 U.S., at 103. It is undisputed that the news article describing the assault on B. J. F. was accurate. In addition, appellant lawfully obtained B. J. F.'s name. Appellee's argument to the contrary is based on the fact that under Florida law, police reports which reveal the identity of the victim of a sexual offense are not among the matters of "public record" which the public, by law, is entitled to inspect. Brief for Appellee 17-18, citing Fla. Stat. 119.07(3)(h) (1983). But the fact that state officials are not required to disclose such reports does not make it unlawful for a newspaper to receive them when furnished by the government. Nor does the fact that the Department apparently failed to fulfill its obligation under 794.03 not to "cause or allow to be . . . published" the name of a sexual offense victim make the newspaper's ensuing receipt of this information unlawful. Even assuming the Constitution permitted a State to proscribe receipt of information, Florida has not taken this step. It is, clear, furthermore, that the news article concerned "a matter of public significance," 443 U.S., at 103, in the sense in which the Daily Mail synthesis of prior cases used that term. That is, the article generally, as opposed to the specific identity contained within it, involved a [491 U.S. 524, 537] matter of paramount public import: the commission, and investigation, of a violent crime which had been reported to authorities. See Cox Broadcasting, supra (article identifying victim of rape-murder); Oklahoma Publishing Co. v. Oklahoma County District Court, 430 U.S. 308 (1977) (article identifying juvenile alleged to have committed murder); Daily Mail, supra (same); cf. Landmark Communications, Inc. v. Virginia, 435

U.S. 829 (1978) (article identifying judges whose conduct was being investigated).

The second inquiry is whether imposing liability on appellant pursuant to 794.03 serves "a need to further a state interest of the highest order." Daily Mail, 443 U.S., at 103. Appellee argues that a rule punishing publication furthers three closely related interests: the privacy of victims of sexual offenses; the physical safety of such victims, who may be targeted for retaliation if their names become known to their assailants; and the goal of encouraging victims of such crimes to report these offenses without fear of exposure. Brief for Appellee 29-30.

At a time in which we are daily reminded of the tragic reality of rape, it is undeniable that these are highly significant interests, a fact underscored by the Florida Legislature's explicit attempt to protect these interests by enacting a criminal statute prohibiting much dissemination of victim identities. We accordingly do not rule out the possibility that, in a proper case, imposing civil sanctions for publication of the name of a rape victim might be so overwhelmingly necessary to advance these interests as to satisfy the Daily Mail standard. For three independent reasons, however, imposing liability for publication under the circumstances of this case is too precipitous a means of advancing these interests to convince us that there is a "need" within the meaning of the Daily Mail formulation for Florida to take this extreme step. Cf. Landmark Communications, supra (invalidating penalty on publication despite State's expressed interest in non-dissemination, [491 U.S. 524, 538] reflected in statute prohibiting unauthorized divulging of names of judges under investigation).

First is the manner in which appellant obtained the identifying information in question. As we have noted, where the government itself provides information to the media, it is most appropriate to assume that the government had, but failed to utilize, far more limited means of guarding against dissemination than the extreme step of punishing truthful speech. That assumption is richly borne out in this case. B. J. F.'s identity would never have come to light were it not for the erroneous, if inadvertent, inclusion by the Department of her full name in an incident report made available in a pressroom open to the public. Florida's policy against disclosure of rape victims' identities, reflected in 794.03, was undercut by the Department's failure to abide by this policy. Where, as here, the government has failed to police itself in disseminating information, it is clear under Cox Broadcasting, Oklahoma Publishing, and Landmark Communications that the imposition of damages against the press for its subsequent publication can hardly be said to be a narrowly tailored means of safeguarding anonymity. See supra, at 534-535. Once the government has placed such information in the public domain, "reliance must rest upon the judgment of those who decide what to publish or broadcast," Cox Broadcasting, 420 U.S., at 496, and hopes for restitution must rest upon the willingness of the government to compensate victims for their loss of privacy and to protect them from the other consequences of its mishandling of the information which these victims provided in confidence.

That appellant gained access to the information in question through a government news release makes it especially likely that, if liability were to be imposed, self-censorship would result. Reliance on a news release is a paradigmatically "routine newspaper reporting techniqu[e]." Daily Mail, supra, at 103. The government's issuance of such a release, without qualification, can only convey to recipients that the [491 U.S. 524, 539] government considered dissemination lawful, and indeed expected the recipients to disseminate the information further. Had appellant merely reproduced the news release prepared and released by the Department, imposing civil damages would surely violate the First Amendment. The fact that appellant converted the police report into a news story by adding the linguistic connecting tissue necessary to transform the report's facts into full sentences cannot change this result.

A second problem with Florida's imposition of liability for publication is the broad sweep of the negligence per se standard applied under the civil cause of action implied from 794.03. Unlike claims based on the common-law tort of invasion of privacy, see Restatement (Second) of Torts 652D (1977), civil actions based on 794.03 require no case-by-case findings that the disclosure of a fact about a person's private life was one that a reasonable person would find highly offensive. On the contrary, under the per se theory of negligence adopted by the courts below, liability follows automatically from publication. This is so regardless of

whether the identity of the victim is already known throughout the community; whether the victim has voluntarily called public attention to the offense; or whether the identity of the victim has otherwise become a reasonable subject of public concern—because, perhaps, questions have arisen whether the victim fabricated an assault by a particular person. Nor is there a scienter requirement of any kind under 794.03, engendering the perverse result that truthful publications challenged pursuant to this cause of action are less protected by the First Amendment than even the least protected defamatory falsehoods: those involving purely private figures, where liability is evaluated under a standard, usually applied by a jury, of ordinary negligence. See Gertz v. Robert Welch, Inc., 418 U.S. 323 (1974). We have previously noted the impermissibility of categorical prohibitions upon media access where important First Amendment interests are at stake. See Globe [491 U.S. 524, 540] Newspaper Co. v. Superior Court of Norfolk County, 457 U.S. 596, 608 (1982) (invalidating state statute providing for the categorical exclusion of the public from trials of sexual offenses involving juvenile victims). More individualized adjudication is no less indispensable where the State, seeking to safeguard the anonymity of crime victims, sets its face against publication of their names.

Third, and finally, the facial underinclusiveness of 794.03 raises serious doubts about whether Florida is, in fact, serving, with this statute, the significant interests which appellee invokes in support of affirmance. Section 794.03 prohibits the publication of identifying information only if this information appears in an "instrument of mass communication," a term the statute does not define. Section 794.03 does not prohibit the spread by other means of the identities of victims of sexual offenses. An individual who maliciously spreads word of the identity of a rape victim is thus not covered, despite the fact that the communication of such information to persons who live near, or work with, the victim may have consequences as devastating as the exposure of her name to large numbers of strangers. See Tr. of Oral Arg. 49-50 (appellee acknowledges that 794.03 would not apply to "the backyard gossip who tells 50 people that don't have to know").

When a State attempts the extraordinary measure of punishing truthful publication in the name of privacy, it must demonstrate its commitment to advancing this interest by applying its prohibition evenhandedly, to the smalltime disseminator as well as the media giant. Where important First Amendment interests are at stake, the mass scope of disclosure is not an acceptable surrogate for injury. A ban on disclosures effected by "instrument[s] of mass communication" simply cannot be defended on the ground that partial prohibitions may effect partial relief. See Daily Mail, 443 U.S., at 104-105 (statute is insufficiently tailored to interest in protecting anonymity where it restricted only newspapers, not [491 U.S. 524, 541] the electronic media or other forms of publication, from identifying juvenile defendants); id., at 110 (REHNQUIST, J., concurring in judgment) (same); cf. Arkansas Writers' Project, Inc. v. Ragland, 481 U.S. 221, 229 (1987); Minneapolis Star & Tribune Co. v. Minnesota Comm'r of Revenue, 460 U.S. 575, 585 (1983). Without more careful and inclusive precautions against alternative forms of dissemination, we cannot conclude that Florida's selective ban on publication by the mass media satisfactorily accomplishes its stated purpose.

III

Our holding today is limited. We do not hold that truthful publication is automatically constitutionally protected, or that there is no zone of personal privacy within which the State may protect the individual from intrusion by the press, or even that a State may never punish publication of the name of a victim of a sexual offense. We hold only that where a newspaper publishes truthful information which it has lawfully obtained, punishment may lawfully be imposed, if at all, only when narrowly tailored to a state interest of the highest order, and that no such interest is satisfactorily served by imposing liability under 794.03 to appellant under the facts of this case. The decision below is therefore

Reversed.

The Florida Star v. B. J. F., 491 U.S. 524 (1989).

Access to Public Records

Freedom of Information Act Guide (May 2004)

Introduction

The following document is the Introduction to the federal Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) Guide from May 2004. It offers insights into the intentions of the original FOIA legislation in 1966 to provide public access to federal executive branch information in order to "ensure an informed citizenry" deemed necessary to "check against corruption and to hold the governors accountable to the governed." The guide discusses where the FOIA, considered one of the most widely used and effective newsgathering tools, has traditionally worked for journalists and where it has fallen short of disclosure goals. It also references subsequent acts, amendments, and additions (1974, 1976, 1986, and 1996) over the years that served to expand or limit the impact of the FOIA.

Although *The Congressional Record* had long provided key information for reporting on the business of the federal government, the sheer size and complexity of the executive branch—and its expanding role in governing—made it imperative for journalists to gain access to the "records" of its various "agencies." The FOIA first controls the breadth of this access by carefully defining what constitutes an agency and what qualifies as a record. It then further limits the scope of record requests by stipulating nine specific categories where disclosure can be denied. The FOIA exemption categories include national security matters, internal agency regulations and procedures, disclosures banned by other statutes, trade secrets, agency memoranda or working papers, personal privacy material, law enforcement records, financial institution documents, and geological data. There have been much greater restrictions placed on records seen as national security-related since the terrorist acts of September 11, 2001.

The FOIA requests can cover records in both print and electronic formats. Government agencies are mandated to respond to requests for records within 20 working days, and members of the press can get "expedited review" when immediate need for material exists. Executive agencies must report annually to Congress on the records where access was given or denied and the costs involved. In addition, further accountability has been assured by requiring the agency employees to identify themselves to the requester when access to a government record has been denied. Members of the press pay no search fees for record requests and get the first 100 pages of copies without charge.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

Freedom of Information Act Guide, May 2004

Introduction

The Freedom of Information Act generally provides that any person has a right, enforceable in court, to obtain access to federal agency records, except to the extent that such records (or portions of them) are protected from public disclosure by one of nine exemptions or by one of three special law enforcement record exclusions.

Enacted in 1966, and taking effect on July 4, 1967, the FOIA firmly established an effective statutory right of public access to executive branch

information in the federal government. The principles of government openness and accountability underlying the FOIA, however, are inherent in the democratic ideal: "The basic purpose of [the] FOIA is to ensure an informed citizenry, vital to the functioning of a democratic society, needed to check against corruption and to hold the governors accountable to the governed." The United States Supreme Court has emphasized that only "[o]fficial information that sheds light on an agency's performance of its statutory duties falls squarely within that statutory purpose."

To be sure, achieving an informed citizenry is a goal often counterpoised against other vital societal aims. Society's strong interest in an open government can conflict with other important interests of the general public—such as the public's interests in the effective and efficient operations of government; in the prudent governmental use of limited fiscal resources; and in the preservation of the confidentiality of sensitive personal, commercial, and governmental information. Though tensions among these competing interests are characteristic of a democratic society, their resolution lies in providing a workable scheme that encompasses, balances, and appropriately protects all interests, while placing primary emphasis on the most responsible disclosure possible. It is this accommodation of strongly countervailing public concerns, with disclosure as the animating objective, that the FOIA seeks to achieve.

The FOIA evolved after a decade of debate among agency officials, legislators, and public interest group representatives. It revised the public disclosure section of the Administrative Procedure Act, which generally had been recognized as "falling far short" of its disclosure goals and had come to be looked upon as more a withholding statute than a disclosure statute.

By contrast, under the thrust and structure of the FOIA, virtually every record possessed by a federal executive branch agency must be made available to the public in one form or another, unless it is specifically exempted from disclosure or specially excluded from the Act's coverage in the first place. The nine exemptions of the FOIA ordinarily provide the only bases for nondisclosure, and generally they are discretionary, not mandatory, in nature. (For a discussion of the discretionary nature of FOIA exemptions, see Discretionary Disclosure and Waiver.) Dissatisfied record requesters are given a relatively speedy remedy in the United States district courts, where judges determine the propriety of agency withholdings de novo and agencies bear the burden of proof in defending their nondisclosure actions.

The FOIA contains seven subsections, the first two of which establish certain categories of information that must "automatically" be disclosed by federal agencies. Subsection (a)(1) of the FOIA requires disclosure (through publication in the Federal Register) of information such as descriptions of agency organizations, functions, and procedures; substantive agency rules; and statements of general agency policy. This requirement provides the public with automatic access to very basic information regarding the transaction of agency business.

Subsection (a)(2) of the FOIA requires that certain types of records—final agency opinions and orders rendered in the adjudication of cases, specific policy statements, certain administrative staff manuals, and some records previously processed for disclosure under the Act—be routinely made "available for public inspection and copying." This is commonly referred to as the "reading room" provision of the FOIA, and it requires that some such records be made available by agencies in "electronic reading rooms" as well. (For a discussion of the operation of this FOIA subsection, see FOIA Reading Rooms.)

The courts have held that providing official notice and guidance to the general public is the fundamental purpose of the publication requirement of subsection (a)(1) and the "reading room" availability requirement of subsection (a)(2). Failure to comply with the requirements of either subsection can result in invalidation of related agency action, unless the complaining party had actual and timely notice of the unpublished agency policy, unless he is unable to show that he was adversely affected by the lack of publication, or unless he fails to show that he would have been able to pursue "an alternative course of conduct" had the information been published. However, unpublished interpretive guidelines that were available for copying and inspection in an agency program manual have been held not to violate subsection (a)(1), and it also has been held that regulations pertaining solely to internal personnel matters that do not affect members of the public need not be published. Of course, an agency is not required to publish substantive rules and policy statements of general applicability that it has not adopted.

Under subsection (a)(3) of the FOIA—by far the most commonly utilized part of the Act—all records not made available to the public under subsections (a)(1) or (a)(2), or exempted from mandatory disclosure under subsection (b), or excluded under subsection (c), are subject to disclosure upon an agency's receipt of a proper FOIA request from any person. (See the discussions of the procedural aspects of subsection (a)(3) (including fees and fee waivers), the exemptions of subsection (b), and the exclusions of subsection (c).)

Subsection (c) of the FOIA, which was added as part of the Freedom of Information Reform Act of 1986, establishes three special categories of law enforcement-related records that are entirely excluded from the coverage of the FOIA in order to safeguard against unique types of harm. The extraordinary protection embodied in subsection (c) permits an agency to respond to a request for such records as if the records in fact did not exist. (See the discussion of the operation of these special provisions under Exclusions.)

Subsection (d) of the FOIA makes clear that the Act was not intended to authorize any new withholding of information, including from Congress. While individual Members of Congress possess merely the same rights of access as those guaranteed to "any person" under subsection (a)(3), Congress as a body (or through its committees and subcommittees) cannot be denied access to information on the grounds of FOIA exemptions.

Subsection (e) of the FOIA, which was modified as part of the Electronic Freedom of Information Act Amendments of 1996, requires an annual report from each federal agency regarding its FOIA operations and an annual report from the Department of Justice to Congress regarding both FOIA litigation and the Department of Justice's efforts (primarily through the Office of Information and Privacy) to encourage agency compliance with the FOIA. Agencies now prepare their annual reports for submission to the Department of Justice, which reviews them for completeness and then makes them available to the public, in a consolidated compilation, at a single World Wide Web site. Each agency also must make its annual FOIA report readily available on its own FOIA Web site, and it should do so promptly in order to facilitate the Department of Justice's preparation of a summary compilation of all agencies' aggregate annual report data for each fiscal year.

Subsection (f) of the FOIA defines the term "agency" so as to subject the records of nearly all executive branch entities to the Act and defines the term "record" to include information maintained in an electronic format. (See the discussions of these terms under Procedural Requirements, Entities Subject to the FOIA, and Procedural Requirements, "Agency Records.") Lastly, subsection (g) of the FOIA requires agencies to prepare FOIA reference guides describing their information systems and their processes of FOIA administration, as an aid to potential FOIA requesters.

As originally enacted in 1966, the FOIA contained, in the views of many, several weaknesses that detracted from its ideal operation. In response, the courts fashioned certain procedural devices, such as the requirement of a "Vaughn Index"—a detailed index of withheld documents and the justification for their exemption, established in Vaughn v. Rosen—and the requirement that agencies release segregable nonexempt portions of a partially exempt record, which was first articulated in EPA v. Mink.

In an effort to further extend the FOIA's disclosure requirements, and also as a reaction to the abuses of the "Watergate era," the FOIA was substantially amended in 1974. The 1974 FOIA amendments considerably narrowed the overall scope of the Act's law enforcement and national security exemptions, and also broadened many of its procedural provisions—such as those relating to fees, time limits, segregability, and in camera inspection by the courts. At the same time, Congress enacted the Privacy Act of 1974, which supplements the FOIA when requests are made by individuals for access to records about themselves and also contains a variety of separate privacy protections. (For an extensive discussion of the Privacy Act's provisions, see the Department of Justice's "Overview of the Privacy Act of 1974.")

In 1976, Congress again limited what could be withheld as exempt from disclosure under the FOIA, this time by narrowing the Act's incorporation of the nondisclosure provisions of other statutes. (See the discussion of Exemption 3.) A technical change was made in 1978 to update the FOIA's provision for administrative disciplinary proceedings, and in 1984 Congress repealed the expedited judicial review provision previously contained in former subsection (a)(4)(D) of the Act,

replacing it with a more general statutory provision that allows courts to expedite a FOIA lawsuit only if "good cause therefore is shown."

In 1986, after many years of administrative experience with the FOIA demonstrated that the Act was in need of both substantive and procedural reform, Congress enacted the Freedom of Information Reform Act of 1986, which amended the FOIA to provide broader exemption protection for law enforcement information, plus special law enforcement record exclusions, and also created a new fee and fee waiver structure. The Department of Justice and other federal agencies took several steps to implement the provisions of the 1986 FOIA amendments.

In 1996, after several years of legislative consideration of "electronic record" issues, Congress enacted the Electronic Freedom of Information Act Amendments of 1996, which addressed the subject of electronic records, as well as the subject areas of FOIA reading rooms and agency backlogs of FOIA requests, among other procedural provisions. (See the discussions of the various provisions of the Electronic FOIA amendments under FOIA Reading Rooms, Procedural Requirements, Fees and Fee Waivers, and Litigation Considerations.) The Department of Justice and other federal agencies have taken a number of steps to implement the provisions of the Electronic FOIA amendments.

A more recent significant Freedom of Information Act development was the issuance in October 2001 of a statement of FOIA policy by Attorney General John Ashcroft. The Ashcroft FOIA Memorandum emphasizes the Bush Administration's commitment to full compliance with the FOIA as an important means of maintaining an open and accountable system of government. At the same time, it recognizes the importance of protecting the sensitive institutional, commercial, and personal interests that can be implicated in government records—such as the need to safeguard national security, to enhance law enforcement effectiveness, to respect business confidentiality, to protect internal agency deliberations, and to preserve personal privacy.

The Ashcroft FOIA Memorandum establishes a "sound legal basis" standard governing the Department of Justice's decisions on whether to defend agency actions under the FOIA when they are challenged in court. Under this newer standard, agencies should reach the judgment that their use of a FOIA exemption is on sound footing, both factually and legally, whenever they withhold requested information. The Ashcroft FOIA Memorandum also recognizes the continued agency practice of considering whether to make "discretionary disclosures" of information that is exempt under the Act, upon "full and deliberate consideration" of all interests involved. While it places particular emphasis on the right to privacy among the other interests that are protected by the Act's exemptions, it reminds agencies "to carefully consider the protection of all such values and interests when making disclosure determinations under the FOIA."

Most recently, the FOIA was amended by the Intelligence Authorization Act of 2003, effective as of November 27, 2002. The FOIA now contains language that precludes agencies of the "intelligence community" from disclosing records in response to any FOIA request that is made by any foreign government or international governmental organization, either directly or through a representative. Significantly, this is the first time that Congress has departed from the general rule that "any person" may submit a FOIA request. It is perhaps part and parcel of heightened concerns about national security and now also homeland security in the wake of the horrific attacks of September 11, 2001, and the growth of both worldwide and domestic terrorism. (See the discussions of these concerns under Exemption 1, Homeland Security-Related Information, below, and Exemption 2, Homeland Security-Related Information.)

In sum, the FOIA is a vital and continuously developing government disclosure mechanism which, with refinements over time to accommodate both technological advancements and society's maturing interests in an open and fully responsible government, truly enhances our democratic way of life.

Freedom of Information Act, 5 U.S. Code §552 (1966).

http://www.foia.va.gov (accessed July 2, 2008).

Reporter's Privilege to Withhold Information

Branzburg v. Hayes *(1972)*

Introduction

Paul Branzburg wrote investigative pieces for the *Louisville Courier-Journal* in 1969 and 1971 where he gave first-hand accounts of illegal drug activities. He then battled two separate grand jury orders to reveal the identities of his sources. Branzburg lost his fight at both the state appellate level and in a tight 5-4 decision at the Supreme Court. But a rare, landmark dissenting opinion turned *Branzburg v. Hayes* into a qualified victory—as well as a clear defeat—for the right of journalists to protect their confidential sources in court.

The plight of two other journalists, who had also defied grand juries in a similar fashion, was bundled into the Branzburg case. Justice Byron White wrote a majority opinion that specifically rejected the First Amendment as a buffer against compelling journalists to testify in criminal cases in front of a grand jury. White believed the Court could not ascribe to the idea that "it is better to write about crime than to do something about it." He also gave little credence to the notion that reporter testimony would stifle the cooperation of news sources down the line. Yet, White said that there was some merit to First Amendment protection of confidential sources, and legislatures rather than courts should be deciding on reporter privilege in this area.

Justice Potter Stewart wrote a dissenting opinion that spelled out the parameters for journalists to have a somewhat limited right to protect sources. Stewart said a First Amendment privilege for reporters to refuse to testify should be guaranteed except where the government met a "heavy burden of justification" to suggest otherwise. Stewart's *Branzburg* Test required officials to show: probable cause to believe that a reporter has information clearly relevant to a specific violation of law, the information sought cannot be obtained by alternate means less destructive of the First Amendment values, a compelling and overriding interest in the information. Lower courts have demonstrated a tendency to apply Stewart's limited privilege test when grand juries don't come into play, and White's call for legislators to handle reporter-source protection issues has helped lay the groundwork for shield laws in more than 30 states.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

U.S. Supreme Court
***Branzburg v. Hayes*, 408 U.S. 665 (1972)**

No. 70-85
Argued February 23, 1972
Decided June 29, 1972

Opinion of the Court by MR. JUSTICE WHITE, announced by THE CHIEF JUSTICE.

The issue in these cases is whether requiring newsmen to appear and testify before state or federal grand juries abridges the freedom of speech and press guaranteed by the First Amendment. We hold that it does not.

I

The writ of certiorari in No. 70-85, Branzburg v. Hayes and Meigs, brings before us two judgments of the Kentucky Court of Appeals, both involving petitioner Branzburg, a staff reporter for the Courier-Journal, a daily newspaper published in Louisville, Kentucky.

On November 15, 1969, the Courier-Journal carried a story under petitioner's by-line describing in detail his observations of two young residents of Jefferson County synthesizing hashish from marihuana, an activity which, they asserted, earned them about $5,000 in three weeks. The article included a photograph of a pair of hands working above a laboratory table on which was a substance identified by the caption as hashish. The article stated that petitioner had promised not to [408 U.S. 665, 668] reveal the identity of the two hashish makers. Petitioner was shortly subpoenaed by the Jefferson County grand jury; he appeared, but refused to identify the individuals he had seen possessing marihuana or the persons he had seen making hashish from marihuana. A state trial court judge ordered petitioner to answer these questions and rejected his contention that the Kentucky reporters' privilege statute, Ky. Rev. Stat. 421.100 (1962), the First Amendment of the United States Constitution, or 1, 2, and 8 of the Kentucky Constitution authorized his refusal to answer. Petitioner then sought prohibition and mandamus in the Kentucky Court of Appeals on the same grounds, but the Court of Appeals denied the petition. Branzburg v. [408 U.S. 665, 669] Pound, 461 S. W. 2d 345 (1970), as modified on denial of rehearing, Jan. 22, 1971. It held that petitioner had abandoned his First Amendment argument in a supplemental memorandum he had filed and tacitly rejected his argument based on the Kentucky Constitution. It also construed Ky. Rev. Stat. 421.100 as affording a newsman the privilege of refusing to divulge the identity of an informant who supplied him with information, but held that the statute did not permit a reporter to refuse to testify about events he had observed personally, including the identities of those persons he had observed.

The second case involving petitioner Branzburg arose out of his later story published on January 10, 1971, which described in detail the use of drugs in Frankfort, Kentucky. The article reported that in order to provide a comprehensive survey of the "drug scene" in Frankfort, petitioner had "spent two weeks interviewing several dozen drug users in the capital city" and had seen some of them smoking marihuana. A number of conversations with and observations of several unnamed drug users were recounted. Subpoenaed to appear before a Franklin County grand jury "to testify in the matter of violation of statutes concerning use and sale of drugs," petitioner Branzburg moved to quash the summons; the motion was denied, although [408 U.S. 665, 670] an order was issued protecting Branzburg from revealing "confidential associations, sources or information" but requiring that he "answer any questions which concern or pertain to any criminal act, the commission of which was actually observed by [him]." Prior to the time he was slated to appear before the grand jury, petitioner sought mandamus and prohibition from the Kentucky Court of Appeals, arguing that if he were forced to go before the grand jury or to answer questions regarding the identity of informants or disclose information given to him in confidence, his effectiveness as a reporter would be greatly damaged. The Court of Appeals once again denied the requested writs, reaffirming its construction of Ky. Rev. Stat. 421.100, and rejecting petitioner's claim of a First Amendment privilege. It distinguished Caldwell v. United States, 434 F.2d 1081 (CA9 1970), and it also announced its "misgivings" about that decision, asserting that it represented "a drastic departure from the generally recognized rule that the sources of information of a newspaper reporter are not privileged under the First Amendment." It characterized petitioner's fear that his ability to obtain [408 U.S. 665, 671] news would be destroyed as "so tenuous that it does not, in the opinion of this court, present an issue of abridgment of the freedom of the press within the meaning of that term as used in the Constitution of the United States."

Petitioner sought a writ of certiorari to review both judgments of the Kentucky Court of Appeals, and we granted the writ. 402 U.S. 942 (1971). [408 U.S. 665, 672]

In re Pappas, No. 70-94, originated when petitioner Pappas, a television newsman-photographer working out of the Providence, Rhode Island, office of a New Bedford, Massachusetts, television station, was called to New Bedford on July 30, 1970, to report on civil disorders there which involved fires and other turmoil. He intended to cover a Black Panther news conference at that group's headquarters in a boarded-up store. Petitioner found the

streets around the store barricaded, but he ultimately gained entrance to the area and recorded and photographed a prepared statement read by one of the Black Panther leaders at about 3 p. m. He then asked for and received permission to re-enter the area. Returning at about 9 o' clock, he was allowed to enter and remain inside Panther headquarters. As a condition of entry, Pappas agreed not to disclose anything he saw or heard inside the store except an anticipated police raid, which Pappas, "on his own," was free to photograph and report as he wished. Pappas stayed inside the headquarters for about three hours, but there was no police raid, and petitioner wrote no story and did not otherwise reveal what had occurred in the store while he was there. Two months later, petitioner was summoned before the Bristol [408 U.S. 665, 673] County Grand Jury and appeared, answered questions as to his name, address, employment, and what he had seen and heard outside Panther headquarters, but refused to answer any questions about what had taken place inside headquarters while he was there, claiming that the First Amendment afforded him a privilege to protect confidential informants and their information. A second summons was then served upon him, again directing him to appear before the grand jury and "to give such evidence as he knows relating to any matters which may be inquired of on behalf of the Commonwealth before…the Grand Jury." His motion to quash on First Amendment and other grounds was denied by the trial judge who, noting the absence of a statutory newsman's privilege in Massachusetts, ruled that petitioner had no constitutional privilege to refuse to divulge to the grand jury what he had seen and heard, including the identity of persons he had observed. The case was reported for decision to the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. The record there did not include a transcript of the hearing on the motion to quash, nor did it reveal the specific questions petitioner had refused to answer, the expected nature of his testimony, the nature of the grand jury investigation, or the likelihood of the grand jury's securing the information it sought from petitioner by other means. The [408 U.S. 665, 674] Supreme Judicial Court, however, took "judicial notice that in July, 1970, there were serious civil disorders in New Bedford, which involved street barricades, exclusion of the public from certain streets, fires, and similar turmoil. We were told at the arguments that there was gunfire in certain streets. We assume that the grand jury investigation was an appropriate effort to discover and indict those responsible for criminal acts." 358 Mass. 604, 607, 266 N. E. 2d 297, 299 (1971). The court then reaffirmed prior Massachusetts holdings that testimonial privileges were "exceptional" and "limited," stating that "[t]he principle that the public 'has a right to every man's evidence'" had usually been preferred, in the Commonwealth, to countervailing interests. Ibid. The court rejected the holding of the Ninth Circuit in Caldwell v. United States, supra, and "adhere[d] to the view that there exists no constitutional newsman's privilege, either qualified or absolute, to refuse to appear and testify before a court or grand jury." 358 Mass., at 612, 266 N. E. 2d, at 302-303. Any adverse effect upon the free dissemination of news by virtue of petitioner's being called to testify was deemed to be only "indirect, theoretical, and uncertain." Id., at 612, 266 N. E. 2d, at 302. The court concluded that "[t]he obligation of newsmen … is that of every citizen . . . to appear when summoned, with relevant written or other material when required, and to answer relevant and reasonable inquiries." Id., at 612, 266 N. E. 2d, at 303. The court nevertheless noted that grand juries were subject to supervision by the presiding [408 U.S. 665, 675] judge, who had the duty "to prevent oppressive, unnecessary, irrelevant, and other improper inquiry and investigation," ibid., to insure that a witness' Fifth Amendment rights were not infringed, and to assess the propriety, necessity, and pertinence of the probable testimony to the investigation in progress. The burden was deemed to be on the witness to establish the impropriety of the summons or the questions asked. The denial of the motion to quash was affirmed and we granted a writ of certiorari to petitioner Pappas. 402 U.S. 942 (1971).

United States v. Caldwell, No. 70-57, arose from subpoenas issued by a federal grand jury in the Northern District of California to respondent Earl Caldwell, a reporter for the New York Times assigned to cover the Black Panther Party and other black militant groups. A subpoena duces tecum was served on respondent on February 2, 1970, ordering him to appear before the grand jury to testify and to bring with him notes and tape recordings of interviews given him for publication by officers and spokesmen of the Black Panther Party concerning the aims, purposes, and activities of that organization. Respondent objected to the scope [408 U.S. 665,

676] of this subpoena, and an agreement between his counsel and the Government attorneys resulted in a continuance. A second subpoena, served on March 16, omitted the documentary requirement and simply ordered Caldwell "to appear…to testify before the Grand Jury." Respondent and his employer, the New York Times, moved to quash on the ground that the unlimited breadth of the subpoenas and the fact that Caldwell would have to appear in secret before the grand jury would destroy his working relationship with the Black Panther Party and "suppress vital First Amendment freedoms…by driving a wedge of distrust and silence between the news media and the militants." App. 7. Respondent argued that "so drastic an incursion upon First Amendment freedoms" should not be permitted "in the absence of a compelling governmental interest—not shown here—in requiring Mr. Caldwell's appearance before the grand jury." Ibid. The motion was supported by amicus curiae memoranda from other publishing concerns and by affidavits from newsmen asserting the unfavorable impact on news sources of requiring reporters to appear before grand juries. The Government filed three memoranda in opposition to the motion to quash, each supported by affidavits. These documents stated that the grand jury was investigating, among other things, possible violations of a number of criminal statutes, including 18 U.S.C. 871 (threats against the President), 18 U.S.C. 1751 [408 U.S. 665, 677] (assassination, attempts to assassinate, conspiracy to assassinate the President), 18 U.S.C. 231 (civil disorders), 18 U.S.C. 2101 (interstate travel to incite a riot), and 18 U.S.C. 1341 (mail frauds and swindles). It was recited that on November 15, 1969, an officer of the Black Panther Party made a publicly televised speech in which he had declared that "[w]e will kill Richard Nixon" and that this threat had been repeated in three subsequent issues of the Party newspaper. App. 66, 77. Also referred to were various writings by Caldwell about the Black Panther Party, including an article published in the New York Times on December 14, 1969, stating that "[i]n their role as the vanguard in a revolutionary struggle the Panthers have picked up guns," and quoting the Chief of Staff of the Party as declaring: "We advocate the very direct overthrow of the Government by way of force and violence. By picking up guns and moving against it because we recognize it as being oppressive and in recognizing that we know that the only solution to it is armed struggle [sic]." App. 62. The Government also stated that the Chief of Staff of the Party had been indicted by the grand jury on December 3, 1969, for uttering threats against the life of the President in violation of 18 U.S.C. 871 and that various efforts had been made to secure evidence of crimes under investigation through the immunization of persons allegedly associated with the Black Panther Party.

On April 6, the District Court denied the motion to quash, Application of Caldwell, 311 F. Supp. 358 (ND Cal. 1970), on the ground that "every person within the jurisdiction of the government" is bound to testify upon being properly summoned. Id., at 360 (emphasis in original). Nevertheless, the court accepted respondent's First Amendment arguments to the extent of issuing a protective order providing that although respondent had to divulge [408 U.S. 665, 678] whatever information had been given to him for publication, he "shall not be required to reveal confidential associations, sources or information received, developed or maintained by him as a professional journalist in the course of his efforts to gather news for dissemination to the public through the press or other news media." The court held that the First Amendment afforded respondent a privilege to refuse disclosure of such confidential information until there had been "a showing by the Government of a compelling and overriding national interest in requiring Mr. Caldwell's testimony which cannot be served by any alternative means." Id., at 362.

Subsequently, the term of the grand jury expired, a new grand jury was convened, and a new subpoena ad testificandum was issued and served on May 22, 1970. A new motion to quash by respondent and memorandum in opposition by the Government were filed, and, by stipulation of the parties, the motion was submitted on the prior record. The court denied the motion to quash, repeating the protective provisions in its prior order but this time directing Caldwell to appear before the grand jury pursuant to the May 22 subpoena. Respondent refused to appear before the grand jury, and the court issued an order to show cause why he should not be held in contempt. Upon his further refusal to go before the grand jury, respondent was ordered committed for contempt until such time as he complied with the court's order or until the expiration of the term of the grand jury. [408 U.S. 665, 679]

Respondent Caldwell appealed the contempt order, and the Court of Appeals reversed. Caldwell v. United States, 434 F.2d 1081 (CA9 1970). Viewing the issue before it as whether Caldwell was required to appear before the grand jury at all, rather than the scope of permissible interrogation, the court first determined that the First Amendment provided a qualified testimonial privilege to newsmen; in its view, requiring a reporter like Caldwell to testify would deter his informants from communicating with him in the future and would cause him to censor his writings in an effort to avoid being subpoenaed. Absent compelling reasons for requiring his testimony, he was held privileged to withhold it. The court also held, for similar First Amendment reasons, that, absent some special showing of necessity by the Government, attendance by Caldwell at a secret meeting of the grand jury was something he was privileged to refuse because of the potential impact of such an appearance on the flow of news to the public. We granted the United States' petition for certiorari. 402 U.S. 942 (1971).

II

Petitioners Branzburg and Pappas and respondent Caldwell press First Amendment claims that may be simply put: that to gather news it is often necessary to agree either not to identify the source of information published or to publish only part of the facts revealed, or both; that if the reporter is nevertheless [408 U.S. 665, 680] forced to reveal these confidences to a grand jury, the source so identified and other confidential sources of other reporters will be measurably deterred from furnishing publishable information, all to the detriment of the free flow of information protected by the First Amendment. Although the newsmen in these cases do not claim an absolute privilege against official interrogation in all circumstances, they assert that the reporter should not be forced either to appear or to testify before a grand jury or at trial until and unless sufficient grounds are shown for believing that the reporter possesses information relevant to a crime the grand jury is investigating, that the information the reporter has is unavailable from other sources, and that the need for the information is sufficiently compelling to override the claimed invasion of First Amendment interests occasioned by the disclosure. Principally relied upon are prior cases emphasizing the importance of the First Amendment guarantees to individual development and to our system of representative government, decisions requiring that official action with adverse impact on First Amendment rights be justified by a public interest that is "compelling" or "paramount," and those precedents establishing the principle that justifiable governmental goals may not be achieved by unduly broad means having an unnecessary impact [408 U.S. 665, 681] on protected rights of speech, press, or association. The heart of the claim is that the burden on news gathering resulting from compelling reporters to disclose confidential information outweighs any public interest in obtaining the information.

We do not question the significance of free speech, press, or assembly to the country's welfare. Nor is it suggested that news gathering does not qualify for First Amendment protection; without some protection for seeking out the news, freedom of the press could be eviscerated. But these cases involve no intrusions upon speech or assembly, no prior restraint or restriction on what the press may publish, and no express or implied command that the press publish what it prefers to withhold. No exaction or tax for the privilege of publishing, and no penalty, civil or criminal, related to the content of published material is at issue here. The use of confidential sources by the press is not forbidden or restricted; reporters remain free to seek news from [408 U.S. 665, 682] any source by means within the law. No attempt is made to require the press to publish its sources of information or indiscriminately to disclose them on request.

The sole issue before us is the obligation of reporters to respond to grand jury subpoenas as other citizens do and to answer questions relevant to an investigation into the commission of crime. Citizens generally are not constitutionally immune from grand jury subpoenas; and neither the First Amendment nor any other constitutional provision protects the average citizen from disclosing to a grand jury information that he has received in confidence. The claim is, however, that reporters are exempt from these obligations because if forced to respond to subpoenas and identify their sources or disclose other confidences, their informants will

refuse or be reluctant to furnish newsworthy information in the future. This asserted burden on news gathering is said to make compelled testimony from newsmen constitutionally suspect and to require a privileged position for them.

It is clear that the First Amendment does not invalidate every incidental burdening of the press that may result from the enforcement of civil or criminal statutes of general applicability. Under prior cases, otherwise valid laws serving substantial public interests may be enforced against the press as against others, despite [408 U.S. 665, 683] the possible burden that may be imposed. The Court has emphasized that "[t]he publisher of a newspaper has no special immunity from the application of general laws. He has no special privilege to invade the rights and liberties of others." Associated Press v. NLRB, 301 U.S. 103, 132-133 (1937). It was there held that the Associated Press, a news-gathering and disseminating organization, was not exempt from the requirements of the National Labor Relations Act. The holding was reaffirmed in Oklahoma Press Publishing Co. v. Walling, 327 U.S. 186, 192-193 (1946), where the Court rejected the claim that applying the Fair Labor Standards Act to a newspaper publishing business would abridge the freedom of press guaranteed by the First Amendment. See also Mabee v. White Plains Publishing Co., 327 U.S. 178 (1946). Associated Press v. United States, 326 U.S. 1 (1945), similarly overruled assertions that the First Amendment precluded application of the Sherman Act to a news-gathering and disseminating organization. Cf. Indiana Farmer's Guide Publishing Co. v. Prairie Farmer Publishing Co., 293 U.S. 268, 276 (1934); Citizen Publishing Co. v. United States, 394 U.S. 131, 139 (1969); Lorain Journal Co. v. United States, 342 U.S. 143, 155-156 (1951). Likewise, a newspaper may be subjected to nondiscriminatory forms of general taxation. Grosjean v. American Press Co., 297 U.S. 233, 250 (1936); Murdock v. Pennsylvania, 319 U.S. 105, 112 (1943).

The prevailing view is that the press is not free to publish with impunity everything and anything it desires to publish. Although it may deter or regulate what is said or published, the press may not circulate knowing or reckless falsehoods damaging to private reputation without subjecting itself to liability for damages, including punitive damages, or even criminal prosecution. See New York Times Co. v. Sullivan, 376 U.S. 254 , [408 U.S. 665, 684] 279-280 (1964); Garrison v. Louisiana, 379 U.S. 64, 74 (1964); Curtis Publishing Co. v. Butts, 388 U.S. 130, 147 (1967) (opinion of Harlan, J.,); Monitor Patriot Co. v. Roy, 401 U.S. 265, 277 (1971). A newspaper or a journalist may also be punished for contempt of court, in appropriate circumstances. Craig v. Harney, 331 U.S. 367, 377-378 (1947).

It has generally been held that the First Amendment does not guarantee the press a constitutional right of special access to information not available to the public generally. Zemel v. Rusk, 381 U.S. 1, 16-17 (1965); New York Times Co. v. United States, 403 U.S. 713, 728-730 (1971), (STEWART, J., concurring); Tribune Review Publishing Co. v. Thomas, 254 F.2d 883, 885 (CA3 1958); In the Matter of United Press Assns. v. Valente, 308 N. Y. 71, 77, 123 N. E. 2d 777, 778 (1954). In Zemel v. Rusk, supra, for example, the Court sustained the Government's refusal to validate passports to Cuba even though that restriction "render[ed] less than wholly free the flow of information concerning that country." Id., at 16. The ban on travel was held constitutional, for "[t]he right to speak and publish does not carry with it the unrestrained right to gather information." Id., at 17.

Despite the fact that news gathering may be hampered, the press is regularly excluded from grand jury proceedings, our own conferences, the meetings of other official bodies gathered in executive session, and the meetings of private organizations. Newsmen have no constitutional right of access to the scenes of crime or [408 U.S. 665, 685] disaster when the general public is excluded, and they may be prohibited from attending or publishing information about trials if such restrictions are necessary to assure a defendant a fair trial before an impartial tribunal. In Sheppard v. Maxwell, 384 U.S. 333 (1966), for example, the Court reversed a state court conviction where the trial court failed to adopt "stricter rules governing the use of the courtroom by newsmen, as Sheppard's counsel requested," neglected to insulate witnesses from the press, and made no "effort to control the release of leads, information, and gossip to the press by police officers, witnesses, and the counsel for both sides." Id., at 358, 359. "[T]he trial court might well have proscribed extrajudicial statements by any lawyer, party, witness, or court official which divulged

prejudicial matters." Id., at 361. See also Estes v. Texas, 381 U.S. 532, 539-540 (1965); Rideau v. Louisiana, 373 U.S. 723, 726 (1963).

It is thus not surprising that the great weight of authority is that newsmen are not exempt from the normal duty of appearing before a grand jury and answering questions relevant to a criminal investigation. At common law, courts consistently refused to recognize the existence of any privilege authorizing a newsman to refuse to reveal confidential information to a grand jury. See, e.g., Ex parte Lawrence, 116 Cal. 298, 48 P. 124 (1897); Plunkett v. Hamilton, 136 Ga. 72, 70 S. E. 781 (1911); Clein v. State 52 So.2d 117 (Fla. 1950); In re Grunow, 84 N. J. L. 235, 85 A. 1011 (1913); People ex rel. Mooney v. Sheriff, 269 N. Y. 291, 199 N. E. 415 (1936); Joslyn v. People, 67 Colo. 297, 184 P. 375 (1919); Adams v. Associated Press, 46 F. R. D. 439 (SD Tex. 1969); Brewster v. Boston Herald-Traveler Corp., 20 F. R. D. 416 (Mass. 1957). See generally Annot., 7 A. L. R. 3d 591 (1966). In 1958, a news gatherer asserted for the first time that the First Amendment [408 U.S. 665, 686] exempted confidential information from public disclosure pursuant to a subpoena issued in a civil suit, Garland v. Torre, 259 F.2d 545 (CA2), cert. denied, 358 U.S. 910 (1958), but the claim was denied, and this argument has been almost uniformly rejected since then, although there are occasional dicta that, in circumstances not presented here, a newsman might be excused. In re Goodfader, 45 Haw. 317, 367 P.2d 472 (1961); In re Taylor, 412 Pa. 32, 193 A. 2d 181 (1963); State v. Buchanan, 250 Ore. 244, 436 P.2d 729, cert. denied, 392 U.S. 905 (1968); Murphy v. Colorado (No. 19604, Sup. Ct. Colo.), cert. denied, 365 U.S. 843 (1961) (unreported, discussed in In re Goodfader, supra, at 366, 367 P.2d, at 498 (Mizuha, J., dissenting)). These courts have applied the presumption against the existence of an asserted testimonial privilege, United States v. Bryan, 339 U.S. 323, 331 (1950), and have concluded that the First Amendment interest asserted by the newsman was outweighed by the general obligation of a citizen to appear before a grand jury or at trial, pursuant to a subpoena, and give what information he possesses. The opinions of the state courts in Branzburg and Pappas are typical of the prevailing view, although a few recent cases, such as Caldwell, have recognized and given effect to some form of constitutional newsman's privilege. See State v. Knops, 49 Wis. 2d 647, 183 N. W. 2d 93 (1971) (dictum); Alioto v. Cowles Communications, Inc., C. A. No. 52150 (ND Cal. 1969); In re Grand Jury Witnesses, 322 F. Supp. 573 (ND Cal. 1970); People v. Dohrn, Crim. No. 69-3808 (Cook County, Ill., Cir. Ct. 1970).

The prevailing constitutional view of the newsman's privilege is very much rooted in the ancient role of the grand jury that has the dual function of determining if there is probable cause to believe that a crime has been committed and of protecting citizens against unfounded [408 U.S. 665, 687] criminal prosecutions. Grand jury proceedings are constitutionally mandated for the institution of federal criminal prosecutions for capital or other serious crimes, and "its constitutional prerogatives are rooted in long centuries of Anglo-American history." Hannah v. Larche, 363 U.S. 420, 489-490 (1960) (Frankfurter, J., concurring in result). The Fifth Amendment provides that "[n]o person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury." The adoption of the grand jury "in our Constitution as the sole method for preferring charges in serious criminal cases shows the high place it held as an instrument of justice." Costello v. United States, 350 U.S. 359, 362 (1956). Although state systems of criminal procedure differ greatly among themselves, the grand jury is similarly guaranteed by many state constitutions and plays an important role in fair and effective law enforcement in the overwhelming [408 U.S. 665, 688] majority of the States. Because its task is to inquire into the existence of possible criminal conduct and to return only well-founded indictments, its investigative powers are necessarily broad. "It is a grand inquest, a body with powers of investigation and inquisition, the scope of whose inquiries is not to be limited narrowly by questions of propriety or forecasts of the probable result of the investigation, or by doubts whether any particular individual will be found properly subject to an accusation of crime." Blair v. United States, 250 U.S. 273, 282 (1919). Hence, the grand jury's authority to subpoena witnesses is not only historic, id., at 279-281, but essential to its task. Although the powers of the grand jury are not unlimited and are subject to the supervision of a judge, the longstanding principle that "the public …has a right to every man's evidence," except for those persons protected by a

constitutional, common-law, or statutory privilege, United States v. Bryan, 339 U.S., at 331 ; Blackmer v. United States, 284 U.S. 421, 438 (1932); 8 J. Wigmore, Evidence 2192 (McNaughton rev. 1961), is particularly applicable to grand jury proceedings. [408 U.S. 665, 689]

A number of States have provided newsmen a statutory privilege of varying breadth, but the majority have not done so, and none has been provided by federal statute. Until now the only testimonial privilege for unofficial witnesses that is rooted in the Federal Constitution [408 U.S. 665, 690] is the Fifth Amendment privilege against compelled self-incrimination. We are asked to create another by interpreting the First Amendment to grant newsmen a testimonial privilege that other citizens do not enjoy. This we decline to do. Fair and effective law enforcement aimed at providing security for the person and property of the individual is a fundamental function of government, and the grand jury plays an important, constitutionally mandated role in this process. On the records now before us, we perceive no basis for holding that the public interest in law enforcement and in ensuring effective grand jury proceedings is insufficient to override the consequential, but uncertain, burden on news gathering that is said to result from insisting that reporters, like other citizens, respond to relevant [408 U.S. 665, 691] questions put to them in the course of a valid grand jury investigation or criminal trial.

This conclusion itself involves no restraint on what newspapers may publish or on the type or quality of information reporters may seek to acquire, nor does it threaten the vast bulk of confidential relationships between reporters and their sources. Grand juries address themselves to the issues of whether crimes have been committed and who committed them. Only where news sources themselves are implicated in crime or possess information relevant to the grand jury's task need they or the reporter be concerned about grand jury subpoenas. Nothing before us indicates that a large number or percentage of all confidential news sources falls into either category and would in any way be deterred by our holding that the Constitution does not, as it never has, exempt the newsman from performing the citizen's normal duty of appearing and furnishing information relevant to the grand jury's task.

The preference for anonymity of those confidential informants involved in actual criminal conduct is presumably a product of their desire to escape criminal prosecution, and this preference, while understandable, is hardly deserving of constitutional protection. It would be frivolous to assert—and no one does in these cases—that the First Amendment, in the interest of securing news or otherwise, confers a license on either the reporter or his news sources to violate valid criminal laws. Although stealing documents or private wiretapping could provide newsworthy information, neither reporter nor source is immune from conviction for such conduct, whatever the impact on the flow of news. Neither is immune, on First Amendment grounds, from testifying against the other, before the grand jury or at a criminal trial. The Amendment does not reach so far as to override the interest of the public in ensuring [408 U.S. 665, 692] that neither reporter nor source is invading the rights of other citizens through reprehensible conduct forbidden to all other persons. To assert the contrary proposition.

> "is to answer it, since it involves in its very statement the contention that the freedom of the press is the freedom to do wrong with impunity and implies the right to frustrate and defeat the discharge of those governmental duties upon the performance of which the freedom of all, including that of the press, depends. . . . It suffices to say that, however complete is the right of the press to state public things and discuss them, that right, as every other right enjoyed in human society, is subject to the restraints which separate right from wrong-doing." Toledo Newspaper Co. v. United States, 247 U.S. 402, 419-420 (1918).

Thus, we cannot seriously entertain the notion that the First Amendment protects a newsman's agreement to conceal the criminal conduct of his source, or evidence thereof, on the theory that it is better to write about crime than to do something about it. Insofar as any reporter in these cases undertook not to reveal or testify about the crime he witnessed, his claim of privilege under the First Amendment presents no substantial question. The crimes of news sources are no less reprehensible and threatening to the public interest when

witnessed by a reporter than when they are not. [408 U.S. 665, 693]

There remain those situations where a source is not engaged in criminal conduct but has information suggesting illegal conduct by others. Newsmen frequently receive information from such sources pursuant to a tacit or express agreement to withhold the source's name and suppress any information that the source wishes not published. Such informants presumably desire anonymity in order to avoid being entangled as a witness in a criminal trial or grand jury investigation. They may fear that disclosure will threaten their job security or personal safety or that it will simply result in dishonor or embarrassment.

The argument that the flow of news will be diminished by compelling reporters to aid the grand jury in a criminal investigation is not irrational, nor are the records before us silent on the matter. But we remain unclear how often and to what extent informers are actually deterred from furnishing information when newsmen are forced to testify before a grand jury. The available data indicate that some newsmen rely a great deal on confidential sources and that some informants are particularly sensitive to the threat of exposure and may be silenced if it is held by this Court that, ordinarily, newsmen must testify pursuant to subpoenas, but the evidence fails to demonstrate that there would be a significant constriction of the flow of news to the public if this Court reaffirms the prior common-law and constitutional rule regarding the testimonial obligations of newsmen. Estimates of the inhibiting effect of such subpoenas on the willingness of informants to make disclosures to newsmen are widely divergent and [408 U.S. 665, 694] to a great extent speculative. It would be difficult to canvass the views of the informants themselves; surveys of reporters on this topic are chiefly opinions of predicted informant behavior and must be viewed in the light of the professional self-interest of the interviewees. Reliance by the press on confidential informants does not mean that all such sources will in fact dry up because of the later possible appearance of the newsman before a grand jury. The reporter may never be called and if he objects to testifying, the prosecution may not insist. Also, the relationship of many informants to the press is a symbiotic one which is unlikely to be greatly inhibited by the threat of subpoena: quite often, such informants are members of a minority political or cultural group that [408 U.S. 665, 695] relies heavily on the media to propagate its views, publicize its aims, and magnify its exposure to the public. Moreover, grand juries characteristically conduct secret proceedings, and law enforcement officers are themselves experienced in dealing with informers, and have their own methods for protecting them without interference with the effective administration of justice. There is little before us indicating that informants whose interest in avoiding exposure is that it may threaten job security, personal safety, or peace of mind, would in fact be in a worse position, or would think they would be, if they risked placing their trust in public officials as well as reporters. We doubt if the informer who prefers anonymity but is sincerely interested in furnishing evidence of crime will always or very often be deterred by the prospect of dealing with those public authorities characteristically charged with the duty to protect the public interest as well as his.

Accepting the fact, however, that an undetermined number of informants not themselves implicated in crime will nevertheless, for whatever reason, refuse to talk to newsmen if they fear identification by a reporter in an official investigation, we cannot accept the argument that the public interest in possible future news about crime from undisclosed, unverified sources must take precedence over the public interest in pursuing and prosecuting those crimes reported to the press by informants and in thus deterring the commission of such crimes in the future.

We note first that the privilege claimed is that of the reporter, not the informant, and that if the authorities independently identify the informant, neither his own reluctance to testify nor the objection of the newsman would shield him from grand jury inquiry, whatever the impact on the flow of news or on his future usefulness as a secret source of information. More important, [408 U.S. 665, 696] it is obvious that agreements to conceal information relevant to commission of crime have very little to recommend them from the standpoint of public policy. Historically, the common law recognized a duty to raise the "hue and cry" and report felonies to the authorities. Misprision of a felony—that is, the concealment of a felony "which a man knows, but never assented to . . . [so as to become]

either principal or accessory," 4 W. Blackstone, Commentaries *121, was often said to be a common-law crime. The first Congress passed a statute, 1 Stat. 113, 6, as amended, Stat. 1114, 146, 62 Stat. 684, which is still in effect, defining a federal crime of misprision:

> "Whoever, having knowledge of the actual commission of a felony cognizable by a court of the United States, conceals and does not as soon as possible make known the same to some judge or other person in civil or military authority under the United States, shall be [guilty of misprision]". 18 U.S.C. 4. [408 U.S. 665, 697]

It is apparent from this statute, as well as from our history and that of England, that concealment of crime and agreements to do so are not looked upon with favor. Such conduct deserves no encomium, and we decline now to afford it First Amendment protection by denigrating the duty of a citizen, whether reporter or informer, to respond to grand jury subpoena and answer relevant questions put to him.

Of course, the press has the right to abide by its agreement not to publish all the information it has, but the right to withhold news is not equivalent to a First Amendment exemption from the ordinary duty of all other citizens to furnish relevant information to a grand jury performing an important public function. Private restraints on the flow of information are not so favored by the First Amendment that they override all other public interests. As Mr. Justice Black declared in another context, "[f]reedom of the press from governmental interference under the First Amendment does not sanction repression of that freedom by private interests." Associated Press v. United States, 326 U.S., at 20.

Neither are we now convinced that a virtually impenetrable constitutional shield, beyond legislative or judicial control, should be forged to protect a private system of informers operated by the press to report on criminal conduct, a system that would be unaccountable to the public, would pose a threat to the citizen's justifiable expectations of privacy, and would equally protect well-intentioned informants and those who for pay or otherwise betray their trust to their employer or associates. The public through its elected and appointed [408 U.S. 665, 698] law enforcement officers regularly utilizes informers, and in proper circumstances may assert a privilege against disclosing the identity of these informers. But

> "[t]he purpose of the privilege is the furtherance and protection of the public interest in effective law enforcement. The privilege recognizes the obligation of citizens to communicate their knowledge of the commission of crimes to law-enforcement officials and, by preserving their anonymity, encourages them to perform that obligation." Roviaro v. United States, 353 U.S. 53, 59 (1957).

Such informers enjoy no constitutional protection. Their testimony is available to the public when desired by grand juries or at criminal trials; their identity cannot be concealed from the defendant when it is critical to his case. Id., at 60-61, 62; McCray v. Illinois, 386 U.S. 300, 310 (1967); Smith v. Illinois, 390 U.S. 129, 131 (1968); Alford v. United States, 282 U.S. 687, 693 (1931). Clearly, this system is not impervious to control by the judiciary and the decision whether to unmask an informer or to continue to profit by his anonymity is in public, not private, hands. We think that it should remain there and that public authorities should retain the options of either insisting on the informer's testimony relevant to the prosecution of crime or of seeking the benefit of further information that his exposure might prevent.

We are admonished that refusal to provide a First Amendment reporter's privilege will undermine the freedom of the press to collect and disseminate news. But this is not the lesson history teaches us. As noted previously, the common law recognized no such privilege, and the constitutional argument was not even asserted until 1958. From the beginning of our country the press has operated without constitutional protection [408 U.S. 665, 699] for press informants, and the press has flourished. The existing constitutional rules have not been a serious obstacle to either the development or retention of confidential news sources by the press.

It is said that currently press subpoenas have multiplied, that mutual distrust and tension between press and officialdom have increased, that reporting styles have changed, and that there is now more need for confidential sources, particularly where the press seeks news about minority

cultural and political groups or dissident organizations suspicious of the law and public officials. These developments, even if true, are treacherous grounds for a far-reaching interpretation of the First Amendment fastening a nationwide rule on courts, grand juries, and prosecuting officials everywhere. The obligation to testify in response to grand jury subpoenas will not threaten these sources not involved with criminal conduct and without information relevant to grand jury investigations, and we cannot hold that the Constitution places the sources in these two categories either above the law or beyond its reach.

The argument for such a constitutional privilege rests heavily on those cases holding that the infringement of protected First Amendment rights must be no broader than necessary to achieve a permissible governmental purpose, see cases cited at n. 19, supra. We do not deal, however, with a governmental institution that has abused [408 U.S. 665, 700] its proper function, as a legislative committee does when it "expose[s] for the sake of exposure." Watkins v. United States, 354 U.S. 178, 200 (1957). Nothing in the record indicates that these grand juries were "prob[ing] at will and without relation to existing need." DeGregory v. Attorney General of New Hampshire, 383 U.S. 825, 829 (1966). Nor did the grand juries attempt to invade protected First Amendment rights by forcing wholesale disclosure of names and organizational affiliations for a purpose that was not germane to the determination of whether crime has been committed, cf. NAACP v. Alabama, 357 U.S. 449 (1958); NAACP v. Button, 371 U.S. 415 (1963); Bates v. Little Rock, 361 U.S. 516 (1960), and the characteristic secrecy of grand jury proceedings is a further protection against the undue invasion of such rights. See Fed. Rule Crim. Proc. 6 (e). The investigative power of the grand jury is necessarily broad if its public responsibility is to be adequately discharged. Costello v. United States, 350 U.S., at 364.

The requirements of those cases, see n. 18, supra, which hold that a State's interest must be "compelling" or "paramount" to justify even an indirect burden on First Amendment rights, are also met here. As we have indicated, the investigation of crime by the grand jury implements a fundamental governmental role of securing the safety of the person and property of the citizen, and it appears to us that calling reporters to give testimony in the manner and for the reasons that other citizens are called "bears a reasonable relationship to the achievement of the governmental purpose asserted as its justification." Bates v. Little Rock, supra, at 525. If the test is that the government "convincingly show a substantial relation between the information sought and a subject of overriding and compelling state interest," Gibson v. Florida Legislative Investigation Committee, [408 U.S. 665, 701] 372 U.S. 539, 546 (1963), it is quite apparent (1) that the State has the necessary interest in extirpating the traffic in illegal drugs, in forestalling assassination attempts on the President, and in preventing the community from being disrupted by violent disorders endangering both persons and property; and (2) that, based on the stories Branzburg and Caldwell wrote and Pappas' admitted conduct, the grand jury called these reporters as they would others—because it was likely that they could supply information to help the government determine whether illegal conduct had occurred and, if it had, whether there was sufficient evidence to return an indictment.

Similar considerations dispose of the reporters' claims that preliminary to requiring their grand jury appearance, the State must show that a crime has been committed and that they possess relevant information not available from other sources, for only the grand jury itself can make this determination. The role of the grand jury as an important instrument of effective law enforcement necessarily includes an investigatory function with respect to determining whether a crime has been committed and who committed it. To this end it must call witnesses, in the manner best suited to perform its task. "When the grand jury is performing its investigatory function into a general problem area . . . society's interest is best served by a thorough and extensive investigation." Wood v. Georgia, 370 U.S. 375, 392 (1962). A grand jury investigation "is not fully carried out until every available clue has been run down and all witnesses examined in every proper way to find if a crime has been committed." United States v. Stone, 429 F.2d 138, 140 (CA2 1970). Such an investigation may be triggered by tips, rumors, evidence proffered by the prosecutor, or the personal knowledge of the grand jurors. Costello v. United States, 350 U.S., at 362. It is [408 U.S. 665, 702] only after the grand jury

has examined the evidence that a determination of whether the proceeding will result in an indictment can be made.

> "It is impossible to conceive that in such cases the examination of witnesses must be stopped until a basis is laid by an indictment formally preferred, when the very object of the examination is to ascertain who shall be indicted." Hale v. Henkel, 201 U.S. 43, 65 (1906).

See also Hendricks v. United States, 223 U.S. 178 (1912); Blair v. United States, 250 U.S., at 282-283. We see no reason to hold that these reporters, any more than other citizens, should be excused from furnishing information that may help the grand jury in arriving at its initial determinations.

The privilege claimed here is conditional, not absolute; given the suggested preliminary showings and compelling need, the reporter would be required to testify. Presumably, such a rule would reduce the instances in which reporters could be required to appear, but predicting in advance when and in what circumstances they could be compelled to do so would be difficult. Such a rule would also have implications for the issuance of compulsory process to reporters at civil and criminal trials and at legislative hearings. If newsmen's confidential sources are as sensitive as they are claimed to be, the prospect of being unmasked whenever a judge determines the situation justifies it is hardly a satisfactory solution to the problem. For them, it would appear that only an absolute privilege would suffice. [408 U.S. 665, 703]

We are unwilling to embark the judiciary on a long and difficult journey to such an uncertain destination. The administration of a constitutional newsman's privilege [408 U.S. 665, 704] would present practical and conceptual difficulties of a high order. Sooner or later, it would be necessary to define those categories of newsmen who qualified for the privilege, a questionable procedure in light of the traditional doctrine that liberty of the press is the right of the lonely pamphleteer who uses carbon paper or a mimeograph just as much as of the large metropolitan publisher who utilizes the latest photocomposition methods. Cf. In re Grand Jury Witnesses, 322 F. Supp. 573, 574 (ND Cal. 1970). Freedom of the press is a "fundamental personal right" which "is not confined to newspapers and periodicals. It necessarily embraces pamphlets and leaflets.... The press in its historic connotation comprehends every sort of publication which affords a vehicle of information and opinion." Lovell v. Griffin, 303 U.S. 444, 450 , 452 (1938). See also Mills [408 U.S. 665, 705] v. Alabama, 384 U.S. 214, 219 (1966); Murdock v. Pennsylvania, 319 U.S. 105, 111 (1943). The informative function asserted by representatives of the organized press in the present cases is also performed by lecturers, political pollsters, novelists, academic researchers, and dramatists. Almost any author may quite accurately assert that he is contributing to the flow of information to the public, that he relies on confidential sources of information, and that these sources will be silenced if he is forced to make disclosures before a grand jury.

In each instance where a reporter is subpoenaed to testify, the courts would also be embroiled in preliminary factual and legal determinations with respect to whether the proper predicate had been laid for the reporter's appearance: Is there probable cause to believe a crime has been committed? Is it likely that the reporter has useful information gained in confidence? Could the grand jury obtain the information elsewhere? Is the official interest sufficient to outweigh the claimed privilege?

Thus, in the end, by considering whether enforcement of a particular law served a "compelling" governmental interest, the courts would be inextricably involved in [408 U.S. 665, 706] distinguishing between the value of enforcing different criminal laws. By requiring testimony from a reporter in investigations involving some crimes but not in others, they would be making a value judgment that a legislature had declined to make, since in each case the criminal law involved would represent a considered legislative judgment, not constitutionally suspect, of what conduct is liable to criminal prosecution. The task of judges, like other officials outside the legislative branch, is not to make the law but to uphold it in accordance with their oaths.

At the federal level, Congress has freedom to determine whether a statutory newsman's privilege is necessary and desirable and to fashion standards and rules as narrow or broad as deemed necessary to deal with the evil discerned and, equally important, to refashion those rules as experience from time to time may dictate. There is also merit in

leaving state legislatures free, within First Amendment limits, to fashion their own standards in light of the conditions and problems with respect to the relations between law enforcement officials and press in their own areas. It goes without saying, of course, that we are powerless to bar state courts from responding in their own way and construing their own constitutions so as to recognize a newsman's privilege, either qualified or absolute.

In addition, there is much force in the pragmatic view that the press has at its disposal powerful mechanisms of communication and is far from helpless to protect itself from harassment or substantial harm. Furthermore, if what the newsmen urged in these cases is true—that law enforcement cannot hope to gain and may suffer from subpoenaing newsmen before grand juries—prosecutors will be loath to risk so much for so little. Thus, at the federal level the Attorney General has already fashioned a set of rules for federal officials in connection [408 U.S. 665, 707] with subpoenaing members of the press to testify before grand juries or at criminal trials. These rules are a major step in the direction the reporters herein desire to move. They may prove wholly sufficient to resolve the bulk of disagreements and controversies between press and federal officials.

Finally, as we have earlier indicated, news gathering is not without its First Amendment protections, and grand jury investigations if instituted or conducted other than in good faith, would pose wholly different issues for resolution under the First Amendment. Official harassment of the press undertaken not for purposes of law enforcement but to disrupt a reporter's relationship [408 U.S. 665, 708] with his news sources would have no justification. Grand juries are subject to judicial control and subpoenas to motions to quash. We do not expect courts will forget that grand juries must operate within the limits of the First Amendment as well as the Fifth.

III

We turn, therefore, to the disposition of the cases before us. From what we have said, it necessarily follows that the decision in United States v. Caldwell, No. 70-57, must be reversed. If there is no First Amendment privilege to refuse to answer the relevant and material questions asked during a good-faith grand jury investigation, then it is a fortiori true that there is no privilege to refuse to appear before such a grand jury until the Government demonstrates some "compelling need" for a newsman's testimony. Other issues were urged upon us, but since they were not passed upon by the Court of Appeals, we decline to address them in the first instance.

The decisions in No. 70-85, Branzburg v. Hayes and Branzburg v. Meigs, must be affirmed. Here, petitioner refused to answer questions that directly related to criminal conduct that he had observed and written about. The Kentucky Court of Appeals noted that marihuana is defined as a narcotic drug by statute, Ky. Rev. Stat. 218.010 (14) (1962), and that unlicensed possession or compounding of it is a felony punishable by both fine and imprisonment. Ky. Rev. Stat. 218.210 (1962). It held that petitioner "saw the commission of the statutory felonies of unlawful possession of marijuana and the unlawful conversion of it into hashish," in Branzburg v. Pound, 461 S. W. 2d, at 346. Petitioner may be presumed to have observed similar violations of the state narcotics laws during the research he did for the story that forms the basis of the subpoena in Branzburg v. Meigs. In both cases, if what petitioner wrote was true, [408 U.S. 665, 709] he had direct information to provide the grand jury concerning the commission of serious crimes.

The only question presented at the present time in In re Pappas, No. 70-94, is whether petitioner Pappas must appear before the grand jury to testify pursuant to subpoena. The Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court characterized the record in this case as "meager," and it is not clear what petitioner will be asked by the grand jury. It is not even clear that he will be asked to divulge information received in confidence. We affirm the decision of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court and hold that petitioner must appear before the grand jury to answer the questions put to him, subject, of course, to the supervision of the presiding judge as to "the propriety, purposes, and scope of the grand jury inquiry and the pertinence of the probable testimony." 358 Mass., at 614, 266 N. E. 2d, at 303-304.

So ordered.

MR. JUSTICE STEWART, with whom MR. JUSTICE BRENNAN and MR. JUSTICE MARSHALL join, dissenting.

The Court's crabbed view of the First Amendment reflects a disturbing insensitivity to the critical role of an independent press in our society. The question whether a reporter has a constitutional right to a confidential relationship with his source is of first impression here, but the principles that should guide our decision are as basic as any to be found in the Constitution. While MR. JUSTICE POWELL'S enigmatic concurring opinion gives some hope of a more flexible view in the future, the Court in these cases holds that a newsman has no First Amendment right to protect his sources when called before a grand jury. The Court thus invites state and federal authorities to undermine the historic independence of the press by attempting to annex the journalistic profession as an investigative arm of government. Not only will this decision impair performance of the press' constitutionally protected functions, but it will, I am convinced, in the long run harm rather than help the administration of justice.

I respectfully dissent.

I

The reporter's constitutional right to a confidential relationship with his source stems from the broad societal interest in a full and free flow of information to the public. It is this basic concern that underlies the Constitution's [408 U.S. 665, 726] protection of a free press, Grosjean v. American Press Co., 297 U.S. 233, 250; New York Times Co. v. Sullivan, 376 U.S. 254, 269,[1] because the guarantee is "not for the benefit of the press so much as for the benefit of all of us." Time, Inc. v. Hill, 385 U.S. 374, 389.[2]

Enlightened choice by an informed citizenry is the basic ideal upon which an open society is premised,[3] and a free press is thus indispensable to a free society. Not only does the press enhance personal self-fulfillment [408 U.S. 665, 727] by providing the people with the widest possible range of fact and opinion, but it also is an incontestable precondition of self-government. The press "has been a mighty catalyst in awakening public interest in governmental affairs, exposing corruption among public officers and employees and generally informing the citizenry of public events and occurrences . . . ." Estes v. Texas, 381 U.S. 532, 539; Mills v. Alabama, 384 U.S. 214, 219; Grosjean, supra, at 250. As private and public aggregations of power burgeon in size and the pressures for conformity necessarily mount, there is obviously a continuing need for an independent press to disseminate a robust variety of information and opinion through reportage, investigation, and criticism, if we are to preserve our constitutional tradition of maximizing freedom of choice by encouraging diversity of expression.

A

In keeping with this tradition, we have held that the right to publish is central to the First Amendment and basic to the existence of constitutional democracy. Grosjean, supra, at 250; New York Times, supra, at 270.

A corollary of the right to publish must be the right to gather news. The full flow of information to the public protected by the free-press guarantee would be severely curtailed if no protection whatever were afforded to the process by which news is assembled and disseminated. We have, therefore, recognized that there is a right to publish without prior governmental approval, Near v. Minnesota, 283 U.S. 697; New York Times Co. v. United States, 403 U.S. 713, a right to distribute information, see, e.g., Lovell v. Griffin, 303 U.S. 444, 452; Marsh v. Alabama, 326 U.S. 501; Martin v. City of Struthers, 319 U.S. 141; Grosjean, supra, and a right to receive printed matter, Lamont v. Postmaster General, 381 U.S. 301. [408 U.S. 665, 728]

No less important to the news dissemination process is the gathering of information. News must not be unnecessarily cut off at its source, for without freedom to acquire information the right to publish would be impermissibly compromised. Accordingly, a right to gather news, of some dimensions, must exist. Zemel v. Rusk, 381 U.S. 1.[4] As Madison wrote: "A popular Government, without popular information, or the means of acquiring it, is but a Prologue to a Farce or a Tragedy; or, perhaps both." 9 Writings of James Madison 103 (G. Hunt ed. 1910).

B

The right to gather news implies, in turn, a right to a confidential relationship between a reporter and his source. This proposition follows as a

matter of simple logic once three factual predicates are recognized: (1) newsmen require informants to gather news; (2) confidentiality—the promise or understanding that names or certain aspects of communications will be kept off the record—is essential to the creation and maintenance of a news-gathering relationship with informants; and (3) an unbridled subpoena power—the absence of a constitutional right protecting, in any way, a confidential relationship from compulsory process—will either deter sources from divulging information or deter reporters from gathering and publishing information. [408 U.S. 665, 729]

It is obvious that informants are necessary to the news-gathering process as we know it today. If it is to perform its constitutional mission, the press must do far more than merely print public statements or publish prepared handouts. Familiarity with the people and circumstances involved in the myriad background activities that result in the final product called "news" is vital to complete and responsible journalism, unless the press is to be a captive mouthpiece of "newsmakers."[5]

It is equally obvious that the promise of confidentiality may be a necessary prerequisite to a productive relationship between a newsman and his informants. An officeholder may fear his superior; a member of the bureaucracy, his associates; a dissident, the scorn of majority opinion. All may have information valuable to the public discourse, yet each may be willing to relate that information only in confidence to a reporter whom he trusts, either because of excessive caution or because of a reasonable fear of reprisals or censure for unorthodox [408 U.S. 665, 730] views. The First Amendment concern must not be with the motives of any particular news source, but rather with the conditions in which informants of all shades of the spectrum may make information available through the press to the public. Cf. Talley v. California, 362 U.S. 60, 65; Bates v. Little Rock, 361 U.S. 516; NAACP v. Alabama, 357 U.S. 449.[6]

In Caldwell, the District Court found that "confidential relationships . . . are commonly developed and maintained by professional journalists, and are indispensable to their work of gathering, analyzing and publishing the news."[7] Commentators and individual reporters have repeatedly noted the importance of confidentiality.[8] [408 U.S. 665, 731] And surveys among reporters and editors indicate that the promise of nondisclosure is necessary for many types of news gathering.[9]

Finally, and most important, when governmental officials possess an unchecked power to compel newsmen to disclose information received in confidence, sources will clearly be deterred from giving information, and reporters will clearly be deterred from publishing it, because uncertainty about exercise of the power will lead to "self-censorship." Smith v. California, 361 U.S. 147, 149-154; New York Times Co. v. Sullivan, 376 U.S., at 279. The uncertainty arises, of course, because the judiciary has traditionally imposed virtually no limitations on the grand jury's broad investigatory powers. See Antell, The Modern Grand Jury: Benighted Super-government, 51 A. B. A. J. 153 (1965). See also Part II, infra.

After today's decision, the potential informant can never be sure that his identity or off-the-record communications will not subsequently be revealed through the compelled testimony of a newsman. A public-spirited person inside government, who is not implicated in any crime, will now be fearful of revealing corruption or other governmental wrongdoing, because he will now know he can subsequently be identified by use of compulsory process. The potential source must, therefore, choose between risking exposure by giving information or avoiding the risk by remaining silent.

The reporter must speculate about whether contact with a controversial source or publication of controversial material will lead to a subpoena. In the event of a [408 U.S. 665, 732] subpoena, under today's decision, the newsman will know that he must choose between being punished for contempt if he refuses to testify, or violating his profession's ethics[10] and impairing his resourcefulness as a reporter if he discloses confidential information.[11]

Again, the commonsense understanding that such deterrence will occur is buttressed by concrete evidence. The existence of deterrent effects through fear and self-censorship was impressively developed in the District Court in Caldwell.[12] Individual reporters[13] and commentators[14] have noted such effects. Surveys have verified that an unbridled subpoena power will substantially [408 U.S. 665, 733] impair the flow of news to the public, especially in sensitive areas involving governmental officials, financial affairs, political figures, dissidents, or minority groups that require in-depth,

investigative reporting.[15] And the Justice Department has recognized that "compulsory process in some circumstances may have a limiting effect on the exercise of First Amendment rights."[16] No evidence contradicting the existence of such deterrent effects was offered at the trials or in the briefs here by the petitioner in Caldwell or by the respondents in Branzburg and Pappas.

The impairment of the flow of news cannot, of course, be proved with scientific precision, as the Court seems to demand. Obviously, not every news-gathering relationship requires confidentiality. And it is difficult to pinpoint precisely how many relationships do require a promise or understanding of nondisclosure. But we have never before demanded that First Amendment rights rest on elaborate empirical studies demonstrating beyond any conceivable doubt that deterrent effects exist; we have never before required proof of the exact number of people potentially affected by governmental action, who would actually be dissuaded from engaging in First Amendment activity.

Rather, on the basis of common sense and available information, we have asked, often implicitly, (1) whether there was a rational connection between the cause (the governmental action) and the effect (the deterrence or [408 U.S. 665, 734] impairment of First Amendment activity), and (2) whether the effect would occur with some regularity, i.e., would not be de minimis. See, e.g., Grosjean v. American Press Co., 297 U.S., at 244-245; Burstyn, Inc. v. Wilson, 343 U.S. 495, 503.... And, in making this determination, we have shown a special solicitude towards the "indispensable liberties" protected by the First Amendment, NAACP v. Alabama, supra, at 461; Bantam Books, Inc. v. Sullivan, 372 U.S. 58, 66, for "[f]reedoms such as these are protected not only against heavy-handed frontal attack, but also from being stifled by more subtle governmental interference." Bates, supra, at 523.[17] Once this threshold inquiry has been satisfied, we have then examined the competing interests in determining whether [408 U.S. 665, 735] there is an unconstitutional infringement of First Amendment freedoms.

For example, in NAACP v. Alabama, supra, we found that compelled disclosure of the names of those in Alabama who belonged to the NAACP "is likely to affect adversely the ability [of the NAACP] and its members to pursue their . . . beliefs which they admittedly have the right to advocate, in that it may induce members to withdraw from the Association and dissuade others from joining it because of fear of exposure of their beliefs shown through their associations and of the consequences of this exposure." Id., at 462-463. In Talley, supra, we held invalid a city ordinance that forbade circulation of any handbill that did not have the distributor's name on it, for there was "no doubt that such an identification requirement would tend to restrict freedom to distribute information and thereby freedom of expression." Id., at 64. And in Burstyn, Inc., supra, we found deterrence of First Amendment activity inherent in a censor's power to exercise unbridled discretion under an overbroad statute. Id., at 503.

Surely the analogous claim of deterrence here is as securely grounded in evidence and common sense as the claims in the cases cited above, although the Court calls the claim "speculative." See ante, at 694. The deterrence may not occur in every confidential relationship between a reporter and his source.[18] But it will certainly [408 U.S. 665, 736] occur in certain types of relationships involving sensitive and controversial matters. And such relationships are vital to the free flow of information.

To require any greater burden of proof is to shirk our duty to protect values securely embedded in the Constitution. We cannot await an unequivocal—and therefore unattainable—imprimatur from empirical studies.[19] We can and must accept the evidence developed in the record, and elsewhere, that overwhelmingly supports the premise that deterrence will occur with regularity in important types of news-gathering relationships.[20]

Thus, we cannot escape the conclusion that when neither the reporter nor his source can rely on the shield of confidentiality against unrestrained use of the grand jury's subpoena power, valuable information will not be published and the public dialogue will inevitably be impoverished.

II

Posed against the First Amendment's protection of the newsman's confidential relationships in these cases is society's interest in the use of the grand jury to administer [408 U.S. 665, 737] justice fairly and effectively. The grand jury serves

two important functions: "to examine into the commission of crimes" and "to stand between the prosecutor and the accused, and to determine whether the charge was founded upon credible testimony or was dictated by malice or personal ill will." Hale v. Henkel, 201 U.S. 43, 59. And to perform these functions the grand jury must have available to it every man's relevant evidence. See Blair v. United States, 250 U.S. 273, 281; Blackmer v. United States, 284 U.S. 421, 438.

Yet the longstanding rule making every person's evidence available to the grand jury is not absolute. The rule has been limited by the Fifth Amendment,[21] the Fourth Amendment,[22] and the evidentiary privileges of the common law.[23] So it was that in Blair, supra, after recognizing that the right against compulsory self-incrimination prohibited certain inquiries, the Court noted that "some confidential matters are shielded from considerations of policy, and perhaps in other cases for special reasons a witness may be excused from telling all that he knows." Id., at 281 (emphasis supplied). And in United States v. Bryan, 339 U.S. 323, the Court observed that any exemption from the duty to testify before the grand jury "presupposes a very real interest to be protected." Id., at 332.

Such an interest must surely be the First Amendment protection of a confidential relationship that I have discussed above in Part I. As noted there, this protection does not exist for the purely private interests of the [408 U.S. 665, 738] newsman or his informant, nor even, at bottom, for the First Amendment interests of either partner in the newsgathering relationship.[24] Rather, it functions to insure nothing less than democratic decision making through the free flow of information to the public, and it serves, thereby, to honor the "profound national commitment to the principle that debate on public issues should be uninhibited, robust, and wide-open." New York Times Co. v. Sullivan, 376 U.S., at 270.

In striking the proper balance between the public interest in the efficient administration of justice and the First Amendment guarantee of the fullest flow of information, we must begin with the basic proposition that because of their "delicate and vulnerable" nature, NAACP v. Button, 371 U.S., at 433, and their transcendent importance for the just functioning of our society, First Amendment rights require special safeguards.

A

This Court has erected such safeguards when government, by legislative investigation or other investigative means, has attempted to pierce the shield of privacy inherent in freedom of association.[25] In no previous case have we considered the extent to which the First Amendment limits the grand jury subpoena power. But the [408 U.S. 665, 739] Court has said that "[t]he Bill of Rights is applicable to investigations as to all forms of governmental action. Witnesses cannot be compelled to give evidence against themselves. They cannot be subjected to unreasonable search and seizure. Nor can the First Amendment freedoms of speech, press . . . or political belief and association be abridged." Watkins v. United States, 354 U.S. 178, 188. And in Sweezy v. New Hampshire it was stated: "It is particularly important that the exercise of the power of compulsory process be carefully circumscribed when the investigative process tends to impinge upon such highly sensitive areas as freedom of speech or press, freedom of political association, and freedom of communication of ideas." 354 U.S., at 245 (plurality opinion).

The established method of "carefully" circumscribing investigative powers is to place a heavy burden of justification on government officials when First Amendment rights are impaired. The decisions of this Court have "consistently held that only a compelling state interest in the regulation of a subject within the State's constitutional power to regulate can justify limiting First Amendment freedoms." NAACP v. Button, 371 U.S., at 438. And "it is an essential prerequisite to the validity of an investigation which intrudes into the area of constitutionally protected rights of speech, press, association and petition that the State convincingly show a substantial relation between the information sought and a subject of overriding and compelling state interest." Gibson v. Florida Legislative Investigation Committee, 372 U.S., at 546 (emphasis supplied). See also DeGregory v. Attorney General of New Hampshire, 383 U.S. 825; NAACP v. Alabama, 357 U.S. 449; Sweezy, supra; Watkins, supra.

Thus, when an investigation impinges on First Amendment rights, the government must not only show that [408 U.S. 665, 740] the inquiry is of "compelling and overriding importance" but it must also

"convincingly" demonstrate that the investigation is "substantially related" to the information sought.

Governmental officials must, therefore, demonstrate that the information sought is clearly relevant to a precisely defined subject of governmental inquiry. Watkins, supra; Sweezy, supra.[26] They must demonstrate that it is reasonable to think the witness in question has that information. Sweezy, supra; Gibson, supra.[27] And they must show that there is not any means of obtaining the information less destructive of First Amendment liberties. Shelton v. Tucker, 364 U.S., at 488; Louisiana ex rel. Gremillion v. NAACP, 366 U.S. 293, 296-297.[28]

These requirements, which we have recognized in decisions involving legislative and executive investigations, serve established policies reflected in numerous First [408 U.S. 665, 741] Amendment decisions arising in other contexts. The requirements militate against vague investigations that, like vague laws, create uncertainty and needlessly discourage First Amendment activity.[29] They also insure that a legitimate governmental purpose will not be pursued by means that "broadly stifle fundamental personal liberties when the end can be more narrowly achieved." Shelton, supra, at 488.[30] As we said in Gibson, supra, "Of course, a legislative investigation—as any investigation—must proceed 'step by step,'...but step by step or in totality, an adequate foundation for inquiry must be laid before proceeding in such a manner as will substantially intrude upon and severely curtail or inhibit constitutionally protected activities or seriously interfere with similarly protected associational rights." 372 U.S., at 557.

I believe the safeguards developed in our decisions involving governmental investigations must apply to the grand jury inquiries in these cases. Surely the function of the grand jury to aid in the enforcement of the law is no more important than the function of the legislature, and its committees, to make the law. We have long recognized the value of the role played by legislative investigations, see, e.g., United States v. Rumely, [408 U.S. 665, 742] 345 U.S. 41, 43; Barenblatt v. United States, 360 U.S. 109, 111-112, for the "power of the Congress to conduct investigations is inherent...[encompassing] surveys of defects in our social, economic or political system for the purpose of enabling the Congress to remedy them." Watkins, supra, at 187. Similarly, the associational rights of private individuals, which have been the prime focus of our First Amendment decisions in the investigative sphere, are hardly more important than the First Amendment rights of mass circulation newspapers and electronic media to disseminate ideas and information, and of the general public to receive them. Moreover, the vices of vagueness and overbreadth that legislative investigations may manifest are also exhibited by grand jury inquiries, since grand jury investigations are not limited in scope to specific criminal acts, see, e.g., Wilson v. United States, 221 U.S. 361, Hendricks v. United States, 223 U.S. 178, 184, United States v. Johnson, 319 U.S. 503, and since standards of materiality and relevance are greatly relaxed. Holt v. United States, 218 U.S. 245; Costello v. United States, 350 U.S. 359. See generally Note, The Grand Jury as an Investigatory Body, 74 Harv. L. Rev. 590, 591-592 (1961).[31] For, as the United States notes in its brief in Caldwell, the [408 U.S. 665, 743] grand jury "need establish no factual basis for commencing an investigation, and can pursue rumors which further investigation may prove groundless."

Accordingly, when a reporter is asked to appear before a grand jury and reveal confidences, I would hold that the government must (1) show that there is probable cause to believe that the newsman has information that is clearly relevant to a specific probable violation of law;[32] (2) demonstrate that the information sought cannot be obtained by alternative means less destructive of First Amendment rights; and (3) demonstrate a compelling and overriding interest in the information.[33]

This is not to say that a grand jury could not issue a subpoena until such a showing were made, and it is not to say that a newsman would be in any way privileged to ignore any subpoena that was issued. Obviously, before the government's burden to make such a showing were triggered, the reporter would have to move to quash the subpoena, asserting the basis on which he considered the particular relationship a confidential one. [408 U.S. 665, 744]

B

The crux of the Court's rejection of any newsman's privilege is its observation that only "where news sources themselves are implicated in crime or possess information relevant to the grand jury's

task need they or the reporter be concerned about grand jury subpoenas." See ante, at 691 (emphasis supplied). But this is a most misleading construct. For it is obviously not true that the only persons about whom reporters will be forced to testify will be those "confidential informants involved in actual criminal conduct" and those having "information suggesting illegal conduct by others." See ante, at 691, 693. As noted above, given the grand jury's extraordinarily broad investigative powers and the weak standards of relevance and materiality that apply during such inquiries, reporters, if they have no testimonial privilege, will be called to give information about informants who have neither committed crimes nor have information about crime. It is to avoid deterrence of such sources and thus to prevent needless injury to First Amendment values that I think the government must be required to show probable cause that the newsman has information that is clearly relevant to a specific probable violation of criminal law.[34] [408 U.S. 665, 745]

Similarly, a reporter may have information from a confidential source that is "related" to the commission of crime, but the government may be able to obtain an indictment or otherwise achieve its purposes by subpoenaing persons other than the reporter. It is an obvious but important truism that when government aims have been fully served, there can be no legitimate reason to disrupt a confidential relationship between a reporter and his source. To do so would not aid the administration of justice and would only impair the flow of information to the public. Thus, it is to avoid deterrence of such sources that I think the government must show that there are no alternative means for the grand jury to obtain the information sought.

Both the "probable cause" and "alternative means" requirements would thus serve the vital function of mediating between the public interest in the administration of justice and the constitutional protection of the full flow of information. These requirements would avoid a direct conflict between these competing concerns, and they would generally provide adequate protection for newsmen. See Part III, infra.[35] No doubt the courts would be required to make some delicate judgments in working out this accommodation. But that, after all, [408 U.S. 665, 746] is the function of courts of law. Better such judgments, however difficult, than the simplistic and stultifying absolutism adopted by the Court in denying any force to the First Amendment in these cases.[36]

The error in the Court's absolute rejection of First Amendment interests in these cases seems to me to be most profound. For in the name of advancing the administration of justice, the Court's decision, I think, will only impair the achievement of that goal. People entrusted with law enforcement responsibility, no less than private citizens, need general information relating to controversial social problems. Obviously, press reports have great value to government, even when the newsman cannot be compelled to testify before a grand jury. The sad paradox of the Court's position is that when a grand jury may exercise an unbridled subpoena power, and sources involved in sensitive matters become fearful of disclosing information, the newsman will not only cease to be a useful grand jury witness; he will cease to investigate and publish information about issues of public import. I cannot subscribe to such an anomalous result, for, in my view, the interests protected by the First Amendment are not antagonistic to the administration of justice. Rather, they can, in the long run, only be complementary, and for that reason must be given great "breathing space." NAACP v. Button, 371 U.S., at 433.

III

In deciding what protection should be given to information a reporter receives in confidence from a news source, the Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit affirmed the holding of the District Court that the grand [408 U.S. 665, 747] jury power of testimonial compulsion must not be exercised in a manner likely to impair First Amendment interests "until there has been a clear showing of a compelling and overriding national interest that cannot be served by any alternative means." Caldwell v. United States, 434 F.2d 1081, 1086. It approved the request of respondent Caldwell for specification by the government of the "subject, direction or scope of the Grand Jury inquiry." Id., at 1085. And it held that in the circumstances of this case Caldwell need not divulge confidential information.

I think this decision was correct. On the record before us the United States has not met the burden that I think the appropriate newsman's privilege should require.

In affidavits before the District Court, the United States said it was investigating possible violations of 18 U.S.C. 871 (threats against the President), 18 U.S.C. 1751 (assassination, attempts to assassinate, conspiracy to assassinate the President), 18 U.S.C. 231 (civil disorders), 18 U.S.C. 2101 (interstate travel to incite a riot), 18 U.S.C. 1341 (mail fraud and swindles) and other crimes that were not specified. But, with one exception, there has been no factual showing in this case of the probable commission of, or of attempts to commit, any crimes.[37] The single exception relates to the allegation that a Black Panther Party leader, David Hilliard, violated 18 U.S.C. 871 during the course of a speech in November 1969. But Caldwell was subpoenaed two months after an indictment was returned against Hilliard, and that charge could not, subsequent to the indictment, be investigated by a grand jury. See In re National Window Glass Workers, 287 F. 219; United [408 U.S. 665, 748] States v. Dardi, 330 F.2d 316, 336.[38] Furthermore, the record before us does not show that Caldwell probably had any information about the violation of any other federal criminal laws,[39] or that alternative [408 U.S. 665, 749] means of obtaining the desired information were pursued.[40]

In the Caldwell case, the Court of Appeals further found that Caldwell's confidential relationship with the leaders of the Black Panther Party would be impaired if he appeared before the grand jury at all to answer questions, even though not privileged. Caldwell v. United States, 434 F.2d, at 1088. On the particular facts before it,[41] the court concluded that the very [408 U.S. 665, 750] appearance by Caldwell before the grand jury would jeopardize his relationship with his sources, leading to a severance of the news-gathering relationship and impairment of the flow of news to the public:[42]

> "Appellant asserted in affidavit that there is nothing to which he could testify (beyond that which he has already made public and for which, therefore, his appearance is unnecessary) that is not protected by the District Court's order. If this is true—and the Government apparently has not believed it necessary to dispute it—appellant's response to the subpoena would be a barren performance [408 U.S. 665, 751]- one of no benefit to the Grand Jury. To destroy appellant's capacity as news gatherer for such a return hardly makes sense. Since the cost to the public of excusing his attendance is so slight, it may be said that there is here no public interest of real substance in competition with the First Amendment freedoms that are jeopardized.
>
> "If any competing public interest is ever to arise in a case such as this (where First Amendment liberties are threatened by mere appearance at a Grand Jury investigation) it will be on an occasion in which the witness, armed with his privilege, can still serve a useful purpose before the Grand Jury. Considering the scope of the privilege embodied in the protective order, these occasions would seem to be unusual. It is not asking too much of the Government to show that such an occasion is presented here." Id., at 1089.

I think this ruling was also correct in light of the particularized circumstances of the Caldwell case. Obviously, only in very rare circumstances would a confidential relationship between a reporter and his source be so sensitive that mere appearance before the grand jury by the newsman would substantially impair his newsgathering function. But in this case, the reporter made out a prima facie case that the flow of news to the public would be curtailed. And he stated, without contradiction, that the only non-confidential material about which he could testify was already printed in his newspaper articles.[43] Since the United States has not attempted to [408 U.S. 665, 752] refute this assertion, the appearance of Caldwell would, on these facts, indeed be a "barren performance." But this aspect of the Caldwell judgment I would confine to its own facts. As the Court of Appeals appropriately observed: "[T]he rule of this case is a narrow one...." Caldwell, supra, at 1090.

Accordingly, I would affirm the judgment of the Court of Appeals in No. 70-57, United States v. Caldwell.[44] In the other two cases before us, No. 70-85, Branzburg v. Hayes and Meigs, and No. 70-94, In re Pappas, I would vacate the judgments and remand the cases for further proceedings not inconsistent with the views I have expressed in this opinion.

Branzburg v. Hayes, 408 U.S. 665 (1999).

Intellectual Property Protection

Eldred v. Ashcroft *(2003)*

Introduction

The U.S. Constitution guarantees the opportunity of retaining a copyright in intellectual creations by giving Congress the power to "promote the Progress of Science and the useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries." The term *limited times* suggests that the framers of the Constitution saw the need for all original copyrights to lapse at some point and fall into the public domain—a time when these works become open to use by anyone without obtaining permission from the creator. One key issue in intellectual property law revolves around what exactly the Constitution intended by the term *limited times* and what amounts to a fair duration for a creator's copyright to exist.

The creator's copyright in a work was initially limited to 14 years with the right to a 14-year renewal period by the first Congress back in 1790. Those numbers jumped to a 28-year copyright with a 28-year renewal option by 1909, and The Copyright Revision Act of 1976 dramatically upped copyright limits to the length of the creator's lifetime plus an additional 50 years. Then, almost immediately, Congress passed the Sonny Bono Copyright Extension Act in 1978 that pushed copyrights to 70 years beyond the creator's lifetime. Eric Eldred, who originally planned to put Robert Frost poems online once they fell into the public domain in 1998, challenged the Bono Act in court.

Eldred believed the Bono Act ran contrary to the Constitution's edict of *limited times* for copyrights and the First Amendment promise of free expression. In *Eldred v. Ashcroft,* Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg wrote the majority opinion that affirmed the constitutionality of systematically prolonging the copyright period. She argued that the Constitution's *limited times* wording did not imply an inflexible amount of time and that the term had never been clearly defined. The Court also upheld the right of Congress to repeatedly extend the copyright period and keep the intent of *limited times,* so long as the copyright duration remains "confined within certain boundaries" and not endless.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

ELDRED et al. v. ASHCROFT, ATTORNEY GENERAL
537 U.S. 186 (2003)

Justice Ginsburg delivered the opinion of the Court.

This case concerns the authority the Constitution assigns to Congress to prescribe the duration of copyrights. The Copyright and Patent Clause of the Constitution, Art. I, §8, cl. 8, provides as to copyrights: "Congress shall have Power . . . [t]o promote the Progress of Science . . . by securing [to Authors] for limited Times . . . the exclusive Right to their ... Writings." In 1998, in the measure here under inspection, Congress enlarged the duration of copyrights by 20 years. Copyright Term Extension Act (CTEA), Pub. L. 105-298, §102(b) and (d), 112 Stat. 2827-2828 (amending 17 U. S. C. §§302, 304). As in the case of prior extensions, principally in 1831, 1909, and 1976, Congress provided for application of the enlarged terms to existing and future copyrights alike.

Petitioners are individuals and businesses whose products or services build on copyrighted works that have gone into the public domain. They seek a determination that the CTEA fails constitutional review under both the Copyright Clause's "limited Times" prescription and the First Amendment's free speech guarantee. Under the 1976 Copyright Act, copyright protection generally lasted from the work's creation until 50 years after the author's death. Pub. L. 94-553, §302(a), 90 Stat. 2572 (1976 Act). Under the CTEA, most copyrights now run from creation until 70 years after the author's death. 17 U. S. C. §302(a). Petitioners do not challenge the "life-plus-70-years" time span itself. "Whether 50 years is enough, or 70 years too much," they acknowledge, "is not a judgment meet for this Court." Brief for Petitioners 14.[1] Congress went awry, petitioners maintain, not with respect to newly created works, but in enlarging the term for published works with existing copyrights. The "limited Tim[e]" in effect when a copyright is secured, petitioners urge, becomes the constitutional boundary, a clear line beyond the power of Congress to extend. See ibid. As to the First Amendment, petitioners contend that the CTEA is a content-neutral regulation of speech that fails inspection under the heightened judicial scrutiny appropriate for such regulations.

In accord with the District Court and the Court of Appeals, we reject petitioners' challenges to the CTEA. In that 1998 legislation, as in all previous copyright term extensions, Congress placed existing and future copyrights in parity. In prescribing that alignment, we hold, Congress acted within its authority and did not transgress constitutional limitations.

I

A

We evaluate petitioners' challenge to the constitutionality of the CTEA against the backdrop of Congress' previous exercises of its authority under the Copyright Clause. The Nation's first copyright statute, enacted in 1790, provided a federal copyright term of 14 years from the date of publication, renewable for an additional 14 years if the author survived the first term. Act of May 31, 1790, ch. 15, §1, 1 Stat. 124 (1790 Act). The 1790 Act's renewable 14-year term applied to existing works (i.e., works already published and works created but not yet published) and future works alike. Ibid. Congress expanded the federal copyright term to 42 years in 1831 (28 years from publication, renewable for an additional 14 years), and to 56 years in 1909 (28 years from publication, renewable for an additional 28 years). Act of Feb. 3, 1831, ch. 16, §§1, 16, 4 Stat. 436, 439 (1831 Act); Act of Mar. 4, 1909, ch. 320, §§23-24, 35 Stat. 1080-1081 (1909 Act). Both times, Congress applied the new copyright term to existing and future works, 1831 Act §§1, 16; 1909 Act §§23-24; to qualify for the 1831 extension, an existing work had to be in its initial copyright term at the time the Act became effective, 1831 Act §§1, 16.

In 1976, Congress altered the method for computing federal copyright terms. 1976 Act §§302-304. For works created by identified natural persons, the 1976 Act provided that federal copyright protection would run from the work's creation, not—as in the 1790, 1831, and 1909 Acts—its publication; protection would last until 50 years after the author's death. §302(a). In these respects, the 1976 Act aligned United States copyright terms with the then-dominant international standard adopted under the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works. See H. R. Rep. No. 94-1476, p. 135 (1976). For anonymous works, pseudonymous works, and works made for hire, the 1976 Act provided a term of 75 years from publication or 100 years from creation, whichever expired first. §302(c).

These new copyright terms, the 1976 Act instructed, governed all works not published by its effective date of January 1, 1978, regardless of when the works were created. §§302-303. For published works with existing copyrights as of that date, the 1976 Act granted a copyright term of 75 years from the date of publication, §304(a) and (b), a 19-year increase over the 56-year term applicable under the 1909 Act.

The measure at issue here, the CTEA, installed the fourth major duration extension of federal copyrights.[2] Retaining the general structure of the 1976 Act, the CTEA enlarges the terms of all existing and future copyrights by 20 years. For works created by identified natural persons, the term now lasts from creation until 70 years after the author's death. 17 U. S. C. §302(a). This standard harmonizes the baseline United States copyright term

with the term adopted by the European Union in 1993. See Council Directive 93/98/EEC of 29 October 1993 Harmonizing the Term of Protection of Copyright and Certain Related Rights, 1993 Official J. Eur. Cmty. 290 (EU Council Directive 93/98). For anonymous works, pseudonymous works, and works made for hire, the term is 95 years from publication or 120 years from creation, whichever expires first. 17 U. S. C. §302(c).

Paralleling the 1976 Act, the CTEA applies these new terms to all works not published by January 1, 1978. §§302(a), 303(a). For works published before 1978 with existing copyrights as of the CTEA's effective date, the CTEA extends the term to 95 years from publication. §304(a) and (b). Thus, in common with the 1831, 1909, and 1976 Acts, the CTEA's new terms apply to both future and existing copyrights.[3]

B

Petitioners' suit challenges the CTEA's constitutionality under both the Copyright Clause and the First Amendment. On cross-motions for judgment on the pleadings, the District Court entered judgment for the Attorney General (respondent here). 74 F. Supp. 2d 1 (DC 1999). The court held that the CTEA does not violate the "limited Times" restriction of the Copyright Clause because the CTEA's terms, though longer than the 1976 Act's terms, are still limited, not perpetual, and therefore fit within Congress' discretion. Id., at 3. The court also held that "there are no First Amendment rights to use the copyrighted works of others." Ibid.

The Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit affirmed. 239 F. 3d 372 (2001). In that court's unanimous view, Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc. v. Nation Enterprises, 471 U. S. 539 (1985), foreclosed petitioners' First Amendment challenge to the CTEA. 239 F. 3d, at 375. Copyright, the court reasoned, does not impermissibly restrict free speech, for it grants the author an exclusive right only to the specific form of expression; it does not shield any idea or fact contained in the copyrighted work, and it allows for "fair use" even of the expression itself. Id., at 375-376.

A majority of the Court of Appeals also upheld the CTEA against petitioners' contention that the measure exceeds Congress' power under the Copyright Clause. Specifically, the court rejected petitioners' plea for interpretation of the "limited Times" prescription not discretely but with a view to the "preambular statement of purpose" contained in the Copyright Clause: "To promote the Progress of Science." Id., at 377-378. Circuit precedent, Schnapper v. Foley, 667 F. 2d 102 (CADC 1981), the court determined, precluded that plea. In this regard, the court took into account petitioners' acknowledgment that the preamble itself places no substantive limit on Congress' legislative power. 239 F. 3d, at 378.

The appeals court found nothing in the constitutional text or its history to suggest that "a term of years for a copyright is not a 'limited Time' if it may later be extended for another 'limited Time.'" Id., at 379. The court recounted that "the First Congress made the Copyright Act of 1790 applicable to subsisting copyrights arising under the copyright laws of the several states." Ibid. That construction of Congress' authority under the Copyright Clause "by [those] contemporary with [the Constitution's] formation," the court said, merited "very great" and in this case "almost conclusive" weight. Ibid. (quoting Burrow-Giles Lithographic Co. v. Sarony, 111 U. S. 53, 57 (1884)). As early as McClurg v. Kingsland, 1 How. 202 (1843), the Court of Appeals added, this Court had made it "plain" that the same Clause permits Congress to "amplify the terms of an existing patent." 239 F. 3d, at 380. The appeals court recognized that this Court has been similarly deferential to the judgment of Congress in the realm of copyright. Ibid. (citing Sony Corp. of America v. Universal City Studios, Inc., 464 U. S. 417 (1984); Stewart v. Abend, 495 U. S. 207 (1990)).

Concerning petitioners' assertion that Congress might evade the limitation on its authority by stringing together "an unlimited number of 'limited Times,'" the Court of Appeals stated that such legislative misbehavior "clearly is not the situation before us." 239 F. 3d, at 379. Rather, the court noted, the CTEA "matches" the baseline term for "United States copyrights [with] the terms of copyrights granted by the European Union." Ibid. "[I]n an era of multinational publishers and instantaneous electronic transmission," the court said, "harmonization in this regard has obvious practical benefits" and is "a 'necessary and proper' measure to meet contemporary circumstances rather than a step on the way to making copyrights perpetual." Ibid.

Judge Sentelle dissented in part. He concluded that Congress lacks power under the Copyright Clause to expand the copyright terms of existing works. Id., at 380-384. The Court of Appeals subsequently denied rehearing and rehearing en banc. 255 F. 3d 849 (2001).

We granted certiorari to address two questions: whether the CTEA's extension of existing copyrights exceeds Congress' power under the Copyright Clause; and whether the CTEA's extension of existing and future copyrights violates the First Amendment. 534 U. S. 1126 and 1160 (2002). We now answer those two questions in the negative and affirm.

II

A

We address first the determination of the courts below that Congress has authority under the Copyright Clause to extend the terms of existing copyrights. Text, history, and precedent, we conclude, confirm that the Copyright Clause empowers Congress to prescribe "limited Times" for copyright protection and to secure the same level and duration of protection for all copyright holders, present and future.

The CTEA's baseline term of life plus 70 years, petitioners concede, qualifies as a "limited Tim[e]" as applied to future copyrights.[4] Petitioners contend, however, that existing copyrights extended to endure for that same term are not "limited." Petitioners' argument essentially reads into the text of the Copyright Clause the command that a time prescription, once set, becomes forever "fixed" or "inalterable." The word "limited," however, does not convey a meaning so constricted. At the time of the Framing, that word meant what it means today: "confine[d] within certain bounds," "restrain[ed]," or "circumscribe[d]." S. Johnson, A Dictionary of the English Language (7th ed. 1785); see T. Sheridan, A Complete Dictionary of the English Language (6th ed. 1796) ("confine[d] within certain bounds"); Webster's Third New International Dictionary 1312 (1976) ("confined within limits"; "restricted in extent, number, or duration"). Thus understood, a time span appropriately "limited" as applied to future copyrights does not automatically cease to be "limited" when applied to existing copyrights. And as we observe, infra, at 18, there is no cause to suspect that a purpose to evade the "limited Times" prescription prompted Congress to adopt the CTEA.

To comprehend the scope of Congress' power under the Copyright Clause, "a page of history is worth a volume of logic." New York Trust Co. v. Eisner, 256 U. S. 345, 349 (1921) (Holmes, J.). History reveals an unbroken congressional practice of granting to authors of works with existing copyrights the benefit of term extensions so that all under copyright protection will be governed evenhandedly under the same regime. As earlier recounted, see supra, at 3, the First Congress accorded the protections of the Nation's first federal copyright statute to existing and future works alike. 1790 Act §1.[5] Since then, Congress has regularly applied duration extensions to both existing and future copyrights. 1831 Act §§1, 16; 1909 Act §§23-24; 1976 Act §§302-303; 17 U. S. C. §§302-304.[6]

Because the Clause empowering Congress to confer copyrights also authorizes patents, congressional practice with respect to patents informs our inquiry. We count it significant that early Congresses extended the duration of numerous individual patents as well as copyrights. See, e.g., Act of Jan. 7, 1808, ch. 6, 6 Stat. 70 (patent); Act of Mar. 3, 1809, ch. 35, 6 Stat. 80 (patent); Act of Feb. 7, 1815, ch. 36, 6 Stat. 147 (patent); Act of May 24, 1828, ch. 145, 6 Stat. 389 (copyright); Act of Feb. 11, 1830, ch. 13, 6 Stat. 403 (copyright); see generally Ochoa, Patent and Copyright Term Extension and the Constitution: A Historical Perspective, 49 J. Copyright Society 19 (2001). The courts saw no "limited Times" impediment to such extensions; renewed or extended terms were upheld in the early days, for example, by Chief Justice Marshall and Justice Story sitting as circuit justices. See Evans v. Jordan, 8 F. Cas. 872, 874 (No. 4,564) (CC Va. 1813) (Marshall, J.) ("Th[e] construction of the constitution which admits the renewal of a patent is not controverted. A renewed patent ... confers the same rights, with an original."), aff'd, 9 Cranch 199 (1815); Blanchard v. Sprague, 3 F. Cas. 648, 650 (No. 1,518) (CC Mass. 1839) (Story, J.) ("I never have entertained any doubt of the constitutional authority of congress" to enact a 14-year patent extension that "operates retrospectively"); see also Evans v. Robinson, 8 F. Cas. 886, 888 (No. 4,571) (CC Md. 1813) (Congresses "have the exclusive

right . . . to limit the times for which a patent right shall be granted, and are not restrained from renewing a patent or prolonging" it.).[7]

Further, although prior to the instant case this Court did not have occasion to decide whether extending the duration of existing copyrights complies with the "limited Times" prescription, the Court has found no constitutional barrier to the legislative expansion of existing patents.[8] McClurg v. Kingsland, 1 How. 202 (1843), is the pathsetting precedent. The patentee in that case was unprotected under the law in force when the patent issued because he had allowed his employer briefly to practice the invention before he obtained the patent. Only upon enactment, two years later, of an exemption for such allowances did the patent become valid, retroactive to the time it issued. McClurg upheld retroactive application of the new law. The Court explained that the legal regime governing a particular patent "depend[s] on the law as it stood at the emanation of the patent, together with such changes as have been since made; for though they may be retrospective in their operation, that is not a sound objection to their validity." Id., at 206.[9] Neither is it a sound objection to the validity of a copyright term extension, enacted pursuant to the same constitutional grant of authority, that the enlarged term covers existing copyrights.

Congress' consistent historical practice of applying newly enacted copyright terms to future and existing copyrights reflects a judgment stated concisely by Representative Huntington at the time of the 1831 Act: "[J]ustice, policy, and equity alike forb[id]" that an "author who had sold his [work] a week ago, be placed in a worse situation than the author who should sell his work the day after the passing of [the] act." 7 Cong. Deb. 424 (1831); accord Symposium, The Constitutionality of Copyright Term Extension, 18 Cardozo Arts & Ent. L. J. 651, 694 (2000) (Prof. Miller) ("[S]ince 1790, it has indeed been Congress's policy that the author of yesterday's work should not get a lesser reward than the author of tomorrow's work just because Congress passed a statute lengthening the term today."). The CTEA follows this historical practice by keeping the duration provisions of the 1976 Act largely in place and simply adding 20 years to each of them. Guided by text, history, and precedent, we cannot agree with petitioners' submission that extending the duration of existing copyrights is categorically beyond Congress' authority under the Copyright Clause.

Satisfied that the CTEA complies with the "limited Times" prescription, we turn now to whether it is a rational exercise of the legislative authority conferred by the Copyright Clause. On that point, we defer substantially to Congress. Sony, 464 U. S., at 429 ("[I]t is Congress that has been assigned the task of defining the scope of the limited monopoly that should be granted to authors . . . in order to give the public appropriate access to their work product.").[10]

The CTEA reflects judgments of a kind Congress typically makes, judgments we cannot dismiss as outside the Legislature's domain. As respondent describes, see Brief for Respondent 37-38, a key factor in the CTEA's passage was a 1993 European Union (EU) directive instructing EU members to establish a copyright term of life plus 70 years. EU Council Directive 93/98, p. 4; see 144 Cong. Rec. S12377-S12378 (daily ed. Oct. 12, 1998) (statement of Sen. Hatch). Consistent with the Berne Convention, the EU directed its members to deny this longer term to the works of any non-EU country whose laws did not secure the same extended term. See Berne Conv. Art. 7(8); P. Goldstein, International Copyright §5.3, p. 239 (2001). By extending the baseline United States copyright term to life plus 70 years, Congress sought to ensure that American authors would receive the same copyright protection in Europe as their European counterparts.[11] The CTEA may also provide greater incentive for American and other authors to create and disseminate their work in the United States. See Perlmutter, Participation in the International Copyright System as a Means to Promote the Progress of Science and Useful Arts, 36 Loyola (LA) L. Rev. 323, 330 (2002) ("[M]atching th[e] level of [copyright] protection in the United States [to that in the EU] can ensure stronger protection for U. S. works abroad and avoid competitive disadvantages vis-à-vis foreign rightholders."); see also id., at 332 (the United States could not "play a leadership role" in the give-and-take evolution of the international copyright system, indeed it would "lose all flexibility," "if the only way to promote the progress of science were to provide incentives to create new works").[12]

In addition to international concerns,[13] Congress passed the CTEA in light of demographic, economic,

and technological changes, Brief for Respondent 25-26, 33, and nn. 23 and 24,[14] and rationally credited projections that longer terms would encourage copyright holders to invest in the restoration and public distribution of their works, id., at 34-37; see H. R. Rep. No. 105-452, p. 4 (1998) (term extension "provide[s] copyright owners generally with the incentive to restore older works and further disseminate them to the public").[15]

In sum, we find that the CTEA is a rational enactment; we are not at liberty to second-guess congressional determinations and policy judgments of this order, however debatable or arguably unwise they may be. Accordingly, we cannot conclude that the CTEA—which continues the unbroken congressional practice of treating future and existing copyrights in parity for term extension purposes—is an impermissible exercise of Congress' power under the Copyright Clause.

B

Petitioners' Copyright Clause arguments rely on several novel readings of the Clause. We next address these arguments and explain why we find them unpersuasive.

1

Petitioners contend that even if the CTEA's 20-year term extension is literally a "limited Tim[e]," permitting Congress to extend existing copyrights allows it to evade the "limited Times" constraint by creating effectively perpetual copyrights through repeated extensions. We disagree.

As the Court of Appeals observed, a regime of perpetual copyrights "clearly is not the situation before us." 239 F. 3d, at 379. Nothing before this Court warrants construction of the CTEA's 20-year term extension as a congressional attempt to evade or override the "limited Times" constraint.[16] Critically, we again emphasize, petitioners fail to show how the CTEA crosses a constitutionally significant threshold with respect to "limited Times" that the 1831, 1909, and 1976 Acts did not. See supra, at 3-5; Austin, supra, n. 13, at 56 ("If extending copyright protection to works already in existence is constitutionally suspect," so is "extending the protections of U. S copyright law to works by foreign authors that had already been created and even first published when the federal rights attached."). Those earlier Acts did not create perpetual copyrights, and neither does the CTEA.[17]

2

Petitioners dominantly advance a series of arguments all premised on the proposition that Congress may not extend an existing copyright absent new consideration from the author. They pursue this main theme under three headings. Petitioners contend that the CTEA's extension of existing copyrights (1) overlooks the requirement of "originality," (2) fails to "promote the Progress of Science," and (3) ignores copyright's quid pro quo.

Petitioners' "originality" argument draws on Feist Publications, Inc. v. Rural Telephone Service Co., 499 U. S. 340 (1991). In Feist, we observed that "[t]he sine qua non of copyright is originality," id., at 345, and held that copyright protection is unavailable to "a narrow category of works in which the creative spark is utterly lacking or so trivial as to be virtually nonexistent," id., at 359. Relying on Feist, petitioners urge that even if a work is sufficiently "original" to qualify for copyright protection in the first instance, any extension of the copyright's duration is impermissible because, once published, a work is no longer original.

Feist, however, did not touch on the duration of copyright protection. Rather, the decision addressed the core question of copyrightability, i.e., the "creative spark" a work must have to be eligible for copyright protection at all. Explaining the originality requirement, Feist trained on the Copyright Clause words "Authors" and "Writings." Id., at 346-347. The decision did not construe the "limited Times" for which a work may be protected, and the originality requirement has no bearing on that prescription.

More forcibly, petitioners contend that the CTEA's extension of existing copyrights does not "promote the Progress of Science" as contemplated by the preambular language of the Copyright Clause. Art. I, §8, cl. 8. To sustain this objection, petitioners do not argue that the Clause's preamble is an independently enforceable limit on Congress' power. See 239 F. 3d, at 378 (Petitioners acknowledge that "the preamble of the Copyright Clause is not a substantive limit on Congress' legislative power." (internal quotation marks omitted)). Rather, they maintain that the preambular

language identifies the sole end to which Congress may legislate; accordingly, they conclude, the meaning of "limited Times" must be "determined in light of that specified end." Brief for Petitioners 19. The CTEA's extension of existing copyrights categorically fails to "promote the Progress of Science," petitioners argue, because it does not stimulate the creation of new works but merely adds value to works already created.

As petitioners point out, we have described the Copyright Clause as "both a grant of power and a limitation," Graham v. John Deere Co. of Kansas City, 383 U. S. 1, 5 (1966), and have said that "[t]he primary objective of copyright" is "[t]o promote the Progress of Science," Feist, 499 U. S., at 349. The "constitutional command," we have recognized, is that Congress, to the extent it enacts copyright laws at all, create a "system" that "promote[s] the Progress of Science." Graham, 383 U. S., at 6.[18]

We have also stressed, however, that it is generally for Congress, not the courts, to decide how best to pursue the Copyright Clause's objectives. See Stewart v. Abend, 495 U. S., at 230 ("Th[e] evolution of the duration of copyright protection tellingly illustrates the difficulties Congress faces… [I]t is not our role to alter the delicate balance Congress has labored to achieve."); Sony, 464 U. S., at 429 ("[I]t is Congress that has been assigned the task of defining the scope of [rights] that should be granted to authors or to inventors in order to give the public appropriate access to their work product."); Graham, 383 U. S., at 6 ("Within the limits of the constitutional grant, the Congress may, of course, implement the stated purpose of the Framers by selecting the policy which in its judgment best effectuates the constitutional aim."). The justifications we earlier set out for Congress' enactment of the CTEA, supra, at 14-17, provide a rational basis for the conclusion that the CTEA "promote[s] the Progress of Science."

On the issue of copyright duration, Congress, from the start, has routinely applied new definitions or adjustments of the copyright term to both future works and existing works not yet in the public domain.[19] Such consistent congressional practice is entitled to "very great weight, and when it is remembered that the rights thus established have not been disputed during a period of [over two] centur[ies], it is almost conclusive." Burrow-Giles Lithographic Co. v. Sarony, 111 U. S., at 57. Indeed, "[t]his Court has repeatedly laid down the principle that a contemporaneous legislative exposition of the Constitution when the founders of our Government and framers of our Constitution were actively participating in public affairs, acquiesced in for a long term of years, fixes the construction to be given [the Constitution's] provisions." Myers v. United States, 272 U. S. 52, 175 (1926). Congress' unbroken practice since the founding generation thus overwhelms petitioners' argument that the CTEA's extension of existing copyrights fails per se to "promote the Progress of Science."[20]

Closely related to petitioners' preambular argument, or a variant of it, is their assertion that the Copyright Clause "imbeds a quid pro quo." Brief for Petitioners 23. They contend, in this regard, that Congress may grant to an "Autho[r]" an "exclusive Right" for a "limited Tim[e]," but only in exchange for a "Writin[g]." Congress' power to confer copyright protection, petitioners argue, is thus contingent upon an exchange: The author of an original work receives an "exclusive Right" for a "limited Tim[e]" in exchange for a dedication to the public thereafter. Extending an existing copyright without demanding additional consideration, petitioners maintain, bestows an unpaid-for benefit on copyright holders and their heirs, in violation of the quid pro quo requirement.

We can demur to petitioners' description of the Copyright Clause as a grant of legislative authority empowering Congress "to secure a bargain—this for that." Brief for Petitioners 16; see Mazer v. Stein, 347 U. S. 201, 219 (1954) ("The economic philosophy behind the clause empowering Congress to grant patents and copyrights is the conviction that encouragement of individual effort by personal gain is the best way to advance public welfare through the talents of authors and inventors in 'Science and useful Arts.'"). But the legislative evolution earlier recalled demonstrates what the bargain entails. Given the consistent placement of existing copyright holders in parity with future holders, the author of a work created in the last 170 years would reasonably comprehend, as the "this" offered her, a copyright not only for the time in place when protection is gained, but also for any renewal or extension legislated during that time.[21] Congress could rationally seek to "promote ... Progress" by including in every copyright statute an express guarantee that authors would receive

the benefit of any later legislative extension of the copyright term. Nothing in the Copyright Clause bars Congress from creating the same incentive by adopting the same position as a matter of unbroken practice. See Brief for Respondent 31-32.

Neither Sears, Roebuck & Co. v. Stiffel Co., 376 U. S. 225 (1964), nor Bonito Boats, Inc. v. Thunder Craft Boats, Inc., 489 U. S. 141 (1989), is to the contrary. In both cases, we invalidated the application of certain state laws as inconsistent with the federal patent regime. Sears, 376 U. S., at 231-233; Bonito, 489 U. S., at 152. Describing Congress' constitutional authority to confer patents, Bonito Boats noted: "The Patent Clause itself reflects a balance between the need to encourage innovation and the avoidance of monopolies which stifle competition without any concomitant advance in the 'Progress of Science and useful Arts.'" Id., at 146. Sears similarly stated that "[p]atents are not given as favors ... but are meant to encourage invention by rewarding the inventor with the right, limited to a term of years fixed by the patent, to exclude others from the use of his invention." 376 U. S., at 229. Neither case concerned the extension of a patent's duration. Nor did either suggest that such an extension might be constitutionally infirm. Rather, Bonito Boats reiterated the Court's unclouded understanding: "It is for Congress to determine if the present system" effectuates the goals of the Copyright and Patent Clause. 489 U. S., at 168. And as we have documented, see supra, at 10-13, Congress has many times sought to effectuate those goals by extending existing patents.

We note, furthermore, that patents and copyrights do not entail the same exchange, and that our references to a quid pro quo typically appear in the patent context. See, e.g., J. E. M. Ag Supply, Inc. v. Pioneer Hi-Bred International, Inc., 534 U. S. 124, 142 (2001) ("The disclosure required by the Patent Act is 'the quid pro quo of the right to exclude.'" (quoting Kewanee Oil Co. v. Bicron Corp., 416 U. S. 470, 484 (1974))); Bonito Boats, 489 U. S., at 161 ("the quid pro quo of substantial creative effort required by the federal [patent] statute"); Brenner v. Manson, 383 U. S. 519, 534 (1966) ("The basic quid pro quo ... for granting a patent monopoly is the benefit derived by the public from an invention with substantial utility."); Pennock v. Dialogue, 2 Pet. 1, 23 (1829) (If an invention is already commonly known and used when the patent is sought, "there might be sound reason for presuming, that the legislature did not intend to grant an exclusive right," given the absence of a "quid pro quo."). This is understandable, given that immediate disclosure is not the objective of, but is exacted from, the patentee. It is the price paid for the exclusivity secured. See J. E. M. Ag Supply, 534 U. S., at 142. For the author seeking copyright protection, in contrast, disclosure is the desired objective, not something exacted from the author in exchange for the copyright. Indeed, since the 1976 Act, copyright has run from creation, not publication. See 1976 Act §302(a); 17 U. S. C. §302(a).

Further distinguishing the two kinds of intellectual property, copyright gives the holder no monopoly on any knowledge. A reader of an author's writing may make full use of any fact or idea she acquires from her reading. See §102(b). The grant of a patent, on the other hand, does prevent full use by others of the inventor's knowledge. See Brief for Respondent 22; Alfred Bell & Co. v. Catalda Fine Arts, 191 F. 2d 99, 103, n. 16 (CA2 1951) (The monopoly granted by a copyright "is not a monopoly of knowledge. The grant of a patent does prevent full use being made of knowledge, but the reader of a book is not by the copyright laws prevented from making full use of any information he may acquire from his reading." (quoting W. Copinger, Law of Copyright 2 (7th ed. 1936))). In light of these distinctions, one cannot extract from language in our patent decisions—language not trained on a grant's duration—genuine support for petitioners' bold view. Accordingly, we reject the proposition that a quid pro quo requirement stops Congress from expanding copyright's term in a manner that puts existing and future copyrights in parity.[22]

3

As an alternative to their various arguments that extending existing copyrights violates the Copyright Clause per se, petitioners urge heightened judicial review of such extensions to ensure that they appropriately pursue the purposes of the Clause. See Brief for Petitioners 31-32. Specifically, petitioners ask us to apply the "congruence and proportionality" standard described in cases evaluating exercises of Congress' power under §5 of

the Fourteenth Amendment. See, e.g., City of Boerne v. Flores, 521 U. S. 507 (1997). But we have never applied that standard outside the §5 context; it does not hold sway for judicial review of legislation enacted, as copyright laws are, pursuant to Article I authorization.

Section 5 authorizes Congress to enforce commands contained in and incorporated into the Fourteenth Amendment. Amdt. 14, §5 ("The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article." (emphasis added)). The Copyright Clause, in contrast, empowers Congress to define the scope of the substantive right. See Sony, 464 U. S., at 429. Judicial deference to such congressional definition is "but a corollary to the grant to Congress of any Article I power." Graham, 383 U. S., at 6. It would be no more appropriate for us to subject the CTEA to "congruence and proportionality" review under the Copyright Clause than it would be for us to hold the Act unconstitutional per se.

For the several reasons stated, we find no Copyright Clause impediment to the CTEA's extension of existing copyrights.

III

Petitioners separately argue that the CTEA is a content-neutral regulation of speech that fails heightened judicial review under the First Amendment.[23] We reject petitioners' plea for imposition of uncommonly strict scrutiny on a copyright scheme that incorporates its own speech-protective purposes and safeguards. The Copyright Clause and First Amendment were adopted close in time. This proximity indicates that, in the Framers' view, copyright's limited monopolies are compatible with free speech principles. Indeed, copyright's purpose is to promote the creation and publication of free expression. As Harper & Row observed: "[T]he Framers intended copyright itself to be the engine of free expression. By establishing a marketable right to the use of one's expression, copyright supplies the economic incentive to create and disseminate ideas." 471 U. S., at 558.

In addition to spurring the creation and publication of new expression, copyright law contains built-in First Amendment accommodations. See id., at 560. First, it distinguishes between ideas and expression and makes only the latter eligible for copyright protection. Specifically, 17 U. S. C. §102(b) provides: "In no case does copyright protection for an original work of authorship extend to any idea, procedure, process, system, method of operation, concept, principle, or discovery, regardless of the form in which it is described, explained, illustrated, or embodied in such work." As we said in Harper & Row, this "idea/expression dichotomy strike[s] a definitional balance between the First Amendment and the Copyright Act by permitting free communication of facts while still protecting an author's expression." 471 U. S., at 556 (internal quotation marks omitted). Due to this distinction, every idea, theory, and fact in a copyrighted work becomes instantly available for public exploitation at the moment of publication. See Feist, 499 U. S., at 349-350.

Second, the "fair use" defense allows the public to use not only facts and ideas contained in a copyrighted work, but also expression itself in certain circumstances. Codified at 17 U. S. C. §107, the defense provides: "[T]he fair use of a copyrighted work, including such use by reproduction in copies . . . , for purposes such as criticism, comment, news reporting, teaching (including multiple copies for classroom use), scholarship, or research, is not an infringement of copyright." The fair use defense affords considerable "latitude for scholarship and comment," Harper & Row, 471 U. S., at 560, and even for parody, see Campbell v. Acuff-Rose Music, Inc., 510 U. S. 569 (1994) (rap group's musical parody of Roy Orbison's "Oh, Pretty Woman" may be fair use).

The CTEA itself supplements these traditional First Amendment safeguards. First, it allows libraries, archives, and similar institutions to "reproduce" and "distribute, display, or perform in facsimile or digital form" copies of certain published works "during the last 20 years of any term of copyright ... for purposes of preservation, scholarship, or research" if the work is not already being exploited commercially and further copies are unavailable at a reasonable price. 17 U. S. C. §108(h); see Brief for Respondent 36. Second, Title II of the CTEA, known as the Fairness in Music Licensing Act of 1998, exempts small businesses, restaurants, and like entities from having to pay performance royalties on music played from licensed radio, television, and similar facilities. 17 U. S. C. §110(5)(B); see Brief for Representative

F. James Sensenbrenner, Jr., et al. as Amici Curiae 5-6, n. 3.

Finally, the case petitioners principally rely upon for their First Amendment argument, Turner Broadcasting System, Inc. v. FCC, 512 U. S. 622 (1994), bears little on copyright. The statute at issue in Turner required cable operators to carry and transmit broadcast stations through their proprietary cable systems. Those "must-carry" provisions, we explained, implicated "the heart of the First Amendment," namely, "the principle that each person should decide for himself or herself the ideas and beliefs deserving of expression, consideration, and adherence." Id., at 641.

The CTEA, in contrast, does not oblige anyone to reproduce another's speech against the carrier's will. Instead, it protects authors' original expression from unrestricted exploitation. Protection of that order does not raise the free speech concerns present when the government compels or burdens the communication of particular facts or ideas. The First Amendment securely protects the freedom to make—or decline to make—one's own speech; it bears less heavily when speakers assert the right to make other people's speeches. To the extent such assertions raise First Amendment concerns, copyright's built-in free speech safeguards are generally adequate to address them. We recognize that the D. C. Circuit spoke too broadly when it declared copyrights "categorically immune from challenges under the First Amendment." 239 F. 3d, at 375. But when, as in this case, Congress has not altered the traditional contours of copyright protection, further First Amendment scrutiny is unnecessary. See Harper & Row, 471 U. S., at 560; cf. San Francisco Arts & Athletics, Inc. v. United States Olympic Comm., 483 U. S. 522 (1987).[24]

IV

If petitioners' vision of the Copyright Clause held sway, it would do more than render the CTEA's duration extensions unconstitutional as to existing works. Indeed, petitioners' assertion that the provisions of the CTEA are not severable would make the CTEA's enlarged terms invalid even as to tomorrow's work. The 1976 Act's time extensions, which set the pattern that the CTEA followed, would be vulnerable as well.

As we read the Framers' instruction, the Copyright Clause empowers Congress to determine the intellectual property regimes that, overall, in that body's judgment, will serve the ends of the Clause. See Graham, 383 U. S., at 6 (Congress may "implement the stated purpose of the Framers by selecting the policy which in its judgment best effectuates the constitutional aim." (emphasis added)). Beneath the facade of their inventive constitutional interpretation, petitioners forcefully urge that Congress pursued very bad policy in prescribing the CTEA's long terms. The wisdom of Congress' action, however, is not within our province to second guess. Satisfied that the legislation before us remains inside the domain the Constitution assigns to the First Branch, we affirm the judgment of the Court of Appeals.

It is so ordered.

Eldred et al. v. Ashcroft, Attorney General, 537 U.S. 186 (2003).

New York Times Co., Inc., et al. v. Tasini et al. *(2001)*

Introduction

Freelance journalists and photographers are in an ongoing battle to get published while retaining as many rights as possible in the works they create. The freelancers, as creators, usually own the copyright to the works and initially sell some form of one-time publication permission to a newspaper or magazine while retaining salable rights for reproduction in other formats. Publishers often attempt to usurp these creator rights through "work-for-hire" agreements that give authorship and copyright to publishers, mandatory "all-rights" deals, and the distribution of the works through collections or compilations in other media. The explosive growth of publishing on the Internet and through databases adds a lucrative, new dimension to the freelancer–publisher tug of war over rights.

Jonathan Tasini and five other journalists wrote a total of 21 articles from 1990 to 1993 as freelancers for *The New York Times, Newsday,* and *Sports Illustrated* and had registered copyrights for each of the works. All three print publishers had the typical "collective work copyrights" for each of the issues of the periodicals where the articles first appeared. The publishers sold the collective contents of these publications to two electronic database companies without further compensation to the writers or seeking permission. The publishers were in effect claiming that the freelancers sold their work to them for initial publication *and* for the resale of the collective issue in electronic databases. The journalists sued the publishers for copyright infringement and the case ultimately went to the Supreme Court.

Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, in the majority opinion in the *Tasini* case, felt the databases recreated and distributed each article separately and not as an entire issue of a publication. The electronic versions did not just do a "revision" of the original publication, which the publishers have the right to do without further permission. As a result, the freelancers kept their copyright and right of approval for these electronic reproductions of their works, and deserved additional payment. In a later decision based on *Tasini*, a U.S. Court of Appeals ruled that *National Geographic Magazine*'s collecting of over 100 years of photos in a digital archive did not equal a new work and avoided infringement on the copyright of freelance photographers.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

New York Times Co., Inc., et al. v. Tasini et al.
No. 00-201 (2001)

Justice Ginsburg delivered the opinion of the Court.

This copyright case concerns the rights of freelance authors and a presumptive privilege of their publishers. The litigation was initiated by six freelance authors and relates to articles they contributed to three print periodicals (two newspapers and one magazine). Under agreements with the periodicals' publishers, but without the freelancers' consent, two computer database companies placed copies of the freelancers' articles—along with all other articles from the periodicals in which the freelancers' work appeared—into three databases. Whether written by a freelancer or staff member, each article is presented to, and retrievable by, the user in isolation, clear of the context the original print publication presented.

The freelance authors' complaint alleged that their copyrights had been infringed by the inclusion of their articles in the databases. The publishers, in response, relied on the privilege of reproduction

and distribution accorded them by §201(c) of the Copyright Act, which provides:

"Copyright in each separate contribution to a collective work is distinct from copyright in the collective work as a whole, and vests initially in the author of the contribution. In the absence of an express transfer of the copyright or of any rights under it, the owner of copyright in the collective work is presumed to have acquired only the privilege of reproducing and distributing the contribution as part of that particular collective work, any revision of that collective work, and any later collective work in the same series." 17 U. S. C. §201(c).

Specifically, the publishers maintained that, as copyright owners of collective works, *i.e.*, the original print publications, they had merely exercised "the privilege" §201(c) accords them to "reproduc[e] and distribut[e]" the author's discretely copyrighted contribution.

In agreement with the Second Circuit, we hold that §201(c) does not authorize the copying at issue here. The publishers are not sheltered by §201(c), we conclude, because the databases reproduce and distribute articles standing alone and not in context, not "as part of that particular collective work" to which the author contributed, "as part of…any revision" thereof, or "as part of…any later collective work in the same series." Both the print publishers and the electronic publishers, we rule, have infringed the copyrights of the freelance authors.

I

A

Respondents Jonathan Tasini, Mary Kay Blakely, Barbara Garson, Margot Mifflin, Sonia Jaffe Robbins, and David S. Whitford are authors (Authors). Between 1990 and 1993, they wrote the 21 articles (Articles) on which this dispute centers. Tasini, Mifflin, and Blakely contributed 12 Articles to The New York Times, the daily newspaper published by petitioner The New York Times Company (Times). Tasini, Garson, Robbins, and Whitford wrote eight Articles for Newsday, another New York daily paper, published by petitioner Newsday, Inc. (Newsday). Whitford also contributed one Article to Sports Illustrated, a weekly magazine published by petitioner Time, Inc. (Time). The Authors registered copyrights in each of the Articles. The Times, Newsday, and Time (Print Publishers) registered collective work copyrights in each periodical edition in which an Article originally appeared. The Print Publishers engaged the Authors as independent contractors (freelancers) under contracts that in no instance secured consent from an Author to placement of an Article in an electronic database.[1]

At the time the Articles were published, all three Print Publishers had agreements with petitioner LEXIS/NEXIS (formerly Mead Data Central Corp.), owner and operator of NEXIS, a computerized database that stores information in a text-only format. NEXIS contains articles from hundreds of journals (newspapers and periodicals) spanning many years. The Print Publishers have licensed to LEXIS/NEXIS the text of articles appearing in the three periodicals. The licenses authorize LEXIS/NEXIS to copy and sell any portion of those texts.

Pursuant to the licensing agreements, the Print Publishers regularly provide LEXIS/NEXIS with a batch of all the articles published in each periodical edition. The Print Publisher codes each article to facilitate computerized retrieval, then transmits it in a separate file. After further coding, LEXIS/NEXIS places the article in the central discs of its database.

Subscribers to NEXIS, accessing the system through a computer, may search for articles by author, subject, date, publication, headline, key term, words in text, or other criteria. Responding to a search command, NEXIS scans the database and informs the user of the number of articles meeting the user's search criteria. The user then may view, print, or download each of the articles yielded by the search. The display of each article includes the print publication (*e.g.*, The New York Times), date (September 23, 1990), section (Magazine), initial page number (26), headline or title ("Remembering Jane"), and author (Mary Kay Blakely). Each article appears as a separate, isolated "story"—without any visible link to the other stories originally published in the same newspaper or magazine edition. NEXIS does not contain pictures or advertisements, and it does not reproduce the original print publication's formatting features such as headline size, page placement (*e.g.*, above or below the fold for newspapers), or location of continuation pages.

The Times (but not Newsday or Time) also has licensing agreements with petitioner University Microfilms International (UMI). The agreements

authorize reproduction of Times materials on two CD-ROM products, the New York Times OnDisc (NYTO) and General Periodicals OnDisc (GPO).

Like NEXIS, NYTO is a text-only system. Unlike NEXIS, NYTO, as its name suggests, contains only the Times. Pursuant to a three-way agreement, LEXIS/NEXIS provides UMI with computer files containing each article as transmitted by the Times to LEXIS/NEXIS. Like LEXIS/NEXIS, UMI marks each article with special codes. UMI also provides an index of all the articles in NYTO. Articles appear in NYTO in essentially the same way they appear in NEXIS, *i.e.*, with identifying information (author, title, etc.), but without original formatting or accompanying images.

GPO contains articles from approximately 200 publications or sections of publications. Unlike NEXIS and NYTO, GPO is an image-based, rather than a text-based, system. The Times has licensed GPO to provide a facsimile of the Times' Sunday Book Review and Magazine. UMI "burns" images of each page of these sections onto CD-ROMs. The CD-ROMs show each article exactly as it appeared on printed pages, complete with photographs, captions, advertisements, and other surrounding materials. UMI provides an index and abstracts of all the articles in GPO.

Articles are accessed through NYTO and GPO much as they are accessed through NEXIS. The user enters a search query using similar criteria (*e.g.*, author, headline, date). The computer program searches available indexes and abstracts, and retrieves a list of results matching the query. The user then may view each article within the search result, and may print the article or download it to a disc. The display of each article provides no links to articles appearing on other pages of the original print publications.[2]

B

On December 16, 1993, the Authors filed this civil action in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York. The Authors alleged that their copyrights were infringed when, as permitted and facilitated by the Print Publishers, LEXIS/NEXIS and UMI (Electronic Publishers) placed the Articles in the NEXIS, NYTO, and GPO databases (Databases). The Authors sought declaratory and injunctive relief, and damages. In response to the Authors' complaint, the Print and Electronic Publishers raised the reproduction and distribution privilege accorded collective work copyright owners by 17 U. S. C. §201(c). After discovery, both sides moved for summary judgment.

The District Court granted summary judgment for the Publishers, holding that §201(c) shielded the Database reproductions. 972 F. Supp. 804, 806 (1997). The privilege conferred by §201(c) is transferable, the court first concluded, and therefore could be conveyed from the original Print Publishers to the Electronic Publishers. *Id.*, at 816. Next, the court determined, the Databases reproduced and distributed the Authors' works, in §201(c)'s words, "as part of ... [a] revision of that collective work" to which the Authors had first contributed. To qualify as "revisions," according to the court, works need only "preserve some significant original aspect of [collective works]—whether an original selection or an original arrangement." *Id.*, at 821. This criterion was met, in the District Court's view, because the Databases preserved the Print Publishers' "selection of articles" by copying all of the articles originally assembled in the periodicals' daily or weekly issues. *Id.*, at 823. The Databases "highlight[ed]" the connection between the articles and the print periodicals, the court observed, by showing for each article not only the author and periodical, but also the print publication's particular issue and page numbers. *Id.*, at 824 ("[T]he electronic technologies not only copy the publisher defendants' complete original `selection' of articles, they tag those articles in such a way that the publisher defendants' original selection remains evident online.").

The Authors appealed, and the Second Circuit reversed. 206 F. 3d 161 (1999). The Court of Appeals granted summary judgment for the Authors on the ground that the Databases were not among the collective works covered by §201(c), and specifically, were not "revisions" of the periodicals in which the Articles first appeared. *Id.*, at 167-170. Just as §201(c) does not "permit a Publisher to sell a hard copy of an Author's article directly to the public even if the Publisher also offered for individual sale all of the other articles from the particular edition," the court reasoned, so §201(c) does not allow a Publisher to "achieve the same goal indirectly" through computer databases. *Id.*, at 168. In the Second Circuit's view, the

Databases effectively achieved this result by providing multitudes of "individually retrievable" articles. *Ibid.* As stated by the Court of Appeals, the Databases might fairly be described as containing "new anthologies of innumerable" editions or publications, but they do not qualify as "revisions" of particular editions of periodicals in the Databases. *Id.*, at 169. Having concluded that §201(c) "does not permit the Publishers," acting without the author's consent, "to license individually copyrighted works for inclusion in the electronic databases," the court did not reach the question whether the §201(c) privilege is transferable. *Id.*, at 165, and n. 2.

We granted certiorari to determine whether the copying of the Authors' Articles in the Databases is privileged by 17 U. S. C. §201(c). 531 U. S. 978 (2000). Like the Court of Appeals, we conclude that the §201(c) privilege does not override the Authors' copyrights, for the Databases do not reproduce and distribute the Articles as part of a collective work privileged by §201(c). Accordingly, and again like the Court of Appeals, we find it unnecessary to determine whether the privilege is transferable.

II

Under the Copyright Act, as amended in 1976, "[c]opyright protection subsists . . . in original works of authorship fixed in any tangible medium of expression . . . from which they can be perceived, reproduced, or otherwise communicated." 17 U. S. C. §102(a). When, as in this case, a freelance author has contributed an article to a "collective work" such as a newspaper or magazine, see §101 (defining "collective work"), the statute recognizes two distinct copyrighted works: "Copyright in *each separate contribution to a collective work* is distinct from copyright in *the collective work as a whole* . . . " §201(c) (emphasis added). Copyright in the separate contribution "vests initially in the author of the contribution" (here, the freelancer). *Ibid.* Copyright in the collective work vests in the collective author (here, the newspaper or magazine publisher) and extends only to the creative material contributed by that author, not to "the preexisting material employed in the work," §103(b). See also *Feist Publications, Inc.* v. *Rural Telephone Service Co.*, 499 U. S. 340, 358 (1991) (copyright in "compilation"—a term that includes "collective works," 17 U. S. C. §101—is limited to the compiler's original "selection, coordination, and arrangement").

Prior to the 1976 revision, as the courts below recognized, see 206 F. 3d, at 168; 972 F. Supp., at 815, authors risked losing their rights when they placed an article in a collective work. Pre-1976 copyright law recognized a freelance author's copyright in a published article only when the article was printed with a copyright notice in the author's name. See Copyright Act of 1909, §18, 35 Stat. 1079. When publishers, exercising their superior bargaining power over authors, declined to print notices in each contributor's name, the author's copyright was put in jeopardy. See A. Kaminstein, Divisibility of Copyrights, Study No. 11, in Copyright Law Revision Studies Nos. 11-13, prepared for the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 86th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 18 (1960). The author did not have the option to assign only the right of publication in the periodical; such a partial assignment was blocked by the doctrine of copyright "indivisibility." See *id.*, at 11. Thus, when a copyright notice appeared only in the publisher's name, the author's work would fall into the public domain, unless the author's copyright, in its entirety, had passed to the publisher. See *id.*, at 18. Such complete transfer might be accomplished by a contract, perhaps one with a provision, not easily enforced, for later retransfer of rights back to the author. See *id.*, at 20-22. Or, absent a specific contract, a court might find that an author had tacitly transferred the entire copyright to a publisher, in turn deemed to hold the copyright in "trust" for the author's benefit. See *id.*, at 18-19; see generally 3 M. Nimmer, Copyright §10.01[C][2], pp. 10-12 to 10-14 (2000).

In the 1976 revision, Congress acted to "clarify and improve [this] confused and frequently unfair legal situation with respect to rights in contributions." H. R. Rep. No. 94-1476, p. 122 (1976) (hereinafter H. R. Rep.).[3] The 1976 Act rejected the doctrine of indivisibility, recasting the copyright as a bundle of discrete "exclusive rights," 17 U. S. C. §106 (1994 ed. and Supp. V),[4] each of which "may be transferred ... and owned separately," §201(d)(2).[5] Congress also provided, in §404(a), that "a single notice applicable to the collective work as a whole is sufficient" to protect the

rights of freelance contributors. And in §201(c), Congress codified the discrete domains of "[c]opyright in each separate contribution to a collective work" and "copyright in the collective work as a whole." Together, §404(a) and §201(c) "preserve the author's copyright in a contribution even if the contribution does not bear a separate notice in the author's name, and without requiring any unqualified transfer of rights to the owner of the collective work." H. R. Rep. 122.

Section 201(c) both describes and circumscribes the "privilege" a publisher acquires regarding an author's contribution to a collective work:

> "In the absence of an express transfer of the copyright or of any rights under it, the owner of copyright in the collective work is presumed to have acquired *only* the privilege of reproducing and distributing the contribution as part of that particular collective work, any revision of that collective work, and any later collective work in the same series." (Emphasis added.)

A newspaper or magazine publisher is thus privileged to reproduce or distribute an article contributed by a freelance author, absent a contract otherwise providing, only "as part of" any (or all) of three categories of collective works: (a) "that collective work" to which the author contributed her work, (b) "any revision of that collective work," or (c) "any later collective work in the same series." In accord with Congress' prescription, a "publishing company could reprint a contribution from one issue in a later issue of its magazine, and could reprint an article from a 1980 edition of an encyclopedia in a 1990 revision of it; the publisher could not revise the contribution itself or include it in a new anthology or an entirely different magazine or other collective work." H. R. Rep. 122-123.

Essentially, §201(c) adjusts a publisher's copyright in its collective work to accommodate a freelancer's copyright in her contribution. If there is demand for a freelance article standing alone or in a new collection, the Copyright Act allows the freelancer to benefit from that demand; after authorizing initial publication, the freelancer may also sell the article to others. Cf. *Stewart* v. *Abend*, 495 U. S. 207, 229 (1990) ("[w]hen an author produces a work which later commands a higher price in the market than the original bargain provided, the copyright statute [*i.e.*, the separate renewal term of former 17 U. S. C. §24] is designed to provide the author the power to negotiate for the realized value of the work"); *id.*, at 230 (noting author's "inalienable termination right" under current 17 U. S. C. §§203, 302). It would scarcely "preserve the author's copyright in a contribution" as contemplated by Congress, H. R. Rep. 122, if a newspaper or magazine publisher were permitted to reproduce or distribute copies of the author's contribution in isolation or within new collective works. See Gordon, Fine-Tuning *Tasini*: Privileges of Electronic Distribution and Reproduction, 66 Brooklyn L. Rev. 473, 484 (2000).[6]

III

In the instant case, the Authors wrote several Articles and gave the Print Publishers permission to publish the Articles in certain newspapers and magazines. It is undisputed that the Authors hold copyrights and, therefore, exclusive rights in the Articles.[7] It is clear, moreover, that the Print and Electronic Publishers have exercised at least some rights that §106 initially assigns exclusively to the Authors: LEXIS/NEXIS' central discs and UMI's CD-ROMs "reproduce ... copies" of the Articles, §106(1); UMI, by selling those CD-ROMs, and LEXIS/NEXIS, by selling copies of the Articles through the NEXIS Database, "distribute copies" of the Articles "to the public by sale," §106(3); and the Print Publishers, through contracts licensing the production of copies in the Databases, "authorize" reproduction and distribution of the Articles, §106.[8]

Against the Authors' charge of infringement, the Publishers do not here contend the Authors entered into an agreement authorizing reproduction of the Articles in the Databases. See *supra*, at 3, n. 1. Nor do they assert that the copies in the Databases represent "fair use" of the Authors' Articles. See 17 U. S. C. §107 ("fair use of a copyrighted work ... is not an infringement"; four factors identified among those relevant to fair use determination). Instead, the Publishers rest entirely on the privilege described in §201(c). Each discrete edition of the periodicals in which the Articles appeared is a "collective work," the Publishers agree. They contend, however, that reproduction and distribution of

each Article by the Databases lie within the "privilege of reproducing and distributing the [Articles] as part of ... [a] revision of that collective work," §201(c). The Publishers' encompassing construction of the §201(c) privilege is unacceptable, we conclude, for it would diminish the Authors' exclusive rights in the Articles.

In determining whether the Articles have been reproduced and distributed "as part of" a "revision" of the collective works in issue, we focus on the Articles as presented to, and perceptible by, the user of the Databases. See §102 (copyright protection subsists in original works fixed in any medium "from which they can be perceived, reproduced, or otherwise communicated"); see also §101 (definitions of "copies" and "fixed"); Haemmerli, Commentary: *Tasini v. New York Times Co.*, 22 Colum.-VLA. J. L. & Arts 129, 142-143 (1998). In this case, the three Databases present articles to users clear of the context provided either by the original periodical editions or by any revision of those editions. The Databases first prompt users to search the universe of their contents: thousands or millions of files containing individual articles from thousands of collective works (*i.e.*, editions), either in one series (the Times, in NYTO) or in scores of series (the sundry titles in NEXIS and GPO). When the user conducts a search, each article appears as a separate item within the search result. In NEXIS and NYTO, an article appears to a user without the graphics, formatting, or other articles with which the article was initially published. In GPO, the article appears with the other materials published on the same page or pages, but without any material published on other pages of the original periodical. In either circumstance, we cannot see how the Database perceptibly reproduces and distributes the article "as part of " either the original edition or a "revision" of that edition.

One might view the articles as parts of a new compendium—namely, the entirety of works in the Database. In that compendium, each edition of each periodical represents only a miniscule fraction of the ever-expanding Database. The Database no more constitutes a "revision" of each constituent edition than a 400-page novel quoting a sonnet in passing would represent a "revision" of that poem. "Revision" denotes a new "version," and a version is, in this setting, a "distinct form of something regarded by its creators or others as one work." Webster's Third New International Dictionary 1944, 2545 (1976). The massive whole of the Database is not recognizable as a new version of its every small part.

Alternatively, one could view the Articles in the Databases "as part of" no larger work at all, but simply as individual articles presented individually. That each article bears marks of its origin in a particular periodical (less vivid marks in NEXIS and NYTO, more vivid marks in GPO) suggests the article was *previously* part of that periodical. But the markings do not mean the article is *currently* reproduced or distributed as part of the periodical. The Databases' reproduction and distribution of individual Articles—simply *as individual Articles*—would invade the core of the Authors' exclusive rights under §106.[9]

The Publishers press an analogy between the Databases, on the one hand, and microfilm and microfiche, on the other. We find the analogy wanting. Microforms typically contain continuous photographic reproductions of a periodical in the medium of miniaturized film. Accordingly, articles appear on the microforms, writ very small, in precisely the position in which the articles appeared in the newspaper. The Times, for example, printed the beginning of Blakely's "Remembering Jane" Article on page 26 of the Magazine in the September 23, 1990, edition; the microfilm version of the Times reproduces that same Article on film in the very same position, within a film reproduction of the entire Magazine, in turn within a reproduction of the entire September 23, 1990, edition. True, the microfilm roll contains multiple editions, and the microfilm user can adjust the machine lens to focus only on the Article, to the exclusion of surrounding material. Nonetheless, the user first encounters the Article in context. In the Databases, by contrast, the Articles appear disconnected from their original context. In NEXIS and NYTO, the user sees the "Jane" Article apart even from the remainder of page 26. In GPO, the user sees the Article within the context of page 26, but clear of the context of page 25 or page 27, the rest of the Magazine, or the remainder of the day's newspaper. In short, unlike microforms, the Databases do not perceptibly reproduce articles as part of the collective work to which the author contributed or as part of any "revision" thereof.[10]

Invoking the concept of "media neutrality," the Publishers urge that the "transfer of a work

between media" does not "alte[r] the character of" that work for copyright purposes. Brief for Petitioners 23. That is indeed true. See 17 U. S. C. §102(a) (copyright protection subsists in original works "fixed in any tangible medium of expression"). But unlike the conversion of newsprint to microfilm, the transfer of articles to the Databases does not represent a mere conversion of intact periodicals (or revisions of periodicals) from one medium to another. The Databases offer users individual articles, not intact periodicals. In this case, media neutrality should protect the Authors' rights in the individual Articles to the extent those Articles are now presented individually, outside the collective work context, within the Databases' new media.[11]

For the purpose at hand—determining whether the Authors' copyrights have been infringed—an analogy to an imaginary library may be instructive.[12] Rather than maintaining intact editions of periodicals, the library would contain separate copies of each article. Perhaps these copies would exactly reproduce the periodical pages from which the articles derive (if the model is GPO); perhaps the copies would contain only typescript characters, but still indicate the original periodical's name and date, as well as the article's headline and page number (if the model is NEXIS or NYTO). The library would store the folders containing the articles in a file room, indexed based on diverse criteria, and containing articles from vast numbers of editions. In response to patron requests, an inhumanly speedy librarian would search the room and provide copies of the articles matching patron-specified criteria.

Viewing this strange library, one could not, consistent with ordinary English usage, characterize the articles "as part of" a "revision" of the editions in which the articles first appeared. In substance, however, the Databases differ from the file room only to the extent they aggregate articles in electronic packages (the LEXIS/NEXIS central discs or UMI CD-ROMs), while the file room stores articles in spatially separate files. The crucial fact is that the Databases, like the hypothetical library, store and retrieve articles separately within a vast domain of diverse texts. Such a storage and retrieval system effectively overrides the Authors' exclusive right to control the individual reproduction and distribution of each Article, 17 U. S. C. §§106(1), (3). Cf. *Ryan* v. *Carl Corp.*, 23 F. Supp. 2d 1146 (ND Cal. 1998) (holding copy shop in violation of §201(c)).

The Publishers claim the protection of §201(c) because users can manipulate the Databases to generate search results consisting entirely of articles from a particular periodical edition. By this logic, §201(c) would cover the hypothetical library if, in response to a request, that library's expert staff assembled all of the articles from a particular periodical edition. However, the fact that a third party can manipulate a database to produce a noninfringing document does not mean the database is not infringing. Under §201(c), the question is not whether a user can generate a revision of a collective work from a database, but whether the database itself perceptibly presents the author's contribution as part of a revision of the collective work. That result is not accomplished by these Databases.

The Publishers finally invoke *Sony Corp. of America* v. *Universal City Studios, Inc.,* 464 U. S. 417 (1984). That decision, however, does not genuinely aid their argument. *Sony* held that the "sale of copying equipment" does not constitute contributory infringement if the equipment is "capable of substantial noninfringing uses." *Id.*, at 442. The Publishers suggest that their Databases could be liable only under a theory of contributory infringement, based on end-user conduct, which the Authors did not plead. The Electronic Publishers, however, are not merely selling "equipment"; they are selling copies of the Articles. And, as we have explained, it is the copies themselves, without any manipulation by users, that fall outside the scope of the §201(c) privilege.

IV

The Publishers warn that a ruling for the Authors will have "devastating" consequences. Brief for Petitioners 49. The Databases, the Publishers note, provide easy access to complete newspaper texts going back decades. A ruling for the Authors, the Publishers suggest, will punch gaping holes in the electronic record of history. The Publishers' concerns are echoed by several historians, see Brief for Ken Burns et al. as *Amici Curiae*, but discounted by several other historians, see Brief for Ellen Schrecker et al. as *Amici Curiae*; Brief for Authors' Guild, Jacques Barzun et al. as *Amici Curiae*.

Notwithstanding the dire predictions from some quarters, see also *post*, at 16 (*Stevens, J.,* dissenting), it hardly follows from today's decision that an injunction against the inclusion of these Articles in the Databases (much less all freelance articles in any databases) must issue. See 17 U. S. C. §502(a) (court "may" enjoin infringement); *Campbell* v. *Acuff-Rose Music, Inc.,* 510 U. S. 569, 578, n. 10 (1994) (goals of copyright law are "not always best served by automatically granting injunctive relief"). The parties (Authors and Publishers) may enter into an agreement allowing continued electronic reproduction of the Authors' works; they, and if necessary the courts and Congress, may draw on numerous models for distributing copyrighted works and remunerating authors for their distribution. See, *e.g.*, 17 U. S. C. §118(b); *Broadcast Music, Inc.* v. *Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.,* 441 U. S. 1, 4-6, 10-12 (1979) (recounting history of blanket music licensing regimes and consent decrees governing their operation).[13] In any event, speculation about future harms is no basis for this Court to shrink authorial rights Congress established in §201(c). Agreeing with the Court of Appeals that the Publishers are liable for infringement, we leave remedial issues open for initial airing and decision in the District Court.

*****

We conclude that the Electronic Publishers infringed the Authors' copyrights by reproducing and distributing the Articles in a manner not authorized by the Authors and not privileged by §201(c). We further conclude that the Print Publishers infringed the Authors' copyrights by authorizing the Electronic Publishers to place the Articles in the Databases and by aiding the Electronic Publishers in that endeavor. We therefore affirm the judgment of the Court of Appeals.

It is so ordered.

New York Times Co., Inc., et al. v. Tasini et al., 533 U.S. 483 (2001).

Digital Millennium Copyright Act (1998)

Introduction

Early copyright legislation in the United States was created to protect the rights of print journalists and authors at home and then abroad. But the advent of specific types of technology have been the driving force behind new law since The 1976 Copyright Act included protected categories like motion picture and audiovisual works, among others. The Internet and use of computers, still in experimental stages back in 1976, were excluded from the covered categories. It took the Digital Millennium Copyright Act (DMCA) of 1998 to place the Internet and digital world under the legal umbrella of American copyright controls.

The DMCA attempts to balance off the rights of those who own digitized content with the needs of millions of Internet users who feel entitled to sample the broad spectrum of works within reach. It gives a solid foundation to protect against copyright infringement online while carrying the concept of "fair use" into the digital realm. However, the speed with which technology now allows the home production and distribution of almost original-quality copies of compact discs and digital video devices has created the need for higher levels of protection like encryption. This act outlaws software and other equipment used to disable these special protective innovations.

Internet service providers (ISPs), such as AOL, turned out to need protection as well against the illegal actions of their huge clientele. It became common practice for Internet users to access and post copyrighted material without the knowledge of the ISP. The DMCA looks to protect the ISP from copyright infringement suits if the service provider takes down the offending content—and the user cannot later sue the ISP if the post proves not to be a violation of an existing copyright. The ISP is considered liable if it intentionally posts copyright protected content.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

Pub. L. No. 105-304, 112 Stat. 2860 (Oct. 28, 1998).
The Digital Millennium Copyright Act of 1998

U.S. Copyright Office Summary
December 1998

Introduction

The Digital Millennium Copyright Act (DMCA) was signed into law by President Clinton on October 28, 1998. The legislation implements two 1996 World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) treaties: the WIPO Copyright Treaty and the WIPO Performances and Phonograms Treaty. The DMCA also addresses a number of other significant copyright-related issues.

The DMCA is divided into five titles:

Title I, the "WIPO Copyright and Performances and Phonograms Treaties Implementation Act of 1998," implements the WIPO treaties.

Title II, the "Online Copyright Infringement Liability Limitation **Act**," creates limitations on the liability of online service providers for copyright infringement when engaging in certain types of activities.

Title III, the "Computer Maintenance Competition Assurance **Act**," creates an exemption for making a copy of a computer program by activating a computer for purposes of maintenance or repair.

Title IV contains six **miscellaneous provisions**, relating to the functions of the Copyright Office, distance education, the exceptions in the Copyright Act for libraries and for making ephemeral

recordings, "webcasting" of sound recordings on the Internet, and the applicability of collective bargaining agreement obligations in the case of transfers of rights in motion pictures.

Title V, the "**Vessel Hull Design Protection Act**," creates a new form of protection for the design of vessel hulls.

This memorandum summarizes briefly each title of the DMCA. It provides merely an overview of the law's provisions; for purposes of length and readability a significant amount of detail has been omitted. **A complete understanding of any provision of the DMCA requires reference to the text of the legislation itself.**

Title I: WIPO Treaty Implementation

Title I implements the WIPO treaties. First, it makes certain technical amendments to U.S. law, in order to provide appropriate references and links to the treaties. Second, it creates two new prohibitions in Title 17 of the U.S. Code—one on circumvention of technological measures used by copyright owners to protect their works and one on tampering with copyright management information—and adds civil remedies and criminal penalties for violating the prohibitions. In addition, Title I requires the U.S. Copyright Office to perform two joint studies with the National Telecommunications and Information Administration of the Department of Commerce (NTIA).

Technical Amendments

National Eligibility

The WIPO Copyright Treaty (WCT) and the WIPO Performances and Phonograms Treaty (WPPT) each require member countries to provide protection to certain works from other member countries or created by nationals of other member countries. That protection must be no less favorable than that accorded to domestic works.

Section 104 of the Copyright Act establishes the conditions of eligibility for protection under U.S. law for works from other countries. Section 102(b) of the DMCA amends section 104 of the Copyright Act and adds new definitions to section 101 of the Copyright Act in order to extend the protection of U.S. law to those works required to be protected under the WCT and the WPPT.

Restoration of Copyright Protection

Both treaties require parties to protect preexisting works from other member countries that have not fallen into the public domain in the country of origin through the expiry of the term of protection. A similar obligation is contained in both the Berne Convention and the TRIPS Agreement. In 1995 this obligation was implemented in the Uruguay Round Agreements Act, creating a new section 104A in the Copyright Act to restore protection to works from Berne or WTO member countries that are still protected in the country of origin, but fell into the public domain in the United States in the past because of a failure to comply with formalities that then existed in U.S. law, or due to a lack of treaty relations. Section 102(c) of the DMCA amends section 104A to restore copyright protection in the same circumstances to works from WCT and WPPT member countries.

Registration as a Prerequisite to Suit

The remaining technical amendment relates to the prohibition in both treaties against conditioning the exercise or enjoyment of rights on the fulfillment of formalities. Section 411(a) of the Copyright Act requires claims to copyright to be registered with the Copyright Office before a lawsuit can be initiated by the copyright owner, but exempts many foreign works in order to comply with existing treaty obligations under the Berne Convention. Section 102(d) of the DMCA amends section 411(a) by broadening the exemption to cover all foreign works.

Technological Protection and Copyright Management Systems

Each of the WIPO treaties contains virtually identical language obligating member states to prevent circumvention of technological measures used to protect copyrighted works, and to prevent tampering with the integrity of copyright management information. These obligations serve as technological adjuncts to the exclusive rights granted by copyright law. They provide legal protection that the international copyright community deemed critical to the safe and efficient exploitation of works on digital networks.

Circumvention of Technological Protection Measures

General approach

Article 11 of the WCT states:

> Contracting Parties shall provide adequate legal protection and effective legal remedies against the circumvention of effective technological measures that are used by authors in connection with the exercise of their rights under this Treaty or the Berne Convention and that restrict acts, in respect of their works, which are not authorized by the authors concerned or permitted by law.

Article 18 of the WPPT contains nearly identical language.

Section 103 of the DMCA adds a new chapter 12 to Title 17 of the U.S. Code. New section 1201 implements the obligation to provide adequate and effective protection against circumvention of technological measures used by copyright owners to protect their works.

Section 1201 divides technological measures into two categories: measures that prevent unauthorized *access* to a copyrighted work and measures that prevent unauthorized *copying* of a copyrighted work. Making or selling devices or services that are used to circumvent either category of technological measure is prohibited in certain circumstances, described below. As to the act of circumvention in itself, the provision prohibits circumventing the first category of technological measures, but not the second.

This distinction was employed to assure that the public will have the continued ability to make fair use of copyrighted works. Since copying of a work may be a fair use under appropriate circumstances, section 1201 does not prohibit the act of circumventing a technological measure that prevents copying. By contrast, since the fair use doctrine is not a defense to the act of gaining unauthorized access to a work, the act of circumventing a technological measure in order to gain access is prohibited.

Section 1201 proscribes devices or services that fall within any one of the following three categories:

- they are primarily designed or produced to circumvent;
- they have only limited commercially significant purpose or use other than to circumvent; or
- they are marketed for use in circumventing.

No mandate

Section 1201 contains language clarifying that the prohibition on circumvention devices does not require manufacturers of consumer electronics, telecommunications or computing equipment to design their products affirmatively to respond to any particular technological measure. (Section 1201(c)(3)). Despite this general 'no mandate' rule, section 1201(k) does mandate an affirmative response for one particular type of technology: within 18 months of enactment, all analog videocassette recorders must be designed to conform to certain defined technologies, commonly known as Macrovision, currently in use for preventing unauthorized copying of analog videocassettes and certain analog signals. The provision prohibits rightholders from applying these specified technologies to free television and basic and extended basic tier cable broadcasts.

Savings clauses

Section 1201 contains two general savings clauses. First, section 1201(c)(1) states that nothing in section 1201 affects rights, remedies, limitations or defenses to copyright infringement, including fair use. Second, section 1201(c)(2) states that nothing in section 1201 enlarges or diminishes vicarious or contributory copyright infringement.

Exceptions

Finally, the prohibitions contained in section 1201 are subject to a number of exceptions. One is an exception to the operation of the entire section, for law enforcement, intelligence and other governmental activities. (Section 1201(e)). The others relate to section 1201(a), the provision dealing with the category of technological measures that control access to works.

The broadest of these exceptions, section 1201(a)(1)(B)-(E), establishes an ongoing administrative rule-making proceeding to evaluate the impact of the prohibition against the act of circumventing such access-control measures. This conduct prohibition does not take effect for two years. Once it does, it is subject to an exception for users of a work which is in a particular class of works if they are or are likely to be adversely affected by

virtue of the prohibition in making noninfringing uses. The applicability of the exemption is determined through a periodic rulemaking by the Librarian of Congress, on the recommendation of the Register of Copyrights, who is to consult with the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Communications and Information.

The six additional exceptions are as follows:

1. ***Nonprofit library, archive and educational institution exception*** (section 1201(d)). The prohibition on the act of circumvention of access control measures is subject to an exception that permits nonprofit libraries, archives and educational institutions to circumvent solely for the purpose of making a good faith determination as to whether they wish to obtain authorized access to the work.
2. ***Reverse engineering*** (section 1201(f)). This exception permits circumvention, and the development of technological means for such circumvention, by a person who has lawfully obtained a right to use a copy of a computer program for the sole purpose of identifying and analyzing elements of the program necessary to achieve interoperability with other programs, to the extent that such acts are permitted under copyright law.
3. ***Encryption research*** (section 1201(g)). An exception for encryption research permits circumvention of access control measures, and the development of the technological means to do so, in order to identify flaws and vulnerabilities of encryption technologies.
4. ***Protection of minors*** (section 1201(h)). This exception allows a court applying the prohibition to a component or part to consider the necessity for its incorporation in technology that prevents access of minors to material on the Internet.
5. ***Personal privacy*** (section 1201(i)). This exception permits circumvention when the technological measure, or the work it protects, is capable of collecting or disseminating personally identifying information about the online activities of a natural person.
6. ***Security testing*** (section 1201(j)). This exception permits circumvention of access control measures, and the development of technological means for such circumvention, for the purpose of testing the security of a computer, computer system or computer network, with the authorization of its owner or operator.

Each of the exceptions has its own set of conditions on its applicability, which are beyond the scope of this summary.

Integrity of Copyright Management Information

Article 12 of the WCT provides in relevant part:

> Contracting Parties shall provide adequate and effective legal remedies against any person knowingly performing any of the following acts knowing, or with respect to civil remedies having reasonable grounds to know, that it will induce, enable, facilitate or conceal an infringement of any right covered by this Treaty or the Berne Convention:
>
> (i) to remove or alter any electronic rights management information without authority;
>
> (ii) to distribute, import for distribution, broadcast or communicate to the public, without authority, works or copies of works knowing that electronic rights management information has been removed or altered without authority.

Article 19 of the WPPT contains nearly identical language.

New section 1202 is the provision implementing this obligation to protect the integrity of copyright management information (CMI). The scope of the protection is set out in two separate paragraphs, the first dealing with false CMI and the second with removal or alteration of CMI. Subsection (a) prohibits the knowing provision or distribution of false CMI, if done with the intent to induce, enable, facilitate or conceal infringement. Subsection (b) bars the intentional removal or alteration of CMI without authority, as well as the dissemination of CMI or copies of works, knowing that the CMI has been removed or altered without authority. Liability under subsection (b) requires that the act be done with knowledge or, with respect to civil remedies, with reasonable grounds to know that it will induce, enable, facilitate or conceal an infringement.

Subsection (c) defines CMI as identifying information about the work, the author, the copyright owner, and in certain cases, the performer, writer or director of the work, as well as the terms and conditions for use of the work, and such other information as the Register of Copyrights may prescribe by regulation. Information concerning users of works is explicitly excluded.

Section 1202 is subject to a general exemption for law enforcement, intelligence and other governmental activities. (Section 1202(d)). It also contains limitations on the liability of broadcast stations and cable systems for removal or alteration of CMI in certain circumstances where there is no intent to induce, enable, facilitate or conceal an infringement. (Section 1202(e)).

Remedies

Any person injured by a violation of section 1201 or 1202 may bring a civil action in Federal court. Section 1203 gives courts the power to grant a range of equitable and monetary remedies similar to those available under the Copyright Act, including statutory damages. The court has discretion to reduce or remit damages in cases of innocent violations, where the violator proves that it was not aware and had no reason to believe its acts constituted a violation. (Section 1203(c)(5)(A)). Special protection is given to nonprofit libraries, archives and educational institutions, which are entitled to a complete remission of damages in these circumstances. (Section 1203(c)(5)(B)).

In addition, it is a criminal offense to violate section 1201 or 1202 wilfully and for purposes of commercial advantage or private financial gain. Under section 1204 penalties range up to a $500,000 fine or up to five years imprisonment for a first offense, and up to a $1,000,000 fine or up to 10 years imprisonment for subsequent offenses. Nonprofit libraries, archives and educational institutions are entirely exempted from criminal liability. (Section 1204(b)).

Copyright Office and NTIA Studies Relating to Technological Development

Title I of the DMCA requires the Copyright Office to conduct two studies jointly with NTIA, one dealing with encryption and the other with the effect of technological developments on two existing exceptions in the Copyright Act. New section 1201(g)(5) of Title 17 of the U.S. Code requires the Register of Copyrights and the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Communications and Information to report to the Congress no later than one year from enactment on the effect that the exemption for encryption research (new section 1201(g)) has had on encryption research, the development of encryption technology, the adequacy and effectiveness of technological measures designed to protect copyrighted works, and the protection of copyright owners against unauthorized access to their encrypted copyrighted works.

Section 104 of the DMCA requires the Register of Copyrights and the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Communications and Information to jointly evaluate (1) the effects of Title I of the DMCA and the development of electronic commerce and associated technology on the operation of sections 109 (first sale doctrine) and 117 (exemption allowing owners of copies of computer programs to reproduce and adapt them for use on a computer), and (2) the relationship between existing and emergent technology and the operation of those sections. This study is due 24 months after the date of enactment of the DMCA.

Title II: Online Copyright Infringement Liability Limitation

Title II of the DMCA adds a new section 512 to the Copyright Act to create four new limitations on liability for copyright infringement by online service providers.

The limitations are based on the following four categories of conduct by a service provider:

1. Transitory communications;
2. System caching;
3. Storage of information on systems or networks at direction of users; and
4. Information location tools.

New section 512 also includes special rules concerning the application of these limitations to nonprofit educational institutions.

Each limitation entails a complete bar on monetary damages, and restricts the availability of injunctive relief in various respects. (Section 512(j)).

Each limitation relates to a separate and distinct function, and a determination of whether a service provider qualifies for one of the limitations does not bear upon a determination of whether the provider qualifies for any of the other three. (Section 512(n)).

The failure of a service provider to qualify for any of the limitations in section 512 does not necessarily make it liable for copyright infringement. The copyright owner must still demonstrate that the provider has infringed, and the provider may still avail itself of any of the defenses, such as fair use, that are available to copyright defendants generally. (Section 512(l)).

In addition to limiting the liability of service providers, Title II establishes a procedure by which a copyright owner can obtain a subpoena from a federal court ordering a service provider to disclose the identity of a subscriber who is allegedly engaging in infringing activities. (Section 512(h)).

Section 512 also contains a provision to ensure that service providers are not placed in the position of choosing between limitations on liability on the one hand and preserving the privacy of their subscribers, on the other. Subsection (m) explicitly states that nothing in section 512 requires a service provider to monitor its service or access material in violation of law (such as the Electronic Communications Privacy Act) in order to be eligible for any of the liability limitations.

Eligibility for Limitations Generally

A party seeking the benefit of the limitations on liability in Title II must qualify as a "service provider." For purposes of the first limitation, relating to transitory communications, "service provider" is defined in section 512(k)(1)(A) as "an entity offering the transmission, routing, or providing of connections for digital online communications, between or among points specified by a user, of material of the user's choosing, without modification to the content of the material as sent or received." For purposes of the other three limitations, "service provider" is more broadly defined in section 512(k)(l)(B) as "a provider of online services or network access, or the operator of facilities therefor."

In addition, to be eligible for any of the limitations, a service provider must meet two overall conditions: (1) it must adopt and reasonably implement a policy of terminating in appropriate circumstances the accounts of subscribers who are repeat infringers; and (2) it must accommodate and not interfere with "standard technical measures." (Section 512(i)). "Standard technical measures" are defined as measures that copyright owners use to identify or protect copyrighted works, that have been developed pursuant to a broad consensus of copyright owners and service providers in an open, fair and voluntary multi-industry process, are available to anyone on reasonable nondiscriminatory terms, and do not impose substantial costs or burdens on service providers.

Limitation for Transitory Communications

In general terms, section 512(a) limits the liability of service providers in circumstances where the provider merely acts as a data conduit, transmitting digital information from one point on a network to another at someone else's request. This limitation covers acts of transmission, routing, or providing connections for the information, as well as the intermediate and transient copies that are made automatically in the operation of a network.

In order to qualify for this limitation, the service provider's activities must meet the following conditions:

- The transmission must be initiated by a person other than the provider.
- The transmission, routing, provision of connections, or copying must be carried out by an automatic technical process without selection of material by the service provider.
- The service provider must not determine the recipients of the material.
- Any intermediate copies must not ordinarily be accessible to anyone other than anticipated recipients, and must not be retained for longer than reasonably necessary.
- The material must be transmitted with no modification to its content.

Limitation for System Caching

Section 512(b) limits the liability of service providers for the practice of retaining copies, for a limited time, of material that has been made available online by a person other than the provider, and then transmitted to a subscriber at his or her direction. The service provider retains the material

so that subsequent requests for the same material can be fulfilled by transmitting the retained copy, rather than retrieving the material from the original source on the network.

The benefit of this practice is that it reduces the service provider's bandwidth requirements and reduces the waiting time on subsequent requests for the same information. On the other hand, it can result in the delivery of outdated information to subscribers and can deprive website operators of accurate "hit" information—information about the number of requests for particular material on a website—from which advertising revenue is frequently calculated. For this reason, the person making the material available online may establish rules about updating it, and may utilize technological means to track the number of "hits."

The limitation applies to acts of intermediate and temporary storage, when carried out through an automatic technical process for the purpose of making the material available to subscribers who subsequently request it. It is subject to the following conditions:

- The content of the retained material must not be modified.
- The provider must comply with rules about "refreshing" material—replacing retained copies of material with material from the original location—when specified in accordance with a generally accepted industry standard data communication protocol.
- The provider must not interfere with technology that returns "hit" information to the person who posted the material, where such technology meets certain requirements.
- The provider must limit users' access to the material in accordance with conditions on access (e.g., password protection) imposed by the person who posted the material.
- Any material that was posted without the copyright owner's authorization must be removed or blocked promptly once the service provider has been notified that it has been removed, blocked, or ordered to be removed or blocked, at the originating site.

Limitation for Information Residing on Systems or Networks at the Direction of Users

Section 512(c) limits the liability of service providers for infringing material on websites (or other information repositories) hosted on their systems. It applies to storage at the direction of a user. In order to be eligible for the limitation, the following conditions must be met:

- The provider must not have the requisite level of knowledge of the infringing activity, as described below.
- If the provider has the right and ability to control the infringing activity, it must not receive a financial benefit directly attributable to the infringing activity.
- Upon receiving proper notification of claimed infringement, the provider must expeditiously take down or block access to the material.

In addition, a service provider must have filed with the Copyright Office a designation of an agent to receive notifications of claimed infringement. The Office provides a suggested form for the purpose of designating an agent (http://www.loc.gov/copyright/onlinesp/) and maintains a list of agents on the Copyright Office website (http://www.loc.gov/copyright/onlinesp/list/).

Under the knowledge standard, a service provider is eligible for the limitation on liability only if it does not have actual knowledge of the infringement, is not aware of facts or circumstances from which infringing activity is apparent, or upon gaining such knowledge or awareness, responds expeditiously to take the material down or block access to it.

The statute also establishes procedures for proper notification, and rules as to its effect. (Section 512(c)(3)). Under the notice and take-down procedure, a copyright owner submits a notification under penalty of perjury, including a list of specified elements, to the service provider's designated agent. Failure to comply substantially with the statutory requirements means that the notification will not be considered in determining the requisite level of knowledge by the service provider. If, upon receiving a proper notification, the service provider promptly removes or blocks access to the material identified in the notification, the provider is exempt from monetary liability. In addition, the provider is protected from any liability to any person for claims based on its having taken down the material. (Section 512(g)(1)).

In order to protect against the possibility of erroneous or fraudulent notifications, certain safeguards

are built into section 512. Subsection (g)(1) gives the subscriber the opportunity to respond to the notice and takedown by filing a counter notification. In order to qualify for the protection against liability for taking down material, the service provider must promptly notify the subscriber that it has removed or disabled access to the material. If the subscriber serves a counter notification complying with statutory requirements, including a statement under penalty of perjury that the material was removed or disabled through mistake or misidentification, then unless the copyright owner files an action seeking a court order against the subscriber, the service provider must put the material back up within 10–14 business days after receiving the counter notification.

Penalties are provided for knowing material misrepresentations in either a notice or a counter notice. Any person who knowingly materially misrepresents that material is infringing, or that it was removed or blocked through mistake or misidentification, is liable for any resulting damages (including costs and attorneys' fees) incurred by the alleged infringer, the copyright owner or its licensee, or the service provider. (Section 512(f)).

Limitation for Information Location Tools

Section 512(d) relates to hyperlinks, online directories, search engines and the like. It limits liability for the acts of referring or linking users to a site that contains infringing material by using such information location tools, if the following conditions are met:

- The provider must not have the requisite level of knowledge that the material is infringing. The knowledge standard is the same as under the limitation for information residing on systems or networks.
- If the provider has the right and ability to control the infringing activity, the provider must not receive a financial benefit directly attributable to the activity.
- Upon receiving a notification of claimed infringement, the provider must expeditiously take down or block access to the material.

These are essentially the same conditions that apply under the previous limitation, with some differences in the notification requirements. The provisions establishing safeguards against the possibility of erroneous or fraudulent notifications, as discussed above, as well as those protecting the provider against claims based on having taken down the material apply to this limitation. (Sections 512(f)-(g)).

Special Rules Regarding Liability of Nonprofit Educational Institutions

Section 512(e) determines when the actions or knowledge of a faculty member or graduate student employee who is performing a teaching or research function may affect the eligibility of a nonprofit educational institution for one of the four limitations on liability. As to the limitations for transitory communications or system caching, the faculty member or student shall be considered a "person other than the provider," so as to avoid disqualifying the institution from eligibility. As to the other limitations, the knowledge or awareness of the faculty member or student will not be attributed to the institution. The following conditions must be met:

- the faculty member or graduate student's infringing activities do not involve providing online access to course materials that were required or recommended during the past three years;
- the institution has not received more than two notifications over the past three years that the faculty member or graduate student was infringing; and
- the institution provides all of its users with informational materials describing and promoting compliance with copyright law.

Title III: Computer Maintenance or Repair

Title III expands the existing exemption relating to computer programs in section 117 of the Copyright Act, which allows the owner of a copy of a program to make reproductions or adaptations when necessary to use the program in conjunction with a computer. The amendment permits the owner or lessee of a computer to make or authorize the making of a copy of a computer program in the course of maintaining or repairing that computer. The exemption only permits a copy that is made

automatically when a computer is activated, and only if the computer already lawfully contains an authorized copy of the program. The new copy cannot be used in any other manner and must be destroyed immediately after the maintenance or repair is completed.

Title IV: Miscellaneous Provisions

Clarification of the Authority of the Copyright Office

Section 401(b), adds language to section 701 of the Copyright Act confirming the Copyright Office's authority to continue to perform the policy and international functions that it has carried out for decades under its existing general authority.

Ephemeral Recordings for Broadcasters

Section 112 of the Copyright Act grants an exemption for the making of "ephemeral recordings." These are recordings made in order to facilitate a transmission. Under this exemption, for example, a radio station can record a set of songs and broadcast from the new recording rather than from the original CDs (which would have to be changed "on the fly" during the course of a broadcast).

As it existed prior to enactment of the DMCA, section 112 permitted a transmitting organization to make and retain for up to six months (hence the term "ephemeral") no more than one copy of a work if it was entitled to transmit a public performance or display of the work, either under a license or by virtue of the fact that there is no general public performance right in sound recordings (as distinguished from musical works).

The Digital Performance Right in Sound Recordings Act of 1995 (DPRA) created, for the first time in U.S. copyright law, a limited public performance right in sound recordings. The right only covers public performances by means of digital transmission and is subject to an exemption for digital broadcasts (i.e., transmissions by FCC licensed terrestrial broadcast stations) and a statutory license for certain subscription transmissions that are not made on demand (i.e. in response to the specific request of a recipient).

Section 402 of the DMCA expands the section 112 exemption to include recordings that are made to facilitate the digital transmission of a sound recording where the transmission is made under the DPRA's exemption for digital broadcasts or statutory license. As amended, section 112 also permits in some circumstances the circumvention of access control technologies in order to enable an organization to make an ephemeral recording.

Distance Education Study

In the course of consideration of the DMCA, legislators expressed an interest in amending the Copyright Act to promote distance education, possibly through an expansion of the existing exception for instructional broadcasting in section 110(2). Section 403 of the DMCA directs the Copyright Office to consult with affected parties and make recommendations to Congress on how to promote distance education through digital technologies. The Office must report to Congress within six months of enactment.

The Copyright Office is directed to consider the following issues:

- The need for a new exemption;
- Categories of works to be included in any exemption;
- Appropriate quantitative limitations on the portions of works that may be used under any exemption;
- Which parties should be eligible for any exemption;
- Which parties should be eligible recipients of distance education material under any exemption;
- The extent to which use of technological protection measures should be mandated as a condition of eligibility for any exemption;
- The extent to which the availability of licenses should be considered in assessing eligibility for any exemption; and
- Other issues as appropriate.

Exemption for Nonprofit Libraries and Archives

Section 404 of the DMCA amends the exemption for nonprofit libraries and archives in section 108 of the Copyright Act to accommodate digital technologies and evolving preservation practices. Prior to enactment of the DMCA, section 108 permitted such libraries and archives to make a single facsimile (i.e., not digital) copy of a work for

purposes of preservation or interlibrary loan. As amended, section 108 permits up to three copies, which may be digital, provided that digital copies are not made available to the public outside the library premises. In addition, the amended section permits such a library or archive to copy a work into a new format if the original format becomes obsolete—that is, the machine or device used to render the work perceptible is no longer manufactured or is no longer reasonably available in the commercial marketplace.

Webcasting Amendments to the Digital Performance Right in Sound Recordings

As discussed above, in 1995 Congress enacted the DPRA, creating a performance right in sound recordings that is limited to digital transmissions. Under that legislation, three categories of digital transmissions were addressed: broadcast transmissions, which were exempted from the performance right; subscription transmissions, which were generally subject to a statutory license; and on-demand transmissions, which were subject to the full exclusive right. Broadcast transmissions under the DPRA are transmissions made by FCC-licensed terrestrial broadcast stations.

In the past several years, a number of entities have begun making digital transmissions of sound recordings over the Internet using streaming audio technologies. This activity does not fall squarely within any of the three categories that were addressed in the DPRA. Section 405 of the DMCA amends the DPRA, expanding the statutory license for subscription transmissions to include webcasting as a new category of "eligible nonsubscription transmissions."

In addition to expanding the scope of the statutory license, the DMCA revises the criteria that any entity must meet in order to be eligible for the license (other than those who are subject to a grandfather clause, leaving the existing criteria intact). It revises the considerations for setting rates as well (again, subject to a grandfather clause), directing arbitration panels convened under the law to set the royalty rates at fair market value.

This provision of the DMCA also creates a new statutory license for making ephemeral recordings. As indicated above, section 402 of the DMCA amends section 112 of the Copyright Act to permit the making of a single ephemeral recording to facilitate the digital transmission of sound recording that is permitted either under the DPRA's broadcasting exemption or statutory license. Transmitting organizations that wish to make more than the single ephemeral recording of a sound recording that is permitted under the outright exemption in section 112 are now eligible for a statutory license to make such additional ephemeral recordings. In addition, the new statutory license applies to the making of ephemeral recordings by transmitting organizations other than broadcasters who are exempt from the digital performance right, who are not covered by the expanded exemption in section 402 of the DMCA.

Assumption of Contractual Obligations upon Transfers of Rights in Motion Pictures

Section 416 addresses concerns about the ability of writers, directors and screen actors to obtain residual payments for the exploitation of motion pictures in situations where the producer is no longer able to make these payments. The guilds' collective bargaining agreements currently require producers to obtain assumption agreements from distributors in certain circumstances, by which the distributor assumes the producer's obligation to make such residual payments. Some production companies apparently do not always do so, leaving the guilds without contractual privity enabling them to seek recourse from the distributor.

The DMCA adds a new chapter to Title 28 of the U.S. Code that imposes on transferees those obligations to make residual payments that the producer would be required to have the transferee assume under the relevant collective bargaining agreement. The obligations attach only if the distributor knew or had reason to know that the motion picture was produced subject to a collective bargaining agreement, or in the event of a court order confirming an arbitration award under the collective bargaining agreement that the producer cannot satisfy within ninety days. There are two classes of transfers that are excluded from the scope of this provision. The first is transfers limited to public performance rights, and the second is grants of security interests, along with any subsequent transfers from the security interest holder.

The provision also directs the Comptroller General, in consultation with the Register of Copyrights, to conduct a study on the conditions in the motion picture industry that gave rise to this provision, and the impact of the provision on the industry. The study is due two years from enactment.

Title V: Protection of Certain Original Designs

Title V of the DMCA, entitled the Vessel Hull Design Protection Act (VHDPA), adds a new chapter 13 to Title 17 of the U.S. Code. It creates a new system for protecting original designs of certain useful articles that make the article attractive or distinctive in appearance. For purposes of the VHDPA, "useful articles" are limited to the hulls (including the decks) of vessels no longer than 200 feet.

A design is protected under the VHDPA as soon as a useful article embodying the design is made public or a registration for the design is published. Protection is lost if an application for registration is not made within two years after a design is first made public, but a design is not registrable if it has been made public more than one year before the date of the application for registration. Once registered, protection continues for ten years from the date protection begins.

The VHDPA is subject to a legislative sunset: the Act expires two years from enactment (October 28, 2000). The Copyright Office is directed to conduct two joint studies with the Patent and Trademark Office—the first by October 28, 1999 and the second by October 28, 2000—evaluating the impact of the VHDPA.

Effective Dates

Most provisions of the DMCA are effective on the date of enactment. There are, however, several exceptions. The technical amendments in Title I that relate to eligibility of works for protection under U.S. copyright law by virtue of the new WIPO treaties do not take effect until the relevant treaty comes into force. Similarly, restoration of copyright protection for such works does not become effective until the relevant treaty comes into force. The prohibition on the act of circumvention of access control measures does not take effect until two years from enactment (October 28, 2000).

United States Copyright Office. Digital Millennium Copyright Act of 1998 U.S. Copyright Office Summary (December 1998). Pub. L. No. 105-304, 112 Stat. 2860 (Oct. 28, 1998). http://www.copyright.gov/laws (accessed December 17, 2007).

Regulating Electronic Media

Red Lion Broadcasting Co. v. FCC *(1969)*

Introduction

The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) was given the authority by Congress back in 1934 to extensively regulate first radio and then, over time, network television, cable television, and direct broadcast satellites. Government control over what appears on air has always been greater than what circulates in print. As a result, many in the broadcast industry had complained that their First Amendment protections and choices were limited in comparison to those afforded newspapers and magazines. Congress justified the extreme FCC scrutiny of broadcasters by pointing to the relatively few on-air licenses available in comparison to societal demands.

The FCC asked that broadcasters further earn the privilege of a license to use the airwaves by serving the public interest with a "fairness doctrine" that granted access not inherent in print publications. In the fairness doctrine, the FCC said broadcasters had to provide a reasonable amount of on-air time for examination of public issues and for the presentation of conflicting perspectives on important public controversies. The FCC supported specific outgrowths of the fairness doctrine like the political editorial rule (chance for candidates to reply to editorials), the Zapple Rule (option for candidates to buy equal airtime), and the "personal attacks rule" that offered time for a reply to an individual or group attacked during discussion of a heated public issue.

The Supreme Court, in *Red Lion Broadcasting Co. v. FCC,* supported the authority of the Commission by upholding the constitutionality of the personal attacks rule. Although this rule and most others associated with the fairness doctrine would be struck down by 2000, the Courts general reason in this instance for backing FCC control over broadcasting endures. Justice Byron White authorized his ruling here "in view of the scarcity of broadcast frequencies," the FCC "role in allocating those frequencies," and for "those unable without governmental assistance to gain access to those frequencies for expression of their views."

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

Red Lion Broadcasting Co. v. FCC, 395 U.S. 367 (1969)

MR. JUSTICE WHITE delivered the opinion of the Court.

The Federal Communications Commission has for many years imposed on radio and television broadcasters the requirement that discussion of public issues be presented on broadcast stations, and that each side of those issues must be given fair coverage. This is known as the fairness doctrine, which originated very early in the history of broadcasting and has maintained its present outlines for some time. It is an obligation whose content has been defined in a long series of FCC rulings in particular cases, and which is distinct from the statutory [395 U.S. 367, 370] requirement of 315 of the Communications Act that equal time be allotted all qualified candidates for public office. Two aspects of the fairness doctrine, relating to personal attacks in the context of controversial public issues and to political editorializing, were codified more precisely

in the form of FCC regulations in 1967. The two cases before us now, which were decided separately below, challenge the constitutional and statutory bases of the doctrine and component rules. Red Lion [395 U.S. 367, 371] involves the application of the fairness doctrine to a particular broadcast, and RTNDA arises as an action to review the FCC's 1967 promulgation of the personal attack and political editorializing regulations, which were laid down after the Red Lion litigation had begun.

I.

A.

The Red Lion Broadcasting Company is licensed to operate a Pennsylvania radio station, WGCB. On November 27, 1964, WGCB carried a 15-minute broadcast by the Reverend Billy James Hargis as part of a "Christian Crusade" series. A book by Fred J. Cook entitled "Goldwater—Extremist on the Right" was discussed by Hargis, who said that Cook had been fired by a newspaper for making false charges against city officials; that Cook had then worked for a Communist-affiliated publication; that he had defended Alger Hiss and attacked J. Edgar Hoover and the Central Intelligence Agency; and that he had now written a "book to smear and destroy Barry Goldwater." When Cook heard of the broadcast he [395 U.S. 367, 372] concluded that he had been personally attacked and demanded free reply time, which the station refused. After an exchange of letters among Cook, Red Lion, and the FCC, the FCC declared that the Hargis broadcast constituted a personal attack on Cook; that Red Lion had failed to meet its obligation under the fairness doctrine as expressed in Times-Mirror Broadcasting Co., 24 P & F Radio Reg. 404 (1962), to send a tape, transcript, or summary of the broadcast to Cook and offer him reply time; and that the station must provide reply time whether or not Cook would pay for it. On review in the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, the [395 U.S. 367, 373] FCC's position was upheld as constitutional and otherwise proper. 127 U.S. App. D.C. 129, 381 F.2d 908 (1967).

B.

Not long after the Red Lion litigation was begun, the FCC issued a Notice of Proposed Rule Making, 31 Fed. Reg. 5710, with an eye to making the personal attack aspect of the fairness doctrine more precise and more readily enforceable, and to specifying its rules relating to political editorials. After considering written comments supporting and opposing the rules, the FCC adopted them substantially as proposed, 32 Fed. Reg. 10303. Twice amended, 32 Fed. Reg. 11531, 33 Fed. Reg. 5362, the rules were held unconstitutional in the RTNDA litigation by the Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit, on review of the rule-making proceeding, as abridging the freedoms of speech and press. 400 F.2d 1002 (1968).

As they now stand amended, the regulations read as follows:

> "Personal attacks; political editorials.
>
> "(a) When, during the presentation of views on a controversial issue of public importance, an attack is made upon the honesty, character, integrity or like personal qualities of an identified person or group, the licensee shall, within a reasonable time and in no event later than 1 week after the attack, transmit to the person or group attacked (1) notification of the date, time and identification of the broadcast; (2) a script or tape (or an accurate summary if a script or tape is not available) of the [395 U.S. 367, 374] attack; and (3) an offer of a reasonable opportunity to respond over the licensee's facilities.
>
> "(b) The provisions of paragraph (a) of this section shall not be applicable (1) to attacks on foreign groups or foreign public figures; (2) to personal attacks which are made by legally qualified candidates, their authorized spokesmen, or those associated with them in the campaign, on other such candidates, their authorized spokesmen, or persons associated with the candidates in the campaign; and (3) to bona fide newscasts, bona fide news interviews, and on-the-spot coverage of a bona fide news event (including commentary or analysis contained in the foregoing programs, but the provisions of paragraph (a) of this section shall be applicable to editorials of the licensee).
>
> "NOTE: The fairness doctrine is applicable to situations coming within [(3)], above, and, in a specific factual situation, may be applicable in the general area of political broadcasts [(2)], above. See, section 315 (a) of the Act, 47 U.S.C. 315 (a); Public Notice: Applicability of the

Fairness Doctrine in the Handling of Controversial Issues of Public Importance. 29 F. R. 10415. The categories listed in [(3)] are the same as those specified in section 315 (a) of the Act.

"(c) Where a licensee, in an editorial, (i) endorses or (ii) opposes a legally qualified candidate or candidates, the licensee shall, within 24 hours after the editorial, transmit to respectively (i) the other qualified candidate or candidates for the same office or (ii) the candidate opposed in the editorial (1) notification of the date and the time of the editorial; (2) a script or tape of the editorial; and (3) an offer of a reasonable opportunity for a candidate or a spokesman of the candidate to respond over the [395 U.S. 367, 375] licensee's facilities: Provided, however, That where such editorials are broadcast within 72 hours prior to the day of the election, the licensee shall comply with the provisions of this paragraph sufficiently far in advance of the broadcast to enable the candidate or candidates to have a reasonable opportunity to prepare a response and to present it in a timely fashion." 47 CFR 73.123, 73.300, 73.598, 73.679 (all identical).

C.

Believing that the specific application of the fairness doctrine in Red Lion, and the promulgation of the regulations in RTNDA, are both authorized by Congress and enhance rather than abridge the freedoms of speech and press protected by the First Amendment, we hold them valid and constitutional, reversing the judgment below in RTNDA and affirming the judgment below in Red Lion.

II.

The history of the emergence of the fairness doctrine and of the related legislation shows that the Commission's action in the Red Lion case did not exceed its authority, and that in adopting the new regulations the Commission was implementing congressional policy rather than embarking on a frolic of its own.

A.

Before 1927, the allocation of frequencies was left entirely to the private sector, and the result was chaos. [395 U.S. 367, 376] It quickly became apparent that broadcast frequencies constituted a scarce resource whose use could be regulated and rationalized only by the Government. Without government control, the medium would be of little use because of the cacaphony of competing voices, none of which could be clearly and predictably heard. Consequently, the Federal Radio Commission was established [395 U.S. 367, 377] to allocate frequencies among competing applicants in a manner responsive to the public "convenience, interest, or necessity."

Very shortly thereafter the Commission expressed its view that the "public interest requires ample play for the free and fair competition of opposing views, and the commission believes that the principle applies . . . to all discussions of issues of importance to the public." Great Lakes Broadcasting Co., 3 F. R. C. Ann. Rep. 32, 33 (1929), rev'd on other grounds, 59 App. D.C. 197, 37 F.2d 993, cert. dismissed, 281 U.S. 706 (1930). This doctrine was applied through denial of license renewals or construction permits, both by the FRC, Trinity Methodist Church, South v. FRC, 61 App. D.C. 311, 62 F.2d 850 (1932), cert. denied, 288 U.S. 599 (1933), and its successor FCC, Young People's Association for the Propagation of the Gospel, 6 F. C. C. 178 (1938). After an extended period during which the licensee was obliged not only to cover and to cover fairly the views of others, but also to refrain from expressing his own personal views, Mayflower Broadcasting Corp., 8 F. C. C. 333 (1940), the latter limitation on the licensee was abandoned and the doctrine developed into its present form.

There is a twofold duty laid down by the FCC's decisions and described by the 1949 Report on Editorializing by Broadcast Licensees, 13 F. C. C. 1246 (1949). The broadcaster must give adequate coverage to public issues, United Broadcasting Co., 10 F. C. C. 515 (1945), and coverage must be fair in that it accurately reflects the opposing views. New Broadcasting Co., 6 P & F Radio Reg. 258 (1950). This must be done at the broadcaster's own expense if sponsorship is unavailable. Cullman Broadcasting Co., 25 P & F Radio Reg. 895 (1963). [395 U.S. 367, 378] Moreover, the duty must be met by programming obtained at the licensee's own initiative if available from no other source. John J. Dempsey, 6 P & F Radio Reg. 615 (1950); see Metropolitan Broadcasting Corp., 19 P & F Radio Reg. 602 (1960); The Evening News Assn., 6 P &

F Radio Reg. 283 (1950). The Federal Radio Commission had imposed these two basic duties on broadcasters since the outset, Great Lakes Broadcasting Co., 3 F. R. C. Ann. Rep. 32 (1929), rev'd on other grounds, 59 App. D.C. 197, 37 F.2d 993, cert. dismissed, 281 U.S. 706 (1930); Chicago Federation of Labor v. FRC, 3 F. R. C. Ann. Rep. 36 (1929), aff'd, 59 App. D.C. 333, 41 F.2d 422 (1930); KFKB Broadcasting Assn. v. FRC, 60 App. D.C. 79, 47 F.2d 670 (1931), and in particular respects the personal attack rules and regulations at issue here have spelled them out in greater detail.

When a personal attack has been made on a figure involved in a public issue, both the doctrine of cases such as Red Lion and Times-Mirror Broadcasting Co., 24 P & F Radio Reg. 404 (1962), and also the 1967 regulations at issue in RTNDA require that the individual attacked himself be offered an opportunity to respond. Likewise, where one candidate is endorsed in a political editorial, the other candidates must themselves be offered reply time to use personally or through a spokesman. These obligations differ from the general fairness requirement that issues be presented, and presented with coverage of competing views, in that the broadcaster does not have the option of presenting the attacked party's side himself or choosing a third party to represent that side. But insofar as there is an obligation of the broadcaster to see that both sides are presented, and insofar as that is an affirmative obligation, the personal attack doctrine and regulations do not differ from the preceding fairness doctrine. The simple fact that the attacked men or unendorsed candidates may respond themselves or through [395 U.S. 367, 379] agents is not a critical distinction, and indeed, it is not unreasonable for the FCC to conclude that the objective of adequate presentation of all sides may best be served by allowing those most closely affected to make the response, rather than leaving the response in the hands of the station which has attacked their candidacies, endorsed their opponents, or carried a personal attack upon them.

B.

The statutory authority of the FCC to promulgate these regulations derives from the mandate to the "Commission from time to time, as public convenience, interest, or necessity requires" to promulgate "such rules and regulations and prescribe such restrictions and conditions . . . as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this chapter . . ." 47 U.S.C. 303 and 303 (r). The Commission is specifically directed to consider the demands of the public interest in the course of granting licenses, 47 U.S.C. 307 (a), 309 (a); [395 U.S. 367, 380] renewing them, 47 U.S.C. 307; and modifying them. Ibid. Moreover, the FCC has included among the conditions of the Red Lion license itself the requirement that operation of the station be carried out in the public interest, 47 U.S.C. 309 (h). This mandate to the FCC to assure that broadcasters operate in the public interest is a broad one, a power "not niggardly but expansive," National Broadcasting Co. v. United States, 319 U.S. 190, 219 (1943), whose validity we have long upheld. FCC v. Pottsville Broadcasting Co., 309 U.S. 134, 138 (1940); FCC v. RCA Communications, Inc., 346 U.S. 86, 90 (1953); FRC v. Nelson Bros. Bond & Mortgage Co., 289 U.S. 266, 285 (1933). It is broad enough to encompass these regulations.

The fairness doctrine finds specific recognition in statutory form, is in part modeled on explicit statutory provisions relating to political candidates, and is approvingly reflected in legislative history.

In 1959 the Congress amended the statutory requirement of 315 that equal time be accorded each political candidate to except certain appearances on news programs, but added that this constituted no exception "from the obligation imposed upon them under this Act to operate in the public interest and to afford reasonable opportunity for the discussion of conflicting views on issues of public importance." Act of September 14, 1959, 1, 73 Stat. 557, amending 47 U.S.C. 315 (a) (emphasis added). This language makes it very plain that Congress, in 1959, announced that the phrase "public interest," which had been in the Act since 1927, imposed a duty on broadcasters to discuss both sides of controversial public issues. In other words, the amendment vindicated the FCC's general view that the fairness doctrine inhered in the public interest standard. Subsequent legislation declaring the intent of an earlier statute [395 U.S. 367, 381] is entitled to great weight in statutory construction. And here this principle is given special force by the equally venerable principle that the construction of a statute by those charged with its execution should be followed unless there are

compelling indications that it is wrong, especially when Congress has refused to alter the administrative construction. Here, the Congress has not just kept its silence by refusing to overturn the administrative construction, but has ratified it with [395 U.S. 367, 382] positive legislation. Thirty years of consistent administrative construction left undisturbed by Congress until 1959, when that construction was expressly accepted, reinforce the natural conclusion that the public interest language of the Act authorized the Commission to require licensees to use their stations for discussion of public issues, and that the FCC is free to implement this requirement by reasonable rules and regulations which fall short of abridgment of the freedom of speech and press, and of the censorship proscribed by 326 of the Act.

The objectives of 315 themselves could readily be circumvented but for the complementary fairness doctrine ratified by 315. The section applies only to campaign appearances by candidates, and not by family, friends, campaign managers, or other supporters. Without the fairness doctrine, then, a licensee could ban all campaign appearances by candidates themselves from the air and [395 U.S. 367, 383] proceed to deliver over his station entirely to the supporters of one slate of candidates, to the exclusion of all others. In this way the broadcaster could have a far greater impact on the favored candidacy than he could by simply allowing a spot appearance by the candidate himself. It is the fairness doctrine as an aspect of the obligation to operate in the public interest, rather than 315, which prohibits the broadcaster from taking such a step.

The legislative history reinforces this view of the effect of the 1959 amendment. Even before the language relevant here was added, the Senate report on amending 315 noted that "broadcast frequencies are limited and, therefore, they have been necessarily considered a public trust. Every licensee who is fortunate in obtaining a license is mandated to operate in the public interest and has assumed the obligation of presenting important public questions fairly and without bias." S. Rep. No. 562, 86th Cong., 1st Sess., 8-9 (1959). See also, specifically adverting to Federal Communications Commission doctrine, id., at 13.

Rather than leave this approval solely in the legislative history, Senator Proxmire suggested an amendment to make it part of the Act. 105 Cong. Rec. 14457. This amendment, which Senator Pastore, a manager of the bill and a ranking member of the Senate Committee, considered "rather surplusage," 105 Cong. Rec. 14462, constituted a positive statement of doctrine and was altered [395 U.S. 367, 384] to the present merely approving language in the conference committee. In explaining the language to the Senate after the committee changes, Senator Pastore said: "We insisted that that provision remain in the bill, to be a continuing reminder and admonition to the Federal Communications Commission and to the broadcasters alike, that we were not abandoning the philosophy that gave birth to section 315, in giving the people the right to have a full and complete disclosure of conflicting views on news of interest to the people of the country." 105 Cong. Rec. 17830. Senator Scott, another Senate manager, added that: "It is intended to encompass all legitimate areas of public importance which are controversial," not just politics. 105 Cong. Rec. 17831.

It is true that the personal attack aspect of the fairness doctrine was not actually adjudicated until after 1959, so that Congress then did not have those rules specifically before it. However, the obligation to offer time to reply to a personal attack was presaged by the FCC's 1949 Report on Editorializing, which the FCC views as the principal summary of its ratio decidendi in cases in this area:

"In determining whether to honor specific requests for time, the station will inevitably be confronted with such questions as . . . whether there may not be other available groups or individuals who might be more appropriate spokesmen for the particular point of view than the person making the request. The latter's personal involvement in the controversy may also be a factor which must be considered, for elementary considerations of fairness may dictate that time be allocated to a person or group which has been specifically attacked over the station, where otherwise no such obligation would exist." 13 F. C. C., at 1251-1252. [395 U.S. 367, 385]

When the Congress ratified the FCC's implication of a fairness doctrine in 1959 it did not, of course, approve every past decision or pronouncement by the Commission on this subject, or give it a completely free hand for the future. The statutory authority does not go so far. But we cannot say that when a station publishes personal attacks or endorses political candidates, it is a misconstruction of the public interest standard to require

the station to offer time for a response rather than to leave the response entirely within the control of the station which has attacked either the candidacies or the men who wish to reply in their own defense. When a broadcaster grants time to a political candidate, Congress itself requires that equal time be offered to his opponents. It would exceed our competence to hold that the Commission is unauthorized by the statute to employ a similar device where personal attacks or political editorials are broadcast by a radio or television station.

In light of the fact that the "public interest" in broadcasting clearly encompasses the presentation of vigorous debate of controversial issues of importance and concern to the public; the fact that the FCC has rested upon that language from its very inception a doctrine that these issues must be discussed, and fairly; and the fact that Congress has acknowledged that the analogous provisions of 315 are not preclusive in this area, and knowingly preserved the FCC's complementary efforts, we think the fairness doctrine and its component personal attack and political editorializing regulations are a legitimate exercise of congressionally delegated authority. The Communications Act is not notable for the precision of its substantive standards and in this respect the explicit provisions of 315, and the doctrine and rules at issue here which are closely modeled upon that section, are far more explicit than the generalized "public interest" standard in which the Commission ordinarily finds its [395 U.S. 367, 386] sole guidance, and which we have held a broad but adequate standard before. FCC v. RCA Communications, Inc., 346 U.S. 86, 90 (1953); National Broadcasting Co. v. United States, 319 U.S. 190, 216-217 (1943); FCC v. Pottsville Broadcasting Co., 309 U.S. 134, 138 (1940); FRC v. Nelson Bros. Bond & Mortgage Co., 289 U.S. 266, 285 (1933). We cannot say that the FCC's declaratory ruling in Red Lion, or the regulations at issue in RTNDA, are beyond the scope of the congressionally conferred power to assure that stations are operated by those whose possession of a license serves "the public interest."

III.

The broadcasters challenge the fairness doctrine and its specific manifestations in the personal attack and political editorial rules on conventional First Amendment grounds, alleging that the rules abridge their freedom of speech and press. Their contention is that the First Amendment protects their desire to use their allotted frequencies continuously to broadcast whatever they choose, and to exclude whomever they choose from ever using that frequency. No man may be prevented from saying or publishing what he thinks, or from refusing in his speech or other utterances to give equal weight to the views of his opponents. This right, they say, applies equally to broadcasters.

A.

Although broadcasting is clearly a medium affected by a First Amendment interest, United States v. Paramount Pictures, Inc., 334 U.S. 131, 166 (1948), differences in the characteristics of new media justify differences in the First Amendment standards applied to them. Joseph [395 U.S. 367, 387] Burstyn, Inc. v. Wilson, 343 U.S. 495, 503 (1952). For example, the ability of new technology to produce sounds more raucous than those of the human voice justifies restrictions on the sound level, and on the hours and places of use, of sound trucks so long as the restrictions are reasonable and applied without discrimination. Kovacs v. Cooper, 336 U.S. 77 (1949).

Just as the Government may limit the use of sound-amplifying equipment potentially so noisy that it drowns out civilized private speech, so may the Government limit the use of broadcast equipment. The right of free speech of a broadcaster, the user of a sound truck, or any other individual does not embrace a right to snuff out the free speech of others. Associated Press v. United States, 326 U.S. 1, 20 (1945).

When two people converse face to face, both should not speak at once if either is to be clearly understood. But the range of the human voice is so limited that there could be meaningful communications if half the people in the United States were talking and the other half listening. Just as clearly, half the people might publish and the other half read. But the reach of radio signals is [395 U.S. 367, 388] incomparably greater than the range of the human voice and the problem of interference is a massive reality. The lack of know-how and equipment may keep many from the air, but only a tiny fraction of those with resources and intelligence can hope to communicate by radio at the same time if

intelligible communication is to be had, even if the entire radio spectrum is utilized in the present state of commercially acceptable technology.

It was this fact, and the chaos which ensued from permitting anyone to use any frequency at whatever power level he wished, which made necessary the enactment of the Radio Act of 1927 and the Communications Act of 1934, as the Court has noted at length before. National Broadcasting Co. v. United States, 319 U.S. 190, 210-214 (1943). It was this reality which at the very least necessitated first the division of the radio spectrum into portions reserved respectively for public broadcasting and for other important radio uses such as amateur operation, aircraft, police, defense, and navigation; and then the subdivision of each portion, and assignment of specific frequencies to individual users or groups of users. Beyond this, however, because the frequencies reserved for public broadcasting were limited in number, it was essential for the Government to tell some applicants that they could not broadcast at all because there was room for only a few.

Where there are substantially more individuals who want to broadcast than there are frequencies to allocate, it is idle to posit an unabridgeable First Amendment right to broadcast comparable to the right of every individual to speak, write, or publish. If 100 persons want broadcast [395 U.S. 367, 389] licenses but there are only 10 frequencies to allocate, all of them may have the same "right" to a license; but if there is to be any effective communication by radio, only a few can be licensed and the rest must be barred from the airwaves. It would be strange if the First Amendment, aimed at protecting and furthering communications, prevented the Government from making radio communication possible by requiring licenses to broadcast and by limiting the number of licenses so as not to overcrowd the spectrum.

This has been the consistent view of the Court. Congress unquestionably has the power to grant and deny licenses and to eliminate existing stations. FRC v. Nelson Bros. Bond & Mortgage Co., 289 U.S. 266 (1933). No one has a First Amendment right to a license or to monopolize a radio frequency; to deny a station license because "the public interest" requires it "is not a denial of free speech." National Broadcasting Co. v. United States, 319 U.S. 190, 227 (1943).

By the same token, as far as the First Amendment is concerned those who are licensed stand no better than those to whom licenses are refused. A license permits broadcasting, but the licensee has no constitutional right to be the one who holds the license or to monopolize a radio frequency to the exclusion of his fellow citizens. There is nothing in the First Amendment which prevents the Government from requiring a licensee to share his frequency with others and to conduct himself as a proxy or fiduciary with obligations to present those views and voices which are representative of his community and which would otherwise, by necessity, be barred from the airwaves.

This is not to say that the First Amendment is irrelevant to public broadcasting. On the contrary, it has a major role to play as the Congress itself recognized in 326, which forbids FCC interference with "the right [395 U.S. 367, 390] of free speech by means of radio communication." Because of the scarcity of radio frequencies, the Government is permitted to put restraints on licensees in favor of others whose views should be expressed on this unique medium. But the people as a whole retain their interest in free speech by radio and their collective right to have the medium function consistently with the ends and purposes of the First Amendment. It is the right of the viewers and listeners, not the right of the broadcasters, which is paramount. See FCC v. Sanders Bros. Radio Station, 309 U.S. 470, 475 (1940); FCC v. Allentown Broadcasting Corp., 349 U.S. 358, 361-362 (1955); 2 Z. Chafee, Government and Mass Communications 546 (1947). It is the purpose of the First Amendment to preserve an uninhibited market-place of ideas in which truth will ultimately prevail, rather than to countenance monopolization of that market, whether it be by the Government itself or a private licensee. Associated Press v. United States, 326 U.S. 1, 20 (1945); New York Times Co. v. Sullivan, 376 U.S. 254, 270 (1964); Abrams v. United States, 250 U.S. 616, 630 (1919) (Holmes, J., dissenting). "[S]peech concerning public affairs is more than self-expression; it is the essence of self-government." Garrison v. Louisiana, 379 U.S. 64, 74-75 (1964). See Brennan, The Supreme Court and the Meiklejohn Interpretation of the First Amendment, 79 Harv. L. Rev. 1 (1965). It is the right of the public to receive suitable access to social, political, esthetic, moral, and

other ideas and experiences which is crucial here. That right may not constitutionally be abridged either by Congress or by the FCC.

B.

Rather than confer frequency monopolies on a relatively small number of licensees, in a Nation of 200,000,000, the Government could surely have decreed that [395 U.S. 367, 391] each frequency should be shared among all or some of those who wish to use it, each being assigned a portion of the broadcast day or the broadcast week. The ruling and regulations at issue here do not go quite so far. They assert that under specified circumstances, a licensee must offer to make available a reasonable amount of broadcast time to those who have a view different from that which has already been expressed on his station. The expression of a political endorsement, or of a personal attack while dealing with a controversial public issue, simply triggers this time sharing. As we have said, the First Amendment confers no right on licensees to prevent others from broadcasting on "their" frequencies and no right to an unconditional monopoly of a scarce resource which the Government has denied others the right to use.

In terms of constitutional principle, and as enforced sharing of a scarce resource, the personal attack and political editorial rules are indistinguishable from the equal-time provision of 315, a specific enactment of Congress requiring stations to set aside reply time under specified circumstances and to which the fairness doctrine and these constituent regulations are important complements. That provision, which has been part of the law since 1927, Radio Act of 1927, 18, 44 Stat. 1170, has been held valid by this Court as an obligation of the licensee relieving him of any power in any way to prevent or censor the broadcast, and thus insulating him from liability for defamation. The constitutionality of the statute under the First Amendment was unquestioned. Farmers Educ. & Coop. Union v. WDAY, 360 U.S. 525 (1959). [395 U.S. 367, 392]

Nor can we say that it is inconsistent with the First Amendment goal of producing an informed public capable of conducting its own affairs to require a broadcaster to permit answers to personal attacks occurring in the course of discussing controversial issues, or to require that the political opponents of those endorsed by the station be given a chance to communicate with the public. Otherwise, station owners and a few networks would have unfettered power to make time available only to the highest bidders, to communicate only their own views on public issues, people and candidates, and to permit on the air only those with whom they agreed. There is no sanctuary in the First Amendment for unlimited private censorship operating in a medium not open to all. "Freedom of the press from governmental interference under the First Amendment does not sanction repression of that freedom by private interests." Associated Press v. United States, 326 U.S. 1, 20 (1945).

C.

It is strenuously argued, however, that if political editorials or personal attacks will trigger an obligation in broadcasters to afford the opportunity for expression [395 U.S. 367, 393] to speakers who need not pay for time and whose views are unpalatable to the licensees, then broadcasters will be irresistibly forced to self-censorship and their coverage of controversial public issues will be eliminated or at least rendered wholly ineffective. Such a result would indeed be a serious matter, for should licensees actually eliminate their coverage of controversial issues, the purposes of the doctrine would be stifled.

At this point, however, as the Federal Communications Commission has indicated, that possibility is at best speculative. The communications industry, and in particular the networks, have taken pains to present controversial issues in the past, and even now they do not assert that they intend to abandon their efforts in this regard. It would be better if the FCC's encouragement were never necessary to induce the broadcasters to meet their responsibility. And if experience with the administration of these doctrines indicates that they have the net effect of reducing rather than enhancing the volume and quality of coverage, there will be time enough to reconsider the constitutional implications. The fairness doctrine in the past has had no such overall effect.

That this will occur now seems unlikely, however, since if present licensees should suddenly prove timorous, the Commission is not powerless

to insist that they give adequate and fair attention to public issues. [395 U.S. 367, 394] It does not violate the First Amendment to treat licensees given the privilege of using scarce radio frequencies as proxies for the entire community, obligated to give suitable time and attention to matters of great public concern. To condition the granting or renewal of licenses on a willingness to present representative community views on controversial issues is consistent with the ends and purposes of those constitutional provisions forbidding the abridgment of freedom of speech and freedom of the press. Congress need not stand idly by and permit those with licenses to ignore the problems which beset the people or to exclude from the airways anything but their own views of fundamental questions. The statute, long administrative practice, and cases are to this effect.

Licenses to broadcast do not confer ownership of designated frequencies, but only the temporary privilege of using them. 47 U.S.C. 301. Unless renewed, they expire within three years. 47 U.S.C. 307 (d). The statute mandates the issuance of licenses if the "public convenience, interest, or necessity will be served thereby." 47 U.S.C. 307 (a). In applying this standard the Commission for 40 years has been choosing licensees based in part on their program proposals. In FRC v. Nelson Bros. Bond & Mortgage Co., 289 U.S. 266, 279 (1933), the Court noted that in "view of the limited number of available broadcasting frequencies, the Congress has authorized allocation and licenses." In determining how best to allocate frequencies, the Federal Radio Commission considered the needs of competing communities and the programs offered by competing stations to meet those needs; moreover, if needs or programs shifted, the Commission could alter its allocations to reflect those shifts. Id., at 285. In the same vein, in FCC v. Pottsville Broadcasting Co., 309 U.S. 134, 137-138 (1940), the Court noted that [395 U.S. 367, 395] the statutory standard was a supple instrument to effect congressional desires "to maintain . . . a grip on the dynamic aspects of radio transmission" and to allay fears that "in the absence of governmental control the public interest might be subordinated to monopolistic domination in the broadcasting field." Three years later the Court considered the validity of the Commission's chain broadcasting regulations, which among other things forbade stations from devoting too much time to network programs in order that there be suitable opportunity for local programs serving local needs. The Court upheld the regulations, unequivocally recognizing that the Commission was more than a traffic policeman concerned with the technical aspects of broadcasting and that it neither exceeded its powers under the statute nor transgressed the First Amendment in interesting itself in general program format and the kinds of programs broadcast by licensees. National Broadcasting Co. v. United States, 319 U.S. 190 (1943).

D.

The litigants embellish their First Amendment arguments with the contention that the regulations are so vague that their duties are impossible to discern. Of this point it is enough to say that, judging the validity of the regulations on their face as they are presented here, we cannot conclude that the FCC has been left a free hand to vindicate its own idiosyncratic conception of the public interest or of the requirements of free speech. Past adjudications by the FCC give added precision to the regulations; there was nothing vague about the FCC's specific ruling in Red Lion that Fred Cook should be provided an opportunity to reply. The regulations at issue in RTNDA could be employed in precisely the same way as the fairness doctrine was in Red Lion. Moreover, the FCC itself has recognized that [395 U.S. 367, 396] the applicability of its regulations to situations beyond the scope of past cases may be questionable, 32 Fed. Reg. 10303, 10304 and n. 6, and will not impose sanctions in such cases without warning. We need not approve every aspect of the fairness doctrine to decide these cases, and we will not now pass upon the constitutionality of these regulations by envisioning the most extreme applications conceivable, United States v. Sullivan, 332 U.S. 689, 694 (1948), but will deal with those problems if and when they arise.

We need not and do not now ratify every past and future decision by the FCC with regard to programming. There is no question here of the Commission's refusal to permit the broadcaster to carry a particular program or to publish his own views; of a discriminatory refusal to require the licensee to broadcast certain views which have

been denied access to the airwaves; of government censorship of a particular program contrary to 326; or of the official government view dominating public broadcasting. Such questions would raise more serious First Amendment issues. But we do hold that the Congress and the Commission do not violate the First Amendment when they require a radio or television station to give reply time to answer personal attacks and political editorials.

E.

It is argued that even if at one time the lack of available frequencies for all who wished to use them justified the Government's choice of those who would best serve the public interest by acting as proxy for those who would present differing views, or by giving the latter access directly to broadcast facilities, this condition no longer prevails so that continuing control is not justified. To this there are several answers.

Scarcity is not entirely a thing of the past. Advances [395 U.S. 367, 397] in technology, such as microwave transmission, have led to more efficient utilization of the frequency spectrum, but uses for that spectrum have also grown apace. Portions of the spectrum must be reserved for vital uses unconnected with human communication, such as radio-navigational aids used by aircraft and vessels. Conflicts have even emerged between such vital functions as defense preparedness and experimentation in methods of averting midair collisions through radio warning devices. "Land mobile services" such as police, ambulance, fire department, public utility, and other communications systems have been occupying an increasingly crowded portion of the frequency spectrum and there are, apart from licensed amateur radio operators' equipment, 5,000,000 transmitters operated on the "citizens' band" which is also increasingly congested. Among the various uses for radio frequency space, including marine, [395 U.S. 367, 398] aviation, amateur, military, and common carrier users, there are easily enough claimants to permit use of the whole with an even smaller allocation to broadcast radio and television uses than now exists.

Comparative hearings between competing applicants for broadcast spectrum space are by no means a thing of the past. The radio spectrum has become so congested that at times it has been necessary to suspend new applications. The very high frequency television spectrum is, in the country's major markets, almost entirely occupied, although space reserved for ultra high frequency television transmission, which is a relatively recent development as a commercially viable alternative, has not yet been completely filled. [395 U.S. 367, 399]

The rapidity with which technological advances succeed one another to create more efficient use of spectrum space on the one hand, and to create new uses for that space by ever growing numbers of people on the other, makes it unwise to speculate on the future allocation of that space. It is enough to say that the resource is one of considerable and growing importance whose scarcity impelled its regulation by an agency authorized by Congress. Nothing in this record, or in our own researches, convinces us that the resource is no longer one for which there are more immediate and potential uses than can be accommodated, and for which wise planning is essential. This does not mean, of course, that every possible wavelength must be occupied at every hour by some vital use in order to sustain the congressional judgment. The [395 U.S. 367, 400] substantial capital investment required for many uses, in addition to the potentiality for confusion and interference inherent in any scheme for continuous kaleidoscopic reallocation of all available space may make this unfeasible. The allocation need not be made at such a breakneck pace that the objectives of the allocation are themselves imperiled.

Even where there are gaps in spectrum utilization, the fact remains that existing broadcasters have often attained their present position because of their initial government selection in competition with others before new technological advances opened new opportunities for further uses. Long experience in broadcasting, confirmed habits of listeners and viewers, network affiliation, and other advantages in program procurement give existing broadcasters a substantial advantage over new entrants, even where new entry is technologically possible. These advantages are the fruit of a preferred position conferred by the Government. Some present possibility for new entry by competing stations is not enough, in itself, to render unconstitutional the Government's effort to assure that a broadcaster's programming ranges widely enough to serve the public interest.

In view of the scarcity of broadcast frequencies, the Government's role in allocating those frequencies, and the legitimate claims of those unable without governmental assistance to gain access to those frequencies for expression of their views, we hold the regulations and [395 U.S. 367, 401] ruling at issue here are both authorized by statute and constitutional. The judgment of the Court of Appeals in Red Lion is affirmed and that in RTNDA reversed and the causes remanded for proceedings consistent with this opinion.

It is so ordered.

Red Lion Broadcasting Co., v. FCC, 395 U.S. 367 (1969).

Janet Reno, Attorney General of the United States, et al., Appellants v. American Civil Liberties Union et al. *(1997)*

Introduction

The courts have generally supported the freedom of the press afforded by the First Amendment. But both the Supreme Court and Congress never really saw the First Amendment rights of each medium as created equal. The Court usually applied several key factors in deciding the extent to which the government should control communications within a certain medium. These criteria included the degree to which channels were limited for public use, how active the recipient had to be to secure information, the history of government regulation for that medium, and barriers set up to impede access for children to questionable material.

It has not been surprising that the broadcast medium (radio and television)—with its limited spectrum of airways, invasive nature and longstanding FCC relationship—should be most closely monitored. By contrast, print outlets have traditionally met with minimal government restrictions—and cable television and telephone transmissions have fallen somewhere in between. The Supreme Court, in *Reno v. ACLU,* decided that the Internet merited the same high level of First Amendment protection from government interference granted print. Like newspapers, magazines, and books, public channels to posting information on the Internet were boundless, users had to actively seek material online, no history of government regulation existed, and children usually could not just stumble on to inappropriate content without warnings or confronting certain safeguards.

The Supreme Court's determination that the Internet deserved maximum First Amendment protection arose from an objection by the American Civil Liberties Union to the Communications Decency Act (CDA), a part of the Telecommunications Act of 1996. The CDA sought to block transmission over the Internet of indecent, patently offensive or obscene content to children. In *Reno v. ACLU,* the Court found the rather vague CDA unconstitutional and eliminated the limits placed on transmitting indecent or offensive material over the Internet—but the ban on obscene postings was upheld because the First Amendment does not protect this content in any medium. Justice John Paul Stevens, in the majority opinion, noted that the government's urge to protect children from harmful materials "does not justify an unnecessarily broad suppression of speech addressed to adults."

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

U.S. Supreme Court No. 96-511
Janet Reno, Attorney General of the United States, et al., Appellants v. American Civil Liberties Union et al.

On appeal from the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania
June 26, 1997, Decided

Justice Stevens delivered the opinion of the Court.

At issue is the constitutionality of two statutory provisions enacted to protect minors from "indecent" and "patently offensive" communications on the Internet. Notwithstanding the legitimacy and importance of the congressional goal of protecting children from harmful materials, we agree with the three judge District Court that the statute abridges "the freedom of speech" protected by the First Amendment.[1]

The District Court made extensive findings of fact, most of which were based on a detailed stipulation prepared by the parties. See 929 F. Supp. 824, 830-849 (ED Pa. 1996).[2] The findings describe the character and the dimensions of the Internet, the availability of sexually explicit material in that medium, and the problems confronting

age verification for recipients of Internet communications. Because those findings provide the underpinnings for the legal issues, we begin with a summary of the undisputed facts.

The Internet

The Internet is an international network of interconnected computers. It is the outgrowth of what began in 1969 as a military program called "ARPANET,"[3] which was designed to enable computers operated by the military, defense contractors, and universities conducting defense related research to communicate with one another by redundant channels even if some portions of the network were damaged in a war. While the ARPANET no longer exists, it provided an example for the development of a number of civilian networks that, eventually linking with each other, now enable tens of millions of people to communicate with one another and to access vast amounts of information from around the world. The Internet is "a unique and wholly new medium of worldwide human communication."[4]

The Internet has experienced "extraordinary growth."[5] The number of "host" computers—those that store information and relay communications—increased from about 300 in 1981 to approximately 9,400,000 by the time of the trial in 1996. Roughly 60% of these hosts are located in the United States. About 40 million people used the Internet at the time of trial, a number that is expected to mushroom to 200 million by 1999.

Individuals can obtain access to the Internet from many different sources, generally hosts themselves or entities with a host affiliation. Most colleges and universities provide access for their students and faculty; many corporations provide their employees with access through an office network; many communities and local libraries provide free access; and an increasing number of storefront "computer coffee shops" provide access for a small hourly fee. Several major national "online services" such as America Online, CompuServe, the Microsoft Network, and Prodigy offer access to their own extensive proprietary networks as well as a link to the much larger resources of the Internet. These commercial online services had almost 12 million individual subscribers at the time of trial.

Anyone with access to the Internet may take advantage of a wide variety of communication and information retrieval methods. These methods are constantly evolving and difficult to categorize precisely. But, as presently constituted, those most relevant to this case are electronic mail ("email"), automatic mailing list services ("mail exploders," sometimes referred to as "listservs"), "newsgroups," "chat rooms," and the "World Wide Web." All of these methods can be used to transmit text; most can transmit sound, pictures, and moving video images. Taken together, these tools constitute a unique medium—known to its users as "cyberspace"—located in no particular geographical location but available to anyone, anywhere in the world, with access to the Internet.

Email enables an individual to send an electronic message—generally akin to a note or letter—to another individual or to a group of addressees. The message is generally stored electronically, sometimes waiting for the recipient to check her "mailbox" and sometimes making its receipt known through some type of prompt. A mail exploder is a sort of email group. Subscribers can send messages to a common email address, which then forwards the message to the group's other subscribers. Newsgroups also serve groups of regular participants, but these postings may be read by others as well. There are thousands of such groups, each serving to foster an exchange of information or opinion on a particular topic running the gamut from, say, the music of Wagner to Balkan politics to AIDS prevention to the Chicago Bulls. About 100,000 new messages are posted every day. In most newsgroups, postings are automatically purged at regular intervals. In addition to posting a message that can be read later, two or more individuals wishing to communicate more immediately can enter a chat room to engage in real time dialogue—in other words, by typing messages to one another that appear almost immediately on the others' computer screens. The District Court found that at any given time "tens of thousands of users are engaging in conversations on a huge range of subjects."[6] It is "no exaggeration to conclude that the content on the Internet is as diverse as human thought."[7]

The best-known category of communication over the Internet is the World Wide Web, which allows users to search for and retrieve information stored in remote computers, as well as, in some cases, to communicate back to designated sites. In

concrete terms, the Web consists of a vast number of documents stored in different computers all over the world. Some of these documents are simply files containing information. However, more elaborate documents, commonly known as Web "pages," are also prevalent. Each has its own address—rather like a telephone number."[8] Web pages frequently contain information and sometimes allow the viewer to communicate with the page's (or "site's") author. They generally also contain "links" to other documents created by that site's author or to other (generally) related sites. Typically, the links are either blue or underlined text—sometimes images.

Navigating the Web is relatively straightforward. A user may either type the address of a known page or enter one or more keywords into a commercial "search engine" in an effort to locate sites on a subject of interest. A particular Web page may contain the information sought by the "surfer," or, through its links, it may be an avenue to other documents located anywhere on the Internet. Users generally explore a given Web page, or move to another, by clicking a computer "mouse" on one of the page's icons or links. Access to most Web pages is freely available, but some allow access only to those who have purchased the right from a commercial provider. The Web is thus comparable, from the readers' viewpoint, to both a vast library including millions of readily available and indexed publications and a sprawling mall offering goods and services.

From the publishers' point of view, it constitutes a vast platform from which to address and hear from a worldwide audience of millions of readers, viewers, researchers, and buyers. Any person or organization with a computer connected to the Internet can "publish" information. Publishers include government agencies, educational institutions, commercial entities, advocacy groups, and individuals.[9] Publishers may either make their material available to the entire pool of Internet users, or confine access to a selected group, such as those willing to pay for the privilege. "No single organization controls any membership in the Web, nor is there any centralized point from which individual Web sites or services can be blocked from the Web."[10]

Sexually Explicit Material

Sexually explicit material on the Internet includes text, pictures, and chat and "extends from the modestly titillating to the hardest core."[11] These files are created, named, and posted in the same manner as material that is not sexually explicit, and may be accessed either deliberately or unintentionally during the course of an imprecise search. "Once a provider posts its content on the Internet, it cannot prevent that content from entering any community."[12] Thus, for example,

> "when the UCR/California Museum of Photography posts to its Web site nudes by Edward Weston and Robert Mapplethorpe to announce that its new exhibit will travel to Baltimore and New York City, those images are available not only in Los Angeles, Baltimore, and New York City, but also in Cincinnati, Mobile, or Beijing—wherever Internet users live. Similarly, the safer sex instructions that Critical Path posts to its Web site, written in street language so that the teenage receiver can understand them, are available not just in Philadelphia, but also in Provo and Prague."[13]

Some of the communications over the Internet that originate in foreign countries are also sexually explicit.[14]

Though such material is widely available, users seldom encounter such content accidentally. "A document's title or a description of the document will usually appear before the document itself . . . and in many cases the user will receive detailed information about a site's content before he or she need take the step to access the document. Almost all sexually explicit images are preceded by warnings as to the content."[15] For that reason, the "odds are slim" that a user would enter a sexually explicit site by accident.[16] Unlike communications received by radio or television, "the receipt of information on the Internet requires a series of affirmative steps more deliberate and directed than merely turning a dial. A child requires some sophistication and some ability to read to retrieve material and thereby to use the Internet unattended."[17]

Systems have been developed to help parents control the material that may be available on a home computer with Internet access. A system may either limit a computer's access to an approved list of sources that have been identified as containing no adult material, it may block designated inappropriate sites, or it may attempt to block

messages containing identifiable objectionable features. "Although parental control software currently can screen for certain suggestive words or for known sexually explicit sites, it cannot now screen for sexually explicit images."[18] Nevertheless, the evidence indicates that "a reasonably effective method by which parents can prevent their children from accessing sexually explicit and other material which parents may believe is inappropriate for their children will soon be available."[19]

Age Verification

The problem of age verification differs for different uses of the Internet. The District Court categorically determined that there "is no effective way to determine the identity or the age of a user who is accessing material through email, mail exploders, newsgroups or chat rooms."[20] The Government offered no evidence that there was a reliable way to screen recipients and participants in such for age. Moreover, even if it were technologically feasible to block minors' access to newsgroups and chat rooms containing discussions of art, politics or other subjects that potentially elicit "indecent" or "patently offensive" contributions, it would not be possible to block their access to that material and "still allow them access to the remaining content, even if the overwhelming majority of that content was not indecent."[21]

Technology exists by which an operator of a Web site may condition access on the verification of requested information such as a credit card number or an adult password. Credit card verification is only feasible, however, either in connection with a commercial transaction in which the card is used, or by payment to a verification agency. Using credit card possession as a surrogate for proof of age would impose costs on non-commercial Web sites that would require many of them to shut down. For that reason, at the time of the trial, credit card verification was "effectively unavailable to a substantial number of Internet content providers." Id., at 846 (finding 102). Moreover, the imposition of such a requirement "would completely bar adults who do not have a credit card and lack the resources to obtain one from accessing any blocked material."[22]

Commercial pornographic sites that charge their users for access have assigned them passwords as a method of age verification. The record does not contain any evidence concerning the reliability of these technologies. Even if passwords are effective for commercial purveyors of indecent material, the District Court found that an adult password requirement would impose significant burdens on noncommercial sites, both because they would discourage users from accessing their sites and because the cost of creating and maintaining such screening systems would be "beyond their reach."[23]

In sum, the District Court found:

> "Even if credit card verification or adult password verification were implemented, the Government presented no testimony as to how such systems could ensure that the user of the password or credit card is in fact over 18. The burdens imposed by credit card verification and adult password verification systems make them effectively unavailable to a substantial number of Internet content providers." Ibid. (finding 107).

The Telecommunications Act of 1996, Pub. L. 104-104, 110 Stat. 56, was an unusually important legislative enactment. As stated on the first of its 103 pages, its primary purpose was to reduce regulation and encourage "the rapid deployment of new telecommunications technologies." The major components of the statute have nothing to do with the Internet; they were designed to promote competition in the local telephone service market, the multichannel video market, and the market for over the air broadcasting. The Act includes seven Titles, six of which are the product of extensive committee hearings and the subject of discussion in Reports prepared by Committees of the Senate and the House of Representatives. By contrast, Title V—known as the "Communications Decency Act of 1996" (CDA)—contains provisions that were either added in executive committee after the hearings were concluded or as amendments offered during floor debate on the legislation. An amendment offered in the Senate was the source of the two statutory provisions challenged in this case.[24] They are informally described as the "indecent transmission" provision and the "patently offensive display" provision.[25]

The first, 47 U. S. C. A. §223(a) (Supp. 1997), prohibits the knowing transmission of obscene or

indecent messages to any recipient under 18 years of age. It provides in pertinent part:

> "(a) Whoever—
>
> (1) in interstate or foreign communications—
>
> . . . . .
>
> "(B) by means of a telecommunications device knowingly—
>
> (i) makes, creates, or solicits, and
>
> (ii) initiates the transmission of,
>
> any comment, request, suggestion, proposal, image, or other communication which is obscene or indecent, knowing that the recipient of the communication is under 18 years of age, regardless of whether the maker of such communication placed the call or initiated the communication;
>
> . . . . .
>
> "(2) knowingly permits any telecommunications facility under his control to be used for any activity prohibited by paragraph (1) with the intent that it be used for such activity, shall be fined under Title 18, or imprisoned not more than two years, or both."

The second provision, §223(d), prohibits the knowing sending or displaying of patently offensive messages in a manner that is available to a person under 18 years of age. It provides:

> "(d) Whoever—
>
> "(1) in interstate or foreign communications knowingly—
>
> "(A) uses an interactive computer service to send to a specific person or persons under 18 years of age, or
>
> "(B) uses any interactive computer service to display in a manner available to a person under 18 years of age, any comment, request, suggestion, proposal, image, or other communication that, in context, depicts or describes, in terms patently offensive as measured by contemporary community standards, sexual or excretory activities or organs, regardless of whether the user of such service placed the call or initiated the communication; or
>
> "(2) knowingly permits any telecommunications facility under such person's control to be used for an activity prohibited by paragraph (1) with the intent that it be used for such activity, shall be fined under Title 18, or imprisoned not more than two years, or both."

The breadth of these prohibitions is qualified by two affirmative defenses. See §223(e)(5).[26] One covers those who take "good faith, reasonable, effective, and appropriate actions" to restrict access by minors to the prohibited communications. §223(e)(5)(A). The other covers those who restrict access to covered material by requiring certain designated forms of age proof, such as a verified credit card or an adult identification number or code. §223(e)(5)(B).

On February 8, 1996, immediately after the President signed the statute, 20 plaintiffs 27 filed suit against the Attorney General of the United States and the Department of Justice challenging the constitutionality of §§223(a)(1) and 223(d). A week later, based on his conclusion that the term "indecent" was too vague to provide the basis for a criminal prosecution, District Judge Buckwalter entered a temporary restraining order against enforcement of §223(a)(1)(B)(ii) insofar as it applies to indecent communications. A second suit was then filed by[27] additional plaintiffs,[28] the two cases were consolidated, and a three judge District Court was convened pursuant to §561 of the Act.[29] After an evidentiary hearing, that Court entered a preliminary injunction against enforcement of both of the challenged provisions. Each of the three judges wrote a separate opinion, but their judgment was unanimous.

Chief Judge Sloviter doubted the strength of the Government's interest in regulating "the vast range of online material covered or potentially covered by the CDA," but acknowledged that the interest was "compelling" with respect to some of that material. 929 F. Supp., at 853. She concluded, nonetheless, that the statute "sweeps more broadly than necessary and thereby chills the expression of adults" and that the terms "patently offensive" and "indecent" were "inherently vague." Id., at 854. She also determined that the affirmative defenses were not "technologically or economically feasible for most providers," specifically considering and rejecting an argument that providers could avoid liability by "tagging" their material in a manner that would allow potential readers to screen out unwanted transmissions. Id., at 856. Chief Judge Sloviter also rejected the Government's suggestion that the scope of the statute could be narrowed by construing it to apply only to commercial pornographers. Id., at 854-855.

Judge Buckwalter concluded that the word "indecent" in §223(a)(1)(B) and the terms "patently offensive" and "in context" in §223(d)(1) were so vague that criminal enforcement of either section would violate the "fundamental constitutional principle" of "simple fairness," id., at 861, and the specific protections of the First and Fifth Amendments, id., at 858. He found no statutory basis for the Government's argument that the challenged provisions would be applied only to "pornographic" materials, noting that, unlike obscenity, "indecency has not been defined to exclude works of serious literary, artistic, political or scientific value." Id., at 863. Moreover, the Government's claim that the work must be considered patently offensive "in context" was itself vague because the relevant context might "refer to, among other things, the nature of the communication as a whole, the time of day it was conveyed, the medium used, the identity of the speaker, or whether or not it is accompanied by appropriate warnings." Id., at 864. He believed that the unique nature of the Internet aggravated the vagueness of the statute. Id., at 865, n. 9.

Judge Dalzell's review of "the special attributes of Internet communication" disclosed by the evidence convinced him that the First Amendment denies Congress the power to regulate the content of protected speech on the Internet. Id., at 867. His opinion explained at length why he believed the Act would abridge significant protected speech, particularly by noncommercial speakers, while "[p]erversely, commercial pornographers would remain relatively unaffected." Id., at 879. He construed our cases as requiring a "medium specific" approach to the analysis of the regulation of mass communication, id., at 873, and concluded that the Internet—as "the most participatory form of mass speech yet developed," id., at 883—is entitled to "the highest protection from governmental intrusion," ibid.[30]

The judgment of the District Court enjoins the Government from enforcing the prohibitions in §223(a)(1)(B) insofar as they relate to "indecent" communications, but expressly preserves the Government's right to investigate and prosecute the obscenity or child pornography activities prohibited therein. The injunction against enforcement of §§223(d)(1) and (2) is unqualified because those provisions contain no separate reference to obscenity or child pornography.

The Government appealed under the Act's special review provisions, §561, 110 Stat. 142-143, and we noted probable jurisdiction, see 519 U.S. ___ (1996). In its appeal, the Government argues that the District Court erred in holding that the CDA violated both the First Amendment because it is overbroad and the Fifth Amendment because it is vague. While we discuss the vagueness of the CDA because of its relevance to the First Amendment overbreadth inquiry, we conclude that the judgment should be affirmed without reaching the Fifth Amendment issue. We begin our analysis by reviewing the principal authorities on which the Government relies. Then, after describing the overbreadth of the CDA, we consider the Government's specific contentions, including its submission that we save portions of the statute either by severance or by fashioning judicial limitations on the scope of its coverage.

In arguing for reversal, the Government contends that the CDA is plainly constitutional under three of four prior decisions: (1) Ginsberg v. New York, 390 U.S. 629 (1968); (2) FCC v. Pacifica Foundation, 438 U.S. 726 (1978); and (3) Renton v. Playtime Theatres, Inc., 475 U.S. 41 (1986). A close look at these cases, however, raises—rather than relieves—doubts concerning the constitutionality of the CDA.

In Ginsberg, we upheld the constitutionality of a New York statute that prohibited selling to minors under 17 years of age material that was considered obscene as to them even if not obscene as to adults. We rejected the defendant's broad submission that "the scope of the constitutional freedom of expression secured to a citizen to read or see material concerned with sex cannot be made to depend on whether the citizen is an adult or a minor." 390 U.S., at 636. In rejecting that contention, we relied not only on the State's independent interest in the well being of its youth, but also on our consistent recognition of the principle that "the parents' claim to authority in their own household to direct the rearing of their children is basic in the structure of our society."[31] In four important respects, the statute upheld in Ginsberg was narrower than the CDA. First, we noted in Ginsberg that "the prohibition against sales to minors does not bar parents who so desire from purchasing the magazines for their children." Id., at 639. Under the CDA, by contrast, neither the

parents' consent—nor even their participation—in the communication would avoid the application of the statute.[32] Second, the New York statute applied only to commercial transactions, id., at 647, whereas the CDA contains no such limitation. Third, the New York statute cabined its definition of material that is harmful to minors with the requirement that it be "utterly without redeeming social importance for minors." Id., at 646. The CDA fails to provide us with any definition of the term "indecent" as used in §223(a)(1) and, importantly, omits any requirement that the "patently offensive" material covered by §223(d) lack serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value. Fourth, the New York statute defined a minor as a person under the age of 17, whereas the CDA, in applying to all those under 18 years, includes an additional year of those nearest majority.

In Pacifica, we upheld a declaratory order of the Federal Communications Commission, holding that the broadcast of a recording of a 12-minute monologue entitled "Filthy Words" that had previously been delivered to a live audience "could have been the subject of administrative sanctions." 438 U.S., at 730 (internal quotations omitted). The Commission had found that the repetitive use of certain words referring to excretory or sexual activities or organs "in an afternoon broadcast when children are in the audience was patently offensive" and concluded that the monologue was indecent "as broadcast." Id., at 735. The respondent did not quarrel with the finding that the afternoon broadcast was patently offensive, but contended that it was not "indecent" within the meaning of the relevant statutes because it contained no prurient appeal. After rejecting respondent's statutory arguments, we confronted its two constitutional arguments: (1) that the Commission's construction of its authority to ban indecent speech was so broad that its order had to be set aside even if the broadcast at issue was unprotected; and (2) that since the recording was not obscene, the First Amendment forbade any abridgement of the right to broadcast it on the radio.

In the portion of the lead opinion not joined by Justices Powell and Blackmun, the plurality stated that the First Amendment does not prohibit all governmental regulation that depends on the content of speech. Id., at 742-743. Accordingly, the availability of constitutional protection for a vulgar and offensive monologue that was not obscene depended on the context of the broadcast. Id., at 744-748. Relying on the premise that "of all forms of communication" broadcasting had received the most limited First Amendment protection, id., at 748-749, the Court concluded that the ease with which children may obtain access to broadcasts, "coupled with the concerns recognized in Ginsberg," justified special treatment of indecent broadcasting. Id., at 749-750.

As with the New York statute at issue in Ginsberg, there are significant differences between the order upheld in Pacifica and the CDA. First, the order in Pacifica, issued by an agency that had been regulating radio stations for decades, targeted a specific broadcast that represented a rather dramatic departure from traditional program content in order to designate when—rather than whether—it would be permissible to air such a program in that particular medium. The CDA's broad categorical prohibitions are not limited to particular times and are not dependent on any evaluation by an agency familiar with the unique characteristics of the Internet. Second, unlike the CDA, the Commission's declaratory order was not punitive; we expressly refused to decide whether the indecent broadcast "would justify a criminal prosecution." Id., at 750. Finally, the Commission's order applied to a medium which as a matter of history had "received the most limited First Amendment protection," id., at 748, in large part because warnings could not adequately protect the listener from unexpected program content. The Internet, however, has no comparable history. Moreover, the District Court found that the risk of encountering indecent material by accident is remote because a series of affirmative steps is required to access specific material.

In Renton, we upheld a zoning ordinance that kept adult movie theaters out of residential neighborhoods. The ordinance was aimed, not at the content of the films shown in the theaters, but rather at the "secondary effects"—such as crime and deteriorating property values—that these theaters fostered: "'It is th[e] secondary effect which these zoning ordinances attempt to avoid, not the dissemination of "offensive" speech.'" 475 U.S., at 49 (quoting Young v. American Mini Theatres, Inc., 427 U.S. 50, 71, n. 34 (1976)). According to the Government, the CDA is constitutional because

it constitutes a sort of "cyberzoning" on the Internet. But the CDA applies broadly to the entire universe of cyberspace. And the purpose of the CDA is to protect children from the primary effects of "indecent" and "patently offensive" speech, rather than any "secondary" effect of such speech. Thus, the CDA is a content based blanket restriction on speech, and, as such, cannot be "properly analyzed as a form of time, place, and manner regulation." 475 U.S., at 46. See also Boos v. Barry, 485 U.S. 312, 321 (1988) ("Regulations that focus on the direct impact of speech on its audience" are not properly analyzed under Renton); Forsyth County v. Nationalist Movement, 505 U.S. 123, 134 (1992) ("Listeners' reaction to speech is not a content neutral basis for regulation").

These precedents, then, surely do not require us to uphold the CDA and are fully consistent with the application of the most stringent review of its provisions.

In Southeastern Promotions, Ltd. v. Conrad, 420 U.S. 546, 557 (1975), we observed that "[e]ach medium of expression . . . may present its own problems." Thus, some of our cases have recognized special justifications for regulation of the broadcast media that are not applicable to other speakers, see Red Lion Broadcasting Co. v. FCC, 395 U.S. 367 (1969); FCC v. Pacifica Foundation, 438 U.S. 726 (1978). In these cases, the Court relied on the history of extensive government regulation of the broadcast medium, see, e.g., Red Lion, 395 U.S., at 399-400; the scarcity of available frequencies at its inception, see, e.g., Turner Broadcasting System, Inc. v. FCC, 512 U.S. 622, 637-638 (1994); and its "invasive" nature, see Sable Communications of Cal., Inc. v. FCC, 492 U.S. 115, 128 (1989).

Those factors are not present in cyberspace. Neither before nor after the enactment of the CDA have the vast democratic fora of the Internet been subject to the type of government supervision and regulation that has attended the broadcast industry.[33] Moreover, the Internet is not as "invasive" as radio or television. The District Court specifically found that "[c]ommunications over the Internet do not 'invade' an individual's home or appear on one's computer screen unbidden. Users seldom encounter content 'by accident.'" 929 F. Supp., at 844 (finding 88). It also found that "[a]lmost all sexually explicit images are preceded by warnings as to the content," and cited testimony that "'odds are slim' that a user would come across a sexually explicit sight by accident." Ibid.

We distinguished Pacifica in Sable, 492 U.S., at 128, on just this basis. In Sable, a company engaged in the business of offering sexually oriented prerecorded telephone messages (popularly known as "dial a porn") challenged the constitutionality of an amendment to the Communications Act that imposed a blanket prohibition on indecent as well as obscene interstate commercial telephone messages. We held that the statute was constitutional insofar as it applied to obscene messages but invalid as applied to indecent messages. In attempting to justify the complete ban and criminalization of indecent commercial telephone messages, the Government relied on Pacifica, arguing that the ban was necessary to prevent children from gaining access to such messages. We agreed that "there is a compelling interest in protecting the physical and psychological well being of minors" which extended to shielding them from indecent messages that are not obscene by adult standards, 492 U.S., at 126, but distinguished our "emphatically narrow holding" in Pacifica because it did not involve a complete ban and because it involved a different medium of communication, id., at 127. We explained that "the dial it medium requires the listener to take affirmative steps to receive the communication." Id., at 127-128. "Placing a telephone call," we continued, "is not the same as turning on a radio and being taken by surprise by an indecent message." Id., at 128.

Finally, unlike the conditions that prevailed when Congress first authorized regulation of the broadcast spectrum, the Internet can hardly be considered a "scarce" expressive commodity. It provides relatively unlimited, low cost capacity for communication of all kinds. The Government estimates that "[a]s many as 40 million people use the Internet today, and that figure is expected to grow to 200 million by 1999."[34] This dynamic, multifaceted category of communication includes not only traditional print and news services, but also audio, video, and still images, as well as interactive, real time dialogue. Through the use of chat rooms, any person with a phone line can become a town crier with a voice that resonates farther than it could from any soapbox. Through the use of Web pages, mail exploders, and newsgroups, the same individual can become a pamphleteer. As the District

Court found, "the content on the Internet is as diverse as human thought." 929 F. Supp., at 842 (finding 74). We agree with its conclusion that our cases provide no basis for qualifying the level of First Amendment scrutiny that should be applied to this medium.

Regardless of whether the CDA is so vague that it violates the Fifth Amendment, the many ambiguities concerning the scope of its coverage render it problematic for purposes of the First Amendment. For instance, each of the two parts of the CDA uses a different linguistic form. The first uses the word "indecent," 47 U. S. C. A. §223(a) (Supp. 1997), while the second speaks of material that "in context, depicts or describes, in terms patently offensive as measured by contemporary community standards, sexual or excretory activities or organs," §223(d). Given the absence of a definition of either term,[35] this difference in language will provoke uncertainty among speakers about how the two standards relate to each other[36] and just what they mean.[37] Could a speaker confidently assume that a serious discussion about birth control practices, homosexuality, the First Amendment issues raised by the Appendix to our Pacifica opinion, or the consequences of prison rape would not violate the CDA? This uncertainty undermines the likelihood that the CDA has been carefully tailored to the congressional goal of protecting minors from potentially harmful materials.

The vagueness of the CDA is a matter of special concern for two reasons. First, the CDA is a content-based regulation of speech. The vagueness of such a regulation raises special First Amendment concerns because of its obvious chilling effect on free speech. See, e.g., Gentile v. State Bar of Nev., 501 U.S. 1030, 1048-1051 (1991). Second, the CDA is a criminal statute. In addition to the opprobrium and stigma of a criminal conviction, the CDA threatens violators with penalties including up to two years in prison for each act of violation. The severity of criminal sanctions may well cause speakers to remain silent rather than communicate even arguably unlawful words, ideas, and images. See, e.g., Dombrowski v. Pfister, 380 U.S. 479, 494 (1965). As a practical matter, this increased deterrent effect, coupled with the "risk of discriminatory enforcement" of vague regulations, poses greater First Amendment concerns than those implicated by the civil regulation reviewed in Denver Area Ed. Telecommunications Consortium, Inc. v. FCC, 518 U.S. ___ (1996).

The Government argues that the statute is no more vague than the obscenity standard this Court established in Miller v. California, 413 U.S. 15 (1973). But that is not so. In Miller, this Court reviewed a criminal conviction against a commercial vendor who mailed brochures containing pictures of sexually explicit activities to individuals who had not requested such materials. Id., at 18. Having struggled for some time to establish a definition of obscenity, we set forth in Miller the test for obscenity that controls to this day:

> "(a) whether the average person, applying contemporary community standards would find that the work, taken as a whole, appeals to the prurient interest; (b) whether the work depicts or describes, in a patently offensive way, sexual conduct specifically defined by the applicable state law; and (c) whether the work, taken as a whole, lacks serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value." Id., at 24 (internal quotation marks and citations omitted).

Because the CDA's "patently offensive" standard (and, we assume arguendo, its synonymous "indecent" standard) is one part of the three-prong Miller test, the Government reasons, it cannot be unconstitutionally vague.

The Government's assertion is incorrect as a matter of fact. The second prong of the Miller test—the purportedly analogous standard—contains a critical requirement that is omitted from the CDA: that the proscribed material be "specifically defined by the applicable state law." This requirement reduces the vagueness inherent in the open-ended term "patently offensive" as used in the CDA. Moreover, the Miller definition is limited to "sexual conduct," whereas the CDA extends also to include (1) "excretory activities" as well as (2) "organs" of both a sexual and excretory nature.

The Government's reasoning is also flawed. Just because a definition including three limitations is not vague, it does not follow that one of those limitations, standing by itself, is not vague.[38] Each of Miller's additional two prongs—(1) that, taken as a whole, the material appeal to the "prurient" interest, and (2) that it "lac[k] serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value"—critically limits the

uncertain sweep of the obscenity definition. The second requirement is particularly important because, unlike the "patently offensive" and "prurient interest" criteria, it is not judged by contemporary community standards. See Pope v. Illinois, 481 U.S. 497, 500 (1987). This "societal value" requirement, absent in the CDA, allows appellate courts to impose some limitations and regularity on the definition by setting, as a matter of law, a national floor for socially redeeming value. The Government's contention that courts will be able to give such legal limitations to the CDA's standards is belied by Miller's own rationale for having juries determine whether material is "patently offensive" according to community standards: that such questions are essentially ones of fact.[39]

In contrast to Miller and our other previous cases, the CDA thus presents a greater threat of censoring speech that, in fact, falls outside the statute's scope. Given the vague contours of the coverage of the statute, it unquestionably silences some speakers whose messages would be entitled to constitutional protection. That danger provides further reason for insisting that the statute not be overly broad. The CDA's burden on protected speech cannot be justified if it could be avoided by a more carefully drafted statute.

We are persuaded that the CDA lacks the precision that the First Amendment requires when a statute regulates the content of speech. In order to deny minors access to potentially harmful speech, the CDA effectively suppresses a large amount of speech that adults have a constitutional right to receive and to address to one another. That burden on adult speech is unacceptable if less restrictive alternatives would be at least as effective in achieving the legitimate purpose that the statute was enacted to serve.

In evaluating the free speech rights of adults, we have made it perfectly clear that "[s]exual expression which is indecent but not obscene is protected by the First Amendment." Sable, 492 U.S., at 126. See also Carey v. Population Services Int'l, 431 U.S. 678, 701 (1977) ("[W]here obscenity is not involved, we have consistently held that the fact that protected speech may be offensive to some does not justify its suppression"). Indeed, Pacifica itself admonished that "the fact that society may find speech offensive is not a sufficient reason for suppressing it." 438 U.S., at 745.

It is true that we have repeatedly recognized the governmental interest in protecting children from harmful materials. See Ginsberg, 390 U.S., at 639; Pacifica, 438 U.S., at 749. But that interest does not justify an unnecessarily broad suppression of speech addressed to adults. As we have explained, the Government may not "reduc[e] the adult population . . . to . . . only what is fit for children." Denver, 518 U. S., at ___ (slip op., at 29) (internal quotation marks omitted) (quoting Sable, 492 U.S., at 128).[40] "[R]egardless of the strength of the government's interest" in protecting children, "[t]he level of discourse reaching a mailbox simply cannot be limited to that which would be suitable for a sandbox." Bolger v. Youngs Drug Products Corp., 463 U.S. 60, 74-75 (1983).

The District Court was correct to conclude that the CDA effectively resembles the ban on "dial a porn" invalidated in Sable. 929 F. Supp., at 854. In Sable, 492 U.S., at 129, this Court rejected the argument that we should defer to the congressional judgment that nothing less than a total ban would be effective in preventing enterprising youngsters from gaining access to indecent communications. Sable thus made clear that the mere fact that a statutory regulation of speech was enacted for the important purpose of protecting children from exposure to sexually explicit material does not foreclose inquiry into its validity.[41] As we pointed out last Term, that inquiry embodies an "over arching commitment" to make sure that Congress has designed its statute to accomplish its purpose "without imposing an unnecessarily great restriction on speech." Denver, 518 U.S., at ___ slip op., at 11).

In arguing that the CDA does not so diminish adult communication, the Government relies on the incorrect factual premise that prohibiting a transmission whenever it is known that one of its recipients is a minor would not interfere with adult to adult communication. The findings of the District Court make clear that this premise is untenable.

Given the size of the potential audience for most messages, in the absence of a viable age verification process, the sender must be charged with knowing that one or more minors will likely view it. Knowledge that, for instance, one or more members of a 100 person chat group will be minor—and therefore that it would be a crime to

send the group an indecent message—would surely burden communication among adults.[42]

The District Court found that at the time of trial existing technology did not include any effective method for a sender to prevent minors from obtaining access to its communications on the Internet without also denying access to adults. The Court found no effective way to determine the age of a user who is accessing material through email, mail exploders, newsgroups, or chat rooms. 929 F. Supp., at 845 (findings 90-94). As a practical matter, the Court also found that it would be prohibitively expensive for noncommercial—as well as some commercial—speakers who have Web sites to verify that their users are adults. Id., at 845-848 (findings 95-116).[43] These limitations must inevitably curtail a significant amount of adult communication on the Internet. By contrast, the District Court found that "[d]espite its limitations, currently available user based software suggests that a reasonably effective method by which parents can prevent their children from accessing sexually explicit and other material which parents may believe is inappropriate for their children will soon be widely available." Id., at 842 (finding 73) (emphases added).

The breadth of the CDA's coverage is wholly unprecedented. Unlike the regulations upheld in Ginsberg and Pacifica, the scope of the CDA is not limited to commercial speech or commercial entities. Its open ended prohibitions embrace all nonprofit entities and individuals posting indecent messages or displaying them on their own computers in the presence of minors. The general, undefined terms "indecent" and "patently offensive" cover large amounts of nonpornographic material with serious educational or other value.[44] Moreover, the "community standards" criterion as applied to the Internet means that any communication available to a nationwide audience will be judged by the standards of the community most likely to be offended by the message.[45] The regulated subject matter includes any of the seven "dirty words" used in the Pacifica monologue, the use of which the Government's expert acknowledged could constitute a felony. See Olsen Test., Tr. Vol. V, 53:16-54:10. It may also extend to discussions about prison rape or safe sexual practices, artistic images that include nude subjects, and arguably the card catalogue of the Carnegie Library.

For the purposes of our decision, we need neither accept nor reject the Government's submission that the First Amendment does not forbid a blanket prohibition on all "indecent" and "patently offensive" messages communicated to a 17 year old—no matter how much value the message may contain and regardless of parental approval. It is at least clear that the strength of the Government's interest in protecting minors is not equally strong throughout the coverage of this broad statute. Under the CDA, a parent allowing her 17 year old to use the family computer to obtain information on the Internet that she, in her parental judgment, deems appropriate could face a lengthy prison term. See 47 U. S. C. A. §223(a)(2) (Supp. 1997). Similarly, a parent who sent his 17 year old college freshman information on birth control via email could be incarcerated even though neither he, his child, nor anyone in their home community, found the material "indecent" or "patently offensive," if the college town's community thought otherwise.

The breadth of this content-based restriction of speech imposes an especially heavy burden on the Government to explain why a less restrictive provision would not be as effective as the CDA. It has not done so. The arguments in this Court have referred to possible alternatives such as requiring that indecent material be "tagged" in a way that facilitates parental control of material coming into their homes, making exceptions for messages with artistic or educational value, providing some tolerance for parental choice, and regulating some portions of the Internet—such as commercial Web sites—differently than others, such as chat rooms. Particularly in the light of the absence of any detailed findings by the Congress, or even hearings addressing the special problems of the CDA, we are persuaded that the CDA is not narrowly tailored if that requirement has any meaning at all.

In an attempt to curtail the CDA's facial overbreadth, the Government advances three additional arguments for sustaining the Act's affirmative prohibitions: (1) that the CDA is constitutional because it leaves open ample "alternative channels" of communication; (2) that the plain meaning of the Act's "knowledge" and "specific person" requirement significantly restricts its permissible applications; and (3) that the Act's prohibitions are "almost always" limited to material lacking redeeming social value.

The Government first contends that, even though the CDA effectively censors discourse on many of the Internet's modalities—such as chat groups, newsgroups, and mail exploders—it is nonetheless constitutional because it provides a "reasonable opportunity" for speakers to engage in the restricted speech on the World Wide Web. Brief for Appellants 39. This argument is unpersuasive because the CDA regulates speech on the basis of its content. A "time, place, and manner" analysis is therefore inapplicable. See Consolidated Edison Co. of N. Y. v. Public Serv. Comm'n of N. Y., 447 U.S. 530, 536 (1980). It is thus immaterial whether such speech would be feasible on the Web (which, as the Government's own expert acknowledged, would cost up to $10,000 if the speaker's interests were not accommodated by an existing Web site, not including costs for database management and age verification). The Government's position is equivalent to arguing that a statute could ban leaflets on certain subjects as long as individuals are free to publish books. In invalidating a number of laws that banned leafletting on the streets regardless of their content—we explained that "one is not to have the exercise of his liberty of expression in appropriate places abridged on the plea that it may be exercised in some other place." Schneider v. State (Town of Irvington), 308 U.S. 147, 163 (1939).

The Government also asserts that the "knowledge" requirement of both §§223(a) and (d), especially when coupled with the "specific child" element found in §223(d), saves the CDA from overbreadth. Because both sections prohibit the dissemination of indecent messages only to persons known to be under 18, the Government argues, it does not require transmitters to "refrain from communicating indecent material to adults; they need only refrain from disseminating such materials to persons they know to be under 18." Brief for Appellants 24. This argument ignores the fact that most Internet fora—including chat rooms, newsgroups, mail exploders, and the Web—are open to all comers. The Government's assertion that the knowledge requirement somehow protects the communications of adults is therefore untenable. Even the strongest reading of the "specific person" requirement of §223(d) cannot save the statute. It would confer broad powers of censorship, in the form of a "heckler's veto," upon any opponent of indecent speech who might simply log on and inform the would be discoursers that his 17 year old child—a "specific person . . . under 18 years of age," 47 U. S. C. A. §223(d)(1)(A) (Supp. 1997)—would be present.

Finally, we find no textual support for the Government's submission that material having scientific, educational, or other redeeming social value will necessarily fall outside the CDA's "patently offensive" and "indecent" prohibitions. See also n. 37, supra.

The Government's three remaining arguments focus on the defenses provided in §223(e)(5).[46] First, relying on the "good faith, reasonable, effective, and appropriate actions" provision, the Government suggests that "tagging" provides a defense that saves the constitutionality of the Act. The suggestion assumes that transmitters may encode their indecent communications in a way that would indicate their contents, thus permitting recipients to block their reception with appropriate software. It is the requirement that the good faith action must be "effective" that makes this defense illusory. The Government recognizes that its proposed screening software does not currently exist. Even if it did, there is no way to know whether a potential recipient will actually block the encoded material. Without the impossible knowledge that every guardian in America is screening for the "tag," the transmitter could not reasonably rely on its action to be "effective."

For its second and third arguments concerning defenses—which we can consider together—the Government relies on the latter half of §223(e)(5), which applies when the transmitter has restricted access by requiring use of a verified credit card or adult identification. Such verification is not only technologically available but actually is used by commercial providers of sexually explicit material. These providers, therefore, would be protected by the defense. Under the findings of the District Court, however, it is not economically feasible for most noncommercial speakers to employ such verification. Accordingly, this defense would not significantly narrow the statute's burden on noncommercial speech. Even with respect to the commercial pornographers that would be protected by the defense, the Government failed to adduce any evidence that these verification techniques actually preclude minors from posing as adults.[47] Given

that the risk of criminal sanctions "hovers over each content provider, like the proverbial sword of Damocles,"[48] the District Court correctly refused to rely on unproven future technology to save the statute. The Government thus failed to prove that the proffered defense would significantly reduce the 'heavy burden on adult speech produced by the prohibition on offensive displays.

We agree with the District Court's conclusion that the CDA places an unacceptably heavy burden on protected speech, and that the defenses do not constitute the sort of "narrow tailoring" that will save an otherwise patently invalid unconstitutional provision. In Sable, 492 U.S., at 127, we remarked that the speech restriction at issue there amounted to "'burn[ing] the house to roast the pig.'" The CDA, casting a far darker shadow over free speech, threatens to torch a large segment of the Internet community.

At oral argument, the Government relied heavily on its ultimate fall back position: If this Court should conclude that the CDA is insufficiently tailored, it urged, we should save the statute's constitutionality by honoring the severability clause, see 47 U.S.C. § 608 and construing nonseverable terms narrowly. In only one respect is this argument acceptable.

A severability clause requires textual provisions that can be severed. We will follow §608's guidance by leaving constitutional textual elements of the statute intact in the one place where they are, in fact, severable. The "indecency" provision, 47 U. S. C. A. §223(a) (Supp. 1997), applies to "any comment, request, suggestion, proposal, image, or other communication which is *obscene or indecent*." (Emphasis added.) Appellees do not challenge the application of the statute to obscene speech, which, they acknowledge, can be banned totally because it enjoys no First Amendment protection. See Miller, 413 U.S., at 18. As set forth by the statute, the restriction of "obscene" material enjoys a textual manifestation separate from that for "indecent" material, which we have held unconstitutional. Therefore, we will sever the term "or indecent" from the statute, leaving the rest of §223(a) standing. In no other respect, however, can §223(a) or §223(d) be saved by such a textual surgery.

The Government also draws on an additional, less traditional aspect of the CDA's severability clause, 47 U. S. C., §608, which asks any reviewing court that holds the statute facially unconstitutional not to invalidate the CDA in application to "other persons or circumstances" that might be constitutionally permissible. It further invokes this Court's admonition that, absent "countervailing considerations," a statute should "be declared invalid to the extent it reaches too far, but otherwise left intact." Brockett v. Spokane Arcades, Inc., 472 U.S. 491, 503-504 (1985). There are two flaws in this argument.

First, the statute that grants our jurisdiction for this expedited review, 47 U. S. C. A. §561 (Supp. 1997), limits that jurisdictional grant to actions challenging the CDA "on its face." Consistent with §561, the plaintiffs who brought this suit and the three judge panel that decided it treated it as a facial challenge. We have no authority, in this particular posture, to convert this litigation into an "as applied" challenge. Nor, given the vast array of plaintiffs, the range of their expressive activities, and the vagueness of the statute, would it be practicable to limit our holding to a judicially defined set of specific applications.

Second, one of the "countervailing considerations" mentioned in Brockett is present here. In considering a facial challenge, this Court may impose a limiting construction on a statute only if it is "readily susceptible" to such a construction. Virginia v. American Bookseller's Assn., Inc., 484 U.S. 383, 397 (1988). See also Erznoznik, v. Jacksonville, 422 U.S. 205, 216 (1975) ("readily subject" to narrowing construction). The open ended character of the CDA provides no guidance whatever for limiting its coverage.

This case is therefore unlike those in which we have construed a statute narrowly because the text or other source of congressional intent identified a clear line that this Court could draw. Cf., e.g., Brockett, 472 U.S., at 504-505 (invalidating obscenity statute only to the extent that word "lust" was actually or effectively excised from statute); United States v. Grace, 461 U.S. 171, 180-183 (1983) (invalidating federal statute banning expressive displays only insofar as it extended to public sidewalks when clear line could be drawn between sidewalks and other grounds that comported with congressional purpose of protecting the building, grounds, and people therein). Rather, our decision in United States v. Treasury Employees, 513 U.S. 454, 479, n. 26 (1995), is applicable. In that case, we declined to "dra[w] one or more lines

between categories of speech covered by an overly broad statute, when Congress has sent inconsistent signals as to where the new line or lines should be drawn" because doing so "involves a far more serious invasion of the legislative domain."[49] This Court "will not rewrite a . . . law to conform it to constitutional requirements." American Booksellers, 484 U.S., at 397.[50]

In this Court, though not in the District Court, the Government asserts that—in addition to its interest in protecting children—its "[e]qually significant" interest in fostering the growth of the Internet provides an independent basis for upholding the constitutionality of the CDA. Brief for Appellants 19. The Government apparently assumes that the unregulated availability of "indecent" and "patently offensive" material on the Internet is driving countless citizens away from the medium because of the risk of exposing themselves or their children to harmful material.

We find this argument singularly unpersuasive. The dramatic expansion of this new marketplace of ideas contradicts the factual basis of this contention. The record demonstrates that the growth of the Internet has been and continues to be phenomenal. As a matter of constitutional tradition, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, we presume that governmental regulation of the content of speech is more likely to interfere with the free exchange of ideas than to encourage it. The interest in encouraging freedom of expression in a democratic society outweighs any theoretical but unproven benefit of censorship.

For the foregoing reasons, the judgment of the district court is affirmed.

It is so ordered.

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Section II

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Section II Introduction

American media organizations have worn the mantle of public watchdog throughout the country's history. Journalists of every type are charged with the task of constantly scrutinizing those in power, political or otherwise, and the ways in which they wield influence. Inevitably the question arises about who is watching the watchdogs and what guidelines exist for the way their power gets used. Despite the voluminous amount of law enacted in this area over the years (as documented in the previous section), the journalism establishment has substantially policed its own day-to-day reporting via codes of ethics and newsroom policy statements.

A series of high-profile indiscretions dating from the late 1990s prompted a large number of new, more comprehensive ethical documents and the demand for regular updates in certain areas. Many of these scandals involved outrageous deceptions perpetrated by journalists with distinguished news organizations. Patricia Smith of *The Boston Globe* was a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize in 1998 when she confessed to placing four fictitious characters into her columns. Jayson Blair, a *New York Times* staff reporter in 2003, shook the credibility of the paper by inventing all or part of dozens of articles that made it through the editing process. And *Los Angeles Times* photographer Brian Walski was fired that same year for digitally meshing two different photos into one more desirable picture.

Although rarely using the term "deception," most recent documents on ethics and standards concentrate in part on vetting the acceptability of journalism practices based on various levels of deception. Is it permissible for journalists to go undercover to deceive news subjects? Television reporters might argue that hidden cameras and microphones are required to get certain stories. News organizations must draw the line between honest, creative reporting practices and unacceptable misrepresentations in myriad circumstances during the daily pursuit of the news.

It should not be surprising that the basic tenets of just about all journalism documents begin with telling the truth. Journalists are universally instructed to value accuracy, fair play and transparency as well. The public must also know that journalists are free from undue influences. This demands a close watch on the conflicts in interest that may sway a reporter's perspective on a story.

Innovations in technology and news delivery methods have also played a key role in spurring new areas of journalism ethics. Bloggers and other "citizen journalists" have vastly expanded who gets to create news coverage and editorial opinion for public consumption. They have considerably sped up how quickly news gets disseminated too. As a result, news organizations have struggled to come up with guidelines that will nurture the independence of new wave journalists while trying to hold them to more careful, professional standards.

The representative entries for Section II were chosen based on the reputation of the organizations that created them, and the demands of the six major categories under consideration. Introductions in this section tend to cover multiple documents within a medium or reporting specialty. The goal is to first broach the changes and ethical challenges unique to each category. Then the introduction gives a sense of how each organization has addressed those concerns in its document.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

General Professional Associations

Society of Professional Journalists (SPJ)—Code of Ethics
National Association of Black Journalists (NABJ)—Code of Ethics
National Association of Hispanic Journalists (NAHJ)—Code of Ethics
Coalition of Journalists for Open Government—Principles
National Lesbian and Gay Journalists Association (NLGJA)—Fourteen Steps to Fairness

Introduction

The general professional associations contributing statements of principles to this category boast far-ranging memberships of working journalists that transcend affiliations with any specific communications medium, news organization, or journalism job description. As a result, these groups chose to pen documents calling for a variety of ethical behavior that all journalists could embrace. In every instance, the goal was to encourage those in journalism to be seriously concerned with fairness, honesty, professional integrity, and the public good.

The Society of Professional Journalists (SPJ), the National Association of Black Journalists (NABJ) and the National Association of Hispanic Journalists (NAHJ) each offers a formal Code of Ethics that serves as a guideline for proper journalism practices throughout the industry. The depth and breadth of the codes vary, but all three emphasize a number of common traits. They push journalists to seek and report the truth, clearly identify sources where necessary, protect sources promised anonymity, refrain from doing harm where possible, and to treat all news subjects with respect and dignity. The documents also reflect a mutual desire for journalists to avoid conflicts of interest—real or perceived—while refusing to accept gifts, favors or other remunerations that might compromise news coverage.

SPJ, the nation's most broad-based journalism organization, also joined NABJ and NAHJ in urging journalists to boldly tell the story of diversity. In addition, the groups all admonish members to refuse to stereotype people by race, gender, ethnicity, age, religion, et cetera. The NAHJ Code of Ethics goes even further by condemning the promoting of "prejudicial or racial slurs." The group makes note as well of the advantages of fostering cultural pluralism.

The National Lesbian and Gay Journalists Association (NLGJA) opted to publish "Fourteen Steps to Fairness: A Model of Parity in the Journalism Workplace" rather than another code of ethics. The document outlines the steps necessary to ensure the equitable treatment of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) journalists in the workplace. This addresses issues associated with hiring, promotion, benefits and comfort on the job, among others. It also asks news organizations to advocate for fair and balanced news coverage that considers LGBT angles.

The Coalition of Journalists for Open Government, true to its name, elected to focus on one enormous issue of concern to all journalists in lieu of advocating for a particular segment of the industry or high standards in general. This statement of principles makes a case for the importance of the free flow of government information to the people. It stipulates the limitations to be placed on exceptions to open government laws. It also suggests proper guidelines for access, inspection, and copying of any government record. The document finishes off with arguments supporting access to government meetings for journalists and others.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

Society of Professional Journalists—Code of Ethics

Preamble

Members of the Society of Professional Journalists believe that public enlightenment is the forerunner of justice and the foundation of democracy. The duty of the journalist is to further those ends by seeking truth and providing a fair and comprehensive account of events and issues. Conscientious journalists from all media and specialties strive to serve the public with thoroughness and honesty. Professional integrity is the cornerstone of a journalist's credibility. Members of the Society share a dedication to ethical behavior and adopt this code to declare the Society's principles and standards of practice.

Seek Truth and Report It

Journalists should be honest, fair and courageous in gathering, reporting and interpreting information.

Journalists should:

- Test the accuracy of information from all sources and exercise care to avoid inadvertent error. Deliberate distortion is never permissible.
- Diligently seek out subjects of news stories to give them the opportunity to respond to allegations of wrongdoing.
- Identify sources whenever feasible. The public is entitled to as much information as possible on sources' reliability.
- Always question sources' motives before promising anonymity. Clarify conditions attached to any promise made in exchange for information. Keep promises.
- Make certain that headlines, news teases and promotional material, photos, video, audio, graphics, sound bites and quotations do not misrepresent. They should not oversimplify or highlight incidents out of context.
- Never distort the content of news photos or video. Image enhancement for technical clarity is always permissible. Label montages and photo illustrations.
- Avoid misleading re-enactments or staged news events. If re-enactment is necessary to tell a story, label it.
- Avoid undercover or other surreptitious methods of gathering information except when traditional open methods will not yield information vital to the public. Use of such methods should be explained as part of the story.
- Never plagiarize.
- Tell the story of the diversity and magnitude of the human experience boldly, even when it is unpopular to do so.
- Examine their own cultural values and avoid imposing those values on others.
- Avoid stereotyping by race, gender, age, religion, ethnicity, geography, sexual orientation, disability, physical appearance or social status.
- Support the open exchange of views, even views they find repugnant.
- Give voice to the voiceless; official and unofficial sources of information can be equally valid.
- Distinguish between advocacy and news reporting. Analysis and commentary should be labeled and not misrepresent fact or context.
- Distinguish news from advertising and shun hybrids that blur the lines between the two.
- Recognize a special obligation to ensure that the public's business is conducted in the open and that government records are open to inspection.

Minimize Harm

Ethical journalists treat sources, subjects and colleagues as human beings deserving of respect.

Journalists should:

- Show compassion for those who may be affected adversely by news coverage. Use special sensitivity when dealing with children and inexperienced sources or subjects.
- Be sensitive when seeking or using interviews or photographs of those affected by tragedy or grief.
- Recognize that gathering and reporting information may cause harm or discomfort. Pursuit of the news is not a license for arrogance.
- Recognize that private people have a greater right to control information about themselves than do public officials and others who seek power, influence or attention. Only an overriding public need can justify intrusion into anyone's privacy.
- Show good taste. Avoid pandering to lurid curiosity.
- Be cautious about identifying juvenile suspects or victims of sex crimes.
- Be judicious about naming criminal suspects before the formal filing of charges.
- Balance a criminal suspect's fair trial rights with the public's right to be informed.

Act Independently

Journalists should be free of obligation to any interest other than the public's right to know.

Journalists should:

- Avoid conflicts of interest, real or perceived.
- Remain free of associations and activities that may compromise integrity or damage credibility.
- Refuse gifts, favors, fees, free travel and special treatment, and shun secondary employment, political involvement, public office and service in community organizations if they compromise journalistic integrity.
- Disclose unavoidable conflicts.
- Be vigilant and courageous about holding those with power accountable.
- Deny favored treatment to advertisers and special interests and resist their pressure to influence news coverage.
- Be wary of sources offering information for favors or money; avoid bidding for news.

Be Accountable

Journalists are accountable to their readers, listeners, viewers and each other.

Journalists should:

- Clarify and explain news coverage and invite dialogue with the public over journalistic conduct.
- Encourage the public to voice grievances against the news media.
- Admit mistakes and correct them promptly.
- Expose unethical practices of journalists and the news media.
- Abide by the same high standards to which they hold others.

The SPJ Code of Ethics is voluntarily embraced by thousands of writers, editors and other news professionals. The present version of the code was adopted by the 1996 SPJ National Convention, after months of study and debate among the Society's members.

Sigma Delta Chi's first Code of Ethics was borrowed from the American Society of Newspaper Editors in 1926. In 1973, Sigma Delta Chi wrote its own code, which was revised in 1984, 1987 and 1996.

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Society of Professional Journalists. "Code of Ethics." Society of Professional Journalists. http://www.spj.org/ethicscode.asp (accessed October 31, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

NABJ Code of Ethics

Updated: Friday, April 29, 2005
Published: Friday, April 29, 2005
Adopted by the NABJ Board of Directors
April 24, 2005

Overview

NABJ recognizes that credibility, integrity and truthfulness are building blocks of excellence in all forms of journalism. In order to earn and sustain the public's trust, news organizations and individual journalists must reflect the highest of ethical standards in their work.

NABJ's guidelines for newsroom conduct are part of this organization's renewed emphasis on ethical behavior. This is one response to the many signs of discontent directed at the news media. If the news media is to overcome doubts about the believability of editorial content, denials of bias, the motives of media owners and the First Amendment rights of journalists, then the case for credibility must be made more convincingly and more consistently.

NABJ is convinced that the news media's vast potential for informing the public becomes more possible with diverse staffing and diverse content anchored on a foundation of public trust. If connections to skeptical and sometimes hostile consumers of news are to be strengthened, daily vigilance in the pursuit of credibility, integrity, and truthfulness is essential. While NABJ has an abiding interest in the full range of activities and issues that affect its many goals, it is focusing this statement on one area deserving urgent attention: guidelines for the ethical work of journalists.

NABJ Code of Ethics

Whereas

- public opinion with respect to the credibility of journalism is at a low point and that there is a need to make our organization a shining example of professional journalism;
- and whereas the highest journalistic ethical standards are cardinal in guaranteeing the independence and the integrity of our profession;
- and whereas NABJ members and chapters would benefit from a written Code of Ethics to help guide and inform sound professional conduct;

Therefore, be it resolved that NABJ members must adhere to its Constitution by being dedicated to truth and excellence in the news and holding high ethical standards, and that NABJ offers this Code of Ethics as a set of guidelines for ethical conduct by its members and affiliate chapters. These guidelines apply to news workers, at all levels of the operation, in all types of print, broadcast, new media and online operations.

Under these guidelines:

- NABJ members are encouraged to become involved in community activities but are expected to disclose their employment or other relationships with those entities that influence or seek to influence the news.
- NABJ members are encouraged to disclose or refrain from investments or business relationships that actually bring or may appear to bring into question the integrity of their journalistic works. Members are expected to avoid conflicts of interest, real or perceived.
- NABJ members should disclose their political contributions to candidates and refrain from making such contributions in areas in which they cover or have journalistic contact.
- NABJ members should not accept free services or payments from news sources or public officials. In the same regard, NABJ members should not pay news sources, offer gifts to, or accept favors from those who seek to influence news coverage.
- NABJ members are urged to strive for words, images, graphics and sound that report truthfully, honestly and objectively.
- NABJ members should not alter words, images, graphics or sound in a manner that deceives the public. This includes fabricating, or plagiarizing quotations and facts or electronically altering images or sound.
- NABJ members should disclose the origin of information and label all material provided by outside agencies, such as those provided in the form of news releases, public relations statements or audio or video releases.
- NABJ members should treat all subjects of news coverage with respect and dignity, particularly victims of crime and tragedy and their families.
- NABJ members should examine freelance opportunities and honoraria for speeches carefully to assure that they are not disguised as gratuities.
- NABJ members should refrain from surreptitious methods of gathering information or methods that misrepresent their standing except when traditional open methods have been exhausted or will not yield central information vital to the public.

- As an organization that represents members of a racial minority who understand the pain of discrimination, NABJ members should avoid stereotyping by race, gender, age, religion, ethnicity, geography, sexual orientation, disability, physical appearance or social status.
- NABJ affiliate chapters should avoid association with organizations and activities that may compromise the integrity or damage credibility of its members.
- NABJ affiliate chapters should refuse gifts, favors, fees, free travel and special treatment, political involvement, public office and service in community organizations if they compromise the journalistic integrity of members or could be perceived as doing so.

Ethics Training

NABJ seeks to encourage the best of ethical practices already in place among its membership and throughout the industry. No mere collection of rules and recommendations will serve the aims of quality journalism. On matters large and small, individuals with professional commitments to credibility, integrity and truthfulness will make the biggest difference. To this end, NABJ will:

- Create an ethics model. This will be in a multimedia format and accessible to all members via the Web site and the printed form.
- Include ethics seminars at regional and national conferences, as well as at NABJ Media Institute programs.
- Expand NABJ outreach to colleges and high schools by insisting that ethics be included in journalism classes.
- Create an ethics discussion forum online for members to seek answers or to have discussions of ethics issues. Respectfully submitted,

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National Association of Black Journalists. "NABJ Code of Ethics." National Association of Black Journalists. http://www.nabj.org/resources/CodeofEthics/index.php (accessed October 31, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

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NAHJ Code of Ethics

Code of Ethics

Adopted by the members of the National Association of Hispanic Journalists on April 27, 1985.

Preamble

The First Amendment, protecting freedom of expression from abridgment by any law, guarantees to the people through their press a constitutional right, and thereby places on journalists a particular responsibility.

The right of people to receive truthful information about events of public interest and to exercise freedom of expression are two of the pillars of a democratic way of life. Journalists, within our daily tasks in the various media, are depositories and guardians of this right and this freedom which belongs to all.

Thus journalism demands of its practitioners not only industry and knowledge, but also the pursuit of a standard of integrity proportionate to the journalist's singular obligation.

A free press has responsibilities to all segments of society. We must recognize that society can best be served by media outlets that represent all those segments. Therefore, we must encourage opportunities for all media to have equal access to news sources regardless of style, orientation, language and/or audience.

Hispanic journalism tradition, of which we are heirs, is in fact one of the main contributions which Hispanics give toward the betterment of society in the United States of America. With the goal of guaranteeing the right of expression and the right of the people to be informed, we the members of the Hispanic Journalists, proud of our heritage, adopt the following Code of Ethics.

Article 1

The abilities and values of news professionals are enhanced by diversity of expertise interests and backgrounds. As Hispanics, we are blessed with the opportunity to live and appreciate more than one language and culture. We should be especially aware of the advantages cultural pluralism presents and encourage it.

Article 2

The journalist will make every effort to present a proper and just image of those groups which make up society. Thus, he/she will not promote prejudicial or ethnic slurs nor attacks upon a person's honesty.

Article 3

The news organization should serve as a constructive critic of all segments of society. It should vigorously expose wrongdoing or misuse of power, public or private. Editorially, it should advocate needed reform or innovation in the public interest.

Article 4

The journalist will endeavor to present an honest version of the news coverage assigned to him/her and should avoid practices that would conflict with the ability to report and present news in a fair and unbiased manner. He/she will show all sides of every valid controversy. This also includes the reporting of background news and the clarification, with facts, of any allegations which the journalist deems false or misleading.

Article 5

The journalist will not accept remunerations from outside sources to cover or alter news or editorials.

Article 6

Pledges of confidentiality to news sources must be honored at all costs. Whenever possible, the journalist will endeavor to obtain information from identifiable sources and will not abuse anonymous sources.

Article 7

The journalist will not serve as an auxiliary or agent to a police force, nor surrender voluntarily material which he/she receives or produces as part of his/her professional duties, nor as a journalist will he/she be available to judge those accused in a court of law.

Article 8

The journalist has the constitutional right to participate in public life and the tradition to express his/her opinions as a journalist through the appropriate medium. However, in order to maintain public trust in his/her honesty and to prevent situations which might create reasonable doubts about his/her integrity, the journalist must not accept renumerations from sources he/she covers, nor use his/her professional status as a representative of the public for selfish or other unworthy motives.

Article 9

Journalists must respect the rights of people involved in the news, observe the common standards of decency and stand accountable to the public for the fairness and accuracy of their news reports. Persons publicly accused must be given the earliest opportunity to respond. Substantive errors must be admitted and corrected promptly and prominently.

Article 10

We as the National Association of Hispanic Journalists uphold this Code of Ethics and will actively promote it. Any violations brought to the attention of NAHJ will be promptly considered and, if necessary, acted upon.

National Association of Hispanic Journalists. "NAHJ Code of Ethics." National Association of Hispanic Journalists. http://www.nahj.org/aboutnahj/codeofethics.html (accessed October 31, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

Coalition of Journalists for Open Government

Our Principles

Preamble

Information empowers and energizes a democracy. The free flow of information serves to keep the process of government honest and robust. To ensure and maintain that integrity and vitality, the public's need to know must be recognized and the individual's right to know must be held paramount.

Actions of the government at any level which limit or prevent access to information must serve a clear and compelling public purpose. Even then, those actions should be the exception, and must be limited in scope.

Within that broad conceptual framework, these are open government principles that guide us:

In General

The definition of government information should be as broad as possible and include information regardless of the form in which it was created or obtained.

The definition of those entities subject to open government laws should include both individuals and agencies, and anyone acting on behalf of a government agency.

Information that relates to the performance of a public function, the qualifications of public servants to properly perform their public duties, and the expenditure of public funds, should be exempted from the public record only if a two-thirds majority of the respective Legislature or of the Congress finds as a matter of fact that there is an overriding public necessity to do so.

Bills creating new exceptions to open government laws should contain only the specific exception and should relate to only one subject. Notice that the proposed law will create an open government exception should be prominently stated in the title of the bill. An impact assessment should accompany the legislation at introduction.

In granting an exemption, the Congress or the Legislature must find that there is a compelling public necessity for closure, and that the public necessity is of sufficient magnitude to override the people's need to know, their right of access and the public policy primacy of openness in a democratic society. Any exemption granted should be no broader than necessary to meet that stated, compelling need for closure.

No exemption should continue beyond the time required to meet the stated need. Lawmakers should recognize that the immediacy and specificity of an exemption request often creates a false sense of weight, an illusion that often fades with time. Exemptions should be for fixed, and brief, periods of time, after which they should expire. Upon expiration, they may be reconsidered, and reenacted if lawmakers believe there is still an overriding public necessity.

The minimum standard for an exemption based on either personal safety or national security should be that the release of the information would pose both an "immediate" and a "significant" risk to an individual or group of individuals or to the nation as a whole.

The minimum standard for a personal privacy exemption should be that the information shielded from public view is of an intensely personal and sensitive nature, that its release would be unreasonably intrusive, and that the information is not otherwise in the public domain.

The minimum standard for a proprietary interest exemption should be that the information is not otherwise in the public domain, is of a sensitive business nature, could not otherwise be legally obtained, and that the release would create a clearly unfair advantage to a competitive enterprise.

The private outsourcing of governmental responsibilities must not be a basis for denial of public access to meetings or records that would otherwise be public.

There should be a method by which any person can make an expedited challenge for administrative review or to a court, or both, to appeal the closure of a record or of a meeting. A person should be allowed to recover legal expenses if court action is required to obtain a public record or open a meeting.

No agency should require the name or address of a person seeking a public record, or attending a public meeting. Nor should any agency be permitted to select the members of the public who will attend a meeting.

Records

Records created or received by any agency of government, or by an entity acting on its behalf, are presumed to be public. Every person has an inherent right to inspect and copy any record that is not specifically exempted by the Congress or by the appropriate state legislature.

Government should collect no data that it considers exempt without first showing that there is a compelling governmental need for the information, a need sufficient to override personal privacy rights or the safety, proprietary or other interests involved.

No information should be exempted from public inspection if the information being shielded is otherwise in the public domain.

An exemption shields specific information, not the document. Portions of a document that do not contain sensitive information should continue to be part of the public record. Documents should not be withheld from the public because redaction of the shielded information is inconvenient or expensive.

Wherever possible, agencies should create documents in a manner that facilitates redaction of potentially exempt information. Redaction should be limited to those instances where absolutely necessary to protect against a particularized, actual harm that would ensue from the release of information.

Public records are presumed to be available for inspection and copying, regardless of form, during normal business hours and without unreasonable delay.

Records should be provided in a timely fashion. Delay in making records available for inspection and copying often constitutes denial.

Agencies and departments should strive to make entire categories of records available without the need for a formal FOI request. Formal requests should be required only when release of the information is discretionary and a prior review by the records custodian is necessary to ensure that exempt information is not disclosed. Agencies should seek ways to fast track most records requests.

The copying of public records must be affordable for the average citizen. High cost is a form of denial. Citizens should never be charged more than the actual cost of reproduction, in whatever form. Overhead, production and administration charges must not be factored in.

Where there is a charge for electronic access, it should not exceed the actual cost of making the record available. This does not include labor and overhead.

Technology should be used to enhance public access, not to limit it. All records/information not exempt or subject to discretionary review should be immediately available electronically. Agencies should create online reading rooms, where all records that are not exempt or subject to discretionary review are immediately available.

Records should be made available in the form requested if the agency has the capability to provide them in that form. If records are maintained only in an electronic database, adequate means to view and copy such records should be made available without cost for members of the public.

No record that is not readily available at reasonable cost to an individual member of the general public should be sold to a commercial information source.

Public officials should be prohibited from discarding or destroying public records, regardless of the medium, except in accordance with procedures established by law, and never while a request for such a record is pending.

Information, once it is public and posted, should remain public and posted, or remain accessible electronically if archived. Prior to removal of publicly posted information, the government agency in possession of that information should provide notice of its impending action and the opportunity for public comment.

The office e-mail of a public official is a public record.

Meetings

Discussion leading to decision-making is as critical a part of the governance process as the final decision and should be open to the public. Any meetings held by any agency at any level of government to discuss or decide public policy is presumed to be public unless exempted by the respective state legislature or the Congress upon a finding of overriding public necessity and after a vote of a two-thirds majority.

A meeting is a gathering of more than two members of a policy-making board or entity, unless two represents a quorum.

Any meeting or portion of a meeting closed under statutory exemption should be recorded in its entirety, with no portion off the record. The recording or transcript should be retained and available for review when the stated-need for secrecy has passed, or if the closure is legally challenged.

A closed meeting of a public agency should be book-ended by a public meeting.

Coalition of Journalists for Open Government. "Our Principles." Coalition of Journalists for Open Government. http://www.cjog.net/our_principles.html (accessed October 31, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

National Lesbian and Gay Journalists Association—Fourteen Steps to Fairness: A Model of Parity in the Journalism Workplace

Climate

1. Adopt, publicize and enforce a written policy prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, marital status, and gender identity and expression in recruitment, hiring, evaluation, advancement and compensation.
2. Train managers, interviewers and employees to be sensitive to LGBT issues. Make a clear distinction between these and AIDS issues.
3. Avoid double standards. Apply policies dealing with sexual harassment, nepotism, spousal listings in directories, etc., equally to opposite-sex and same-sex situations.
4. Combat invisibility and isolation. Allow LGBT employees to form workplace networks, and treat them the same as other employee support groups.
5. Promote fair and balanced news coverage. Consider LGBT angles important elements of complete coverage.

Compensation

Any of the following offered to employees and their spouses or children should be available to employees and their domestic partners and their children.

6. Health, dental and vision insurance and COBRA coverage.
7. Employee assistance program services such as substance abuse counseling.
8. Financial counseling.
9. Flexible spending accounts such as funds for health or child care expenses.
10. Funeral or bereavement leave.
11. Parenting leave, child care services, adoption assistance and dependent-child scholarships.
12. Beneficiary designations for pensions and other income benefits.
13. Family and medical leave.
14. Travel and relocation benefits for interviews or moving.

National Lesbian & Gay Journalists Association. "Fourteen Steps to Fairness: A Model of Parity in the Journalism Workplace." http://www.nlgja.org/workplace/steps.htm (accessed October 31, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

General Broadcast Organizations

Radio-Television News Directors Association (RTNDA)—Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct
National Public Radio (NPR) News—Code of Ethics and Practices
International Association of Broadcast Monitors (IABM)—Code of Ethics
Association of Independents in Radio (AIR)—Code of Fair Practices

Introduction

The landscape of free electronic media has expanded over the years to embrace radio and television networks, local commercial television and radio stations, public broadcasting entities, web radio, and other audio/video news formats online. Despite the proliferation of delivery methods, quality news coverage remains a prime component of the mission for each of these areas of communications. In all instances, electronic news outlets are perceived to operate as de facto trustees of the people with an obligation to scrupulously service the information needs of every sector of the American public.

Four prominent broadcast organizations have formally weighed in on a range of ethical issues electronic journalism must address. Two of these groups, the Radio-Television News Directors Association (RTNDA) and National Public Radio (NPR) News, scrutinize in-depth the way stories should get reported either on-air or online. They often comment on the same kind of reporting concerns that worry print journalists—truth, honesty, fairness, independence, accountability, and balance. But, in addition, the documents offered by these organizations pick up on production and presentation concerns unique to the electronic world that directly impact the integrity of news coverage.

RTNDA, with an eye on radio and television news, warns against manipulating sounds or images—including reenactments—in a misleading fashion. The organization's Code of Ethics frowns as well on the use of covert newsgathering tools, like hidden cameras or microphones, unless essential to securing an important story. However, even when the reporter must rely on these surreptitious devices, the public has to be let in on the secret when the piece airs. RTNDA also finds fault with radio or television broadcasting private transmissions of others without permission.

The NPR News Code of Ethics and Practices recognizes the significance of relying on firsthand news gathering and confirmation of facts as opposed to material from other sources. It emphasizes that no material from another source should be reported verbatim or in-depth without attribution. The code also prohibits sources from dictating how a topic gets covered or what other voices or ideas will be heard. In addition, hosts or interviewers must make it clear when interviews start or end, archival audio must be identified as such for a new piece, and the names of sexual assault victims do not make it on-air unless the victim first goes public with his or her identity.

The International Association of Broadcast Monitors (IABM) understands that the broadcast media, unlike print, offers the public no permanent record of ongoing reporting. IABM also acknowledges that the on-air stories tend to allow for much more limited access to material for subjects featured in these reports. The subjects essentially have no way of knowing about the on-air reports or how to gauge the impact of such stories on their reputations. Monitors therefore must attempt to ensure that broadcasters fulfill their obligation to correctly disseminate public information, while granting news subjects their right to know how they were treated.

The IABM Code of Ethics compels broadcast monitors to, among other things, record material as received without alteration and to place on each piece a notice to prevent inappropriate use of the contents. Monitors are also charged with providing to clients only the portions of a broadcast that he or she has legitimate interest in obtaining. The material must also identify the original broadcaster and the monitor providing the information. The material provided by the monitor should amount to an accurate record of the initial broadcast.

The Association of Independents in Radio (AIR) turns to the business side of broadcast news with a Code of Fair Practices for Working with Freelance Radio Producers. It suggests guidelines for handling everything from determining fair payment for stories and proper kill fees to fixing appropriate expenses and assessing ownership of story ideas. AIR also weighs in on the responsibilities of freelance reporters, editors, or producers.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

Radio-Television News Directors Association—Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct

Preamble

Professional electronic journalists should operate as trustees of the public, seek the truth, report it fairly and with integrity and independence, and stand accountable for their actions.

PUBLIC TRUST: Professional electronic journalists should recognize that their first obligation is to the public.

Professional electronic journalists should:

- Understand that any commitment other than service to the public undermines trust and credibility.
- Recognize that service in the public interest creates an obligation to reflect the diversity of the community and guard against oversimplification of issues or events.
- Provide a full range of information to enable the public to make enlightened decisions.
- Fight to ensure that the public's business is conducted in public.

TRUTH: Professional electronic journalists should pursue truth aggressively and present the news accurately, in context, and as completely as possible.

Professional electronic journalists should:

- Continuously seek the truth.
- Resist distortions that obscure the importance of events.
- Clearly disclose the origin of information and label all material provided by outsiders.

Professional electronic journalists should not:

- Report anything known to be false.
- Manipulate images or sounds in any way that is misleading.
- Plagiarize.
- Present images or sounds that are reenacted without informing the public.

FAIRNESS: Professional electronic journalists should present the news fairly and impartially, placing primary value on significance and relevance.

Professional electronic journalists should:

- Treat all subjects of news coverage with respect and dignity, showing particular compassion to victims of crime or tragedy.
- Exercise special care when children are involved in a story and give children greater privacy protection than adults.

- Seek to understand the diversity of their community and inform the public without bias or stereotype.
- Present a diversity of expressions, opinions, and ideas in context.
- Present analytical reporting based on professional perspective, not personal bias.
- Respect the right to a fair trial.

INTEGRITY: Professional electronic journalists should present the news with integrity and decency, avoiding real or perceived conflicts of interest, and respect the dignity and intelligence of the audience as well as the subjects of news.

Professional electronic journalists should:

- Identify sources whenever possible. Confidential sources should be used only when it is clearly in the public interest to gather or convey important information or when a person providing information might be harmed. Journalists should keep all commitments to protect a confidential source.
- Clearly label opinion and commentary.
- Guard against extended coverage of events or individuals that fail to significantly advance a story, place the event in context, or add to the public knowledge.
- Refrain from contacting participants in violent situations while the situation is in progress.
- Use technological tools with skill and thoughtfulness, avoiding techniques that skew facts, distort reality, or sensationalize events.
- Use surreptitious newsgathering techniques, including hidden cameras or microphones, only if there is no other way to obtain stories of significant public importance and only if the technique is explained to the audience.
- Disseminate the private transmissions of other news organizations only with permission.

Professional electronic journalists should not:

- Pay news sources who have a vested interest in a story.
- Accept gifts, favors, or compensation from those who might seek to influence coverage.
- Engage in activities that may compromise their integrity or independence.

INDEPENDENCE: Professional electronic journalists should defend the independence of all journalists from those seeking influence or control over news content.

Professional electronic journalists should:

- Gather and report news without fear or favor, and vigorously resist undue influence from any outside forces, including advertisers, sources, story subjects, powerful individuals, and special interest groups.
- Resist those who would seek to buy or politically influence news content or who would seek to intimidate those who gather and disseminate the news.
- Determine news content solely through editorial judgment and not as the result of outside influence.
- Resist any self-interest or peer pressure that might erode journalistic duty and service to the public.
- Recognize that sponsorship of the news will not be used in any way to determine, restrict, or manipulate content.
- Refuse to allow the interests of ownership or management to influence news judgment and content inappropriately.
- Defend the rights of the free press for all journalists, recognizing that any professional or government licensing of journalists is a violation of that freedom.

ACCOUNTABILITY: Professional electronic journalists should recognize that they are accountable for their actions to the public, the profession, and themselves.

Professional electronic journalists should:

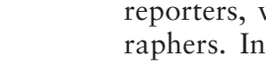
- Actively encourage adherence to these standards by all journalists and their employers.
- Respond to public concerns. Investigate complaints and correct errors promptly and with as much prominence as the original report.
- Explain journalistic processes to the public, especially when practices spark questions or controversy.
- Recognize that professional electronic journalists are duty-bound to conduct themselves ethically.
- Refrain from ordering or encouraging courses of action that would force employees to commit an unethical act.

- Carefully listen to employees who raise ethical objections and create environments in which such objections and discussions are encouraged.
- Seek support for and provide opportunities to train employees in ethical decision-making.

In meeting its responsibility to the profession of electronic journalism, RTNDA has created this code to identify important issues, to serve as a guide for its members, to facilitate self-scrutiny, and to shape future debate.

Adopted at RTNDA2000 in Minneapolis September 14, 2000.

Radio-Television News Directors Association. "Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct." Radio-Television News Directors Association. http://www.rtnda.org/pages/media_items/code-of-ethics-and-professional-conduct48.php (accessed October 31, 2008). Reprinted with permission.



National Public Radio (NPR) News—Code of Ethics and Practices

I. Statement of purpose

Credibility.

NPR is primarily a news organization. We are always testing and questioning the credibility of others. We have to stand that test ourselves. Whether we are functioning as reporters, hosts, newscasters, writers, editors, directors, photographers or producers of news, music or other content, we have to stand that test ourselves. Our news content must meet the highest standards of credibility.

The purpose of this code is to protect the credibility of NPR's programming by ensuring high standards of honesty, integrity, impartiality and staff conduct. We accomplish this by (a) articulating the ethical standards we observe in pursuing and presenting material through our various distribution channels, (b) setting rules and policies that prevent conflicts of interest, (c) establishing guidelines for outside work and activities that may reflect on NPR, and (d) establishing policies and procedures to ensure that the activities of NPR that fall outside journalism and daily production—corporate underwriting, foundation funding, marketing and promotional activities—do not jeopardize our journalistic independence or involve NPR journalists in activities inappropriate to their roles.

II. Who is covered

This code covers all NPR journalists—which for the purposes of this code includes all persons functioning in the News, Programming and Online Divisions as reporters, hosts, newscasters, writers, editors, directors, photographers and producers of news, music or other NPR programming. It also covers all senior News, Programming and Online content managers. It does not cover administrative or technical staff from News, Programming or Online.

The code also applies to material provided to NPR by independent producers, member station contributors and/or reporters and freelance reporters, writers, news contributors or photographers. In cases where essayists or commentators make statements of fact those statements must meet this Code's requirements of accuracy. NPR expects its outside contributors to be free of conflicts of interest on content they submit, to be fair and accurate in creating that material, and to pursue coverage in a manner consistent with the ethical principles stated in this code. There will be instances where provisions of this code are not applicable to an outside contributor. For example, a freelancer who primarily does arts coverage, for example, may not in some situations be subject to the prohibition on making contributions to political campaigns. Such contributions, however, might limit the range of topics or individuals the outside contributor could cover. Supervisors will make these judgments on a case-by-case basis and, if necessary, in consultation with the appropriate programming Vice President or their designee.

Because contributors in this category are not NPR employees, the remedy for dealing with a conflict of interest or other violation of the principles of this code is rejection of the offered material, or of any future programming proposals similarly affected by the conflict or other violation of the ethical principles. NPR may also terminate

any ongoing contract with the freelancer. As with NPR employees who produce content, outside contributors must disclose potential conflicts of interest or other issues under this Code when they accept an assignment or make a story pitch, and NPR editors and producers must make sufficient inquiries of those persons to satisfy themselves that the outside contributors have complied with this code.

Producers of standalone programs acquired by NPR should also apply these ethical principles and procedures to the production of that programming. There may be instances in which the type of programming may not demand the application of a particular principle in this code. In such case, the program producer should confer with the person at NPR who is responsible for managing the program acquisition and determine that NPR agrees that the principle need not be applied. Otherwise, producers of acquired standalone programming should take seriously the requirements of this code.

III. Statement of principles

Our coverage must be fair, unbiased, accurate, complete and honest. At NPR we are expected to conduct ourselves in a manner that leaves no question about our independence and fairness. We must treat the people we cover and our audience with respect.

"Fair" means that we present all important views on a subject. This range of views may be encompassed in a single story on a controversial topic, or it may play out over a body of coverage or series of commentaries. But at all times the commitment to presenting all important views must be conscious and affirmative, and it must be timely if it is being accomplished over the course of more than one story. We also assure that every possible effort is made to reach an individual (or a spokesperson for an entity) that is the subject of criticism, unfavorable allegations or other negative assertions in a story in order to allow them to respond to those assertions.

"Unbiased" means that we separate our personal opinions—such as an individual's religious beliefs or political ideology—from the subjects we are covering. We do not approach any coverage with overt or hidden agendas.

"Accurate" means that each day we make rigorous efforts at all levels of the newsgathering and programming process to ensure our facts are not only accurate but also presented in the correct context. We make every possible effort to ensure assertions of fact in commentaries, including facts implied as the basis for an opinion, are correct. We attempt to verify what our sources and the officials we interview tell us when the material involved is argumentative or open to different interpretations. We are skeptical of all facts gathered and report them only when we are reasonably satisfied of their accuracy. We guard against errors of omission that cause a story to misinform our listeners by failing to be complete. We make sure that our language accurately describes the facts and does not imply a fact we have not confirmed, and quotations are both accurate and placed properly in context.

"Honest" means we do not deceive the people or institutions we cover about our identity or intentions, and we do not deceive our listeners. We do not deceive our listeners by presenting the work of others as our own (plagiarism), by cutting interviews in ways that distort their meaning, or by manipulating audio in a way that distorts its meaning, how it was obtained or when it was obtained. The same applies to text and photographs or other visual material used on NPR Online. Honesty also means owning up publicly and quickly to mistakes we make on air or online.

"Respect" means treating the people we cover and our audience with respect by approaching subjects in an open-minded, sensitive and civil way and by recognizing the diversity of the country and world on which we report, and the diversity of interests, attitudes and experiences of our audience.

IV. Conflicts of interest

1. Conducting ourselves in a manner that inspires confidence in us as independent and fair means avoiding actual and apparent conflicts of interest or engaging in outside activities, public

comment or writing that calls into question our ability to report fairly on a subject.

2. A conflict of interest in its simplest dictionary term is a conflict between the private interests and the professional responsibilities of a person in a position of trust. An operative word in this sentence is "trust." All of us are in positions of trust with our audience. To maintain that trust requires that there be no real or perceived overlap between the private interests and opinions of NPR journalists and their professional responsibilities.

3. An employee covered by this code has the responsibility to disclose potential conflicts of interest. Revealing a conflict of interest after an individual has already participated in coverage where such a conflict exists or appears to exist can be extremely damaging to the reputation of NPR. NPR journalists must, at the time they are first assigned to cover or work on a matter, disclose to their immediate supervisor any business, commercial, financial or personal interests where such interests might reasonably be construed as being in actual, apparent or potential conflict with their duties. This would include situations in which a spouse, family member or companion is an active participant in a subject area that the NPR journalists covers. In the financial category, this does not include an investment by an NPR journalist or their spouse, family member or companion in mutual funds or pension funds that are invested by fund managers in a broad range of companies. The supervisor will decide whether the interests create an actual conflict of interest or the appearance of a conflict. In making these decisions, supervisors should feel free to consult with senior managers of their Division and/or the Office of General Counsel.

V. Outside work, freelancing, speaking engagements

1. The primary professional responsibility of NPR journalists is to NPR. They should never work in direct competition with NPR. An example of competing with NPR would be breaking a story or contributing a feature for another broadcast outlet or Web site before offering the work to NPR.

2. NPR journalists must get written permission for all outside freelance and journalistic work, including written articles and self-publishing in blogs or other electronic media, whether or not compensated. Requests should be submitted in writing to the employee's immediate supervisor. Approval will not be unreasonably denied if the proposed work will not discredit NPR, conflict with NPR's interests, create a conflict of interest for the employee or interfere with the employee's ability to perform NPR duties. Supervisors must respond within seven days of receiving a request.

3. NPR journalists may not engage in public relations work, paid or unpaid. Exceptions may be made for certain volunteer nonprofit, nonpartisan activities, such as participating in the work of a church, synagogue or other institution of worship, or a charitable organization, so long as this would not conflict with the interests of NPR in reporting on activities related to that institution or organization. When in doubt, employees should consult their supervisor.

4. In general, NPR journalists may not without prior permission from their supervisor do outside work for government or agencies principally funded by government, or for private organizations that are regularly covered by NPR. This includes work that would be done on leaves of absence.

5. NPR journalists may not ghostwrite or coauthor articles or books or write reports—such as annual reports—for government agencies, institutions or businesses that we cover or are likely to cover.

6. NPR journalists must get approval from the Vice President for their Division or that person's designee before speaking to groups that might have a relationship to a subject that NPR may cover. Generally, NPR journalists may not speak at corporation or industry functions. NPR journalists also may not speak in settings where their appearance is being used by an organization to market its services or products, unless it is marketing NPR or its member stations' interests, and then only as permitted in Section IX, Item 5. NPR journalists are permitted to engage in promotional activities for books they have written (such as a book tour), although they are expected to get approval from their supervisors on scheduling.

7. NPR journalists may only accept speaking fees from educational or nonprofit groups not engaged in significant lobbying or political activity. Determining whether a group engages in significant lobbying or political activity is the responsibility of the NPR journalist seeking permission, and all information must be fully disclosed to the journalist's supervisor.

8. NPR journalists may not speak to groups where the appearance might put in question NPR's impartiality. Such instances include situations where the employee's appearance may appear to endorse the agenda of a group or organization. This would include participation in some political debates and forums where the sponsoring group(s) or other participants are identified with a particular perspective on an issue or issues and NPR journalist's participation might put into question NPR's impartiality.

9. NPR journalists must get permission from the Vice President for their Division or their designee to appear on TV or other media. It is not necessary to get permission in each instance when the employee is a regular participant on an approved show. Permission for such appearances may be revoked if NPR determines such appearances are harmful to the reputation of NPR or the NPR participant.

10. In appearing on TV or other media including electronic Web-based forums, NPR journalists should not express views they would not air in their role as an NPR journalist. They should not participate in shows, electronic forums, or blogs that encourage punditry and speculation rather than fact-based analysis.

11. Any NPR journalist intending to write a non-fiction book or TV or movie script or other guiding documents for non-radio productions based in whole or substantial part on assignments they did for NPR must notify NPR in writing of such plans before entering into any agreement with respect to that work. NPR will respond within 14 days as to whether it has any objections to the project.

12. NPR journalists considering book projects or TV or movie productions based on stories that they have covered must be careful not to give any impression they might benefit financially from the outcome of news or program events. They should before taking any actions with respect to such matters seek guidance from the Vice President for their Division.

VI. Personal gain, gifts, freebies, loaned equipment or merchandise, etc.

1. NPR journalists may not accept compensation, including property or benefits of any kind, from people or institutions they cover or put on the air. NPR journalists may accept gifts of token value (hats, mugs, t-shirts, etc.). Unsolicited items of significant value will be returned with a letter thanking the sender but stating our policy on gifts. NPR journalists pick up the check for themselves when they can (i.e., they are not wined and dined by sources). NPR journalists pay for their own travel in accordance with NPR's travel policy. There are certain instances—such as conferences and conventions—where food is provided as a convenience for the press as a whole, and in such instances it is acceptable to take advantage of this. In addition, NPR journalists may accept paid travel and meals for speaking engagements and awards ceremonies that are approved under the standards in Section V of this document.

2. NPR journalists must conduct themselves at all times in a manner that leaves no grounds for belief, or even the appearance, that information they have gathered on the job has been used for personal gain, financial or otherwise.

3. NPR journalists may not use any nonpublic information acquired at work for personal gain, or use their association with NPR for personal gain. No NPR journalist may disclose information acquired by NPR to anyone inside or outside of NPR if the intent is to use that information for personal or institutional gain. This prohibition does not apply to accepted journalistic practices, such as sharing information as a member of a news "pool."

4. NPR journalists pay their own way in newsgathering, except in unusual circumstances (like going into battle with the military). The Vice President for the involved Division must approve all exceptions to this or, in the case of News, a

Managing Editor. NPR journalists may accept free passes to movie screenings, performances or similar activities that are attended for the purpose of doing reviews or stories for the air.

5. NPR journalists and other program staff cannot sell items that are received at NPR for review, such as books, CDs, etc. They belong to NPR. They may be distributed to staff for their personal use (which may include donations to charities) after they are no longer needed.

6. NPR journalists cannot keep any equipment or items of value provided by a company for test-use for story purposes. Such items must be disclosed to the journalist's supervisor and are to be disposed of in accordance with the ethical practices stated in this document, which usually means returning such items to the provider.

VII. Ethical conduct in coverage of news and production of programming

1. Plagiarism is an unforgivable offense. NPR journalists do not take other peoples' work and present it as our own.

2. In newsgathering NPR puts its highest value on firsthand newsgathering and confirmation of facts, as opposed to relying on material from other sources (AP, other newspapers and networks, etc.). Wire service material may be more appropriately used in online and other specialized content presentations where firsthand newsgathering is significantly more difficult. In such instances, NPR journalists shall adhere to the practices described in the following item.

3. NPR journalists must take special care in the use they make of information from wire service stories, reports by other broadcast news organizations, newspaper clips or articles in other publications. No material from another source should ever be included verbatim, or substantially so, without attribution.

Wire services: There is one category of quotation from wire services where it is acceptable to use quotes without attribution. That is where an AP or Reuters story is about some public event—like a press conference, speech by a public official in a public setting, an official statement of a government agency, a congressional hearing, and the like. In those cases, we reasonably expect that AP and Reuters are reliable conveyors of those quotes in the same way we regard the transcript services we use for these events. However, journalists must use caution and check source material if there is reason to believe that a quote has been inaccurately reported or has been taken out of its proper context.

When using material from newspaper stories, NPR journalists must double-check "facts" and other material gleaned from those stories. Too often, incorrect information is passed down from one news story to another because of the failure of one news organization to get it right. NPR should never pass on errors in this way.

4. Photographs associated with NPR content must, individually or collectively, show the events they depict truthfully, honestly and without bias. This requirement applies whether they are taken by NPR journalists or come from other sources (such as freelancers or photo agencies). To assure our photos do not deceive our audience we apply the following rules:

> We do not manipulate circumstances of photographs for purposes of enhancing the story the photograph portrays. An exception may be made for studio photography (such as portraits, fashion, food, etc.) where the nature of the studio photograph is either obvious or explained in accompanying verbal content.
>
> We may enhance photographic images for technical clarity—including minimal amounts of dodging and burning or digital manipulation, such as color correction or contrast enhancement—so long as a photo is not deceptive as to the original setting and scene being photographed.
>
> We do not create fictional images or designs from photographs using computer and laboratory techniques unless the accompanying explanation makes clear that the image is fictional or the design is associated with content related to art or creative activity. We do not use composite photographs.
>
> We assure that captions and labels of photos accurately describe the events in the photograph.
>
> We do not use outdated photographs to portray a current story unless we make clear the date the photograph was taken.

5. NPR journalists are generous in giving credit to other media organizations for stories that demonstrate enterprise or contain exclusive information. If their story inspires us to replicate it, we should give credit even if we use different sources and materials. If there is any doubt about whether to credit another news organization, they should ask a senior manager in their Division.

6. NPR journalists must treat the people they cover fairly and with respect. They always keep in mind that gathering and reporting information may cause harm or discomfort, and they weigh that against the importance of the story. NPR journalists show sensitivity when seeking or using interviews of those affected by tragedy or grief. They show special sensitivity when dealing with children and inexperienced or unsophisticated sources or subjects, or individuals who have difficulty understanding the language in which they are being interviewed.

7. Dealing with minors (generally defined as anyone under the age of 18) always invokes legal issues. An interview of a minor about a sensitive subject requires an NPR journalist to secure permission from the minor's parent or legal guardian. (Permission forms can be found in the "Style and Usage" subfolder of the MANAGING EDITOR location in ENPS). Examples of sensitive subjects include cheating, sexual activity, involvement in gangs or crime, difficult family relationships, probation violation, out-of-wedlock pregnancy or parenthood, victims' sexual abuse and similar topics that could have legal ramifications or lead to embarrassment. An interview of a minor in a special custodial situation, such as foster care, juvenile detention, or holding facilities for illegal immigrants, requires the consent of the person who has custody of the minor. Utah also requires the consent of both the custodian of the juvenile facility and the minor's parent.

An interview on a non-sensitive topic (normal childhood activities, sports, book, movies, trips to the zoo, baseball and the like) does not require consent. Generally however, any interview on school premises will require the consent of the school authorities. If a minor is a witness to a crime, the NPR journalist must weigh carefully whether we are exposing the minor to physical risk by identifying him or her by name as a potential witness, and whether there is potential for the minor to be accused as a participant.

Situations like school shootings require special care when interviewing visibly distressed minors who may have witnessed horrific scenes. Witnesses such as teachers or students over 18 are preferable interviewees. If continued interviewing substantially increases the distress of a minor who is a witness, the NPR journalist should carefully balance the importance and quality of the information being obtained with the interviewee's emotional state and decide whether respect for the witness requires the interview to be ended. The NPR journalist must also discuss with the editor whether that interview should be aired.

In cases where there is even a hint of doubt about whether to get consent, the NPR journalist or supervisor should call the Office of the General Counsel.

8. NPR journalists think carefully about the boundaries between legitimate journalistic pursuit and an individual's right to privacy. We recognize that private people have a greater right to control information about themselves than do public officials and others who seek power, influence or attention. Only an overriding public need to know can justify intrusion into anyone's privacy.

9. NPR journalists make sure actualities, quotes or paraphrases of those we interview are accurate and are used in the proper context. An actuality from an interviewee or speaker should reflect accurately what that person was asked or was responding to. If we use tape or material from an earlier story, we clearly identify it as such. We tell listeners about the circumstances of an interview if that information is pertinent (such as the time the interview took place, the fact that an interviewee was speaking to us while on the fly, etc.). Whenever it's not clear how an interview was obtained, we should make it clear. The audience deserves more information, not less. The burden is on NPR journalists to ensure that our use of such material is true to the meaning the interviewee or speaker intended.

10. Journalism should be conducted in the open. NPR journalists do not misrepresent themselves: NPR journalists disclose who they are and don't pose as cops, investigators or other such

officials. There will be occasions not to declare our profession but rather to seek information as a member of the public working in places to which the general public has access, such as stores, public buildings, etc.

11. NPR journalists do not use hidden microphones, recorders or cameras except where information that serves an important journalistic purpose, such as in reporting on illegal, antisocial or fraudulent activities, cannot be obtained by more open means. In such circumstances, approval must be obtained from both a senior News supervisor and the General Counsel's office before any taping or photographing takes place. NPR journalists do not record phone calls without permission.

12. If there is any question of legality in pursuit of a story, NPR journalists should consult their supervisors and the Office of General Counsel. NPR has lawyers available 24 hours a day, seven days a week, to assist NPR journalists. If you have any question about the legality of your conduct, contact your supervisor, who will contact a lawyer. If you cannot reach a supervisor, you may contact a lawyer directly. News Operations has the home and cell phone numbers of NPR legal staff. The numbers also can be found in the NPR Phone List in ENPS (go to the "Managing Editor" location; the list is in the "NPR Phones" subfolder).

13. NPR journalists do not pay for information from sources or newsmakers. They do not allow sources or interviewees to dictate how a topic will be covered, or which other voices or ideas will be included. They do not agree to submit questions in advance unless the Vice President for their Division or their designee approves a specific instance. If questions are submitted in advance, this will be disclosed in our coverage.

14. NPR journalists do not sign non-disclosure agreements, except in the rarest of circumstances. The Vice President for their Division or their designee and the General Counsel must approve exceptions to this rule. NPR journalists respect embargoes on news unless the circumstances surrounding the embargo make adherence to it inappropriate, such as where the information has already surfaced elsewhere or a strong public interest requires the disclosure to place other news in the proper context.

15. Although NPR journalists do agree to talk to sources on background when necessary, NPR's strong preference is to have people on the record. Before any information is accepted without full attribution, reporters must make every reasonable effort to get it on the record. If that is not possible, reporters should consider seeking the information elsewhere.

16. The grant of anonymity should be a last resort. When NPR journalists use anonymous sources to obtain information necessary for a story, the editor or producer of that story has an obligation to satisfy him/herself that the source is credible and reliable, and there is a substantial journalistic justification for using the source's information without attribution. This obligation also pertains to situations where individuals ask that their real names be withheld. The editor or producer has a twofold responsibility to (1) make a judgment about whether it is editorially justified to let the person speak anonymously, and (2) satisfy him/herself that this person is who the piece says s/he is. An editor should never be in the position of having to verify these things after a story has aired and a question is raised about it. We should not grant anonymity if a person makes pejorative comments about the character, reputation, or personal qualities of another individual, or derogatory statements about an institution. When anonymity is granted, pseudonyms should not be used. A more detailed description of NPR policy on anonymity can be found in the memo on "Granting Anonymity" in the "Style and Usage" subfolder at the MANAGING EDITOR location in ENPS.

17. When NPR journalists attribute information in a story to a "source" or "sources," it is assumed that these are the journalists' sources and that they have obtained the information firsthand from them. If this is not the case, and the sources are ones quoted by other news organizations, then those sources must be attributed to those other news organizations.

18. NPR journalists do not show subjects or other third parties scripts of stories in advance of their broadcast or posting or preview pieces with any person not affiliated with NPR. An NPR journalist may review portions of a script or read back a quotation to assure accuracy. An NPR journalist may also play audio or read transcripts

of an interview to a third party if the purpose is to get that party's reaction to what another person has said.

19. Our corrections policy is to correct substantive errors of fact in a timely way. If an NPR journalist believes NPR got something wrong—or that there was a serious defect in a piece—s/he has an affirmative responsibility to get that on the table immediately for investigation and possible correction. Many times NPR learns these things when someone outside brings an error to its attention. That is one natural way of finding out. But if NPR journalists have reason to believe there was a significant error, they should not wait for it to be pointed out. NPR journalists should in such cases also check language of any corrections, clarifications or retractions with the General Counsel before they are broadcast or posted. NPR News, Programming or Online personnel learning of material errors in stories shall inform the affected division, as well as the Office of the General Counsel, as soon as they are discovered.

20. A host or interviewer should make clear when an interview has begun or has ended so there is no question about what is or isn't for broadcast, or what is on the record or not.

21. Archival audio or audio that was obtained from a past story must be identified as such if it is used in a new piece. The listener should not be left to think that any archival or previously obtained audio was gathered in the context of the current piece. As an example, a story updating a controversy surrounding an individual would be misleading if it included new assertions of fact but only used past statements by that individual and failed to identify them as such.

22. NPR's SOC policy is either to SOC out from the place where the reporter is filing or, if the reporter is no longer there, to SOC out generically ("For NPR, I'm Joe Smith") and establish the "place" of the story in the intro and body of the story itself.

23. NPR does not name victims of sexual assaults. There will at times be exceptions—such as certain instances when a victim goes public with his/her identity—and NPR editors will judge these instances on a case-by-case basis.

VIII. Politics, community and outside activities

1. NPR journalists may not run for office, endorse candidates or otherwise engage in politics. Since contributions to candidates are part of the public record, NPR journalists may not contribute to political campaigns, as doing so would call into question a journalist's impartiality.

2. NPR journalists may not participate in marches and rallies involving causes or issues that NPR covers, nor should they sign petitions or otherwise lend their name to such causes, or contribute money to them.

3. NPR journalists may not serve on government boards or commissions.

4. NPR journalists may sit on community advisory boards, educational institution trustee boards, boards of religious organizations or boards of nonprofit organizations so long as NPR does not normally cover them and they are not engaged in significant lobbying or political activity. Such activities should be disclosed to the Vice President for their Division or designee, and NPR may revoke approval if it believes continued service will create an actual or appearance of a conflict of interest.

5. When a spouse, family member or companion of an NPR journalist is involved in political activity, the journalist should be sensitive to the fact that this could create real or apparent conflicts of interest. In such instances the NPR journalist should advise his or her supervisor to determine whether s/he should recuse him or herself from a certain story or certain coverage.

IX. Underwriting; foundation grants; advertising, marketing and promotion

1. A firewall will be maintained between NPR journalists and funders. While staff may end up talking to experts and officials who work at foundations that fund us (and their grantees), we may not discuss coverage planning with grant-making officials.

2. The Vice Presidents for News, Online or Programming or their designee will designate individuals who will serve as contacts for their respective departments with funders for grant-making purposes or other communications.

3. NPR journalists may not read funding credits on air or online.

4. If NPR reports on an organization or individual who funds us, we will disclose that relationship on air if the subject of the report is directly related to the thrust of the grant we received.

5. When authorized by the Vice President for their Division or their designee, NPR journalists may take part or be asked to take part in promotional activities or events involving supporters of NPR, such as our coordinated fund drives and public radio audience-building initiatives.

X. Application and enforcement of this Code

1. Application and enforcement of this Code is the responsibility in the first instance of every NPR journalist. This responsibility extends to both him/herself and to every other NPR journalist with whom he/she works. We should feel free to guide ourselves by offering suggestions to our peers to help them comply with their obligations under this Code, and NPR journalists should welcome any such suggestions and discuss the issues with professionalism and respect.

2. Editors and producers have special responsibility for application of this Code to matters they are editing or producing. For each story that is produced, they should be satisfied that the standards of this Code have been met.

3. NPR journalists who do not comply with the Code may be subject to disciplinary action up to and including termination. Disciplinary action against those journalists covered by the AFTRA contract will be consistent with the contract.

XI. Miscellaneous

1. We do not enter journalism contests or competitions when groups that have an interest in influencing our coverage sponsor them. All entries for contests or competitions must be approved by the Vice President for the NPR journalist's division or his or her designee

2. NPR journalists should not speak on behalf of NPR, or its activities, policies and practices, unless authorized to do so by appropriate company officials. All press inquiries about NPR activities, policies and practices received by journalists must be redirected to NPR's Communications Department.

3. Generally, NPR journalists may not endorse products or provide blurbs for books, movies or performances using their NPR identification. The Vice President for each respective programming division may make exceptions to this rule, such as when the author of a book is a colleague of the blurb-writer. However, permission will be denied in other circumstances. Blurbs drawn accurately and in context from material that has been on our air are permissible.

4. NPR journalists must not turn over any notes, audio or working materials from their stories or productions, nor provide information they have observed in the course of their production activities to government officials or parties involved in or considering litigation. If such materials or information are requested pursuant to governmental, administrative or other legal process, NPR journalists should immediately consult their supervisors and the General Counsel.

5. NPR owns material that has been collected or produced by NPR journalists in the course of their duties, irrespective of whether it has been distributed on our air outright or included on our Web site, and it may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of NPR. Such permission is granted through the Rights and Reuse Office (currently located in Online, Ext. 3622) and requests should be forwarded accordingly.

6. The provisions of this code are subject to the employment and other policies made generally applicable to all NPR employees.

National Public Radio. "NPR News Code of Ethics and Practices." National Public Radio. http://www.npr.org/about/ethics (accessed June 3, 2009). Reprinted with permission.

International Association of Broadcast Monitors (IABM)—Code of Ethics

Broadcasting, both by radio and television, is one of the most important media of the day for the dissemination of public information. Presented ephemerally in a rigid time framework, broadcast information nevertheless daily influences the beliefs and opinions and affects the attitudes and actions of citizens and public officials, both because of the vast numbers of its audiences and because of its unique facility for transmitting visual as well as oral reports.

Unlike the printed media, whose reports are presented in published form, the broadcast media present the public with no permanent record of their presentations and, therefore, with only limited access. Individuals and other entities who have a special interest in, or are the subject of the reports, have no practical means of knowing about them and, therefore, no opportunity of learning from them or of gauging the impact on their reputation and their subsequent actions.

The purpose of broadcast monitoring is to alleviate the imbalance between widespread dissemination and limited access to broadcast reports. To this end, broadcast monitors seek to serve both broadcasters in the fulfillment of their responsibilities to disseminate public information, and individuals and other entities in securing their need or right to know. Broadcast monitoring provides a service which narrows the gap between dissemination and access to broadcast reports. To ensure that broadcast monitors provide this service in a responsible manner fair to all, the members of the International Association of Broadcast Monitors subscribe to this Code of Ethics.

Broadcast monitors shall record material as it is received without any alteration of the material as presented.

Broadcast monitors shall not knowingly assist anyone in the violation of the copyright law or any other rights. Broadcast monitors shall provide to clients only those portions of broadcast reports, which the client indicates he/she has a legitimate interest in obtaining. The information so provided shall constitute portions of the broadcast which are complete in themselves and shall identify the original broadcaster and the monitor providing the information, and except for legends imposed thereon, shall be an accurate record of the material as broadcast.

Broadcast monitors shall place on each container a notice that meets the guidelines of the Association designed to prevent inappropriate or improper use of the material provided.

Broadcast monitors shall maintain accurate records of all transactions in which they provide information, including names and addresses of clients to whom the information is provided.

Broadcast monitors shall not knowingly provide information on programs presented solely for the entertainment of the viewing audience, except that material presented on any type program may be provided for clients known to have a legitimate archival or research interest in having that material. Broadcast monitors wish to foster the widest availability of monitoring services to the community they serve. For this reason, broadcast monitors shall not enter into licensing agreements with broadcasters, which would limit or preclude another monitoring company from pursuing their business by recording, monitoring or selling coverage of that broadcaster.

Any monitor who violates any of the above provisions shall be subject to expulsion from the International Association of Broadcast Monitors.

International Association of Broadcast Monitors. "Code of Ethics." International Association of Broadcast Monitors. http://www.iabm.com/about/#code (accessed May 8, 2009). Reprinted with permission.

The Association of Independents in Radio—Code of Fair Practices for Working With Freelance Radio Producers

Issued by Association of Independents in Radio (AIR) and the Producers' Advocacy Group (PAG)

June 1999

INTRODUCTION: The Association of Independents in Radio* (AIR) and the Producers Advocacy Group** (PAG) present the following

code in an effort to clarify and standardize rates and practices for working with freelancers in the public radio industry. In recognition of the central role freelancers and independent radio producers play in enriching the content of almost all the important programs on public radio, AIR and PAG recommend the following guidelines when public radio networks, stations or shows use the work of freelance radio producers:

LIVING WAGE: Freelance producers should be paid at a rate which allows a decent living. At minimum we urge acquirers to match the prevailing rate scale, including benefits, paid to staff reporters and producers doing comparable work in comparable markets. Prevailing rate scales for national acquirers should match those of national staff reporters/producers who are members of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (AFTRA). We also recommend that acquirers keep in mind the additional cost of overhead borne by freelancers and set rates accordingly. We encourage freelancers to negotiate, and regularly renegotiate, for the highest possible rate for themselves.

HOW STORIES ARE PAID: Whether paid by minute or by day, stories should be acquired at rates which reflect the amount of work that goes into making them, rather than simply the length of the final product. A fair and flexible fee structure should be agreed upon in advance. In cases where a very quick turn around is required a higher rate should be negotiated.

COST OF LIVING ALLOWANCE: Freelance producers should receive cost of living increases. This should be reflected in the annual budgets of acquiring organizations.

CONSISTENCY WITHIN ACQUIRING ORGANIZATIONS: Freelancers should reasonably expect to be paid at the same rate (or progressively more) for each story that they complete for an acquirer, regardless of changes of editor.

TRANSPARENCY: Acquiring organizations should make rate structures and practices easily understood and available to freelancers. Guidelines covering rates and policies should be published, posted on websites, and sent to all freelancers yearly. Freelancers and editors should be kept current of all changes in policies and practices. Public radio shows, networks and stations should have clear and consistent policies of advancement for freelancers which describe how freelancers progress within the organizations and what they must accomplish in order to receive higher rates.

PAYMENT PERIOD: All freelance work should be paid within 30 days of receipt of the finished product, prompted by an invoice from the reporter.

EXPENSES: Expenses for a piece should be agreed upon before a freelance producer begins work on a story. Networks, shows or stations should cover all expenses, including long distance phone calls, accommodation, travel, meals, admission fees and other costs which may be incurred in order to produce the story. Mileage is to be reimbursed at the current rate allowed by the Internal Revenue Service for mileage deductions. Expenses are to be paid within 30 days of receipt of a documented expense invoice.

KILL FEES: The story should be paid in full as long as the work agreed to is submitted on time, even in situations where the story is ultimately not aired. An exception to this would be if there are significant problems with tape quality which prevent the story from airing. If a story is killed mid-stream, the producer should be paid a fee which reflects the amount of work already expended on the story.

IDEAS AND PITCHES: An idea or pitch refers to both a subject and an angle or approach. A producer should be considered to have a proprietary right to ideas or pitches discussed with editors, and such ideas should be held in confidence. We highly discourage poaching and reassignment of ideas.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF REPORTERS: Freelancers have the responsibility to strive at all times for fairness and accuracy, and should be prepared to back up the "facts" asserted in a story with evidence.

Editors, however, must respect any and all promises of confidentiality made by the producer in obtaining information. Before accepting any assignment, it is the responsibility of the freelancer to reveal to the editor any actual or potential conflict of interest. This includes, but is not limited to, any financial interest relating to the subject matter of the story.

INDEMNITY: While it is the reporter's responsibility to back up the facts, no producer or reporter should be obliged to broadly indemnify a network or show against any claims or legal actions resulting from a radio story. Once a story is accepted and aired the broadcaster should stand by the producer if the story gives rise to legal action, except where a reporter has plagiarized or violated copyright law.

ADDITIONAL RESEARCH: If, during the course of work, the editor and freelance producer agree that a story requires time for research or tape gathering beyond the original expectation, the initial agreement on rates should be renegotiated.

EDITS: Except for an initial training period for inexperienced freelancers, we recommend that there be a maximum of three edits per story at the agreed upon rate. If a piece exceeds three edits, both the acquirer and the reporter should renegotiate the payment for that piece.

RIGHT OF REVIEW: After the final edit, any changes to a story that substantially alter meaning should only be made in consultation with the producer.

ON-THE-SHELF: First broadcast rights agreements are only guaranteed for 30 days following submission unless otherwise arranged. If a story hasn't been aired after 30 days, acquirers lose the right to first radio broadcast, and producers become free to resell the story elsewhere. The acquirer should state an anticipated broadcast date at the time of acceptance.

NOTIFICATION and ARCHIVAL COPIES: Whenever possible, freelance producers should receive advance notice of air dates and times. Producers should receive a courtesy copy of all pieces which are mixed by the acquiring organization.

CORRESPONDENCE: Acquirers' listener correspondence departments should make a best effort to maintain a database of all correspondence concerning work produced by freelancers, and should provide producers with copies of all mail and email correspondence received in response to the airing of their pieces. Freelancers should also hear about all feedback given by phone.

RECORDS: We recommend that acquiring organizations keep consistent records containing work and payment history for each producer. Records should detail agreements made with each producer concerning rates, rights, and conditions. Such records should be readily available to each editor who works with the producer.

RIGHTS: In general, rights agreements with freelance producers are for non-exclusive, one-time, United States radio broadcast only. All other rights, including webcast, electronic reproduction, transmission, or distribution of all, or part, of the story, are fully reserved by the producer unless negotiated separately. If additional rights are negotiated, they should be clearly stated in a contract and fees adjusted upwards.

WORK-FOR-HIRE: Freelancers, typically, should retain all rights to their work, except as in rights agreements negotiated separately. However, under some circumstances, freelancers may agree to "work-for-hire," in which case all rights are purchased by the acquirer; in these cases, fees should be negotiated upward to reflect the rights purchased.

USE OF CONTRACTS: Freelancers and acquiring institutions should sign a standard contract on a yearly basis which may be initiated either by the producer or the acquirer. The contract should specify payment schedule, expense and kill fee policies, payment for rewrites, and what rights are being purchased. In addition, we

recommend that freelancers and editors exchange a memo or confirmation letter for each assignment. This should describe the nature of the story, the rate to be paid for this story, expenses covered, due date, length of story, and any additional special circumstances which apply to that story only.

*AIR is a not-for-profit national membership organization offering information, networking, and other services to public radio producers.

**PAG is an ad-hoc collective of national producers organized to support producer's rights.

It is our intention to update this document on a periodic basis. We invite input from acquiring organizations.

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Association of Independents in Radio (AIR) and the Producers' Advocacy Group (PAG). "Code of Fair Practices for Working With Freelance Radio Producers." The Association of Independents in Radio. http://www.airmedia.org/PageInfo.php?PageID=18 (accessed October 31, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

Print Organizations

American Society of News Editors (ASNE)—Statement of Principles
American Society of Magazine Editors (ASME)—Guidelines for Editors and Publishers
New York Times Company—Policy on Ethics in Journalism
Hearst Newspapers—Statement of Professional Principles
The Washington Post—Standards and Ethics

Introduction

The world of print journalism has been in transition, and under attack from all sides, in recent years. Daily newspapers and consumer magazines in particular have felt the pinch of losing advertising and audience share to newer media alternatives. The pressure to prevail in this more competitive environment may have prompted a small minority of print journalists to take some ethical shortcuts in reporting and business practices. In response, the most prominent print organizations have updated and/or reaffirmed conduct guidelines to assure the integrity of their endeavors.

American Society of News Editors (ASNE) Statement of Principles, updated in 2006, fixes broad standards of professional ethics for all newspaper journalists in the United States. Six articles in the document spell out the basic underpinnings of trustworthy newspaper journalism. These articles address issues of responsibility (especially the effort to bring independent scrutiny to the use of power), freedom of the press (a warning to protect against exploitation of the press), independence, truth and accuracy, impartiality, and fair play (with an eye on rights of those in the news accused of wrongdoing or providing confidential information).

American Society of Magazine Editors (ASME), in the thirteenth edition of its Guidelines for Editors and Publishers put out in 2008, focuses exclusively on a single, pervasive challenge that faces all periodicals. ASME mandates that there should be no "influence or pressure" asserted on editorial content by magazine advertisers. The document examines ten areas—from design, covers, and logos to sponsorship, product placement, and editorial review—where the business and journalism sides might clash. The goal is to establish clear, transparent boundaries between the realm of editorial copy and the space designated for commercial advertisements.

Individual newspaper companies—The New York Times, Hearst, and The Washington Post—each concentrate on self-policing documents that govern the way their own newsrooms should function and gather the news. Most of the same on-the-job reporting principles put forth by ASME, with somewhat more detailed objectives and rules, find their way into the guidelines for these organizations. The New York Times goes a step further than the rest by prescribing a code of behavior for journalism-related personnel to follow *away* from the job as well. The section titled "On Our Time" weighs in on matters like

correct political activities, avoiding conflicts of interest caused by family members, financial conflicts of interest, and freelance writing activities, among others.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

American Society of News Editors—Statement of Principles

Published: August 20, 1996
Last Updated: November 29, 2006

ASNE Statement of Principles

ASNE's Statement of Principles was originally adopted in 1922 as the "Canons of Journalism." The document was revised and renamed "Statement of Principles" in 1975.

PREAMBLE. The First Amendment, protecting freedom of expression from abridgment by any law, guarantees to the people through their press a constitutional right, and thereby places on newspaper people a particular responsibility. Thus journalism demands of its practitioners not only industry and knowledge but also the pursuit of a standard of integrity proportionate to the journalist's singular obligation. To this end the American Society of Newspaper Editors sets forth this Statement of Principles as a standard encouraging the highest ethical and professional performance.

ARTICLE I—Responsibility. The primary purpose of gathering and distributing news and opinion is to serve the general welfare by informing the people and enabling them to make judgments on the issues of the time. Newspapermen and women who abuse the power of their professional role for selfish motives or unworthy purposes are faithless to that public trust. The American press was made free not just to inform or just to serve as a forum for debate but also to bring an independent scrutiny to bear on the forces of power in the society, including the conduct of official power at all levels of government.

ARTICLE II—Freedom of the Press. Freedom of the press belongs to the people. It must be defended against encroachment or assault from any quarter, public or private. Journalists must be constantly alert to see that the public's business is conducted in public. They must be vigilant against all who would exploit the press for selfish purposes.

ARTICLE III—Independence. Journalists must avoid impropriety and the appearance of impropriety as well as any conflict of interest or the appearance of conflict. They should neither accept anything nor pursue any activity that might compromise or seem to compromise their integrity.

ARTICLE IV—Truth and Accuracy. Good faith with the reader is the foundation of good journalism. Every effort must be made to assure that the news content is accurate, free from bias and in context, and that all sides are presented fairly. Editorials, analytical articles and commentary should be held to the same standards of accuracy with respect to facts as news reports. Significant errors of fact, as well as errors of omission, should be corrected promptly and prominently.

ARTICLE V—Impartiality. To be impartial does not require the press to be unquestioning or to refrain from editorial expression. Sound practice, however, demands a clear distinction for the reader between news reports and opinion. Articles that contain opinion or personal interpretation should be clearly identified.

ARTICLE VI—Fair Play. Journalists should respect the rights of people involved in the news, observe the common standards of decency and stand accountable to the public for the fairness and accuracy of their news reports. Persons publicly accused should be given the earliest opportunity to respond. Pledges of confidentiality to news sources must be honored at all costs, and therefore should not be given lightly. Unless there is clear and pressing need to maintain confidences, sources of information should be identified.

These principles are intended to preserve, protect and strengthen the bond of trust and respect between American journalists and the American people, a bond that is essential to sustain the grant of freedom entrusted to both by the nation's founders.

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American Society of News Editors. "ASNE Statement of Principles." American Society of Newspaper Editors. http://www.asne.org/index.cfm?id=888 (accessed October 31, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

American Society of Magazine Editors—Guidelines for Editors and Publishers

June 30, 2008

ASME Guidelines for Editors and Publishers

Thirteenth Edition

For magazines to be trusted by consumers and to endure as brands, readers must be assured of their editorial integrity. With that core conviction in mind—and the overwhelming support of its members—the American Society of Magazine Editors for over two decades has issued guidelines to make sure that the difference between advertising and editorial content is transparent to readers and that there is no advertiser influence or pressure on editorial independence. In this latest edition, we have aimed to make the guidelines easier to understand and to distill them into ten basic statements of principle and practice. ASME will continue to advise editors and publishers about how to interpret the guidelines. Repeated and willful violations will result in public sanction and disqualification from the National Magazine Awards.

Design

Advertisements should look different enough from editorial pages that readers can tell the difference. To avoid confusion, any ad that looks enough like an editorial story or feature that it could be mistaken for one should be slugged Advertisement or Promotion at the top of each page in type as prominent as the magazine's normal body type.

Covers

The front cover and spine are editorial space. Companies and products should appear on covers only in an editorial context and not in a way that suggests advertisement. (This includes use of cover stickers.)

Adjacencies

Advertisements should not be placed or sold for placement immediately before or after editorial pages that discuss, show or promote the advertised products.

Logos

Advertiser logos should not appear on editorial pages except in a journalistic context. A magazine's logo should appear on advertising pages only in a connection with advertisements for the magazine and its promotions or when an advertised product is touting editorial awards that it has won.

Sponsorship

Sponsorship language (i.e., sponsored by, presented by, etc.) should not appear in connection with regularly occurring editorial features. Such language may be used in connection with editorial extras (special issues, inserts, onserts and contests) as long as the editorial content does not endorse the sponsor's products and any page announcing the sponsorship is clearly an ad or is labeled Advertisement or Promotion in a type size as prominent as the magazine's normal body type. Single-advertiser issues that don't include sponsorship language do not have to be labeled, but should include an editor's or publisher's note disclosing the special arrangement to readers. Advertisers may sponsor out of book events such as awards shows and conferences, and that sponsorship may be acknowledged without labeling on either advertising or editorial pages.

Advertising Sections

Editorial-looking sections or pages that are not produced by a magazine's editors are not editorial content. They should be labeled Advertisement, Special Advertising Section or Promotion at the top of every page in type as prominent as the magazine's normal body type.

Product Placement/Integration

Advertisers should not pay to place their products in editorial pages nor should they demand placement in return for advertising. Editorial pages may display and credit products and tell readers

where to buy them, as long as those pages are solely under editorial control.

Editorial Staffing and Titles

A magazine's editorial staff member should not be involved in producing advertising in that magazine. Advertising and marketing staff should not use titles that imply editorial involvement (e.g., merchandising editor).

Editorial Review

In order for a publication's chief editor to be able to monitor compliance with these guidelines, every effort must be made to show all advertising pages, sections and their placement to the editor far enough in advance to allow for necessary changes.

Advertising Review

While editors or publishers at their discretion may share the general topic matter of upcoming editorial content with advertisers, specific stories, layouts or tables of contents should not be submitted for advertiser review.

American Society of Magazine Editors. "ASME Guidelines for Editors and Publishers." Magazine Publishers of America. http://www.magazine.org/asme/asme_guidelines/index.aspx (accessed October 31, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

The New York Times Company—Policy on Ethics in Journalism

Introduction and Purpose

1. The Core Purpose of The New York Times Company is to "enhance society by creating, collecting and distributing high-quality news, information and entertainment." The central place of our news and editorial units in fulfilling that promise is underscored by the No. 1 statement in our Core Values: "Content of the highest quality and integrity: This is the basis for our reputation and the means by which we fulfill the public trust and our customers' expectations."

2. Companywide, our goal is to cover the news impartially and to treat readers, news sources, advertisers and all parts of our society fairly and openly, and to be seen as doing so. The reputation of our company rests upon that perception, and so do the professional reputations of its staff members. Thus the company, its separate business units and members of its newsrooms and editorial pages share an interest in avoiding conflicts of interest or any appearance of conflict.

3. Conflicts of interest, real or apparent, may arise in many areas. They may involve tensions between journalists' professional obligations to our audience and their relationships with news sources, advocacy groups, advertisers, or competitors; with one another; or with the company or one of its units. And at a time when two-career families are the norm, the civic and professional activities of spouses, household members and other relatives can create conflicts or the appearance of them.

4. In keeping with its solemn responsibilities under the First Amendment, our company strives to maintain the highest standard of journalistic ethics. It is confident that its staff members share that goal. The company and its units also recognize that staff members should be free to do creative, civic and personal work and to earn extra income in ways separate from their work in our organization. Before engaging in such outside activities, though, staff members should exercise mature professional judgment and consider the stake we all have in the irreplaceable good name of our company and its newsrooms.

The Scope of This Policy

5. These guidelines generally apply to all members of our news and editorial departments whose work directly affects our content and its reputation, including those on leaves of absence. They include writers, reporters, columnists, editors, producers, editorial writers, photographers, picture editors, art directors, artists, designers, graphics editors and researchers. This group also includes News Service and syndication personnel and the shared technical staffs of broadcast and online operations to the extent that those staffs plan, create, transmit or oversee news or editorial content. This entire group

of professional journalists is what this document means by "staff" or "staff members."

6. These guidelines are intended to shield the integrity not just of our journalists but of our journalism over all. For that reason, the provisions limiting political activity or partisanship apply also to publishers and to their counterparts in online and broadcast operations—that is, the executives to whom the chief editors of news and editorial staffs directly report. These specific provisions are detailed in Paragraph 88 below.

7. At the discretion of management in each of our news or editorial departments, the professional journalist guidelines may also be applied to news clerks, administrative assistants, secretaries and other support staff members whose work influences our content. Whether or not a newsroom's management applies these guidelines to the support staff, however, support people are always governed by two important provisions:

- First, no newsroom or editorial page employee may exploit for personal gain any nonpublic information acquired at work, or use an association with our news organization to gain favor or advantage.
- And second, no one may do anything that damages our news staffs' reputation for strict neutrality in reporting on politics and government; in particular, no one may wear campaign buttons or display any other form of political partisanship while on the job.

8. Our contracts with freelance contributors require them to avoid conflicts of interest, real or apparent. In keeping with that provision, they must honor these guidelines in their Times Company assignments, as set forth in Section C below. Similarly, the makers of television or online productions intended to bear our name or to be distributed through our outlets must comply with the policies in this document while working on those projects.

9. At each site in our company, newsroom management will obtain legal opinions on any statutes that may constrain the enforcement of these guidelines. In those units covered by collective bargaining agreements with the Newspaper Guild, management will obtain legal opinions on any limitation arising from those agreements.

The Nature of This Policy

10. Our fundamental purpose is to protect the impartiality and neutrality of the company's newsrooms and the integrity of their news reports. In many instances, merely applying that purpose with common sense will point to the ethical course. Sometimes the answer is self-evident: simply wondering whether a course of action might damage the reputation of our journalism is often enough to gauge whether the action is appropriate.

11. Every staff member is expected to read these rules carefully and to think about how they might apply to his or her duties. A lack of familiarity with their provisions cannot excuse a violation; to the contrary, it aggravates the violation. The provisions presented here can offer only broad principles and some examples. No written document could anticipate every possibility. Thus we expect staff members to consult their local newsroom management if they have doubts about any particular situation or opportunity covered by this set of rules. In most cases an exchange of e mail should suffice.

12. The company and its units believe beyond question that our staff shares the values these guidelines are intended to protect. Ordinarily, past differences of view over applying these values have been resolved amiably through discussion. The company has every reason to believe that such a pattern will continue. Nevertheless, the company views any intentional violation of these rules as a serious offense that may lead to disciplinary action, potentially including dismissal, subject to the terms of any applicable collective bargaining agreement.

13. This document is not an exhaustive compilation of all situations that may give rise to an actual or perceived conflict of interest. It does not exclude situations or issues giving rise to such conflicts simply because they are not explicitly covered within this document, nor does the document or any of its particular provisions create an implied or express contract of employment with any individual to whom the guidelines apply. The company reserves the right to modify and expand the guidelines from time to time, as it deems appropriate.

14. The authority to interpret and apply these guidelines is vested in the head of each news or editorial department in the company. That duty may be delegated to their ranking assistants, but

the senior news executives remain responsible for decisions made in their name.

Other Standards of Behavior

15. This document embodies basic standards of journalistic conduct applicable across our company. Our operating units are free to adopt further or more detailed policies, such as the specialized standards and practices of the networks with which our broadcast stations are affiliated, or the rules of certain newspapers for reporters' use of unidentified sources. In case of conflict, the policy with the higher standard shall apply.

16. As employees of the Times Company and its units, we observe the Rules of the Road, which are the axiomatic standards of behavior governing our dealing with colleagues and going about our work. Copies are available from management offices in all units. Together with a statement of supporting principles, the rules are online at our Mission & Values page. We also observe the company's policies against harassment and on the use of computers and digital communications, which appear on the business ethics page of this site.

A. On the Job

A1. Our Duty to Our Audience

17. As journalists we treat our readers, viewers, listeners and online users as fairly and openly as possible. Whatever the medium, we tell our audiences the complete, unvarnished truth as best we can learn it. We correct our errors explicitly as soon as we become aware of them. We do not wait for someone to request a correction. We publish corrections in a prominent and consistent location or broadcast time slot.

18. We treat audience members no less fairly in private than in public. Anyone who deals with our public is expected to honor that principle, knowing that ultimately our readers and viewers are our employers. Civility applies whether an exchange takes place in person, by telephone, by letter or by e-mail.

19. We gather information for the benefit of our audience. Journalists at the Times Company, or on assignment for one of its newsrooms, may not use their position to make inquiries for any other purpose.

20. Staff members or outside contributors who plagiarize betray our fundamental pact with our public. So does anyone who knowingly or recklessly provides false information or doctored images for publication. We will not tolerate such behavior.

A2. How We Gather the News

21. We treat news sources fairly and professionally. We do not inquire pointlessly into someone's personal life. We do not threaten to damage uncooperative sources, nor do we promise favorable coverage in return for cooperation. We do not pay for interviews or unpublished documents: to do so would create an incentive for sources to falsify material and would cast into doubt the genuineness of much that we publish.

22. Staff members and others on assignment for us should disclose their identity to people they cover, though they need not always announce their occupation when seeking information normally available to the public. Those working for us as journalists may not pose as anyone they are not—for example, police officers or lawyers.

23. Critics and other writers who review performances or goods and services offered to the public may conceal their press identity, but they may not normally assert a false identity or affiliation. As an exception, restaurant critics may make reservations in false names to avoid special treatment. For that same reason, restaurant critics and travel writers should conceal their affiliation.

Keeping Our Detachment

24. Relationships with sources require sound judgment and self-awareness to prevent the fact or appearance of partiality. Cultivating sources is an essential skill, often practiced most effectively in informal settings outside of normal business hours. Yet staff members, especially those assigned to beats, must be aware that personal relationships with news sources can erode into favoritism, in fact or appearance. Editors, who normally have a wide range of relationships, must be especially wary of showing partiality. Where friends and neighbors are also newsmakers, journalists must guard against giving them extra access or a more sympathetic ear. When practical, the best solution is to have someone else deal with them.

25. Though this topic defies firm rules, it is essential that we preserve professional detachment, free of any hint of bias. Staff members may see sources informally over a meal or drinks, but they must keep in mind the difference between legitimate business and personal friendship. A city editor who enjoys a weekly round of golf with a city council member, for example, risks creating an appearance of coziness. So does a television news producer who spends weekends in the company of people we cover. Scrupulous practice requires that periodically we step back and look at whether we have drifted too close to sources with whom we deal regularly. The test of freedom from favoritism is the ability to maintain good working relationships with all parties to a dispute.

26. Romantic involvement with a news source would create the appearance and probably the reality of partiality. Staff members who develop close relationships with people who are likely to figure in coverage they prepare or oversee must disclose those relationships privately to a responsible newsroom manager. In some cases, no further action may be needed. But in other instances staff members may have to recuse themselves from certain coverage. Sometimes assignments may have to be modified or beats changed.

Obeying the Law

27. Staff members and others on assignment for us must obey the law in the gathering of news. They may not break into buildings, homes, apartments or offices. They may not purloin data, documents or other property, including such electronic property as databases and e-mail or voice-mail messages. They may not tap telephones, invade computer files or otherwise eavesdrop electronically on news sources. In the case of government orders or court directives to disclose a confidential source, journalists will consult with the newsroom management and the legal department on the application of this paragraph.

28. Journalists who obtain press cards, press license plates, parking permits or other identification from police or other official agencies may use those credentials only to do their jobs. Those whose duties do not require special credentials must return them.

29. Staff members may not record private conversations without the prior consent of all parties to the conversations. In jurisdictions where recordings made secretly are legal, only the top manager of a news department may make an exception to this rule, and only after consultation with our legal department. Except in limited circumstances, we do not use hidden cameras; any exceptions should first be discussed with the top newsroom manager and the legal department.

Paying Our Own Way

30. When we as journalists entertain news sources (including government officials) or travel to cover them, our company pays the expenses. In some business situations and in some cultures, it may be unavoidable to accept a meal or a drink paid for by a news source (for example, at an official's residence or in a company's private dining room). Whenever practical, however, we should avoid those circumstances and suggest dining where we can pay our share (or, better, meeting in a setting that does not include a meal). Routine refreshments at an event like a news conference are acceptable, but a staff member should not attend recurring breakfast or lunch meetings unless our company pays for the journalist's meals. Whether the setting is an exclusive club or a service lodge's weekly luncheon, we should pay our way.

31. Staff members may not accept free or discounted transportation and lodging except where special circumstances give little or no choice. Such special cases include certain military or scientific expeditions and other trips for which alternative arrangements would be impractical — for example, an interview aboard a corporate jet where there is no benefit other than the interview. Journalists should consult responsible newsroom managers in advance when special circumstances arise.

32. If permitted by the local newsroom policy, staff members may accept press passes or free tickets when explicitly assigned to review artistic performances or cover athletic and similar events (for example, auto shows, agricultural fairs or flower shows). But no staff member except the assigned one — not even an editor in the arts, feature or sports department — may accept free tickets. And even when paying the box office price, a journalist may not use membership on our staff to obtain scarce seats unless the performance has a clear bearing on his or her job.

Dealing With Competitors

33. We compete zealously but deal with competitors openly and honestly. We do not invent obstacles to hamstring their efforts. When we first use facts originally reported by another news organization, we attribute them.

34. With the exception of press pool arrangements imposed by news sources, staff members may not join teams covering news events for other organizations (unless their work is part of a duly authorized joint venture), and they may not accept payment from competitors for news tips. They may not be listed on the masthead of any publication or Web site outside our company (except for a nonprofessional publication such as a religious congregation's newsletter, an alumni magazine or a club bulletin).

A3. Protecting Our Neutrality

35. Staff members and those on assignment for us may not accept anything that could be construed as a payment for favorable coverage or for avoiding unfavorable coverage. They may not accept gifts, tickets, discounts, reimbursements or other benefits from individuals or organizations covered (or likely to be covered) by their newsroom. Gifts should be returned with a polite explanation; perishable gifts may instead be given to charity, also with a note to the donor. In either case the objective of the note is, in all politeness, to discourage future gifts.

36. Staff members and those on assignment for us may not accept employment or compensation of any sort from individuals or organizations who figure in coverage they are likely to provide, prepare or supervise. The senior executive of each newsroom may authorize reasonable exceptions (for example, to let a teacher work part time as a copy editor).

37. If local policies permit journalists to share in fees for re-use of certain content, a cap must be set on any payment for advertising or promotional re-use, to avoid the appearance of an incentive for favorable coverage. The journalist's share of such fees may not exceed $200 an article.

38. Staff members may normally accept those gifts or discounts available to the general public. Normally they are also free to take advantage of conventional corporate discounts that our company shares with all employees (for example, corporate car rental rates). Journalists may accept free museum admissions or other benefits that are offered to all employees as a result of the company's charitable activities. Overseas, our staff may accept museum admissions and similar modest benefits customarily extended to journalists nationally or regionally as an occupational class rather than as individuals.

39. Unless the special terms are offered by The New York Times Company or its subsidiaries or affiliates, staff members may not buy stock in initial public offerings through "friends and family" plans where any plausible appearance of conflict of interest exists. Staff members may not accept allocations from brokerage firms.

Steering Clear of Advice Roles

40. It is an inherent conflict for a journalist to perform public relations work, paid or unpaid. Staff members may not counsel individuals or organizations on how to deal successfully with the news media. They may not, for example, advise candidates for public office, write or edit annual reports, or contribute to the programs of sports teams.

41. They may, of course, explain the newsroom's normal workings and steer outsiders to the appropriate editor or reporter. They may offer basic advice to community or neighborhood institutions such as their child's school, a small museum, a local charity or their house of worship.

42. They should not take part in public relations workshops that charge admission or imply privileged access to the press, or participate in surveys asking their opinion of an organization's media relations or public image. But on occasion they may describe our procedures to public relations groups with the goal of improving the flow of pertinent information.

43. Staff members may not serve as ghostwriters or co-authors for people or groups who figure in coverage they are likely to provide, prepare or supervise. They may not undertake such assignments for organizations that espouse a cause.

44. Staff members may not engage in financial counseling (except through the articles they write). They may not manage money for others, offer

investment advice, or help operate an investment company of any sort, with or without pay. They may, however, help family members with ordinary financial planning and serve as executors or administrators of estates of relatives and friends and as court-appointed conservators and guardians.

Entering Competitions and Contests

45. Staff members may not enter local, national or international competitions sponsored by individuals or groups who have a direct interest in the tenor of our coverage. They may not act as judges for these competitions or accept their awards. Common examples are contests sponsored by commercial, political or professional associations to judge coverage of their own affairs. Senior newsroom managers may make exceptions for competitions underwritten by corporate sponsors if those are broad in scope and independently judged by journalists or disinterested public figures.

46. Staff members may compete in competitions sponsored by groups whose members are all journalists or whose members demonstrably have no direct interest in the tenor of coverage of the field being judged. Staff members may act as judges for such competitions and accept their awards. For example, a staff member may enter a university-sponsored competition for coverage of foreign affairs but not accept an advocacy group's prize for environmental coverage.

47. Each newsroom's management should maintain a current list of competitions it has approved. Staff members who would like to enter others should consult the responsible news executive. A critical factor in approving a competition, whatever the sponsorship, is a record of arm's-length decisions, including a willingness to honor unfavorable reporting. Staff members who win unsought awards from groups that do not meet the criteria established here should decline, politely explaining our policy.

48. Normally staff members are free to accept honorary degrees, medals and other awards from colleges, universities and other educational institutions. Those who cover higher education or supervise that coverage should be sensitive to any appearance of coziness or favoritism. Those in any doubt should consult their newsroom management before accepting such an award.

Barring Collaboration and Testimonials

49. Staff members and others on assignment for us may not collaborate in ventures with individuals or organizations that are likely to figure in their coverage. Among other things, this prohibition applies to writing books, pamphlets, reports, scripts, scores or any other material and to making photographs or creating artwork of any sort.

50. Staff members may not offer endorsements or testimonials for books, films, television programs or any other programs, products or ventures. They may not accept endorsements or testimonials from anyone who is likely to figure in their coverage. Newsroom management may authorize rare exceptions (for instance, when a staff member has become expert in a field remote from his or her duties).

A4. Cautions on Public Speaking

51. Speaking before community audiences or educational groups can benefit our company by helping the public understand what we do. But before appearing before an outside group, we must be sure we are not likely to create an actual or apparent conflict of interest or undermine public trust in the impartiality of our journalism.

52. Staff members should be sensitive to the appearance of partiality when they address groups that might figure in their coverage, especially if the setting might suggest a close relationship to the sponsoring group. Before accepting such an invitation, a staff member must consult with newsroom management. Generally, for example, an editor who deals with political campaigns might comfortably address a library gathering but not appear before a civic group that endorses issues or candidates. An environmental reporter can appropriately speak to a horticultural society but not to conservation groups known for their efforts to influence public policy.

53. To avoid an appearance of undue closeness, staff members may not accept invitations to speak before a single company (for example, at a corporate executive retreat) or an industry assembly (such as organized baseball's winter meeting) unless newsroom management agrees that the

appearance is useful and does not undermine our reputation for impartiality. In such a case, our company should pay any expenses; no speaker's fee should be accepted.

54. Staff members should not accept invitations from outside our company to speak where their function is to attract customers to an event primarily intended as profit-making.

Restricting Speaker's Fees

55. Where permitted by local policy, staff members who deliver speeches may accept fees, honorariums, expense reimbursement and free transportation, but only from educational or other nonprofit groups for which lobbying and political activity are not a major focus. A staff member must consult with newsroom management before accepting a substantial speaking fee. Threshold amounts will be determined by local management.

56. Any staff member who accepts fees, honorariums or expenses for speaking engagements must file an annual accounting with newsroom management. (In the case of the top newsroom executive, the accounting is filed with the chief executive of the business unit.) Each unit may set a threshold below which annual accounting is not required. Fees earned under our company's auspices need not be included.

57. A staff member who writes a book and wishes to promote it on personal time must make every effort to ensure that public appearances conform to the spirit of these guidelines and do not interfere with normal job responsibilities. If the staff member has doubts about an appearance, he or she must consult with newsroom management. Routine expenses and fees may be accepted for such promotional appearances. Speeches and other outside activities by staff members, paid or unpaid, should not imply that they carry the endorsement of our company or any of its units (unless they do). On each such occasion, the staff member should gracefully remind the audience that the views expressed are his or her own. Outside commitments should not interfere with the speaker's normal responsibilities. Thus no staff member should set an extensive speaking schedule without approval from newsroom management.

A5. Rules for Specialized Departments

Sports

58. No member of a sports staff in our company may gamble on any sports event, except for occasional recreational wagering in a legal setting.

59. Except for properly issued press passes for event coverage, members of the sports staff may not accept tickets, travel expenses, meals, gifts or any other benefit from teams or promoters. (At their discretion, unit newsroom managements may permit journalists to accept the light refreshments routinely offered in press boxes during games.)

60. Sports reporters assigned to cover games may not serve as scorers.

Entertainment and the Arts

61. Staff members covering entertainment and the arts have a special duty to guard against conflicts of interest, real or apparent. Arts coverage, whether national or local, can often make or break reputations and commercial success. In theater, movies, music, art, dance, publishing, fashion and restaurants, critics and reviewers have an obligation to exert our newsrooms' influence ethically and prudently.

62. Except in their published writing, reporters, reviewers, critics and their editors in the arts may not help others to develop, market or promote artistic, literary or other creative ventures. They may not introduce artists to agents, publishers, producers or galleries; chefs to restaurant owners; or designers to clothing manufacturers. They should refrain from unpublished commentary, even informal, on works in progress. They may not offer ideas or proposals to people who figure in their coverage or make investments in productions in their field. (Food writers and editors may not invest in restaurants.) They may not serve on advisory boards, awards juries or other panels organized by people who figure in coverage they provide, prepare or supervise. They may not accept awards from such panels.

63. An arts writer or editor who owns a work of exhibition quality (and thus has a financial stake in the artist's reputation) may arouse questions about the impartiality of critical judgments or editing decisions. Thus members of the feature staff

who collect valuable art objects (paintings, photographs, sculpture, crafts and the like) must annually submit a list of their acquisitions and sales to newsroom management. If the top news executive falls under this provision, the list should be provided to the chief executive of the business unit.

64. Our company recognizes that its staffs include talented members who write books, music and plays; create sculpture and paintings; and give recitals. It also recognizes that a writer requires a publisher, a playwright a production company, an artist a gallery. Such relationships, however, can give rise to the fact or perception of favoritism. Staff members who enter into such arrangements must disclose them to newsroom management, and when appropriate the staff members may be disqualified from covering those with whom they have dealings.

Travel Journalism

65. No staff member of our company who prepares a travel article or broadcast — whether on assignment or freelance, and whether for us or for others—may accept free or discounted services or preferential treatment from any element of the travel industry. This rule covers hotels, resorts, restaurants, tour operators, airlines, railways, cruise lines, rental car companies and tourist attractions. This prohibition does not rule out routinely awarded frequent-flier points.

66. Editors or producers who accept travel coverage from nonstaff contributors have an obligation to guard against real or perceived conflicts of interest. They should exercise care in assigning or editing freelancers who have accepted free services while working for other news organizations; such a reputation can embarrass us. We do not give travel assignments to anyone who represents travel suppliers or who works for a government tourist office or as a publicist of any sort. A newsroom manager may make rare exceptions for special purposes—for example, to assign a writer widely recognized as an expert in a particular culture. In such a case, the journalist's connections must be disclosed in the published or broadcast coverage.

67. Writers of travel articles must conceal their identity as journalists during the reporting, so that they will experience the same conditions as an ordinary consumer. If the affiliation becomes known, the writer must discuss with a newsroom manager whether the assignment can be salvaged. In special cases, the affiliation may be disclosed—for example, when a permit is required to enter a closed area.

68. No journalist may report for us about any travel service or product offered by a family member or close friend.

A6. Obligations to Our Company

69. The good name of our company and of our business unit or publication does not belong to any of us. No one has a right to exploit it for private purposes.

70. Staff members may not use their company identification cards for purposes not connected with their work. ID cards may not be used to obtain special treatment or advantage from governmental, commercial or other organizations.

71. Staff members may not use company stationery, business cards, forms or other materials for any purpose except official business.

Speaking for the Company

72. Staff members must not disclose confidential information about the operations, policies or plans of our company or any of its divisions.

73. Senior news executives may authorize other staff members to comment publicly on policies or plans within the staff members' own areas of responsibility and expertise. If staff members are approached by outsiders or other media to discuss editorial content or policy more widely, our company policy requires that the caller be referred to the Corporate Communications department. Similarly, any inquiry addressed to a journalist about the company's advertising or other business activities should be referred to Corporate Communications.

74. Staff members are free to discuss their own activities in public, provided their comments do not create an impression that they lack journalistic impartiality or speak for the company.

75. Any staff member may respond openly and honestly to a reasonable inquiry from a reader about the staff member's work. If a reader asks for a correction, that request must be passed promptly to a supervisor. If the request threatens legal action

or appears to be from a lawyer, the complaint should be promptly referred to the legal department through a responsible newsroom manager.

Returning Borrowed Equipment

76. Staff members who borrow equipment, vehicles or other goods for evaluation or review must return them as soon as possible. Similarly, items borrowed to be photographed, such as fashion apparel or home furnishings, should be returned promptly.

77. Automobile reviewers should carry out their testing expeditiously and return the vehicle promptly. Any period longer than two or three days must be approved by a responsible newsroom manager. A reasonable amount of personal use is permissible if that use contributes to the review.

78. Staff members may keep for their own collections—but may not sell or copy — books, recordings, tapes, compact discs and computer programs sent to them for review. Such submissions are considered press releases. But no one may request extra copies of review materials for personal use. Local management may impose a ceiling on the value of review copies that journalists may retain. If not retained by the reviewer, recorded or digital media, such as tapes or disks, must be destroyed or returned to the provider; they may not be given away or left where they could be carried off for illicit copying.

79. Photographers, camera operators, picture editors, film editors, art directors, lab personnel and technology editors and reporters may not accept gifts of equipment, programs or materials from manufacturers or vendors. They may not endorse equipment, programs or materials, or offer advice on product design. (This guideline is not meant to restrict our technical staff from working with vendors to improve our systems or equipment.)

A7. Advertisers and the Business Side

80. Our company and our local units treat advertisers as fairly and openly as they treat our audiences and news sources. The relationship between the company and advertisers rests on the understanding that news and advertising are separate—that those who deal with either one have distinct obligations and interests, and each group respects the other's professional responsibilities.

81. Journalists should maintain their independence by avoiding discussions of advertising needs, goals and problems except where those are directly related to the business of the newsroom. The news and advertising departments may properly confer on the layout and configuration of a newspaper (though not on specific content) or the timing of special sections, and on the timing and placement of commercials or Web advertising. The departments may also work together in designing new print, broadcast or Web offerings to make sure that the result is viable both journalistically and economically.

82. Advertising and "advertorials" (paid text or paid broadcast content) must not resemble news content. To the maximum extent permitted by local resources, advertorials should be prepared and produced by the business departments, outside the newsroom.

83. When authorized by top newsroom management, members of the news staff may take part in interdepartmental committees on problems that affect several departments, including news. As far as possible, the news representatives should leave advertising issues to colleagues from the business side.

84. From time to time, when authorized by top news executives, journalists may take part in events organized by the company for marketing or promotion or investor presentations. But they should confine their role to discussion of our journalism and avoid the appearance or reality of making a sales presentation.

85. No one in our news departments (except when authorized by top news executives) may exchange information with the advertising department or with advertisers about the timing or content of advertising, the timing or content of news coverage or the assignment of staff or freelance news people.

B. On Our Own Time

B1. Participation in Public Life

86. The people of our company are family members and responsible citizens as well as journalists. Nothing in this policy is intended to

abridge their right to live private lives—to educate their children, to worship and to take part in community affairs. But like other dedicated professionals, we knowingly accept disciplines—in our case, with the goal of ethical and impartial journalism.

87. As noted in Paragraph 7, some of these requirements apply to all newsroom and editorial page employees, journalists and support staff alike. No newsroom or editorial employee may do anything that damages our reputation for strict neutrality in reporting on politics and government. In particular, no one may wear campaign buttons or display any other sign of political partisanship while on the job while working for our company inside or outside the office. For all other purposes, "staff members" in this section refers only to those who prepare or accept news content, as defined in Paragraph 5.

88. While the provisions of this document apply principally to journalists and some apply more widely to newsroom staffs (as explained in Paragraphs 5 through 8), the company recognizes that the activities of publishers and of their counterparts in broadcast and online operations—those senior executives to whom news and editorial department heads directly report—can also affect the appearance and reality of neutrality in reporting on politics and government. For that reason, Paragraphs 89 through 94 below will apply additionally to those executives.

Voting, Campaigns and Public Issues

89. Journalists do not take part in politics. While staff members are entitled to vote and to register in party primaries, they must do nothing that might raise questions about their professional neutrality or that of our news operations. In particular, they may not campaign for, demonstrate for, or endorse candidates, ballot causes or efforts to enact legislation. They may not wear campaign buttons or themselves display any other insignia of partisan politics.

90. Staff members may not themselves give money to any political candidate or election cause or raise money for one. Given the ease of Internet access to public records of campaign contributions, any political giving by a staff member would risk feeding a false impression that we are taking sides.

91. No staff member may seek public office anywhere. Seeking or serving in public office violates the professional detachment expected of a journalist. Active participation by one of our staff can sow a suspicion of favoritism in political coverage.

92. Staff members may not march or rally in support of public causes or movements or sign advertisements or petitions taking a position on public issues. They may not lend their names to campaigns, benefit dinners or similar events if doing so might reasonably raise doubts about their ability or their newsroom's ability to remain neutral in covering the news. Neighbors and other outsiders commonly see us as representatives of our institution.

93. Staff members may appear from time to time on local or national radio and television programs devoted to public affairs, but they should avoid expressing views that go beyond the news and analysis that could properly appear under their regular bylines. Op-Ed columnists and editorial writers enjoy more leeway than others in speaking publicly, because their business is expressing opinions. They should nevertheless choose carefully the forums in which they appear and protect the impartiality of our journalism.

94. A staff member with doubts about a proposed political activity should consult a responsible manager. These guidelines protect the heart of our mission as journalists. Where the conflict with our impartiality seems minimal, top news executives may consider matters case by case, but they should be exceedingly cautious before permitting an exception.

Serving the Community

95. Journalists should stand apart from institutions that make news. Staff members may not serve on government boards or commissions, paid or unpaid. They may not join boards of trustees, advisory committees or similar groups except those serving journalistic organizations or otherwise promoting journalism education. Depending on circumstances, newsroom heads may permit staff members to serve on a board of trustees or visitors for a school, college or university, especially one with a family connection. Upon request, newsroom heads may also authorize a staff member to appear

before a local school board to advocate decisions that may directly affect the journalist's children, but only if the issue falls outside the staff member's coverage responsibilities.

96. Our company respects community citizenship. Normally the restriction on joining trustee boards or advisory committees will not apply to local or neighborhood organizations that are unlikely to generate news of broader interest and those that do not generally seek to shape public policy. These typically include houses of worship, community charities, civic clubs, local libraries, fine arts groups, hobby groups, youth athletic leagues, country clubs and alumni groups. But news is unpredictable. Even neighborhood institutions sometimes find themselves in the spotlight. In that event, a staff member with ties to the institution must stand aside from any controversy and not take part in the coverage. In no case may a staff member's affiliation with our company be used to further the goals of such a nonprofit or volunteer organization.

97. Staff members may not solicit funds for social, political, religious or other philanthropic causes. Soliciting can create an expectation of a favor in return. Within reason staff members may help the groups described in Paragraph 96 with relatively modest fund-raising. They should never solicit anyone with whom they or their newsroom has professional dealings or invoke the name of our company or any of its units.

B2. Avoiding Conflicts Over Family

98. In a day when most families balance two careers, the legitimate activities of household members and other relatives can sometimes create journalistic conflicts of interest or the appearance of conflicts. These can arise in civic or political life, professional work and financial activity. A spouse's or companion's campaign for public office would obviously create the appearance of conflict for a political reporter or television producer involved in election coverage. A brother or a daughter in a high-profile job on Wall Street might produce the appearance of conflict for a business reporter or editor.

99. Our company has no wish to intrude upon family members who are not its employees. Nothing in this document prohibits a spouse, companion or other relative of a staff member from taking part in any political, financial, commercial, religious or civic activity. Where restrictions are necessary, they fall on the company employee alone. But any attempt to conceal a staff member's activity by using a relative's name (or any other alias) would constitute a violation.

100. Staff members must be sensitive that direct political activity by their spouses, family or household members, such as running for office or managing a campaign—even while proper—may well create conflicts of interest or the appearance of conflicts. Even limited participation, like giving money or ringing doorbells, may stir suspicions of political bias if it becomes conspicuous. Staff members and their families should be wary of ambiguity. A bumper sticker on the family car or a campaign sign on the lawn may be misread as the journalist's, no manner who in the household actually placed it. When a spouse or companion makes a campaign contribution, it is wise to avoid writing the check on a joint account.

101. To avoid conflicts, staff members may not furnish, prepare or supervise news content about relatives, spouses or others with whom they have close personal relationships. For the same reasons, staff members should not recruit or directly supervise family members or close friends. Some exceptions are permissible—in a foreign bureau, for instance, where a married couple form a team, or in a small news department, with the approval of top newsroom management.

102. The company and its units depend on staff members to disclose potential problems in a timely fashion, with an eye to working together to head off embarrassment to all concerned. Any staff member who sees a potential for a conflict of interest in the activities of spouse, relatives or friends must discuss the situation with newsroom management. In many or even most cases, disclosure will suffice. But if newsroom management considers the problem serious, the staff member may have to withdraw from certain coverage. Sometimes an assignment may have to be modified or a beat changed.

B3. Protections Against Financial Conflicts

103. Every member of the company must be vigilant against any appearance of abusing non-

public information for financial gain. That requirement applies to all departments.

104. No staff member may own stock or have any other financial interest, including a board membership, in a company, enterprise or industry about which she or he regularly furnishes, prepares or supervises coverage. This restriction extends beyond the business beat. A book editor may not invest in a publishing house, a health writer in a pharmaceutical company or a Pentagon reporter in a mutual fund specializing in defense stocks. "Stock," as used here, means not just individual issues but also futures, options, rights, and speculative debt, as well as "sector" mutual funds (those focused on one industry).

105. In any region or locality where one company or industry is dominant, no news staff member likely to influence coverage of that business may own its shares. That description applies to top newsroom managers who are broadly responsible for coverage (including editorial-page editors); the head of each news or editorial department should decide to which rank-and-file journalists and middle-level editors it properly applies.

106. Staff members may not buy or sell securities or make other investments in anticipation of coming news coverage. Before trading, they must wait for a reasonable period, to give the public time to absorb the news. (Our legal department can advise on the timing.) This restriction does not apply to spot news reports that first appear on news agency wires or originate outside our organization.

Affirming Compliance

107. Staff members in each of our newsrooms should be asked, when hired, to affirm that they have no investments that would violate Paragraph 104 with respect to their proposed assignment. If a new staff member is unable to give that assurance, she or he must either dispose of the conflicting investment or accept an assignment where no such conflict exists. Similarly staff members should be asked, when hired, to affirm that to the best of their knowledge no household member or close relative has financial holdings that might reasonably raise doubts about the staff member's impartiality in the proposed assignment. Here, too, the answer could require recusal or an alternative assignment.

108. From time to time, management may ask staff members in any news or editorial department to affirm that they have no investments in violation of Paragraph 104. Such a request might be expected, for example, when a staff member is about to begin a new assignment or work on a particularly sensitive article. Similarly the journalist may be asked to affirm that to the best of his or her knowledge no household member or close relative has financial holdings that might reasonably raise doubts about the journalist's impartiality. If such conditions arise, the staff member must alert newsroom management.

109. If a journalist in any medium is assigned to provide or prepare coverage outside his or her own beat, about a company or industry in which she or he owns stock, the journalist must discuss the investment with the assigning editor or producer before beginning the work. Similarly, editors or producers assigned to extensive news coverage about companies or industries in which they have investments must advise their supervisors of potential conflicts before proceeding. In many instances it will be permissible for the work to go on, but a journalist who works on such an assignment may not buy or sell stock in the company or industry until two weeks after publication or broadcast.

Avoiding Market Conflicts

110. Journalists who regularly cover business and financial news may not play the market: that is, they may not conduct in-and-out trading, speculate in options or futures or sell securities short. Any of these actions could create an appearance of exploiting information not available to the public. Staff members who regularly cover business aspects of technology or other subjects are also subject to this rule.

111. Each newsroom is responsible for giving the public complete confidence that editors' choices are not biased by their personal finances. Depending on the editors' duties and on the volume, visibility and influence of each newsroom's business coverage, this assurance can be accomplished through periodic recusal, disclosure or an outright ban on owning stocks. Editors who regularly assign or supervise business or financial coverage would be well advised to avoid owning stocks in individual companies or sectors.

112. To avoid an appearance of conflict, business editors and their superiors in each news operation must affirm annually to their unit's chief financial officer that they have no financial holdings in violation of this set of rules. This requirement applies to editorial-page editors as well.

113. A staff member who owns stock and moves into an assignment where such holdings are not permitted must sell the stock. Each unit should devise a reasonable transition plan.

114. Whenever these rules require the sale of stockholdings, a staff member can satisfy the requirement by putting the holdings into a blind trust or the equivalent.

115. Though this document imposes some necessary limits on freedom to invest, it leaves a broad range of personal finance opportunities open to our journalists. Any staff member is free to own diversified mutual funds, money market funds and other diversified investments outside the staff member's day-to-day control. Any member may also own treasury bills, investment-grade municipal bonds, debt securities other than speculative bonds, and securities issued by The New York Times Company. And rank-and-file staff members are free to own stocks unrelated to their assignment.

B4. Freelance Writing and Broadcast Appearances

116. With approval of senior newsroom managers, staff members may accept freelance assignments that do not directly compete with our own offerings. Normally, work for competitors will not be permitted. In rare instances, permission may be granted when supervisory editors are not interested in the article or project offered by a staff member. Staff members are encouraged to offer their freelance work to their own news unit before trying to place it elsewhere.

117. Also with approval, staff members may participate in radio, television or online interviews or discussions, local or national, that deal with articles they have written or subjects that figure in coverage they provide, prepare or supervise. Such occasional appearances must not imply that the journalist speaks for our organization (unless that is officially the case). Staff members should ensure that the use of their names and their company affiliation, in materials promoting the appearances, is consistent with the newspaper's impartiality.

118. The senior executive of each news operation in the company, in consultation with that operation's top business manager, should maintain a list of the present and likely competitors in its journalistic arena. These might include any newspaper, magazine, television venture, online service or other medium, regardless of form, that has a similar editorial focus, either for a general audience or with particular segments of ours. If the competitive status of a freelance outlet is unclear, the staff member should consult with newsroom management.

119. Staff members may not appear on broadcasts that compete directly with our company's own offerings on television or online. Otherwise they may make occasional broadcast or online appearances as outlined elsewhere in this document. But they must seek management's approval before accepting full-fledged assignments for reporting, anchoring, editing or production from any outside broadcast venture, even one that sells programming to us, buys it from us or makes it in partnership with us.

Governing Freelance Work

120. Staff members must ensure that their freelance work does not interfere with their normal responsibilities and that it is consistent with the policies and guidelines of this document and any standards adopted locally by our newsrooms.

121. Before accepting a freelance assignment, a staff member should make sure that the tone and content of the outlet are consistent with the standards of the local news department and our company. A staff member should place nothing elsewhere that implies sponsorship or endorsement by our company or its units.

122. In a radio, television, telephonic or online appearance, or any other public forum, we should avoid strident, theatrical vehicles that emphasize punditry or reckless opinion mongering. Our contributions should be marked by thoughtful and retrospective analysis. Generally a staff member should not say anything on the air or online that goes beyond the news and analysis that could properly appear under his or her regular byline.

123. Because outside work unavoidably reflects on our company, staff members who accept freelance assignments or make broadcast or online appearances should adhere to these guidelines in

carrying out that work. For example, they may not accept compensation, expenses, discounts, gifts or other inducements from a news source. Similarly, any staff member who establishes a personal site on the Web must insure that his or her online conduct conforms to these guidelines.

124. Frequency matters. Freelance work, whether in print or in electronic media, can create a conflict of interest if it is pursued with such regularity that it interferes with normal assignments or compromises the integrity or independence of the news report. Freelancing can also create a conflict if it identifies a staff member as closely with another publication, program or Web site as with his or her regular job. Writing under a pseudonym does not alter the obligation to comply with this provision.

125. A regular contribution to an outside enterprise may be permissible if it does not flow from the journalist's regular responsibilities or interfere with them, and if it does not involve content owed to our company and its audiences. Examples of acceptable affiliations might be a city editor who writes a monthly column on fishing or a news photographer who has a modest studio business. Staff members considering such continuing ventures should confer with newsroom management.

B5. Web Pages and Web Logs

126. Web pages and Web logs (the online personal journals known as blogs) present imaginative opportunities for personal expression and exciting new journalism. When created by our staff or published on our Web sites, they also require cautions, magnified by the Web's unlimited reach.

127. Personal journals that appear on our official Web sites are subject to the newsroom's standards of fairness, taste and legal propriety. Nothing may be published under the name of our company or any of our units unless it has gone through an editing or moderating process.

128. If a staff member publishes a personal Web page or blog on a site outside our company's control, the staff member has a duty to make sure that the content is purely that: personal. Staff members who write blogs should generally avoid topics they cover professionally; failure to do so would invite a confusion of roles. No personal Web activity should imply the participation or endorsement of the Times Company or any of its units. No one may post text, audio or video created for a Times Company unit without obtaining appropriate permission.

129. Given the ease of Web searching, even a private journal by a staff member is likely to become associated in the audience's mind with the company's reputation. Thus blogs and Web pages created outside our facilities must nevertheless be temperate in tone, reflecting taste, decency and respect for the dignity and privacy of others. In such a forum, our staff members may chronicle their daily lives and may be irreverent, but should not defame or humiliate others. Their prose may be highly informal, even daring, but not shrill or intolerant. They may include photos or video but not offensive images. They may incorporate reflections on journalism, but they should not divulge private or confidential information obtained through their inside access to our newsroom or our Company.

130. Bloggers may write lively commentary on their preferences in food, music, sports or other avocations, but as journalists they must avoid taking stands on divisive public issues. A staff member's Web page that was outspoken on the abortion issue would violate our policy in exactly the same way as participation in a march or rally on the subject. A blog that takes a political stand is as far out of bounds as a letter to the editor supporting or opposing a candidate. The definition of a divisive public issue will vary from one community to another; in case of doubt, staff members should consult local newsroom management.

131. A staff member's private Web page or blog must be independently produced. It should be free of advertising or sponsorship support from individuals or organizations whose coverage the staff member is likely to provide, prepare or supervise during working hours. Care should be taken in linking to any subject matter that would be off limits on the Web page itself.

B6. Books, and Rights to Our Materials

132. Any staff member intending to write a nonfiction book based on material that derives from his or her assignment or beat must notify

newsroom management in advance. If the plan is to reproduce content created for any of our media, the Times Company owns that material outright. It may not be reproduced elsewhere without the prior written permission of the company. And it cannot be rewritten, updated or otherwise altered and then republished without the company's prior written permission. If a staff member is approached by someone seeking rights to Times Company material, the inquiry must be forwarded promptly to newsroom management.

133. Staff members who plan outside writing or other outside creative work must never permit an impression that they might benefit financially from the outcome of news events. Thus a staff member may not negotiate about rights to an article or story idea before the article has appeared. Staff members involved in covering a running story may not negotiate over creative works of any sort based on that coverage until the news has played out.

134. At no time may a staff member turn over notes, interviews, documents, outtakes or other working materials to any third party, including agents, producers, studios or outside production agencies, or share those materials with them unless legally compelled to do so. In case of such a request, the Times Company's legal department will provide assistance (consistent with collective bargaining agreements). As a matter of policy, the Times Company will not give commercial producers or publishers access to working materials any more than it would turn them over to government prosecutors for use in court.

135. Staff members offered consulting agreements in television or film by agents, producers, studios or others must consult a responsible newsroom manager before accepting. No staff member may serve as a consultant to a film or program that he or she knows in advance is tendentious or clearly distorts the underlying facts. In no case should a consulting role be described in a way that invokes our company or its local units, or implies our endorsement or participation.

C. Outside Contributors

136. Our audience applies exacting standards to all of our journalism. It does not normally distinguish between the work of staff members and that of outside freelancers. Thus as far as possible, freelance contributors to the Times Company's journalism, while not its employees, should accept the same ethical standards as staff members as a condition of their assignments for us. If they violate these standards, they should be denied further assignments.

137. Before being given an assignment, freelance contributors must sign a contract with the Times Company or one of its units. Such a contract obliges them to take care to avoid conflicts of interests or the appearance of conflict. Specifically, in connection with their work for us, freelancers will not accept free transportation, free lodging, gifts, junkets, commissions or assignments from current or potential news sources. Independent broadcast producers, similarly, must comply with our ethical standards during their preparation of any news production that will bear the name of the Times Company or one of its units.

138. Assigning editors and producers who deal with non-staff contributors should be aware that a freelancer's previous involvements and professional behavior can prove an embarrassment. They should make every effort to insure that a freelancer has no history or ties that would raise a real or apparent conflict of interest on a particular assignment.

139. The concise provisions of our freelance contracts cannot cover every circumstance that might arise. Assigning editors and producers should ensure that contributors are aware of this set of rules and to the greatest extent possible honor its provisions while on assignment for us. Any disagreement over whether a specific provision applies to outside contributors should be resolved before the assignment proceeds.

October 2005

The New York Times Company. "The New York Times Company Policy on Ethics in Journalism." The New York Times Company. http://www.nytco.com/press/ethics.html#intro (accessed October 31, 2008). Reprinted with permission of The New York Times Company.

Hearst Newspapers—Statement of Professional Principles

Published: May 2002
Last Updated: May 20, 2002

Statement of Professional Principles

It is our singular mission to be the most trusted, most respected and most accurate source of news and information in the Hearst Newspapers communities that we serve.

We place our readers' interests above all others, and dedicate ourselves to the principles of truthfulness, fairness and independence. We understand that the free flow of accurate information is vital to our system of government and the foundations of our economy.

It is not to introduce new standards but in fact to reinforce the principles on which this company and these newspapers were founded that we set forth the following Statement of Professional Principles. While the primary form in which we serve our readers is through the pages of our editorial product, it is no less incumbent upon all of our employees, in every department, to hold themselves to the highest standard of ethical and legal principles both in the conduct of our business and in our participation in the communities in which we live and work.

The trust that our communities place in us is our most valuable asset. All of us are guardians of this trust, and to do so faithfully requires the avoiding even the perception of conflict of interest, and encouraging colleagues to act in a similar manner.

Newsgathering

The deliberate introduction of false information into our newspapers will not be tolerated. Legitimate mistakes do occur, and when they do, we have the responsibility to correct those errors in a timely and complete fashion. While the editor, the managing editor and the reader representative have the final responsibility for corrections, reporters should not hesitate to bring errors in their own work to the attention of their supervisor.

Reporters, editors and other news professionals should in no way misrepresent their identity in order to gather information for a story. Likewise, fictional identities shall not be used in the newspapers and photographs shall not be materially altered unless clearly labeled as such.

In our news columns as well as in our reporting, we will treat people with dignity and respect. Recognizing that there are multiple points of view in most stories, we will make every effort to include all sides relevant to a story. We must make a particular effort to seek comment from those portrayed in a critical manner.

Information used in our newspapers that was gathered by another organization should be attributed or labeled as such. Plagiarism is never acceptable.

Conflict of Interest

All employees should make a special effort to avoid both actual conflicts and the appearance of them. Thus, with the exception of nominal courtesies and traditional practices such as business meals, we should accept no gifts, trips or other things of significant value from those we cover.

We shouldn't use our position or affiliation to seek special personal benefit.

While we encourage all of our employees to be good public as well as private citizens, employees should avoid any active involvement in partisan politics. Employees should also avoid active involvement in community issues or organizations to the extent that their participation might cause the paper's objectivity to come into question.

Family members can't be held to these standards. However, any family business or political or community affiliation that might reasonably cause an employee's objectivity to be questioned should be brought to the attention of a supervisor.

Confidentiality

Any information gathered by a Hearst Newspaper in the conduct of official duties is the property of the newspaper. No one shall provide any such information to any persons or organization for any purpose until that information is made public. Similarly, no one shall use such nonpublic information to make securities transactions prior to such information being made public.

Business Practices

All business of the newspaper should be conducted in an honest manner and in compliance with the law. Transactions should be in the best interest of our customers as well as Hearst Newspapers.

Just as with those we cover, no employee shall accept any gift or other significant value from any customer or supplier to the newspaper, with the exception of the aforementioned courtesies and traditional practices, such as business meals.

No employee should serve as an officer or director of another company unless he or she has the explicit approval of the newspaper's publisher.

All books and records must be accurately and truthfully kept.

All written communications, including email, must be carefully written, keeping in mind that they may have to be disclosed in litigation or will otherwise become public.

Workplace

Hearst Newspapers seeks to maintain a safe and supportive workplace where employees are treated with respect, where diversity is valued and where decisions on employment and career advancement are based on equal opportunity. Employees are expected to support and uphold these principals.

Adherence to the Principles

Hearst Newspapers always has and will continue to expect employees to practice the above Statement of Principles. It is also important to understand that this Statement of Principles is not the sole guideline by which employees' actions may be governed. Individual newspapers and departments within them may have additional principles that employees will be expected to follow.

The Hearst Company. "Hearst Newspapers Statement of Professional Principles." The American Society of News Editors. http://www.asne.org/index.cfm?ID=3556 (accessed October 31, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

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The Washington Post—Standards and Ethics

Published: February 16, 1999
Last Updated: February 17, 1999

The Washington Post is pledged to an aggressive, responsible and fair pursuit of the truth without fear of any special interest, and with favor to none.

Washington Post reporters and editors are pledged to approach every assignment with the fairness of open minds and without prior judgment. The search for opposing views must be routine. Comment from persons accused or challenged in stories must be included. The motives of those who press their views upon us must routinely be examined, and it must be recognized that those motives can be noble or ignoble, obvious or ulterior.

We fully recognize that the power we have inherited as the dominant morning newspaper in the capital of the free world carries with it special responsibilities:

to listen to the voiceless

to avoid any and all acts of arrogance

to face the public politely and candidly.

A. Conflict of Interest

This newspaper is pledged to avoid conflict of interest or the appearance of conflict of interest, wherever and whenever possible. We have adopted stringent policies on these issues, conscious that they may be more restrictive than is customary in the world of private business. In particular:

We pay our own way.

We accept no gifts from news sources. We accept no free trips. We neither seek nor accept preferential treatment that might be rendered because of the positions we hold. Exceptions to the no-gift rule are few and obvious-invitation to meals, for example, may be accepted when they are occasional and innocent but not when they are repeated and their purpose is deliberately calculating. Free admissions to any event that is not free to the public are prohibited. The only exception is for seats not sold to the public, as in a press box. Whenever possible arrangements will be made to pay for such seats.

We work for no one except The Washington Post without permission from supervisors. Many outside

activities and jobs are incompatible with the proper performance of work on an independent newspaper. Connections with government are among the most objectionable. To avoid real or apparent conflicts of interest in the coverage of business and the financial markets, all members of the Business and Financial staff are required to disclose to their department head any financial interest that might be in conflict or give the appearance of a conflict in their reporting or editing duties. Department heads will make their own financial disclosures to the managing editor.

We freelance for no one and accept no speaking engagements without permission from department heads. Permission to freelance will be granted only if The Post has no interest in the story and only if it is to appear in a medium that does not compete with The Post. It is important that no freelance assignments and no honoraria be accepted that might in any way be interpreted as disguised gratuities.

We make every reasonable effort to be free of obligation to news sources and to special interests. We must be wary of entanglement with those whose positions render them likely to be subjects of journalistic interest and examination. Our private behavior as well as our professional behavior must not bring discredit to our profession or to The Post.

We avoid active involvement in any partisan causes—politics, community affairs, social action, demonstrations—that could compromise or seem to compromise our ability to report and edit fairly. Relatives cannot fairly be made subject to Post rules, but it should be recognized that their employment or their involvement in causes can at least appear to compromise our integrity. The business and professional ties of traditional family members or other members of your household must be disclosed to department heads.

B. The Reporter's Role

Although it has become increasingly difficult for this newspaper and for the press generally to do so since Watergate, reporters should make every effort to remain in the audience, to be the stagehand rather than the star, to report the news, not to make the news.

In gathering news, reporters will not misrepresent their identity. They will not identify themselves as police officers, physicians or anything other than journalists.

C. Errors

This newspaper is pledged to minimize the number of errors we make and to correct those that occur. Accuracy is our goal; candor is our defense. Persons who call errors to our attention must be accorded a respectful hearing.

D. Attribution of Sources

The Washington Post is pledged to disclose the source of all information when at all possible. When we agree to protect a source's identity, that identity will not be made known to anyone outside The Post.

Before any information is accepted without full attribution, reporters must make every reasonable effort to get it on the record. If that is not possible, reporters should consider seeking the information elsewhere. If that in turn is not possible, reporters should request an on-the-record reason for concealing the source's identity and should include the reason in the story.

In any case, some kind of identification is almost always possible – by department or by position, for example – and should be reported.

No pseudonyms are to be used.

However, The Washington Post will not knowingly disclose the identities of U.S. intelligence agents, except under highly unusual circumstances which must be weighed by the senior editors.

E. Plagiarism and Credit

Attribution of material from other newspapers and other media must be total. Plagiarism is one of journalism's unforgivable sins. It is the policy of this newspaper to give credit to other publications that develop exclusive stories worthy of coverage by The Post.

F. Fairness

Reporters and editors of The Post are committed to fairness. While arguments about objectivity are endless, the concept of fairness is something that editors and reporters can easily understand and pursue. Fairness results from a few simple practices:

No story is fair if it omits facts of major importance or significance. Fairness includes completeness.

No story is fair if it includes essentially irrelevant information at the expense of significant facts. Fairness includes relevance.

No story is fair if it consciously or unconsciously misleads or even deceives the reader. Fairness includes honesty-leveling with the reader.

No story is fair if reporters hide their biases or emotions behind such subtly pejorative words as "refused," "despite," "quietly," "admit" and "massive." Fairness requires straightforwardness ahead of flashiness.

G. Opinion

On this newspaper, the separation of news columns from the editorial and opposite-editorial pages is solemn and complete. This separation is intended to serve the reader, who is entitled to the facts in the news columns and to opinions on the editorial and "op-ed" pages. But nothing in this separation of functions is intended to eliminate from the news columns honest, in-depth reporting, or analysis or commentary when plainly labeled.

H. The National and Community Interest

The Washington Post is vitally concerned with the national interest and with the community interest. We believe these interests are best served by the widest possible dissemination of information. The claim of national interest by a federal official does not automatically equate with the national interest. The claim of the community interest by a local official does not automatically equate with the community interest.

I. Taste

The Washington Post as a newspaper respects taste and decency, understanding that society's concepts of taste and decency are constantly changing. A word offensive to the last generation can be part of the next generation's common vocabulary. But we shall avoid prurience. We shall avoid profanities and obscenities unless their use is so essential to a story of significance that its meaning is lost without them. In no case shall obscenities be used without the approval of the executive editor or the managing editor or his deputy.

J. The Post's Principles

After Eugene Meyer bought The Washington Post in 1933 and began the family ownership that continues today, he published "These Principles":

> THE FIRST MISSION OF A NEWSPAPER IS TO TELL THE TRUTH AS NEARLY AS THE TRUTH MAY BE ASCERTAINED.
>
> THE NEWSPAPER SHALL TELL ALL THE TRUTH SO FAR AS IT CAN LEARN IT, CONCERNING THE IMPORTANT AFFAIRS OF AMERICA AND THE WORLD.
>
> AS A DISSEMINATOR OF THE NEWS, THE PAPER SHALL OBSERVE THE DECENCIES THAT ARE OBLIGATORY UPON A PRIVATE GENTLEMAN.
>
> WHAT IT PRINTS SHALL BE FIT READING FOR THE YOUNG AS WELL AS FOR THE OLD.
>
> THE NEWSPAPER'S DUTY IS TO ITS READERS AND TO THE PUBLIC AT LARGE, AND NOT TO THE PRIVATE INTERESTS OF THE OWNER.
>
> IN THE PURSUIT OF TRUTH, THE NEWSPAPER SHALL BE PREPARED TO MAKE SACRIFICES OF ITS MATERIAL FORTUNES, IF SUCH COURSE BE NECESSARY FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD. THE NEWSPAPER SHALL NOT BE THE ALLY OF ANY SPECIAL INTEREST, BUT SHALL BE FAIR AND FREE AND WHOLESOME IN ITS OUTLOOK ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC MEN.
>
> "These Principles" are re-endorsed herewith.

The Washington Post. "The Washington Post Standards and Ethics." The American Society of News Editors. http://www.asne.org/ideas/codes/washingtonpost.htm (accessed June 30, 2009). Reprinted with permission.

News Wire Services

The Associated Press—Statement of News Values and Principles
Dow Jones—Code of Ethics
Thomson Reuters—Editorial Policy

Introduction

It has become progressively more difficult in recent years for daily newspapers and other news organizations to sustain a viable chain of news bureaus around the world. As a result, the role of news wire services in international and national reporting has become decidedly more ubiquitous. The decrease in news bureaus run by individual news outlets—and the loss of the varied perspectives these bureaus brought to reporting international stories—has left news wire services in a much more powerful position to shape public perception of world events.

The Associated Press (AP) transmits an enormous number of news stories daily for print, online and on-air use. It put out a Statement of News Values and Principles that reaffirms its moral and professional responsibilities in providing "more people in more places" with news than any other source. Besides the typical ethical concerns with matters like truth, accuracy, conflict of interest and anonymous sources, AP also addresses issues more special to their vast field reporting efforts. For instance, the document covers in great detail the rules governing both datelines and bylines for stories done in a variety of forms.

Dow Jones Newswires is the leader in delivering "real-time" business news from around the world. The Code of Ethics issued by Dow Jones highlights the organization's acute awareness of how profoundly their reports can impact the business strategies and financial health of a myriad of other companies. In this context, the rules dealing with the use of confidential information and the business relationships/activities of employees take on a much greater significance. There is also a strict, detailed policy on security transactions made by employees who might be privy to nonpublic or "inside" information.

The Editorial Policy of Thomson Reuters focuses almost exclusively on the need for independent, balanced reporting. Reuters, a huge multimedia news service covering global events, makes a particular point of reporters, photographers, and cameramen not appearing to take sides in wars or other conflicts they cover. With the exception of directly or indirectly quoting a source, the document admonishes reporters about the use of "emotive terms" that might compromise an objective stance.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

The Associated Press—Statement of News Values and Principles

02/16/2006

For more than a century and a half, men and women of The Associated Press have had the privilege of bringing truth to the world. They have gone to great lengths, overcome great obstacles—and, too often, made great and horrific sacrifices—to ensure that the news was reported quickly, accurately and honestly. Our efforts have been rewarded with trust: More people in more places

get their news from the AP than from any other source.

In the 21st century, that news is transmitted in more ways than ever before—in print, on the air and on the Web, with words, images, graphics, sounds and video. But always and in all media, we insist on the highest standards of integrity and ethical behavior when we gather and deliver the news.

That means we abhor inaccuracies, carelessness, bias or distortions.

It means we will not knowingly introduce false information into material intended for publication or broadcast; nor will we alter photo or image content. Quotations must be accurate, and precise.

It means we always strive to identify all the sources of our information, shielding them with anonymity only when they insist upon it and when they provide vital information—not opinion or speculation; when there is no other way to obtain that information; and when we know the source is knowledgeable and reliable.

It means we don't plagiarize.

It means we avoid behavior or activities that create a conflict of interest and compromise our ability to report the news fairly and accurately, uninfluenced by any person or action.

It means we don't misidentify or misrepresent ourselves to get a story. When we seek an interview, we identify ourselves as AP journalists.

It means we don't pay newsmakers for interviews, to take their photographs or to film or record them.

It means we must be fair. Whenever we portray someone in a negative light, we must make a real effort to obtain a response from that person. When mistakes are made, they must be corrected—fully, quickly and ungrudgingly.

And ultimately, it means it is the responsibility of every one of us to ensure that these standards are upheld. Any time a question is raised about any aspect of our work, it should be taken seriously.

"I have no thought of saying The Associated Press is perfect. The frailties of human nature attach to it," wrote Melville Stone, the great general manager of the AP. But he went on to say that "the thing it is striving for is a truthful, unbiased report of the world's happenings…ethical in the highest degree."

He wrote those words in 1914. They are true today.

The policies set forth in these pages are central to the AP's mission; any failure to abide by them is subject to review, and could result in disciplinary action, ranging from admonishment to dismissal, depending on the gravity of the infraction.

Standards and Practices Anonymous Sources:

Transparency is critical to our credibility with the public and our subscribers. Whenever possible, we pursue information on the record. When a newsmaker insists on background or off-the-record ground rules, we must adhere to a strict set of guidelines, enforced by AP news managers.

Under AP's rules, material from anonymous sources may be used only if:

1. The material is information and not opinion or speculation, and is vital to the news report.
2. The information is not available except under the conditions of anonymity imposed by the source.
3. The source is reliable, and in a position to have accurate information.

Reporters who intend to use material from anonymous sources must get approval from their news manager before sending the story to the desk. The manager is responsible for vetting the material and making sure it meets AP guidelines. The manager must know the identity of the source, and is obligated, like the reporter, to keep the source's identity confidential. Only after they are assured that the source material has been vetted should editors allow it to be transmitted.

Reporters should proceed with interviews on the assumption they are on the record. If the source wants to set conditions, these should be negotiated at the start of the interview. At the end of the interview, the reporter should try once again to move some or all of the information back on the record.

Before agreeing to use anonymous source material, the reporter should ask how the source knows

the information is accurate, ensuring that the source has direct knowledge. Reporters may not agree to a source's request that AP not pursue additional comment or information.

The AP routinely seeks and requires more than one source. Stories should be held while attempts are made to reach additional sources for confirmation or elaboration. In rare cases, one source will be sufficient—when material comes from an authoritative figure who provides information so detailed that there is no question of its accuracy.

We must explain in the story why the source requested anonymity. And, when it's relevant, we must describe the source's motive for disclosing the information. If the story hinges on documents, as opposed to interviews, the reporter must describe how the documents were obtained, at least to the extent possible.

The story also must provide attribution that establishes the source's credibility; simply quoting "a source" is not allowed. We should be as descriptive as possible: "according to top White House aides" or "a senior official in the British Foreign Office." The description of a source must never be altered without consulting the reporter.

We must not say that a person declined comment when he or she is already quoted anonymously. And we should not attribute information to anonymous sources when it is obvious or well known. We should just state the information as fact.

Stories that use anonymous sources must carry a reporter's byline. If a reporter other than the bylined staffer contributes anonymous material to a story, that reporter should be given credit as a contributor to the story.

And all complaints and questions about the authenticity or veracity of anonymous material—from inside or outside the AP—must be promptly brought to the news manager's attention.

Not everyone understands "off the record" or "on background" to mean the same things. Before any interview in which any degree of anonymity is expected, there should be a discussion in which the ground rules are set explicitly.

These are the AP's definitions:

On the record. The information can be used with no caveats, quoting the source by name.

Off the record. The information cannot be used for publication.

Background. The information can be published but only under conditions negotiated with the source. Generally, the sources do not want their names published but will agree to a description of their position. AP reporters should object vigorously when a source wants to brief a group of reporters on background and try to persuade the source to put the briefing on the record. These background briefings have become routine in many venues, especially with government officials.

Deep background. The information can be used but without attribution. The source does not want to be identified in any way, even on condition of anonymity.

In general, information obtained under any of these circumstances can be pursued with other sources to be placed on the record.

Anonymous Sources in Material from Other News Sources:

Reports from other news organizations based on anonymous sources require the most careful scrutiny when we consider them for our report.

AP's basic rules for anonymous-source material apply to pickups as they do in our own reporting: The material must be factual and obtainable no other way. The story must be truly significant and newsworthy. Use of sourced material must be authorized by a manager. The story must be balanced, and comment must be sought.

Further, before picking up such a story we must make a bona fide effort to get it on the record, or, at a minimum, confirm it through our own sources. We shouldn't hesitate to hold the story if we have any doubts. If the source material is ultimately used, it must be attributed to the originating member and note their description of their sources.

Audio:

AP's audio actualities must always tell the truth. We do not alter or manipulate the content of a newsmaker actuality in any way. Voice reports by AP correspondents may be edited to remove pauses or stumbles.

The AP does permit the use of the subtle, standard audio processing methods of normalization of levels, general volume adjustments, equalization to make the sound clearer, noise reduction to reduce extraneous sounds such as telephone line

noise, and fading in and out of the start and end of sound bites, provided the use of these methods does not conceal, obscure, remove or otherwise alter the content, or any portion of the content, of the audio. When an employee has questions about the use of such methods or the AP's requirements and limitations on audio editing, he or she should contact the desk supervisor prior to the transmission of any audio.

Bylines:

Bylines may be used only if the journalist was in the datelined location to gather the information reported. If a reporter in the field provides information to a staffer who writes the story, the reporter in the field gets the byline, unless the editor in charge determines that the byline should more properly go to the writer.

We give bylines to photographers, broadcast reporters and TV crew members who provide information without which there would be no story.

If multiple staffers report the story, the byline is the editor's judgment call. In general, the byline should go to the staffer who reported the key facts. Or, one staffer can take the byline for one cycle, and another for the following cycle.

A double byline or editor's note also can be used when more than one staffer makes a substantial contribution to the reporting or writing of a story. Credit lines recognize reporting contributions that are notable but don't call for a double byline.

If either of the staffers with a double byline was not in the datelined location, we should say who was where in a note at the story's end.

For roundups, the byline goes to the writer, with credit in an editor's note to the reporters who contributed substantial information.

Regarding credits for staffers who do voice or on-camera work: We do not use pseudonyms or "air names." Any exceptions—for instance, if a staffer has been known professionally by an air name for some time—must be approved by a manager.

Corrections/Correctives:

Staffers must notify supervisory editors as soon as possible of errors or potential errors, whether in their work or that of a colleague. Every effort should be made to contact the staffer and his or her supervisor before a correction is moved.

When we're wrong, we must say so as soon as possible. When we make a correction in the current cycle, we point out the error and its fix in the editor's note. A correction must always be labeled a correction in the editor's note. We do not use euphemisms such as "recasts," "fixes," "clarifies" or "changes" when correcting a factual error.

A corrective corrects a mistake from a previous cycle. The AP asks papers or broadcasters that used the erroneous information to use the corrective, too.

For corrections on live, online stories, we overwrite the previous version. We send separate corrective stories online as warranted.

For graphics, we clearly label a correction with a FIX logo or bug, and clearly identify the material that has been corrected.

For photos, we move a caption correction and retransmit the photo with a corrected caption, clearly labeled as a retransmission to correct an error.

For video, corrections in scripts and/or shotlists are sent to clients as an advisory and are labeled as such.

For live broadcasts, we correct errors in the same newscast if at all possible. If not, we make sure the corrected information is used in the next appropriate live segment. Audio correspondent reports that contain factual errors are eliminated and, when possible, replaced with corrected reports.

Datelines:

A dateline tells the reader where we obtained the basic information for a story. In contrast, a byline tells the reader that a reporter was at the site of the dateline.

When a datelined story contains supplementary information obtained in another location—say, when an official in Washington comments on a disaster elsewhere—we should note it in the story.

The dateline for video or audio must be the location where the events depicted actually occurred. For voice work, the dateline must be the location from which the reporter is speaking. If a reporter covers a story in one location but does a live report from a filing point in another location, the dateline is the filing point.

Fabrications:

Nothing in our news report—words, photos, graphics, sound or video—may be fabricated. We

don't use pseudonyms, composite characters or fictional names, ages, places or dates. We don't stage or re-enact events for the camera or microphone, and we don't use sound effects or substitute video or audio from one event to another. We do not "cheat" sound by adding audio to embellish or fabricate an event. A senior editor must be consulted prior to the introduction of any neutral sound (ambient sound that does not affect the editorial meaning but corrects a technical fault).

We do not ask people to pose for photos unless we are making a portrait and then we clearly state that in the caption. We explain in the caption the circumstances under which photographs are made. If someone is asked to pose for photographs by third parties and that is reflected in AP-produced images, we say so in the caption. Such wording would be: "XXX poses for photos."

Graphics:

We use only authoritative sources. We do not project, surmise or estimate in a graphic. We create work only from what we know.

We post or move a locator map only when we can confirm the location ourselves.

We create charts at visually proper perspectives to give an accurate representation of data. The information must be clear and concise. We do not skew or alter data to fit a visual need.

We credit our sources on every graphic, including graphics for which AP journalists have created the data set or database.

Images:

AP pictures must always tell the truth. We do not alter or manipulate the content of a photograph in any way.

The content of a photograph must not be altered in PhotoShop or by any other means. No element should be digitally added to or subtracted from any photograph. The faces or identities of individuals must not be obscured by PhotoShop or any other editing tool. Only retouching or the use of the cloning tool to eliminate dust and scratches are acceptable.

Minor adjustments in PhotoShop are acceptable. These include cropping, dodging and burning, conversion into grayscale, and normal toning and color adjustments that should be limited to those minimally necessary for clear and accurate reproduction (analogous to the burning and dodging often used in darkroom processing of images) and that restore the authentic nature of the photograph. Changes in density, contrast, color and saturation levels that substantially alter the original scene are not acceptable. Backgrounds should not be digitally blurred or eliminated by burning down or by aggressive toning.

When an employee has questions about the use of such methods or the AP's requirements and limitations on photo editing, he or she should contact a senior photo editor prior to the transmission of any image.

On those occasions when we transmit images that have been provided and altered by a source—the faces obscured, for example—the caption must clearly explain it. Transmitting such images must be approved by a senior photo editor.

For video, the AP permits the use of subtle, standard methods of improving technical quality, such as adjusting video and audio levels, color correcting due to white balance or other technical faults, and equalization of audio to make the sound clearer, provided the use of these methods does not conceal, obscure, remove or otherwise alter the content, or any portion of the content, of the image. The AP also allows digitally obscuring faces to protect a subject's identity under certain circumstances. Such video must not be distributed without approval of the Editor of the Day or senior manager. In addition, video for online use and for domestic broadcast stations can be fonted with titles and logos.

Graphics, including those for television, often involve combining various photographic elements, which necessarily means altering portions of each photograph. The background of a photograph, for example, may be removed to leave the headshot of the newsmaker. This may then be combined with a logo representing the person's company or industry, and the two elements may be layered over a neutral background.

Such compositions must not misrepresent the facts and must not result in an image that looks like a photograph—it must clearly be a graphic.

Similarly, when we alter photos to use as graphics online, we retain the integrity of the image, limiting the changes to cropping, masking and adding elements like logos. Videos for use online

can be altered to add graphical information such as titles and logos, to tone the image and to improve audio quality. It is permissible to display photos online using techniques such as 360-degree panoramas or dissolves as long as they do not alter the original images.

Obscenities, Profanities, Vulgarities:

We do not use obscenities, racial epithets or other offensive slurs in stories unless they are part of direct quotations and there is a compelling reason for them.

If a story cannot be told without reference to them, we must first try to find a way to give the reader a sense of what was said without using the specific word or phrase. If a profanity, obscenity or vulgarity is used, the story must be flagged at the top, advising editors to note the contents.

A photo containing something that could be deemed offensive must carry an editor's note flagging it.

When a piece of video or audio contains something that might be deemed offensive, we flag it in the written description (rundown, billboard and/or script) so clients know what they are getting. Recognizing that standards differ around the world, we tailor our advisories and selection of video and audio according to customer needs.

We take great care not to refer readers to Web sites that are obscene, racist or otherwise offensive, and we must not directly link our stories to such sites.

In our online service, we link the least offensive image necessary to tell the story. For photo galleries and interactive presentations we alert readers to the nature of the material in the link and on the opening page of the gallery or interactive. If an obscene image is necessary to tell the story, we blur the portion of the image considered offensive after approval of the department manager, and flag the video.

Privacy:

We do not generally identify those who say they have been sexually assaulted or pre-teenage children who are accused of crimes or who are witnesses to them, except in unusual circumstances. Nor do we transmit photos or video that identify such persons. An exception would occur when an adult victim publicly identifies him/herself.

Senior editors/managers must be consulted about exceptions.

Providing Attribution:

We should give the full name of a source and as much information as needed to identify the source and explain why he or she is credible. Where appropriate, include a source's age; title; name of company, organization or government department; and hometown.

If we quote someone from a written document—a report, e-mail or news release—we should say so. Information taken from the Internet must be vetted according to our standards of accuracy and attributed to the original source. File, library or archive photos, audio or videos must be identified as such.

For lengthy stories, attribution can be contained in an extended editor's note, usually at the end, detailing interviews, research and methodology. The goal is to provide a reader with enough information to have full confidence in the story's veracity.

Quotations:

The same care that is used to ensure that quotes are accurate should also be used to ensure that quotes are not taken out of context.

We do not alter quotations, even to correct grammatical errors or word usage. If a quotation is flawed because of grammar or lack of clarity, the writer must be able to paraphrase in a way that is completely true to the original quote. If a quote's meaning is too murky to be paraphrased accurately, it should not be used.

Ellipses should be used rarely.

When relevant, stories should provide information about the setting in which a quotation was obtained—for example, a press conference, phone interview or hallway conversation with the reporter. The source's affect and body language—perhaps a smile or deprecatory gesture—is sometimes as important as the quotation itself.

Use of regional dialects with nonstandard spellings should generally be limited to a writer's effort to convey a special tone or sense of place. In this case, as in any interview with a person not speaking his or her native language, it is especially important that their ideas be accurately conveyed. Always, we must be careful not to mock the people we quote.

Quotes from one language to another must be translated faithfully. If appropriate, we should note the language spoken.

The video or audio editing of quotations or soundbites must not alter the speaker's meaning. Internal editing of audio soundbites of newsmakers is not permitted. Shortened soundbites by cutaway or other video transition are permitted as long as the speaker's meaning is not altered or misconstrued. Sound edits on videotape are permitted under certain circumstances, such as a technical failure. They must be done only after approval by a senior editorial manager.

Responses:

We must make significant efforts to reach anyone who may be portrayed in a negative way in our stories, and we must give them a reasonable amount of time to get back to us before we move the story. What is "reasonable" may depend on the urgency and competitiveness of the story. If we don't reach the parties involved, we must explain in the story what efforts were made to do so.

Use of Others' Material:

An AP staffer who reports and writes a story must use original content, language and phrasing. We do not plagiarize, meaning that we do not take the work of others and pass it off as our own.

But in some respects, AP staffers must deal with gray areas.

It is common for an AP staffer to include in his or her work passages from a previous AP story by another writer—generally background, or boilerplate. This is acceptable if the passages are short. Regardless, the reporter writing the story is responsible for the factual and contextual accuracy of the material.

Also, the AP often has the right to use material from its members and subscribers; we sometimes take the work of newspapers, broadcasters and other outlets, rewrite it and transmit it without credit.

There are rules, however. When the material is exclusive, controversial or sensitive, we always credit it. And we do not transmit the stories in their original form; we rewrite them, so that the approach, content, structure and length meet our requirements and reflect the broader audience we serve.

Similar rules apply when we use material from news releases. Under no circumstances can releases reach the wire in their original form; we can use information and quotes from releases, but we must check the material, augment it with information from other sources, and then write our own stories.

We apply the same judgment in picking up material from members or from news releases that we use when considering information we receive from other sources. We must satisfy ourselves, by our own reporting, that the material is credible. If it does not meet AP standards, we don't use it.

For video, if another broadcaster's material is required and distributed, the name of that broadcaster shall be advised on the accompanying shotlist.

Pickups of audio and of television graphics are credited in billboards/captions when the member requests it.

Conflicts of Interest

The AP respects and encourages the rights of its employees to participate actively in civic, charitable, religious, public, social or residential organizations.

However, AP employees must avoid behavior or activities—political, social or financial—that create a conflict of interest or compromise our ability to report the news fairly and accurately, uninfluenced by any person or action. Nothing in this policy is intended to abridge any rights provided by the National Labor Relations Act.

Here is a sampler of AP practices on questions involving possible conflict of interest. It is not all-inclusive; if you are unsure whether an activity may constitute a conflict or the appearance of a conflict, consult your manager at the onset.

Expressions of Opinion:

Anyone who works for the AP must be mindful that opinions they express may damage the AP's reputation as an unbiased source of news. They must refrain from declaring their views on contentious public issues in any public forum, whether in Web logs, chat rooms, letters to the editor, petitions, bumper stickers or lapel buttons, and must not take part in demonstrations in support of causes or movements.

Favors:

Employees should not ask news sources or others they meet in a professional capacity to extend jobs or other benefits to anyone. They also should not offer jobs, internships or any benefits of being an AP employee to news sources.

Financial Interests:

Associated Press employees who regularly write or edit business or financial news must always avoid any conflict of interest or the appearance of any conflict of interest in connection with the performance of these duties. For these reasons, these employees must abide by the following rules and guidelines when making personal investment and financial decisions.

These employees must not own stock, equities or have any personal financial investment or involvement with any company, enterprise or industry that they regularly cover for the AP. A technology writer, for example, must not own any technology equities; a retail industry writer must not own the stock of any department store or corporate enterprise that includes department stores. Staff members who are temporarily assigned to such coverage or editorial duties must immediately notify a manager of possible conflicts to determine whether the assignment is appropriate. If necessary, employees might be asked either to divest or to suspend any activity involving their holdings.

Editors and writers who regularly cover the financial markets may not own stock in any company. They may invest in equity index-related products and publicly available diversified mutual funds or commodity pools.

Financial news employees must also avoid investment activities that are speculative or driven by day-trading or short-term profit goals because such activities may create the impression that the employee is seeking to drive market factors or is acting upon information that is not available to the public. Instead, the personal financial activities and investments of these employees must be based upon the longer term and retirement savings. For these reasons, an employee covered by this policy should not buy and sell the same financial product within 60 days, unless he/she gains the permission of the department manager and is able to demonstrate financial need that is unrelated to information discussed or gained in the course of his/her employment. This trading limitation does not apply to equity-index funds, broadly diversified and publicly available mutual funds and commodity pools.

All employees must comply with federal and local laws concerning securities and financial transactions, including statutes, regulations and guidelines prohibiting actions based upon "inside information." All employees are reminded that they may not act upon, or inform any other person of, information gained in the course of AP employment, unless and until that information becomes known to the general public.

Employees should avoid any conflict of interest or the appearance of a conflict of interest in the investments and business interests of their spouses or other members of their household with whom they share finances. They are expected to make every effort to assure that no spouse or other member of their household has investment or business interests that could pose such a conflict.

Employees should be aware that the investment activities and/or financial interests of their spouses or other individuals with whom they share financial interests may make it inappropriate for them to accept certain assignments. Employees must consult with their managers before accepting any such assignment.

Employees who are asked to divest holdings will be given one year from the date of the request to do so, in order to give them the opportunity to avoid market fluctuations.

When this document requires the sale of stock holdings, an employee can satisfy this requirement by putting the shares into a blind trust (or into an equivalent financial arrangement) that meets the same goal: preventing an individual from knowing, at any given time, the specific holdings in the account and blocking an individual from controlling the timing of transactions in such holdings. If AP assigns a staff member to a new job where mandatory divestiture would impose a financial hardship even after the one-year grace period, AP will reimburse the staff member up to a maximum of $500 for the reasonable costs of setting up a blind trust.)

Freelance Work:

Individuals who seek to engage in non-AP work are subject to the following restrictions:

- Freelance work must not represent a conflict of interest for either the employee or the AP.
- Such activities may not interfere with the employees' job responsibilities, including availability for newsgathering.
- Such activities may not exploit the name of The Associated Press or the employee's position with the AP without permission of the AP.
- Inevitably, some employees will use material they accumulated in their AP work—notes, stories (either written or broadcast), images, videotape, graphics—for other-than-AP uses. The resulting product must be presented to the AP for its approval prior to submission to any outside publisher, purchaser or broadcaster. And under no circumstances should the AP incur expenses for research material that is not used for AP purposes.

Free Tickets:

We do not accept free tickets to sports, entertainment or other events for anything other than coverage purposes. If we obtain tickets for a member or subscriber as a courtesy, they must be paid for, and the member should reimburse the AP.

Gifts:

Employees should politely refuse and return gifts from sources, public relations agencies, corporations and others hoping to encourage or influence AP news coverage or business. They may accept trinkets (like caps or mugs) of nominal value, $25 or less.

Books, tapes, recordings, CDs and other items received for review or provided as promotional material for an event may not be sold for personal gain. Items of more than nominal value, such as computer gear, must be returned. If appropriate, items can be donated to charities.

AP and its employees may accept discounts from companies only if those discounts are standard and offered to other customers.

We do not accept unsolicited contest awards from any organization that has a partisan or financial interest in our coverage; nor do we enter such contests.

Official Scorers:

Employees may not serve as official scorers at sports events.

Outside Appearances:

Employees frequently appear on radio and TV news programs as panelists asking questions of newsmakers; such appearances are encouraged.

However, there is potential for conflict if staffers are asked to give their opinions on issues or personalities of the day. Advance discussion and clearance from a staffer's supervisor are required.

Employees must inform a news manager before accepting honoraria and/or reimbursement of expenses for giving speeches or participating in seminars at colleges and universities or at other educational events if such appearance makes use of AP's name or the employee represents himself or herself as an AP employee. No fees should be accepted from governmental bodies; trade, lobbying or special interest groups; businesses, or labor groups; or any group that would pose a conflict of interest. All appearances must receive prior approval from a staffer's supervisor.

Political Activities:

Editorial employees are expected to be scrupulous in avoiding any political activity, whether they cover politics regularly or not. They may not run for political office or accept political appointment; nor may they perform public relations work for politicians or their groups. Under no circumstances should they donate money to political organizations or political campaigns. They should use great discretion in joining or making contributions to other organizations that may take political stands.

Non-editorial employees must refrain from political activity unless they obtain approval from a manager.

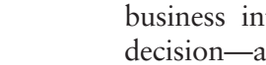
When in doubt, staffers are encouraged to discuss any such concerns with their supervisors.

And a supervisor must be informed when a spouse—or other members of an employee's household—has any ongoing involvement in political causes, either professionally or personally.

Trips:

If a trip is organized, and we think the trip is newsworthy, we go and pay our way. If we have a chance to interview a newsmaker on a charter or private jet, we reimburse the news source for the reasonable rate of the costs incurred—for example, standard airfare. There may be exceptional circumstances, such as a military trip, where it is difficult to make other travel arrangements or calculate the costs. Consult a manager for exceptions.

The Associated Press. "The Associated Press Statement of News Values and Principles." The Associated Press. http://www.ap.org/newsvalues/index.html (accessed December 18, 2008). Reprinted with permission.



Dow Jones—Code of Ethics

This code is designed to provide all employees of Dow Jones with guidelines for appropriate professional conduct. It supersedes our long-time Conflicts of Interest Policy and also incorporates other long-standing Dow Jones policies. It is intended not as a statement of new beliefs or a codification of new rules of conduct, but as a reaffirmation of enduring values and practices.

The central premise of this code is that Dow Jones' reputation for quality products and services, for business integrity, and for the independence and integrity of our publications, services and products is the heart and soul of our enterprise. Put another way, it is an essential prerequisite for success in the news and information business that our customers believe us to be telling them the truth. If we are not telling them the truth—or even if they, for any valid reason, believe that we are not—then Dow Jones cannot prosper. The company will suffer, for example, if our customers cannot assume that:

Our facts are accurate and fairly presented; Our analyses represent our best independent judgments rather than our preferences, or those of our sources, advertisers or information providers; Our opinions represent only our own editorial philosophies; or There are no hidden agendas in any of our journalistic undertakings.

All companies profess business integrity. But the impact of our work on the work of others, and on their lives and fortunes, places special responsibilities upon all Dow Jones employees.

The clear implication of these beliefs is that the responsibility for safeguarding and growing a company that lives up to this code lies with each and every one of us. Every Dow Jones employee holds a position of trust. Acceptance of a position at any level or in any part of Dow Jones includes acceptance of individual responsibility to uphold Dow Jones policies governing legal and ethical business practices. It also includes acceptance of individual responsibility for following all legal requirements and ethical business practices, as well as the responsibility to stress proper ethical behavior among colleagues and subordinates.

Moreover, it must be clear to each of us that business integrity is necessary in every business decision—and that it is not the special province of news employees, or members of the legal department, or anyone else. Business integrity requires that we make all of our business decisions, and approach all business questions, objectively and realistically, and in the long-term best interests of all of our shareholders.

Managers, by virtue of their positions of authority, must be ethical role models for all employees. An important part of a manager's leadership responsibility is to exhibit the highest standards of integrity in all dealings with employees, customers and the world at large. Managers must avoid even implicit or unspoken approval of any actions that may be damaging to the reputation of Dow Jones, and must always exercise sound business judgment in the performance of their duties.

An equally important leadership responsibility is to develop employees' commitment to our principles and ability to make sound ethical judgments. Managers must communicate the seriousness of the company's expectations of ethical conduct, as well as their own personal support for these guidelines. Ethical leadership includes fostering a working environment that encourages employees to voice concerns or otherwise seek assistance or counsel if faced with potentially compromising situations, and also supporting those who raise such concerns.

Finally, what follows is not intended to be an exclusive or inclusive list of all laws, regulations and other norms applicable to Dow Jones and

with which compliance is expected. In our rapidly evolving businesses, each of us is challenged by a complex environment that often requires quick response under pressure. No written policy can definitively set forth the appropriate action for all business situations. Accordingly, this code emphasizes and clarifies a standard of ethical conduct that must govern all of our business dealings and relationships. In addition, more detailed guidelines for managers are now available for some of the topics covered by this code, and others will be promulgated from time to time; some departments also issue specialized guidelines of their own.

Confidential Information

Any and all information and other material obtained by a Dow Jones employee in connection with his or her employment is strictly the property of Dow Jones. Such information includes not only our own work and that of our colleagues, but also information relating to future activities, including as-yet-unpublished news, information and advertising, as well as schedules for publishing the same. Such material must never be disclosed to anyone outside Dow Jones, including friends and relatives. In no event should any information obtained in connection with Dow Jones employment be disclosed privately to anyone until such information has been made available to the public.

Similarly, the use of Dow Jones property of this sort—i.e. forthcoming news, information or advertising—as a basis for any investment decision is strictly prohibited. No employee with knowledge of any such forthcoming material may, prior to publication, buy or sell securities or in any way encourage or assist any other person in buying or selling securities, directly or indirectly, based on that information. These strictures should continue in force until the third trading day after the article or advertisement appears in a Dow Jones publication or news service.

These rules also apply, of course, to confidential information about our own company. Dow Jones employees may not disclose to others any confidential information belonging to the company, nor may they use such information for their personal benefit or that of others. Each of us who possesses or has access to confidential information has an important responsibility to keep that information confidential and to prevent it from being disclosed to others outside or inside Dow Jones, either purposefully or otherwise. This obligation applies not only during Dow Jones employment, but thereafter as well.

In addition, it is important to take care not to discuss such confidential matters with family members or business or social acquaintances or in places where one can be overheard. Within Dow Jones, confidential business information should be divulged only to other employees who need to know the information in order to carry out their business responsibilities.

Business Relationships and Activities

Just as all of the intellectual fruits of our labors as employees belong to Dow Jones, so the company is entitled to our undivided business loyalty, our single-minded professional attention and our undistracted focus on our businesses and our customers. Dow Jones employees must not use the company's assets, talents, information, technology, name or influence for their personal benefit or gain except as authorized by and in connection with their employment.

We recognize that Dow Jones cannot succeed if our customers do not succeed. It is our obligation to deliver our products and services in as timely a manner as possible, and with the highest possible levels of quality. Business dealings should be open and honest and transactions should be in the best interests of both Dow Jones and the customer.

To ensure this, Dow Jones employees should not offer or provide, to customers or prospective customers, directly or indirectly, any gift, entertainment or reimbursement of expenses of more than nominal value or that exceeds customary courtesies for that time and place. Nor should employees offer or provide, directly or indirectly, any material, equipment or services to any individual in a position to make or influence any business or governmental decision affecting Dow Jones.

Conversely, Dow Jones employees should not solicit or accept, directly or indirectly, any payment, loan, services, equipment or any other benefit or thing of value, or any gift, entertainment or reimbursement of expenses of more than nominal value or that exceeds customary courtesies for that time and place from suppliers or customers, or from any company, individual or institution that furnishes or seeks to furnish news, information, material, equipment, supplies or services to Dow

Jones, or from anyone else with an actual or prospective business relationship with Dow Jones.

Dow Jones employees must remain scrupulously free from obligation to suppliers and vendors. Accordingly, employees should not requisition, order, approve or otherwise participate in the purchase of goods or services on behalf of Dow Jones from any person or entity if the employee or any member of the employee's family or household has a substantial financial interest in the supplier or vendor.

Employees of Dow Jones engaged in business outside of the United States must obey the laws of countries in which they do business, and respect local culture and values while operating within the strictures of this code. All applicable trade agreements, including U.S. trade laws, must be honored and observed, including the U.S. Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, which generally makes it illegal to offer or give a bribe to a foreign official or candidate for foreign office, whether directly or through third parties such as consultants or agents.

Dow Jones employees may not serve as directors or officers of any other company devoted to profit-making, with the following exceptions:

Where the employee is appointed to represent Dow Jones; Companies which are owned by an employee's family, where the employee has obtained the written consent of the chief executive officer of Dow Jones; Otherwise as approved in writing by the chief executive officer of Dow Jones.

The unauthorized duplication of computer software developed internally or obtained from outside suppliers is prohibited, regardless of whether such unauthorized duplication is for business or personal use. Additionally, all Dow Jones employees must adhere to the company's standards and policies regarding the use of its technology and computer equipment.

Securities Transactions

Dow Jones has always had a strict policy on securities transactions by employees who have access to non-public information, including information concerning Dow Jones itself. All Dow Jones employees are expected to conduct themselves at all times in a manner that leaves no grounds for belief, or even suspicion, that:

An employee, an employee's family, or anyone else connected to an employee made financial gains by acting on the basis of "inside" information obtained through Dow Jones employment before that information was available to the general public; such information includes hold-for-release material or publishing plans with respect to news, advertising or other information, as well as any other items that might affect movements in the prices of any securities; The creation or dissemination, or non-dissemination, of any news or other information was influenced by a desire to affect the price of any security; An employee's personal financial situation with respect to investments is such that it creates a temptation to violate these rules; or An employee is beholden to newsmakers, information providers, advertisers or market participants, creating a temptation to violate these rules.

In making personal investments, all employees must avoid speculation or the appearance of speculation. No employee of Dow Jones may engage in short selling of securities.

In addition, all senior managers and all news and advertising personnel must not engage in short-term trading of equity securities or of non-investment grade fixed-income securities; such employees must hold such securities for a minimum of six months unless, in order to meet some special need, they get prior permission for an earlier sale from the head of the company's legal department. The six-month rule does not apply to publicly available diversified open end and closed end mutual funds.

News and advertising personnel and members of senior management with any responsibility for news or advertising also must not buy or sell futures or options. However, these employees may invest in equity index-related products and publicly available mutual funds or commodity pools that invest in futures or options. No news or advertising personnel assigned to report or call on a specific industry may buy or sell securities in any company engaged, in whole or significant part, in that industry, nor may any member of the immediate family of any such employee do so.

Employees are encouraged to be long-term investors in Dow Jones & Company stock, whether directly or through the company's compensation and benefits plans (other than its retirement plans). The rule above on holding equities for six months does not apply, however, to certain acquisitions of Dow Jones stock through employee benefit plans

and other plans sponsored by the company. For example, shares acquired through payroll deduction or through automatic reinvestment of dividends may be sold immediately. But the six-month holding requirement does apply to shares of Dow Jones stock purchased in the open market by senior management and all news and advertising personnel. And purchases of stock through employee plans by lump-sum payments or voluntary one-time contributions by such employees would be considered open-market purchases.

Political and Civic Activities

Many companies, for a variety of reasons, participate in the partisan political process, at various levels of government. As a publisher, Dow Jones has a different tradition. Dow Jones does not contribute, directly or indirectly, to political campaigns or to political parties or groups seeking to raise money for political campaigns or parties, and Dow Jones does not and will not reimburse any employee for any political contribution made by an employee. All news employees and members of senior management with any responsibility for news should refrain from partisan political activity judged newsworthy by their senior editor or in the case of senior management, the Chief Executive Officer. Other political activities (including "issue oriented" activity) are permitted, but should not be inconsistent with this code.

On the other hand, it is not the intention of Dow Jones, or of this code, to dissuade employees from participating actively in civic, charitable, religious, public, social or residential organizations. Such activities are permitted, and even encouraged, to the extent that they:

Do not detract from performance or effectiveness at work;

Do not, by their extensiveness, cause the company to subsidize or appear to subsidize the activity; and

Do not otherwise violate this code. In the event that a conflict arises or may arise between an outside organization with which an employee is affiliated and the interests of Dow Jones, the employee should refrain from participating in the conflicting or potentially conflicting activity.

No Dow Jones employee should permit his or her Dow Jones affiliation to be noted in any outside organization's materials or activities without the express written approval of a member of senior management or unless of course the employee serves as a representative of Dow Jones or unless the affiliation is noted as part of a broader description of the employee's identity.

Books and Records

It is essential to the successful operation of Dow Jones as a business, and to the preservation of investor confidence in the company, that the integrity of our books and records be resolutely maintained. The responsibility for this does not rest exclusively with accounting or other financial personnel—it is shared by us all.

Accordingly,

No Dow Jones fund, asset or liability which is not fully and properly recorded on the company's books and records shall be created or permitted to exist;

No transaction shall be effected and no payment shall be made on behalf of Dow Jones with the intention or understanding that the transaction or payment is other than as described in the documentation evidencing the transaction or supporting the payment;

All employees shall comply with Dow Jones' accounting principles, procedures and controls, and no false, artificial or misleading entries in any books or records of the company shall be made for any reason whatsoever;

No employee will issue or authorize anyone else to issue any company document that is false or misleading;

No employee will knowingly accept and treat as accurate any false or misleading document prepared by a person not employed by Dow Jones; and

No employee will knowingly make any false or misleading statements to our external or internal auditors. Indeed, when questioned by any auditor, all employees should be fully forthcoming.

Employment

Dow Jones strives to ensure that all employees are treated with dignity and respect. Among our goals are to make benefits and services available to employees to promote their well-being, to communicate effectively with employees, to ensure equal

employment treatment, to maintain a safe work environment, to observe the terms of collective bargaining agreements where applicable, to assist employees in realizing their potential and maximizing their productivity, and to fairly evaluate and recognize performance.

For its part, the company expects employees to perform excellent work in a cost-effective manner, to strive for quality and productivity, to follow directions and instructions, to properly care for facilities and equipment, to anticipate problems and suggest improvements, to treat other employees and clients and customers with honesty and courtesy, and to be energetic in the performance of tasks and fulfillment of goals.

Dow Jones values the talents and contributions of its employees. The company also seeks and values diversity among employees, recognizing that a mix of people enriches the company and encourages creativity and business growth. Dow Jones' policy is to provide equal employment opportunities and advancement consideration to all individuals based on job-related qualifications and ability to perform the job, without regard to race, color, ancestry, national origin, religious creed, sex, disability, veteran status, sexual orientation, age or marital status. It is also Dow Jones' policy to provide a working environment that is free of intimidation or harassment based on any of these factors.

Complete statements of policies setting forth the company's standards regarding personnel matters, and other matters relating to employment with Dow Jones, are published by the employee relations department. These policies meet legal and regulatory requirements of various jurisdictions in which Dow Jones does business, and employees are required to comply with these policies.

Environmental Concerns

Dow Jones is committed to maintaining a safe work environment by eliminating all significant recognized hazards in the workplace, and to conducting business in an environmentally sound manner based on scientific understanding, customer needs and local requirements. Employees are required to comply with all applicable health, safety and environmental laws and regulations, and all related company policies.

Compliance with this Code

Dow Jones takes this code of conduct very seriously. All employees of Dow Jones are responsible for compliance with all aspects of this code. All new employees shall be required to read this code at the outset of their employment, and to attest in writing that they have done so; all Dow Jones employees shall be required, at the time this code is first promulgated, to read it and so attest. In the case of all members of senior management, and all news and advertising personnel, such written attestations shall be required once each year.

The matters addressed by this code are sufficiently important that any lapse in judgment within the areas covered here may be considered serious enough to warrant discipline up to and including dismissal.

Any employee having a question about a possible violation of this code by that person or any other person, or in connection with any practice, should discuss it with his or her supervisor, or an employee relations department representative, or a member of the legal department. Every effort will be made to maintain the confidentiality of such discussions. Indeed, the most important wisdom about dealing with these questions is: When in doubt, ask.

The Dow Jones Company. "Code of Ethics for Dow Jones." Society of American Business Editors and Writers, Inc. http://www2.sabew.org/sabewweb.nsf/8247d0ca4c256f7286256ad800773610/70d77b29570454f786256bf1006d0a99!OpenDocument (accessed October 31, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

Thomson Reuters—Editorial Policy

Reuters news operations are based on the company's Trust Principles which stipulate that the integrity, independence and freedom from bias of Reuters must be upheld at all times.

Reuters has strict policies in place to ensure adherence to these principles. We are committed to accurate and balanced reporting. Errors of fact are always promptly corrected and clearly published.

Reuters is the largest international multi-media news agency, reporting extensively from around the world on topics ranging from financial markets to general and political news.

Some Reuters coverage, including pictures and video, is of wars or conflicts during which all sides are actively promoting their positions and arguments.

We are committed to reporting the facts and in all situations avoid the use of emotive terms. The only exception is when we are quoting someone directly or in indirect speech. We aim to report objectively actions, identity and background and pay particular attention to all our coverage in extremely sensitive regions.

We do not take sides and attempt to reflect in our stories, pictures and video the views of all sides. We are not in the business of glorifying one side or another or of disseminating propaganda. Reuters journalists do not offer their own opinions or views.

The world relies on Reuters journalists to provide accurate, clearly sourced accounts of events as they occur, wherever they occur, so that individuals, organisations and governments can make their own decisions based on the facts.

Feedback

We receive many hundreds of e-mails each week and it is not possible to send individual replies. But we do welcome views on how we could improve our news coverage and all correspondence is read by a senior editor. In fact we often spot and correct errors faster with the help of sharp-eyed readers. Other e-mails have made us question and sometimes change the way we describe people, countries, concepts and controversies.

Thomson Reuters. "Editorial Policy." Thomson Reuters. http://www.thomsonreuters.com/about/corp_responsibility/workplace/editorial_policy (accessed October 31, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

Interactive Media Organizations

CyberJournalist.net—A Bloggers' Code of Ethics
Poynter Institute—Online Journalism Ethics: Guidelines from the Conference

Introduction

Just about anyone can write commentary and report news situations on the web. The mantle of "citizen journalism" goes a long way toward democratizing and expanding the occupation of publishing material for mass consumption. But not everyone who takes advantage of this public forum wants to be seen as a traditional journalist or recognizes the need to ascribe to the same ethical standards and practices. The result can be wildly disparate levels of consistency, professionalism, and accountability for journalistic endeavors online—especially for the huge cadre of free-spirited bloggers posting on a regular basis.

CyberJournalist.net, edited by award-winning journalist Jonathan Dube and his partners at the Online News Association, put together a set of ethical rules they hoped all responsible bloggers would embrace. The document uses The Code of Ethics from the Society of Professional Journalists as a jumping-off point, which means mandating fairness and honesty, the desire to minimize harm, and the need to be accountable to both news subjects and readers. Bloggers are specifically urged to "identify and link to sources" where possible, avoid weblog entries or graphics that misrepresent incidents, explain the mission of the weblog and invite feedback, and shed light on the ethical lapses of others in the blogging community.

The respected Poynter Institute, a school for cutting-edge journalism techniques, invited online journalists to a 2006 conference and the group produced a basic framework for practicing ethical web reporting. The attendees asserted that the bedrock principles and values of journalism should transcend delivery platforms, commentary and reporting on blogs or in other online formats had to be clearly labeled, and emerging technologies must continue to be harnessed to "deepen the news experience through multimedia and interactivity." The conference guidelines also recommended policies for monitoring the relationship between editorial content and advertising, balancing demand for speed online versus thorough reporting, and evaluating the relative worth of various kinds of user-generated content.

Linking, considered essential to all web journalism, received its own section within the guidelines. Journalists involved were particularly concerned that media companies could link to sites without taking responsibility for their authenticity, veracity or way of gathering information. As a result, the document encourages media sites to let readers know that a link does not constitute an endorsement of the other sites' views and that there might be a difference in standards between the media and linked site.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

A Bloggers' Code of Ethics

Be Honest and Fair

Bloggers should be honest and fair in gathering, reporting and interpreting information.

Bloggers should:

- Never plagiarize.
- Identify and link to sources whenever feasible. The public is entitled to as much information as possible on sources' reliability.
- Make certain that Weblog entries, quotations, headlines, photos and all other content do not misrepresent. They should not oversimplify or highlight incidents out of context.
- Never distort the content of photos without disclosing what has been changed. Image enhancement is only acceptable for technical clarity. Label montages and photo illustrations.
- Never publish information they know is inaccurate—and if publishing questionable information, make it clear it's in doubt.
- Distinguish between advocacy, commentary and factual information. Even advocacy writing and commentary should not misrepresent fact or context.
- Distinguish factual information and commentary from advertising and shun hybrids that blur the lines between the two.

Minimize Harm

Ethical bloggers treat sources and subjects as human beings deserving of respect.

Bloggers should:

- Show compassion for those who may be affected adversely by Weblog content. Use special sensitivity when dealing with children and inexperienced sources or subjects.
- Be sensitive when seeking or using interviews or photographs of those affected by tragedy or grief.
- Recognize that gathering and reporting information may cause harm or discomfort. Pursuit of information is not a license for arrogance.
- Recognize that private people have a greater right to control information about themselves than do public officials and others who seek power, influence or attention. Only an overriding public need can justify intrusion into anyone's privacy.
- Show good taste. Avoid pandering to lurid curiosity.
- Be cautious about identifying juvenile suspects, victims of sex crimes and criminal suspects before the formal filing of charges.

Be Accountable

Bloggers should:

- Admit mistakes and correct them promptly.
- Explain each Weblog's mission and invite dialogue with the public over its content and the bloggers' conduct.
- Disclose conflicts of interest, affiliations, activities and personal agendas.
- Deny favored treatment to advertisers and special interests and resist their pressure to influence content. When exceptions are made, disclose them fully to readers.
- Be wary of sources offering information for favors. When accepting such information, disclose the favors.
- Expose unethical practices of other bloggers.
- Abide by the same high standards to which they hold others.

CyberJournalist.net. "A Bloggers' Code of Ethics." CyberJournalist.net. http://www.cyberjournalist.net/news/000215.php (accessedOctober 31, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

Poynter Institute—Online Journalism Ethics: Guidelines from the Conference

Poynter Online
Posted January 31, 2007
Updated February 11, 2007

Assertions of Ethical Decision-Making in Digital Media

1. Online publishing has the opportunity to serve audiences in new and meaningful ways. Journalists have an important responsibility to explore that potential as part of their constitutionally

protected responsibilities to hold the powerful accountable and to serve as a public watchdog.

2. Journalism values in such areas as truth, community and democracy will endure only if we embrace dramatic changes in the pressures and competition we face and the products we publish. Journalists should accept the challenge and embrace the opportunity to build new business models that will flourish in an era of digital media. Journalism's highest values can endure only if they stand on a sound economic foundation. It is essential that the journalists who adhere to those values be proactive—not just reactive—participants in the process of innovation.

3. Written ethics guidelines based on those values are an essential ingredient in the decision-making required in various forms of emerging media. Such guidelines will be most useful if framed as aspirations as opposed to rules and if compiled or revised with the active participation of the audience. Ethics guidelines should not be considered the exclusive province of those who describe themselves as journalists. Their utility is tied to the act of journalism as opposed to the résumé of its creator.

4. Transparency is a necessary dimension of the relationship that journalists and news organizations maintain with their audiences. Transparency must be linked with accountability—institutional as well as individual.

5. Limited resources, the novelty of online publishing or a lack of protocols cannot become an excuse for shoddy work or causing harm.

Web Reporting, Commentary, Voice and Tone

Principles & Values

- Journalists should honor the principle of independence. They should avoid conflicts of interest or the appearance of conflicts that could imperil their ability to report or the credibility of their reporting or commentary. They should not accept gifts or favors from people or entities they cover or over whom they might influence coverage.
- In addressing an issue or question of independence, the resolution might come through a strategy of transparency or disclosure.
- Journalists and news organizations should understand the necessity of defining, and clearly labeling, news and opinion. In an open environment like the Web, consistency in presentation can help the reader see clearly where the lines are drawn between news and opinion.
- Whenever journalists or organizations blur or blend those roles, they need to recognize the peril and weigh the consequences.
- Variations of tone and presentation in storytelling are appropriate for reaching new audiences, but those variations should be consistent with the bedrock editorial principles of the brand. Be clear on what you stand for, and honor it.
- These principles apply across all content and all platforms.

The Role of Journalism in the Digital Age

Principles & Values

- Editorial integrity is crucial in maintaining the trust of the public and the credibility of the brand.
- The editorial and business sides of the operation need to communicate openly about how best to capitalize on the growing economic opportunities online.
- Market research and metrics are important tools to help guide content decisions but shouldn't be the only criteria. There must be a balance between revenue-driven content and public service work.
- The consumer's experience is paramount. Advertising models and sponsorships should be evaluated closely to determine their impact on consumer experience. The consumer should be clear about content produced by editorial or commercial interests. Advertising and sponsorships should be labeled.

Credibility & Accuracy, Transparency and Multimedia

Principles & Values

We commit to presenting as accurate and as complete a picture of our world as possible. This means taking full advantage of emerging media and technology. In order to do that, we will:

- Use multimedia to show dimensions of our world that words alone cannot convey.
- Be clear about the nature of the content presented, its sourcing and the extent of verification.

- Correct what we get wrong as promptly and as clearly as possible. Establish systems to enable readers to alert us to mistakes and hold us accountable.
- Explain our decision making in terms of our process and our relationships, both institutional and personal.
- Maintain open channels of communication with our audience.

Workplace Issues: Speed, Thoroughness & Capacity

Principles & Values

- Online platforms should be valued by the institution as much as any other platform.
- There is a role for editing in producing online content. If areas of the online environment receive less editing or vetting, it should be by design, not as a result of accident, reflex or lack of resources.
- The distinction between levels of editing and vetting across different areas of the online product should be made clear to users.
- The obligation to correct mistakes and be transparent about the error is not diminished in the online environment.
- Links can provide thoroughness, which adds to good journalism. Online platforms should strive to communicate the nature of linked material as thoroughly as possible, while acknowledging that such material can change quickly and substantially.
- Speed is a core advantage of the medium, but should not compromise accuracy, fairness or other journalism values.
- Online platforms should value contributions from users and create practical, efficient systems for enabling submission. But such submissions should be clearly labeled and evaluated to help safeguard the institution's journalistic credibility.

User-Generated Content

Principles & Values

Publishers who adopt clear standards for the publication of user-generated content help ensure that such content will enhance their organization's journalism. Consider the following:

1. Terms and conditions for the publication of user-generated content, spelling out the rules of engagement, must be publicized and consistently enforced in order to be effective.
2. The standards should make clear the publisher's policy on user-generated content and issues such as:
   - Taste and judgment
   - Anonymous posting
   - Linking from user-generated content to external sources
   - Moderating
3. Publishers of user-generated content must establish and clearly communicate the consequences for members of the user community whose actions violate the publisher's terms and conditions. Such consequences must be enforced consistently in order to be fair.
4. Those who choose to publish user-generated content should identify and reconcile any deviations between the standards developed for user-generated content and those which exist for the journalists inside the organization. For example:
   - Do the benefits associated with permitting anonymously posted user-generated content justify a departure from the internal policies that govern my organization's use of anonymous sourcing?
   - Will my existing guidelines on the use of profanity apply to user-generated content, or does a different standard exist online?

Linking

Principles & Values

- A link to an external site does not signify an endorsement of that site or its point of view. It is merely a signal to the reader that there may be content of interest on the destination site.
- Despite this, media sites should make it clear to their readers—in the user agreement, site guidelines or via some other method—that there's a difference in standards between the content that resides on their own site and the content they link to.

- Because of the spider-like nature of the Web, media sites can't be expected to apply even these relaxed standards to the content of sites that are linked to from sites we link to (the two-click rule).
- When readers put their own links to content in message boards, blog posts, etc., those links should be considered user-generated content and subject to the same controls.
- We encourage all media sites to link to external sites. Linking off-site is an extension of your site's user experience and fosters a feeling of openness that's conducive to repeat visits. Trying to keep readers within just your site is a losing proposition.
- When linking, sites should not be forced into including links that support all sides of an issue. While news articles themselves should adhere to the traditional standards of fairness and accuracy, assuring balance in links run counters to the concept of providing only useful links to the reader.

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Reporting Specializations

Business Reporting

American Business Media (ABM)—Editorial Code of Ethics
Society of American Business Editors and Writers, Inc. (SABEW)—Code of Ethics

Introduction

The power of the business press is a mighty force to behold. In these fragile economic times, business stories from reputable news sources can impact the fortunes of individuals, companies, major industries, whole nations, and even the global marketplace. But business reporters, maybe more than any other journalists, must have the news consumer's trust and confidence to be effective. There can be no hint of an agenda influenced by personal gain or special interest groups.

American Business Media (ABM) is an association of media companies that produce more than 6,000 print and online publications. These business-to-business journalism organizations serve an enormous audience of professionals but often remain overlooked and unappreciated by the general public. Their job is to cover the commercial news, trends, and practices of a multitude of industries ranging from advertising, athletics, and publishing to agriculture, marketing, and health care.

ABM's regularly updated Editorial Code of Ethics naturally puts a great emphasis on avoiding conflicts of interest, maintaining accuracy and fair reporting policies, and selecting editorial content that best serves the business audience in question. The document closely examines the relationship of editors and reporters with advertisers. It also pays a lot of attention to the outside activities of staff journalists, like freelance work or personal appearances for companies on their beat, which can compromise news coverage. The final section on electronic media, adapted from the American Society of Magazine Editors guidelines, takes a close look at editorial control over site content, branding, hypertext links, and the way user privacy or data gets handled.

Society of American Business Editors and Writers, Inc. (SABEW) is an organization of accredited business journalists who write for business sections of newspapers, business magazines and newspapers, and business websites. The SABEW Code of Ethics sets tight guidelines on the personal investments of member journalists and their families. It pushes for the confidentiality of sensitive information while pursuing a story and the need to keep others from profiting before material becomes public. The code also warns against journalists making concessions to any government agencies in relation to news content.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

American Business Media—Editorial Code of Ethics

Revised March 2005

Business-to-business editors have earned the highest level of trust among their readers. Many surveys have shown that executives and managers believe business-to-business publications provide the most accurate and credible information available.

That trust is both a high compliment and a challenge for those who plan, write and edit publications. It sets a high standard they must maintain. American Business Media has always held its editors to such high standards. Indeed, the annual Jesse H. Neal Awards, named for the Association's first president, were established in the mid-1950s to encourage editorial excellence and have become the highest honors granted for business-to-business journalism. ABM's Code of Publishing Practice, a part of ABM's Constitution And By-Laws, has been in place for more than 33 years, and requires that ABM member companies maintain strict standards of journalistic ethics.

The Editorial Committee works with its members to maintain editorial quality at member publications. As part of that mission, the Editorial Committee regularly reviews and updates this Editorial Code of Ethics and Guide to Preferred Practices, which has been approved by the American Business Media Executive Committee. This revision has two parts. The first part is a code of ethics primarily for print editions of publications, and the second covers online versions.

I General Editorial Code of Ethics:

Editors, reporters and writers employed by American Business Media publications adhere to the highest standards of journalistic practice. In doing so, they pledge to:

a. Maintain honesty, integrity, accuracy, thoroughness and fairness in the reporting and editing of articles, headlines, and graphics.

b. Avoid all conflicts of interest as well as any appearances of such conflicts.

c. Maintain an appropriate professional distance from the direct preparation of special advertising sections or other advertisements.

d. Show the distinction between news stories and editorials, columns and other opinion pieces.

e. Accept as their primary responsibility the selection of editorial content based on readers' needs and interests.

II American Business Media Guide to Preferred Practices:

II-1 Conflicts of Interest

a. Editors should not invest in companies and/or industries they personally cover (this does not preclude investments in mutual funds, pensions or 401(k) plans that hold shares in a manner not directly controlled by the editor). Their spouses and other immediate family members should also avoid personal investments that might reflect unfavorably upon the editor. Investing on the basis of "insider information" is, of course, a violation of securities laws.

b. If a conflict arises in an investment held by an editor before his/her employment, or because of a merger or acquisition, he/she should immediately bring the conflict to the attention of his/her editorial management.

II-2 Gifts

a. Editors should not accept any gifts or favors, except those of nominal value, from companies or associations they cover, their public relations representatives or any other person or organization related to companies they cover. The editor's supervisor should determine what is of "nominal value."

b. Editors may accept occasional meals and refreshments in the course of business dealings.

II-3 Outside Activities

a. Editors should not accept freelance work from companies, associations or any other entity they cover.

b. Because editors are expected to speak as authorities within their markets, they may accept invitations to appear on television, radio and other electronic media and may accept

payment upon approval of editorial management.

c. Editors should not accept payment of any kind for making speeches, judging contests or making appearances at functions held by companies or associations they cover.

d. Reimbursement of reasonable expenses incurred in connection with such speeches may be accepted.

e. Editors may also accept speaker gifts of nominal value for participating in such events.

II-4 Travel

a. Editors should not accept payment of travel and hotel expenses incurred in the course of performing editorial duties from any source other than their employers.

b. In cases of group press affairs, presentations and other events involving representatives from several publications, editors should reimburse information sources for these expenses.

II-5 Relationship with Advertisers

a. Selection of editorial topics, treatment of issues, interpretation and other editorial decisions must not be determined by advertisers, advertising agencies or the advertising departments of publications.

b. Editors must never permit advertisers to review articles prior to publication.

c. Advertisers and potential advertisers must never receive favorable editorial treatment because of their economic value to the publication. Similarly, non-advertisers should not receive unfavorable editorial treatment or be excluded from articles because they do not advertise. This provision applies not only to stories and articles but to all products of the editorial group, including lists, rankings, product or company of the year awards and other such special features and events.

d. Editors must have the right to review, prior to publication, all sponsored content and other advertiser-supplied content.

II-6 Separation of Advertising and Editorial

a. Editors must make a clear distinction between editorial and advertising. Editors have an obligation to readers to make clear which content has been paid for, which is sponsored and which is independent editorial material. All paid content that may be confused with independent editorial material must be labeled as advertiser-sponsored.

b. With respect to special advertising supplements or advertorials: The words advertising, advertisement, special advertising supplement or similar labeling must appear horizontally at or near the center of the top of every page of such sections containing text, in type at least equal in size and weight to the publication's standard body typeface [adapted from American Society of Magazine Editors Editorial Guidelines, Nov. 2004].

c. The layout, design, typeface and style of special advertising sections or custom publishing products must be distinctly different from those of the publication [adapted from ASME, Nov. 2004].

d. Special advertising sections must not be slugged in the publication's cover (including stickers) nor included in the table of contents. In general, the publication's name or logo may not appear as any part of the headlines or text of such sections, except in connection with the magazine's own products or services [adapted from ASME Nov. 2004].

e. Editorial staff members and freelancers used by editorial should not participate in the preparation of custom publishing or advertising sections, except that the chief editor may review contents of such sections before they appear.

III Editorial Code of Ethics and Guide to Preferred Practices for Electronic Media

November 2004

Credibility is the key to the success of digital media offerings, just as it is for print publications; users must trust the advice and information presented. In order to build and maintain that trust, the distinction between independent editorial content and paid promotional information must remain clear. American Business Media believes it is possible to keep that clear distinction while still

taking advantage of linking and other technologies that make digital media the unique and robust experience it has come to be for the user.

With that goal in mind, ABM recommends the following standards, adapted from those of the American Society of Magazine Editors for the express needs of business media:

a. The publication's Web site should display the publication's name and logo prominently, in order to clarify who controls the content of the site. All editorial content must be under the sole control of the editorial staff.

b. All online pages must clearly distinguish between editorial and advertising or sponsored content. Non-editorial must be clearly labeled. The publication's name or logo should not be used in any way that suggests editorial endorsement of an advertiser. The site's sponsorship policies must be clearly noted, either in text accompanying the article or on a disclosure page to clarify that the sponsor had no input regarding the content.

c. Hypertext links that appear within the editorial content of a site, including those within graphics, must be solely at the discretion of the editors. Links within editorial should never be paid for by advertisers.

d. Special advertising or "advertorial" features should conform to the same guidelines in section II that apply to print.

e. Special advertising sections or features must be displayed in such a way that users will not confuse them with editorial content.

f. To protect the brand, editors/producers should not permit their content to be used on an advertiser's site without an explanation of the relationship (e.g. "Reprinted with permission").

g. Advertisers or e-commerce partners must not receive preferential treatment in search engines, price comparisons, and other applications presented under the content provider's brand unless this is clearly disclosed. An editorial site should not vouch for others' tools that it may offer.

h. A Web site should respect the privacy of its users. If a site intends to collect information about its visitors—whether the data will be disseminated to third parties or not—it must offer users a chance to decline if they choose, through an "opt-out" option. As part of its privacy policy, the site should explain its use of cookies and other data collection methods and tell what it intends to do with the information it gleans. Potential benefits to the user—broader site access, better personalization features, etc.—should be presented as well.

i. Advertisements should not be intentionally placed next to editorial coverage of the specific product advertised. This does not preclude ads on search results pages, topic index pages, channel pages and the like, as long as selection criteria for those pages are not weighted in favor of advertisers and are free of other commercial consideration.

American Business Media. "Editorial Code of Ethics." The Association of Business Media Companies. http://www.americanbusinessmedia.com/images/abm/pdfs/committees/EdEthics.pdf (accessed October 31, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

Society of American Business Editors and Writers, Inc.—Code of Ethics

Statement of Purpose:

As business and financial journalists, we recognize we are guardians of the public trust and must do nothing to abuse this obligation.

It is not enough that we act with honest intent; as journalists, we must conduct our professional lives in a manner that avoids even the suggestion of personal gain, or any misuse of the power of the press.

It is with this acknowledgment that we offer these guidelines for those who work in business and financial journalism:

Personal investments and relationships:

- Avoid any practice that might compromise or appear to compromise objectivity or fairness.
- Never let personal investments influence content. Disclose investment positions to your superior or directly to the public.
- Disclose personal or family relationships that might pose conflicts of interest.

- Avoid active trading and other short-term profit-seeking opportunities, as such activities are not compatible with the independent role of the business journalist.
- Do not take advantage of inside information for personal gain.

Sources:

- Insure confidentiality of information during the reporting process, and make every effort to keep information from finding its way to those who might use it for gain before it is disseminated to the public.
- Do not alter information, delay or withhold publication or make concessions relating to news content to any government.

Gifts and favors:

- In the course of professional activity, accept no gift or special treatment worth more than token value.
- Accept no out-of-town travel paid for by outside sources.
- Carefully examine offers of free-lance work or speech honoraria to assure such offers are not attempts to influence content.
- Disclose to a supervisor any offer of future employment or outside income that springs from the journalist's professional activities or contacts.
- Accept food or refreshments of ordinary value only if absolutely necessary, and only during the normal course of business.

Editorial Integrity:

- Publishers, owners and newsroom managers should establish policies and guidelines to protect the integrity of business news coverage.
- Regardless of news platform, there should be a clear delineation between advertising and editorial content.
- Material produced by editorial staff should be used only in sections, programming or pages controlled by editorial departments.
- Content, sections or programming controlled by advertising departments should be distinctly different from news sections in typeface, layout and design. Advertising content should be identified as such.
- Promising a story in exchange for advertising or other considerations is unethical.

Using outside material:

- Using articles or columns from non-journalists is potentially deceptive and poses inherent conflicts of interest. This does not apply to content that is clearly labeled opinion or viewpoint, or to submissions identified as coming directly from the public, such as citizen blogs or letters to the editor.
- Submissions should be accepted only from freelancers who abide by the same ethical policies as staff members.

Technology:

- Business journalists should take the lead in adapting professional standards to new forms of journalism as technologies emerge and change.
- The business journalist should encourage fellow journalists to abide by these standards and principles.

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Society of American Business Editors and Writers, Inc. and Huber & Associates, Inc. "Code of Ethics." Society of American Business Editors and Writers, Inc. http://www.sabew.org/ethics/RevisedCodeofEthics.htm (accessed October 31, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

Health, Medical, and Science Reporting

Association of Health Care Journalists (AHCJ)—Statement of Principles
National Association of Medical Communicators (NAMC)—Code of Ethics
National Association of Science Writers (NASW)—Code of Ethics

Introduction

There is clearly a David versus Goliath relationship at the core of both the health care and medical industries. The journalists that cover the areas in question seem acutely aware of the obligation to speak up for the relatively powerless health consumers in their audience. By contrast, they seem equally predisposed to closely monitor the activities of powerful institutions like drug and insurance companies, hospitals and HMOs. The professional organizations that represent these writers also encourage their members to provide the kind of reliable information that makes for better health care and medical decisions by the public.

Association of Health Care Journalists (AHCJ), with over 1,000 members worldwide, uses the Society of Professional Journalists Code of Ethics as a foundation for dealing with general reporting concerns such as truth, fairness, conflict of interest, accountability, and independence in its Statement of Principles. But the document's most extensive section on Professionalism, Content and Accuracy touches on a number of mandates intrinsically tied to the work of health care journalists. AHCJ members are urged to report links between sources of health or medical information, like studies or industry experts, and, for example, the manufacturers who promote a new remedy or therapy. Member journalists are also admonished to fully understand the process of medical research, show respect for the ill and disabled, be careful in labeling subjects as victims or even patients if unwarranted, and avoid misleading language like "cure" or "breakthrough." In addition, journalists must attempt to communicate all benefits or risks attached to treatments or products and an accurate measure of just how beneficial or risky they might be.

National Association of Medical Communicators (NAMC), composed of medical broadcasters, writers and webcasters, offers a Code of Ethics that emphasizes accuracy, content, independence, professionalism, and the personal rights of a story's subjects or audience. The code more specifically suggests choosing content based on positive health benefits and sound medical knowledge rather than sensational appeal. It also warns against journalists substituting their own medical information for the diagnosis or treatment of a health care provider. NAMC expects journalists to portray the possible outcomes to various treatments as well—including the dangers of not seeking medical care.

The Charter of the National Association of Science Writers (NASW), dating back to 1934, advocates for the "dissemination of accurate information regarding science" and the free flow of science news. The organization's Code of Ethics helps guide members in the pursuit of these goals. The document widely recognizes the political machinations that often surround major science projects or stories. As a result, NASW members are asked not to support specific candidates, policies, or legislation tied to the subjects

of their work. There are also stipulations about taking funding that might create conflicts of interest or promoting scientific products and company.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

Association of Health Care Journalists—Statement of Principles

Preamble

Members of the Association of Health Care Journalists believe journalists have a special responsibility in covering health and medical news. This responsibility is inherent in journalists' role as watchdogs, holding the powerful accountable and giving voice to the voiceless.

Association members know that readers and viewers may make important health care decisions based on the information provided in our stories.

We embrace the Society of Professional Journalists' code of ethics with its emphasis on seeking truth, providing fair and comprehensive accounts of events and issues, minimizing harm, acting independently and being accountable.

In this statement, we identify some unique challenges that health care reporters face and suggest how to meet those challenges. This effort is one sign of our organization's commitment to help its members improve health journalism, to help them scrutinize their own efforts and to encourage open discussion and debate on how health care news is reported and disseminated.

We further believe that well balanced and thorough news coverage of health encompasses the determinants of health and not merely medical science or the provision of medical services. We suggest that news organizations scrutinize their role as providers of health care news and information, commit to coverage of health care issues and develop a strategy that meets the needs of their audiences.

Professionalism, Content, Accuracy

Because our objectivity and credibility is paramount, health care journalists are bound by professional standards of truth, accuracy, and context in every report. To achieve this, health care journalists should:

- **Be vigilant in selecting sources,** asking about, weighing and disclosing relevant financial, advocacy, personal or other interests of those we interview as a routine part of story research and interviews.
- **Investigate and report possible links** between sources of information (studies or experts) and those (such as the manufacturers) who promote a new idea or therapy. Investigate and report the possible links between researchers and private companies, researchers and public institutions, patient advocacy groups and their sponsors, celebrity spokespersons and their sponsors, nonprofit health and professional organizations and their sponsors.
- **Recognize that most stories involve a degree of nuance** and complexity that no single source could provide. Journalists have a responsibility to present diverse viewpoints in context. In addition, anyone with knowledge of the health care industry, of medicine, and of the scientific community knows that many vested interests reside among government health spokespersons, researchers, universities, drug companies, device manufacturers, providers, insurers and so on. To reflect only one perspective of only one source is not wise. Most one-source stories lack depth and meaning. Avoid single-source stories.
- **Understand the process of medical research** in order to report accurately. Realize, for example, the distinction between Phases I, II and III drug trials. It is misleading to report bold or conclusive statements about efficacy in Phase I trials since the primary goal of Phase I trials is to evaluate safety, not efficacy. (The National Cancer Institute offers a simple guide.) Be cautious in reporting results of preliminary studies, in vitro or animal studies. Give accurate portrayals of the status of investigational drugs, devices and procedures, including significant caveats and explanations of hurdles, unknowns and potential problems.

- **Preserve journalistic independence** by avoiding the use of video news releases or the use of quotes from printed news releases. Label and credit the source whenever a portion of a video or printed news release is used.
- **Be judicious in the use of television library or file footage.** The use of footage from the past may be inappropriate, misrepresentative, or embarrassing to individuals if used today. It may not even fit the topic of the day. Strive to ensure that your television station has policies on the use of health-related file footage by all news personnel.
- **Recognize that gathering and reporting information may cause harm** or discomfort. Use special sensitivity and understand legal limits when dealing with children, mentally handicapped people and inexperienced sources or subjects. Always consider alternatives that minimize harm while making accurate reporting possible.
- **Show respect.** Illness, disability and other health challenges facing individuals must not be exploited merely for dramatic effect.
- **Remember that some sick people don't like to be called "victims."** Be careful with the use of the term "patients." This can contribute to the medicalization of normal states of health. Calling people in an experimental trial "patients" or referring to an experimental intervention as a "therapy" may contribute to the notion of therapeutic misconception, the implication that subjects in a research trial will certainly derive direct therapeutic benefit from what is actually an experiment with uncertain benefits and harms.
- **Avoid vague, sensational language** (cure, miracle, breakthrough, promising, dramatic, etc.)
- **Make sure anecdotes are appropriately chosen** to serve the interests of fairness and balance. Avoid the "tyranny of the anecdote." Personal stories used as examples must be consistent with the larger body of evidence. Whenever possible, individuals who had both positive and negative outcomes should be included.
- **Quantify the magnitude of the benefit or the risk** in the story. Explain absolute risk or benefit, along with relative risk or benefit whenever possible. A 50 percent increase in relative risk may not mean much if the absolute numbers are small. Consider explaining the "number needed to treat"—the number of people you would have to treat with the experimental intervention (compared with the control) to prevent one event. (See information from the Cochrane Collaboration.)
- **Report the complete risks and benefits of any treatment,** along with the possible outcomes of alternative approaches, including the choices of "watchful waiting."
- **Clearly identify and explain the meaning of results** that indicate an association, rather than a causal link, between factors in a study. Remember: association is not cause.
- **Clearly define and communicate areas of doubt and uncertainty.** Explain what doctors don't know as well as what they do know.
- **Seek out independent experts** to scrutinize claims and evaluate the quality of evidence presented by sources. Apply the same scrutiny and skepticism that would be applied in any other news story. Avoid uncritical acceptance of official or expert pronouncements. Be skeptical about all emphatic claims, particularly about claims that an intervention has few or no adverse side effects.
- **Strive to include information about cost and insurance coverage** in any reporting of new ideas in medicine.
- **Ensure that the total news package (headlines, teases, graphics, promotional material) does not oversimplify or misrepresent.** Coach editors, photographers, producers, writers, graphic artists and copy editors to embrace these values in their work.
- **Consider public interest the primary criterion when choosing which stories to report.** Follow up on those stories that serve a wider public interest. In particular, follow up stories on subsequent failures, negative findings or other reversals of fortune for investigational drugs, devices or procedures should receive coverage comparable to that given initial positive reports.
- **Distinguish between advocacy and reporting.** There are many sides in a health care story. It is not the job of the journalist to take sides, but to present an accurate, balanced and complete report.
- **Be original.** Plagiarism is untruthful and unacceptable.

Independence

We should strive to be independent from the agendas and timetables of journals, advocates, industry and government agencies. We should nourish and encourage original and analytical reporting that provides audiences/readers with context. Given that thousands of journal articles and conference presentations appear each year, and that relatively few are immediately relevant to our audiences/readers, health journalists have a responsibility to be selective so that significant news is not overwhelmed by a blizzard of trivial reports. We are the eyes and ears of our audiences/readers; we must not be mere mouthpieces for industry, government agencies, researchers or health care providers.

Integrity

Those who cover health care will encounter many different interest groups including government, academic medicine and research, medical centers, providers, purchasers, advocacy groups, pharmaceutical companies and device manufacturers. Health care journalists should remember that their loyalties reside with the truth and with the needs of the community.

We must:

- **Preserve a dispassionate relationship** with sources, avoiding conflicts of interest, real or perceived.
- **Avoid any personal or financial interest** in any company in any field related to what is being covered. This includes actual and potential competitors of subjects about whom we report. It is not wise to own stock in health care companies. We must not profit from, nor allow others to profit from, non-public information, including, but not limited to, results in embargoed journal articles and meeting abstracts.
- **Remember that journalists face other potential conflicts of interest.** Think about questions such as: Were you a patient at a particular hospital? Do you have a relative with a specific disease that could unduly influence your handling of a story? Does this insurance company cover employees in your newsroom? It is the journalist's responsibility to recognize these conflicts and prevent them from influencing stories or story choices. The best way to do this is by constant, open and honest discussion with other reporters, editors or producers.
- **Deny favored treatment to advertisers and special interests** and resist their pressure to influence news coverage.
- **Refuse gifts, favors, and special treatment.** Refuse meals from drug companies and device manufacturers and refuse to accept unsolicited product samples sent in the mail.
- **Weigh the potential benefits involved in accepting fees, honoraria, free travel,** paid expenses from organizers of conferences or events against the desire to preserve our credibility with the audience and the need to avoid even the appearance of a conflict of interest.
- **Also weigh the potential benefits of accepting awards** from organizations sponsored by an entity with a vested interest in health care against our need for credibility.
- **Weigh the potential conflict in accepting support** from public, private, or foundation sources.

Responsibility

We must improve our coverage of the structural, institutional, political, financial and ethical issues in health, medicine and health care.

We have a responsibility to encourage editors to pay as much attention to health stories as to medical stories. It is our responsibility to understand the difference between the two types of stories and to help our editors maintain an appropriate balance.

We know stories on health policy and public health are significant and contribute greatly to public debate. We know they are relevant and important for our readers and viewers.

We must work harder to make them interesting.

We must work harder within our newsrooms to keep health care coverage comprehensive and proportional.

While brevity and immediacy are touchstones of news reporting, health and medical reporting must include sufficient context, background and perspective to be understandable and useful to audiences/readers. Stories that fail to explain how new results or other announcements fit within the

broader body of evidence do not serve the interests of the public. Finally, it is our responsibility to lobby our editors to raise the standards of health reporting. Our beats can be viewed as health, medicine, business, health policy, research, science, finance, politics and other specialized areas of news. We must ensure that our beats don't become so super-specialized that we let important health issues fall through the gaps of our finely defined beats. We must work with editors to ensure that our specialized knowledge, training, expertise and instincts have a voice in the broader editorial decision-making of our publication or broadcast or Web site.

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The Association of Health Care Journalists. "Statement of Principles of the Association of Health Care Journalists." The Association of Health Care Journalists. http://www.healthjournalism.org/secondarypage-details.php?id=56 (accessed October 31, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

National Association of Medical Communicators—Code of Ethics

Members of the National Association of Medical Communicators endorse a standard of professionalism exemplified by the best practices of Medicine and Journalism. As communicators, we acknowledge our responsibility in practicing our profession to its highest standards. Medical information is the foundation for public health, and through our efforts we endeavor to enhance the well being of our audiences.

I. ACCURACY: We believe our highest responsibility is to provide clear, current, and accurate health information.
   a. We will always provide complete, truthful, and well-substantiated information.
   b. We will fairly represent conflicting points of view.
   c. We will label editorial comments and personal opinion as such.
   d. We will disclose, where appropriate, our sources of information.

II. CONTENT: We will responsibly gather and communicate information that best serves the needs of the public.
   a. We will strive to select content based on its positive health benefit.
   b. We will endeavor to avoid content based on its sensational appeal.
   c. We will strive to include the cost and quality of care in order to ensure comprehensiveness.

III. INDEPENDENCE: In pursuit of accuracy and truth, we recognize the need to function in a [sic] independent and credible manner.
   a. We believe in freedom of the press and public's right to know.
   b. We will avoid participating in organizations that would compromise our personal and professional integrity.
   c. We will not accept gifts or special privileges that would compromise our independence or integrity.
   d. We will disclose any and all financial arrangements that might be viewed as affecting our independence or integrity.

IV. PERSONAL RIGHTS: We support the inalienable rights of people in a free society.
   a. We acknowledge the right of each individual to privacy, dignity, and confidentiality.
   b. We acknowledge the rights of people to questions and challenge actions and ideas of other individuals and organizations.
   c. We acknowledge our special responsibility to protect individuals from any behavior or practice that might be viewed as exploitative.
   d. We acknowledge the right of our audiences to have an interaction that is respectful, courteous, and consistent with the ideals of medicine and journalism.

V. PROFESSIONALISM: We believe in a sound public health policy for all people with full individual autonomy.
   a. We believe that medical information based on sound knowledge and supporting healthful behaviors is helpful and appropriate.
   b. We believe that health care providers have special relationships with their patients, and we will not substitute our medical information for proper diagnosis and treatment.

c. We believe it is essential to portray the risks and benefits or any behavior, regiment, or treatment.
d. We believe it is important to delineate the possible outcomes to different approaches to care, including the repercussions of the absence of care.

National Association of Medical Communicators. "NAMC Code of Ethics." National Association of Medical Communicators. http://www.namc.info (accessed July 21, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

National Association of Science Writers—Code of Ethics

One of the principal aims of the National Association of Science Writers, according to its constitution, is to "foster the dissemination of accurate information regarding science and technology in keeping with the highest standards of journalism." This code of ethics is intended to guide the behavior of NASW's officers and members in meeting that aim.

NASW or its members, when invoking their NASW membership, must act in accordance with the organization's aims, in keeping with the highest standards of journalism.

NASW does not take political positions, endorse candidates, support specific legislation, or allow the use of its name in connection with any political events. NASW officers and members may not invoke NASW's name, or their membership, in the course of personal political activities.

NASW may, however, take a position on issues related to journalism, freedom of information, and other public policy debates that relate to the members' ability to act in keeping with the highest standards of journalism. Such actions will be determined by the president, upon consultation with the other officers.

NASW may not undertake fundraising activities without the explicit permission of the president. Members may not use NASW's name in connection with any personal fundraising activities.

NASW members may not identify themselves as members of the organization in connection with any writing that takes a political position, endorses a candidate, supports specific legislation, or is related to fundraising activities or the promotion of a product, policy, or company or other organization.

NASW members may not speak for the organization without the authority of the president, the officers, or the members-at-large.

NASW may not accept funding from organizations or individuals whose aims might conflict with NASW's aims, unless specifically authorized to do so by the officers, with the exception of:

- Money paid to NASW for posting job opportunities on the NASW job board. The president or the officers reserve the right to reject ads deemed unacceptable.
- Other situations approved on a case-by-case basis by the NASW officers.

NASW's officers may choose to censure or expel members who violate this code of ethics.

Any disputes that arise concerning this code of ethics will be resolved by a decision of the NASW officers.

National Association of Science Writers. "Code of Ethics." National Association of Science Writers. http://www.nasw.org/about/ethics.htm (accessed October 31, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

Education Reporting

Education Writers Association (EWA)—Standards for Education Reporters

Introduction

Some of the members of the Education Writers Association (EWA) bristled awhile back over the broad misconception among educators that reporters see the education beat as merely a steppingstone to more worthwhile positions. In an effort to set the record straight, the organization put together Standards for Education Reporters that carefully outline the complexities, impact and importance of this segment of journalism. The document recommends standards for competent education journalists that fall into the areas of requisite skills, knowledge and ethical practices needed to do the job right.

Successful education reporters, like all professional journalists, must have strong research, reporting, writing and editing skills. But the EWA singles out certain skill sets that seem particularly in tune with their mission. The group expects education writers to be able to quickly size up a school's positive or negative qualities, understand school politics, and properly interview students of all ages. In a more technical vein, these journalists should also be adept at reading an educational budget, analyzing statistics or test scores, and using electronic spreadsheets or appropriate databases.

The education beat obviously covers a vast landscape of public and private schools and a huge compendium of complex issues. As a result, the EWA recommends its reporters gain enough knowledge over time to be familiar with a number of education related subjects. The Standards for Education Reporters encourages journalists to be conversant about the history of education, the teaching profession, separation of church and state, racial and poverty issues, curriculum and textbook battles, and much more. It also expects journalists to know a certain amount about every level of education from early childhood through graduate school.

Ethical standards for EWA members begin with the basics—like balanced reporting, accuracy, and fairness—expected of all journalists. However, the association notes that education journalists also have the moral obligation to alert parents and children to the negative aspects of media coverage in certain instances and what can be done to minimize harm. Journalists are told to carefully consider when the identity of a child should be protected or a child should be offered an opportunity to opt out of an interview. In essence, the Education Writers Association expects education reporters to treat students in their stories as though they were members of their own family.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

Education Writers Association—Standards for Education Reporters

By Bill Graves

The Oregonian

Experienced school reporters know plenty about standards. The struggle to set standards that define what students should know and be able to do at various stages of their education has been at the heart of school reform since the late 1980s.

So if journalists are going to understand the value of standards, it will be those covering schools. It is appropriate, then, that the Education Writers Association, the professional organization

for the nation's education reporters, would write standards for the school beat.

As schools use standards to define what students should learn, EWA is writing standards to define what education reporters should strive to know. The aim here, however, differs from that of education in that these standards are not for the purpose of evaluating reporters, but to help them do good work. Reporters new to the education beat should be able to use these standards to gauge what they need to learn. EWA's standards are organized in three broad areas: skills, knowledge and ethics.

Skills

In most cases, journalists use the same skills to cover education that they use for any other beat or assignment, and we can assume anyone hired for professional work will have them. But there are some skills that are either peculiar to education or so essential to covering schools that they are worth singling out.

Education reporters need to be able to:

Size Up a School

Reporters need to be able to assess the quality of schools quickly, but with care, much as a home inspector determines whether a house stands on a solid foundation and is free of dry rot. Reporters need to gauge whether students are orderly and engaged in their work, teachers are focused on teaching, and administrators articulate clear goals. They should know how to spot signs of school quality, such as the merits of student work posted on hallway and classroom walls. They also must know when, where and how to check their subjective judgments against more objective measures such as test scores, attendance, teacher turnover and other indicators that reflect school value. News reports on school quality can profoundly affect the reputation of schools, so it is of course crucial that reporters get it right. The stakes are high.

Use Computer Spreadsheet and Database Programs, Such as Excel and Access

State department, school district and university and college data now typically are available on computer spreadsheets, often online. News organizations now routinely use spreadsheet and database programs to sort, summarize, analyze and publish test scores, dropout rates and other information on the morning after release day.

Cultivate Extensive Sources

Perhaps more than many beats, education writers need to have a wide variety of sources available to them to cover the broad range of topics and constituencies that fall within their beat's expansive borders. They should, for example, be able to quickly call on students, parents, teachers, professors, administrators, board members, business and political leaders and ordinary people in the community to comment on topics as diverse as making condoms available in school health clinics, methods of teaching math or the reasons college tuition outpaces inflation. Reporters also need to be able to find expert sources, often quickly, on a vast range of topics that affect schools and universities, such as school law, construction, finance, textbooks or governance. EWA offers two valuable aids here: *Covering the Education Beat*, a resource guide with sources on scores of topics, and the EWA listserv, which allows reporters to immediately tap the collective knowledge of more than 300 colleagues.

Read a Budget

At every level of education—the district, university or state—education writers must be able to read and decipher budgets, spotting trends, gaps or aberrations in the intake and outflow of money for schools. One useful way of analyzing a budget is to look at the relationship between money and quality. Classroom quality is surely affected, for example, when schools convert teacher posts into assistant principal jobs that they call "teachers on special assignment." Questions of quality also arise when reporters show that only 50 cents of every dollar reaches the classroom. Higher education reporters must know how to probe the budgets of both private and public institutions.

Interview Students

This is a skill that comes with practice. Generally, reporters will find they will get nowhere with students, particularly young children, unless they take time to make them feel at ease and ask open-ended questions. We say more under ethics about how to interview students about sensitive issues.

Analyze Statistics, Especially Test Scores

Education reporters will find themselves awash in numbers, and they must be comfortable with them. They need to know, for example, how to work percentages, grasp the difference between median, mean and mode and know when they see significant changes and trends in test scores. They need to be able to do basic statistical analyses of numbers on test scores and a variety of other indicators such as attendance, dropout rates and racial and ethnic demographics. Ideally, they will also know how to do regression analysis, valuable in making adjustments for various social factors such as poverty when comparing students, schools, colleges, universities, school districts, states, even countries.

Understand School Politics

Schools are political organizations as well as learning institutions. School board members, teacher unions and administrators all engage in political tugs and pulls for control and power. So reporters need to be skillful in detecting when school initiatives are launched more for political rather than educational ends.

Knowledge

The knowledge that would benefit reporters in their work is nearly without limits, stretching over a breadth that ranges from methods of teaching to school law and encompassing the curricula of the nation's schools and universities. Professors spend their lives researching the best ways to teach children to read, yet that topic occupies only one small corner of the vast territory encompassed by the education beat. Education reporters may be called upon to write about topics as varied as a recall election on the school board, an analysis of high school dropouts, the economic implications of a university's attempts to expand bioscience research or the best methods to teach algebra.

Despite the broad landscape of topics on the education beat, Richard Clark, director of the Institute for Educational Inquiry at the University of Washington in Seattle, notes: "four general issues prevail across geographic locations, ethnic groupings, political persuasions and school grade levels. They are arguments about (1) purposes of schooling (which include debates over curriculum and instruction), (2) equity and access to schooling, (3) control and accountability, and (4) money and resources." With those issues in mind, there are some areas of knowledge that are essential to anyone covering education with authority.

Following is some of the terrain that education reporters can expect to travel. Though the scope of knowledge outlined below may seem daunting, education reporters can expect to learn much of this over time through their daily work, by reading *Education Week*, the *Chronicle of Higher Education, Phi Delta Kappan* and other education news and by attending regional and national seminars for education reporters.

Education reporters should strive to know:

The Big Picture

Good education reporters have a solid grasp of what has happened in U.S. education from the nation's earliest days. They know, for example, about apprenticeships and kitchen schools in the 1600s; Horace Mann and the common school movement of the early 1800s; the one-room school house and academies that developed into high schools later in the 19th century; the Committee of Ten that designed the modern high school in the 1890s; the emergence of IQ testing and sorting in the 1920s; the progressive school movement launched by John Dewey in the early 20th century; the consolidations pushed by former Harvard University president James Conant that led to the comprehensive high school after World War II; the struggles for desegregation marked by the U.S. Supreme Court 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*; the civil rights movement that followed and the recent trend toward resegregating schools.

Accountability and Reform

The nation's schools are in the middle of a reform movement that began in 1983 after a presidential commission released *A Nation at Risk*, a small report that jarred the nation out of complacency by declaring its schools were suffocating under a "rising tide of mediocrity" that threatened the nation's economy and security. Reform is an important part of the big picture. Most of the initiatives we see today—charter schools, vouchers, an end to social promotion,

performance standards and so forth—all are part of the unfolding reform movement. This era may well mark one of the most dramatic shifts in public education in American history. Reporters need to understand that education is in the midst of this great change, which is one reason educators are so stressed. This is as much an economic movement as it is an educational one. The conventional wisdom argues that we need the world's top schools to sustain a prosperous economy in a knowledge-based global market. Reporters should understand that this effort to build a healthy economy with higher education standards is the larger narrative unfolding behind their educational stories much as the war on terrorism is the larger narrative behind many if not most international stories.

Choice and Privatization of Schools

Reporters should understand that giving parents more choices in where their children learn is one of the most visible and political fallouts from the reform movement, yet still peripheral in terms of affecting student achievement. Fifteen years ago, home schooling was considered radical, charter schools were nonexistent and choice among public schools was rare. Today, conservative and libertarian groups want to use market forces to improve schools by giving parents more choices. Most of these groups support giving parents government vouchers, upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 2002, so they can also shop among private and parochial schools, a proposal firmly resisted by teacher unions and the education establishment. Private companies, such as Edison Schools Inc., are emerging to run public schools for profit. Again, while new choices in schools are dramatic, so far they have had mixed results and affected only a fraction of the nation's 47 million public school students.

Standards and Testing

At the core of reform since 1983 is the drive to set standards that define what students should know and be able to do at various levels of education and then measure whether they meet standards with tests or work samples. Reporters need to understand that implicit in the move to standards is a dramatic shift in school structure from a focus on credits, or the time students spend in school, to standards, or the results of their schooling. Most schools, however, are still holding on to credits, creating an incompatible dual system. Reporters should know how standards in their districts and states compare to those elsewhere. They will be writing in the coming years about whether standards or the old credit-based system prevail.

Because most states are using tests to measure whether students meet standards, testing has become a major issue in education. Many educators complain there already is too much emphasis and time spent on testing at the expense of good instruction, and these debates will only get hotter as President George W. Bush's administration carries out federal mandates for testing. But tests vary widely in their quality and purposes and some are better and more sensible than others. Reporters should know, for example, the difference between norm-referenced and criterion-based tests. The fact is, reporters and the public can now much more quickly identify the proportion of students who are failing to meet standards in a given school, district or state, thanks to testing. This means schools can no longer hide behind schoolwide test averages.

Racial and Ethnic Dynamics

Education reporters already know that most of the nation's social tensions are reflected in the schools. Nowhere is this more evident than in issues of race and ethnic diversity. Reporters need to have a good grasp of how schools served as the battleground for desegregation, beginning with the landmark 1954 U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, followed by the civil rights movement, desegregation, busing, bilingual education and, most recently, resegregation and the achievement gap that still leaves many minority groups learning less than their white peers. At the university level, affirmative action to give minority groups more access to higher education has been challenged in Florida, Georgia, Michigan and Washington, though courts have supported the use of racial preferences in admission decisions. These are among the most complex and sensitive issues in education, and reporters must know them well.

Poverty and Achievement

American schools have never been very good at teaching poor children. Now, when they are under pressure to ensure that all children, not just some, reach high standards, educating the poor and giving them access to universities has become perhaps the single biggest challenge for American schools. There's a complex set of reasons why poor children as a group fare poorly in schools, such as low expectations, low-quality teachers, tracking, old textbooks and home problems. Educators often will say or act as though poor children cannot be expected to learn as much as their more affluent peers because of their difficult home lives. But this is like doctors saying they cannot help people who are too sick. Reporters need to understand why poor children often fall behind in schools, and they should become familiar with schools that successfully teach poor kids. The nation will never reach its education goals until all schools learn how to help disadvantaged children succeed.

Curriculum and Textbook Debates

Ongoing battles over how best to teach reading, writing, science, history and other subjects ebb and flow in the nation's schools. They often reflect political divisions between conservative and liberal, traditional and progressive. Textbooks, being market-driven, try to find compromises, which often results in books that are dull and unfocused and that mention some topics to make sales but omit others to avoid controversy. Reporters need to cover these debates, but also remind readers how these battles distort educational content and undermine the quality of education.

The Teaching Profession

As with everything else in education, the way teachers are trained, the way they work and the unions they belong to are all being questioned and changed. Education reporters are expected to keep on top of these changes and write about them as they unfold. Schools of education, under fire for being irrelevant and out of touch with modern reforms, are revamping the way they train teachers as states change the way they certify them. Unions are becoming more involved in reform and other professional issues to retain their credibility as political leaders look for ways to quickly fire bad teachers. A variety of groups, such as the National Center for Teacher Quality, have emerged to improve teaching. The National Board of Professional Teaching Standards, still in its infancy, has developed a rigorous national certification process designed to identify top teachers and eventually raise the status of the profession. Researchers continue to debate whether there truly is a teacher shortage or just a problem with teacher turnover.

Higher education reporters need to follow ongoing debates at the university level about the second-class status of schools of education, the time professors should devote to research, the merits of tenure, the representation of women and minorities on faculty, the use of graduate assistants and faculty productivity.

School Leadership

School board members and administrators at every level are feeling the heat of the accountability movement, which partly explains the high turnover of superintendents and a growing shortage of qualified principals or school board candidates. This is another volatile front that education reporters need to follow without becoming consumed or misled. While school leaders, for example, insist there is a principal shortage, the fact is there are plenty of trained principals. The question is whether they have been trained for today's schools. The shortage is in principals trained to be instructional leaders, which schools now demand, as opposed to managers of facilities, buses and order. At the university level, higher education reporters will need to follow college presidents, boards and faculties, which wield more power than public school teachers in creating curriculum and academic rules.

High and Middle Schools

Education reporters should know the American high school has never worked very well for a large proportion of students. Before World War II, less than half of all students finished high school. But the world has changed, and students who drop out of high school can expect a life of poverty. So high schools must change if they are going to serve all students, and so far, most are resisting. For example, a growing body of research shows that smaller, more personal high schools work better for more teens, yet school leaders keep building large,

impersonal high schools that are sure to fail, on average, one in four kids. Middle schools also tend to be too big and alienating for too many students. Education reporters need to understand these failures as well as the successes of the rare small, innovative middle and high schools, many of which make school more relevant by connecting learning to careers.

Separation of Church and State and School Law

Education reporters frequently are called upon to write about controversies over the role of religion in the schools. These will include, for example, debates about textbooks, school prayer, religious holidays, Boy Scout recruiting and religious classes. Reporters should be familiar with the basic First Amendment rulings by the U.S. Supreme Court that draw a clear line between talking about religion in school and promoting it. Reporters also will be called upon to write about other legal issues in schools, such as mandatory drug testing, school dress codes, school discipline and other Fourth Amendment privacy issues. They need to have legal sources, both conservative and liberal, to call upon when controversies erupt along the boundaries separating church and state or public institutions and private lives.

School Finance

Reporters cannot write about public education without understanding how schools get and spend their money. Nearly all are supported by some combination of local property taxes, state taxes and federal grants. Reporters can expect to write about financial inequities among districts or even schools. Education writers need to know what studies show about the complex relationships between money and student achievement, the proportion of money spent on teacher salaries and administration, and other details on the flow of money through the complex corridors of education. They also need to know how to keep money issues in perspective. Budgets and spending stories can consume reporters and distract them from what is happening in the classroom. Money is a primary concern for administrators and teacher unions, but it usually is not as important as issues of quality to readers, parents and students. And reporters need to remember that most readers do not have children in public schools. Money takes on new dimensions at the university level, where the costs of tuition and fees and financial aid are major forces affecting student access and equity.

The Federal Role

Education historically has been a local issue, governed by local school boards and supported by local property taxes, and local reporters could largely ignore most of what happened at the federal level. But that began to change in the 1980s, when the U.S. Department of Education became a cabinet-level agency. By the end of that decade, the nation was showing more concern for national outcomes than local school control—a development the late Ernest L. Boyer, president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, called "an absolute, historic watershed in the history of American education." The federal role has continued to grow since, most recently with the George W. Bush administration's successful push for annual testing. The federal government is now spending more than $44.4 billion a year, mostly on remedial programs for disadvantaged children and for special education. No more can local reporters ignore its influence. At the university level, the federal government plays important roles in sponsoring research and providing low-income students access to higher education through grants and loans.

Special Education

Special education is probably the least reported or understood area of education by journalists, yet it is becoming increasingly hard to ignore. Special education, which receives heavy federal support, affects more than 10 percent of the nation's public school children and commands as much as 25 to 30 percent of some district budgets. New federal test requirements will require inclusion of special education students. Reporters need to know about special education, and they need to write about it.

Technology and Education

Education reporters should know how the computer, the Internet and other technologies are shaping the curriculum and the way students learn. So far, technology has had a peripheral role in most

public schools, with studies showing it has little effect on student achievement. Still, many educators see technology as a potentially powerful teaching tool that is still denied many poor children who often attend schools that are not wired for the Internet. What's more, the modern business world expects young people to graduate from our schools knowing how to use computers. Technology has become even more important at the university level, where courses are increasingly available online.

Learning Theory and Instructional Practices

Education writers should have some basic knowledge about major thinkers on learning, such as Swiss developmental psychologist Jean Piaget, who identified stages of the child's mental growth; Italian physician and educator Maria Montessori, who developed a teaching method that stresses child initiative and self-reliance; and John Dewey, the American philosopher and psychologist who emphasized learning through activities rather than formal curricula, later called progressive education. Writers also should know how the teaching of these educators have influenced leading modern theorists. These include Theodore Sizer, who organized the Coalition of Essential Schools, with its emphasis on learning for understanding and cultivating habits of mind; E.D. Hirsch, the founder of the Core Knowledge curriculum, focused on the goal of ensuring all students learn a common body of knowledge; and Howard Gardner, the Harvard professor who argues that humans have multiple intelligences, such as mathematical, musical or interpersonal. Educators continue to debate the validity of all of these theories.

Early Childhood Education

Education reporters must understand that much of what happens in schools begins before children ever reach school. They should know that studies show that children who show up for kindergarten ready—that is with adequate exposure at home to language and books—have much brighter prospects of thriving in school. They should also know about brain research, which increasingly shows that children have a heightened capacity to absorb knowledge in their early years. Preschool education remains a window of opportunity largely lost among American children. Surveys show that most American kids continue to get poor to mediocre preschool care, if any care at all, an issue education writers need to keep in the public light.

Higher Education

While higher education is a beat unto itself at many newspapers, all education reporters should know what is happening in their colleges and universities. Increasingly, the lines are blurring between the final years of high school and the first years of college. A growing number of high school juniors and seniors are taking courses at community colleges for dual credit. Higher education reporters will need to become familiar with the rules of the NCAA, trends in campus life, the mysteries of college costs, debates over the curriculum, the complexities of financial aid, and the small, but rapidly growing for-profit higher education companies such as the University of Phoenix, which caters to working adults and is the largest private university in the nation. They also can expect to write about debates over the university's role in the transfer of its research findings into practical applications in industries such as biotechnology, and whether universities should, for example, get royalties.

Ethics

As with skills, journalists are going to embrace the same body of ethics—such as fairness, accuracy and balance—whether they're covering education or any other beat. But again, there are some ethical circumstances that are peculiar to covering schools, most related to writing about children. Here's an example:

Deborah, a 16-year-old freshman at Marshall High School in Portland, Oregon, and her mother, Joanna, were unusually frank in telling a reporter about their problems. Deborah described how she was held back a year in kindergarten, had learning disabilities and was struggling to survive her first year of high school. Her mother talked about being a recovering alcoholic and drug addict who had married a tattoo artist. She revealed tattoos of roses climbing up her long legs. She also disclosed that Deborah was once raped. Both Deborah and her mother said they were comfortable having all of these details included in a profile of Deborah in *The Oregonian* as part of a series on the Class of 2000 at Marshall High. While the story did not mention the rape, most of the details were included

in the profile as was a description of Deborah skipping classes and finally dropping out of school. The photos of Deborah also were unflattering, showing her in a tight, low-cut sleeveless blouse blowing a big bubble of gum. The reporter described to Deborah and her mother what they could expect in the story. Still, both were devastated when it appeared on the front page. Neither was prepared for the calls and comments from shocked friends and relatives.

It is hard to say how much harm Deborah suffered from this story, but it is safe to say that she was hurt and embarrassed. How can we write about young people, particularly those in trouble, in vivid ways without hurting them?

Here are some guidelines on how to deal with children, particularly on sensitive topics such as violence, sex, drugs, crime, homosexuality, death, poverty school failure, profanity and pornography:

1. Young people, and sometimes their parents, are naïve about what it means to have personal details of their lives revealed in the newspaper or through broadcast. We need to ask if a child we are writing about will be targeted for discrimination, harassment or teasing if we reveal certain details. We need to consider keeping some personal details out of the media to protect children, even if they and their parents consent to having such details published. We should explain clearly to children we write about what they can expect to see in the newspaper or television before their stories are published or broadcasted. Deborah in the example above probably would have been more comfortable with the story if she knew in detail what was going to be in it and had a chance to voice her concerns.

2. We need to be respectful of children. We should deal with young people in interviews and stories as though they were our own children, siblings or members of our own family.

3. We should give children a way to opt out of an interview if they become uncomfortable, even after they've agreed to be interviewed. One way to do this is to interview them in small groups. This proved a good technique during interviews of children after a school shooting in the spring of 1998 at Thurston High School in Springfield, Oregon.

4. We should inform the parents of any child 16 and under that we are going to feature their child or his or her comments in a story on a controversial or sensitive topic. This is not necessary for quick-hit light and uncontroversial stories or features.

5. We should consider concealing the identity of a child or adolescent when we describe very personal, unflattering and negative details about their lives, such as sexual abuse or school failure. It is difficult to imagine, for example, how we could identify a teenager and write about his or her sexual activity without causing harm.

Reporters wield great power in the impact they can have on the lives of children and schools; that power demands responsibility. It is important to consider the possible unintended consequences of the stories we cover about the most vulnerable in our society.

Conclusion

News organizations that have been reflective about the role of education in today's world know it ranks among their most important beats and requires skilled, knowledgeable reporters capable of covering it with the insight it demands. The days when education was a beginning beat for cub reporters and a stepping stone to more important news died in the early 1980s. That's when the world economy began to change and education was no longer optional for individual and national prosperity. Some news organizations still give education short shrift at their own peril. But most major newspapers and broadcasting networks recognize the need for change and devote far more resources to education than a decade ago.

Even after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, education has remained at the top of local and national political and economic agendas. Those values are reflected in the relentless pressure on schools to change and improve. Schools have adopted standards to adjust to this new world order, and news organizations should consider doing the same. What better place to start than the education beat.

Bill Graves. "Standards for Education Reporters." National Education Writers Association. http://www.ewa.org/docs/EWAStandards.pdf (accessed October 31, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

Photojournalism

Committee of Concerned Journalists (CCJ)—Photojournalism Ethics Guidelines
National Press Photographers Association (NPPA)—Code of Ethics

Introduction

One key tenet of photojournalism is that every news consumer should be able to believe his or her own eyes. However, the enhanced competition for newsworthy photographs, combined with technological advances in cameras and editing equipment, has sometimes turned that basic belief into a precarious leap of faith. So it is reasonable that recent ethical policies for photojournalists substantially address both the artistic and business maneuvers that can impact the authenticity of an image. Of course, other important concerns are covered as well.

The Photojournalism Ethics Guidelines put out by the Committee of Concerned Journalists (CCJ) in 2006 pulls together policies for handling photographs from six different newspapers across the country. The *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* (Florida) tackles the issue of physically altering photos in the most extensive entry in the collection. It contends that "content alteration of photographs is unacceptable" no matter what technology might be available, but the rare exception must identify the extent of change to the photo and the technique applied in the caption or credit. The Sarasota paper then spells out several levels of considerations to address if an employee sees reasons for an exception to the rule. For example, discussions should explore alternatives to photo alteration, the news value of the particular image, legal and ethical concerns raised, and who might be offended by the change.

Half of the newspapers in the CCJ document warn against the use of re-created, staged, or posed scenes sometimes referred to as "set-up" photographs. They worry that these constructed or reconstructed scenes might be dishonestly passed off as genuine "found" moments in the news. A couple of the newspapers, like the *Texarkana* (Texas) *Gazette,* have policies based on good taste that forbid the gratuitous use of dead body photographs or images of those likely to die. And the *Sioux Falls* (South Dakota) *Argus Leader* normally refuses to use photographs specifically designated for news columns in any advertisements.

The Code of Ethics of the National Press Photographers Association (NPPA) lays out a detailed standard of behavior for journalists working with both photographic and video images. Beyond the CCJ stipulations mentioned, the NPPA code urges photojournalists to provide "context" when photographing or recording subjects, avoid stereotyping or bias, strive to capture unpopular or ignored viewpoints, and be as unobtrusive as possible with subjects. It also makes a case to push for total access subjects in an effort to get the best news shots and for not purposely sabotaging the work of competing journalists. And the photojournalists are told not to materially reward sources or subjects and to refuse any kind of compensation that might influence their coverage of the news.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

Committee of Concerned Journalists—Photojournalism Ethics Guidelines

Society for Professionals in Journalism,
July 30, 2006

A sample of some newspaper's photo guidelines:

Texarkana (TX) Gazette Dead Body Policy (editorial memo, *Oct. 9, 1989)*

Effective today, we will initiate a kinder, gentler photo policy that precludes dead bodies in photos. There may be some exceptions to this, if there is compelling news value. But as the norm, we will cease to show bodies under sheets, or in bags, or on stretchers, or in any other state of demise. I can't rationalize to myself how body photographs add anything to the value of our newspaper. Instead, I think many of our readers would find them offensive.

I would also extend this policy to people who are severely injured and likely to die. This of course is a judgment call, but in such cases we need take both with-victim and without-victim photographs.

The guiding philosophy behind the policy is one of compassion for the victim's friends and family and an empathy for the sensibilities of our readers. Instead of being an exploitative, shocking newspaper, I want the Texarkana Gazette to be known as a sensitive paper.

I realize this doesn't make for gripping, high-profile photos, but I think it does make for a newspaper more in step with this community.

Sioux Falls (SD) Argus Leader

News photos in advertisements: Photographs taken specifically for news columns shall not be used in advertisements unless approved by the executive editor or managing editor.

Sarasota (FL) Herald-Tribune

The introduction of electronic photo editing technology to the Herald-Tribune brings with it concerns about the use of the image manipulation capabilities of the tools in our daily production.

The technology gives us the ability to easily alter the content or create new photograph that could deceive the reader and ultimately damage the credibility of the Herald-Tribune.

IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN THE POLICY OF THE HERALD-TRIBUNE THAT CONTENT ALTERATION OF PHOTOGRAPHS IS UNACCEPTABLE USING PAST OR PRESENT TECHNOLOGY.

If significant reason exists to challenge this policy it will be addressed in the following manner:

No discussion needed:

- Dodging or burning of areas in the photograph that do not change the content, for instance, lightening or darkening areas of the photograph to make them reproducible in the newspaper.
- Correction of technical defects in a photo, for instance, repairing line hits in a photo or erasing line noise.

Discussion required:

- Photographs with the potential to breach community standards, including accidental inclusion of genitals, obscene gestures, offensive cultural elements.
- Photographs that may offend community standards, including gruesome or emotionally distressing photographs.
- Discussion is also required to use the electronic image manipulation capabilities to create an illustration using photographic elements. It should be noted that this protocol does not preclude the use of the technology to create illustrations using the particular advantages of the tools, but does require that the resulting illustration not closely resemble a real life scene and requires that the resulting illustration be labeled as to its creative elements.

The discussion group should include:

- Photographer, top newsroom executive, photo editor, section editor, and anyone who might lend an enlightened argument for or against the usage.

Some of the questions that should come up in the discussion should include:

- What are the alternatives: Can another photo convey the same message and eliminate the concerns?

- Is possession of the technical capability to alter a photograph justifying the proposed manipulation?
- Is all of the necessary information available for discussion: Story and photo readily available?
- Is there any missing information from the photograph?
- What is the news value of the particular photograph?
- Are there legal or ethical concerns about running the photo?
- Who might be offended and why?
- What are the possible consequences of publishing the photo?
- Will we be able to justify our decision?

Photo credits and labeling:

- Any time the content of a photograph has been altered, the extent of the alteration and the technique should be clearly explained in the cutline or credit, adhering to the style of the Herald-Tribune.
- The emphasis should be on adding as much detailed information as possible.

Rochester (NY) Times-Union and Democrat and Chronicle

All photographs are accurate representations of the situations they portray. Nothing recreated, staged or posed is represented as a candid situation. Previously shot photographs are not represented as fresh and new. Photographers are alert to situations in which straightforward photography might create an impression contrary to the facts. They avoid cropping a photograph in a way that would misrepresent the situation. They point out questionable photographs or situations and discuss proper treatment of them with editors.

San Jose (CA) Mercury News

In the interest of integrity and fairness, photographers and editors should exercise caution in the use of "set-up" photographs. In the same way that reporters do not make up quotes, photographers do not reconstruct scenes or events with the purpose of making them appear as if they were "found" moments.

However, photographers are often called upon to make environmental portraits or do illustrative photography. In no way should such photographs be approached or treated as anything but what they are. They are either portraits or are demonstrative of a situation. Both should be clearly labeled.

That means that care should be taken in writing captions so they do not suggest the picture is something it is not. For example, is Clark Kent working in his study or is he simply in his study (for purposes of a portrait)? Is Lois Lane actually practicing her technique of boomerang tossing or is she demonstrating her technique of boomerang tossing (for purposes of a photograph)? Such distinctions make a difference.

…Ordinarily, consent is implied if a photographer approaches a subject, indicates that he/she is a newspaper photographer and asks for names and other facts. In some circumstances, written releases may be required (at mental health institutions or orphanages, for example).

St. Paul (MN) Pioneer Press and Dispatch

Dead bodies—Avoid use of photos of dead bodies (especially local) unless covered. Of course, there will be exceptions that must be cleared with the managing editor.

General Policy—Do NOT run photos of the governor, mayor, etc. signing proclamations, receiving plaques, looking at a check or piece of paper, etc. Avoid posed news photos of politicians immediately prior to elections.

Added on July 27, 1989:

Under no circumstances shall documentary photographs be manipulated, changed, or altered to any degree, by any method or medium, including electronic manipulation.

Documentary photographs shall not be set up, i.e., manufactured by the photographer.

Any manipulation of feature photos can be done only under the supervision of the director of photography in conjunction with the managing editor and the associate editor of features.

Society of Professionals in Journalism. "Photojournalism Ethics Guidelines." Committee of Concerned Journalists. http://www.concernedjournalists.org/print/207 (accessed October 31, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

National Press Photographers Association—Code of Ethics

Preamble

The National Press Photographers Association, a professional society that promotes the highest standards in photojournalism, acknowledges concern for every person's need both to be fully informed about public events and to be recognized as part of the world in which we live.

Visual journalists operate as trustees of the public. Our primary role is to report visually on the significant events and on the varied viewpoints in our common world. Our primary goal is the faithful and comprehensive depiction of the subject at hand. As photojournalists, we have the responsibility to document society and to preserve its history through images.

Photographic and video images can reveal great truths, expose wrongdoing and neglect, inspire hope and understanding and connect people around the globe through the language of visual understanding. Photographs can also cause great harm if they are callously intrusive or are manipulated.

This code is intended to promote the highest quality in all forms of visual journalism and to strengthen public confidence in the profession. It is also meant to serve as an educational tool both for those who practice and for those who appreciate photojournalism. To that end, The National Press Photographers Association sets forth the following Code of Ethics:

Code of Ethics

Visual journalists and those who manage visual news productions are accountable for upholding the following standards in their daily work:

1. Be accurate and comprehensive in the representation of subjects.
2. Resist being manipulated by staged photo opportunities.
3. Be complete and provide context when photographing or recording subjects. Avoid stereotyping individuals and groups. Recognize and work to avoid presenting one's own biases in the work.
4. Treat all subjects with respect and dignity. Give special consideration to vulnerable subjects and compassion to victims of crime or tragedy. Intrude on private moments of grief only when the public has an overriding and justifiable need to see.
5. While photographing subjects do not intentionally contribute to, alter, or seek to alter or influence events.
6. Editing should maintain the integrity of the photographic images' content and context. Do not manipulate images or add or alter sound in any way that can mislead viewers or misrepresent subjects.
7. Do not pay sources or subjects or reward them materially for information or participation.
8. Do not accept gifts, favors, or compensation from those who might seek to influence coverage.
9. Do not intentionally sabotage the efforts of other journalists.

Ideally, visual journalists should:

1. Strive to ensure that the public's business is conducted in public. Defend the rights of access for all journalists.
2. Think proactively, as a student of psychology, sociology, politics and art to develop a unique vision and presentation. Work with a voracious appetite for current events and contemporary visual media.
3. Strive for total and unrestricted access to subjects, recommend alternatives to shallow or rushed opportunities, seek a diversity of viewpoints, and work to show unpopular or unnoticed points of view.
4. Avoid political, civic and business involvements or other employment that compromise or give the appearance of compromising one's own journalistic independence.
5. Strive to be unobtrusive and humble in dealing with subjects.
6. Respect the integrity of the photographic moment.

7. Strive by example and influence to maintain the spirit and high standards expressed in this code. When confronted with situations in which the proper action is not clear, seek the counsel of those who exhibit the highest standards of the profession. Visual journalists should continuously study their craft and the ethics that guide it.

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The Board of Directors of the National Press Photographers Association, Inc. "Code of Ethics." National Press Photographers Association, Inc. http://www.nppa.org/professional_development/business_practices/ethics.html (accessed June 30, 2009). Reprinted with permission.

Sports Reporting

Associated Press Sports Editors (APSE)—Ethics Guidelines

Introduction

It can be intoxicating as well as downright disorienting for any journalist, especially a relatively new one, to cover the world of sports. Suddenly the working reporter is spending time on a regular basis with sports celebrities and their wealthy business associates, eating in lavish restaurants, and traveling on private jets to more or less exotic destinations. In such an environment, the reporter could easily get too cozy with a subject and hazy about the allegiance owed to an audience. It is not surprising that occasionally a reporter forgets exactly who pays his/her salary.

The Ethics Guidelines of the Associated Press Sports Editors (APSE) predictably begins with the proviso that all travel, food, and accommodations for reporters must be paid by the newspaper. This means the publication even picks up the bill for airfare on a chartered team flight or a meal on the road. Sportswriters cannot take anything of value from those they cover.

APSE similarly warns against conflicts of interest that can arise from outside, journalism-related activities. Sports reporters often get called upon to write for a team or league media guide, serve as an official scorer, and perhaps vote for awards or all-star teams. Sports journalists are also encouraged to adhere to the ethical rules of their own newspapers. These rules should discourage the use of anonymous sources and the pooling of quotes with competing writers on an assignment.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

Association Press Sports Editors (APSE)—Ethics Guidelines

1. The newspaper pays its staffer's way for travel, accommodations, food and drink.
   (a) If a staffer travels on a chartered team plane, the newspaper should insist on bring billed. If the team cannot issue a bill, the amount can be calculated by estimating the cost of a similar flight on a commercial airline.
   (b) When services are provided to a newspaper by a pro or college team, those teams should be reimbursed by the newspaper. This includes providing telephone, typewriter or fax service.
2. Editors and reporters should avoid taking part in outside activities or employment that might create conflict of interest or even appearance of a conflict.
   (a) They should not serve as an official scorer at baseball games.
   (b) They should not write for team or league media guides or other team or league publications. This has the potential of compromising a reporter's disinterested observations.
   (c) Staffers who appear on radio or television should understand that their first loyalty is to the paper.
3. Writers and writers' groups should adhere to APME [Associated Press Managing Editors] and APSE standards: No deals, discounts or gifts except those of insignificant value or those available to the public.

   (a) If a gift is impossible or impractical to return, donate a gift to charity.
   (b) Do not accept free memberships or reduced fees for memberships. Do not accept gratis use of facilities, such as golf courses or tennis courts, unless it is used as part of doing a story for the newspaper.
   (c) Sports editors should be aware of standards of conduct of groups and professional associations to which their writers belong and the ethical standards to which those groups adhere, including areas such as corporate sponsorship from news sources it covers.

4. A newspaper should not accept free tickets, although press credentials needed for coverage and coordination are acceptable.

5. A newspaper should carefully consider the implications of voting for all awards and all-star teams and decide if such voting creates a conflict of interest.

6. A newspaper's own ethical guidelines should be followed, and editors and reporters should be aware of standards acceptable for use of unnamed sources and verification of information obtained other than from primary news sources.
   (a) Sharing and pooling of notes and quotes should be discouraged. If a reporter uses quotes gained secondhand, that should be made known to the readers. A quote could be attributed to a newspaper or to another reporter.

7. Assignments should be made on merit, without regard for race or gender.

Guidelines can't cover everything. Use common sense and good judgment in applying these guidelines in adopting local codes.

Associated Press Sports Editors. "APSE Ethics Guidelines." *The Dallas Morning News*. http://apse.dallasnews.com/main/codeofethics.html (accessed October 31, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

Food Reporting

Association of Food Journalists (AFJ)—Code of Ethics

Introduction

The Association of Food Journalists (AFJ) worries about a lot of the same things that concern Associated Press Sports Editors—and reputable journalists of all stripes. The AFJ's Code of Ethics observes that free travel, special treatment and gifts can "diminish the credibility of food journalists." The Code of Ethics also warns that secondary employment within the food industry, as well as certain political pursuits, might have a similar effect.

Other provisions of the AFJ Code of Ethics focus more on keeping the sources of reporting clear and transparent. The code stipulates how food writers should vet and judiciously use industry press releases. It also encourages food writers to scrupulously credit material taken from another source for a story.

The AFJ document pays careful attention as well to the very separate endeavors of food reporting and criticism. It reminds food writers to indicate where news reports on a subject end and their personal opinions start. In deference to the contentious nature of food writing, the AFJ code also comments on the obligation of members to acknowledge opposing views on controversial issues.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

Association of Food Journalists—Code of Ethics

The Association of Food Journalists recognizes that its members, like all journalists, should meet accepted standards of professional responsibility.

The Association subscribes to the traditional Canons of Journalism of the American Society of Newspaper Editors and to the Code of Ethics of the Society of Professional Journalists, Sigma Delta Chi.

The Association believes that the primary responsibility of food journalists is to serve the public interest by reporting the news accurately and as objectively as possible.

The Association further believes that essential to this commitment is the absolute separation of editorial responsibilities from the influence of a media's advertising departments.

To assure their integrity and preserve their credibility, members therefore accept the following standards:

(1) Gifts, favors, free travel or lodging, special treatment or privileges can compromise the integrity and diminish the credibility of food journalists, as well as that of their employers. This includes commercially sponsored contests. Such offers should be avoided. An example is a contest promoting specific food products that is open to food journalists only.

(2) Similarly, food journalists should not use their positions to win favors for themselves or for others.

(3) Secondary employment, political involvement, holding public office or serving in organizations should be avoided if it compromises the integrity of a food journalist.

(4) Because the editorial space allotted to food journalism is not an extension of advertising, brand names or names of specific companies or interest groups should be used only in a newsworthy context or for purposes of clarification.

(5) Food journalists should use their bylines only in conjunction with material that they have written. Material from other sources incorporated in a story should be credited.

(6) To assure accuracy, so-called news communications or press releases should be substantiated.

(7) Expression of opinions, editorials or special articles devoted to the writer's own views should be clearly labeled as such and thus easily distinguished from the news reports.

(8) Because of the controversial nature of many food-related topics, food journalists accept the obligation to acknowledge opposing views on such issues.

PLEDGE: The Association of Food Journalists encourages observation of these standards by all news people. The Association further urges news media managements to support the decision by food journalists to uphold this code.

The Association of Food Journalists. "Code of Ethics." The Association of Food Journalists. http://www.afjonline.com/afj.aspx?pgID=874 (accessed October 31, 2008). Reprinted with permission from The Association of Food Journalists, www.afjonline.com.

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Section III Introduction

The field of journalism is undergoing a prolonged transformation akin to what might happen to a city in the throes of gentrification. New avenues and areas of media are under construction, while older sections slowly crumble and fear demolition. The mission for journalism education first involves envisioning the map and ambiance of the terrain to come. Then it must decide how to best acclimate existing inhabitants to that environment before recruiting the next generation of residents.

Journalism educators, by necessity, have become part of the effort to assess emerging trends in the media industry. In studies, like the one sponsored by the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of Pennsylvania (see the category Journalism White Papers on Changes in Education and Media), they join with others in the field to pinpoint daunting problems on the horizon and inherent failures that persist from the past. The members of the study also outline steps that should be taken to remedy these situations. Many of the solutions imply adjustments to the way journalism should be taught and the mindset new journalists must bring to their careers.

Another study in this section picks up where the Annenberg group leaves off. Improving the Education of Tomorrow's Journalists, funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, asks leaders in the industry to identify specifically what journalism schools should teach and how curriculum has to be amended. Despite all the changes to the profession, they place the highest priorities on traditional reporting and writing skills, and on the ethics of journalism.

A 1904 article by Joseph Pulitzer reinforces the notion that old journalism education priorities can still be relevant in the years to come. In "The College of Journalism," he defends the efficacy of graduate journalism education at a time before it existed. Ironically, some of the subjects he proposes journalism schools embrace—statistics, economics, journalism law—show up as cornerstones of newly revised curriculums around the country (see the category Schools of Journalism: Values and Curriculum). He also makes a strong case for the principles that underlie the current push for internships on all levels.

Of course, rapidly evolving technology has drastically changed both news reporting and delivery methods. This, in turn, has prompted even the most venerable journalism programs to tweak or revamp their curriculum on the fly. For these established schools, it becomes a balancing act between preserving the older elements of journalism that helped establish their reputations and the new wave innovations necessary to keep their graduates in the mix. In the meantime, a rash of completely new journalism programs have launched with concepts like conversion and beat specialization at the core of their curriculum. However, for all of journalism education, the real goal now is to help reinvent and energize all media and reporting. It is no longer enough to just try to keep up.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

Accreditation Standards in Journalism Education

Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications (ACEJMC)—Accrediting Standards

Introduction

Accreditation is a process used across the United States for weighing academic quality in higher education. Instead of one national regulating entity, there are numerous accrediting agencies charged with assessing a wide range of institutions and programs—including those that concentrate on a single discipline or profession. The Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications (ACEJMC) is the only organization specifically responsible for evaluating higher education in journalism that is focused on professional (pre-career) education. The council accredits about 100 of the roughly 400 journalism and mass communication degree programs in the country, many of the latter not seeking accreditation as they are rooted in broader liberal arts concerns and do not focus on pre-professional work.

In devising its latest Accrediting Standards for professional journalism and mass communications programs, the ACEJMC pushed certain key values and priorities. The organization has a stated mission for journalism education that includes preparing students with a definable body of knowledge, a clear system of inquiry, and appropriate scholarship and career training. The ACEJMC also puts great emphasis on journalism's commitment to diversity and inclusiveness in reporting and the educating of prospective journalists. As a result, programs are asked to document efforts to include women and representatives from diverse ethnic and racial groups in both the faculty and student body—and to expand the professional opportunities for these particular students.

The Accrediting Standards, however, do not mandate a specific curriculum or list of courses for all schools to adopt. There is also no single method of instruction prescribed for programs to follow. The ACEJMC Council puts great stock in protecting the "unique situation, mission and resources" that each program takes on. The council merely judges the program's efforts against the broad framework and standards it embraces for preparing students in the field.

The council openly supports the value of a liberal arts and sciences curriculum, as well as journalism-specific training courses, in its Accrediting Standards. The ACEJMC governing body also pays close attention to student services, professional and public service, assessment of learning outcomes, and resources, facilities and use of equipment. Yet, given the enormous technical advances in the general journalism and media environment, the Accrediting Standards for training students on new technology is not as rigorous as might be expected. This could be traced to mass communications programs placing less of an emphasis on the role of technology than journalism schools.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

ACEJMC Accrediting Standards

Preamble

Institutional uniqueness

The Accrediting Council does not define specific curricula, courses or methods of instruction. It recognizes that each institution has its unique situation, mission and resources, and this uniqueness is an asset to be safeguarded. The Council judges programs against the objectives that units and institutions set for themselves and against the standards that the Council sets forth for preparing students for professional careers in journalism and mass communications.

Format for each standard

Each begins with a statement of the basic principle of the standard.

Indicators

Units should demonstrate that they meet the expectations defined for each of the indicators. However, the site team may recommend a waiver of the expectations for any indicator if the unit provides a compelling reason for the waiver. In such cases, the team must provide justification in the site report for its decision as part of its discussion of the standard. Units requesting evaluation of their professional master's program(s) are expected to demonstrate how those graduate programs meet all appropriate indicators.

Visit teams will not specify compliance/non-compliance for each individual indicator, but will state judgments of compliance/non-compliance for each standard as is currently done.

Evidence

Each standard concludes with a list of various forms of documentation and evidence that the unit should include in its self-study report to demonstrate that it meets the expectations defined for indicators. The site team will supplement this evidence by inspection of the facilities and equipment, by observation of the activities of the unit, by meetings and interviews with university administrators and faculty from other units and with unit faculty, staff and students, and by calls to professionals who hire the unit's students as interns and full-time employees.

The list of evidence for each standard is only a guide to possible forms of evidence.

1. Mission, Governance and Administration

The policies and practices of the unit ensure that it has an effectively and fairly administered working and learning environment.

Indicators:

(a) The unit has a mission statement and engages in strategic or long-range planning that provides vision and direction for its future, identifies needs and resources for its mission and goals and is supported by university administration outside the unit. A professional graduate program must have a separate mission statement and designated administrative oversight for that program.

(b) The unit has policies and procedures for substantive faculty governance that ensure faculty oversight of educational policy and curriculum.

(c) The unit's administration provides effective leadership within the unit and effectively represents it in dealings with university administration outside the unit and constituencies external to the university.

(d) The institution and/or the unit defines and uses a process for selecting and evaluating its administrators.

(e) Faculty, staff and students have avenues to express concerns and have them addressed.

Evidence:

A mission statement

A strategic or long-range plan

Documents demonstrating administrative oversight for the professional graduate program

A faculty policy manual, handbook or other document specifying the roles of faculty in governance and the development of educational policy

Minutes of faculty meetings, committee meetings and reports

Assessment of unit administrator by faculty and by administration outside the unit

Files on searches and hiring decisions

Files on concerns and complaints

2. Curriculum and Instruction

The unit provides a curriculum and instruction that enable students to learn the knowledge, competencies and values the Council defines for preparing students to work in a diverse global and domestic society.

Professional Values and Competencies:

The Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications requires that, irrespective of their particular specialization, all graduates should be aware of certain core values and competencies and be able to:

- understand and apply the principles and laws of freedom of speech and press, including the right to dissent, to monitor and criticize power, and to assemble and petition for redress of grievances;
- demonstrate an understanding of the history and role of professionals and institutions in shaping communications;
- demonstrate an understanding of the diversity of groups in a global society in relationship to communications;
- understand concepts and apply theories in the use and presentation of images and information;
- demonstrate an understanding of professional ethical principles and work ethically in pursuit of truth, accuracy, fairness and diversity;
- think critically, creatively and independently;
- conduct research and evaluate information by methods appropriate to the communications professions in which they work;
- write correctly and clearly in forms and styles appropriate for the communications professions, audiences and purposes they serve;
- critically evaluate their own work and that of others for accuracy and fairness, clarity, appropriate style and grammatical correctness;
- apply basic numerical and statistical concepts;
- apply tools and technologies appropriate for the communications professions in which they work.

Units requesting evaluation of a graduate program must also demonstrate how their master's graduates attain this additional core competency:

- contribute to knowledge appropriate to the communications professions in which they work.

Indicators:

(a) The unit requires that students take a minimum of 80 semester credit hours or 116 quarter credit hours outside of the unit and a minimum of 65 semester credit hours or 94 quarter credit hours in the liberal arts and sciences (as defined by the institution) outside of the unit. ACEJMC expects at least 95 percent of the graduating classes in the two academic years preceding an accreditation visit to meet this requirement.

ACEJMC requires each unit seeking initial accreditation to include in its self-study report the number of semester or quarter hours taken in non-journalism and mass communications and in liberal arts, sciences and social sciences by all members of each graduating class in the two academic years before an initial accreditation visit.

Units seeking re-accreditation must determine the percentage of students meeting the 80/65 or 116/94 requirement, but they are not required to provide a full census of classes.

(b) The unit provides a balance between theoretical and conceptual courses and professional skills courses to achieve the range of student competencies listed by the Council.

(c) Instruction is demanding and current; achievements in teaching and learning are recognized and valued.

(d) Student-faculty classroom ratios facilitate effective teaching and learning in all courses; a student-teacher ratio of 15–1 in skills and laboratory sections is strongly recommended and the ratio in each section should not exceed 20–1.

(e) The unit advocates and encourages opportunities for internship and other professional experiences outside the classroom and supervises and evaluates them when it awards academic credit.

Schools may award academic credit for internships in fields related to journalism and mass communications, but credit should not exceed one semester course (or its equivalent) if the internship is away from the institution, and, for the most part, supervised by media professionals rather than academics. Students may take up to two semester courses (or their equivalent) at an appropriate professional organization where the unit can show ongoing and extensive dual supervision by the unit's faculty and professionals. Students may take up to three semester courses (or their equivalent) at

a professional media outlet owned and operated by the institution where full-time faculty are in charge and where the primary function of the media outlet is to instruct students.

Evidence:

Student records and transcripts

Unit bulletins and brochures

Syllabi and other course materials

Records of teaching awards and citations, curricular and course development grants, attendance at teaching workshops, and publications and papers on teaching

Class rosters

Records and statistics on and evaluations of internships, with and without academic credit

For units requesting evaluation of a professional graduate program:

Indicator:

At least half of the required credit hours must be in professional skills courses that are appropriate to professional communication careers.

Evidence:

Course syllabi and other documents demonstrating that the unit has a professional graduate curriculum that prepares master's degree graduates for significant professional careers that provide leadership and influence.

Undergraduate student records and transcripts demonstrating student experience equivalent to liberal arts education.

3. Diversity and Inclusiveness

The unit has a diverse and inclusive program that serves and reflects society.

Indicators:

(a) The unit has a written plan for achieving an inclusive curriculum, a diverse faculty and student population, and a supportive climate for working and learning and for assessing progress toward achievement of the plan.

(b) The unit's curriculum fosters understanding of issues and perspectives that are inclusive in terms of gender, race, ethnicity and sexual orientation.

(c) The unit demonstrates effective efforts to recruit women and minority faculty and professional staff and provides an environment that supports their retention, progress and success.

(d) The unit demonstrates effective efforts to help recruit and retain a student population reflecting the diversity of the population eligible to enroll in institutions of higher education in the region or population it serves, with special attention to recruiting under-represented groups.

(e) The unit has a climate that is free of harassment and discrimination, accommodates the needs of those with disabilities, and values the contributions of all forms of diversity.

Accreditation site visit teams will apply this standard in compliance with applicable federal and state laws and regulations.

Evidence:

A written plan

Syllabi and other course materials

Records and statistics on faculty and staff hiring and on promotion and tenure decisions

Records and statistics on student recruitment, retention and graduation

Records on part-time and visiting faculty and speakers

4. Full-Time and Part-Time Faculty

The unit hires, supports and evaluates a capable faculty with a balance of academic and professional credentials appropriate for the unit's mission.

Indicators:

(a) The unit has written criteria for selecting and evaluating the performance of all full-time and part-time faculty and instructional staff.

(b) Full-time faculty have primary responsibility for teaching, research/creative activity and service.

(c) Credentials of the unit's faculty represent a balance of professional and scholarly experience and expertise kept current through faculty development opportunities, relationships with professional and scholarly associations, and appropriate supplementation of part-time and visiting faculty. Faculty teaching in the graduate program must meet

the criteria for graduate instruction at that university.

(d) The unit regularly evaluates instruction, using multiple measures that include student input.

(e) The faculty has respect on campus for its university citizenship and the quality of education that the unit provides.

Evidence:

Faculty and staff manuals or relevant policy procedural documents

Vitae for full-time and part-time faculty

Course evaluations and other methods of determining teaching effectiveness

Evaluation process for annual review of faculty contributions and performance

Search and hiring records

For units requesting evaluation of a professional graduate program:

Faculty vitae that demonstrate a clearly defined graduate faculty who meet the criteria for graduate instruction at that university.

5. Scholarship: Research, Creative and Professional Activity

With unit support, faculty members contribute to the advancement of scholarly and professional knowledge and engage in scholarship (research, creative and professional activity) that contributes to their development.

Indicators:

(a) The unit requires, supports and rewards faculty research, creative activity and/or professional activity.

(b) The unit specifies expectations for research, creative activity and/or professional activity in criteria for hiring, promotion and tenure.

(c) Evaluation criteria for promotion, tenure and merit recognition account for and acknowledge activities appropriate to faculty members' professional as well as scholarly specializations.

(d) Faculty members communicate the results of research, creative and/or professional activity to other scholars, educators and practitioners through presentations, productions, exhibitions, workshops and publications appropriate to the activity and to the mission of the unit and institution.

(e) The unit fosters a climate that supports intellectual curiosity, critical analysis and the expression of differing points of view.

Evidence:

Faculty guides or manuals on tenure and promotion

Records of sabbatical and other leaves, travel funds and grant support

Records on faculty promotion, tenure and other forms of recognition

Faculty vitae and unit reports on research and creative and professional activities

6. Student Services

The unit provides students with the support and services that promote learning and ensure timely completion of their program of study.

Indicators:

(a) Faculty and/or professional advising staff ensure that students are aware of unit and institutional requirements for graduation and receive career and academic advising.

(b) Faculty are available and accessible to students.

(c) The unit keeps students informed about the activities, requirements and policies of the unit.

(d) The unit and the institution provide students with extra-curricular activities and opportunities that are relevant to the curriculum and develop their professional as well as intellectual abilities and interests.

(e) The unit gathers, maintains and analyzes enrollment, retention, graduation rates and other aggregate information for improving student services and reducing barriers to student success.

Evidence:

Student records, transcripts and files

Advising guides, manuals, newsletters and internal communication

Statistics on enrollment, scholarships, retention and graduation

Examples of student media and information about student professional organizations

For units requesting evaluation of a professional graduate program:

Documents and records demonstrating that the graduate program has appropriate admissions and retention policies.

7. Resources, Facilities and Equipment

The unit plans for, seeks and receives adequate resources to fulfill and sustain its mission.

Indicators:

(a) The unit has a detailed annual budget for the allocation of its resources that is related to its long-range, strategic plan.

(b) The resources that the institution provides are fair in relation to those provided other units.

(c) The facilities of the unit enable and promote effective scholarship, teaching and learning.

(d) The institution and the unit provide faculty and students with equipment or access to equipment to support its curriculum and the research, creative and professional activities of the faculty.

(e) The institution and the unit provide sufficient library and information resources to support faculty and student research and professional development.

Evidence:

A detailed budget

Inspection tour of the library, facilities and equipment

8. Professional and Public Service

The unit advances journalism and mass communication professions and fulfills its obligations to its community, alumni and the greater public.

Indicators:

(a) The unit is actively engaged with alumni, professionals and professional associations to keep curriculum and teaching current and to promote the exchange of ideas.

(b) The unit provides leadership in the development of high standards of professional practice through such activities as offering continuing education, promoting professional ethics, evaluating professional performance and addressing communication issues of public consequence and concern.

(c) The unit contributes to the improvement of journalism and mass communication as academic disciplines by supporting the faculty's involvement in academic associations and related activities.

(d) The unit contributes to its communities through service projects, internship and job placements, and faculty involvement in civic activities related to journalism and mass communication.

(e) The unit supports scholastic journalism through such activities as faculty workshops, visiting lectures and critiques of student work.

Evidence:

Faculty vitae

Unit records, brochures and publications of public service activities related to its mission and strategic plan

Alumni newsletters, surveys, reunions and other activities

Travel and other support for faculty involvement in academic and professional organizations

Information about courses and services available to professionals and the public

9. Assessment of Learning Outcomes

The unit regularly assesses student learning and uses results to improve curriculum and instruction.

Indicators:

(a) The unit defines the goals for learning that students must achieve, including the "Professional Values and Competencies" of this Council. (See 2. Curriculum and Instruction.)

(b) The unit has a written assessment plan that uses multiple direct and indirect measures to assess student learning.

(c) The unit maintains contact with its alumni to assess their experiences in the professions and to gain feedback for improving curriculum and instruction.

(d) The unit includes members of journalism and mass communication professions in its assessment process.

(e) The unit collects and reports data from its assessment activities and uses the data to improve curriculum and instruction.

Evidence:

A written statement on competencies

A written assessment plan

Alumni newsletters, surveys, reunions and other activities

Records on information collected from multiple measures of assessment and on the application of this information to course development and improvement of teaching

For units requesting evaluation of a professional graduate program:

Outcomes appropriate to a professional graduate program could include: a professional project, thesis or comprehensive exam that demonstrates that graduate students have developed analytical and critical thinking abilities appropriate to the profession.

The Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communication. "ACEJMC Accrediting Standards." http://www2.ku.edu/~acejmc/PROGRAM/STANDARDS.SHTML (accessed December 21, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

Schools of Journalism: Values and Curriculum

University of California, Berkeley, Graduate School of Journalism

Columbia University, The Journalism School

University of Georgia, The Grady College

University of Kansas, William Allen White School of Journalism and Mass Communications

University of Missouri–Columbia, Missouri School of Journalism

Northwestern University, Medill School of Journalism

Ohio University, E. W. Scripps School of Journalism

University of Oregon, School of Journalism and Communication

University of Southern California, Annenberg School for Communication

Introduction

There are more than 400 journalism-based degree programs around the country, undergraduate and graduate. The nine selected here fit a particular set of criteria designed to identify a representative group of the institutions offering master's programs in the field. These are the only schools of journalism—as opposed to departments or isolated programs—currently offering pre-professional masters programs accredited by the Accrediting Council on Education Journalism and Mass Communications (ACEJMC) under the latest standards put into play in 2005. (See the ACEJMC Accrediting Standards document in this section for specific accreditation requirements.)

All of these pre-professional programs set the tone for their efforts with a formal statement of mission, goals or coveted values. Some of these are just brief references to a school's broader purpose, beliefs or intent. For instance, Columbia emphasizes upholding "standards of excellence," Oregon promises to "prepare students for professional and leadership roles" throughout the industry, and the William Allen

White School at Kansas singles out the need to get students to "think critically and creatively." Other schools give more elaborate mission statements that spell out priorities related to teaching, service, ethical practices, diversity issues, and developing certain skill sets. The Grady College at Georgia is unique in making basic and applied research, related to "the media and their roles in and influence on society," a sizable component of its mission.

The curricula for the selected schools primarily reflect the need to respond to three pressing concerns. They all strive to address current ACEJMC Accrediting Standards, the perceived changes in the business of journalism and related practices, and the obligation to teach and sustain traditional reporting and writing techniques. Of course, in many instances the Accrediting Standards already pick up on the most recent innovations or issues in the field. As a result, most schools satisfy ACEJMC curriculum mandates and industry demands by providing coursework in areas like new research tools or "information literacy," online or interactive reporting, and ethics and legal issues, among others. And all put great emphasis on nuts-and-bolts courses in turning out quality hard news and feature pieces.

Most of these schools have also picked up the tendency for journalists to eventually specialize in some way. So students can often opt for coursework tied to a particular medium (like broadcast journalism), form of writing (say investigative or literary nonfiction), or subject area (such as business/economics or international reporting). Some schools offer two or more totally separate kinds of master's degrees related to journalism or media. The Missouri School of Journalism, known widely for excellence in photojournalism graduate work, takes the whole process a step further. It offers a number of masters options based on desired subject or form, level of experience, and willingness to work in converged media.

Finally, it should be emphasized that these schools represent but one small part of the journalism education scene. There are a host of graduate programs (both masters and doctoral—the latter being research based and thus not formally accredited) that focus on larger liberal arts and research emphases and thus do not seek accreditation. And there are literally hundreds of undergraduate programs—easily 300 of them—offering quality education despite their lack of formal field-specific accreditation.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

University of California, Berkeley, Graduate School of Journalism

Goals Statement:

The goal of the Graduate School of Journalism is to produce professional print, broadcast, and new media journalists who move on to positions of leadership and influence. The two-year Master of Journalism (M.J.) program provides intensive training in journalism skills and teaches the traditions and principles of the field.

Berkeley Graduate School of Journalism. "Program." http://journalism.berkeley.edu/program/overview.html (accessed December 21, 2008).

Degree Requirements

J200 / Reporting the News

J211 / Reporting the News Lab

Journalism 200, Reporting the News, is a foundation course that meets for six hours each week and demands at least 15 hours of news reporting outside of the classroom. The heavy workload indicates the importance attached to the class. J200 is the boot camp prerequisite to all advanced reporting and broadcast courses. It is the core of the journalism school curriculum and immerses students in the basics of reporting fundamental to every journalism medium—print, broadcast or digital. Each J200 instructor tailors his or her section of 10–14 students to a particular style or emphasis, but the goal is that all first-year students master basic elements of the reporting and writing craft and obtain published clips of work from their J200 section. The course runs concurrently with Reporting the News Lab (J211), which instructs students in the use of electronic reporting resources from Web, database, and public records—skills they apply to their J200 and other assignments.

J255 / Law and Ethics

This course is an introduction to legal and ethical conflicts faced by working reporters.

Using case studies, in-class argument, readings and guest lectures, the course examines some of the murkier conflicts that don't necessarily make it to court but nevertheless force difficult newsroom decision-making. The course is co-taught by a practicing lawyer who specializes in First Amendment law and a regular faculty member.

J215 / Introduction to Multimedia Reporting

This class teaches the fundamentals of using digital audio, video and photo equipment, editing digital video, audio and photographs and creating multimedia Web sites. The class is designed to expose students to what it's like to report in an environment where stories can be reported and told using a variety of different media. While primarily for students interested in new media and online publishing, the class will be valuable to any student who wants to better prepare for the growing convergence of broadcast, print and Web media. Instruction includes using digital video cameras; editing digital video with iMovie and FinalCut Pro; doing voiceovers and stand-ups for video and understanding professional standards in broadcast journalism; using minidisc digital audio recorders; editing digital audio with ProTools; using digital photo cameras; editing digital photos with PhotoShop; using Flash to create photo slide shows with audio, and creating multimedia Web sites using Dreamweaver. An instructor who specializes in each particular form of media will teach that segment of the class. Students work as teams reporting on local feature story projects throughout the class and then produce multimedia Web sites on their projects by the end of the semester.

J294 / Master's Project Seminar

J-School culminates in a final master's project, a capstone of each student's experience at Berkeley. Students submit an in-depth reporting project of professional quality prior to graduation. Newspaper series, magazine articles, long-form pieces for radio, TV, new media, or photography or a documentary film can meet the requirement. During the second year, students meet regularly with a faculty advisor to discuss their progress. Many of our students publish or broadcast their projects in major media outlets.

J297 / Internship

A cornerstone of our program is ensuring that students gain professional experience. In J297, students receive two units of credit for a summer internship between their first and second year, or during the academic year. Students in our program have interned at major newspapers, TV and radio stations and new media outlets, including the The Washington Post, The New York Times, The Sacramento Bee, the San Jose Mercury News, the Anchorage Daily News, NPR, MarketWatch.com, ABC and WIRED magazine. Our career services director and permanent and visiting faculty assist students in finding a challenging internship in print, broadcast or new media. News organizations provide written evaluations of all student interns, providing useful feedback. Students also write reports on their internship experiences and share this information with their colleagues.

Additional Requirements

The master of journalism degree requires 36 semester units of graduate or upper-division courses and submission of a master's project. A minimum of 24 units must be earned in the Graduate School of Journalism. One upper-division course is required in another department, and up to 12 units of credit may be earned in graduate or upper-division courses in other departments on campus. In the spring of the first year, and in both semesters of the second year, each student must enroll in at least one advanced reporting course. To satisfy our cross-media requirement, all students must take at least one course in a medium outside of the primary area of interest. All students must enroll full-time (at least twelve units each semester in most cases) and must fulfill the four-semester residency requirement.

Berkeley Graduate School of Journalism. "Program Degree Requirements." http://journalism.berkeley.edu/program/curriculum.html (accessed December 21, 2008).

Columbia University, The Journalism School

Mission Statement:

Educating new generations of journalists and upholding the standards of journalistic excellence has been our mission since we opened nearly a century ago.

The Journalism School Columbia University. "About the School." http://www.journalism.columbia.edu/cs/ContentServer/jrn/1175372314358/page/1175374096177/JRNTabPage.htm (accessed December 21, 2008).

Course Schedule:

Course	*Fall (Credits)*	*Spring (Credits)*
Evidence & Inference	3	—
History/Principles of Journalism	3	
Graduate Seminar in Major	6	6
Masters Thesis	3	6
Fall Elective (outside J-School)	3	—
Spring Elective I (outside J-School)	—	3
Spring Elective II (outside J-School)		3
36 credits (min.) to MA degree:	*18*	*18*

Columbia Graduate School of Journalism. "Masters of Art in Journalism." http://www.journalism.columbia.edu/cs/ContentServer/jrn/1212608967690/page/1165270052391/JRNSimplePage2.htm (accessed December 21, 2008).

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University of Georgia, The Grady College

Mission Statement:

The mission of the Grady College:

The Grady College serves the state, nation and world by: 1) developing and disseminating knowledge about communication institutions and the processes and role of mass communication in society; 2) preparing students to be critical thinkers and outstanding communication professionals; and 3) creating and transferring knowledge about mass communication that informs and serves the public, communication professionals, academics, and policy makers.

1. Teaching

The College provides instruction at undergraduate and graduate levels to prepare students for careers in advertising, broadcast news, magazines, newspapers, news services, photojournalism, publication management, public relations, telecommunications, and new media. Teachers help students to think critically about the media and understand the roles and impact they have in society, the history of mass media, and how to deal with ethical and legal questions as well as help them learn how to gather, analyze, and present information in a clear, concise way through various media. The role of a free and responsible press in a democracy characterized by diversity is emphasized.

Degrees offered

- bachelor of arts (ABJ)
- master of arts (MA)
- doctorate in mass communication (Ph.D.)

The ABJ degree is intended primarily to prepare practitioners for employment in the mass media. The MA and Ph.D. degrees also help students prepare for positions in mass media research and teaching.

2. Research

Through basic and applied research, the College seeks to raise and answer questions related to the media and their roles in and influence on society. This research is facilitated by these Grady College units;

- James M. Cox Jr. Center for International Mass Communication Training and Research
- James M. Cox Jr. Institute for Newspaper Management Studies
- Dowden Center for New Media
- Michael J. Faherty Broadcast Management Lab

3. Service

This College provides myriad services for the mass media and the public through its...

- Office of Public Service and Outreach
- Centers and Institutes
- Faculty working on individual projects

Beneficiaries of service programs include the public, the mass media, and students from elementary grades through college.

Grady College, The University of Georgia. "Mission." http://www.grady.uga.edu/about_grady.php?al1=About+Grady&al2=Mission&page=Mission.inc.php (accessed December 21, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

Curriculum:

MA Program Requirements

The precise requirements for the MA thesis or MA non-thesis vary according to the student's area of concentration. A minimum of 30 semester credits (9 courses plus thesis) are required to complete the MA thesis program. A minimum of 33 semester credits (11 courses) are required to complete the MA non-thesis program. In addition, department-specific requirements for the areas of professional concentration must be successfully completed for the MA non-thesis.

If a student has not taken and passed a statistics course prior to Grady graduate study, they must successfully complete an approved statistics course (with a grade of C or better) by the end of the first year of study. Otherwise, the student will not be permitted to take any more course work until the statistic requirement is fulfilled.

General Requirements

All students are subject to the following general degree requirements.

To receive the MA thesis degree, a student must:

… complete an integrated program of study of at least 27 semester hours (9 courses) of graduate study.

… write and defend a thesis for a minimum of 3 semester hours (1 course) of graduate credit.

… complete at least 5 courses (15 hours) numbered 8000 or higher, including JRMC 8000 (Proseminar in Mass Communication) and JRMC 8010 (Research Methodology in Mass Communication).

… complete 2 or 3 graduate courses (6/9 hours) outside the Grady College related to the area of concentration.

… achieve a 3.0 GPA (B) in all graduate studies.

… complete all degree requirements within six years of registering for courses approved for the program of study, including those transferred from another institution.

… enroll for 3 hours of credit in JRMC 7300 the semester in which the thesis is defended and submitted.

To receive the MA non-thesis degree, a student must:

… complete an integrated program of study of at least 33 semester hours (11 courses) of graduate study.

… complete at least 5 courses (15 hours) numbered 8000 or higher, including JRMC 8000 (Proseminar in Mass Communication) and JRMC 8010 (Research Methodology in Mass Communicaiton).

… complete 2 or 3 graduate courses (6/9 hours) outside the Grady college related to the area of concentration.

… achieve a 3.0 GPA (B) in all graduate studies.

… pass a comprehensive exam covering the program of study; not to be taken before the final semester of a student's program.

… complete all degree requirements within six years of registering for courses approved for the program of study, including those transferred from another institution.

Course Requirements

Core Course Requirements (6 semester hours). All entering MA students are required to take JRMC 8000 (Proseminar in Mass Communication) and JRMC 8010 (Research Methodology in Mass Communication).

Area of Concentration. MA thesis students are required to complete 4 or 5 courses in their area of concentration (12 or 15 semester hours) and at least 3 hours of thesis credit. MA non-thesis students are required to complete 6 or 7 area courses (18 to 21 semester hours).

Cognate Area (6 or 9 semester hours). All MA students must complete 2 or 3 courses from graduate courses offered outside of the Grady

College. The courses must complement the designated area of concentration.

There is no foreign language requirement for the MA degree. Additional Graduate School requirements are outlined in the *Graduate Bulletin*.

Requirements of the Areas of Concentration

MA thesis and non-thesis students with an advertising concentration must complete:

… JRMC 8100 Advertising and Communication Management, JRMC 8110 Advertising Media Planning, and JRMC 8120 Advertising and Public Relations Research.

… Download a MA thesis option Program Planning Form: Advertising Concentration *

… Download a MA non-thesis option Program Planning Form: Advertising Concentration *

MA thesis students with a journalism concentration must complete:

… one course from among, JRMC 9020 Quantitative Research in Mass Communication, JRMC 9030 Critical, Cultural & Naturalistic Approaches to Mass Communication, and JRMC 9040 Historical Research in Mass Communication.

… two courses from among JRMC 8020 Public Opinion, JRMC 8030 Mass Communication and Society, JRMC 8040 International Mass Communication, JRMC 8050 Research and Directed Readings in Mass Communication, JRMC 8350 Special Topics in Journalism, and JRMC 9050 Mass Communication Law.

… two courses from among the split-level graduate courses offered by the Department of Journalism.

… Download a MA thesis Program Planning Form: Journalism Concentration *

MA non-thesis students with a journalism concentration must complete:

… three or four courses from among, JRMC 8020 Public Opinion, JRMC 8030 Mass Communication and Society, JRMC 8040 International Mass Communication, JRMC 8050 Research and Directed Readings in Mass Communication, JRMC 8350 Special Topics in Journalism, JRMC 8365 Media Economics, and JRMC 9050 Mass Communication Law.

… three or four courses from among the split-level graduate courses offered by the Department of Journalism.

… pass a comprehensive examination. The comprehensive exam is not to be taken before the final semester of the student's program. At least one member of the comprehensive exam committee must be a member of the graduate faculty.

… Download a MA non-thesis Program Planning Form: Journalism Concentration *

MA thesis students with a public relations concentration must complete:

… JRMC 8140 Public Relations Management, JRMC 8150 Public Relations Theory, and ADPR 7950 Public Relations Campaigns.

… Download a MA thesis Program Planning Form: Public Relations Concentration *

MA non-thesis students with a public relations concentration must complete:

JRMC 8140 Public Relations Management, JRMC 8150 Public Relations Theory, JRMC 8020 Public Opinion, and ADPR 7950 Public Relations Campaigns.

… Download a MA non-thesis Program Planning Form: Public Relations Concentration *

MA thesis students with a telecommunications concentration must complete:

… three courses from among, JRMC 8200 Telecommunications Management, JRMC 8210 Telecommunications Policy, JRMC 8220 Telecommunications Programming and Criticism, JRMC 8230 Emerging Telecommunications Technologies, and JRMC 8240 Special Topics in Telecommunications.

… Download a MA thesis Program Planning Form: Telecommunications Concentration *

MA non-thesis students with a telecommunications concentration must complete:

… three JRMC seminars from among those listed above in the MA concentration.

… three JRMC or TELE graduate level electives.

… 3 hours of graduate credit in telecommunications internships or projects.

… Download a MA non-thesis Program Planning Form: Telecommunications Concentration *

The MA non-thesis concentration in telecommunications is designed for students who are seeking to prepare themselves for a higher level of responsibility in the field. The goal of the concentrations is to develop critical thinking and professional problem-solving skills, while enhancing understanding of the forces that shape media industries and the effects of media on society. The focus is on the development of advanced professional skills in project planning and development management, new technologies, and industry research analysis.

MA thesis students with a mass media studies concentration must complete:

… 12 to 15 hours of relevant Grady College graduate courses

… Download a MA thesis Program Planning Form: Mass Media Studies Concentration *

* All Planning Forms are in Adobe .PDF format. While most computers will read this format, if needed you can download a free .PDF reader from www.adobe.com.

Statistics Requirement

A basic statistics course is required of all graduate students in the Grady College. If the entering MA student has not completed the statistics requirement, an undergraduate or graduate course in statistics must be taken prior to the completion of more than 6 hours of graduate-level courses.

Statistics 6210 may be taken to fulfill the requirement and can be counted as 3 hours of course credit required outside of the Grady College.

Prerequisite Requirements

Students without sufficient background in their areas of concentration are required to take the following undergraduate prerequisite courses:

Advertising Concentration (6 hours)

ADPR 3100 Principles of Advertising

ADPR 3110 Advertising Message Strategy

Journalism Concentration (12 hours)

JOUR 3410 News Writing and Reporting

JOUR 3510 Editing and Makeup

JOUR 5040 Law of Mass Communication

and either JOUR 5300 Public Affairs Reporting

or JOUR 5580 Magazine Article Writing

Public Relations Concentration (9 hours)

ADPR 3520 Graphic Communication

JRMC 7940 Public Relations Foundations (if student has not had courses equivalent to ADPR 3850 and ADPR 5920)

Telecommunications Concentration (9 hours)

... three of the following courses:

TELE 3010 Introduction to Telecommunications

TELE 3210 Introduction to Production Basics

TELE 3310 Media Programming and Management

TELE 3410 Media Research and Theory

Mass Media Studies Concentration (9 hours)

... 9 semester hours of relevant Grady College undergraduate courses

Prerequisite requirements are determined by the student's graduate advisor/major professor upon evaluation of transcripts. Prerequisite requirements must be satisfied prior to the completion of more than 6 hours of graduate courses. A minimum GPA of 3.0 in all required prerequisite courses taken at UGA must be maintained, including an undergraduate course taken to satisfy the statistics requirement.

The Grady College, University of Georgia. "Master's Program." http://www.grady.uga.edu/graduate_studies.php?al1=Graduate+Studies&al2=Degrees&al3=Masters+Program&page=grad_degrees_masters.inc.php (accessed December 21, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

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University of Kansas, William Allen White School of Journalism and Mass Communications

Mission Statement:

The mission of the William Allen White School of Journalism and Mass Communications is to teach students to think critically and creatively while preparing them for careers in journalism, mass communications and related fields and for graduate study.

Our Commitments:

Graduates of the School will:

- Appreciate the value of freedom of expression and its importance in society.
- Be able to critically analyze mass media.
- Have an ethical framework for the practice of journalism and mass communication.
- Demonstrate an understanding of the value of a diverse society, a diverse work place and the importance of reflecting that diversity in mass media.
- Demonstrate an understanding of the impact of changing media technologies on society.
- Demonstrate effective production and presentation skills for the media.
- Demonstrate an understanding of the importance of research for adding new knowledge and an ability to employ research techniques for analysis and interpretation.
- Demonstrate an understanding of how communications organizations function and the important management issues they face.

Adopted by a unanimous vote of the faculty on Sept. 3, 1998.

William Allen White School of Journalism and Mass Communications, University of Kansas. "Mission & Values Statements, Plagiarism Policy." http://www.journalism.ku.edu/school/msnvalues.shtml (accessed December 21, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

Curriculum:

Graduate Program at a Glance:

* Note: Individual courses may have additional prerequisites.

News and Information (36 hrs), Strategic Communications (36 hrs) and Joint Degree in Journalism and Law (info.)	*Marketing Communications (36 hrs)*
Basic Skills (unless waived) *These course credits do not count toward the 36-hour requirement.* -445 MM Writing & Production -419 MM Editing	Marketing or media-related experience: 2 years
Core Courses (12 hrs) -801 Res I: Theory (Fall) -802 Res II: Methods (Spg) -803 Survey of Mass Media & Pop Cult. -618 First Amendment and Society	Core Courses (9 hrs) -820 Marketing Fundamentals (Fall) -828 Financial Fundamentals -829 Marketing Communications Research (Spring)
Professional Courses (15 hrs) JOUR 500 to JOUR 797	Professional Courses (18 hrs) 6 hrs minimum in each area

(Continued)

Students in News and Information must include at least one course designated as advanced media.* Students in Strategic Communications must include JOUR 676 Strategic Campaigns.* All students are strongly advised to take courses in media management. Optional: A second seminar will fulfill one of the professional course requirements	Management -822 Database Management -826 Innovation in Mgmt of Comms Marketing -821 Integrated Marketing -823 Branding -825 Relationship Marketing Development -819 Writing for Mrktg Comms -824 Creative Process -827 Marketing Ethics Optional: A second seminar will fulfill a second course requirement in an appropriate area above.
Advanced Courses (09 hrs) -840 Seminar in _____ (available at KUEC or Lawrence) -898 Master's Research * 24 hrs -899 Project/Thesis * sat. comp. 898	Advanced Courses (09 hrs) -840 Seminar in _____ (available at KUEC or Lawrence) -898 Master's Research * 24 hrs -899 Project/Thesis * sat. comp. 898
* Indicates a prerequisite	* Indicates a prerequisite

Graduate Degree Requirements (All Courses of Study):

All Journalism master's candidates must complete 36 graduate credit hours with at least a B (3.0) average. In addition, students must complete Core Course requirements, Professional Course requirements and Advanced Course requirements.

Core Course Requirements: The core graduate courses help student develop research and critical thinking skills.

Professional Course Requirements: Those who hold the master's degree from KU are expected to be proficient as professionals. This block of courses prepares students for these tasks.

Advanced Course Requirements: A student must elect to complete a project or thesis. Seminars (at least one is required) on topics of current research or professional practice help students explore and learn to present research findings.

Final General Examination: The student's thesis or project committee administers the Master's final general examination during the semester of the student's final enrollment in course work and when the project or thesis has been substantially completed. A defense of the thesis or project does not take the place of the required general examination in the major field.

Enrollment Requirements after Completing Course Requirements: A student must enroll for at least 2 hours of credit each semester, excluding summer session, while working on the thesis or project. A student completing a project or thesis must be continuously enrolled, excluding summer session, until the project or thesis has been completed and approved. A maximum of 6 credit hours for Jour 898 and Jour 899 may be applied toward the 36 credit hours required for graduation. A student must complete the master's degree program within seven years of admission.

Enrollment in Elective Courses Outside the School: Up to 6 credit hours of course work may be completed outside the School, with the approval of the graduate director or graduate committee. Students who wish to take a course or courses outside the School must have permission from both the instructor of the course and from the School. The student should submit a written proposal to the Graduate Director and should indicate how the course contributes to her/his master's program.

William Allen White School of Journalism and Mass Communications, University of Kansas. "Journalism Graduate Program Curriculum." http://www.journalism.ku.edu/academics/grad_curriculum.shtml (accessed December 21, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

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University of Missouri–Columbia, Missouri School of Journalism

Mission Statement:

The missions of the Missouri School of Journalism, as defined by the faculty, are:

1. To teach students the principles and techniques of journalism, which we define as a current, reasoned reflection, in print or telecommunications, of society's events, needs and values. Our teaching emphasis will be on clear thinking, good writing and effective presentation, which will help students attain the standards of excellence articulated in Walter Williams' Journalist's Creed - especially "that the supreme test of good journalism is the measure of its public service." We must be leaders in teaching not only what the profession of journalism is, but also what it should be. We must prepare students not only for careers but also contribute to their development as ethical and productive citizens. We must educate the heart as well as the mind.
2. To serve, improve and provide leadership to both university and the journalism, telecommunications and advertising professions through a variety of activities and service such as workshops, publications, industry service units, award competitions, consulting, research plus university and professional committee work. We must be leaders in helping journalism professionals redefine their missions, goals and responsibilities so they can serve their ever-changing communities more effectively. We must be leaders in helping educators to expand their definition of journalism to include a wide range of academic subjects from political science to psychology, from literature to computer science, and from aesthetics to business, so that journalism can be recognized and appreciated for its breadth, richness and inextricable relationship to the liberal arts.
3. To create for the students, faculty, administration and staff of the School of Journalism a challenging, intellectually stimulating, professionally rewarding, cooperative, participative, secure, supportive and collegial environment that encourages risk taking and the creation of new knowledge through research and creative activity. Also, to create and maintain an environment in which academic freedom is protected with the same vigor as truth.
4. To be sensitive and responsive to the needs, concerns and interest of our multiple stakeholders: students, parents, faculty administrators, the curators, staff, alumni, professionals, media, potential employers of students, supporters, suppliers, government, educators and community.
5. To maintain, enhance and promote the reputation of the School of Journalism. Fundamental to the School's character and its heritage as the world's first School of Journalism is its professional orientation. We believe students learn best by doing, whether in the practice of a craft, the conduct of research or the creation of new ideas. Thus the school's media, laboratories and research operations are an integral part of the school's curriculum and the student's learning process. Our media must be at the forefront of change and excellence if we expect our students to be the same.

Missouri School of Journalism, University of Missouri. "Mission Statement." http://www.journalism.missouri.edu/about/mission.html (accessed December 21, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

Curriculum:

Curricular Models

These are suggested curricula for specialization in the various areas of journalism. It should be noted that although 37 credits are required for graduation, some of the models suggest one or two additional credits. These are not requirements but suggestions. The University requires at least half of a graduate student's course work to be in 8000-level courses. Courses 4000-level and below DO NOT carry graduate cred it.

Advertising/Strategic Communication Models

Advertising Model

Cr. Hrs.

Program Core 12
_____ 7200 Principles of Strategic Communication (3)
_____ 8000 Mass Media Seminar (3)
_____ 8006 Quantitative Research Methods or 8008 Qualitative Research Methods I (3)

One of the following four courses:
_____ 8026 Philosophy of Journalism (3)
_____ 8030 History of Mass Media (3)
_____ 8038 Seminar in Communications Law (3)
_____ 8080 Media Ethics (3)

Advertising Core 15

_____ 7206 Strategic Writing I (3)
_____ 7226 Strategic Design and Visuals I (3)
_____ 7236 Psychology of Advertising (3)
_____ 7248 Media Strategy and Planning (3)
_____ 7970 Strategic Campaigns (3)

Electives 6
Suggested Courses:
7208 Strategic Writing II (3)
7218 Advanced Media Sales (3)
7228 Strategic Design and Visuals II (3)
7238 Broadcasting Advertising (3)
7240 Direct and Mail Order Advertising (2)
7250 Strategic Communication Management (3)
7256 Public Relations (3)
7706 The Community Newspaper (3)
7952 Strategic Communication Research (3)

Capstone Level 10
_____ *Thesis*: 8100 MA Thesis Seminar (1) and 8090 Research (9)
_____ *Professional Project*: 8098 MA Project Seminar (1) and 8190 Area Problem (9)

Total Suggested for Graduation 42–43

The University requires at least half of a graduate student's course work to be in 8000-level courses. Courses 4000-level and below DO NOT carry graduate credit.

Strategic Communication Model

Cr. Hrs.

Program Core 11–12
_____ 7200 Principles of Strategic Communication (3)
_____ 8000 Mass Media Seminar (3)
_____ 8008 Qualitative Research Methods I or an advanced quantitative methods course (3)
One of the following four courses:
_____ 8026 Philosophy of Journalism (3)
_____ 8030 History of Mass Media (3)
_____ 8038 Seminar in Communications Law (3)
_____ 8080 Media Ethics (3)

Strategic Communication Core 6
_____ 8020 Principles & Tools in Strategic Communication Planning (3)
_____ 8018 Strategic Communication Research II (3)

Electives 12
Suggested elective areas:
Audience or consumer behavior
Management
Internship

Capstone Level 10
_____ *Thesis*: 8100 MA Thesis Seminar (1) and 8090 Research (9)
_____ *Professional Project*: 8098 MA Project Seminar (1) and 8190 Area Problem (9)

Total Suggested for Graduation 39–40

Convergence Models

The University requires at least half of a graduate student's course work to be in 8000-level courses. Courses 4000-level and below DO NOT carry graduate credit.

Convergence Model for Students with No Significant Media Experience

Cr. Hrs.

Program Core 9
_____ 8000 Mass Media Seminar (3)
_____ 8006 Quantitative Research Methods OR 8008 Qualitative Research Methods (3)

One of the following four courses:
_____ 8026 Philosophy of Journalism (3)
_____ 8030 History of Mass Media (3)
_____ 8038 Seminar in Communications Law (3)
_____ 8080 Media Ethics (3)

Convergence Core 12
_____ 0900 News Practicum (3) (no graduate credit)
_____ 7802 Fundamentals of TV, Radio and Photojournalism (3)
_____ 7804 Convergence Reporting (3)
_____ 7806 Convergence Editing & Producing (3)

*In addition, students must demonstrate basic competency in web design and publishing through an assessment or a not-for-credit boot camp.

Concentration 6

Available concentrations as of January 2006 include Information Graphics, International Journalism, Investigative Reporting, Online Journalism, Photojournalism, Print Reporting, Print Editing, Print Design, Television-Radio Reporting, and Television News Producing. See the Concentrations List for details. Or you may create a customized Concentration with faculty advisor's and Assoc. Dean's signature

Capstone Level 10
_____ *Thesis*: 8100 MA Thesis Seminar (1) and 8090 Research (9)
_____ *Professional Project*: 8098 MA Project Seminar (1) and 8190 Area Problem (9)

Total Suggested for Graduation 37

The University requires at least half of a graduate student's course work to be in 8000-level courses. Courses 4000-level and below DO NOT carry graduate credit.

Convergence Model for Students with Significant Experience in Strategic Communications

Cr. Hrs.

Program Core 9
_____ 8000 Mass Media Seminar (3)
_____ 8006 Quantitative Research Methods OR 8008 Qualitative Research Methods (3)
One of the following four courses:
_____ 8026 Philosophy of Journalism (3)
_____ 8030 History of Mass Media (3)
_____ 8038 Seminar in Communications Law (3)
_____ 8080 Media Ethics (3)

Convergence Core..... 12
_____ 0900 News Practicum (3) (no graduate credit)
_____ 7802 Fundamentals of TV, Radio and Photojournalism (3)
_____ 7804 Convergence Reporting (3)
_____ 7806 Convergence Editing & Producing (3)
*In addition, students must demonstrate basic competency in web design and publishing through an assessment or a not-for-credit boot camp.

Concentration 6

Should be in area outside their prior field
Available concentrations as of January 2006 include Information Graphics, International Journalism, Investigative Reporting, Online Journalism, Photojournalism, Print Reporting, Print Editing, Print Design, Television-Radio Reporting, and Television News Producing. See the Concentrations List for details.

Capstone Level 10
_____ *Thesis*: 8100 MA Thesis Seminar (1) and 8090 Research (9)
_____ *Professional Project*: 8098 MA Project Seminar (1) and 8190 Area Problem (9)

Total Suggested for Graduation.....37

The University requires at least half of a graduate student's course work to be in 8000-level courses. Courses 4000-level and below DO NOT carry graduate credit.

Convergence Model for Students with Significant Experience as a Broadcast Journalist

Cr. Hrs.

Program Core **9**
_____ 8000 Mass Media Seminar (3)
_____ 8006 Quantitative Research Methods OR 8008 Qualitative Research Methods I (3)
One of the following four courses:
_____ 8026 Philosophy of Journalism (3)
_____ 8030 History of Mass Media (3)
_____ 8038 Seminar in Communications Law (3)
_____ 8080 Media Ethics (3)

Convergence Core **10**
_____ 0900 News Practicum (3) (no graduate credit)
_____ 7802 Fundamentals of TV, Radio and Photojournalism (1) photo lectures/assignments only
_____ 7804 Convergence Reporting (3)
_____ 7806 Convergence Editing & Producing (3)
*In addition, students must demonstrate basic competency in web design and publishing through an assessment or a not-for-credit boot camp.

Concentration **6**
Should be in area outside their prior field
Available concentrations as of January 2006 include Information Graphics, International Journalism, Investigative Reporting, Online Journalism, Photojournalism, Print Reporting, Print Editing, Print Design, Television-Radio Reporting, and Television News Producing. See the Concentrations List for details.

Electives **2**

Capstone Level **10**
_____ *Thesis*: 8100 MA Thesis Seminar (1) and 8090 Research (9)
_____ *Professional Project*: 8098 MA Project Seminar (1) and 8190 Area Problem (9)

Total Suggested for Graduation **37**

The University requires at least half of a graduate student's course work to be in 8000-level courses. Courses 4000-level and below DO NOT carry graduate credit.

Convergence Model for Students With Significant Experience as a Print Reporter/Editor

Cr. Hrs.

Program Core **9**
_____ 8000 Mass Media Seminar (3)
_____ 8006 Quantitative Research Methods OR 8008 Qualitative Research Methods I (3)
One of the following four courses:
_____ 8026 Philosophy of Journalism (3)
_____ 8030 History of Mass Media (3)
_____ 8038 Seminar in Communications Law (3)
_____ 8080 Media Ethics (3)

Convergence Core 12
_____ 7802 Fundamentals of TV, Radio and Photojournalism (3)
_____ 7804 Convergence Reporting (3)
_____ 7806 Convergence Editing & Producing (3)
*In addition, students must demonstrate basic competency in web design and publishing through an assessment or a not-for-credit boot camp.

Concentration 6
Should be in area outside their prior field
Available concentrations as of January 2006 include Information Graphics, International Journalism, Investigative Reporting, Online Journalism, Photojournalism, Print Reporting, Print Editing, Print Design, Television-Radio Reporting, and Television News Producing. See the Concentrations List for details.

Capstone Level 10
_____ *Thesis*: 8100 MA Thesis Seminar (1) and 8090 Research (9)
_____ *Professional Project*: 8098 MA Project Seminar (1) and 8190 Area Problem (9)

Total Suggested for Graduation.....37

The University requires at least half of a graduate student's course work to be in 8000-level courses. Courses 4000-level and below DO NOT carry graduate credit.

Convergence Model for Students with Significant Experience as a Photojournalist

Cr. Hrs.

Program Core..... 9
_____ 8000 Mass Media Seminar (3)
_____ 8006 Quantitative Research Methods OR 8008 Qualitative Research Methods (3)
One of the following four courses:
_____ 8026 Philosophy of Journalism (3)
_____ 8030 History of Mass Media (3)
_____ 8038 Seminar in Communications Law (3)
_____ 8080 Media Ethics (3)

Convergence Core 11
_____ 0900 News Practicum (3) (no graduate credit)
_____ 7802 Fundamentals of TV, Radio and Photojournalism (2) broadcast lectures/assignments only
_____ 7804 Convergence Reporting (3)
_____ 7806 Convergence Editing & Producing (3)
_____ 7992 Reporting, Editing and Marketing Converged Media (3)
*In addition, students must demonstrate basic competency in web design and publishing through an assessment or a not-for-credit boot camp.

Concentration..... 6
Should be in area outside their prior field
Available concentrations as of January 2006 include Information Graphics, International Journalism, Investigative Reporting, Online Journalism, Photojournalism, Print Reporting, Print Editing, Print Design, Television-Radio Reporting, and Television News Producing. See the Concentrations List for details.

Capstone Level 10
_____ *Thesis*: 8100 MA Thesis Seminar (1) and 8090 Research (9)
_____ *Professional Project*: 8098 MA Project Seminar (1) and 8190 Area Problem (9)

Total Suggested for Graduation..... 36

Convergence Concentrations

The prerequisite for each concentration is Convergence Reporting or advisor's consent.

Information Graphics
_____ 7430 Computer Assisted Reporting
_____ 7508 Information Graphics

International Journalism
_____ 7650 International Issues Reporting
And one of the following:
_____ 7656 International News Media Systems
_____ 7658 International Journalism
_____ 7660 Media Forces Shaping the European Union
_____ 7050 Communications Practice with an advisor-approved international focus

Investigative Reporting
_____ 7430 Computer Assisted Reporting
_____ 7436 Investigative Reporting

Online Journalism
_____ 7700 Online Journalism OR 7974 Advanced Internet Applications for Radio-TV News
And one of the following:
_____ 7430 Computer Assisted Reporting OR 7436 Investigative Reporting
_____ 7566 Electronic Photojournalism
_____ 7508 Information Graphics

Photojournalism
_____ 7550 Basic Press Photography & Picture Editing
_____ 7566 Electronic Photojournalism

Print Reporting Track
_____ 7410 Intermediate Writing
And one of the following:
_____ 7106 Media & Art Criticism
_____ 7416 Science and Environmental Writing
_____ 7418 Critical Reviewing
_____ 7420 Editorial Writing
_____ 7426 Religion Reporting and Writing
_____ 7430 Computer assisted Reporting
_____ 7436 Investigative Reporting
_____ 7438 Business Reporting
_____ 7460 Advanced Newspaper Reporting
_____ 7650 International Issues Reporting

Print Editing Track
_____ 7400 Editing
_____ 7406 Newspaper Editing

Print Design
_____ 7506 Magazine Design
_____ 7500 Advanced Newspaper Editing and Design

Television-Radio Reporting
_____ 7306 Broadcast II
_____ 7308 Broadcast III

Television News Producing
_____ 7306 Broadcast News II
_____ 7310 News Producing

Print Models

Magazine

The University requires at least half of a graduate student's course work to be in 8000-level courses. Courses 4000-level and below DO NOT carry graduate credit.

Magazine Design

This model is for students who want to focus on designing magazines, from small newsletters to consumer magazines. The model is designed to provide the skills, theoretical framework and decision-making/management techniques important to a successful designer/art director. The model provides the necessary insights into writing and editing but focuses on the design and art direction of contemporary magazines. Students have the opportunity for hands-on work at a variety of magazines, including *Vox* magazine and *The Global Journalist*.

Cr. Hrs.

Program Core.....8–9
_____ 0900 News Practicum (3) (no graduate credit)
_____ 8000 Mass Media Seminar (3)
_____ 8006 Quantitative Research Methods or 8008 Qualitative Research Methods I (3)
One of the following four courses:
_____ 8026 Philosophy of Journalism (3)
_____ 8030 History of Mass Media (3)
_____ 8038 Seminar in Communications Law (3)
_____ 8080 Media Ethics (3)

Magazine Design Core..... 13
_____ 7120 New Media Basics (or equivalent) (1)
_____ 7408 Magazine Editing (3)
_____ 7500 Newspaper Design and Editing (3) OR 7508 Information Graphics (3)
_____ 7506 Magazine Design (3)
_____ 7988 Advanced Magazine Design (3)

Electives 6
Suggested courses:
7226 Strategic Design and Visual I (3) (highly recommended)
7416 Science Writing (3)
7418 Critical Reviewing (3)
7420 Editorial Writing (3)
7430 Computer Assisted Reporting (3)
7436 Investigative Journalism (3)
7556 Fundamentals of Photojour. (3)
7566 Electronic Photojournalism (3)
7568 History of Photojournalism (3)
7606 Magazine Publishing (3) (highly recommended)
7700 Online Journalism (3)
7738 General Semantics in Jour. (3)
7982 Photography in Society (3)
7986 Advanced Writing (3)
8026 Philosophy of Journalism (3)
8028 Literature of Journalism (2)
8030 History of Mass Media (3)
8036 Seminar in History and Principles of Journalism (3)
8038 Seminar in Communications Law (3)
8080 Media Ethics (3)
8086 Critical Analysis of the Mass Media (3)
8106 The Magazine, Then & Now (3) (highly recommended)

Capstone Level 10
_____ *Thesis*: 8100 MA Thesis Seminar (1) and 8090 Research (9)
_____ *Professional Project*: 8098 MA Project Seminar (1) and 8190 Area Problem (9)

Total Suggested for Graduation.....39–40

The University requires at least half of a graduate student's course work to be in 8000-level courses. Courses 4000-level and below DO NOT carry graduate credit.

Magazine Editing Model

This model is for students who want to focus on editing magazines, from small newsletters to consumer magazines. The model is designed to provide the skills, theoretical framework and decision-making/management techniques important to a successful editor. The model provides the necessary insights into writing and design but focuses on both micro and macro issues of editing contemporary magazines. Students have the opportunity for hands-on work at a variety of magazines, including *Vox* magazine and *The Global Journalist*.

Cr. Hrs.

Program Core 8–9
_____ 0900 News Practicum (3) (no graduate credit)
_____ 8000 Mass Media Seminar (3)
_____ 8006 Quantitative Research Methods or 8008 Qualitative Research Methods I (3)
One of the following four courses:
_____ 8026 Philosophy of Journalism (3)
_____ 8030 History of Mass Media (3)

_____ 8038 Seminar in Communications Law (3)
_____ 8080 Media Ethics (3)

Magazine Editing Core 13
_____ 7120 New Media Basics (or equivalent) (1)
_____ 7408 Magazine Editing (3)
_____ 7450 Reporting (3)
_____ 7506 Magazine Design (3)
_____ 7984 Magazine Staff (3)

Electives 6
Suggested electives:
7410 Intermediate Writing (3) (highly recommended)
7418 Critical Reviewing (3)
7416 Science Writing (3)
7420 Editorial Writing (3)
7430 Computer Assisted Reporting (3)
7436 Investigative Journalism (3)
7460 Advanced Reporting (3)
7500 Newspaper Design and Editing (3)
7508 Information Graphics (3)
7556 Fundamentals of Photojour. (3)
7566 Electronic Photojournalism (3)
7568 History of Photojournalism (3)
7606 Magazine Publishing (3)
7700 Online Journalism (3)
7738 General Semantics in Jour. (3)
7982 Photography in Society (3)
7986 Advanced Writing (3)
7988 Advanced Magazine Design (3)
8026 Philosophy of Journalism (3)
8028 Literature of Journalism (2)
8030 History of Mass Media (3)
8036 Seminar in History and Principles of Journalism (3)
8080 Media Ethics (3)
8086 Critical Analysis of the Mass Media (3)
8106 The Magazine, Then & Now (3) (highly recommended)

Capstone Level 10
_____ *Thesis*: 8100 MA Thesis Seminar (1) and 8090 Research (9)
_____ *Professional Project*: 8098 MA Project Seminar (1) and 8190 Area Problem (9)

Total Suggested for Graduation 39–40

The University requires at least half of a graduate student's course work to be in 8000-level courses. Courses 4000-level and below DO NOT carry graduate credit.

Magazine Writing Model

This model is for students who want to focus on writing for magazines, from small newsletters to consumer magazines. The model is designed to provide writing skills, reporting techniques and theoretical

frameworks important to a successful writer. The model provides the necessary insights into design and editing but focuses on the variety of kinds of writing a student must learn to work at contemporary magazines. Students have the opportunity for hands-on work at a variety of magazines, including *Vox* magazine and *The Global Journalist*.

Cr. Hrs.

Program Core 8–9
_____ 0900 News Practicum (3) (no graduate credit)
_____ 8000 Mass Media Seminar (3)
_____ 8006 Quantitative Research Methods or 8008 Qualitative Research Methods (3)
One of the following four courses:
_____ 8026 Philosophy of Journalism (3)
_____ 8030 History of Mass Media (3)
_____ 8038 Seminar in Communications Law (3)
_____ 8080 Media Ethics (3)

Magazine Writing Core 13
_____ 7120 New Media Basics (or equivalent)(1)
_____ 7408 Magazine Editing (3)
_____ 7410 Intermediate Writing (3)
_____ 7450 Reporting (3)
_____ 7986 Advanced Writing (3)

Electives 6
Suggested electives:
7418 Critical Reviewing (3) (highly recommended)
7416 Science Writing (3)
7420 Editorial Writing (3)
7430 Computer Assisted Reporting (3) (highly recommended)
7436 Investigative Journalism (3) (highly recommended)
7438 Business and Economic Rep. (3)
7460 Advanced Reporting (3) (highly recommended)
7500 Newspaper Design and Editing (3)
7506 Magazine Design (3)
7508 Information Graphics (3)
7556 Fundamentals of Photojour. (3)
7566 Electronic Photojournalism (3)
7568 History of Photojournalism (3)
7606 Magazine Publishing (3) (highly recommended)
7650 International Issues Reporting (3)
7700 Online Journalism (3)
7738 General Semantics in Jour. (3)
7982 Photography in Society (3)
7988 Advanced Magazine Design (3)
8026 Philosophy of Journalism (3)
8028 Literature of Journalism (3)
8030 History of Mass Media (3)
8036 Sem. in History and Prin. of Jour. (3)
8080 Media Ethics (3)
8086 Critical Analysis of the Mass Media (3)

8106 The Magazine, Then & Now (3) (highly recommended)

Capstone Level..... 10
_____ *Thesis*: 8100 MA Thesis Seminar (1) and 8090 Research (9)
_____ *Professional Project*: 8098 MA Project Seminar (1) and 8190 Area Problem (9)

Total Suggested for Graduation.....
39–40

Newspaper

The University requires at least half of a graduate student's course work to be in 8000-level courses. Courses 4000-level and below DO NOT carry graduate credit.

News Design Model

Cr. Hrs.

Program Core..... 9
_____ 0900 News Practicum (3) (no graduate credit)
_____ 8000 Mass Media Seminar (3)
_____ 8006 Quantitative Research Methods or 8008 Qualitative Research Methods I (3)
One of the following four courses:
_____ 8026 Philosophy of Journalism (3)
_____ 8030 History of Mass Media (3)
_____ 8038 Seminar in Communications Law (3)
_____ 8080 Media Ethics (3)

Design Core 9
_____ 7508 Information Graphics (3)
_____ 7406 Newspaper Editing
_____ 7500 Advanced Newspaper Editing & Design (3)

Electives 9
Suggested courses:
7408 Magazine Editing (3)
7506 Magazine Design (3)
7510 Visual Communications (3)
7556 Fundamentals of Photojournalism (3)
7670 Newspaper Photo Desk Management (3)
8085 Problems in Journalism (13)
8092 Photography in Society (3)

Capstone Level 10
_____ *Thesis*: 8100 MA Thesis Seminar (1) and 8090 Research (9)
_____ *Professional Project*: 8098 MA Project Seminar (1) and 8190 Area Problem (9)

Total Suggested for Graduation..... 37

The University requires at least half of a graduate student's course work to be in 8000-level courses. Courses 4000-level and below DO NOT carry graduate credit.

News Editing Model

Cr. Hrs.

Program Core..... 9
_____ 0900 News Practicum (3) (no graduate credit)
_____ 8000 Mass Media Seminar (3)
_____ 8006 Quantitative Research Methods or 8008 Qualitative Research Methods I (3)
One of the following four courses:
_____ 8026 Philosophy of Journalism (3)
_____ 8030 History of Mass Media (3)
_____ 8038 Seminar in Communications Law (3)
_____ 8080 Media Ethics (3)

Editing Core..... 9
_____ 7406 Newspaper Editing (3)
_____ 7450 Reporting (3)
_____ 7500 Advanced Newspaper Editing & Design (3)

Electives 9
Suggested courses:
7408 Magazine Editing (3)
7508 Information Graphics (3)
7510 Visual Communications (3)
7556 Fundamentals of Photojournalism (3)
7600 Structure of American English (English Dept.) (3)
7670 Newspaper Photo Desk Management (3)
7738 General Semantics (3)
8085 Problems in Journalism (13)
8092 Photography in Society (3)

Capstone Level 10
_____ *Thesis*: 8100 MA Thesis Seminar (1) and 8090 Research (9)
_____ *Professional Project*: 8098 MA Project Seminar (1) and 8190 Area Problem (9)

Total Suggested for Graduation..... 37

The University requires at least half of a graduate student's course work to be in 8000-level courses. Courses 4000-level and below DO NOT carry graduate credit.

News Reporting/Writing Model

Cr. Hrs.

Program Core..... 9
_____ 0900 News Practicum (3) (no graduate credit)
_____ 8000 Mass Media Seminar (3)
_____ 8006 Quantitative Research Methods or 8008 Qualitative Research Methods I (3)
One of the following four courses:
_____ 8026 Philosophy of Journalism (3)
_____ 8030 History of Mass Media (3)
_____ 8038 Seminar in Communications Law (3)
_____ 8080 Media Ethics (3)

Reporting/Writing Core..... 12
_____ 7406 Newspaper Editing (3)
_____ 7450 Reporting (3)
_____ 7460 Advanced Reporting (3)
One of the following courses:
_____ 7410 Intermediate Writing (3)
_____ 7436 Investigative Reporting (3)
_____ 7986 Advanced Writing (3)

Electives 6
Suggested courses:
7106 Media and Art Criticism: The Role of the Critic (1)
7148 Interviewing Essentials (1)
7412 Lifestyle Journalism (3)
7416 Science Health and Environmental Writing (3)
7418 Critical Reviewing (3)
7420 Religion Writing and Reporting (3)
7430 Computer-Assisted Reporting (3)
7438 Business & Economics Reporting (3)
7650 International Issues Reporting (3)

Capstone Level 10
_____ *Thesis*: 8100 MA Thesis Seminar (1) and 8090 Research (9)
_____ *Professional Project*: 8098 MA Project Seminar (1) and 8190 Area Problem (9)

Total Suggested for Graduation..... 37

Photojournalism

The University requires at least half of a graduate student's course work to be in 8000-level courses. Courses 4000-level and below DO NOT carry graduate credit.

Photojournalism

The Photojournalism model educates students in the theory and skills of photojournalism.

Cr. Hrs.

Program Core..... 9
_____ 0900 News Practicum (3) (no graduate credit)
_____ 8000 Mass Media Seminar (3)
_____ 8006 Quantitative Research Methods or 8008 Qualitative Research Methods (3)
One of the following four courses:
_____ 8026 Philosophy of Journalism (3)
_____ 8030 History of Mass Media (3)
_____ 8038 Communications Law (3) (recommended)
_____ 8080 Media Ethics (3) (recommended)

Photojournalism Core..... 15
_____ 7556 Fundamentals of Photojournalism (3)
_____ 7558 Advanced Techniques in Photojournalism (3)
_____ 7560 Staff Photojournalism (3)

_____ 7980 Picture Story and Photographic Essay (3)
_____ 8092 Photography in Society (3)

Electives 6
Suggested courses:
7450 Reporting
7500 Advanced Newspaper Design and Editing (3)
7506 Magazine Design (3)
7566 Electronic Photojournalism (3)
7568 History of Photojournalism (3)
7670 Newspaper Photo Desk Management (3)
7730 Journalism and Conflict (3)

Capstone Level 10
_____ *Thesis*: 8100 MA Thesis Seminar (1) and 8090 Research (9)
_____ *Professional Project*: 8098 MA Project Seminar (1) and 8190 Area Problem (9)

Total Suggested for Graduation..... 40

The University requires at least half of a graduate student's course work to be in 8000-level courses. Courses 4000-level and below DO NOT carry graduate credit.

Visual Editing & Management

The Visual Editing and Management model educates students in the theory and skills of picture editing, visual presentation in print and online publications and is best suited to those with substantive journalism experience as photographer or designer OR those who have had an undergraduate major in relevant journalism areas.

Cr. Hrs.

Program Core..... 9
_____ 0900 News Practicum (3) (no graduate credit)
_____ 8000 Mass Media Seminar (3)
_____ 8006 Quantitative Research Methods or 8008 Qualitative Research Methods (3)
One of the following four courses:
_____ 8026 Philosophy of Journalism (3)
_____ 8030 History of Mass Media (3)
_____ 8038 Seminar in Communications Law (3) (recommended)
_____ 8080 Media Ethics (3) (recommended)

Visual Editing & Management Core 15
_____ 7500 Advanced Newspaper Design and Editing (3)
_____ 7556 Fundamentals of Photojournalism (3)
_____ 7566 Electronic Photojournalism (3)
_____ 7670 Newspaper Photo Desk Management (3)
_____ 8092 Photography in Society (3)

Electives 6
Suggested courses:
7110 Media Management and Leadership (3)
7226 Strategic Design and Visuals (3)

7506 Magazine Design (3)
7508 Information Graphics (3)
7560 Staff Photojournalism (3)
7568 History of Photojournalism (3)
7710 Newspaper Management (3)
7980 Picture Story and Photographic Essay (3)
7730 Journalism and Conflict (3)

Capstone Level 10
_____ *Thesis*: 8100 MA Thesis Seminar (1) and 8090 Research (9)
_____ *Professional Project*: 8098 MA Project Seminar (1) and 8190 Area Problem (9)

Total Suggested for Graduation..... 40

Radio/Television Models

The University requires at least half of a graduate student's course work to be in 8000-level courses. Courses 4000-level and below DO NOT carry graduate credit.

Radio/television Reporting Model (television emphasis; no prior broadcast experience)

Students enrolled in this model have the opportunity to gain the skills they need to earn a position in a television or radio newsroom. Depending on your previous work background, you can choose from models that are for novices or experienced broadcast journalists. These models will provide the practical and intellectual skills needed to advance in your field by thinking creatively and critically about your role and the profession.

Cr. Hrs.

Program Core..... 9
_____ 8000 Mass Media Seminar (3)
_____ 8006 Quantitative Research Methods or 8008 Qualitative Research Methods I (3)
One of the following four courses:
_____ 8026 Philosophy of Journalism (3)
_____ 8030 History of Mass Media (3)
_____ 8038 Seminar in Communications Law (3)
_____ 8080 Media Ethics (3)

Broadcast News Core 12
_____ 7300 Broadcast News I (3)
_____ 7306 Broadcast News II (3)
_____ 7308 Broadcast News III (3)
_____ An advanced journalism course (3)
The Broadcast News Department suggests one of the following courses:
7320 Advanced Broadcast Reporting (3)
7974 Advanced Internet Applications for Radio/TV News (3)
7976 Seminar in Radio/TV News (3)

Suggested Electives 9
**Strongly suggested electives include the following journalism classes: investigative reporting, computer assisted reporting, covering the courts, international issues reporting; controls of information; advanced convergence classes; television producing

**Strongly suggested non-journalism classes: public policy analysis (Truman School of Public Affairs); any advanced political science class that deals with American government, the US court systems, US legislative systems; television criticism—Department of Communication

Capstone Level 10
_____ *Thesis*: 8100 MA Thesis Seminar (1) and 8090 Research (9)
_____ *Professional Project*: 8098 MA Project Seminar (1) and 8190 Area Problem (9)

Total Suggested for Graduation..... 40

The University requires at least half of a graduate student's course work to be in 8000-level courses. Courses 4000-level and below DO NOT carry graduate credit.

Radio/television Reporting (radio emphasis; no prior broadcast experience)

Students enrolled in this model have the opportunity to gain the skills they need to earn a position in a television or radio newsroom. Depending on your previous work background, you can choose from models that are for novices or experienced broadcast journalists. These models will provide the practical and intellectual skills needed to advance in your field by thinking creatively and critically about your role and the profession.

Cr. Hrs.

Program Core..... 9
_____ 8000 Mass Media Seminar (3)
_____ 8006 Quantitative Research Methods or 8008 Qualitative Research Methods I (3)
One of the following four courses:
_____ 8026 Philosophy of Journalism (3)
_____ 8030 History of Mass Media (3)
_____ 8038 Seminar in Communications Law (3)
_____ 8080 Media Ethics (3)

Broadcast News Core 12
_____ 7300 Broadcast News I (3)
_____ 7306 Broadcast News II (3)
_____ 7308 Broadcast News III (3) (at KBIA)
Plus one of the following:
_____ 7320 Advanced Broadcast Reporting (3)
_____ 7974 Advanced Internet Applications (3)
_____ 7976 Seminar in Radio/TV news (3)
(Broadcast III and Advanced Broadcast Reporting would be completed at KBIA, the university's National Public Radio station)

Suggested Electives 9
**Strongly suggested electives include the following journalism classes: investigative reporting, computer assisted reporting, covering the courts, international issues reporting; controls of information; advanced convergence classes; news producing

**Strongly suggested non-journalism classes: public policy analysis (Truman School of Public Affairs); any advanced political science class that deals with American government, the US court systems, US legislative systems; television criticism—Department of Communication

Capstone Level 10
_____ *Thesis*: 8100 MA Thesis Seminar (1) and 8090 Research (9)
_____ *Professional Project*: 8098 MA Project Seminar (1) and 8190 Area Problem (9)

Total Suggested for Graduation..... 40

The University requires at least half of a graduate student's course work to be in 8000-level courses. Courses 4000-level and below DO NOT carry graduate credit.

Radio/television Producing (no prior broadcast experience)

Students enrolled in this model have the opportunity to gain the skills they need to earn a position in a television or radio newsroom. Depending on your previous work background, you can choose from models that are for novices or experienced broadcast journalists. These models will provide the practical and intellectual skills needed to advance in your field by thinking creatively and critically about your role and the profession.

Cr. Hrs.

Program Core..... 9
_____ 8000 Mass Media Seminar (3)
_____ 8006 Quantitative Research Methods or 8008 Qualitative Research Methods I (3)
One of the following four courses:
_____ 8026 Philosophy of Journalism (3)
_____ 8030 History of Mass Media (3)
_____ 8038 Seminar in Communications Law (3)
_____ 8080 Media Ethics (3)

Broadcast News Core 18
_____ 7300 Broadcast News I (3)
_____ 7306 Broadcast News II (3)
_____ 7308 Broadcast News III (3)
_____ 7310 News Producing (3)
Plus two of the following courses:
_____ Pub Af 8620 Organizational Analysis and Change (3)
_____ Mgmt 7030 Organizational Behavior (3)
_____ Mgmt 7380 Organizational Behavior and Management (3)

Electives 3
**Strongly suggested electives include the following journalism classes: advanced internet applications 7974; advanced convergence classes; Seminar in Radio/TV news (JOUR 7976)

Capstone Level 10
_____ *Thesis*: 8100 MA Thesis Seminar (1) and 8090 Research (9)
_____ *Professional Project*: 8098 MA Project Seminar (1) and 8190 Area Problem (9)

Total Suggested for Graduation..... 40

The University requires at least half of a graduate student's course work to be in 8000-level courses. Courses 4000-level and below DO NOT carry graduate credit.

Radio/television Reporting Model (television emphasis; professional broadcast experience required)

Students enrolled in this model have the opportunity to gain the skills they need to earn a position in a television or radio newsroom. Depending on your previous work background, you can choose from models that are for novices or experienced broadcast journalists. These models will provide the practical and intellectual skills needed to advance in your field by thinking creatively and critically about your role and the profession.

Cr. Hrs.

Program Core..... 9
_____ 8000 Mass Media Seminar (3)
_____ 8006 Quantitative Research Methods or 8008 Qualitative Research Methods I (3)
One of the following four courses:
_____ 8026 Philosophy of Journalism (3)
_____ 8030 History of Mass Media (3)
_____ 8038 Seminar in Communications Law (3)
_____ 8080 Media Ethics (3)

Broadcast News Core 12
_____ 7306 Broadcast News II (3)
_____ 7308 Broadcast News III (3)
_____ 7320 Advanced Broadcast Reporting (3)
One of the following courses:
_____ 7430 Computer-Assisted Reporting
_____ 7436 Investigative Reporting

Suggested Electives 9
**Strongly suggested electives include the following journalism classes: investigative reporting, computer assisted reporting, covering the courts, international issues reporting; controls of information; advanced convergence classes, media management (Mike Dunn's class)
**Strongly suggested non-journalism classes: public policy analysis (Truman School of Public Affairs); any advanced political science class that deals with American government, the US court systems, US legislative systems; television criticism—Department of Communication

Capstone Level 10
_____ *Thesis*: 8100 MA Thesis Seminar (1) and 8090 Research (9)
_____ *Professional Project*: 8098 MA Project Seminar (1) and 8190 Area Problem (9)

Total Suggested for Graduation..... 40

The University requires at least half of a graduate student's course work to be in 8000-level courses. Courses 4000-level and below DO NOT carry graduate credit.

Radio/television Reporting (In-depth reporting; prior broadcast experience required)

Students enrolled in this model have the opportunity to gain the skills they need to earn a position in a television or radio newsroom. Depending on your previous work background, you can choose from models that are for novices or experienced broadcast journalists. These models will provide the practical and intellectual skills needed to advance in your field by thinking creatively and critically about your role and the profession.

Cr. Hrs.

Program Core..... 9
_____ 8000 Mass Media Seminar (3)
_____ 8006 Quantitative Research Methods or 8008 Qualitative Research Methods I (3)
One of the following four courses:
_____ 8026 Philosophy of Journalism (3)
_____ 8030 History of Mass Media (3)
_____ 8038 Seminar in Communications Law (3)
_____ 8080 Media Ethics (3)

Broadcast News Core 15
_____ 7306 Broadcast News II (3)
_____ 7308 Broadcast News III (3)
_____ 7320 Advanced Broadcast Reporting (3)
_____ 7430 Computer-Assisted Reporting (3)
_____ 7436 Investigative Reporting (3)

Suggested Electives 6
**Strongly suggested electives include the following journalism classes: investigative reporting, computer assisted reporting, covering the courts, international issues reporting; controls of information; advanced convergence classes, media management (Mike Dunn's class); advanced writing classes
**Strongly suggested non-journalism classes: public policy analysis (Truman School of Public Affairs); any advanced political science class that deals with American government, the US court systems, US legislative systems; television criticism—Department of Communication

Capstone Level 10
_____ *Thesis*: 8100 MA Thesis Seminar (1) and 8090 Research (9)
_____ *Professional Project*: 8098 MA Project Seminar (1) and 8190 Area Problem (9)

Total Suggested for Graduation..... 40

Miscellaneous Models

Non-media-specific and/or Advanced Models

The University requires at least half of a graduate student's course work to be in 8000-level courses. Courses 4000-level and below DO NOT carry graduate credit.

Investigative Reporting Model

This model is intended to prepare students to do investigative reporting or computer-assisted reporting in any medium. This model requires either prior journalism experience OR completion of introductory reporting classes (7450 Reporting, or 7308 Broadcast III, or 7804 Convergence Reporting).

Cr. Hrs.

Program Core..... 9
_____ 8000 Mass Media Seminar (3)
_____ 8006 Quantitative Research Methods or 8008 Qualitative Research Methods I (3)
One of the following four courses:

_____ 8026 Philosophy of Journalism (3)
_____ 8030 History of Mass Media (3)
_____ 8038 Seminar in Communications Law (3)
_____ 8080 Media Ethics (3)

Investigative Reporting Core 18
_____ 7430 Computer-Assisted Reporting (3)
_____ 7436 Investigative Reporting (3)
_____ 8046 Controls of Information (3)
One Geographic Information System (GIS) course from the following:
(note: some of these courses may require prerequisites)
_____ PUB AF 8230 Spatial Analysis for Public Affairs (3)
_____ NAT R 7325 Introduction to GIS (3)
_____ GEOG 7840 Geographic Information Systems I (3)
One statistics course from the following:
(note: some of these courses may require prerequisites)
_____ ESC PS 7170 Introduction to Educational Statistics (3)
_____ SOCIOL 7120 Social Statistics (3)
_____ SOC WK 7310 Social Statistics (3)
Plus one of the following four courses:
_____ 7410 Intermediate Writing (3)
_____ 7460 Advanced Reporting (3)
_____ 7320 Advanced Broadcast Reporting (3)
_____ 7806 Convergence Editing and Producing (3)

Capstone Level 10
_____ *Professional Project*: 8098 MA Project Seminar (1) and 8190 Area Problem (9)
(Because this model is designed for students who intend to pursue a professional career in reporting, the option for a thesis has been deleted.)

Total Suggested for Graduation..... 37

The University requires at least half of a graduate student's course work to be in 8000-level courses. Courses 4000-level and below DO NOT carry graduate credit.

International Model

The International Model provides education and training in international communication theory and relevant professional skills.

Cr. Hrs.

Program Core..... 9
_____ 0900 News Practicum (3) (no graduate credit)
_____ 8000 Mass Media Seminar (3)
_____ 8006 Quantitative Research Methods or 8008 Qualitative Research Methods (3)
One of the following four courses:
_____ 8026 Philosophy of Journalism (3)
_____ 8030 History of Mass Media (3)
_____ 8038 Seminar in Communications Law (3)
_____ 8080 Media Ethics (3)

International Core 6

Two of the following six courses:

_____ 7650 International Issues Reporting (3)
_____ 7656 International News Media Systems (3)
_____ 7658 International Journalism (3)
_____ 8010 Media and Politics (3)
_____ 7258 Global Journalism (3)
_____ 7660 Media Forces Shaping the European Union (3)

Choose one of the following tracks:

International Correspondence 9

One or more of these courses may be waived by the department chair and graduate dean, based on previous journalism degree or professional experience.

Broadcast: 9 credits

_____ 7300 Broadcast News I (3)
_____ 7306 Broadcast News II (3)
_____ 7308 Broadcast News III (3)

or

Editorial: 9 credits

_____ 7406 Newspaper Editing (3)
_____ 7450 Newspaper Reporting (3)
_____ 7984 Magazine Staff/Global Journalist (3)

May substitute one advanced reporting or editing course (3 credits) or nine equivalent hours specified by the magazine or photojournalism sequence heads with approval of the faculty advisor and graduate dean.

International Theory..... 9

Open only to those with professional journalism experience or a journalism degree. Three of the following four courses:

_____ 8046 Controls of Information (3)
_____ 8056 Theory of Mass Communication (3)
_____ 8086 Critical Analysis of the Mass Media (3)
_____ 8076 Issues and Theories in International Communication (3)

May substitute one graduate-level theory or research course (3 credits) with approval of the faculty advisor and graduate dean.

Electives 6

Suggested credits, in foreign language, social science or other courses pre-approved by the faculty advisor and graduate dean.

Capstone Level 10

_____ *Thesis*: 8100 MA Thesis Seminar (1) and 8090 Research (9)
_____ *Professional Project*: 8098 MA Project Seminar (1) and 8190 Area Problem (9)

Total Suggested for Graduation..... 40

The University requires at least half of a graduate student's course work to be in 8000-level courses. Courses 4000-level and below DO NOT carry graduate credit.

Environmental Reporting Model

Cr. Hrs.

Program Core..... 12
_____ 0900 News Practicum (3) (no graduate credit) for Editorial track
_____ 7450 Reporting (3) for Editorial track or 7300 Broadcast News I (3) for Broadcast News track
_____ 8000 Mass Media Seminar (3)
_____ 8006 Quantitative Research Methods or 8008 Qualitative Research Methods I (3)
_____ 8066(431) Proseminar: Science, Society and the News Media (3)

Advanced Reporting/Writing Core..... 9
_____ 7416 Science Writing (3)
_____ 7460 Advanced Reporting or 7406(310) Newspaper Editing (3)
One of the following three courses:
_____ 7410 Intermediate Writing (3)
_____ 7430 Computer Assisted Reporting (3)
_____ 7436 Investigative Reporting (3)

OR

Advanced Broadcast News Core 6
_____ 7306 Broadcast News 2 (3)
_____ 7416 Science Writing (3)

Elective Journalism hours..... 2–3

Natural Resources Core 12
_____ Nat. Res. 1070 Ecology & Renewable Resource Management (3) — no CR
_____ Nat. Res. & Jour. 8060 Environmental Research for Journalists (3)
_____ Nine hours chosen from graduate classes in: (One three hour class must be in a field or laboratory course.)
General Natural Resources
Wildlife Conservation
Aquatic Resource Conservation

Capstone Level 10
_____ *Thesis*: 8100 MA Thesis Seminar (1) and 8090 Research (9)
_____ *Professional Project*: 8098 MA Project Seminar (1) and 8190 Area Problem (9)

Total Suggested for Graduation..... 42–46

The University requires at least half of a graduate student's course work to be in 8000-level courses. Courses 4000-level and below DO NOT carry graduate credit.

Law and Conflict Resolution Model

The Masters Model in Law and Conflict Resolution is designed for students anticipating careers as reporters and editors who want to develop particular expertise in the coverage of legal issues. The Model promotes this interest by providing students with a Model that includes the opportunity to take several courses at the Law School. It will also be helpful for M.A. students in media management or strategic communications who are interested in a greater understanding of the legal environment of the media.

Cr. Hrs.

Program Core..... 6–9

_____ 0900 News Practicum (3) (no graduate credit) or 7200 Prin. of Strategic Comm. (3) or 7300 Broadcast News I (3)
_____ 8000 Mass Media (3)
_____ 8006 Quantitative Research Methods (3) or 8008 Qualitative Research Methods I (3)

Law & Conflict Resolution Core..... 9

_____ J8038 Seminar in Communications Law (3) or 5760L Mass Media Law (3)
_____ 5510L Dispute Resolution (3)
Choose one of the following four courses:
_____ 7718 Law & the Courts (3)
_____ 7720 Internet Law (3)
_____ 7730 Journalism & Conflict (3)
_____ 8046 Controls of Information (3)

Law Electives 6

The Law School elective courses are organized by three tracks—Civil Rights and International Law, Business Law, General Law—to help students more quickly identify areas of specific interest, and to develop deeper concentrations in desired areas. However, students may take any available course in satisfying this requirement. Course offering and availability varies by semester, and enrollment is subject to professor approval. See the academic advisor for available courses and further information.

Journalism Electives 8–9

May be selected from one or more of the core programs for other Masters models:
Advertising
Broadcast News
Editing
Environmental Reporting
International
Magazine
Media Management
New Media
News Media & Society
Photojournalism
Public Policy Journalism
Reporting/Writing
Strategic Communications
Any Law & Conflict Resolution "core option" not already taken.

Capstone Level 10

_____ *Thesis*: 8100 MA Thesis Seminar (1) and 8090 Research (9) (Note: One member of Thesis Committee must be on Law faculty.)
_____ *Professional Project*: 8098 MA Project Seminar (1) and 8190 Area Problem (9)

Total Suggested for Graduation..... 40–43

The University requires at least half of a graduate student's course work to be in 8000-level courses. Courses 4000-level and below DO NOT carry graduate credit.

New Media Model

	Cr. Hrs.
Program Core	**8–12**
_____ 0900 News Practicum (no graduate credit) or 7300 Broadcast News 1 (3)	
_____ 8000 Mass Media Seminar (3)	
_____ 8006 Quantitative Research Methods or 8008 Qualitative Research Methods I (3)	
One of the following courses:	
_____ 8026 Philosophy of Journalism (3)	
_____ 8030 History of Mass Media (3)	
_____ 8038 Seminar in Communications Law (3)	
_____ 8080 Media Ethics (3)	
New Media Core	**13**
_____ 7120 New Media Basics (1) or 7306 Broadcast News 2 (13)	
_____ 7430 Computer-Assisted Reporting or 7306 Broadcast News 2 (3)	
_____ 7450 Reporting or 7300 Broadcast News 1 (3)	
_____ 7700 Online Journalism or 7974 Advanced Internet Applications for Radio/TV News (3)	
One of the following courses:	
_____ 7226 Strategic Design and Visuals I (3)	
_____ 7306 Broadcast News 2 (if not counted above) (3)	
_____ 7308 Broadcast News 3 (3)	
_____ 7310 News Producing (3)	
_____ 7406 Newspaper Editing (3)	
_____ 7408 Magazine Design (3)	
_____ 7430 Computer-Assisted Reporting (if not counted above) (3)	
_____ 7436 Investigative Reporting (3)	
_____ 7460 Advanced Reporting (3)	
_____ 7566 Electronic Photojournalism (3)	
_____ 7700 Online Journalism (if not counted above) (3)	
_____ 7974 Advanced Internet Applications for Radio/TV News (if not counted above) (3)	
Electives	**6**
Capstone Level	**10**
_____ *Thesis*: 8100 MA Thesis Seminar (1) and 8090 Research (9)	
_____ *Professional Project*: 8098 MA Project Seminar (1) and 8190 Area Problem (9)	
Total Suggested for Graduation	**37–41**

The University requires at least half of a graduate student's course work to be in 8000-level courses. Courses 4000-level and below DO NOT carry graduate credit.

News Media and Society Model

This area is intended for professionally prepared students who seek the M.A. with thesis. The expected prerequisites for enrollment in this option are two years professional media experience. Should a student pursuing this option later decide to pursue a professional project rather than a thesis, the six hours of electives in the M.A. program must be used to prepare appropriately for the project. This model is intended primarily for students who intend to pursue a doctorate.

Cr. Hrs.

Program Core..... 9
_____ 0900 News Practicum (3) (no graduate credit)
_____ 8000 Mass Media Seminar (3)
_____ 8006 Quantitative Research Methods OR 8008 Qualitative Research Methods I (3)
One of the following three courses:
_____ 8026 Philosophy of Journalism (3)
_____ 8038 Seminar in Communications Law (3)
_____ 8080 Media Ethics (3)

News Media and Society Core..... 12
_____ One advanced news reporting class (3)
_____ 8028 Literature of Journalism (3)
_____ 8030 History of Mass Media (3)
One of the following two courses:
_____ 8046 Controls of Information (3)
_____ 8056 Theory of Mass Communication (3)

Electives 6

Capstone Level 10
_____ *Thesis*: 8100 MA Thesis Seminar (1) and 8090 Research (9)
(*option of Professional Project is deleted*)

Total Suggested for Graduation..... 37

The University requires at least half of a graduate student's course work to be in 8000-level courses. Courses 4000-level and below DO NOT carry graduate credit.

Public Policy Journalism Model

The program is designed for journalists wishing to specialize in government reporting at a local, state, national or international level. The program also is open to international students seeking to study the governmental process in the United States and relationships between government officials and journalists.

This option combines actual reporting experience in city and local government; state government; and federal government, backed up with academic courses on all three levels of government. The outside coursework provides the necessary strong background in politics and economics. Students following the Convergence Model may take the public policy concentration.

The option is highlighted by experience covering Missouri state government in Jefferson City and a semester in the School's Washington Program.

Cr. Hrs.

Program Core..... 9
_____ 0900 News Practicum (3) (no graduate credit)
_____ 8000 Mass Media Seminar (3)
_____ 8006 Quantitative Research Methods OR 8008 Qualitative Research Methods (3)
_____ 8038 Seminar in Communications Law (3)

Reporting Core..... 12
_____ 7300 Broadcast I (for broadcast students without prior experience) (3)
_____ 7450 Reporting or 7306 Broadcast II (local public policy) (3)
_____ 7460 Advanced Reporting or 7308 Broadcast III (Jefferson City) (3)
_____ 7430 Computer Assisted Reporting (3)

Public Policy Core..... 6
_____ PA 8150 Foundations of New Governance
_____ PA 8170 Public Policy Processes and Strategy

Electives 3
Suggested courses:
7436 Investigative Reporting (3)
7650 International Issues Reporting (3)
8046 Controls of Information (3)
PA 8710 The Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector
PA 8620 Organizational Analysis and Change
PA 8610 Group Dynamics and Conflict Resolution
PA 8630 Organizational Change in a Community and Global Context

Capstone Level 10
_____ *Thesis*: 8100 MA Thesis Seminar (1) and 8090 Research (9)
_____ *Professional Project*: 8098 MA Project Seminar (1), 8190 Area Problem (Washington) (9), and 8185 Area Seminar in Journalism (3)

Total Suggested for Graduation..... 40–43

The University requires at least half of a graduate student's course work to be in 8000-level courses. Courses 4000-level and below DO NOT carry graduate credit.

Individually Structured Model

To structure an individual program, the student must meet with an advisor to map out the specialized program. Once that has been accomplished, the student prepares a document that resembles this example. The advisor signs the program as outlined with the student and forwards it to the Associate Dean of Graduate Studies for approval. An individually structured program must include at least 37 graduate hours, at least half of which must be at the 8000 level.

Cr. Hrs.

Program Core..... 8–12
_____ 0900 News Practicum (no CR), 7200 Principles of Strategic Communication or 7300 Broadcast News I (3)
_____ 8000 Mass Media Seminar (3)
_____ 8006 Quantitative Research Methods or 8008 Qualitative Research Methods I (3)
One of the following four courses:
_____ 8026 Philosophy of Journalism (3)
_____ 8030 History of Mass Media (3)
_____ 8038 Seminar in Communications Law (3)
_____ 8080 Media Ethics (3)

Individual Program Core 12

_____ _____
_____ _____
_____ _____
_____ _____

Electives 6

Capstone Level 10
_____ *Thesis*: 8100 MA Thesis Seminar (1) and 8090 Research (9)
_____ *Professional Project*: 8098 MA Project Seminar (1) and 8190 Area Problem (9)

Total Suggested for Graduation..... 36-40

Approved by:

_____ _____
Student (date) Advisor (date)

_____
Associate Dean (date)

Missouri School of Journalism, University of Missouri. "Two-year Master's Program Handbook 2008." http://journalism.missouri.edu/graduate/masters/masters-2-year-2008.pdf (accessed February 23, 2009). Reprinted with permission.

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Northwestern University, Medill School of Journalism

Values Statement:

Our values: 1) Be respectful of the school, yourself and others—which includes personal and professional integrity 2) Be the best—which means making no small plans, being bold and taking risks 3) Be distinctive; be you—which includes resisting conformity and thinking uniquely.

Medill at Northwestern University. "General Information." http://www.medill.northwestern.edu/about (accessed December 21, 2008).

Curriculum:

Graduate Journalism—Degree Requirements Overview

The Master of Science in Journalism carries the following credit requirements:

Four-Quarter Students

Students pursuing a typical four-quarter curriculum will be required to earn 13 credits to graduate:

- 4 credits in Q1
- 3 credits in Q2
- 3 credits in Q3
- 3 credits in Q4

Three-Quarter Students

Students who have, upon admission, been waived from all four courses in the Journalism Methods quarter and are therefore pursuing a three-quarter curriculum will be required to earn 9 credits to graduate:

- 3 credits in Q1
- 3 credits in Q2
- 3 credits in Q3

Accelerated Master's Program

Students who are pursuing the MSJ as part of their BSJ work will be required to earn 9 credits to

graduate. Based upon prior academic work in the BSJ, they are waived from the entire Methods quarter (4 credits) and therefore pursue the following 3 quarters of the curriculum:

- 3 credits in Q1
- 3 credits in Q2
- 3 credits in Q3

Medill at Northwestern University. "Graduate Journalism." http://www.medill.northwestern.edu/students/students.aspx?id=61965&ekmensel=c580fa7b_23_37_61965_3 (accessed December 21, 2008).

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Ohio University, E.W. Scripps School of Journalism

Mission Statement:

The E. W. Scripps School of Journalism is dedicated to the needs of its students; to excellence in teaching, advising, service, and research; and to leadership in journalism education. The school provides a liberal arts foundation combined with a professional education and practical experience for its students. The goals are to search for truth; to develop critical analysis, thinking, writing, and speaking abilities; to enhance free, responsible, and effective expression of ideas. To that end, the E. W. Scripps School of Journalism:

- stresses the importance of the First Amendment;
- fosters the highest standards of journalism ethics;
- prepares students to enter the journalism professions;
- provides a liaison between students and professionals;
- involves students and faculty in an extended University;
- values an international presence and perspective;
- attracts, nurtures, and retains a diverse group of outstanding students;
- expands scholarly activity to enhance the body of knowledge within journalism;
- supports a diverse faculty offering an array of contributions;
- offers an environment that equips students to live in a diverse world; and
- upholds the University mission of commitment to educational excellence through focus on the individual student.

E. W. Scripps School of Journalism, Ohio University. "About the JSchool." http://www.scrippsjschool.org/about (accessed December 21, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

Curriculum:

Core Courses:

Journalism 501 Introduction to Graduate Study (1 hour)

Journalism 511 Communication Law (3 hours)

Journalism 512 Ethics, Mass Media and Society (3 hours) or Journalism 813 Media Ethics and Internet (4 hours)

Journalism 803 Seminar in Mass Communication Theory (5 hours)

Journalism 806 Mass Communication Research (5 hours)

Advanced Research Techniques:

Choose 1 of the following:

Journalism 808 Legal Research (4 hours)

Journalism 811 Historical Research in Journalism (5 hours)

Journalism 816 Seminar in Research Methods (5 hours)

Journalism 821 Seminar in Content Analysis (4 hours)

Topics Seminar:

Choose 1 of the following:

Journalism 513 Gender, Race, and Class in the Mass Media (4 hours)

Journalism 635 Seminar in Visual Communications (5 hours)

Journalism 812 Government and Mass Communication (4 hours)

Journalism 813 Media Ethics and Internet (4 hours)

Journalism 814 Literature in Journalism (4 hours)

Journalism 815 Seminar in Freedom of the Press (4 hours)

Journalism 850 Seminar in Advertising Copy Writing (4 hours)

Journalism 866 Seminar in International Mass Media (5 hours)

Journalism 871 Public Relations Problems and Programs (4 hours)

Research:

Choose 1 of the following:

Journalism 665 Professional project (6 hours)

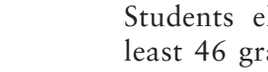
Journalism 695 Thesis (6 hours)

Journalism 665 Reading option

Other:

Depending on which courses are chosen from the required list, each student also must take a minimum of 16 hours of electives to reach the necessary number of hours to graduate. Two of the required core courses, Journalism 511 (Communication Law) and Journalism 512 (Ethics, Mass Media and Society), may be waived if equivalent courses have been taken as an undergraduate or graduate student at Ohio University or elsewhere. If they are waived, additional elective hours must be taken to replace them.

E. W. Scripps School of Journalism, Ohio University. "Masters of Science in Journalism." http://www.scrippsjschool.org/courses/sequence_details.php?id=ms (accessed December 21, 2008). Reprinted with permission.



University of Oregon, School of Journalism and Communication

Mission Statement:

Through advanced skills and management courses, internships and critical and theoretical analysis, we prepare students for professional and leadership roles in the newspaper, magazine, and book publishing industries, and in strategic communication (advertising and public relations).

School of Journalism and Mass Communication—University of Oregon. "Professional Master's Mission Statement." http://jcomm.uoregon.edu/graduate/professional-masters-mission-statement (accessed December 21, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

Curriculum:

Literary Nonfiction Professional Program

Description

The master's degree program in Literary Nonfiction offers a unique blend of learning experiences in literary writing. The program is for those who seek to:

- Advance their careers in literary journalism, feature writing, book-length nonfiction, and other forms of literary nonfiction.
- Hone professional writing skills in an environment that encourages trust, risk-taking, and innovative approaches to writing.
- Learn from award-winning professionals who give hands-on guidance.
- Focus on writing publishable books.
- Read and analyze significant works of literary nonfiction.

The program offers the intensive, practical study that poets and fiction writers have traditionally found in graduate school, but that has not been widely available for nonfiction writers.

Course Requirements

The Literary Nonfiction program offers an innovative graduate curriculum for students with previous professional writing experience. Students electing this program must earn at least 46 graduate credits (24 of which must be graded) and have a cumulative GPA of 3.00 or higher. Courses that do not carry graduate credit (400-level and lower) are not considered in determining the graduate GPA. Students typically take six terms to complete the program, which consists of:

1. Two intensive writing seminars (J635 Literary I Nonfiction I, J636 Literary Nonfiction II) that

focus on conceptualization, structuring and writing nonfiction in a workshop setting.

2. Mass Communication & Society (J611) and Introduction to the Faculty (J625).
3. Literature of Literary Journalism (J631), an exploration of the literary and ethical issues related to the genre of literary journalism or creative nonfiction.
4. At least three "Writing about..." courses (J633), three-credit workshops taught by visiting instructors.
5. One 600-level conceptual course selected from a short list. The student and faculty adviser will select from a list of appropriate courses such as Communication Ethics or Philosophy of Communication. A 500-level conceptual course may be considered for this requirement by petition to the Graduate Affairs Committee.
6. Writing the Nonfiction Book (J638), a seminar that deals with the publishing industry, agents, contracts, and creating a meaningful book proposal.
7. Non-SOJC electives. Students work with their adviser to identify relevant courses in other units of the University.
8. Terminal Project. The project (J609) is a work of creative nonfiction that is noteworthy for its substance and artistic quality. The topic is approved by an adviser before work begins. A faculty committee oversees the project.
9. The Graduate School requires that all master's candidates complete a minimum of 30 credits (24 of which must be graded) over two or more terms at the Eugene campus, and that all work for the master's degree be completed within seven years.

(Continued)

Literary Nonfiction Checklist

You must have at least 46 graduate (500 or 600 level) credits (at least 24 graded) with a cumulative GPA of 3.00 or higher.

First Year:

_____ J625 Introduction to the Faculty (1) Fall quarter
_____ J611 Mass Communication and Society (4) Fall quarter
_____ J631 Literature of Literary Journalism (4)
_____ J635 Literary Nonfiction I (6)
_____ J636 Literary Nonfiction II (6)

Further Requirements:

_____ J638 Writing the Nonfiction Book (1–4)

At least three J633 Writing About…. courses

_____ J633 Writing About… (3)
_____ J633 Writing About… (3)
_____ J633 Writing About… (3)

One conceptual course

_____ 600 level (or approved 500-level)

At least 6 graduate credits outside SOJC

_____ *5*/600
_____ *5*/600
_____ *5*/600

SOJC Electives:

_____ J609 Terminal Project (minimum 6 credits)
_____ J600 (At least one 600-level conceptual course)
_____ J*5*/600
_____ J*5*/600

Terminal Project Checklist – Should be completed in order

_____ Adviser selected
_____ Committee selected
_____ Project proposal approved and completed, and filed with SOJC
_____ Enrolled for at least 3 graduate credits during graduating term
_____ Foreign language requirement completed (MA students only)
_____ Applied for graduation on Grad Web by second week of term in which you plan to graduate
_____ Oral defense completed
_____ One copy of terminal project submitted to SOJC printed on bond paper and unbound

Literary Nonfiction Master's Flow Chart

Admission

Coursework

The bulk of students' coursework is ideally completed during their first year of graduate study and finished during the second year. Students are required to complete some courses during their first year, and some courses are only offered during certain terms.

Choose adviser/chair, project committee and write project proposal

This step is ideally completed during fall quarter of students' second year of graduate study. Proposals for a project must be in writing and approved by adviser and committee.

Project research and writing

Students usually take 2-3 terms to complete this step, ideally during their second year of graduate study. Students should register for J609 while working on their project.

Project oral defense

Students complete this step during the term they graduate. They must be registered for three graduate credits during this term, one of which should be J609.

Diploma

News-Editorial and Magazine Professional Master's Program

Description

This program is designed for those holding bachelor's degrees who have little or no academic or professional media background and who want to acquire professional skills within an intellectual context. Areas of specialization are: news-editorial journalism and magazine journalism.

The Graduate Affairs Committee carefully considers each applicant and determines their readiness for the advanced graduate curriculum. The program begins with a summer of background and preparatory work and is followed by at least three quarters of course work and a quarter devoted to the creation of a professional project. In addition, a quarter devoted to a professional internship is strongly recommended.

Course Requirements

News-Editorial and magazine areas of specialization emphasize different skills, but have the following in common:

- 46 credit graduation requirement, 24 of which must be graded 15-18 month program
- a summer preparatory experience including J561 News Editing
- Reporting II (J562)
- Journalistic Interview J583
- two 600-level core courses: J611 and J625
- Story Development (J563) and Advanced Story Development (J563)
- one additional 500 or 600 level ethics course or other conceptual course
- a final professional project

News-Editorial Program Requirements

1. Summer background and preparatory work (no 1. graduate credit awarded): Readings in Mass Media & Society, Reporting and Information Strategies (J408), Photojournalism Workshop (J408) and Newspaper Editing (J561). Introduction to the Faculty (J625), Mass Communication & Society (J611), Journalistic Interview (J583), and Reporting II.
2. Story Development and Advanced Story Development (J563) in winter and spring terms.
3. 500- or 600-level ethics course, or other conceptual course approved by adviser.
4. At least four graduate level craft courses in news-editorial or a directly related area selected by the student and adviser based on the student's professional objectives: Advanced Photojournalism, Specialized Reporting, Advanced Editing, Newspaper Design, Journalistic Interview, Newspaper Editing. 500- and 600-level electives within the SOJC, including any graduate seminars and craft courses the student and adviser deem pertinent. Essential courses outside the SOJC may be included with adviser's endorsement.

Magazine Program Requirements

1. Summer background and preparatory work (no 1. graduate credit awarded): Readings in Mass Media & Society, Reporting and Information Strategies (J408), Photojournalism Workshop (J408) and News Editing (J561).
2. Introduction to the Faculty (J625), Mass Communication & Society (J611), and Reporting II (J562).
3. Story Development and Advanced Story Development (J563) in Winter and Spring terms. At least four 500-level craft courses in magazine journalism or a directly related area selected by the student and adviser based on the student's professional objectives: Magazine Writing II, Writing the Nonfiction Book, Magazine Feature Editing, The Magazine Editor, Magazine Design, Advanced Photojournalism, and Production. 500- and 600-level electives within the SOJC, including any graduate seminars and craft courses the student and adviser deem pertinent. Essential courses outside the SOJC may be included, with adviser's endorsement.

News-Editorial and Magazine Professional Master's Checklist

At least 46 graduate (500 or 600 level) credits (at least 24 graded) with a cumulative GPA of 3.00 or higher.

Summer Preparatory Courses. No graduate credit earned (except for J561)

_____ Readings in Mass Media and Society
_____ Reporting and Information Strategies (J408)
_____ Photojournalism Workshop (J408)
_____ News Editing (J561)

Conceptual Core:

_____ J625 Introduction to the Faculty (1)
_____ J611 Mass Communication & Society (4)
_____ J5/600 Additional conceptual course

Core craft courses

_____ J563 Story Development
_____ J563 Advanced Story Development
_____ J583 Journalistic Interview (1st fall term)
_____ J562 Reporting II (1st fall term)

Elective graduate level credits (must be approved by adviser and may include courses outside SOJC)

_____ 500/600
_____ 500/600
_____ 500/600

Terminal Project

_____ J609 Terminal Project (minimum 6 credits)

Terminal Project Checklist – Should be completed in order

_____ Adviser selected
_____ Second reader selected (Note: two second readers may be desirable.)
_____ Terminal project proposal approved, completed, defended, and filed with SOJC
_____ Enrolled for at least 3 graduate credits during graduating term (at least 1 of J609)
_____ Foreign language requirement completed (MA students only)
_____ Applied for graduation on Grad Web by second week of term in which you plan to graduate
_____ Oral defense completed
_____ One copy of terminal project submitted to SOJC

News-Editorial and Magazine Professional Master's Flow Chart

Admission

Coursework

Choose adviser/chair, second reader and write project proposal

Proposals for a thesis or project must be in writing and approved by adviser and second reader.

Project research and writing

Students complete this step during the quarter in which they plan to graduate. Students register for J609 while working on their project. A final copy of the project must be submitted to the SOJC Graduate Secretary before the Grad School will approve graduation.

Project oral defense

Students complete this step during the term they graduate. They must be registered for three graduate credits during this term, at least one of which should be J609.

Submit Project

A final copy of the project must be submitted in pdf format to the SOJC Graduate Secretary before the Graduate School will approve graduation.

Diploma

Term-by-Term Professional Master's Worksheet

Summer (Term 1)

Required	Required	Required
J408 Reporting and Information Strategies	J408 Photo Workshop	J561 News Editing

Fall (Term 2)

Required	Required	Required	Recommended
J611 Mass Comm and Society and J625 Intro to Faculty	J563 Journalistic Interview	J562 Reporting II	J573 Magazine Feature Editing OR J568 Advanced Newspaper Editing

Winter (Term 3)

Required	Recommended Crafts (2)	Recommended
J563 Story Development	Photo, The Mag Editor, Mag Design, Mag II, Specialized reporting options (Arts, Environmental Writing; Power Reporting)	Theory course approved by adviser (required component of general program)

Spring (Term 4)

Required	Recommended Crafts (2)	Elective
J563 Advanced Story Development	Flux, Photo or Advanced Photo, Mag Editor, Magazine II, Reporting II, Specialty Reporting Classes (Arts, Environmental Writing; Power Reporting)	Theory course approved by adviser (if not taken winter term)

Summer (Term 5)

Strongly Recommended	Optional	
J604 Internship	J609 Final project credit	

Summer (Term 6)

Required	Elective	
J609 Final Project Credit		

Strategic Communication Master's Degree

The Professional Master's Degree in Strategic Communication is designed for working professionals in the Portland area. This program is based at the SOJC's George S. Turnbull Center at UO Portland, located at the White Stag Block.

The program consists of a core of required four-credit Journalism and Communication courses complemented by two-credit, shorter-term workshop classes. The required coursework falls into four programmatic categories, which were established in consultation with the intended audiences and following an examination of the curricula of successful programs nationally. This focus also is consistent with a recently released report from the Public Relations Society of America's Commission on Public Relations Education and with PRSA guidelines for accreditation.

- Strategic communication core
- Business core with emphasis on marketing and management
- Mass communication core
- Professional specialization elective core (choice of three two-credit workshops)
- The course composition will be as follows:

Strategic Communication Core (12 credits total)

- J622 Strategic Communication Research and Planning – 4 credits
- J623 Creativity in Strategic Communication – 4 credits

One of the following:

- J543 Advertising Media Planning – 4 credits
- J552 Advanced Public Relations Writing – 4 credits
- J544 Agency Account Management—4 credits

Business Core (12 credits total)

- J610 Introduction to Marketing – 4 credits
- J610 Introduction to Management – 4 credits
- J610 Advanced Marketing Communications – 4 credits
- J610 Topics in Finance for Communication Professionals – 2 credits

Journalism/Mass Communication Core (18 credits total)

- J611 Mass Communication and Society – 4 credits
- J621 Foundations of Strategic Communication – 4 credits
- J660 Communication Research Methods – 4 credits
- J609 Terminal Project – 6 credits (capstone course requiring applied research to develop a strategic communications plan).

Professional Specialization Elective Core—Select three, two-credit workshops (6 credits total; Corporate Social Responsibility is strongly recommended)

- J624 Strategic Communication Workshops:
- Corporate social responsibility
- Advanced issues in advertising and marketing
- Advanced issues in public relations and organizational development
- Crisis communication
- Creativity in business
- Global communication operations
- Financial and investor relations
- Political communication
- International Public Relations
- Managing political communication
- Marketing communication in health care industries
- Marketing for technology companies
- Media relations
- Professional presentations
- Online communities and consumer generated media (CGM)

Typical Course of Study Sequence for the Professional Master's in Strategic Communication

Fall (Term 1)

Required	Required	Required
J611 Mass Media and Society (Mon. evenings–10 weeks)	J621 Foundations of Strategic Comm. (Thurs. evenings–10 weeks)	J624 Strategic Comm. Topics (Sat.–3 weeks)

Winter (Term 2)

Required	Required	Recommended
J660 Communication Research Methods (Mon. evenings–10 weeks)	J 610 Intro Marketing (Thurs. evenings–10 weeks)	J624 Strategic Comm. Topics (Sat.–3 weeks)

Spring (Term 3)

Required	Required	Recommended
J622 Strategic Comm. Research and Planning (Mon. evenings–10 weeks)	J 610 Intro Management (Thurs. evenings–10 weeks)	J624 Strategic Comm. Topics (Sat.–3 weeks)

Summer (between years 1 and 2)

Required	Elective	Recommended
J610 Topics in Finance (Mon. evenings–5 weeks or two weekends)		J624 Strategic Comm. Topics (Thurs. or Sat.–X weeks)

Fall (Term 4)

Required	Required	Recommended
J623 Creativity in Strategic Comm (Mon. evenings–10 weeks)	J 662 Advanced Marketing Comm (Thurs. evening–10 weeks)	J624 Strategic Comm. Topics (Sat.–X weeks)

Winter (Term 5)

Required—TBD	Required—TBD	Required/Recommended
J543 Advertising Media Planning OR J552 Advanced PR writing OR J544 Agency Account Management (SELECT ONE, IF NEEDED)	J543 Advertising Media Planning OR J552 Advanced PR Writing OR J544 Agency Account Management (SELECT ONE, IF NEEDED)	J609 Final Project J624 Strategic Comm. Topics (Sat.–3 weeks)

Spring (Term 6)

Required	Elective	Elective
J609 Final Project–Graduation this term		J624 Strategic Comm. Topics (Sat.–3 weeks)

Summer following second year

Required	Elective	
Final Project Credit (if needed)		J624 Strategic Comm. Topics (Thurs. or Sat.–X weeks)

Checkpoints in the Professional Master's Degree in Strategic Communication

The School of Journalism and Communication seeks to create a rigorous, yet supportive, setting for our graduate students, one that maximizes opportunity for learning and timely matriculation. To support this goal, we will conduct a series of checkpoints for all of our strategic communication master's students.

1. Each student will be assigned a provisional adviser who can address concerns about coursework in relation to student goals. The adviser can also provide guidance in instances where a student is not able to complete the program in two years.
2. After completion of 24 credits, each student should select a faculty member for terminal project advising.
3. After completion of 41 credits, each student should sign up for two credits of terminal project, J609, in order to write the project proposal, select a second reader, and begin the project.
4. The final term is devoted to completing and defending the terminal project, typically a portfolio or applied research project. Students sign up for four credits this term, for a total of six credits of terminal project. Students are encouraged to complete their projects spring term to take advantage of the terminal project seminar offered in spring.

For more information, see: jcomm.uoregon.edu/turnbullportlandcenter/index

Communication and Society Master's Degree Program

Description

While our professional master's programs aim primarily to teach advanced skills in preparation for employment and leadership in the media and communication industries, our Communication and Society M.A./M.S. program is aligned with our doctoral program in exposing students to a wide range of ideas concerning the structure, function and role of communication in society. Areas of overlapping faculty and program strength that students may study include: media institutions; ethics, law and policy; and international and multicultural diversity. (See Appendix, PhD program strengths.) Goals for individual students vary. Some may seek to return to the professions as leaders and innovators who actively contribute to improving the quality of media and communications. Others may seek preparation for doctoral work either in the SOJC Communication and Society program or elsewhere.

Course Requirements for the Communication and Society Program

Candidates for the Communication & Society Master's degree must earn at least 46 graduate credits (24 of which must be graded) with a cumulative GPA of 3.00 or higher. The Graduate School requires that all master's candidates complete a minimum of 30 credits (24 of which must be graded) taken at the Eugene campus and that all work for the master's degree be completed within seven years. Courses that do not carry graduate credit (400-level and lower) are not considered in determining the graduate GPA. The program concludes with either a thesis or a professional project. Students typically take five or six terms to complete the program. Specific requirements follow:

1. Four required graduate-level courses taken in the first year of graduate studies: Introduction to the Faculty (J625), Mass Communication & Society (J611), Mass Communication Theories (J613) and either Qualitative Research Methods (J641) or Quantitative Research Methods (J642).
2. Three additional conceptual courses in the School of Journalism and Communication. Graduate seminars (J607) count toward this requirement. Courses numbered J601–J610 do not count toward this requirement, except by petition to the student's adviser and chair of the Graduate Affairs Committee. Certain 500-level courses may be considered for this requirement.
   - J633 courses, including "Writing About..." courses do not fulfill this requirement.
   - Media/Communications courses offered at the 600-level in other schools or departments may count toward this requirement and must be reviewed by the Graduate Affairs Committee.
   - The additional methods course (see below) may count toward this requirement if taken within the School.
3. One additional methods course. This course may be taken within or outside of the SOJC. If taken within the School, it may count toward the three additional 600-level courses (see above). If taken outside of the School, it may count toward the outside credit.
4. At least eight, but no more than sixteen graduate credits (500- or 600-level) outside the SOJC. The courses chosen must be part of a consistent, related, educationally enhancing plan that has been approved by the student's adviser prior to enrollment.
5. A graduate thesis (nine credits in J503) or professional project (six credits in J609) approved and supervised by a faculty committee. Your adviser and two other committee members supervise the research and writing of the thesis or project. A written proposal must be approved by the committee before work begins. Proposal Approval Forms (see appendix) are available on-line. A student should register for Thesis (J503) or Terminal Project (J609) during the terms in which they are researching and writing their thesis or project.

Foreign Language Requirement

Students pursuing an M.A. degree must demonstrate competence in one foreign language.

Language competence must be demonstrated within the overall seven-year limitation for completion of a master's degree. Foreign language proficiency can be demonstrated by: 1) completion of at least the third term, second year of a foreign language course taught in the language, with a grade of "C-" or "P" or better taken within seven years of the awarding of the master's degree, or 2) satisfactory completion of an examination administered by the University Testing Center, showing language proficiency equivalent to that attained at the end of two years of college study. There is no language requirement for the M.S. degree.

Conditional Master's Students

Students are evaluated at the end of their second term of coursework. If they have maintained a 3.25 GPA or better for their first two terms of full time graduate coursework, they will be upgraded to full major status. A change of graduate major/classification form must be filled out by the student and approved by the department. The form is available on line in PDF format at: http://gradschool.uoregon.edu/?page=forms. Conditional master's students must have their status upgraded at least one quarter prior to graduation.

Project or Thesis Options (see also Project and Thesis information)

Master's students may complete either a project or a thesis. A thesis is a research effort; a project is a piece of professional work.

A project is an option if you plan to be a working journalist or media professional. Remember, a project is much more than a class assignment and requires as much research as a thesis. Final projects have included magazine or newspaper article series, video productions, practical guides for working journalists or media professionals and applied research projects.

You should choose a thesis if you plan to pursue doctoral study. This is a viable option if you plan to work as a media consultant or manager.

A written proposal is required for both a thesis and a project, and you must be approved in writing by your committee before beginning work/research. Proposal Approval forms are available on-line. Sample proposals are on file in 101 Allen.

Reclassification from Master's to Doctoral Program

On rare occasions, a master's student admitted to the SOJC Communication and Society master's program may request a change of classification to the doctoral program in Communication and Society. Such a request should be made no sooner than spring term of the first year in the program and must have strong support of the student's adviser and other SOJC faculty. See Appendix for details on reclassification request requirements.

Communication & Society M.A./M.S. Checklist

At least 46 graduate (500 or 600 level) credits (at least 24 graded) with a cumulative GPA of 3.00 or higher.

Fall quarter

_____ J625 Introduction to the Faculty (1)
_____ J611 Mass Communication & Society (4)
_____ J613 Mass Communication Theories (4)

Two methodology courses

_____ J641 Qualitative Research Methods (4) or J642 Quantitative Research Methods (4)
_____ One additional methods course, either inside or outside SOJC

Three additional 600-level, or approved 500 level, SOJC Courses

_____ J5/600
_____ J5/600
_____ J5/600

At least eight, but no more than sixteen graduate level credits outside the SOJC (two courses minimum)

_____ 5/600 _____ 5/600
_____ 5/600 _____ 5/600

Elective graduate level credits

_____ J503 Thesis (minimum total 9) OR J609 Terminal Project (minimum total 6)
_____ 5/600
_____ 5/600
_____ 5/600

Thesis or Terminal Project Checklist – Should be completed in order

_____ Advisor selected
_____ Committee and chair selected
_____ Thesis or project proposal approved and completed, and filed with SOJC
_____ Human Subjects Research Compliance Approval (if needed)
_____ Enrolled for at least 3 graduate credits during graduating term, (at least 1 of J503 or J609)
_____ Foreign language requirement completed (MA students only)
_____ Applied for graduation on Grad Web by second week of term in which you plan to graduate
_____ Oral defense completed
_____ One copy of terminal project submitted to SOJC OR two copies of thesis to Grad School
_____ Thesis abstract submitted to SOJC (if applicable)

Communication and Society Master's Flow Chart
Admission
Coursework The bulk of students' coursework is ideally completed during their first year of graduate study and finished during the second year. Students are required to complete some courses during their first year, and some courses are only offered during certain terms
Choose adviser/chair, thesis/project committee and write thesis/project proposal This step is ideally completed during fall quarter of students' second year of graduate study. Proposals for a thesis or project must be in writing and approved by adviser and committee.
Thesis/project research and writing Students usually take 2–3 terms to complete this step, ideally during their second year of graduate study. Students should register for J503 or J609 while working on their thesis or project.
Thesis/project oral defense Students complete this step during the term they graduate. They must be registered for three graduate credits during this term, one of which should be J503 or J609.
Diploma

Project and Thesis Information for Eugene-based Master's Programs

Thesis vs. Project

Students in the Communication and Society master's program typically complete a master's thesis (9 credits of J503), though some choose to do a project. A thesis requires original research to address questions about mass media and society. A review of relevant literature, mastery and use of an appropriate research method, and analysis of findings typically are involved.

Students in the Literary Nonfiction and Professional Master's programs typically do a project (6 credits of J609). A project involves the completion of a professional creative product; examples are listed below. Applied research to address practical questions (such as how to carry out an advertising campaign) may be involved.

A project differs from a thesis in one major way: A thesis presents original research that contributes to the scholarly literature of journalism and communication studies. A project, in contrast, contributes to the communications professions via applied research and/or creative accomplishment. As one faculty member puts it, a professional project is a work of journalism; a thesis is a study of journalism. The project is the culmination of your studies here and should reflect what you have learned in the program.

A project may take many forms, though all projects must be noteworthy for substance and artistic or professional quality. Literary Non-Fiction students typically write works of literary non-fiction. Projects completed by students in other options have included: documentary films and videos, slide programs, photo essays, feature or investigative article series, handbooks for professionals (e.g., the result of synthesizing and translating scholarly research), or magazine design & layout projects.

The project could be a well conceptualized magazine article series (for example, three 2,500-word stories) targeted to a specific publication. Such projects must show both greater depth and breadth (conceptually, stylistically and in terms of quality of research) than any single assignment completed in Magazine I or Magazine II.

Professional master's students are encouraged to devise their own projects, and to seek advice and counsel from faculty during the process. Any project must consider editorial, design, circulation, and (if appropriate) advertising trends in the contemporary magazine marketplace. Past narrative magazine projects include a documentation of the extinction of species in the Pacific Northwest, and a series of three profiles about the courage of people who have overcome tremendous difficulties such as cancer.

More examples: Those who come to the program to jump-start a career in magazine editing or publishing could follow the guidelines pertaining to an article series, or choose a project more directly related to editing or publishing, such as an editorial make-over of an existing publication or a business plan for a start-up magazine. One student prepared a guidebook for a nationwide audience of people who wish to self-publish magazines addressed to gay and lesbian audiences. Another drew upon his experience as an editor-in-chief to prepare a manual for environmental and other activist groups who wish to start their own magazines.

While projects do not constitute original research, they nonetheless require research — i.e., research that contributes to content substance and delineates the project's unique contribution to the professions. This research, as well as the project work itself, certainly involves methodologies — e.g., of interviewing, of library research, of examining similar projects, and of carrying out the project. Therefore, each project must be accompanied by a paper that describes or documents the research involved, the methodological procedures used, and lessons learned in the process.

Reminder: Project students sign up for a minimum of six credits in J609. Thesis students sign up for a minimum of nine credits in J503. Students usually sign up with their advisers for project or thesis credits.

The Proposal

Students preparing a project or a thesis must write a proposal and gain approval from three committee members (two for the professional master's project) via signatures on the SOJC Proposal Approval Form, which are available online at jcomm.uoregon.edu/graduate. Your proposal and committee must be approved before work on your project or thesis begins and before you can earn credits for the thesis or project. Most students have approval by the start of Spring term.

All committee members (see also Thesis and Project Committee below) receive and approve your written proposal, using the Proposal Approval Form. This protects you from having a person on your committee who does not fully understand or support your work. Examples of past proposals are available for check-out with the graduate secretary. You are encouraged to review them. Don't forget to obtain human subjects compliance approval if you are planning a thesis or project involving human subjects.

Proposal Guidelines

Generally, you will include what you want to study or the problem to be addressed, how you plan to approach it, and why it should be studied. State your hypothesis, questions, and/or goals, review relevant literature and contextual information, explain methodologies or procedures to be followed, and describe what the final product will look like.

Proposals vary in length and can contribute to the content of your finished thesis or project. Reminder: your written proposal must be approved by your committee, using the Proposal Approval Form.

Guidelines for Theses

The Graduate School has guidelines pertaining to style, margins, footnotes, etc. You may find a copy of these guidelines, called the Style Manual for Theses and Dissertations, on-line from the Graduate School home page. It is very important that your finished work adheres to these guidelines; otherwise it will not be accepted by the Graduate School and you will not graduate on time. Theses and projects completed by former students can be checked out in Student Services, 101 Allen Hall. Theses are also kept in the Knight Library.

Thesis Proposal Structure

Typically, a thesis proposal includes a number of sections, described below. Of course, the content and subheads under each section will vary depending on the problem you are researching, your theoretical framework and the methodology you envision.

I. Introduction. This should consist of a brief summary of the problem you are proposing to investigate, what question(s)/hypothesis(es) you intend to address, and how you envision doing it. While this section is the first presented, it is advisable to write this after you have completed the rest of the proposal.

II. Review of Literature. Here you review relevant literature that will enable you to make a case for the significance of your research. This is an interdisciplinary field. It is likely you will review more than one area of literature. If so, you will probably begin with a statement similar to this: "This research draws on four areas of literature: feminist media theory; scholarship on women's changing roles in India; prior studies of gender and media in India and South Asia; and global studies examining women's representations in newspapers." You should then proceed to summarize pertinent scholarship in each category (and their interconnections). It's acceptable to use subtitles to organize this review. Following this review, you should summarize the rationale for your research question(s) or hypothesis(es) drawn from all the area(s) of literature you have reviewed. Finally, you should clearly state your main research question(s) or hypothesis(es).

III. Methodology. Here you describe your methodological plans as specifically as you can. Of course, the considerations you discuss here will vary depending on the nature of your research, e.g., whether quantitative or qualitative. The following are considerations you may need to discuss in a quantitative thesis: unit of analysis; population; sampling procedures; research instruments (questionnaire, coding categories); and reliability and validity. Everyone — regardless of method — will need to discuss the resources to be drawn upon and how they will be analyzed or interpreted. Some discussion of the limitations of your chosen approach(es) also may be appropriate.

IV. Outline of Completed Thesis. Outline the chapters you anticipate will comprise your completed thesis with a sentence or two describing each chapter. Typical chapters in a qualitative thesis are: Introduction; Review of Literature; Methodology; Results; Discussion; Conclusions. Often a chapter on Historical (or other) Context of the Problem

also is included and precedes (or sometimes follows) the Review of the Literature. In a qualitative thesis the organization is often similar up through the methods chapter. Presentation and discussion of results should be organized in consultation with the committee.

Project Proposal: Structure

The organization of a project proposal typically parallels that of a thesis proposal, including the following:

I. Introduction. A brief summary of what problem, topic(s) or issues you intend to address, and how you envision doing it. A couple paragraphs to a page should be sufficient. Even though this section is the first presented, it is best to write this after you have completed the rest of the proposal.

II. Background research. Report any research that helps make a case for the significance of your project and provides professional context. At least two types of background Research are relevant here: research that contributes to content substance, and research to delineate the project's unique contribution to the professions.

III. Methodology or Procedures. Describe the procedural decisions and plans that will enable you to carry out the project. Obviously, different types of projects will require very different kinds of procedures. A student doing applied research (e.g., for an advertising or public relations campaign) may use essentially the same methods as a student carrying out a social scientific thesis. Creative projects will involve completely different types of procedures and methodologies, depending on the project. The methodological decisions involved in planning and writing a work of literary nonfiction, for instance, will usually be very different than for making a video documentary or a press kit.

IV. Description of Completed Project. Describe what you anticipate your completed project will look like.

Your Adviser

When you arrive at the SOJC, you will be assigned an adviser by the Director of Graduate Studies, based on your expressed research, professional, or academic interests. Your adviser is a tenure-line faculty member. You should meet with him or her soon after beginning the program, and he or she will help you get started. Throughout your studies, your adviser helps develop your academic schedule, gives advice about when you should take certain classes and about classes outside the SOJC that might be relevant to your program, and provides support for your decisions concerning course choices. See your adviser at least once per term.

Changing advisers: Within two terms (or three at the most), you should decide whether to stick with your original adviser through completion of your thesis or project, or to change advisers. You might have found someone more compatible, or whose research interests more closely parallel your own, or perhaps your own research interests may have evolved. You are free to change your adviser at any time. Be sure that the faculty member you choose to work with agrees to be your new adviser, and that the original adviser is notified of any changes.

Your adviser is the chair of your thesis/project committee and will help guide your proposal and see you through completion of your work. Select someone with whom you have a mutually respectful relationship, someone who is interested in your area of study and can contribute to your work. Your adviser does not have to be experienced in every aspect of your work; other committee members can contribute experience in some areas.

Thesis or Project Committee for CNS & LNF

The master's committee is made up of a minimum of three members, including the adviser/chair. At least two members must be regular SOJC faculty. Your chair is a tenure-line faculty member; other SOJC faculty on your committee may or may not be tenure-line. Aside from the minimum of two SOJC faculty, the third member may be someone from outside the SOJC — faculty from another department, or a professional, an expert, etc.

Project Committee Composition for Professional Master's Students in the professional master's programs (news-editorial, magazine, campaign

strategy and planning) are NOT required to form a three-person committee. Instead you will work with your adviser and a second reader to write a project proposal (follow same process required for other master's students, but with two instead of three readers/committee members approving the proposal). The second reader may be anyone who your adviser approves as appropriate. He or she may be another member of the SOJC faculty, a faculty member outside of the SOJC, a professional in the community, or a subject matter expert.

The thesis/project committee is student-chosen and based on faculty expertise. Members should be selected for their ability to contribute to your work. You should also make sure committee members will be available to serve on your committee during the terms you intend to do your work; be sure to ask potential committee members about future plans (fellowships, sabbaticals, Fulbrights, etc.). This is especially important if you plan to graduate during the summer quarter, as many faculty hold a nine-month appointment and are not available summer term. Because of this, the Graduate School does not guarantee graduation summer term.

Students generally choose committee members after the adviser is chosen but before the proposal is written. Your adviser — the committee chair — can be involved in selecting other committee members.

Beyond approving your project proposal, the role of members varies from committee to committee. You may have one who was selected for his or her expertise in your method or another outside area; you can then rely on that person for help in that area. Others may be general readers who read your chapters as you complete them. Based on discussions with your committee, you may submit draft chapters to all members, or you may submit them only to your chair and have other members read only your revised chapters.

In any case, the role of your committee members should be discussed early in the process between the student and adviser; your adviser should help you determine a way to make the committee function smoothly. Additionally, committee members should be told up front what you expect from them. Your entire committee reads your finished work and gathers for your oral defense to approve your thesis or project.

How to Begin Your Thesis or Project

The topic is your choice. You may come up with it through courses, conversations with faculty, your own interests, etc. Talk with faculty and other students to determine whether your idea is feasible. You should have a working idea by the start of your second year of graduate school (or at least by the term preceding the term you intend to write your project). Then, working with your adviser, write the proposal; see above.

Oral Defense

All students must hold an oral defense. The oral defense takes place after you've completed your thesis or project. If you've completed all appropriate steps, a defense is a conversation between you and your committee about your work. The key is to make sure your committee supports your work prior to your oral defense. Your committee members must not agree to the defense if major revisions will be necessary. Expect your committee to find minor problems and make suggestions at the oral defense. At the end of the defense, your committee must either approve or disapprove your work; approval is necessary before you can graduate. It is common for committees to approve with changes and list changes that need to be made.

Consistent with School of Journalism and Communication policy, the oral defense is intended to be a public discourse and, as such, will be announced prior to the event. Please keep the Graduate Secretary informed of the official title of your project or thesis and the time and place of your defense.

Thesis or Project Approval; Graduation

An Application for Advanced Degree form must be filed online with the Graduate School by the second week of the term you plan to graduate. You can locate the application on the Graduate School web site. For master's students, your application for degree generates the rest of the necessary paperwork. Specific dates and deadlines are listed on the Graduate School web page.

Projects are not subject to Graduate School approval; theses are. Therefore, theses require more paperwork. Overall, the SOJC Graduate Secretary tries to work with your committee chair

to ensure all appropriate forms are submitted on time, but it is advisable to keep in close contact with her to make sure your file is kept up to date.

Remember that students completing theses do not have the entire term they intend to graduate to complete their work. In order to meet deadlines for scheduling oral defenses and obtaining Graduate School approval, students should plan to dedicate only one-half to two-thirds of the term they intend to graduate to completing their thesis. The student must also allow time for the committee to review the thesis before the oral defense (a minimum of 10 working days recommended) and time for corrections to be made after the oral defense (a minimum of five days recommended).

Projects: Submit one electronic copy of your final project, in pdf format, to the SOJC Graduate Coordinator. You do not need to submit a copy to the Graduate School.

Theses and Dissertations: Submit one electronic copy of your final project, in pdf format, to the SOJC Graduate Coordinator. You must also submit two copies of your thesis to the Graduate School by the stated deadline. The Graduate School binds the two copies submitted, sends one to the library and one to the SOJC. A completed checklist for writers of master's theses must also be submitted to the Graduate School with your thesis, and you must pay a microfilm fee when you submit your thesis. A copy of your final project or thesis must be received by the stated deadline (check Graduate School website for dates) in order for you to graduate.

Master's of Arts (M.A.) Requirements

The M.A. degree requires proficiency in a second language. The second-language requirement may be met in one of the following ways:

1. Completion of at least the third term, second year of a second-language course taught in language, with a grade of C- or P or better taken within seven years of earning the master's degree. 2. Satisfactory completion of an examination administered by the UO Testing Center with at least a 25th percentile score. 3. For students whose native language is not English, this requirement is automatically met.

The Master of Science degree has no individual requirement.

School of Journalism and Mass Communication—University of Oregon. "Master's Programs." http://jcomm.uoregon.edu/graduate/view.pdf (accessed December 21, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

University of Southern California, Annenberg School for Communication

Mission Statement:

…Every human advancement or reversal can be understood through communication.

The right to free communication carries with it the responsibility to respect the dignity of others, and this must be recognized as irreversible.

Educating students to communicate this message effectively and to be of service to all people is the enduring mission of this school…

University of Southern California, Annenberg School for Communication. "About Us." http://annenberg.usc.edu/AboutUs.aspx (accessed December 22, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

Curriculum:

Degree Requirements

The M.A. in Journalism requires the completion of 40 units, 18 of which must be completed by all students:

- **JOUR 500—Media and Society** (3) Analysis of major theories on the role of communication media and society with special emphasis on the role and responsibility of the news media.
- **JOUR 501—Newswriting: Print, Broadcast, Online** (3) Basic newswriting and news judgment in print, broadcast and online journalism. Social responsibility and ethical framework for new media journalists. Typing ability required.
- **JOUR 502—Production: Print, Broadcast, Online** (3) Basic broadcast studio and field production, copyediting and newspaper production, database creation and management, online production. Social responsibility and ethical framework involving new media production.
- **JOUR 503—Reporting: Print, Broadcast, Online** (3) Basic print reporting techniques, broadcast field reporting, computer assisted reporting and statistics. Social responsibility and ethical framework for new media journalists.
- **JOUR 505—American Media History Seminar** (3) A seminar surveying the history of the news media in the United States, and their sociopolitical impact, with emphasis on the 20th century.
- **JOUR 560—Seminar in Mass Communication Law** (3) Analysis of major elements of mass communication law, legal issues in contemporary mass communication, and the impact of legal trends on professional journalists.

Broadcast Journalism students must also complete:

- **JOUR 517—Advanced Investigative Reporting** (3) Advanced reportorial and analytical skills and techniques required for evaluating newsworthy events. Group research and publication of stories on important current topics.
- **JOUR 521—Broadcast Documentary** (3) Preproduction of the television documentary; ethical problems, research, reporting, interviewing, writing, legal issues, economics, aesthetics. Problems of balanced presentation, selection of topics.

OR

- **JOUR 526—Advanced Broadcast News Production** (3) Production of television news programs; preparation and treatment of form and content; procedures, problems and practice in planning and producing broadcast news materials.

Broadcast students electing the Comprehensive Examination Option must also complete 16 units of approved elective courses. Students electing the Thesis Option are required to enroll in JOUR 594ab (2–2 units) and must complete 12 units of approved elective courses.

Print Journalism students must also complete:

- **JOUR 517—Advanced Investigative Reporting** (3) Advanced reportorial and analytical skills and techniques required for evaluating newsworthy events. Group research and publication of stories on important current topics.

Print students electing the Comprehensive Examination Option must also complete 19 units of approved elective courses. Students electing the Thesis Option are required to enroll in JOUR 594ab (2–2 units) and must complete 15 units of approved elective courses.

Online Journalism students must also complete:

- **JOUR 551—Intermediate Online Publishing** (3) Advanced concepts in online publishing; focus on databases, editing, scripting and authoring applications for news Web sites.
- **JOUR 555—Multimedia and Graphics in Online Publishing** (3) Focuses on the process of creating multimedia, images and graphics for news storytelling on the Web; integration of interactive content, animation and video.
- **JOUR 556—Online Journalism Seminar** (3) Writing and reporting for the Internet and other technology platforms; computer-assisted reporting; multimedia storytelling.

Online students electing the Comprehensive Examination Option must also complete 13 units of approved elective courses. Students electing the Thesis Option are required to enroll in JOUR 594ab (2–2 units) and must complete 9 units of approved elective courses.

University of Southern California, Annenberg School for Communication. "Master's Programs." http://annenberg.usc.edu/Prospective/Masters/Journalism/Reqs.aspx (accessed December 22, 2008). Reprinted with permission.

Journalism White Papers on Changes in Education and Media

Joseph Pulitzer—"The College of Journalism" (North American Review, *May 1904)*

Introduction

Joseph Pulitzer, a respected newspaper publisher, gave the founding gift for The Journalism School at Columbia University in 1903. At the time, there were no graduate schools of journalism anywhere in the United States, and many in the field could not see the educational merit of such an endeavor. Horace White, a prominent editor, soon wrote a mocking article in *North American Review* that made the case against the need for Columbia's Journalism School or any other that might follow. Pulitzer's May 1904 rebuttal in the same publication became what Columbia's current dean, Nicholas Lemann, called "an eloquent and heartfelt manifesto" for the school and journalism schools in general.

Pulitzer's reply begins by countering White's notion that great journalists are products, for the most part, of *nature* rather than *nurture*—"born, not made." The writer systematically refutes White's claim that fine journalism stems primarily from fortunate gifts obtained at birth. He argues that the aptitude to sniff out the news, a heightened social conscience, and the moral courage to go after the dangerous or unpopular story can more readily be gained through specialized journalism classes and experience than simply via good genes. He also responds to the belief, still alive today, that journalism is best learned in the newspaper office or through undergraduate coursework in subjects like composition, political science, and history.

Pulitzer eventually takes a prescient look at what kinds of classes the graduate journalism schools might offer and who should teach them. In the article, he envisions a faculty of experienced, still-active journalists of high moral character with a love of teaching. They teach journalistic style and principles, ethics, relevant literature, statistics and economics, the power of ideas, the law as it applies to journalism, and much more. Above all they preach the concept that this work in journalism is geared to serve the community, the public good, and not just for the sake of commerce.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

Joseph Pulitzer—"The College of Journalism"

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW No. DLXX.
MAY, 1904.
THE COLLEGE OF JOURNALISM.

A Review of Criticisms and Objections—Reflections Upon the Power, the Progress and the Prejudices of the Press—Why Specialized Concentration and Education at College Would Improve the Character and Work of Journalists and So Promote the Welfare of the Republic.

"*The man who writes, the man who month in and month out, week in and week out, day in and day out, furnishes the material which is to shape the thoughts of our people, is essentially the man*

who more than any other determines the character of the people and the kind of government this people shall possess." —PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, *April 7, 1904.*

BY JOSEPH PULITZER.

The editor of the *North American Review* has asked me to reply to an article recently printed in its pages criticising the College of Journalism which it has been my pleasure to found and permanently to endow in Columbia University. In complying with his request I have enlarged the scope of the reply to include all other criticisms and misgivings, many honest, some shallow, some based on misunderstanding, but the most representing only prejudice and ignorance. If my comment upon these criticisms shall seem to be diffuse and perhaps repetitious, my apology is that—alas!—I am compelled to write by voice, not by pen, and to revise the proofs by ear, not by eye—a somewhat difficult task. Some of my critics have called my scheme "visionary." If it be so I can at least plead that it is a vision I have cherished long, thought upon deeply and followed persistently. Twelve years ago I submitted the idea to President Low of Columbia, when it was declined. I have ever since continued to perfect and organize the scheme in my mind, until it is now accepted. In examining the criticisms and misgivings I have endeavored to do so without prejudice, anxious only to find the truth. I admit that the difficulties are many, but after weighing them all impartially I am more firmly convinced than ever of the ultimate success of the idea. Before the century closes schools of journalism will be generally accepted as a feature of specialized higher education, like schools of law or of medicine.

And now for our critics and objectors:

Must a Journalist Be "Born?"

They object, the critics and cavillers, that a "newspaper man" must depend solely upon natural aptitude, or, in the common phrase, that he must be "born, not made."

Perhaps the critics can name some great editor, born full-winged like Mercury, the messenger of the gods? I know of none The only position that occurs to me which a man in our Republic can successfully fill by the simple fact of birth is that of an idiot. Is there any other position for which a man does not demand and receive training—training at home, training in schools and colleges, training by master craftsmen, or training through bitter experience—through the burns that make the child dread the fire, through blunders costly to the aspirant?

This last is the process by which the profession of journalism at present obtains its recruits. It works by natural selection and the survival of the fittest, and its failures are strewn along the wayside.

The "born editor" who has succeeded greatly without special preparation is simply a man with unusual ability and aptitude for his chosen profession, with great power of concentration and sustained effort. He is one who loves his work and puts his whole heart and mind into it. He is in the strictest sense an educated man, but he has merely substituted *self*-education for education by others, making up for any deficiencies in his training by the unreserved sacrifice of strength, energy and pleasure. Even in his case might it not be an advantage to have a system of instruction that would give him the same results at a saving of much time and labor?

Education begins in the cradle, at home, with a mother's teaching, and is continued by other influences through life. A college is one of those influences—useful, but with no magical power. A fool trailing an alphabet of degrees after his name is still a fool, and a genius, if necessary, will make his own college, although with a painful waste of effort which might be better reserved for productive work. I seem to remember that Lincoln, whose academy was a borrowed book read by the light of a pine-knot on the hearth, studied Euclid in Congress when nearly forty. But would it not have been better if that work had been done at fourteen?

All intelligence requires development. The highest profits by it; the lowest is helpless without it. Shakespeare's best play, "Hamlet," was not his first, but his nineteenth, written after growth and maturity—after the hard work, the experience, the exercise of faculties and the accumulation of knowledge gained by writing eighteen plays. As Shakespeare was a "born" genius why did he not write "Hamlet" first?

John Stuart Mill had natural talents, but they were strained to the last possible limit of accomplishment by a course of early training that was

not only thorough but inhuman. His father was his college—a great college, better than any in England. Like Mill, Herbert Spencer, Buckle, Huxley, Tyndall, and Lewes were without college education, but their mental discipline was most severe. Cobden was undoubtedly a genius born, but if we compare his original style—turgid, clumsy—with the masterly clearness and force of his trained maturity, can we doubt that his brain was developed by the hardest work, just as Sandow's muscles were developed?

Of course in every field natural aptitude is the key to success. When the experiment was tried of turning Whistler into a disciplined soldier, even West Point had to lay down its arms. Your sawmill may have all the modern improvements, but it will not make a pine board out of a basswood log. No college can create a good lawyer without a legal mind to work on, nor make a successful doctor of a young man whom nature designed to sell tape. Talleyrand took holy orders, but they did not turn him into a holy man.

The great general, even more than the great editor, is supposed to be born, not made. The picturesque historian tells us that he "fell like a thunderbolt upon the enemy," and we imagine a miracle-working magician. But the truth is, that the brilliant general is simply a man who has learned how to apply skilfully the natural laws of force, and who has the nerve to act on his knowledge. Hannibal, the greatest of all in my opinion, is called a typical example of native military genius. But can we forget that he was the son and pupil of Hamilcar, the ablest soldier of his generation, born in the camp, never outside the military atmosphere, sworn in earliest boyhood to war and hatred of Rome and endowed by his father with all the military knowledge that the experience of antiquity could give? He was educated. In his father he had a military college to himself. Can we think of Napoleon without remembering that he had the best military education of his time at the college of Brienne, and that he was always an eager student of the great campaigns of history? Frederick the Great lost his head in his first battle. It took him years to learn his trade and finally to surpass his instructors. There is not a cadet at any military school who is not expected as a necessary part of his professional preparation to study every important battle on record — to learn how it was found what mistakes were committed on each side, and how it was won.

Every issue of a newspaper represents a battle—a battle for excellence. When the editor reads it and compares it with his rivals he knows that he has scored a victory or suffered a defeat. Might not the study of the most notable of these battles of the press be as useful to the student of journalism as is the study in military battles to the student of war?

News Instinct—Natural or Cultivated.

They object that news instinct must he born.

Certainly. But however great a gift, if news instinct as born were turned loose in any newspaper office in New York without the control of sound judgment bred by considerable experience and training, the results would be much more pleasing to the lawyers than to the editor. One of the chief difficulties in journalism now is to keep the news instinct from running rampant over the restraints of accuracy and conscience. And if "a nose for news" is born in the cradle, does not the instinct, like other great qualities, need development by teaching, by training, by practical object-lessons illustrating the good and the bad, the Right and the Wrong, the popular and the unpopular, the things that succeed and the things that fail, and above all the things that deserve to succeed, and the things that do not—not the things only that make circulation for to-day, but the things that make character and influence and public confidence?

Can Conscience Be Developed?

"Of the ends to be kept in view by the legislator, all are unimportant compared to the end of 'character - making.' This alone is national education."

—Herbert Spencer.

They object that moral character, like news instinct, cannot be made, but must be born. This is a very serious objection, for to me an editor without moral character has nothing. But is it entirely true? Have not the critics themselves reached their present moral altitude by degrees? Training cannot create temperament, I admit, nor

perhaps radically change it; but is not conscience different from temperament? Is it not largely a question of education? May it not be considered more an acquired than an inherited or inherent quality? Is there not some reason to believe that conscience is largely a question of climate and geography? As Macaulay said: "Child murder in London leads to the scaffold; on the Ganges it is an honored religious sacrifice." A Hindu widow who burned herself to death on her husband's funeral pyre was performing the highest duty imposed by her moral sense. The English regarded her sacrifice as not only a crime, but the act of an incredible fool, and suppressed it in callous disregard of the protests of her shocked conscience.

Many an English or American married woman not only regards widowhood without any of those feelings of honor that led her Hindu sister to cut it short on the funeral pile—she often anticipates it by the help of the divorce courts, and enjoys the pleasing sensation of being the legal widow of more than one man at the same time. The missionary feels no profounder complacency in converting the cannibal than the cannibal feels in eating the missionary. A Kentucky mountaineer will commit murder, but he will not steal; a ward politician will often steal, but he will not, as a rule, commit murder. In Turkey a man may with a clear conscience have several wives; in Tibet a woman may have several husbands; in America nobody may have more than one husband or wife in good legal standing at a time. If George Washington had been kidnapped in infancy and reared by thieves in a slum, with a thief for his only instructor, instead of the devout mother who trained him in morals and religion, is it likely that he would have grown up the Washington whom we love and revere as the father of his country?

Can Moral Courage Be Taught?

They object that moral courage cannot be taught. Very true. I admit that it is the hardest thing in the world to teach. But may we not be encouraged by the reflection that physical courage is taught? It is not to be supposed that every young man who enters West Point or Annapolis, Brienne, St. Cyr or Sandhurst is a born hero. Yet the student at any of these schools is so drilled, hammered and braced in the direction of courage that by the time he graduates it is morally certain that when he takes his men under fire for the first time he will not flinch. Pride and the spirit of emulation can make masses of men do, what even a hero would not venture to do alone. Is it likely that Napoleon himself would have charged in solitary grandeur across the bridge at Lodi if there had been no one to see him do it? Or would Pickett's brigade at Gettysburg have gone forward to destruction if every man in it had not been lifted out of himself by the feeling that he and his comrades were all doing a heroic thing together—a thing in which he simply could not do less than the rest?

If such things can be done for physical courage, why not for moral courage? If the mind can be taught to expose the body fearlessly to wounds and death, cannot the soul be taught to cling to its convictions against temptation, prejudice, obloquy and persecution? Moral courage is developed by experience and by teaching. Every successful exercise of it makes the next easier. The editor is often confronted by an apparent dilemma—either to yield to a popular passion that he feels to be wrong or to risk the consequences of unpopularity. Adherence to convictions can and should be taught by precept and example as not only high principle but sound policy. Might not a hundred concrete examples of inflexible devotion to the right serve as a moral tonic to the student?

Must Journalism Be Learned in the Office?

They object that such making as a newspaper man needs after he has been successfully born can be done only in the actual practice of the office, or "shop."

What is the actual practice of the office? It is not intentional, but only incidental training—it is not apprenticeship—it is work, in which every participant is supposed to know his business. Nobody in a newspaper office has the time or the inclination to teach a raw reporter the things he ought to know before taking up even the humblest work of the journalist. That is not what editors are doing. One of the learned critics remarks that Greeley took young Raymond in hand and hammered him into a great editor. True. But was it not an expensive process, as well as an unusual one—the most distinguished newspaper-maker of his time turning

himself into a College of Journalism for the benefit of a single pupil? Suppose a man of half Greeley's capacity, set free from the exhausting labors and the harassing perplexities of creating a newspaper every day—relieved from the necessity of correcting the blunders of subordinates, of watching to prevent the perpetration of more blunders and able to concentrate his whole heart and soul upon training his pupils—might he not be able to turn out, not one Raymond, but forty?

Incidentally, I venture to mention that in my own experience as a newspaper reporter and editor I never had one single lesson from anybody.

The "shop" idea is the one that used to prevail in the law and in medicine. Legal studies began by copying bills of costs for the country lawyer; medical training by sweeping out a doctor's office. Now it is recognized that better results are obtained by starting with a systematic equipment in a professional school. The lawyer learns nothing at college except the theory of the law, its principles and some precedents. When he receives his diploma he is quite unprepared to practise. Nor does the doctor learn to practise at the medical school. He learns only principles, theories, rules, the experience of others—the foundation of his profession. After leaving college he must work in the hospitals to acquire the art of practically applying his knowledge.

In journalism at present the newspaper offices are the hospitals, but the students come to them knowing nothing of principles or theories. The newspaper hospital is extremely accommodating. It furnishes the patients for its young men to practise on, puts dissecting-knives into the hands of beginners who do not know an artery from a vermiform appendix, and pays them for the blunders by which they gradually teach themselves their profession. We may sympathize with the students in their industrious efforts at self-education, but may we not also sympathize with the unfortunate editor who has to work with such incompetent instruments?

Is a New College Superfluous?

"To rear up minds with aspirations and faculties above the herd, capable of leading on their countrymen to greater achievement in virtue, intelligence and general well-being, these are the ends for which endowed universities are desirable; they are those which all endowed universities profess to aim at, and great is their disgrace if, having undertaken this task and claiming credit for fulfilling it, they leave it unfulfilled."

—John Stuart Mill.

They object that even if a college education be desirable, everything needed is already provided in the existing colleges and no special department is required.

This criticism appears to have some force. It is possible that it may be advanced with sincerity by intelligent newspaper men who know nothing of colleges, or by intelligent college men who know nothing of newspapers. But it is superficial. It is true that many of the subjects needed for the general education of a journalist are already covered in college. But they are too much covered. The student of journalism may find one course in a law school, another in a graduate school of political science, another, at the same hour, in an undergraduate class at college, and another in a department of literature.

A young man of very remarkable gifts—enough to enable him to educate himself without the help of a college—might be able to make from the catalogue a selection of courses which would appear on paper to be a very fair curriculum. It would perhaps be adequate if he could keep the studies from conflicting in hours, which he could not, and if at twenty years of age he already possessed that knowledge of the requirements of his chosen profession which I feel that twice twenty years' experience and hard work in my profession have not given me.

But after this wonderful young man has made out his list of studies he will be doomed to disappointment. The courses in history, in law, in political science and the rest will not be what he really needs as a specialist in journalism. They will give him only a fraction of the knowledge he requires on those subjects, and they will swamp that fraction in a flood of details of which he can make no use. To fit these courses to his purpose they must be remodelled and specialized. Modern industry looks sharply after its by-products. In silver-mining, gold is sometimes found as a by-product exceeding the value of the silver. So in general university courses we may find by-products

that would meet the needs of the journalist. Why not divert, deflect, extract, concentrate, *specialize them for the journalist as a specialist*?

The spirit of specialization is everywhere. The lawyer is a real-estate lawyer, or a criminal lawyer, or a corporation lawyer, or possibly a criminal-corporation lawyer. Formerly the family physician treated every ailment; now there are specialists for the eye, the ear, the throat, the teeth; for men, for women, for children; even for imaginary diseases; for every possible variety of practice. And there is specialization in the newspaper offices themselves. The editor of a New York paper confined to the editorial page is as much surprised as the reader when in the morning he reads the news columns. The news editor does not know what editorials there will be; the musical critic could not write of sporting events; the man with the priceless sense of humor could not record and interpret the movements of the stock-market. The men in all these fields are specialists. The object of the College of Journalism will be to dig through this general scheme intended to cover every possible career or work in life, every profession, to select and concentrate only upon the things which the journalist wants, and not to waste time on things that he does not want.

Class Distinctions—Why Not?

They object that a College of Journalism would establish class distinctions in the profession—an invidious distinction of the few who had received the benefits of a collegiate training against the many who had not enjoyed this advantage. I sincerely hope it will create a class distinction between the fit and the unfit. We need a class feeling among journalists—one based not upon money, but upon morals, education and character.

There are still a few places in which money is not everything, and they are those in which men are joined by a bond of honorable association. The cadet at West Point is taught honor and pride in his profession. He knows that none of his comrades will lie or cheat or do anything unworthy of a gentleman, and the pleasure he feels in such associations fully compensates for his ridiculously small income. He sees thousands of vulgar people, much more prosperous than himself, living in much greater luxury, yet he would not change his life and his social circle for theirs. May we not hope that a similar education will in the future create a similar corps feeling among journalists—the same pride in the profession, the same determination to do nothing "unbecoming an officer and a gentleman"? Why not?

The journalist has a position that is all his own, He alone has the privilege of moulding the opinion, touching the hearts and appealing to the reason of hundreds of thousands every day. Here is the most fascinating of all professions. The soldier may wait forty years for his opportunity. Most lawyers, most physicians, most clergymen die in obscurity, but every single day opens new doors for the journalist who holds the confidence of the community and has the capacity to address it.

But as yet the journalist works alone. If he is a college graduate he goes to his college club as a graduate, not as a journalist. He never speaks of another journalist as "my colleague," as the lawyer or the physician does of his professional brother. He hardly ever meets other journalists socially, in any numbers. But if the future editors of the city were in large proportion graduates of the same college and had a recognized professional meeting-place in which they could come together informally and discuss matters of common interest, would they not eventually develop a professional pride that would enable them to work in concert for the public good and that would put any black sheep of the profession in a very uncomfortable position? Such a spirit would be the surest guaranty against the control of the press by powerful financial interests—not an imaginary danger by any means.

If such a class spirit existed, no editor who had degraded himself by becoming the hireling of any Wall Street king or ring would dare to face his colleagues. He would be too conscious of having been false to his better nature, and equally false to the traditions of his college and of his profession. It would be impossible then for any Huntington or Gould of the next generation to buy up newspapers—a thing easily feasible where hundreds of millions are at stake, unless there is a strong feeling of class pride and principle to prevent it. The knowledge that a reputable journalist would refuse to edit any paper that represented private interest against the public good would be enough of itself to discourage such an enterprise. Such a refusal would be as severe a blow to public confidence in the newspaper as the rejection of a brief by a high-minded lawyer is to the standing of a case in court.

No, there is nothing to fear in class distinctions founded on moral and mental superiority—on education and knowledge. We need more such classes, in the presence of the prevailing mania for mere money-making. The million of teachers form a class of this kind, with small pay, but with the consciousness of pursuing a noble profession. Such distinctions are especially necessary in a republic which has discarded everything in the way of rank and title and left personal merit the only thing that can dispute the worship of wealth.

Has the Experiment Been Tried?

They object that schools of journalism have been tried and have failed. This is very shallow, and while technically true is practically untrue. There are persons occupying desk room in grimy offices who advertise to make journalists to order. There are more pretentious "correspondence schools" which tell, no doubt correctly, how to read proof and prepare copy for the press. And there have even been certain courses of lectures in colleges and universities of standing, in which gentlemen of more or less experience in journalism have expressed some general ideas about the requirements of the profession. This thus far has been the Lilliputian limit of effort in the direction of a university training for journalism.

So far as these could have any effect at all it would be in the direction of convincing the student that he would do better to choose some other profession. One lecturer, who is an exceedingly successful and able magazine editor, devoted his time to explaining the value of fiction and the "market" for short stories. He treated newspapers solely from the commercial point of view, and never once referred to their ethical side. Another gentleman, whose ability I greatly admire and who ought to understand his subject, alleged that a young man could make more money in the law than in journalism, and ventured the surprising assertion that a reporter earns only $20 a week. Thus at the very start he chilled the enthusiasm of young men of talent who would have been attracted if they had known that they could win more prompt and more substantial pay as beginners in journalism than in any other profession.

Something has been said of a so-called school of journalism in London, which is compared with the proposed institution at Columbia. I do not wish to disparage the London school, but it has about ten boys—not college students, just schoolboys—and its whole endowment is one travelling scholarship. I may mention incidentally that there will be five travelling scholarships at Columbia. To compare a boys' school or a few desultory courses of lectures with a college amply and permanently endowed and equipped in a great university is preposterous. Instruction in journalism has never yet had a fair chance to show what it can do. The new institution will be the first experiment of its kind.

How Will Teachers Be Found?

They object that competent teachers, without whom the most ingenious plans of instruction must fail, are not to be found. I confess that this is the greatest, gravest, difficulty and danger. Like any college, we must have in the first place a combination of the highest character and capacity, with love of and aptitude for teaching. Even this is no small thing to ask, as the difficulty of the colleges in finding suitable professors may warn us. But we need something beyond and much rarer than this. Teachers of journalism should also be experienced editors. But how are we to lure a truly able editor from the active work of the profession in which there is such splendid scope for his powers and such eager competition for his services while he is in the prime of life?

The difficulty of drawing the right men from active service suggests the possibility that it may be necessary to fall back upon retired editors, who can no longer take part in the strenuous newspaper life. But my hope is that the whole profession will see in this situation an appeal to its honor and its pride. I hope that the very difficulty of the problem will prove its own solution, by enlisting the sympathetic interest and aid of the men of power and of energy who would not waste their time on work that others could do. These men could not shirk the responsibilities of leadership if they would, nor do I believe they would if they could.

The greatest painters of Paris visit the art schools and criticise the work of the pupils. The masters of the New York bar give lectures in the law schools. The most famous physicians teach in the medical colleges. Why should the greatest editors not have an equally unselfish pride in and love

of their own profession? Upon their generous sympathy and aid will depend the success of the experiment.

Nor need we confine our search to journalists. Historians like McMaster, Wilson and Rhodes; college presidents like Eliot, Hadley and Angell; judges like Fuller, Brewer and Gray—could help the work with lectures and suggestions. It is nothing new for a justice of the Supreme Court to lecture in college. Justice Story did it at Harvard, Justice Field did it at the University of California, Justices Harlan and Brewer do it now at the Columbian University at Washington. Even ex-Presidents have not thought such work belittling. Harrison lectured at Stanford and Cleveland at Princeton. And surely the greatest minds of the nation must realize how indissolubly a pure republic is linked with an upright press. National pride will, I fully trust, constrain them to do what they can for the elevation of an agency by which the destinies of the Union are so profoundly affected for good or for evil.

Things Unteachable.

"Our task is improved exactly as we improve our judgment by extending our knowledge, by a steady attention to one object, and by frequent exercise."

—BURKE *on "The Sublime and Beautiful."*

They object that there are some things that a College of Journalism cannot teach. I admit it. No college can give imagination, initiative, impulses, enthusiasm, a sense of humor or irony. These things must be inborn. But would not such inborn qualities be developed and strengthened in the atmosphere of the proposed college? Is not the development of such inborn qualities seen everywhere in intellectual life? The poet, it is true, is born, not made. That is also true of a great orator and a great painter.

But does not the great poet indicate and cultivate his inborn genius by instinctively devouring, even as a child, all the poetry he can procure? Keats wrote: "I long to feast upon old Homer as we have upon Shakespeare and as I have lately upon Milton." Did not such orators as Demosthenes, Cicero, Burke and Webster declaim the masterpieces of oratory and rhetoric? Did not Van Dyck and every other great painter benefit by the careful study of the work of their great predecessors in art? And with these facts in mind may we not hope that the student at Columbia, living in an atmosphere of journalism, with the highest examples and ideals of journalism constantly before him, will bring to the highest efficiency whatever dormant or inborn faculty he may possess? It seems to me that the more conclusively the critics prove certain things to be unteachable the more they prove the necessity of teaching everything possible that *is* teachable.

This is all that any education can do, and it is enough. Education is development, not creation. If its value depended upon its ability to bring mental qualities into existence from nothing, every educational institution from the kindergarten to the university would have to close its doors, and every educator would be out of employment.

In short, does not every mental worker, whether creative or imitative, try to steep himself in the atmosphere of his work? And is it not reasonable to suppose that our student would gain some advantage from living and working for some years in the atmosphere of journalistic training?

Does It Come From the Wrong Source?

Finally, as if all these criticisms were not crushing enough, they object that even if this endowment be needed I am not the right man to give it. I fully realize the force of this argument, and I am ready cheerfully to retire in favor of any critic who will relieve me. I volunteered in the first place simply because there was a need which nobody else appeared anxious to meet. No pride of priority will deter me from giving way to a more suitable candidate. They also object that I have proved a college course in journalism to be unnecessary by succeeding without one. Perhaps I may be permitted to judge of that. It is ingenious to use me as a club against my own plan. If I have had any success it has been because I never, so far as my individual work and pleasure are concerned, regarded journalism as a business. From my first hour's work, through a period of nearly forty years, I have regarded journalism not only as a profession, but as the noblest of all professions. I have always felt that I was in touch with the public mind and

ought to do some good every day. Perhaps I have failed, but it has not been for lack of effort.

What Should *Not* Be Taught.

"The journalist's opportunity is beyond estimate. To him are given the keys of every study, the entry to every family, the ear of every citizen when at ease and in his most receptive moods—powers of approach and of persuasion beyond those of the Protestant pastor or the Catholic confessor. He is by no means a prophet, but, reverently be it said; he is a voice in the wilderness preparing the way. He is by no means a priest, but his words carry wider and further than the priest's, and he preaches the gospel of humanity. He is not a king, but he nurtures and trains the king, and the land is ruled by the public opinion he evokes and shapes. If you value this good land the Lord has given us, if you would have a soul in this marvellous civilization and lifting power of humanity, look well to the nurture and training of your king."

—Hon. Whitelaw Reid.

Not to teach typesetting, not to explain the methods of business management, not to reproduce with trivial variations the course of a commercial college. This is not university work. It needs no endowment. It is the idea of work for the community, not commerce, not for one's self, but primarily for the public, that needs to be taught. The School of Journalism is to be, in my conception, not only not commercial, but anti-commercial. It is to exalt principle, knowledge, culture, at the expense of business if need be. It is to set up ideals, to keep the counting-room in its proper place, and to make the soul of the editor the soul of the paper. Incidentally I may say that I have never spent an hour in any publication office either of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* or the *World*, though I managed to establish both these journals and still own them.

In the proposed course of study, drawn up with admirable quickness by President Eliot and widely discussed as if it had been definitely adopted, Dr. Eliot included instruction in the business administration of a newspaper. He mentioned specifically circulation, advertising, manufacture and finance.

My own ideas upon many parts of the course of study are still uncertain, but upon this one point they are very decided. I am sure that, if my wishes are to be considered, business instruction of any sort should not, would not and must not form any part of the work of the College of Journalism.

The course of instruction will be decided by the Advisory Board, which is not yet appointed, acting in conjunction with the authorities of the university.

The course outlined was made in a private letter of President Eliot, and was stated when published to be merely tentative. In spite of this explanation many newspapers based their comment and criticism upon it as an accepted fact. I have the greatest admiration for the extraordinary genius and character of the president of Harvard, but nothing was further from my mind—nothing, in fact, is more inconsistent and incompatible with my intentions or repugnant to my feelings—than to include any of the business or commercial elements of a newspaper in what is to be taught in this department of Columbia College.

What is a College of Journalism? It is an institution to train journalists. What is a journalist? Not any business manager or publisher, or even proprietor. A journalist is the lookout on the bridge of the ship of state. He notes the passing sail, the little things of interest that dot the horizon in fine weather. He reports the drifting castaway whom the ship can save. He peers through fog and storm to give warning of dangers ahead. He is not thinking of his wages, or of the profits of his owners. He is there to watch over the safety and the welfare of the people who trust him.

Few men in the business office of a newspaper know anything about the principles of journalism. The proprietor himself is not necessarily a journalist. He may be, if he is capable of understanding public questions, of weighing public interests, of carrying out public tasks; if he is in touch with public feeling, realizes public duties, is in sympathy with the public welfare, and is capable of presenting his ideas to the people, either by his own pen or by the pens of others. But it is quite conceivable that some proprietors are deficient in these points.

My hope is that this College of Journalism will raise the standard of the editorial profession. But to do this it must mark the distinction between real journalists and men who do a kind of newspaper work that requires neither culture nor conviction, but merely business training. I wish to begin a movement that will raise journalism to the rank of

a learned profession, growing in the respect of the community as other professions far less important to the public interests have grown.

There is an obvious difference between a business and a profession. An editor, an editorial writer or a correspondent is not in business. Nor is even a capable reporter. These men are already in a profession, though they may not admit it, or even realize it, as many of them unhappily do not. Ill or well, they represent authorship, and authorship is a profession.

The man in the counting-room of a newspaper is in the newspaper business. He concentrates his brain (quite legitimately) upon the commercial aspects of things, upon the margin of profit, upon the reduction of expenses, upon buying white paper and selling it printed—and that is business. But a man who has the advantage, honor and pleasure of addressing the public every day as a writer or thinker is a professional man. So, of course, is he who directs these writers and reporters, who tells them what to say and how to say it, who shows them how to think—who inspires them, though he may never write a line himself, and decides what the principles of the paper shall be. For example, the greatest editor in the whole history of European journalism, John Delane, never wrote any articles of his own, although for thirty-six years he was the head, the heart, the brain of the *London Times*. But he directed every writer, he furnished the thought, the policy, the initiative; he bore the responsibility, and he corrected both manuscript and proofs.

In this relation perhaps it may be interesting to note that Delane studied law and was admitted to the bar before he became its editor at the age of twenty-four. But it was without any intention of practising. His father, who was a lawyer for the *Times,* destined him for its service from his boyhood, and he joined its staff as a reporter soon after passing his legal examinations. Delane, with his editorial revision, elimination and substitution, was like some of the great old painters, who seem to have much of their work, measured by mere bulk, done for them by pupils. Rubens, or Van Dyck, or Raphael furnished the idea, the design, the composition, in an original drawing; the pupils did the drudgery of execution. Then the artist added the finishing touches that lifted the picture to the rank of a masterpiece. Only in that way could the enormous output ascribed to those masters have been produced. So it was with Delane, and so it is with every editor who knows how to make the most of his powers.

That a newspaper, however great as a public institution and a public teacher, must also be a business is not to be denied, but there is nothing exceptional in this. Elements of business, of economy, of income and outgo, are in the government of the city, the State, the nation, in art, in every school, in every college, in every university, indeed, in every church. But a bishop, even though he receives pay for his work, is not regarded as a business man; nor is a great artist, though he charges the highest possible price for his paintings and dies as rich as Meissonier or Rubens. Many distinguished lawyers, such as Mr. Tilden—one of the greatest—were shrewd business men, able probably to outwit the majority of publishers, yet they were rightly considered members of a learned profession.

George Washington had extraordinary business capacity. By intelligent economy, method, sound judgment and the closest attention to details he accumulated the greatest American fortune of his time. Yet when he was called to serve the country in the field he did it without a salary. At Mount Vernon he was a business man; in history he is a soldier, a statesman and the father of his country.

To sum up, the banker or broker, the baker or the candlestick-maker is in business—in trade. But the artist, the statesman, the thinker, the writer—all who are in touch with the public taste and mind, whose thoughts reach beyond their own livelihood to some common interest—are in professions.

Dangers of Plutocracy and Demagogy.

"*Our improvement is in proportion to our purpose.*"

—Marcus Aurelius.

Nothing less than the highest ideals, the most scrupulous anxiety to do right, the most accurate knowledge of the problems it has to meet, and a sincere sense of its moral responsibility will save journalism from subservience to business interests, seeking selfish ends, antagonistic to the public welfare. For instance, Jay Gould once owned the

principal Democratic newspaper of America. He had obtained it from Col. "Tom" Scott in a trade for the Texas Pacific Railroad, and I was fortunate enough to be able to relieve him of his unprofitable burden. C. P. Huntington bought a New York newspaper and turned it into a Democratic organ, he himself, like Gould, being an ardent Republican. He hoped in this way to influence Mr. Cleveland's administration and the Democrats in Congress against making the Pacific railroads pay their debts of about $120,000,000 to the Government. Incidentally he testified under oath that his journalistic experiment cost him over a million dollars, although his newspaper was so obscure that its utterances were hardly more than soliloquies. Mr. Huntington did somehow succeed in delaying for a number of years the enforcement of the Treasury's claims. More dangerous, however, than the plutocratic control of newspapers for sordid private ends is their control by demagogues nor ambitious, selfish ends. The people know, with unerring instinct, when a newspaper is devoted to private rather than to public interests; and their refusal to buy it limits its capacity for harm. But when a demagogic agitator appeals to "the masses" against "the classes" and poses as the ardent friend of the people against their "oppressors," assailing law and order and property as a means of gaining followers among the discontented and unthinking, the newspaper becomes a dangerous power for evil. Especially is this true when money is freely used to mislead the people.

Commercialism has a legitimate place in a newspaper, namely, in the business office. The more successful a newspaper is commercially, the better for its moral side. The more prosperous it is, the more independent it can afford to be, the higher salaries it can pay to editors and reporters, the less subject it will be to temptation, the better it can stand losses for the sake of principle and conviction. But commercialism, which is proper and necessary in the business office, becomes a degradation and a danger when it invades the editorial rooms. Once let the public come to regard the press as exclusively a commercial business and there is an end of its moral power. Influence cannot exist without public confidence. And that confidence must have a human basis. It must rest in the end on the character of the journalist. The editor, the real "journalist" of the future, must be a man of such known integrity that he will be above the suspicion of writing or editing against his convictions. He must be known as one who would resign rather than sacrifice his principles to any business interest. It would be well if the editor of every newspaper were also its proprietor, but every editor can be at least the proprietor of himself. If he cannot keep the paper from degrading itself, he can refuse to be a party to the degradation.

By far the larger part of the American press is honest, although partisan. It means to do right; it would like to know how. To strengthen its resolution and give to its wisdom the indispensable basis of knowledge and independence is the object of training in journalism.

The March of Progress.

"I know but two ways by which society can be governed: the one is by Public Opinion, the other by the Sword."

—MACAULAY.

In an interesting review of its seventy years of life, the New York *Sun* estimated the total circulation of the six morning papers existing in New York at its birth at 18,000 copies a day. Since then four of these six journals have died, and the *Tribune, Times, Herald* and *World* have been born.

To-day the New York morning papers alone print more than a million copies of every issue. At least 1,500,000 copies more are added every working-day by the evening papers which seventy years ago did not exist. In other words, for every New York newspaper sold in 1833, 140 are sold now to fourteen times as many people. Where there used to be nearly three families to every newspaper, there are now over three newspapers to every family.

There are men now living whose memories can bridge that gap of seventy years. In 1833 Andrew Jackson was President. The entire United States had less than the present population of the States of New York and Pennsylvania, and far less wealth than is concentrated to-day within half a mile of Trinity Church. There was not an American settlement west of the Missouri, and the few cabins were the only marks of civilization on the site of Chicago. New York City was smaller than Detroit is now. Washington was a swamp in which coaches were

mired down and abandoned on Pennsylvania Avenue, and cows grazed on the site of the British Embassy. A generation had passed since Jackson had resigned his seat in the Senate because it took him nearly six weeks to make the journey between Philadelphia, then the capital, and his home—a longer time than it has taken within the past year to girdle the globe—but there were yet Senators who found the trip to Washington not much shorter. Still there were steamboats on the navigable rivers, and stage-coaches drawn over rails by steam-engines had just begun to astonish the inhabitants of a few favored localities. The horse was still the usual motor for high-speed traffic, and the ox or the mule the customary freight-engine. "Do Witt Clinton's ditch" across the State of New York was the commercial marvel of the age. The people of Virginia were strangers to the people of Pennsylvania, and the journey from Philadelphia to Pittsburg was longer and vastly more arduous than the journey now from Boston to the City of Mexico. The farmer reaped his grain with a scythe and cradle, and threshed it with a flail or under the feet of horses. Whale-oil lamps glimmered feebly through the darkness of the city streets. Nails were made by hand on the blacksmith's forge. In the country a calico gown was a luxury, to be worn on state occasions. Colleges were few and puny. Harvard, the most ambitious of them all, was a high school in which a few professors taught Latin, Greek, moral philosophy and a little mathematics, leading in most cases to a course in theology. There was not a single real university in America. There were no great libraries.

In the best presses of that day, and for many years after, it was necessary to feed the paper by hand, one sheet at a time, print it on one side and then feed it again and print it on the other. All the presses then in existence would not have been able to print a single edition of a leading New York newspaper of our time, such as whirls between the cylinders of a Hoe machine from endless rolls of paper at the speed of the Niagara rapids. All the paper-mills then in the country could not have met the demands of such a journal for white paper. All the news-gathering agencies in the world would have hopelessly broken down in the attempt to provide even a fraction of its present daily supply of information. Had any one suggested then that children were already born who would be still living and reading when news would be flashed from Tokyo to New York by lightning and printed before it happened—who would see on the same page despatches of the same date from India, from Siberia, from Australia, from Corea and from the sources of the Nile; that one of them in Boston could talk with his own voice to another in Omaha; that they would see newspapers printed on ships on the Atlantic containing news shot on invisible waves over a thousand miles of ocean, and that they could take breakfast in New York and dine in London a week later, he would have been treated as an eccentric "visionary."

So much for the seventy years upon which the old man can look back—what of the seventy years to which the boy can look forward?

The population of the Republic is still increasing at a rate that is more than equivalent to annexing a Canada every four years. New York promises to displace London in twenty or thirty years as the first city of the world. Nearly a million immigrants landed last year—the greatest human flood in all modern history. Electric trains have already been driven at a hundred and fifty miles an hour—as great an advance on the ordinary express train of 1904 as that has been on the stage-coach of 1833. Wireless telegraphy is in its feeble infancy, and radium is hinting of things unsuspected. The nations are drawing together. The International Postal Union and international conventions on copyrights, tariffs, arbitration and other matters of common concern are teaching them that it is as easy to cooperate as to quarrel. At the smallest rate of increase we have ever known in any census period the population of the United States would not be less than 290,000,000 in seventy years from now. Even allowing for any reasonable decline in the rate of growth it can hardly fall below 200,000,000.

We are embarked, whether we like it or not, upon a revolution in thought and life. Progress is sweeping forward with accelerating force, outstripping in decades the advance of former centuries and millenniums. All professions, all occupations but one, are keeping step with that majestic march. Its inspiration has fired all ranks of the marching army, or must we except the standard-bearers? The self-constituted leaders and enlighteners of the people—what are they doing? Standing still, lost in self-admiration, while the hosts march by? Are they even doing as well as that? Is it not a fact that the editors of seventy

years ago were, as a rule, better informed in law, politics, government and history than those of to-day? The statesmen and lawyers and political students who used to do editorial work for ambition or intellectual pleasure have ceased to frequent the newspaper offices. There is no trade so humble that it is not developing a standard of competence based on thorough training. For the more intellectual professions—law, medicine, art, architecture, music, engineering in all its varied branches—the years of preparation are stretching over ever-lengthening periods.

Is the most exacting profession of all—the one that requires the widest and the deepest knowledge and the firmest foundations of character—to be left entirely to the chances of self-education? Is the man who is everybody's critic and teacher the only one who does not need to be taught himself?

What Should Be Taught—and How?

"He (Gladstone) was never very ready to talk about himself, but when asked what he regarded as his master secret, he always said, concentration. Steady practice of instant, fixed, effectual, attention. . . ."

—JOHN MORLEY.

Style.—Everybody says that a College of Journalism must teach good English style. But what is a good style and how shall it be taught?

The importance and the rarity of a really good English style are so great that, to my own mind, this college will be worth all its cost if it shall succeed only in teaching the future generations of journalists what a wonderful art Style is and how to perfect themselves in it.

"The style is the man," said Buffon; by which he obviously meant that the best thing in any man's writing is that which is individual—giving his own thought in his own way. But the important thing is to develop the style that is the man in a manner to make it conform to the requisites of the best newspaper writing, namely, accuracy, clearness, terseness and forcefulness.

The literary art is in general very inadequately taught and very little appreciated in this country. No artist aspires to fame without a knowledge of form and color and drawing. But one has only to read the newspapers and the books without number issued from the press to perceive that many authors audaciously begin their careers without having learned to write.

In no profession is the art of writing more important than in journalism, which is daily turning out a literature—ephemeral, it is true, and in great part bad, but still the literature of the millions. Yet one style will not answer the manifold requirements of a newspaper. There must be a different style for each kind of work—polemical, descriptive, analytical, literary, satirical, expository, critical, narrative—and the mind of the editor like a trained musical ear, must be able to detect every note out of place. An argumentative editorial on the tariff must not be written in the vein that would be appropriate to a pathetic description of a mother's search for a lost child, nor must a satirical dissection of a politician resemble a report of a bankruptcy case.

But, through all the varied styles fit for use in a newspaper there runs one common feature—public interest. Whether the subject he touches be profound or trivial, the journalist must not be dull nor involved, nor hard to understand. He must know exactly what he wants to say, how to say it and—when to stop. He must have a Gallic lucidity and precision.

He must have the critical faculty, for all newspaper work involves criticism and analysis. The journalist criticises everything under the sun; his eye is always at the mental microscope and his hand on the dissecting-knife.

Acute journalists gradually fashion their own styles through observation and practice. They can never be relieved of that necessity by any attempt to fit a ready-made style to them; but may they not be helped by a course of instruction systematically explaining what journalism requires, with illustrations of good and bad work?

The Law.

"Honest and independent journalism is the mightiest force evolved by modern civilization. With all its faults—and what human institution is faultless?—it is indispensable to the life of a free people. The frontiers of the constitutional privilege of the press are as wide as human thought, and it is one of the glories of our country that its journalism, as a whole, is incorrupt, fearless and patriotic. It is the never-sleeping enemy of bigotry, sectionalism,

ignorance and crime. It deserves the freedom which our fathers gave it: It has justified itself."

—ALTON B. PARKER, *Chief Judge of the New York Court of Appeals.*

Everybody says that Law must be taught. Assuredly!—but how?

There are manifold branches of the law. International law, constitutional interpretation, the law of corporations, of contracts, of real estate, wills, patents, divorce, the criminal law and a score of other important subjects each command the almost undivided attention of legal experts who have practically become specialists.

To attempt the mastery of all phases of the law as taught in a law school would be impossible for a student of journalism. Nor is it necessary. Here again the fundamental idea underlying the entire scheme of this college, of specializing the instruction, is seen to be essential. The regular student of law must learn not merely the principles, but the practice and precedents, of his profession. But the journalist needs to know only the principles and theories of law and so much of their application as relates directly to the rights and the welfare of the public. The art of selection must be employed in separating the essential and the practical from the non-essential and the impractical.

Take the question of franchises, which has become so important to municipalities and to the country at large. Would not a series of special lectures, prepared by a competent jurist, instruct those who aim to become teachers and guardians of the people as to the nature and proper limitations of public franchises? A clear definition of the nature and responsibilities of a "common carrier" and of the reservations and conditions which it is right to impose upon corporations that seek the use of public property, like the streets of a city, for private gain, would be of great advantage to those who will be called upon to protect the public interests in the future.

There is much in the papers—and a good deal, it must be confessed, that is either ignorant or demagogic, or both—in denunciation of monopolies. How many know the fundamental fact that oppressive monopolies are abhorrent to the common law, which we inherited from England? How many know the difference between common law and statute law? President Cleveland, President Roosevelt, and even the astute Mr. Olney, thought a constitutional amendment necessary to enable Congress to forbid and punish "trusts, monopolies or other conspiracies in restraint of trade." But the Supreme Court has frequently decided, and has just reaffirmed the truth that for twelve years I maintained in my newspaper, that under the common law all these combinations are unlawful and subject to the restraint of Congress under the Constitution.

The relations of capital and labor, which present one of the greatest problems before us as a nation and one filled with potentialities of the gravest danger, and the ownership or regulation of public utilities by municipalities or by the nation, both involve many strictly legal or constitutional points. The discussion of these questions in the press is too commonly partisan, superficial or demagogic. Would it not be of great advantage to the press and the public if journalists were instructed in the basic principles of law and equity in these matters? Is it not entirely practicable to teach them the legal meaning of such phrases as "eminent domain," "vested rights," "the public welfare" (as used in the Constitution), "corporate privileges" and the like?

The writ of injunction—or "government by injunction" as it has been mischievously called—would it not be enlightening and useful if a great jurist like Justice Brewer or James C. Carter or Joseph Choate were to give to the students in the College of Journalism a history of this writ, and a dispassionate account of its uses and necessity and possible limitations in a free government?

And so of divorce—the press teems with scandals arising from the too easy sundering of marriage ties. Clergymen deplore its evils, moralists suggest impossible remedies, legislators meddle only to muddle. Would it not conduce to the enactment of a national divorce law, uniform and stringent, if the journalists of the future were impressed with the anomaly of forty-five separate and often conflicting laws of marriage and divorce in this indissoluble Union?

The fundamental things—the settled principles of law—that touch closely the life and the welfare of the people, can surely be taught in a series of lectures by eminent lawyers, aided by the standard text-books. Nearly forty years ago, preparatory to my admission to the bar in St. Louis, I not only read but *studied* Blackstone; and I have never seen the day in my whole journalistic experience when

I did not feel thankful for what I then learned of the *principles* of law.

A carefully specialized course of study, adapted to teach the student of journalism what he needs to know, and omitting the things that are not required by one who has no intention of practising law, will, it seems to me, prove to be not only wholly practicable, but in the highest degree useful. No subject is more important, for Law is the basis of Civilization, the regulator of Liberty, the safeguard of Order, the groundwork of Government, the formal expression of a nation's ideas of Justice—and Justice is the supreme test of any and all government.

Ethics.

Everybody says that ethics should be taught. But how?

I have expressed myself poorly indeed if I have not made it clear that hero is the heart of the whole matter.

Without high, ethical ideals a newspaper not only is stripped of its splendid possibilities of public service, but may become a positive danger to the community. There will naturally be a course in ethics, but training in ethical principles must not be confined to that. It must pervade all the courses. Ideals, character, professional standards not to be infringed without shame, a sense of honor which, as Burke said of the totally undeserving French noblesse, feels a stain like a wound: these will be the motif of the whole institution, never forgotten even in its most practical work.

News is important—it is the very life of a paper. But what is life without character? What is the life of a nation or of an individual without honor, without heart and soul?

Above knowledge, above news, above intelligence, the heart and soul of a paper lie in its moral sense, in its courage, its integrity, its humanity, its sympathy for the oppressed, its independence, its devotion to the public welfare, its anxiety to render public service.

Without these there may be smart journalists, but never a truly great or honorable one.

Literature.

Everybody says a journalist must study literature. True—but how? A college course is too short to allow even the barest introduction to all the great works with which a newspaper writer ought to be familiar. But it can make a beginning, which can be intelligent and thorough as far as it goes. The student would have time enough to become intimately acquainted with a few of the masterpieces whose web of imagery and allusion has become part of the texture of English style.

Perhaps I may take it for granted that in this course particular attention will be paid to the literature of politics, from Plato to Burke, from the letters of Junius to Hamilton's famous Federalist letters, and from Jefferson to Lincoln.

Truth and Accuracy.

Everybody says that a journalist ought to be taught the importance of truth and accuracy. But how?

Journalism implies the duty and art of omniscience. A newspaper never admits that there is anything it does not know. But, while the newspaper may know everything, the man who helps to make it does not, and owing to the limited capacity of the human brain he never can.

More important, therefore, than filling him up with facts that can never reach the measure of his needs is his instruction in the art of finding things when they are required. Does a reader ask how many national bank-notes were outstanding in 1867? The editor may not know, but by turning to the report of the Comptroller of the Currency he can find out, and then the paper knows.

The library of reference is the editor's best friend, and the art of going at once to the proper source for any needed piece of information is one of the most useful arts a journalist can possibly acquire. And is not this something that could easily be taught in a class-room?

The bibliography of books of reference, with instruction in the art of finding data with speed and precision, would make a well-defined college course. There is always some best source for every kind of information—some original source from which the facts trickle through all sorts of media, and finally reach the public at second, third or fourth hand.

To know these sources of exact knowledge, to be able to put one's hand on them instantly, and so to be able to state facts with absolute confidence in their accuracy—could there be any more useful accomplishments for a journalist?

History.

"He alone reads history aright who, observing how powerfully circumstances influence the feelings and opinions of men, how often virtues pass into vices and paradoxes into axioms, learns to distinguish what is accidental and transitory in human nature from what is essential and immutable."

—MACAULAY.

Everybody says that a School of Journalism must teach history. But how?

The world's historical records fill thousands of volumes. The utmost that any scholar can do in a whole lifetime is to dip into this mass of material here and there, and take out something that he particularly wants.

But the average college class is composed of young men with all kinds of purposes, and therefore with all kinds of wants, and these young men must all be taught together. Therefore the professor, perforce, prepares for them a neutral course.

Now, let us suppose that instead of lecturing for the general student in a general way, a professor of history should concentrate sharply upon the special object of the journalist, upon the special, separate needs of his training. Might he not then find time to throw light upon such subjects as these:

The history of politics. ("History," said Seeley, "is past politics and politics is present history.")

The growth and development of free institutions and the causes of their decay.

Revolutions, reforms and changes of government.

The influence of public opinion upon all progress.

Legislation.

Taxation.

Moral movements.

Slavery and war.

Conflicts between capital and labor.

The history of colonization, illuminating American policy at European experience.

The history of journalism.

Of course in this review general history would be lightly touched, English history more thoroughly, and American history would have several times as much attention as all the rest combined. And through all its phases would run the idea of progress, especially the progress of justice, of civilization, of humanity, of public opinion, and of the democratic idea and ideal.

Sociology.

Everybody says that a College of Journalism should teach sociology. But how?

Vague and almost formless as this science is, it is full of the raw material of the newspaper. Charles Booth's monumental seventeen volumes on the life and labor of the people of London, with its maps showing block by block where the thrifty workers congregate and where live the submerged tenth—where dens of vice elbow schools and where the saloon crowds upon the tenement—are the last condensation of a hundred years of reporting. Sociology, the science of the life of man in society, is the systematization of facts which it is the daily business of the journalist to collect.

The chief difficulty in teaching this science is that it is so very broad—like a river in flood, without any definite channel. But a professor who knows what to leave out can frame a course, theoretical and practical, that will be one of the best possible introductions to newspaper work.

Economics.

Everybody says that a College of Journalism should teach economics. But how?

May I not say with confidence that it should not confine itself to the old, arid, abstract, political economy, but should deal with the new play of industrial and commercial forces that is transforming modern society?

The relations between capital and labor, for instance. Can a journalist be too well informed about that? There are things here of which the old economists, with their "haggling of the market" and their "natural laws of wages," never dreamed.

The Enemies of the Republic.

There are dangers ahead for the Republic. The demagogue is in the land. He is trying to array society into two camps. There is a new irrepressible conflict which it is folly to ignore. The stupendous growth of corporate power; the enormous increase in individual fortunes, combined to control railroad systems and industries, defiant of law and destructive of competition; the growing inequalities in life, in station and in opportunity; the practical disfranchisement of many millions of citizens equal

under the Constitution; the enormous, mass of illiteracy and political unfitness in the Southern States; the intensified antagonism of labor against corporate capital, of employees against employers—are problems which will tax the wisdom of our statesmen and the serene self-confidence of our people.

This confidence would be sublime, if it were not blind! What reason have we for thinking that our Government is exempt from the mutations of history? Is not, in fact, our Republic liable to popular passion, sitting as it does in a glass house, subject to the conflicts, the disturbances and the possible reactions of elections every two and four years?

A change of 25,000 votes in certain close States in 1896 would have put Mr. Bryan into the White House and have given him the appointment of three Supreme Court justices. With growing discontent, with appeals to ignorance by some newspapers, powerfully assisted by the proceedings of some financiers who act on the principle, "after us the deluge," who can be so dense as not to see the certainty of popular reaction against the money power, the rich, especially in hard times? Is it inconceivable that an element that could command over six million votes in 1896 might, under other conditions, secure twenty-five thousand more? Who can be so over-confident of the future as not to see that the very fire of liberty, maintained by universal suffrage, brings danger every two years or every four years, unless that liberty be regulated by law, order, intelligence and self-control?

And can we ignore the growing power and intelligence of organized labor in any course of ecomomic study? Not only do the labor-unions represent organized antagonism against organized capital, but they now display this very remarkable development—that they do not represent poor labor, destitute labor, as they formerly did and are supposed by some still to do, but what may fairly be called semi-capitalistic labor. Is it not most significant that after a six months' strike in the anthracite regions, during which the idle miners were reported to have drawn a million dollars from the funds of their union, that union now has, on the authority of Mr. John Mitchell, approximately another million dollars in its treasury? The laborers, in fact, have become semi-capitalists through organization. When they are armed with such a weapon, with the power of cooperation, with a strong leader, and with at least a million of votes for which the politicians of both parties are bidding, are there not sufficient possibilities to make the situation worth the study of men who assume to be popular teachers?

And Socialism!—a new economics in itself—treated as beyond the pale of respectable discussion a few years ago and now in principle actually triumphant in Germany, France, and even in so conservative a country as England—whose bill for the purchase and distribution of landed estates in Ireland is the essence of state Socialism—what of that? The German socialists openly refuse to be considered simply as a political party, accepting the present situation and trying to improve existing institutions from within. They proclaim their purpose as distinctly revolutionary.

We have socialistic beginnings in America, such as demands for the Government ownership of mines and railroads and a pension roll on which we have spent three thousand million dollars since the civil war, and to which, already containing a million names, 300,000 new names have just been added by an act of Executive usurpation. But our Socialism has no leaders like Jaurès and Bebel—two of the greatest intellects in Europe.

How soon shall we have two such men in America?—not gifted merely with Mr. Bryan's talent for oratory, but with sound judgment, with stable character and with sincerity of purpose that would give them a hold on the people, not to be obtained except through that confidence which only such sincerity of character and soundness of judgment breed?

Arbitration.

And what are we to say of arbitration, that great engine of civilization, belonging equally to economics and to politics, and perhaps to ethics, which is daily proving its value as a substitute for disturbances, disorder, riot and war? The very act of submitting a dispute to arbitration proves that there is something to be said on both sides. The men who arrogantly issue demands for which they offer no reason but simple power have "nothing to arbitrate." Before an arbitration tribunal questions are discussed on their merits. Appeals to prejudice, to class or national animosities, to cynical self-interest, are dropped. Every such hearing is a lesson in order and civilization.

There is always a tendency on the part of the weaker side to ask for arbitration and on that of the stronger to refuse it. Here is the opportunity of the press to bring its moral force into the dispute and overcome the obstinacy of brute strength by the pressure of public opinion.

The literature of arbitration is already immense. The workings of experiments in compulsory arbitration, of boards of conciliation, of permanent State arbitration tribunals, of standing arbitration agreements between labor-unions and employers, and of the long line of international settlements leading up to the establishment of the world's court of arbitration at The Hague, would furnish material in themselves for a full and most valuable course of study for a journalist.

Statistics.

Everybody says that statistics should be taught. But how?

Statistics are not simply figures. It is said that nothing lies like figures—except facts. You want statistics to, tell you the truth. You can find truth there if you know how to get at it, and romance, human interest, humor and fascinating revelations as well. The journalist must know how to find all these things—truth, of course, first. His figures must bear examination. It is much better to understate than to overstate his case, so that his critics and not himself may be put to confusion when they challenge him to verify his comparisons.

He must not read his statistics blindly; he must be able to test them by knowledge and by common sense. He must always be on the alert to discover how far they can actually be trusted—and what they really mean. The analysis of statistics to get at the essential truth of them has become a well-developed science, whose principles are systematically taught. And what a fascinating science it is! What romance can equal the facts of our national growth?

Is it not a stupendous fact that there are 204,000 miles of railroad in the United States (more than in the whole of Europe) owned by companies having a total capitalization of more than $14,000,000,000, par value, affording livelihood to 5,000,000 of persons (employees and their families) and distributing $178,000,000 in dividends to owners and $610,713,701 in wages?

The flow of our exports—over three thousand millions above imports in seven years—does not the imagination see, in these figures, the whole story of the recent forward rush of American industry—the "American Invasion" of Europe, and the homeward flight of securities? And then, are there not interesting reflections in the fact that we have spent almost exactly the same amount in pensions in the past thirty years? What a tribute to our institutions—what hope for the future—in the fact that 18,000,000 pupils are attending school or college! And immigration—more than 20,000,000 since 1820—nearly a million arrivals last year—a New Zealand swallowed in a year; an Australia in four years;—surely it looks as if Europe were being transplanted bodily to America. But when we remember that the natural increase of the population of Europe is about four millions a year, we may feel reasonably sure that the old continent will always have a few people left.

Modern Languages.

Everybody says a School of Journalism should teach modern languages. But which?

It cannot treat them as a luxurious culture subject, or as a mental discipline. It must regard each foreign language as a tool—a key with which to unlock the life, the literature, the morals and the manners of the people that use it. "He who knows no other tongue," said Goethe, "knows little of his own." And every additional tongue he can master is a new asset for the journalist. The special advantage of French is on the side of style. Order, precision, lucidity, the sense of form, are all French characteristics of especial value to the journalist.

An advantage of German is that it is, above all others, the language of translations. With that you have a key to everything else. Everything of importance in every other language, ancient or modern, has been translated into German, and translated wonderfully well. How much can be done in two or three years in the teaching of one or more modern languages as a part of that special course is a matter for the Advisory Board and the college authorities to consider.

Physical Science.

Everybody says that physical science should be taught. But how?

Even when Pope said: "The proper study of mankind is man"—there were some things outside of himself that were worth a little of a philosopher's attention. But, in this age, it is impossible to make even a pretence of intelligence, not to speak of filling the post of a public teacher without, at least, a little scientific knowledge.

The journalist need not be a specialist in science; he need not even follow the ordinary scientific courses at college which are too choked with small details to answer his needs. But ought he not to have some bold outlines of the principles of physics, chemistry, biology and astronomy, in the light of the latest discoveries, with such an introduction to the best authorities on these subjects as would enable him to follow them out to any further extent by himself?

The Study of Newspapers.

Everybody says that in the training of a journalist the current newspapers must be studied. But how?

Suppose the managing or chief editor of a great daily, moved by a generous zeal for his profession, should give several hours to a thorough study of the newspapers of the current day. Then let us imagine him saying to a class: "Here is the best and here is the worst story of the day"—and telling why. "Here is the wrong of the day; here is the injustice that needs to be righted; here is the best editorial; here is a brilliant paragraph; here is a bit of sentimental trash; here is a superb 'beat'; here is a scandalous 'fake,' for which the perpetrator ought to go to Sing Sing; here is a grossly inaccurate and misleading headline; here is an example of crass ingorance of foreign politics; here is something 'crammed' from an almanac by a man who does not know the meaning of figures when he sees them."

If the editors of twenty of the foremost journals in the country should deliver such lectures in turn, "demonstrating" from the day's paper as the lecturer in a medical college does from the object of his clinic, could a young man worth his room in a newspaper office go through a year of their training without learning to see and to think? Would not that course alone be a liberal education?

The Power of Ideas

"Public opinion is at once the guide and the monitor of statesmen."

—Erskine May.

Everybody says that journalistic ideas should be taught. But how?—and by whom?

Goethe said: "Everything has been thought of before, but the difficulty is to think of it again." If everything has been thought of before, it can all be recalled and set down in order. You can make a list of all the important ideas that brought honor and success in journalism in the last twenty years. Would it be possible for anybody, unless he were a fool, to survey for three hundred days in the year a procession of ideas on which successful and respectable newspapers had been founded and maintained without absorbing, digesting, assimilating and unconsciously taking into his brain thought material which he could apply to his own needs?

Fools have had no place in my plans for a College of Journalism. They belong with the journalists who are "born, not made."

To think rightly, to think instantly, to think incessantly, to think intensely, to seize opportunities when others let them go by—this is the secret of success in journalism. To teach this is twenty times more important than to teach Latin or Greek.

Napoleon said that every battle depended upon one thought, but that one thought, though seeming to be a sudden inspiration, was the result of a whole life of thinking and experience.

Thought is the only power that has no limits. You may say of a steam boiler: "This will develop a thousand horse-power," but who can say where the influence of a thought will stop?

The French Revolution sprang from the thought of a few men. Voltaire, Rousseau and the Encyclopædists said that the idea of the people belonging to the King by divine right was preposterous; that the people belonged to themselves. This thought-germ floated in the air; the American revolution stimulated it and suddenly the awakened people made the thought a deed.

An old thought applied to a new situation is new. Robespierre spoke of "Government of the people, by the people, for the people" long before Lincoln was born. Yet who remembers Robespierre in connection with that phrase which Lincoln, recreated and immortalized?

Before the days of railroads, of telegraphs or of great industrial and commercial combinations a thinker in France attacked corporations as a danger to the State, because; having no souls, they were destitute of that sense of pride and personal

responsibility, of individual shame and honor, without which good citizenship is impossible. It was the idea of Helvetius that devotion to the State is the first duty of patriotism. In his day that idea seemed purely theoretical—corporations were not then really formidable. But the thought was sound and the time has come when it is practical.

"There is nothing new under the sun." Mr. Bryan's idea of scaling down debts by law is as old as social discontent. If he had read history attentively he would not have taken himself so seriously as an agitator. His scheme was tried by Lycurgus, by Solon, by the Gracchi; it was part of the programme of Catiline. Even the method of doing it, by depreciating the value of the coinage, was applied repeatedly by European Kings in the Middle Ages, and later.

None of us can hope to be original. We simply take from the great stock of old thoughts what suits our purpose, and it depends upon ourselves and our training whether we select the good or the bad.

Principles of Journalism.

Everybody says that we should teach the principles and methods of journalism. But how?

Well, it seems impossible to do so, without lectures explaining the subject in a systematic way. But would not still more be gained from the actual preparation by the students of a newspaper to be printed, perhaps, once a week at first, by means of a press and plant, for which I have provided, in the college building?

Such a paper would give practice in all branches of newspaper work—editing, reporting, criticising, copy-reading, proof-reading, making-up—everything, in short, that a young man ought to be able to do before he ventures to undertake the work of a journalist. It would be under the supervision of a professor who would not only wield the pencil as ruthlessly as a real editor does, but would also do what the real editor has no time to do—tell why he did it. Sometimes all the students might be asked to write editorials on the same subject and the best one could be printed, with an explanation of the reasons for its selection.

If the ablest twenty editors in the country or in the East, or in New York, were to consent to take turns once or twice a year in analyzing and criticising the paper so produced, and the New York dailies, putting their best thought and experience into the task, the students would have the benefit, not of one mind, but of twenty, and these the best in the profession. Would not editors in sympathy with the plan do this much as a matter of pride, of honor? By such practice, under such expert criticism, the journalist would be trained for work, as the young officer is trained for war by military manœuvres.

But the object of the course would be always to make real editors, to develop right thinking—to teach the student that what makes a newspaper is not type, nor presses, nor advertising, but brains, conscience, character working out into public service.

Finale—the News.

But I must stop—and should perhaps apologize for the interminable length of this paper, which has exceeded all reasonable bounds. The writing of it has convinced me that the two years' course of study suggested for the College of Journalism would be altogether too short—for, after all, we have not yet said anything about news.

It is not that I underestimate its value. News is the life of a paper. It is perennially changing—more varied than any kaleidoscope, bringing every day some new surprise, some new sensation—always the unexpected.

But I have no time to treat the subject adequately, and ought to confess that the editorial discussion of politics and public questions has ever been the matter of deepest personal interest to me.

News is very interesting, but there are others who no doubt will take care of it better than I. Give me a news editor who has been well grounded, who has the foundations of accuracy, love of truth and an instinct for the public service, and there will be no trouble about his gathering the news.

Public Service the Supreme End.

"What are great gifts but the correlative of great work? We are not born for ourselves but for our kind, for our neighbors, for our country."

—Cardinal Newman.

It has been said by some that my object in founding the College of Journalism was to help young men who wish to make this their vocation. Others have commended it as an effort to raise journalism

to its real rank as one of the learned professions. This is true. But while it is a great pleasure to feel that a large number of young men will be helped to a better start in life by means of this college, this is not my primary object. Neither is the elevation of the profession which I love so much and regard so highly. In all my planning the chief end I had in view was the welfare of the Republic. It will be the object of the college to make better journalists, who will make better newspapers, which will better serve the public. It will impart knowledge—not for its own sake, but to be used for the public service. It will try to develop character, but even that will be only a means to the one supreme end—the public good. We are facing that hitherto-unheard-of portent—an innumerable, world-wide, educated, and self-conscious democracy. The little revolutions of the past have been effected by a few leaders working upon an ignorant populace, conscious only of vague feelings of discontent. Now the masses read. They know their grievances and their power. They discuss in New York the position of labor in Berlin and in Sydney. Capital, too, is developing a world-wide class feeling. It likewise has learned the power of cooperation.

What will be the state of society and of politics in this Republic seventy years hence, when some of the children now in school will be still living? Shall we preserve the government of the Constitution, the equality of all citizens before the law and the purity of justice—or shall we have the government of either money or the mob?

The answers to these questions will depend largely upon the kind of instruction the people of that day draw from their newspapers—the textbooks, the orators, the preachers of the masses.

I have said so much of the need for improvement in journalism that to avoid misconception I must put on record my appreciation of the really admirable work so many newspaper men are doing already. The competent editorial writer, for instance—how much sound information he furnishes every day! How generally just his judgments are, and how prompt his decisions! Unknown to the people he serves, he is in close sympathy with their feelings and aspirations, and, when left to himself and unhampered by party prejudices, he generally interprets their thought as they would wish to express it themselves.

It is not too much to say that the press is the only great organized force which is actively and as a body upholding the standard of civic righteousness. There are many political reformers among the clergy, but the pulpit as an institution is concerned with the Kingdom of Heaven, not with the Republic of America. There are many public-spirited lawyers, but the bar as a profession works for its retainers, and no law-defying trust ever came to grief from a dearth of legal talent to serve it. Physicians work for their patients and architects for their patrons. The press alone makes the public interests its own. "What is everybody's business is nobody's business"—except the journalist's; it is his by adoption. But for his care almost every reform would fall stillborn. He holds officials to their duty. He exposes secret schemes of plunder. He promotes every hopeful plan of progress. Without him public opinion would be shapeless and dumb. He brings all classes, all professions together, and teaches them to act in concert on the basis of their common citizenship.

The Greeks thought that no republic could be successfully governed if it were too large for all the citizens to come together in one place. The Athenian democracy could all meet in the popular assembly. There public opinion was made, and accordingly as the people listened to a Pericles or to a Cleon the state flourished or declined. The orator that reaches the American democracy is the newspaper. It alone makes it possible to keep the political blood in healthful circulation in the veins of a continental republic. We have—it is unfortunately true—a few newspapers which advocate dangerous fallacies and falsehoods, appealing to ignorance, to partisanship, to passion, to popular prejudice, to poverty, to hatred of the rich, to socialism, sowing the seeds of discontent—eventually sure, if unchecked, to produce lawlessness and bloodshed. Virtue, said Montesquieu, is the principle of a republic, and therefore a republic, which in its purity is the most desirable of all forms of government, is the hardest of all to preserve. For there is nothing more subject to decay than virtue.

Our Republic and its press will rise or fall together. An able, disinterested, public-spirited press, with trained intelligence to know the right and courage to do it, can preserve that public virtue without which popular government is a

sham and a mockery. A cynical, mercenary, demagogic press will produce in time a people as base as itself. The power to mould the future of the Republic will be in the hands of the journalists of future generations. This is why I urge my colleagues to aid the important experiment which I have ventured to endow. Upon their generous aid and cooperation the ultimate success of the project must depend.

Joseph Pulitzer

Pulitzer, Joseph. "The College of Journalism." *North American Review* 570 (1904): 641–680.

Carnegie Corporation of New York—Improving the Education of Tomorrow's Journalists

Introduction

Forty leaders of the journalism industry—ranging from television anchors, magazine editors, and newspaper reporters to presidents, chairmen, and publishers of major news organizations—were interviewed by a leading consulting firm to discern what had to be done to better educate future journalists. It was hoped that the resulting 2005 report would help deans put together the kind of curriculum needed to advance "an independent press that assures an informed public" in a rapidly changing media landscape. Although there was no consensus on how successful journalism schools would be in this grand effort, all those interviewed had solid suggestions about what had to be addressed.

The report deemed it paramount for journalism schools to teach key reporting and writing skills, and to attract the most talented writers and reporters to the industry. It advised schools to make analytical thinking a prime component in all course assignments. The leaders interviewed wanted student journalists to be prepared to cover the ever more intricate stories that arise without sacrificing objectivity or news value. They worried that quality journalism might be harder to produce in a highly competitive, profit-driven environment that put a premium on speed and entertainment. In essence, the students had to learn to function and demand attention in an around-the-clock news cycle where news consumers have more alternatives than ever before.

The emphasis placed on the ability of journalists to handle complex stories that require an instant understanding raised the question of specialization. Most of the experts thought the schools should offer courses that allowed students to achieve "mastery" in covering technical beats such as medicine, economics or government. They felt these special subject courses would allow new journalists to truly explain the relevance and nuances of a story rather than just report the facts. Those interviewed also saw the need for students to fully master all the emerging reporting and delivery technologies.

Interviewees saw the ethics of journalism as another top teaching priority for schools. They recommended both specific ethics courses and the infusion of ethics into every aspect of the curriculum. This was partly in reaction to a Pew Research Center poll, and other sources, that said only a small minority of the public believed news reported on television or in newspapers. Many of the leaders also suggested that continuing education courses be made part of the curriculum so journalists of all type and rank could expand their knowledge and come up to speed on new innovations in the field.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

Carnegie Corporation of New York—*Improving the Education of Tomorrow's Journalists*

IMPROVING the Education of TOMORROW'S Journalists

Our liberty cannot be guarded but by the freedom of the press, nor that be limited without danger of losing it.
—Thomas Jefferson to John Jay, 1786

Understood as central to the strength and vitality of American democracy, the press—an institution outside government—was included among the civic organizations and activities to be protected by the Bill of Rights. A free press, the founders believed, was essential to keeping watch on the affairs of government and creating an active, politically informed public.

The role of the U.S. news media, however, has never been simple. In the early days of the Republic, when press outlets were openly owned by or affiliated with competing political interests, the field of journalism was rife with contest. Many newspapers of that era, instead of being exemplars of truth and fair play, were replete with vitriol and distortion. Indeed, there was little expectation that an objective truth be reported; it was in the variety and multiplicity of voices that the facts could emerge.

As our nation goes forward into its third century, it has become increasingly difficult for journalists and journalism to carry out the responsibilities of the profession implicit in the language of the First Amendment while meeting the inexorable demands of a competitive marketplace. In a recent poll by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, fewer than one in four individuals said they believe all or most of what they read or see on television news shows, which, along with newspapers—both pillars of the industry—have suffered damaging blows to the credibility of their reports. This unimpressive view of journalism is reflected in the academic world, where schools of journalism have never achieved the stature long enjoyed by schools that prepare students for medicine, law, architecture, business and other careers.

Preserving the critical relationship between democracy and the press depends, in large part, on the quality of America's journalists. What our nation needs and expects is a profession comprising educated, informed, ethical and skilled individuals.

Troubled by recent trends, Carnegie Corporation of New York invited journalism deans from five leading research universities to consider the role of the academy in a national effort to revitalize journalism education and strengthen the capacity of the profession to fulfill its obligations to our citizenry and our democracy. Vartan Gregorian, president of the Corporation, enlisted the consulting firm McKinsey & Co., on a pro bono basis, to explore the views of news industry leaders—publishers, presidents, chairmen, editors, anchors, senior correspondents and producers—about the state of journalism education and what journalism schools might do to elevate the profession's standards and status. The purpose of the interviews, President Gregorian explained, was to "give a baseline foundation for America's leading deans to craft a curriculum that will advance what we all hold dear: a free and independent press that ensures an informed public and a vital democracy."

Geoffrey Sands, director, McKinsey & Co., led a team that conducted 40 one-on-one interviews during summer 2004 and prepared a report for the Corporation on improving the education of tomorrow's journalists. The interviews were conducted in confidence; the names of the individuals interviewed appear at the end of this summary.

While the McKinsey team discovered some disagreement among news executives and journalists about the nature and causes of current trends in the field, there was broad agreement that the implications of those trends are profound and the current skill requirements for journalists very different from when the participants began their own careers. Where journalism schools (J schools) fit into the new environment, according to the interviewees, is uncertain. Some news leaders responded with indifference when asked about the value of J schools, while others felt that J schools are the surest and most reliable path of entry into the profession. All participants, regardless of their attitude toward J schools, had suggestions for how schools can respond to today's challenges. The following summary encapsulates the McKinsey findings.

Start with the Basics—and a Strong Sense of Ethics

News industry leaders agreed that profound changes are taking place in the news business that pose challenges for journalists and the news organizations for which they work. The interviewees

spoke with passion and conviction about the skills that colleges and universities should impart to future journalists. Their advice can be grouped into three broad prescriptions:

- Emphasize the basics of the journalism craft, along with analytical thinking and a strong sense of ethics;
- Help reporters build specialized expertise to enhance their coverage of complex beats from medicine to economics, and help them to acquire first-hand knowledge of the societies, languages, religions and cultures of other parts of the world;
- Channel the best writers, the most curious reporters and the most analytical thinkers into the profession of journalism.

Some of the participants were convinced that the quality of journalism is losing ground in the drive for profit, diminished objectivity and the spread of the "entertainment virus." Print reporters and business executives were more sanguine about the quality of today's reporting than their broadcast counterparts.

Most of the news leaders interviewed concurred that future journalists will face more obstacles to high-quality reporting, be asked to adapt to more immediate, yet longer (24/7) news cycles and need to find ways to reach audiences that have more options than ever before for accessing news and information. The next generation of journalists must be prepared to cover more complex subjects and master new technologies.

The quest for profits and audience. The majority of interviewees agreed that the most critical responsibility of journalists is to serve the public interest and protect our democracy. They parted company on the issue of whether profit pressure and the pursuit of larger audiences have affected their news operations. Some are convinced that the focus on profits drives down standards, while others believe that it is possible to maximize profits and serve the public interest.

Many said the current emphasis on celebrities, trials and other superficial news detracts from serious television news coverage. Others noted, however, that the success of media outlets has always relied on how many readers or viewers a publication or network can attract. The challenge for journalism and journalists is to find ways to interest readers and viewers in news that is vital to a functioning democracy.

Objectivity. The concern over the perceived loss of objectivity was described by many of the news industry leaders as nothing new—and a circumstance that exists as a mere shadow of the inflammatory pamphlets and newspaper smear campaigns of the first days of U.S. democracy. Others think much of the news has too much "edge," particularly from "talking head" shows on cable news. The Internet is a megaphone for many voices, and allows for the creation of more partisan outlets. Some interviewees were concerned that this "cacophony of voices," as one newspaper editor put it, may cloud the public's understanding of what constitutes good journalism.

Engaging distracted, fickle audiences. Interviewees said that competition from hundreds of TV stations, satellite radio and the Internet makes it tougher to win audiences. A shorter attention span among the public forces reporters to make the news fast and exciting. This pressure extends to print media: even great newspapers are struggling to keep readers. Some participants said that reporters drive readers away with long-winded stories that fail to grab readers' attention or convey why it is important for a citizen to grasp the issue at hand. One newspaper executive said, "People have less time. We have to be compelling to the person who has 20 minutes and to the person with one hour without 'dumbing down' the newspaper."

The need for mastery. Reporters need to know even more about complex beats if they are to deliver stories that are both shorter and more interesting. Whether reporting on the economy, medical advances or the government, reporters need to provide not just facts but context. "Explaining the debate over whether we should have a director of national intelligence is much more important than just reporting the debate," said one participant.

In a progressively more interconnected world, the complexity of stories reporters must cover will only increase, most interviewees believed. As examples, they pointed to the Middle East, China's burgeoning economic might, difficult questions of medical ethics, scientific breakthroughs and changing global demographics.

Some of the news leaders bewailed what they consider "a crisis of confidence" within journalism. Many said that when they became journalists, they viewed the profession as a vocation and public service, not a business, but the business pressures today are inescapable. Others worry that young people aspire to become on-air television reporters and anchors without first mastering the skills of hard news reporting. Several said the next generation will need even more motivation and "fire in the belly" to become good journalists.

Today's Journalism Schools

The news executives and journalists who were interviewed were uncertain where journalism schools fit into this new environment. Some believe a degree in journalism is unnecessary. One suggested that working on the student newspaper is sufficient preparation. Some editors and executives responsible for hiring expressed indifference about a student's major in college. Many news organizations depend on their own intern or desk assistant programs, not college curricula, to cultivate talent. Some promising newcomers "have journalism degrees, but others do not," a newspaper editor said. Still, some interviewees saw promise in both the academic preparation of J schools and the credential they offer. One called it "the only way" to break into the television news business. Another praised J schools for teaching students how to work in teams to finish a story. The journalism curriculum. Many of those interviewed credited journalism schools with doing a good job of teaching basic reporting skills, particularly when classes are taught by seasoned journalists. Others think schools need to do a better job of imparting values, building critical thinking and analytical skills and developing specialized expertise. They cautioned that schools ought not to become too narrowly focused, by teaching, for example, only broadcast skills at the expense of core writing or reporting skills.

News leaders strongly support the idea that journalism schools should be creative in developing new curricula to better meet the needs of a rapidly changing profession. Online newspaper web sites require newspaper reporters to hit the kind of around-the-clock news cycles once faced only by wire service reporters. Among the key items on the "to do" list that the news leaders prescribed for J schools were these:

- Teaching basic reporting and writing skills, as well as the paramount importance of getting the facts right.
- Developing news judgment and analytical skills, including the ability to separate fact from opinion and use statistics correctly. As one interviewee put it, "An astonishing amount of journalism requires strategic thinking and planning."
- Mastering specialized expertise and critical language skills (e.g. economics, medical research, Chinese, Arabic, Farsi).
- Raising admission standards and helping the best and brightest land challenging jobs.

The ethics of journalism. Many interviewees suggested that journalism schools cannot overemphasize the importance of upholding the ethics of journalism. They believe that the ethical ramifications of journalism must be infused throughout the curriculum, not just taught in ethics classes.

There were also suggestions that J schools take on a larger role in providing continuing education for the profession, much like business schools do, in which they would regularly bring in top editors and executives and rank-and-file journalists for seminars or longer programs designed to allow them to broaden their knowledge and take time to reflect on important issues.

Many leaders said they also look to journalism schools to help bring more diversity to their news rooms. They cited a need for newsroom staffs to be more representative of America if news organizations are to improve their ability to cover stories and engage new audiences.

Participants expressed the belief that J schools should focus on turning out top-quality journalists, rather than on critiquing the news industry and developing new reporting techniques, which have less impact on good journalism than do high-quality teaching and improved curricula.

To better prepare students for the fast paced, around-the-clock news business, some thought that journalism schools should look at the medical school model of grueling internships and residencies. They also encouraged journalism educators to consider dual-degree programs with other professional schools and academic departments on their campuses.

The McKinsey report, which captures the insights of many of the best and brightest of the current generation of news executives, editors and correspondents, has bolstered the case for

and strengthened the resolve of Vartan Gregorian and the journalism deans to undertake a bold effort to reshape and reinvigorate the quality of education that journalism schools offer. With their guidance and the support of Carnegie Corporation of New York and John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, the deans who comprise the Carnegie-Knight Initiative on the Future of Journalism Education will share with fellow educators and the general public their blueprint for curricular reforms and other changes. In so doing, they hope to ensure that tomorrow's journalists possess the skills needed to continue the legacy of playing an essential and honorable role in keeping America "the land of the free."

List of Interviewees

Margot Adler	Correspondent, National Public Radio
Christiane Amanpour	Chief International Correspondent, CNN
Phil Balboni	President and Founder, New England Cable News
Dan Balz	National Political Correspondent, *Washington Post*
Fred Barnes	Executive Editor, Weekly Standard
Amanda Bennett	Editor and Executive VP, *Philadelphia Inquirer*
Tom Bettag	Executive Producer, *Nightline,* ABC News
The Honorable Michael Bloomberg	Mayor of New York City
Carol Bradley	Executive VP, *Great Falls Tribune*
John S. Carroll	Executive VP and Editor, *Los Angeles Times*
Kathleen Carroll	Senior VP and Executive Editor, Associated Press
Christopher Cuomo	Correspondent, ABC News
Leonard Downie Jr.	Executive Editor, *Washington Post*
James Fallows	National Correspondent, *Atlantic Monthly*
Alix M. Freedman	Reporter, *Wall Street Journal*
Jack Fuller	President (retired), Tribune Publishing
Donald E. Graham	Chairman, *Washington Post*
Andrew Heyward	President, CBS News
James F. Hoge Jr.	Editor, *Foreign Affairs*
Eason Jordon	Chief News Executive (former), CNN
Richard Kaplan	President, MSNBC
Jim Kelly	Managing Editor, *Time*
Kevin Klose	President and CEO, National Public Radio
Paula Madison	President and General Manager, KNBC–TV
Bill Moyers	Host (former), *NOW with Bill Moyers,* PBS
Donald E. Newhouse	President, Advance Publications
Susan Page	Washington Bureau Chief, *USA Today*
Richard D. Parsons	Chairman and CEO, Time Warner
Norman Pearlstine	Editor-in-Chief, Time Inc.
Gary B. Pruitt	President and CEO, McClatchy Co.
P. Anthony Ridder	Chairman and CEO, Knight Ridder
Sandy Rowe	Editor, *Oregonian*
Maria Elena Salinas	Co-anchor, Univision
Neal Shapiro	President, NBC News

Stephen B. Shepard	Editor-in-Chief (retired), *Business Week*
Lesley Stahl	Anchor, 48 *Hours Investigates,* CBS News
Arthur O. Sulzberger Jr.	Publisher, *New York Times*
Rone Tempest	Staff Writer, *Los Angeles Times*
David Westin	President, ABC News
Mark Whitaker	Editor, *Newsweek*

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Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania/Geneva Overholser—"On Behalf of Journalism: A Manifesto for Change"

Introduction

Most people recognize that the world of journalism and media is in the midst of an all-consuming, protracted period of transition. New, more effective methods and models of journalism should emerge, but old troublesome concerns still loom large. The Annenberg Public Policy Center brought 40 journalists, academics and news executives together in 2005 to identify the pressing problems and questions that needed to be addressed. The group was asked to devise a comprehensive list of actions to be taken by the industry to assure the future of journalism. The report and bulleted "action steps" they produced should serve as guide for journalism educators as well.

A major part of the deliberations, and ultimate recommendations, of the Annenberg Center invitees focused on the roles various constituencies must play for journalism to successfully evolve. For instance, corporate news entities were charged with finding ways to balance the quest for profits with their obligation to enlighten the public. The public in turn was pushed to become more news savvy through efforts like news literacy courses and expanded news media in schools. Even the government, long seen as a check on unbridled media, was encouraged to help via initiatives such as tax breaks for ethnic or alternative news outlets and tax legislation that enables news companies to be organized as nonprofit, tax-exempt corporations.

The greatest responsibility for the future health of journalism obviously fell on journalists. They were urged to become more objective, accountable, and professional. The group expected them to speak out for freedom of information and the protection of the industry in general. Journalists were also cast as prime movers in establishing new forms of media.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania/Geneva Overholser—"On Behalf of Journalism: A Manifesto for Change"

Action Steps

I. Corporate realities:

Enable corporate managers to focus on longer-term goals

- elect board members for longer terms
- change incentives for investors
- impose punitive taxes on short-term stock trading
- provide tax forgiveness on long-term holding

Bring a greater sense of responsibility to corporate governance of media companies

- appoint directors with journalism experience
- assign responsibility to board members to monitor editorial performance
- tie incentive compensation for corporate officers to journalistic quality
- discontinue stock options for newsroom staff and outside directors

Enable shareholders to exert pressure for corporate responsibility

- bring concept of socially responsible investing to media companies

Conduct research showing links between good journalism and good business

- make corporate officers aware of findings

Consider units within media companies dedicated to public interest journalism

- sheltered from normal profit pressures
- portion of online revenues devoted to this purpose

Establish partnership for quality journalism

- supported by funds from media companies
- supported by foundations, nonprofits

Take public companies private

- interest local citizens in these still highly profitable media enterprises
- get nonprofits involved

II. Not-for-profit media

Establish "Marshall Plan" by foundations and philanthropists

- increase support for nonprofit media organizations
- foster new nonprofit media models

III. Journalists' responsibilities

A. Objectivity

- replace with process of verification

B. Accountability

- strengthen through collaboration
- create networks to enhance effectiveness
- enhance transparency through use of e-mails, editors' columns, etc.
- media outlets conduct annual self-audits and make results public

C. Professionalization

- institutionalize apprenticeships
- news organizations collaborate to support standards for journalists
- establish independent council to track, promote, define independent news function in U.S.
- emulate national board for teacher certification to provide credential
- work to ensure that journalism graduate degrees achieve cachet of MBA

IV. Speaking out for journalism

- journalists should assume a responsibility for speaking out on behalf of viable and independent media as individuals and through organizations
- focus on freedom of information not as media privilege but as public right
- produce radio/television shows whose segments focus on reporting
- consider advertising/public-relations campaigns on behalf of journalism
- journalism educators join forces to speak out for journalism (gather leaders of journalism organizations, foundations, universities and other institutions to form a coalition in support of public service journalism and freedom of the press)

V. The role of government

- pass tax legislation to enable news companies to be organized as nonprofit, tax-exempt corporations
- devote funds to be gained from government auction of publicly owned telecommunications spectrum to the provision of educational material in digital media
- provide tax breaks for ethnic media and other under-heard voices
- consider government-sponsored search engine

VI. The role of the public

- pressure colleges to require civics education
- push for more courses in news literacy, First Amendment
- support news media in schools
- expand Sunshine Week activities, move from annual to greater frequency
- create and distribute field guides for news consumers

VII. New forms of media

- encourage entrepreneurialism among journalists
- train traditional journalists in new delivery platforms

- train new media practitioners in old media principles
- provide tutorials for citizens in gathering and shaping news
- create wire service of ethnic media to strengthen disparate voices

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Section IV Introduction

Working journalists look to ferret out, report on, and write about meaningful change, and the agents of change, in society. They also determine the impact of that change, for better or worse, and what countermoves might occur as a result. Journalism industry researchers in the United States do just about the same thing within the confines of their beat. They use surveys, studies, and reports to gauge the type and degree of change nationwide within specific segments of the profession—or the newsworthy lack of change in, say, the presence of minorities in the newsroom. Then they report on the key trends afoot in the status and practice of journalism and what that portends for the future.

This section focuses on six high-impact categories—audience research, public opinion, Internet impact on media, newsroom diversity, journalism employment/careers, and key trends in journalism—that tell a good deal about the state of the profession today and where it is going. Although the data in all these areas change rapidly and stay fluid, the patterns discerned remain relatively reliable and useful for quite some time. By contrast, reports on media ownership and investments are purposely omitted at this juncture. The financial turmoil that hit the news business and world economy in 2008 makes this kind of information or statistics obsolete quicker than most.

The Pew Research Center (PRC) Biennial News Consumption Survey (2008) breaks the American audience into four distinct groups: Traditionalists, Integrators, Net-Newsers, and the Disengaged. The survey reveals that audiences for traditional news sources—network television and newspapers—still comprise nearly half the public but cannot keep newspapers from falling into a steady decline. Traditionalists are the oldest segment of the news-consuming audience and show a more heavy reliance on television news and pictures rather than reading or listening.

Youthful Net-Newsers and middle-aged Integrators, 13 percent and 23 percent of the public, respectively, tend to be better educated and more affluent than Traditionalists. These groups feed the burgeoning trend toward people getting a larger portion of their news online. Tech-savvy Net-Newsers often read political blogs and *view* online news. Integrators split their time primarily between television and online news. They spend the most time following the news and demonstrate the greatest interest in political news and sports. The Disengaged make up a sizable 14 percent of the public and display little interest in the news or news consumption.

The Radio-Television News Directors Foundation (RTNDF)/Ford Foundation—2006 Future of the News Survey confirmed in its Executive Summary that people still overwhelmingly get most of their news from local television—followed by newspapers as a distant second, network TV news, local radio, and then the Internet. The survey found that online news, blogs, and other relatively new options were steadily "nibbling away" at the audience for traditional mass media. More than 60 percent of those surveyed say they would like to interact with television news in the future. *The Magazine Handbook 2009–2010,* put out by The Magazine Publishers of America (MPA), offers audience research that shows top-tier magazines tend to draw comparably better among teens and young adults than the most popular television programs, and those magazine readers test out as more innovative. MPA studies in Magazine Reach and Reader Characteristics also indicate a particularly high magazine readership among diverse readers like African American, Asian American, and Hispanic/Latino adults.

The State of the News Media 2008, by The Project for Excellence in Journalism (PEJ), offers a take on the way Americans view the news industry in a special Public Attitudes section. The PEJ says most Americans believe the news media to be politically biased, often inaccurate, and uncaring toward the subjects of its stories. The PEJ ominously points to growing skepticism of the mainstream media, particularly among the younger online audience. There is also a trend toward political affiliation or ideology influencing attitudes toward the press—with Republicans showing somewhat less confidence in the news media than Democrats.

The impact of the Internet on media comes across as a double-edged sword in the research collected here. The Pew Research Center 2008 Journalist Survey notes that many journalists link the financial concerns in the news business with the rise of the Internet. In fact, 16 percent of national journalists see the challenge of making a profit from online journalism as the "most important problem facing journalism." Yet, most journalists surveyed take a positive view of the way the Internet has transformed the practice of journalism. *The Magazine Handbook 2009–2010* of the MPA notes that magazine website initiatives rose 78 percent since 2005, greatly extending the reach of magazine advertisers. The publication also attests to the particularly rapid growth in magazine website traffic as compared to web usage overall.

The American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE), in The Newsroom Employment Census (2008), gives some bad news for the progress of newsroom diversity. The portion of minority journalists working at daily newspapers grew only a small fraction of a percent from the previous year to 13.52 percent. This placed ASNE far short of where it should be in its quest to have parity by 2025 between the percent of minorities in the newsroom and in the nation's population. A surprising 423 of the newspapers that took part in the survey, all with under a 10,000 circulation, had no minorities on their full-time staff. The 2008 Annual Women and Minorities Survey, by the Radio-Television News Directors Association (RTNDA), reports some positive signs, with more women and minority news directors in television news than ever before. The number of minorities in radio newsrooms went up too after years of shrinkage.

The RTNDA also weighed in on journalism employment and careers with its look at radio and television staffing and profitability in 2008. Overall, there was an expectation of employee growth in the near future by most surveyed. Three quarters of the more than 300 television stations polled in 2008 reported either no staff cuts or staff increases despite the poor economy, according to their TV news directors. Local television news nationwide lost only about 360 people out of 24,500 full-time employees.

The U.S. Department of Labor/Bureau of Labor Statistics gives additional insights into the plight of news analysts, reporters and correspondents in its *Occupational Outlook Handbook, 2008–09 Edition*. In general, little or no change in the employment outlook is expected through 2016. The competition will remain intense for jobs on large national and metropolitan newspapers, television stations, and magazines. However, smaller venues in those areas, and online publications, should offer the best opportunities for full-time positions. Skilled writers who can handle specialized technical or science subjects will be in greater demand.

Finally, major trends developing in journalism are examined by PEJ in The State of the News Media 2008. The report notes, among other things, that news consumption is becoming continual and more effort goes into creating "incremental updates" than finished reports. In the process, journalism is seen as more service oriented, with a responsibility of helping consumers find, make sense of, and use the news they seek. The emphasis on user-created content, once thought key to the future of journalism, seems more limited lately. In addition, the breadth and depth of consequential news coverage appears to be getting narrower instead of broader.

—Glenn Lewis
Volume Editor

Audience Research

The Pew Research Center Biennial News Consumption Survey: Overview (2008)

Key News Audiences Now Blend Online and Traditional Sources; Audience Segments in a Changing News Environment

Overview

For more than a decade, the audiences for most traditional news sources have steadily declined, as the number of people getting news online has surged. However, today it is not a choice between traditional sources and the internet for the core elements of today's news audiences.

A sizable minority of Americans find themselves at the intersection of these two long-standing trends in news consumption. Integrators, who get the news from both traditional sources and the internet, are a more engaged, sophisticated and demographically sought-after audience segment than those who mostly rely on traditional news sources. Integrators share some characteristics with a smaller, younger, more internet savvy audience segment—Net-Newsers—who principally turn to the web for news, and largely eschew traditional sources.

Audience Segment: Integrators

Who they are: 23% of the public. Well-educated and affluent, middle aged.

What they do:

- Television is their main news source, but most a get news online on a typical day.
- Spend the most time with the news on a typical day.
- Greater interest in political news—and sports—than other audience segments.

Like web-oriented news consumers, Integrators are affluent and highly educated. However, they are older, on average, than those who consider the internet their main source of news. Overall, Integrators spend more time with the news on a typical day than do those who rely more on either traditional or internet sources; far more enjoy keeping up with the news a lot than in any other news segment.

Integrators also are heavier consumers of national news—especially news about politics and Washington—and are avid sports news consumers. Television is their main news source, but more than a third cite the internet as their primary source of news during the day. This reflects the fact that a relatively large proportion of Integrators log on to the internet from work (45%).

The 2008 biennial news consumption survey by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press was conducted by telephone—including both landline phones and cell phones—from April 30 to June 1 among 3,612 adults nationwide. It finds four distinct segments in today's news audience: Integrators, who comprise 23% of the public; the less populous Net-Newsers (13%); Traditionalists—the oldest (median age: 52) and largest news segment (46% of the public); and the Disengaged (14%) who stand out for their low levels of interest in the news and news consumption.

Net-Newsers are the youngest of the news user segments (median age: 35). They are affluent and even better educated than the News Integrators:

More than eight-in-ten have at least attended college. Net-Newsers not only rely primarily on the internet for news, they are leading the way in using new web features and other technologies. Nearly twice as many regularly watch news clips on the internet as regularly watch nightly network news broadcasts (30% vs. 18%).

Audience Segment: Net-Newsers

Who they are: 13% of the public, Affluent, well-educated and relatively young, 58% are men

What they do:

- More regularly read political blogs than watch network news.
- Web news use soars during the day.
- Frequent online news *viewers*.
- Heavy tech usage and strong interest in tech news.

This web-oriented news segment, perhaps more than the others, underscores the challenges facing traditional news outlets. Fewer than half (47%) watch television news on a typical day. Twice as many read an online newspaper than a printed newspaper on a typical day (17% vs. 8%), while 10% read both.

However, Net-Newsers do rely on some well known traditional media outlets. They are at least as likely as Integrators and Traditionalists to read magazines such as The New Yorker and The Atlantic, and somewhat more likely to get news from the BBC.

Audience Segment: Traditionalists

Who they are: 46% of the public. Older, less-educated and less affluent.

What they do:

- Heavy reliance on TV news - morning, daytime, evening, and at night.
- Most have a computer, but few get news online on a typical day.
- Understand news better by seeing pictures, rather than reading or hearing.
- Strong interest in the weather; relatively little interest in science and tech news.

Fully 82% of Net-Newsers get news during the course of the day, far more than the Traditionalists and the Disengaged, and slightly more than the Integrators. Nearly all who get news at this time go online for information (92%). Yet they do tap traditional sources at other times of the day; nearly two-thirds get news late in the evening and of these, more rely on television news than the internet.

Despite sweeping changes in the news landscape, Traditionalists remain the largest segment of the overall news audience. Compared with the Integrators and Net-Newsers, Traditionalists are downscale economically—43% are not employed and 60% have no more than a high school education.

Newspaper Readership Declines; Internet News Increase

	1993	*1996*	*1998*	*2000*	*2002*	*2004*	*2006*	*2008*
Listened/read yesterday...	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Newspaper	58*	50	48	47	41	42	40	34
Radio news	47*	44	49	43	41	40	36	35
Regularly watch...								
Cable TV news	–	–	–	–	33	38	34	39
Local TV news	77	65	64	56	57	59	54	52
Nightly network news	60	42	38	30	32	34	28	29
Network morning news	–	–	23	20	22	22	23	22
Online for news three or more days week	–	2**	13	23	25	29	31	37

*From 1994; **From 1995.

Television dominates as the favored news source among Traditionalists. And at each time of the day—whether morning, daytime, dinner hour, or late at night—overwhelming majorities who get news at these times cite television as their main source. Unlike the news Integrators, or those who mostly get news from the web, most Traditionalists say that seeing pictures and video, rather than reading or hearing the facts, gives them the best understanding of events.

Most Americans fall into the three core news audiences—Integrators, Traditionalists, or Net-Newsers. The fourth group—the Disengaged—are very much bystanders when it comes to news consumption. They are less educated on average than even the Traditionalists and exhibit extremely low interest in—and knowledge of—current events. Just 55% of the Disengaged get any news on a typical day, and just 20% know that the Democrats have a majority in the House of Representatives.

Trends in News Consumption

The diversity of news audience segments identified reflects the long-term changes in news consumption observed in the biennial survey, conducted April 30–June 1 among 3,615 Americans.

Decline in Print Readership Outpaces Online Gains

	2006 %	2008 %
Read newspaper yesterday*	**40**	**34**
Print only	34	27
Both print and web	4	3
Web only	2	4
Additional web readers**	3	6
Total	43	40

* "Did you get a chance to read a daily newspaper yesterday, or not?"
**Online news users who separately said they read anything on a newspaper's website yesterday.

Since the early 1990s, the proportion of Americans saying they read a newspaper on a typical day has declined by about 40%; the proportion that regularly watches nightly network news has fallen by half.

These trends have been more stable in recent years, but the percentage saying they read a newspaper yesterday has fallen from 40% to 34% in the last two years alone. Newspapers would have suffered even greater losses without their online versions. Most of the loss in readership since 2006 has come among those who read the print newspaper; just 27% say they read only the print version of a daily newspaper yesterday, down from 34% in 2006.

The television news audience, by contrast, has generally remained stable since 2006, and the proportion regularly watching cable news in particular has increased (from 34% to 39%). The appeal of television news is seen in the large percentages of the news segments—particularly Integrators—that continue to watch: A majority of Integrators (56%) get news online on a typical day while an even larger share (66%) got news from television.

Cable news draws substantial numbers of viewers among Integrators and Net-Newsers. More than four-in-ten Net-Newsers (43%) regularly watch cable news, far more than the proportion that regularly watches network or local news. A majority of Integrators also regularly tunes in to cable news (53%); by comparison, just 37% say they regularly watch one of the nightly network news broadcasts.

Notably, radio news also is an important element in Integrators' news diet. Nearly half of Integrators (46%) listen to news on the radio during a typical day. While the internet is the main news source for Integrators during the course of the day, about as many in this segment rely on radio news as TV news during the day (32% radio vs. 36% TV news).

Online News Still Growing

Since 2006, the proportion of Americans who say they get news online at least three days a week has increased from 31% to 37%. About as many people now say they go online for news regularly (at least three days a week) as say they regularly watch cable news (39%); substantially more people regularly get news online than regularly watch one of the nightly network news broadcasts (37% vs. 29%).

Since 2006, daily online news use has increased by about a third, from 18% to 25%. However, as the online news audience grows, the educational divide in online news use—evident since the internet's early days in the mid-1990s—also is increasing. Currently, 44% of college graduates say they get news online every day, compared with just 11% of those with a high school education or less.

Net-Newsers and Integrators take advantage of a range of web features to get the news. Roughly four-in-ten (39%) Net-Newsers—and about a third of Integrators (32%)—have gotten a news story emailed to them in the past week. And while 30% of Net-Newsers regularly watch news online, 19% regularly listen to news on the web.

Net-Newsers and Integrators also rely on news and political blogs as a part of their news diet. Roughly a quarter of Net-Newsers (26%) and somewhat fewer Integrators (19%) say they regularly read blogs on politics or current events. Overall, only 10% of the public regularly reads political and news blogs.

Other Key Findings

Going Newsless

No news yesterday...	1998 %	2008 %	Change
Total	14	19	+5
18–24	25	34	+9
25–29	17	21	+4
30–34	15	22	+7
35–49	14	17	+3
50–64	14	14	0
65+	6	13	+7

- In spite of the increasing variety of ways to get the news, the proportion of young people getting no news on a typical day has increased substantially over the past decade. About a third of those younger than 25 (34%) say they get no news on a typical day, up from 25% in 1998.
- A slim majority of Americans (51%) now say they check in on the news from time to time during the day, rather than get the news at regular times. This marks the first time since the question was first asked in 2002 that most Americans consider themselves "news grazers."
- Social networking sites are very popular with young people, but they have not become a major source of news. Just 10% of those with social networking profiles say they regularly get news from these sites.
- As in past news consumption surveys, the audiences for specific cable news outlets remain divided along political lines. Currently 51% of regular CNN viewers are Democrats, up from 45% two years ago. Nearly four-in-ten regular Fox News viewers are Republicans (39%), about the same as in 2006.
- Regular readers of magazines such as The New Yorker, The Atlantic and Harper's Magazine stand out for their high level of political knowledge. Nearly half (47%) answered three political knowledge questions correctly—the highest percentage of any news audience.
- Overall, 15% of Americans say they have a smart phone, such as an iPhone or a Blackberry. More than a third of smart phone owners (37%) say they get news from these devices.
- Believability ratings for national news organizations remain very low. If anything, believability ratings for major online news outlets—including news aggregators such as Google News and AOL News—are lower than for major print, cable and broadcast outlets.
- Though the audience for nightly network news broadcasts are smaller than they were a decade ago, regular viewers of these broadcasts are loyal. Nearly seven-in-ten (69%) say they would miss these broadcasts a lot if they were no longer available.

(Continued)

About the Survey

This study is based on telephone interviews conducted April 30 to June 1, 2008 among a nationwide Sample of 3,615 adults, 18 years of age or older. Interviews were conducted by landline telephone (2,802 respondents) as well as cell phone (813 respondents, including 269 who had no landline telephone). The margin of error for the total sample is plus or minus 2 percentage points.

Ratings of the believability of news sources discussed in Section 7 are from a separate survey of 1,505 adults surveyed by telephone May 21–25, 2005.

More information about the methods of the study can be found on page 75 [of the survey].

The Pew Research Center for the People & the Press. "Key News Audiences Now Blend Online and Traditional Sources": Overview, August 17, 2008. http://people-press.org/report/444/news-media (accessed January 6, 2009). Reprinted with permission of the Pew Research Center.

The Radio-Television News Directors Foundation (RTNDF)/Ford Foundation—Future of the News Survey (2006): Executive Summary

Section 1: Executive Summary

Overwhelmingly, people say they get most of their news from local TV: 65.5 percent. That's more than double second-place newspapers (28.4 percent) and almost six times the figure for the Internet (11.2 percent). The Internet came in below national network TV news (28.3 percent) and local radio news (14.7 percent).

When asked if they could get the same news whenever they wanted—on TV, radio, newspaper, online or a handheld electronic device—almost two-thirds (63.3 percent) said TV. Only 17.8 percent chose newspapers and just 11.1 percent chose online. People like traditional media. They know it, and they're comfortable with it. But while people expressed support for traditional media in this study, they also made clear they want a whole range of new media type options. In particular, they want news and information on demand, and many want to interact with that news.

The challenge for the industry isn't mass defection—it's the nibbling away at the edges and the splintering of traditional mass medium into fragments whose total is mass but whose parts are not.

While blogs are clearly a niche medium, and the daily readership of 3.1 percent poses no threat to the mass media, the 7.1 percent who read them several times a week or more nibbles at the edges. Less than 5 percent of the general public has ever seen small screen news, and only about 10 percent say they even have any interest in it. But that may well be enough for a meaningful niche business, especially given the comparatively high income of those most interested. More nibbling away at the edges. The message in the data is not to abandon efforts in small screens or blogs or anything else. This research does raise questions whether either has a mass media future, but the research also suggests that the news departments that survive into the future will have to operate on many technological platforms at the same time.

The concern in the industry is a loss of advertising dollars as that mass market continues to fragment. This research also suggests that stations looking at new revenue streams need to tread carefully when attempting to link news and business through such devices as product placement or product endorsement. Overwhelmingly, people are concerned about the links between businesses/advertisers and news. Those who are the most concerned about that relationship are the people advertisers want the most—the affluent, educated and young.

The data in this report make clear that predictions of the imminent demise of traditional news media are premature. That is especially true for local television. But people do not want the status quo either. They want new technology that offers them more convenience, utility and responsiveness. It is, in the end, all about value. Even though people don't pay directly for local TV news, it does involve an investment in time, and if the audience doesn't feel that it is getting value for the time investment, then the audience will surely drift away.

Findings and implications:

Where do people get news . . . and how?

- Local TV news dominates the landscape as people's major source of news at 65.5 percent. That's followed by local newspaper at 28.4 percent, national network TV news at 28.3 percent, local radio news programs at 14.7 percent, the

Internet at 11.2 percent, national newspaper at 3.8 percent and someplace else at 1.3 percent. People could name up to three sources, which is why the figures add up to more than 100 percent. Young people are the most likely to say the Internet, but they're also the most likely to say local TV news. They're the least likely to say local or national newspaper.

What is news?

• Varying people have a surprisingly consistent view of what news is. The general public draws sharp distinctions among programs that they see as news and those they see as not news. And among all the broadcast options, local TV news is at the top of the list. At the bottom of the list (for all demographics): The Daily Show with Jon Stewart, talk shows like Oprah and Ellen DeGeneres and blogs.

• More than 80 percent of the general public drew some distinction between news and information, and while a plurality said they seek out both, there's quite a split. Young people and those with the most education are the most likely to distinguish between the two.

What news do people want?

• These are serious times, and this research suggests that the audience is looking for that seriousness in both content and presentation. Weather is at the top of the list of subjects people want to know about, but it just barely edges out (in order): information on what's going on around the country, what's going on around the world, and information about politics, education, health care and the environment. At the bottom of the 11-item list: restaurant, movie or entertainment reviews, as well as information about entertainment and sports.

• The general public is most interested in urgent, breaking news, but there were complaints about the mislabeling of news that was neither urgent nor breaking. In comparatively distant second place: live, going on right now. Young people, ages 18–44, are particularly interested in live reporting—but only if it really relates to something happening right then. Regular news about the community, investigative reporting and features followed, in that order.

• People want their news to be right up to the minute. More than 90 percent of those surveyed say it's very or somewhat important, and the figure is even higher for young adults.

The role of the anchor

• People say TV news is better with anchors, and younger people are even more likely to say that than older people.

• People who say newscasts look different are most likely to say it's because of the anchors, but more than 60 percent of the general public think all TV newscasts look pretty much the same; that figure rises to 72 percent for those ages 18–24.

When do they watch news?

• People want to be able to watch TV when it's convenient for them—not simply when it's convenient for the station or network. Almost three-quarters (73.4 percent) say it's very or somewhat important to be able to watch TV news when they want.

• Most people say they watch TV news when they can—rather than watching for something specific they heard about. Younger people are more likely to say they watch because of something specific that they heard about.

News and new technology

• More than two-thirds of the general public say they have never read a blog or don't know what they are.

• Less than 5 percent of the general public has ever watched news or information on a small screen—like a mobile phone. And only about 10 percent say they have any interest in it.

• Given a choice of watching TV news on a TV, a computer or a handheld electronic device, more than three-quarters chose TV. In fact, when given a choice of continuing to do what they now do on a computer or doing it on a TV instead, over 60 percent chose TV.

• More than three-quarters of the general public say they'd rather read a newspaper printed on paper than online on a computer. Even 18–24 year olds said that, although at a lower percentage.

• The vast preponderance of the general public says it will not pay for information online. If an online site charges, they say they'll go elsewhere. If all online sites charged, they say they'll seek out information offline.

• When asked if they could get exactly the same news—whenever they wanted—in a traditional newspaper, on the television, on the radio, online or on a handheld electronic device . . . TV news was the overwhelming first choice at 63.3 percent, followed by newspaper at 17.8 percent, computer online at 11.1 percent, radio news at 5.8 percent and handheld electronic device at 2 percent.

What changes in news do people want to see in the future?

• More than 40 percent of the general public would like to assemble their own newscasts. But the key variable wasn't age, it was education. People with college degrees or higher were the most interested in assembling their own news.

• More than 60 percent of the general public would like to interact with TV news, something we defined in the question as pressing a button to get more information on something that you see in a newscast. That figure rose to more than 70 percent of those aged 18–34.

The business and promotion side of news

• People think that business influences TV news. They care, and stations should tread carefully with anything that blurs the line between business and news. The demographic groups most concerned about the issue are higher income, better educated, young men. In other words, the people stations and advertisers most want to attract to the news are those who feel the strongest about maintaining a clear separation between business and news.

• Less than 10 percent of the general public said they had noticed any promotional efforts to get them to watch the news more on the part of the station they most often watch for news. Most of those who did notice said the effort was content-related.

• By far, the number one general public suggestion to make TV news better: fewer commercials. After that, the suggestions were mostly content-related: create more and better news.

Radio-Television News Directors Foundation. "Future of News Survey, 2006." http://www.rtnda.org/pages/media_items/future-of-news-survey-2006493.php (accessed January 6, 2009). Reprinted with permission.

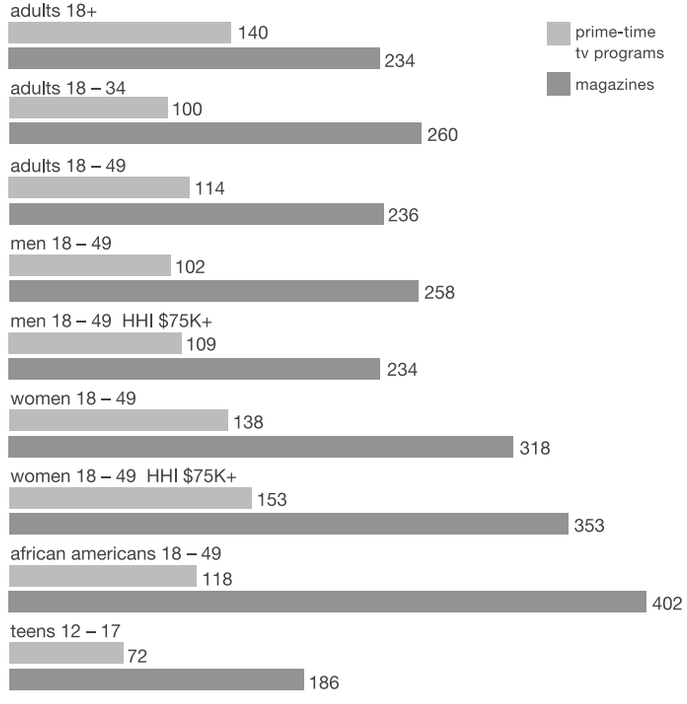
Magazine Reach

Top 25 Magazines Outperform Top 25 Prime-Time TV Programs in Reaching Adults and Teens

Magazines provide superior reach compared to TV programs for major target audiences, including adults 18–49, women 18–49, African Americans 18–49 and teens 12–17, when Carat's cross-media research compared the top 25 prime-time TV programs and top 25 magazines.

Note: Total GRPs equal the rating of each of the top 25 vehicles of each medium added together.

Gross Rating Points of Top 25 Magazines and Prime-Time TV Programs



Sources: Carat Insight; Nielsen September 2007 – May 2008 (Prime regularly scheduled programs); MRI Fall 2008; MRI Twelveplus 2008

Reader Characteristics

Magazine Readers Are Innovators

Consumer Innovators are the consumers who are most open and most active in trying new products across a range of categories. According to MRI, **above-average readers of magazines along with above-average users of the Internet are more likely than average consumers to be innovators overall** and in all six product categories studied—the only two media with this distinction.

Early Adopters and Media Use heavy media users (index=100)

product category	**magazines**	tv	newspapers	radio	**internet**
Leisure	**127**	31	93	104	**181**
Food	**117**	84	101	104	**113**
Electronics	**152**	68	113	106	**187**
Financial	**107**	65	138	86	**151**
Home Appliance	**112**	83	112	93	**134**
Personal Care/Health	**122**	97	105	101	**105**
Super Innovators (3+ segments)	**140**	44	112	102	**184**

Base: U.S. Adults, 18+
Source: MRI, Fall 2008

Reader Characteristics

Magazines Appeal to Younger Adults

An analysis of MRI data demonstrates that:

- **Adults under 35 years old read more issues per month than adults who are over 35**
- **As a consequence, younger adults are more likely to be in the top quintile of magazine readership—the most avid or "heaviest" readers overall**

Readership by Age

MRI	Total	18–24	25–34	35–44	45–54	55–64	65+
Issues Read/Past Month (median)	5.7	7.5	7.1	6.2	6.0	4.8	3.4
Index	100	132	125	109	105	84	60
"Heavy" Magazine Readers – Top Quintile	20.0	25.2	25.6	20.8	21.5	15.6	11.0
Index	100	126	128	104	108	78	55

Base: U.S. Adults 18+
Source: MRI, Fall 2008

Reader Characteristics

Magazines Appeal to Diverse Readers

The MPA Market Profiles offer an in-depth look at the African-American/ Black, Asian American, Hispanic/Latino and Teen markets. Each group is an important, growing segment of the U.S. population that uniquely redefines the culture of the United States in areas such as food, apparel and music. Not surprisingly, each group displays specific magazine readership patterns.

For more on Market Profiles, visit www.magazine.org/marketprofiles.

Source: MRI, Fall 2008; ABC; National Directory of Magazines; Oxbridge Communications, 2009; MRI Teenmark, 2008; Carat Insight, 2008

- More than eight out of ten **African-American/Black** adults (84%) are magazine readers. They read an average of 13.6 issues per month, compared to 9.7 issues per month for all U.S. adults.
- More than two out of three **African-American/Black** adults (69%) who read magazines are between the ages of 18 to 49, compared to only 62% of the U.S. adult population.
- There were on average over 100 titles targeting **Asian-Americans** in the five-year period from 2004 to 2008.
- **Asian-American** magazine readers are younger, more affluent, and better educated than magazine readers overall.
- More than 75% of adult **Hispanic/Latinos** read magazines. They read an average of 10.0 issues per month, slightly higher than the U.S. average.
- From 2004 to 2008, the total paid and verified circulation for ABC-measured **Hispanic/Latinos** magazine titles grew by 22.6%.
- Three-quarters of **teens,** 75%, read magazines.
- A cross-media comparison conducted by Carat Insight found that the top 25 magazines lead the top 25 primetime TV shows in reaching **teens** age 12 to 17.

Reader Characteristics

The Portability of Magazines Allows Consumers to Read Them at Home or Away

Magazine Reading by Location

In Own Home	**81%**
Out of Home	**78**
Doctor / Dentist Office	36
Someone Else's Home	27
Newsstand / Store	26
Work	26
Beauty / Barber Shop	15
Library / Club / School	9
Somewhere Else	8
Airplane	7
Business / Reception Room	7
During Other Travel	3
Traveling To / From Work	2

Note: Percentages add up to more than 100% due to multiple responses.
Source: MRI, Fall 2008

The Magazine Publishers of America. *The Magazine Handbook 2009–2010.* http://www.magazine.org/advertising/handbook/Magazine_Handbook.aspx (accessed January 6, 2009). Reprinted with permission.

Public Opinion

Project for Excellence in Journalism— State of the News Media 2008: Public Attitudes

By Robert Ruby and the Project for Excellence in Journalism

Ask the public for its opinion of the press, and the responses are chastening.

Most Americans believe the news media are politically biased, that their stories are often inaccurate and that journalists do not care about the people they report on.

And in 2007, the public's overall view of the press remained by many measures as negative as in the recent past and notably worse than in the mid-1980s.

There are nuances to the public's skepticism. People continue to like what they actually watch, read and know best. They dislike and distrust the hypothetical monolith—the behemoth called the news media.

What is growing is the extent to which partisanship is creating distinct audiences. It has reached the point where ideology is now as strong an indicator of an individual's likes and dislikes about the press as any other basic demographic measure. Increasingly, there are Republican views of the news media and Democratic views, and they differ sharply. Political independents have their own distinct attitudes about the media—and they grew more negative in 2007.

This divide was evident in views of coverage of the war in Iraq. Democrats express greater confidence in the media's performance there than do Republicans.

But the partisan divide is not as sharp when it comes to coverage of the presidential campaign. Nearly everyone tended to think there was too much early handicapping of the race, too little coverage of so-called minor candidates and too little coverage of what the candidates were saying. And those views could deepen given that so much of the press' early handicapping proved wrong—the writing off of John McCain and Mike Huckabee, the love affair with Fred Thompson and the advance anointing of Hillary Clinton and Rudolph Giuliani.

Another worry is that the Internet news audience is particularly skeptical—and this is a group that is growing, is younger and is better educated than the general population. It is the press' future base. This audience is especially critical of the mainstream media's fairness and accuracy.

And the rise of blogging has added to this perception. Bloggers on both the right and left acidly criticized mainstream news outlets for their coverage of politics in 2007 and the war in Iraq. Newspapers, magazines and television duly reported the bloggers' criticisms. (One wire service headline declared, "The blogs flunk the media again."[1] Online editors meanwhile apologized for instances of inaccurate reporting on their Web sites.

One other factor probably added to the mix: the host of growing problems in newsrooms.

In every part of the industry, journalists themselves experienced the turmoil generated by another year of reorganizations and cutbacks. New owners took control of several major news organizations, including Dow Jones & Co. (publisher of the Wall Street Journal) and the Tribune Company (publisher of the Los Angeles Times,

the Chicago Tribune, Newsday and other major newspapers). Anyone paying attention to what the press reported about itself could have detected the insecurity. As the industry is buffeted by new technology and as audiences fragment further, some critics portray the turbulence as confirmation of what they see as the press' failings.

Nearly every news organization seemed anxious to revise its playbook. The press—the fragmented, challenged industry that regularly repor ted on threats to its own prosperity—wanted to expand here, contract there, master social networking, become a community bulletin board, serve as a national forum, list the financial contributors to every presidential campaign, shrink stock tables, expand a broadcast, close a news bureau, expand a Web team, merge copy desks, reorganize the ad sales team.

An important question for the coming year is whether that turmoil is seen by an already skeptical public as panic or openness to change. The news media may risk seeming like just another industry anxious about its products, its customers and its future.

General Trust

The 20-year trend of public dissatisfaction with the press showed few signs of reversing course in 2007.

Majorities of Americans continued to say that journalists are often inaccurate (55%), do not care about the people they report on (53%), are biased (55%), one-sided (66%) and try to cover up their mistakes (63%). Those sentiments, all more prevalent than in the 1980s, have become entrenched.[2]

There was similarly no real movement in the slim pluralities who believe the press is moral (46%) or protects democracy (44%), again lower figures than a two decades ago.[3]

Persistent Criticisms of the Press: Percent of Survey Respondents

	July 1985	*Feb 1999*	*Sep 2001*	*Nov 2001*	*July 2002*	*July 2003*	*June 2005*	*July 2007*
News Organizations . . .	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Moral	54	40	40	53	39	45	43	46
Immoral	13	38	34	23	36	32	35	32
Protect democracy	54	45	46	60	50	52	47	44
Hurt democracy	23	38	32	19	29	28	33	36
Get facts straight	55	37	35	46	35	36	36	39
Stories often inaccurate	34	58	57	45	56	56	56	53
Careful to avoid bias	36	31	26	35	26	29	28	31
Politically biased	45	56	59	47	59	53	60	55
Highly professional	72	52	54	73	49	62	59	66
Not professional	11	32	27	12	31	24	25	22

Source: Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, "Views of Press Values and Performance: 1985–2007," August 9, 2007.

There may be some comfort for the press in knowing that even fewer people think favorably of other organizations. More people have positive opinions of their daily newspaper than of the Supreme Court. Substantially more people think well of network news programs (71%) than of Congress (45%), the Democratic Party (55%) or the Republican Party (42%).[4]

And some of the declining trust is associated with views of the institution rather than of a single news media company or journalist.

Most people say they dislike Congress, yet most individual members of that body consistently win re-election. Similarly, people dislike the media but like the media they pay attention to.

But these criticisms of the press have become part of a larger suspicion of the press, and believability of the press is lower than in the 1990s.

No major category was exempt from the public's broad criticism in 2007, but cable television news and network television news have suffered the greatest recent loss of good will. From 2005 to 2007, the percentage of people who held a favorable opinion about cable and network television news dropped 4 percentage points (down to 75% for cable, 71% for the networks).[5]

At first glance, major national newspapers such as the New York Times fare worse than television. Only 60% of the public has a favorable opinion of national papers, but the erosion of support has slowed; the latest figure is a drop of only 1 percentage point in the last two years.[6] And survey data leaves unclear how many of the people offering opinions actually see those newspapers.

There are a few bright spots in the data in 2007, and these seem to offer hints of the media's value—and perhaps to how the press might work to rebuild its bond with the public.

More Americans than in the five previous years regard the press as highly professional. In a 2007 Pew Research Center survey, the figure rose to 66%, up from 59% in 2005.[7]

By nearly 2 to 1, Americans still believe in the watchdog role of the press in keeping leaders from doing things they shouldn't.

And a larger percentage than was the case five years earlier believes the press is careful to avoid political bias.

But a majority still considers the press biased (55% in 2007; 59% in 2002).[8]

And the press has done nothing to regain the momentary surge in confidence it enjoyed in the weeks following the September 11 attacks on the U.S.[9]

The data suggest the public most trusted the press—believed it professional, accurate, generally unbiased, even moral—when the public depended on it most for information and perhaps reassurance.

Liking the Familiar

Despite their general distrust, however, people like the news media that they seem to know best, although even these numbers are falling. About 80% of Americans have a positive opinion of their local television news and of their local daily newspaper. The public also does not always endorse the story choices made by editors. In particular, a substantial part of the public (40%) believes celebrity news gets too much attention. No other topic is cited by even half as many people as getting too much play.[10]

Many people also say they want a different kind of reporting on presidential politics, at least based on what they saw and read during the early months of the current campaign. A Pew Research Center survey found that about 8 in 10 people wanted more coverage of the candidates' positions on issues. Our analysis of campaign coverage during the first five months of 2007 found that most stories focused, instead, on political fundraising, tactics and polling.

People were well aware they were not finding the coverage they wanted. A majority rated campaign coverage as only fair or poor.[11]

Television

In general, news programs on network, cable and local broadcast television retain an enviable position in terms of public trust.

For national and international news, most Americans turn on their televisions. About 6 out of 10 people say television is their main source for that information. For this type of news, the public by a small margin favors the networks over cable.[12]

But usage patterns are changing, and they bring changes in attitudes about news organizations. Consider, for instance, differences between adults and school-age children in their news habits. Most

children, like most of their parents, turn to television as the main source of national and foreign news, although the children do not watch as much of it. Among that younger generation, the percentage that relies on television is 55% for the children and 60% for adults.[13]

In second place—for adults as well as children—is the Internet. One survey found newspapers tied with the Internet, while others place newspapers third. We do not know how many of those Internet users are, in fact, clicking on Web sites maintained by television news organizations or by newspapers.

Among young people, the Internet also is gaining over television as a source of presidential campaign news. Six in 10 of those 18 to 29 years old cite television as one of their two main sources for election news, down from 75% in 2004. Over that time, the proportion citing the Internet has more than doubled—from 21% to 46%.[14]

For all parts of the television news industry, another possible warning sign is the diminished star power of on-air journalists. That may seem counter-intuitive, since many anchors, correspondents and talk show hosts surely qualify as celebrities; their employers advertise them as brand names. But none have as much prominence in the role of a journalist as did some of their counterparts in the mid-1980s. Compared to then, a smaller part of the public can name the journalist they admire most. None are named by more than 5% of the public.

In 1987, Dan Rather as anchor of the CBS Evening News was named by 11% of the public as their favorite journalist. In 2007, CBS anchor Katie Couric topped the list, but with only 5%. She was closely followed by Fox's talk show host Bill O'Reilly and ABC news anchor Charles Gibson. The top 10 also included Jon Stewart, host of Comedy Central's satiric news-related Daily Show.[15]

Attitudes of Internet Users

Roughly a quarter of all Americans now get news on a daily basis from the Internet, a figure bolstered by half the U.S. population now having broadband at home.[16]

This audience is more critical of traditional news sources than other Americans. About 4 out of 10 have unfavorable opinions of national newspapers (43%), network television news (39%) and cable television news (38%).

America's Favorite Journalists: Then and Now—Percent of Survey Respondents

2007	*%*	*1985*	*%*
Katie Couric	5	Dan Rather	11
Bill O'Reilly	4	Walter Cronkite	6
Charles Gibson	3	Peter Jennings	6
Dan Rather	2	Tom Brokaw	4
Tom Brokaw	2	Barbara Walters	3
Brian Williams	2	Ted Koppel	2
Anderson Cooper	2	Other	33
Jon Stewart	2	None/Don't Know/Refused	35
Other	42		
None/Don't Know/Refused	44		

Source: Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, "Today's Journalists Less Prominent," March 8, 2007.

Note: 2007 figures add to 104% because respondents could offer more than one name.

Three out of 10 in the Internet news audience have a low opinion of their local television news (32%) and their local newspaper (29%). Those, too, are higher percentages than among people who depend on traditional media.[17]

For traditional news organizations, the problem may not be as ominous as it seems. At least some Internet users rely for news on Web sites maintained by the news organizations that the users say they otherwise dislike.

For example, one out of four Americans (26%) mention the Internet either first or second as their main source of presidential campaign news. Of those, more than half (54%) cite at least one of these three Web sites—MSNBC.com, CNN.com and Yahoo News. Both MSNBC and CNN are divisions of mainstream news organizations; many headlines and stories on Yahoo News, too, come from traditional news organizations.[18] That points to a finding, long seen in the data and often not well understood: trust in the press does not correlate necessarily to usage. Often some of those most distrustful of media are its heaviest consumers.

And the findings about Internet users raise an intriguing question: what if some of the concerns people have with traditional journalism are ameliorated by the Web technology?

The public values the Internet in part because of its convenience. People like the ease with which they can find what they want, when they want. And some Internet users clearly prefer the Web as their news source for those reasons. It is less important to them that the Web sites may largely replicate the coverage being broadcast on television or published on newsprint—same content, different format, apparently different levels of satisfaction.

Partisan Gap among the Public

Then there is the question of partisan divide. With growing intensity, Republicans express more skepticism than Democrats about the fairness and accuracy of the media, and in 2007 some of those gaps grew to record size.

A far larger percentage of Republicans than Democrats regard the press as too critical of the United States, 63% vs. 23%, a gap of 40 percentage points.

The polarization is nearly as sharp in opinions about different news outlets. A smaller percentage of Republicans than Democrats express positive views about their daily newspaper (68% of Republicans, 86% of Democrats). Fewer like the national papers (41% vs. 79%). The same goes for network television news (56% vs. 84%).[19]

The partisan divide changes, however, depending on which party holds the White House. During Democratic administrations, Republicans are more supportive than Democrats of the press' watchdog role over government. When the GOP controls the White House, more Democrats than Republicans endorse that function.

Thus in 2007, a majority of the public (58%) believed press criticism did more good than harm, but there were significant differences among Democrats (71%), Republicans (44%) and Independents (60%).[20]

View of Watchdog Press Varies by President: Percent Saying Press Criticism Does More Good than Harm

	1985	1989	1994	1997	1999	2001	2003	2005	2007
	Reagan/Bush Sr.		Clinton			George W. Bush			
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	67	68	66	56	58	60	54	60	58
Republicans	65	63	72	60	65	51	43	44	44
Democrats	71	72	62	52	57	65	56	72	71
Independents	64	72	66	59	55	64	65	65	60
R-D Gap	–6	–9	+10	+8	+8	–14	–13	–28	–27

Source: Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, "Views of Press Values and Performance: 1985–2007," August 9, 2007.

Fewer See Pro-Republican Bias in Campaign Coverage: Percent of Survey Respondents

	Jan 1988	*Apr 1996*	*Jan 2000*	*Jan 2004*	*Late Dec 2007*
In campaign coverage, more . . .	%	%	%	%	%
Pro-Democratic Bias	9	20	19	22	25
Pro-Republican Bias	10	14	13	17	9
No bias	58	53	48	38	41
Don't know	23	13	20	23	25

Source: Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, "Views of Press Values and Performance: 1985–2007," August 9, 2007.

The ideological differences extend to perceptions of political bias. Sharply higher numbers of Republicans than Democrats consider the press biased in its reporting (70% of Republicans vs. 29% of Democrats).[21]

But while the partisan divide over bias exists when it comes to the coverage of politics itself, here it is much less pronounced. In 2007, 41% of Americans saw no bias in the election coverage, but that figure included a significantly smaller percentage of all Republicans (28%) than Democrats (47%) or independents (43%).

Where did people think the bias tilted? Here the public is not so split. If there is a bias, more people think it is liberal. Fully 50% of all Republicans say they detect Democratic bias. But only 16% of Democrats (and 8% of independents) saw a tilt toward the GOP.[22]

Despite the growing divide, people have not lost faith in the idea of an independent press. Fully 67% of Americans say they prefer to get news that has no particular point of view, and the balance of opinion has not changed on this since 2004.

What is more, there are no significant differences on this by party. About two-thirds of Democrats (65%), Republicans (66%) and Independents (70%) say they like getting news that has no point of view, rather than news that reflects their own political outlook, although they might disagree as to which news reports are neutral.[23]

Iraq

Partisanship extends to opinions about press coverage of Iraq. Even if the public sometimes seemed to argue about the press' role as a surrogate for arguing over the war itself, the debate still hints at the concern about press bias and the media's role in a democracy.

A series of Pew surveys in 2007 consistently found that about 4 out of 10 Americans believed the press was providing an accurate picture of events in Iraq, and results from other polling organizations were about the same.

More people have confidence in the military (55%) to give an accurate picture of the war than the press (42%).[24]

Journalists themselves give their coverage higher marks, a difference that is a reminder of the contrast between how the public views the media and how journalists view their own work. In a PEJ survey of journalists with recent experience in Iraq, 70% believed their coverage over all gave an accurate picture of events there. About one in six (15%) believed the coverage made the situation look better than it was. Hardly any (3%) believed it was too negative.[25]

Conclusion

Nothing occurred in 2007 to change the now deep impression that Americans have formed that the press is an institution of immense power that should be viewed with suspicion. And looking ahead, the even more skeptical view of the Internet audience, and the problems and cutbacks facing the profession, offer a grim forecast that this might somehow quickly change.

But one impression that people may have is false: Since the new millennia, and as the media began to undergo an extraordinary revolution, those views have not changed or gotten more negative.

Despite what some might think, the view of the press heading into 2008 has in many ways become stable.

1. McClatchy Washington Bureau, Nov. 30, 2007. http://www.mcclatchydc.com/234/story/22376.html

2. Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, "Views of Press Values and Performance: 1985–2007," August 9, 2007.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, Pew Weekly News Interest Index Poll, October 12, 2007. http://people-press.org/reports/display.php3?ReportID=362

11. Project for Excellence in Journalism, "The Invisible Primary—Invisible No Longer," October 29, 2007. http://journalism.org/node/8189#_ftn2.

12. In three polls conducted during 2007 by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press and by the Pew Global Attitudes Project, those relying on television for national and international news ranged from 56% to 62%.

13. Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, Pew Weekly News Interest Index Poll, May 23, 2007. http://people-press.org/reports/display.php3?ReportID=330.

14. Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, "Internet's Broader Role in Campaign 2008," January, 11, 2008. Based on polling conducted December 19–30, 2007. http://people-press.org/reports/display.php3?ReportID=384.

15. Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, "Today's Journalists Less Prominent," March 8, 2007.

16. About 70% of American adults use the Internet, and of those, 37% on a typical day use the Internet to get news. Pew Internet & American Life Project, "Demographics of Internet Users." http://www.pewInternet.org/trends/User_Demo_ 6.15.07.htm, and "Daily Interest Activities." http://www.pewInternet.org/trends/Daily_Internet_Activities_8.28.07.htm. Broadband figure from Pew Internet & American Life Project, "Why We Don't Know Enough About Broadband in the U.S." http://pewinternet.org/pdfs/Backgrounder.MeasuringBroadband.pdf.

17. Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, "Views of Press Values and Performance: 1985–2007," August 9, 2007.

18. Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, "Internet's Broader Role in Campaign 2008," January 11, 2008. Based on polling conducted December 19–30, 2007. http://people-press.org/reports/display.php3?ReportID=384.

19. Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, "Views of Press Values and Performance: 1985–2007," August 9, 2007.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, "Internet's Broader Role in Campaign 2008." Q43, banner C. http://people-press.org/reports/pdf/384.pdf.

23. Ibid., page 22.

24. Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, "Views of Press Values and Performance: 1985–2007," August 9, 2007. Also, Pew Weekly News Interest Index Poll, November 9, 2007. http://people-press.org/reports/display.php3?ReportID=370.

NBC News /Wall Street Journal poll, conducted by Hart and Newhouse Research Companies, April 20–23, 2007. Gallup Poll, December 18–20, 2006.

25. PEJ, "Journalists in Iraq: A Survey of Reporters on the Front Lines." http://www.journalism.org/files/PEJ%20FINAL%20Survey%20of%20Journalists%20in%20IraqWITH%20SURVEY.pdf.

Project for Excellence in Journalism. "State of the News Media 2008: Public Attitudes." http://www.stateofthenewsmedia.com/2008/narrative_special_attitudes.php?cat=1&media=13 (accessed January 6, 2009). Reprinted with permission of the Pew Research Center.

Internet Impact on Media

The Magazine Publishers of America—The Magazine Handbook 2009–2010:
Magazine Readership, Number of Titles, and Website Growth

Readership Trends

Magazine Readership Remains Strong

More then 4 out of 5 U.S. adults read magazines.

Magazine audience —including readership among younger adults—has remained strong over the past five years despite the growth of new media options.

Magazine Readers (000)	2004	2008
Adults 18+	179,373	189,681
Index to 2004	100	**106**
Adults 18–34	58,916	60,461
Index to 2004	100	**103**
Average Issues/Month		
Adults 18+	11.0	11.5
Index to 2004	100	**105**
Adults 18–34	12.1	13.1
Index to 2004	100	**108**
Coverage		
Adults 18+	84%	85%
Index to 2004	100	**101**
Adults 18–34	88%	88%
Index to 2004	100	**100**

Base: Magazine Readers, U.S. Adults 18+, 230 Measured Magazines
Source: MRI, Fall Studies 2004 and 2008

Number of Magazine Titles

A Magazine for Everyone

Reading a magazine is an intimate, involving experience that fulfills the personal needs and reflects the values of the reader. This is one reason the average reader spends over 43 minutes reading each issue.

For a list of the number of magazines by category, visit **www.magazine.org.**

Number of Magazines 1999 – 2008

year	total*	consumer
1999	17,970	9,311
2000	17,815	8,138
2001	17,694	6,336
2002	17,321	5,340
2003	17,254	6,234
2004	18,821	7,188
2005	18,267	6,325
2006	19,419	6,734
2007	19,532	6,809
2008	**20,590**	**7,383**

*Includes, but is not limited to, consumer magazines in North America regardless of publishing frequency.
Source: MRI Fall, 2008, *National Directory of Magazines*, 2009

Number of Magazines with Websites

Magazine Websites Continue to Grow Even as Print Magazines Are Valued

The number of consumer magazine websites has increased 78% since 2005, extending the reach and influence of magazines' editorial and advertising messages to an even wider audience.

Consumers who use both magazine websites and their print counterparts overwhelmingly state that the printed magazine still has value.

Keep up with the latest magazine digital initiatives at **www.magazine.org/digital.**

Number of Magazines with Websites 2005 – 2009

year	total	consumer only
2005	10,131	4,712
2006	10,818	5,395
2007	11,623	5,950
2008	13,247	6,453
2009	**15,204**	**7,473**

Source: MediaFinder, 2009 (data as of March, 2009)

Dual Magazine-Website Users Value Print by percent

% strongly agree: "Online version could easily replace print version in next five years"

Fashion/Beauty	15%
Entertainment	13
Health & Wellness	12
Food/Cooking	10

Base: Dual users of magazine related website (by genre)
Source: MediaVest Print/Digital Study, 2008

Magazine Website Traffic

Magazine Website Usage is Growing Faster Than Web Usage Overall

Magazine Website Growth

	unique visitors (millions)	reach (percent)	sessions (millions)	total minutes (billions)
Fourth Quarter 2006	62.5	39%	386.6	1.7
Fourth Quarter 2007	67.5	42%	434.3	1.8
Fourth Quarter 2008	75.0	45%	546.2	2.4
Percent of Change 2008 vs. 2006	**20%**	**15%**	**41%**	**41%**
U.S. Web Growth 2008 vs. 2006	**4%**			
First Quarter 2007	63.2	40%	427.7	1.9
First Quarter 2008	70.7	43%	497.3	2.2
First Quarter 2009	75.8	45%	538.4	2.3
Percent of Change 2009 vs. 2007	**20%**	**13%**	**26%**	**21%**
U.S. Web Growth 2009 vs. 2007	**7%**			

Source: Nielsen Online analysis, based on quarterly averages of 476 magazine brands online, Q4 2008, Q1 2009

The Magazine Publishers of America. *The Magazine Handbook 2009–2010*. http://www.magazine.org/advertising/handbook/Magazine_Handbook.aspx (accessed January 6, 2009). Reprinted with permission.

The Pew Research Center 2008 Journalist Survey: Summary of Findings

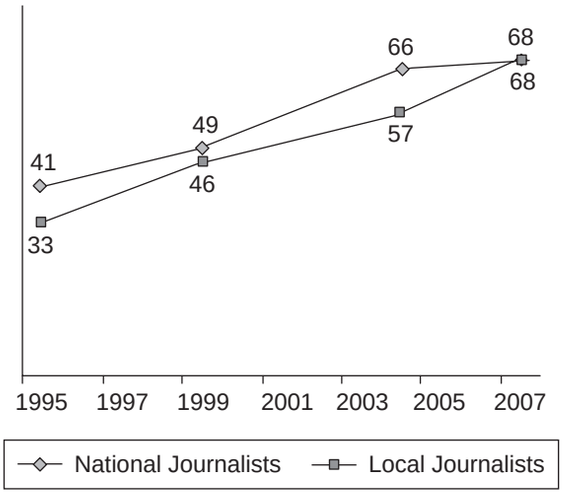
Financial Woes Now Overshadow All Other Concerns for Journalists; The Web: Alarming, Appealing and a Challenge to Journalistic Values

The financial crisis facing news organizations is so grave that it is now overshadowing concerns about the quality of news coverage, the flagging credibility of the news media, and other problems that have been very much on the minds of journalists over the past decade.

An ever larger majority of journalists at national media outlets—62%—says that journalism is going in the wrong direction, an increase from the 51% who expressed this view in 2004. Half of internet journalists and about the same proportion of local journalists (49%) also take a negative view of the state of their profession.

Soaring economic worries underlie these sour assessments. In an open-ended format, 55% of journalists at national news organizations cite a financial or economic concern as the most important problem facing journalism, up from just 30% in 2004. The proportion of local journalists citing an economic problem also has increased sharply since 2004 (from 35% to 52%). In addition, about half of internet journalists (48%)—those who work for web-only news organizations or the websites of print, broadcast or cable news outlets—point to a financial concern as the greatest problem facing the profession.

Bottom Line Pressure Hurting Journalism



Large Majorities See Increasing Financial Pressure

	----National---		---Local---		
Financial pressure	Print	TV/Radio	Print	TV	Internet
on your org. has…	%	%	%	%	%
Increased	87	61	88	73	79
Decreased	2	4	2	2	3
Stayed the same	9	33	9	22	17
DK/Refused	2	2	2	3	2
	100	100	101	100	101

As financial concerns have risen, fewer journalists cite the quality of coverage and the loss of credibility with the public as the most important problems facing journalism. Among national journalists, just 22% mention the quality of coverage as the biggest problem facing the profession, down from 41% in 2004. The proportion of local journalists citing the quality of coverage also has declined since 2004, from 33% to 21%.

For many, the financial problems confronting journalism are directly tied to the rise of journalism on the internet. Overall, 16% of national journalists—including 26% of those working in print—cite the current business model for journalism, or the specific challenge of making a profit from web journalism, as the most important problem facing journalism.

However, the national and local journalists surveyed make clear distinctions between the internet's impact on the news business, which they view with alarm, and the ways that the Web has transformed journalism, many of which the journalists view quite positively.

The survey of journalists was conducted Sept. 17–Dec. 3, 2007 among 585 reporters, editors and news executives by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press and the Project for Excellence in Journalism.

Large majorities of national, local and internet journalists say it is good thing that citizens are able to post comments on news organizations' websites. In addition, majorities in all three groups say that video-streaming websites, with YouTube by far the most well-known, have been a good thing for journalism.

Perhaps more surprising is that most national and local journalists also express positive opinions about news aggregating websites, such as Google News and Yahoo News, which have been blamed for contributing to audience declines for traditional news organizations. Notably, fewer local print journalists (53%) view news aggregating sites as a good thing for journalism than do local TV journalists (71%) or national journalists (67%).

Overall, internet journalists have more positive impressions of internet-driven innovations than do journalists who work for national and local print, TV and radio news organizations. For instance, only about a third of national (35%) and local journalists (36%) have a positive view of citizens posting news content on news organizations' websites; by contrast, 54% of internet journalists say this is a good thing for journalism.

There is an even bigger gap in how national, local and internet journalists view the impact of news ranking sites such as reddit.com and digg.com. Nearly two-thirds of internet journalists (65%) say that reddit, digg and other sites that rank the popularity of news stories are a good thing for journalism. Only about a third of national journalists (34%) and even fewer local journalists (24%) agree.

Staff Reductions Widespread in Print, Internet Journalists Not Exempt

	---National---		---Local----		
Over past 3 yrs,	Print	TV/Radio	Print	TV	Internet
staff at your org. has…	%	%	%	%	
Increased	8	45	2	23	25
Decreased	**69**	**22**	**82**	**28**	**52**
Stayed the same	21	30	16	47	20
DK/Refused	2	3	1	2	3
	100	100	101	100	100

	---National---		---Local----		
Your job likely	Print	TV/Radio	Print	TV	Internet
to be eliminated?	%	%	%	%	%
Very likely	7	3	4	2	3
Somewhat likely	27	22	24	15	22
Not too likely	38	42	45	33	47
Not at all likely	25	32	26	49	27
DK/Refused	3	1	1	2	2
	100	100	100	101	101

Main Reason for Declining Audiences? More News Choices

Major reasons for lost audience/readership:	National %	Local %	Internet %
Wider range of news choices	81	84	82
Specialized news outlets	57	55	53
Americans are too busy	47	51	44
News orgs. focus too much on scandal	42	34	39
Public not interested in serious news	35	24	31
Stories not meaningful to average people	33	41	36
Coverage is too boring and static	18	25	19

The survey finds that while journalists welcome many of the new technologies that have revolutionized journalism, they are divided about the internet's overall impact on the traditional values of their profession. National journalists are evenly split about whether the internet's rise will strengthen or weaken traditional journalistic values. On balance, more local journalists say the internet will weaken (45%), rather than strengthen (34%), those values. Even among internet journalists themselves, only about half (49%) say the Web will enhance journalistic values.

Older journalists generally see the internet weakening journalistic values. About half of journalists ages 55 and older (52%) express this view. By comparison, a 49% plurality of younger journalists (ages 22–34) says the internet's rise will strengthen journalistic values.

Those who believe that the internet will strengthen journalistic values cite several factors for this. They assert that the Web increases journalistic transparency and enables journalists to provide more detailed coverage. People who say that the internet weakens the traditional values of journalists most often cite increasing time pressures and diminished quality control in online journalism as the internet's biggest negatives.

The surveyed journalists give the highest performance ratings to major national newspapers—92% of national journalists, and 82% of local and internet journalists, give national newspapers grades of A or B. The grades for the websites of national news organizations are nearly as positive. Roughly eight-in-ten national journalists (82%), and nearly as many internet (78%) and local journalists (74%), give grades of A or B to these sites.

Online-only news sites, such as the magazines Slate and Salon, also are highly regarded, at least among internet and national journalists; 76% of internet journalists give these sites an A or B, as do

Internet Journalists More Likely To See Commercial Influences

How much influence?	National %	Local %	Internet %
Corporate owners			
Great deal/fair amount	26	25	48
Not very much/at all	72	72	50
Don't know	2	2	2
	100	99	100
Advertising concerns			
Great deal/fair amount	25	23	46
Not very much/not at all	74	77	53
Don't know	1	0	1
	100	100	100

68% of national journalists. However, just 47% of local journalists give high marks to online-only news sites. Local journalists, especially those working in print, also give lower grades to news aggregator sites, such as Google News and Yahoo News, than do national or internet journalists.

In addition, while half of internet journalists give high marks to bloggers who write about current events, just a third of national journalists and 21% of local journalists do so. Nonetheless, the proportion of national journalists giving high marks to bloggers is twice the number giving similar ratings to local TV news (33% vs. 17%).

Most of the news professionals surveyed say that even in this era of online news, journalists still fulfill their traditional role as the "gatekeepers" of news and information. Majorities of national (64%), local (63%) and internet journalists (58%) believe that journalists still serve as information gatekeepers—and those who express this opinion overwhelmingly see this as a good thing.

The survey also finds:

- Large majorities of local print journalists (82%) and national print journalists (69%) say staffs at their news organizations have decreased over the past three years. Internet journalists are not exempt from downsizing; 52% say staffs at their newsrooms have decreased over the past three years.
- About half of internet journalists say that corporate owners and advertising concerns exert at least a fair amount of influence over news coverage decisions. Perceptions of commercial pressure are less common among print and TV/radio journalists.
- The journalists surveyed are less optimistic about the future of nightly network news than of printed newspapers. About four-in-ten national journalists (42%) say they expect nightly network broadcasts to survive for only another 10 years or less; just 17% say printed newspapers will disappear that quickly.

The Pew Research Center for the People & the Press. "'Financial Woes Now Overshadow All Other Concerns for Journalists': Summary of Findings," March 17, 2008. http://people-press.org/report/403/financial-woes-now-overshadow-all-other-concerns-for-journalists (accessed January 6, 2009). Reprinted with permission of the Pew Research Center.

Newsroom Diversity

American Society of News Editors— The Newsroom Employment Census (2008)

Newsrooms shrink; minority percentage increases slightly

The number of full-time journalists working at America's daily newspapers shrank by 4.4 percent in the past year, the largest decrease in the past 30 years according to the annual census conducted by the American Society of News Editors.

The percent of minority journalists working at daily newspapers grew minimally to 13.52 percent from 13.43 percent of all journalists, according to ASNE.

ASNE marks the 30th anniversary of the survey in 2008. The annual survey was a direct outgrowth of the March 1, 1968, findings of the Kerner Commission report. The commission, created to study the causes of devastating riots in Newark and Detroit, was highly critical of the lack of coverage of black communities and the lack of minority journalists at mainstream newspapers and broadcast stations. The commission said that newspapers and TV stations shared some of the responsibility for the civil unrest because of their failure to adequately and fairly cover black communities over the years.

ASNE created the annual Newsroom Employment Census in 1978 as a tool to measure the industry's success toward its goal of having the percentage of minorities working in newsrooms nationwide equal to the percentage of minorities in the nation's population. America's newspaper editors have been industry leaders in helping newspapers better reflect their communities to achieve greater accuracy and credibility.

The 1978 census found an estimated 43,000 full-time journalists working as editors, reporters, copy editors and photographers of which 3.95 percent were minorities. The 2008 census found 52,600 full-time journalists of which 13.52 are minorities.

ASNE President Gilbert Bailon said, "The numbers represent a dual reality: It's mildly encouraging that the minority percentage held steady despite difficult economic times that are causing many cutbacks. On the other hand, the total number of minority journalists employed at daily newspapers declined by nearly 300 people, which follows the pattern for the overall newsroom workforce. Such a trend will not help newspapers in their quest to reach parity with the minority population by 2025."

ASNE Diversity Chair Caesar Andrews said, "Certainly the slight percentage increase is better than the alternative, especially during another tough year with overall staff reductions. But if we're not able to accelerate diversity inside newsrooms, and if we miss opportunities to produce more compelling news coverage, then the challenge of connecting with changing communities becomes that much more difficult."

In 1980, the U.S. was 80 percent white not Hispanic and about 20 percent minority, according to the U.S. Census Bureau. By 2006, the U.S. was 66 percent white who are not Hispanic and minorities were 34 percent, according to the census bureau.

"ASNE still gets credit for focusing intensely each year on diversity hiring. Too many newsrooms still fall short.

But there's no denying the progress since the census was started 30 years ago," Andrews said. This year ASNE counted full-time journalists working online for the second time to reflect the industry emphasis on expanding its Web presence. This year's annual census found nearly 1,700 full-time journalists working only on their newspapers' Web sites. Of those, 17.79 percent are minorities.

An estimated 2,400 journalists left newsrooms in 2007 through a combination of buyouts and layoffs. Since 2001, newsrooms have lost an estimated 3,800 professionals, a 6.7 percent decline. But the largest loss came last year.

Highlights of the 2008 survey

- **Supervisors:** Minorities account for 11.4 percent of all supervisors in newsrooms, which brings this percentage to its level two years ago. Of all minorities, 22 percent are supervisors.
- **Newspapers with no minorities:** 423 of the newspapers responding to the survey had no minorities on their full-time staff. This number has been growing since 2006. The majority of these newspapers have circulations of 10,000 or less. All newspapers with circulations of 50,000 or more that responded to the census had at least one minority staffer.
- **Where do minorities work:** Two-thirds of minorities work at newspapers with circulations exceeding 100,000. The percentage of minorities working at newspapers with more than 500,000 circulation is 16 percent; 250,001 to 500,000 circulation, 19 percent; 100,001 to 250,000 circulation now account for 30 percent.

Other findings:

- **Internships:** The percentage of minority interns stands at 28 percent, a slight increase from 26.6 percent last year.
- **First time hires:** Minorities represented nearly 18 percent of the journalists hired for their first full-time newsroom job. That number has fluctuated over the decade. In 2001, it stood at 18.8 percent and rose to a high of 22.5 percent in 2004. It has declined since.
- **Women:** Women working full-time in daily newspapers now total 19,700. The percentage of women decreased slightly from 37.58 to 37.36 percent. Minority women accounted for 17.16 of female newsroom staffers.
- **Men:** Men total more than 32,900, down from nearly 34,400. Minority men continued to accounted for 11.35 percent of male newsroom staffers in 2007.

Clarification of 2006 and 2007 figures

We added free daily newspapers to the ASNE Census in 2006 to enhance the accuracy of our count of full-time journalists working at newspapers. We realized this year that we had used an incorrect system to include them in the totals. This year we put them in their own circulation category. With that change, we recalculated the total estimated newsroom staff to 53,600 in 2006, of which 7,400 were minorities, and 55,000 in 2007, including 7,400 minorities. The percentage of minorities changed to 13.73 for 2006 and 13.43 for 2007.

ASNE's Diversity Mission

Increasing diversity in U.S. newspaper newsrooms has been a primary ASNE mission since 1978. ASNE is an industry leader in helping newspapers better reflect their communities. It provides career information to aspiring journalists. ASNE sponsors and coordinates a variety of initiatives and projects, including job fairs directed at young journalists of color and seminars for editors on the changing demographics of the U.S. It is the only major mainstream journalism organization with a full-time diversity director.

The survey is a tool ASNE uses to measure the success of its goal of having the percentage of minorities working in newsrooms nationwide equal to the percentage of minorities in the nation's population by 2025.

Census procedures

For the 2008 ASNE newsroom employment census, 924 of the 1,411 daily newspapers responded to the survey, representing 65.49 percent of all U.S. dailies. The census is based on employment data reported by daily newspapers.

The survey data are projected to reflect all daily newspapers in the country. Editors participating in

the survey agree to publish the percentage of newsroom employees who are minorities. A list of newspapers with their percentages follows the summary and tables.

The data from newspapers that returned the survey are used to project the numbers for non-responding newspapers in the same circulation range. An ASNE follow-up test of non-responding newspapers found their employment of minorities closely resembles newspapers in their circulation categories that respond to the survey. The survey figures reported above are weighted in this way to reflect all daily newspapers. ASNE has implemented internal monitoring procedures to ensure the consistency and credibility of the employment data. Moreover, because the survey procedures remain constant each year, the ASNE census provides highly reliable year-to-year comparisons.

ASNE is an organization of the main editors of daily newspapers throughout the Americas. Founded in 1922, ASNE is active in a number of areas of interest to top editors with priorities on improving freedom of information, diversity, readership and credibility of newspapers.

American Society of News Editors. "American Society of News Editors—The Newsroom Employment Census (2008)." http://www.asne.org/files/08Census.pdf (accessed January 6, 2009). Reprinted with permission.

Radio-Television News Directors Association (RTNDA)/ Hofstra University—Annual Women and Minorities Survey 2008 (RTNDA Communicator)

By Bob Papper

Results from the latest RTNDA/Hofstra University Annual Survey show increases in the number of women and minorities working in—and leading—TV and radio newsrooms.

By most measures, this year has been good for women and minorities in both TV and radio news, according to the latest RTNDA/Hofstra University Annual Survey. In fact, it's been better than good.

At 28.3 percent, there are more women news directors in television than ever before eclipsing the old record set in 2003 by almost 2 percent. The percentage of minority news directors in TV also reached an all-time high of 15.5 percent. That's a percent and a half above the previous high in 2000. Overall, minorities in TV news at 23.6 percent reached the second-highest level ever, not far behind the peak reached in 2001. The percentage of minorities at non-Hispanic stations also rose, but more modestly, coming in third behind 2001 and 2006. And at 9.1, the percentage of minority TV news directors at non-Hispanic stations reached the highest level in the eight years we've tracked that statistic.

Minority numbers in radio rose as well. After years of steady shrinkage, the percentage of minorities rose to 11.8 percent. That's nowhere near a record, but it's far better than the last several years.

Not all the numbers were on the plus side. The number of minority radio news directors, which had spiked last year, fell back down to where it had been.

The bigger picture appears more mixed. In the past 18 years, the minority population in the United States has risen 8.1 percent; but the minority workforce in TV news is up 5.8 percent, and the minority workforce in radio is up by just 1 percent. Still, TV news diversity is far ahead of newspaper diversity (see sidebar).

Minority Population v. Minority Broadcast Workforce

	2008	*2007*	*2006*	*2005*	*2000*	*1995*	*1990*
U.S. Minority Population	34.0%	33.6%	33.2%	32.8%	28.6%	27.9%	25.9%
Minority TV Workforce	23.6	21.5	22.2	21.2	21.0	17.1	17.8
Minority Radio Workforce	11.8	6.2	6.4	7.9	10.0	14.7	10.8

Broadcast News Work Force—Television

	2008	*2007*	*2006*	*2005*	*2000*	*1995*
Caucasian	76.3%	78.5%	77.8%	78.8%	79.0%	82.9%
African American	10.1	10.1	9.5	10.3	11.0	10.1
Hispanic	10.3	8.7	9.6	8.7	7.0	4.2
Asian American	2.7	2.3	2.7	1.9	3.0	2.2
Native American	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.3	<1.0	0.6

Broadcast News Work Force—Radio

	2008	*2007*	*2006*	*2005*	*2000*	*1995*
Caucasian	88.2%	93.8%	93.6%	92.1%	90%	85.3%
African American	7.8	3.3	2.5	0.7	5	5.7
Hispanic	3.6	0.7	1.9	6.0	3	7.5
Asian American	0.4	1.1	1.8	0.7	1	0.6
Native American	0	1.1	0.2	0.5	1	1.0

Television: The number of African Americans held steady; the number of Hispanics rose 1.6 percent; the number of Asian Americans rose 0.4 percent; and Native Americans increased by 0.1 percent. Among non-Hispanic stations, the minority workforce rose to 20.1 percent. That's up from 19.4 percent last year, but it's still below the figure from two years ago (20.4 percent). At non-Hispanic stations, the minority break down is: 10.5 percent African American; 6.2 percent Hispanic; 2.9 percent Asian American; and 0.5 percent Native American. At non-Hispanic stations, the number of Asian Americans rose 0.6 percent; African Americans increased by 0.1 percent; while the number of Hispanics and Native Americans went unchanged.

Overall, 82.1 percent of the TV news workforce at Hispanic stations are Hispanic. Another 15.4 percent are white, 1.8 percent are African American, 0.3 percent Asian American and 0.4 percent Native American.

Men outnumber women for all ethnic groups except Asian Americans and Native Americans. There are 10 percent more African American men than women; 21.4 percent more Hispanic men than women; and 65.1 percent more Caucasian men than women. In contrast, there are 50 percent more Asian American women as men, and 50 percent more Native American women as men.

Radio: The picture was mixed. The percentage of African Americans and Hispanics shot up while the percentage of Asian Americans and Native Americans dropped.

Broadcast News Directors—Television—2008

	2008	*2007*	*2006*	*2005*	*2000*	*1995*
Caucasian	84.5%	89.1%	86.8%	88.0%	86%	92.1%
African American	3.7	2.0	4.2	3.9	3	1.6
Hispanic	9.3	7.2	6.0	5.8	9	3.8
Asian American	1.7	1.0	1.2	1.3	2	1.5
Native American	0.8	0.7	1.8	1.0	<1	1.0

Broadcast News Directors—Radio—2008

	2008	*2007*	*2006*	*2005*	*2000*	*1995*
Caucasian	94.1%	88.0%	95.6%	89.0%	94%	91.4%
African American	1.7	4.4	1.9	0.0	3	5.4
Hispanic	3.4	3.8	1.3	8.8	2	2.4
Asian American	0.8	1.9	0.6	0	0	0
Native American	0	1.9	0.6	2.2	1	0.8

Television: At 15.5, the percentage of minority TV news directors set a new record, eclipsing the old one of 14 percent set back in 2000. In TV, all minority news director groups rose. Minority news directors are most commonly found in the biggest markets (at 25.8 percent) and least often in the smallest markets (at 10.3 percent). But minority news directors are also most likely to be in the smallest news departments (at 36.0 percent). Minority news directors are most commonly found in the West (25.4 percent) and the South (15.1 percent) as opposed to the Midwest (7.1 percent) or Northeast (6.7 percent).

At non-Hispanic stations, the percentage of minority TV news directors rose to an all-time high of 9.1 percent, up from last year's 6.5 percent and the previous all-time high of 8.6 percent the year before. The number of Hispanic news directors at non-Hispanic stations rose from last year's 2.5 percent to this year's 3.0 percent. The number of African American news directors rose from 2.2 percent last year to 3.3 percent. The number of Asian Americans went from 1.1 percent to 1.8 percent, and Native Americans edged up from 0.7 percent to 0.9 percent.

Radio: In contrast, every minority group of radio news directors fell back from last year's increases. There were no consistent and meaningful patterns based on ownership, market size or geography.

Women in Local TV News—2008

	News Staffs With Women	*Women News Directors*	*Women as Percentage of Work Force*	*Average Number of Women on Staff*
All Television	97.0%	28.3%	40.2%	14.5
Network Affiliates	97.2	27.7	40.2	15.3
Independents	94.4	38.9	41.7	10.0
DMA 1–25	91.2	43.3	40.9	20.6
DMA 25–50	98.0	20.8	37.8	19.5
DMA 51–100	97.9	26.0	39.3	16.2
DMA 101–150	100.0	26.7	41.4	10.9
DMA 151+	96.7	23.0	43.0	8.0
Staff 51+	100.0	28.1	39.3	28.8
Staff 31–50	100.0	18.1	38.8	15.4
Staff 21–30	100.0	28.4	42.7	10.9
Staff 11–20	100.0	31.8	44.0	7.2
Staff 1–10	100.0	24.0	36.4	2.6

Television: At 28.3 percent, the number of women TV news directors has set a new record by almost 2 percent. And it's worth emphasizing that the percentage of women TV news directors in this survey is based on a complete station census not projected from a smaller sample. So 28.3 percent isn't a rough figure, it's an exact one. And unlike previous years, women TV news directors are just as likely to be found in the biggest newsrooms and in the largest markets. That wasn't the case even a year ago. There's no meaningful difference geographically, but women are a little less likely to be news directors at Fox affiliates (21.4 percent) than the other network affiliates (28.7 percent).

Otherwise, the percentages are little changed. Women have been around 40 percent of the TV news workforce for a decade. Those of you with a sharp eye for numbers may wonder about the first column above. How is it possible to have some market sizes and network affiliates under 100 percent women if all staff sizes are at 100 percent? That's because the numbers come from different questions on the survey form. All surveys include market size, but not all surveys have staff size. That's how they can report seemingly contradictory results when, based on survey research, they're both accurate.

Women in Local Radio News—2008

	News Staffs With Women	*Women News Directors*	*Women as Percentage of Work Force*	*Average Number of Women on Staff*
All Radio	27.5%	20.0%	22.7%	1.0
Major Market	45.5	10.0	36.0	0.8
Large Market	44.4	27.8	21.4	1.5
Medium Market	25.0	22.2	23.6	1.0
Small Market	20.4	15.2	14.8	0.8

Radio: The percentages for women in the radio news workforce are down a bit from what they've been. The percentage of women radio news directors retrenched from last year's 23.5 percent to this year's 20.0 percent close to the 20.4 percent of two years ago. Most market sizes fell except large markets. There were no consistent patterns as far as women news directors, although they were slightly more common in the Northeast.

Major markets are those with 1 million or more listeners. Large markets are from 250,000 to 1 million. Medium markets are 50,000 to 250,000. Small markets are fewer than 50,000.

Minorities in Local TV News—2008

	News Staffs With Women	*Women News Directors*	*Women as Percentage of Work Force*	*Average Number of Women on Staff*
All Television	82.5%	15.5%	23.6%	7.3
Network Affiliates	83.9	11.4	21.5	7.1
Independents	80.6	54.3	58.4	11.3
DMA 1–25	75.8	25.8	34.4	13.0
DMA 25–50	76.6	17.0	22.6	8.9
DMA 51–100	90.4	10.6	20.8	7.7

	News Staffs With Women	*Women News Directors*	*Women as Percentage of Work Force*	*Average Number of Women on Staff*
DMA 101–150	81.3	15.6	20.8	4.7
DMA 151+	83.6	10.3	15.5	2.8
Staff 51+	93.2	7.8	24.8	15.6
Staff 31–50	96.3	6.2	19.5	7.2
Staff 21–30	90.9	18.4	23.3	5.8
Staff 11–20	81.8	9.5	17.9	2.7
Staff 1–10	68.0	36.0	39.7	2.6

Television: There was little difference among network affiliates. Independents were the most diverse at 58.4 percent minority. Stations in the West (32.7 percent minority) and South (27.1 percent) were more diverse than stations in the Northeast (13.0 percent) or Midwest (11.5 percent). That's been the case for quite a few years.

Overall, the concentration of blacks was highest in the South (17.9 percent) and lowest in the West (6.4 percent). Hispanics were highest in the West (20.2 percent), with the South at 7.6 percent and the Northeast (3.1 percent) and Midwest (2.3 percent) well behind. Asian Americans were most heavily concentrated in the West (5.1 percent) as were Native Americans (0.9 percent).

Minorities in Local Radio News—2008

	News Staffs With Women	*Women News Directors*	*Women as Percentage of Work Force*	*Average Number of Women on Staff*
All Radio	10.1%	5.9%	11.8%	0.3
Major Market	9.1	0	26.7	1.8
Large Market	22.2	13.3	10.0	0.3
Medium Market	10.7	3.9	8.1	0.2
Small Market	4.1	4.9	4.4	0.1

Radio: As with last year, there were more minorities at independent stations than group owned (15.0 percent versus 8.5 percent), and more in the West (19.1 percent) and least in the Northeast (2.1 percent).

TV General Managers—2008

	News Staffs With Women	*Women News Directors*	*Women as Percentage of Work Force*	*Average Number of Women on Staff*
All Television	90.2%	9.8%	83.7%	16.3%
Network Affiliates	92.0	8.0	84.0	16.0

(Continued)

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	News Staffs With Women	*Women News Directors*	*Women as Percentage of Work Force*	*Average Number of Women on Staff*
Independents	69.2	30.8	84.6	15.4
DMA 1–25	81.0	19.0	81.4	18.6
DMA 25–50	88.6	11.4	81.8	18.2
DMA 51–100	92.9	7.1	82.4	17.6
DMA 101–150	91.7	8.3	86.0	14.0
DMA 151+	94.4	5.6	86.0	14.0

Television: The percentage of women GMs at stations that run local news edged up again from 15.8 to 16.3 percent. Women GMs were least likely to be found in the smallest (101+) markets, and there were about half as many women GMs in the Northeast as any other part of the country. The only difference by network affiliation was that CBS stations, at 9.6 percent, were half as likely to have women GMs as the other network affiliates (18.5 percent).

The percentage of minority general managers at TV stations that run local news rose from last year (6.4 percent to 9.8 percent). All told, 6.3 percent of non-Hispanic stations (that run news) had minority general managers. That's up from 3.6 percent a year ago. African Americans were 2.7 percent; Asian Americans were 1.6 percent; Hispanic/Latino 1.3 percent; and Native American 0.6 percent.

ABC affiliates were the most likely to have minority GMs. Minority GMs were also most often found in the largest markets but at the smallest stations—and most often in the West. Most of that is the prevalence of Hispanic GMs at Hispanic stations.

Radio General Managers—2008

	Percent Caucasian	*Percent Minority*	*Percent Men*	*Percent Women*
All Radio	94.9%	5.1%	74.6%	25.4%

Radio: At radio stations that run local news, female general managers jumped from 20.3 percent to 25.4 percent, most often at group-owned and less often in markets of 1 million and more.

Minority general managers were little changed from last year's 5.5 percent and least likely in markets of 1 million and more.

Women & Minorities Sidebars—2008

TV Positions by Gender and Race

	Percent Male	*Percent Female*	*Percent White*	*Percent Minority*	*Percent African American*	*Percent Hispanic/ Latino*	*Percent Asian American*	*Percent Native American*
News Director	71.7%	28.3%	84.5%	15.5%	3.7%	9.3%	1.7%	0.8%
Assistant News Director	51.3	48.7	81.2	18.8	11.1	6.0	0.9	0.9

	Percent Male	*Percent Female*	*Percent White*	*Percent Minority*	*Percent African American*	*Percent Hispanic/ Latino*	*Percent Asian American*	*Percent Native American*
Managing Editors	69.5	30.5	87.8	12.2	3.7	7.3	<0.1	1.2
Executive Director	44.8	55.2	85.5	14.5	7.0	5.8	1.6	<0.1
News Anchor	43.2	56.8	75.3	24.7	11.9	9.1	3.5	0.2
Weather-caster	78.4	21.6	91.3	8.7	3.3	4.3	1.1	<0.1
Sports Anchor	92.2	7.8	86.0	14.0	7.6	5.8	0.6	<0.1
News Reporter	43.3	56.7	70.8	29.2	12.4	10.8	5.5	0.6
Sports Reporter	81.3	18.7	83.8	16.2	5.2	6.4	3.2	1.3
Assignment Editor	51.3	48.7	72.5	27.5	13.8	11.0	2.3	0.5
News Producer	35.8	64.2	80.8	19.2	10.0	6.9	2.1	0.2
News Writer	36.6	63.4	76.2	23.8	11.6	8.1	3.5	0.6
News Assistant	25.0	75.0	70.5	29.5	11.7	13.2	1.5	<0.1

We ask about gender and ethnicity by position every three years. Having started in 1996, we can see trends going back a dozen years. If there's a surprise, it's how few consistent trends have emerged over that time. But there are some.

News directors are more likely to be female and people of color than a dozen years ago. African American assistant news directors have doubled in that time. Executive producers have moved from a majority male to a majority female.

Among news anchors, the percentage of minorities has been slowly but steadily rising, but the percentage of women has leveled off at about 57 percent.

Weathercasters have remained mostly male and mostly white. So are sports anchors, but a little less so these days with both women and minorities making modest inroads.

Women news reporters have also leveled off around the 57 percent mark, and there are more minority reporters than there used to be. Women and minorities have both made gains as sports reporters in the last 12 years.

There are also more minorities on the assignment desk. Women remain almost two-thirds of all TV news producers, but they were there by the time we started asking in 1996, and it hasn't changed since. There are more African American producers than there used to be.

The percentage of women photographers has dropped over the years (although not in the last three). Women and minorities have both made gains among internet specialists.

Newspapers v. Broadcast

	Daily Newspapers	*TV News*
Minority population	13.5%	23.6%
African American	5.3	10.1
Hispanic/Latino	4.5	10.3
Asian American	3.2	2.7
Native American	0.5	0.5
Women	37.4	40.2

	Daily Newspapers	*TV News (non-Hispanic only)*
Minority population	13.5%	20.1%
African American	5.3	10.5
Hispanic/Latino	4.5	6.2
Asian American	3.2	2.9
Native American	0.5	0.5
Women	37.4	40.2

The 2008 survey by the American Society of Newspaper Editors found that minority journalists make up 13.5 percent of newsroom employees at daily newspapers. African Americans were 5.3 percent of the total, Hispanics 4.5 percent, Asian Americans 3.2 percent, and Native Americans 0.5 percent. Women were 37.4 percent of the total.

The percentages for women in the radio news workforce are down a bit from what they've been. The percentage of women radio news directors retrenched from last year's 23.5 percent to this year's 20.0 percent close to the 20.4 percent of two years ago. Most market sizes fell except large markets. There were no consistent patterns as far as women news directors, although they were slightly more common in the Northeast.

Major markets are those with 1 million or more listeners. Large markets are from 250,000 to 1 million. Medium markets are 50,000 to 250,000. Small markets are fewer than 50,000.

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About the Survey

The RTNDA/Hofstra University Survey was conducted in the fourth quarter of 2007 among all 1,647 operating, non-satellite television stations and a random sample of 2,000 radio stations. Valid responses came from 1,241 television stations (75.3 percent) and 138 radio news directors and general managers representing 271 radio stations. Data for women TV news directors are from a complete census and are not projected from a smaller sample.

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Bob Papper. "Annual Women and Minorities Survey 2008 (*RTNDA Communicator*)." Radio-Television News Directors Association/Hofstra University. http://www.rtnda.org/pages/media_items/the-face-of-the-workforce1472.php (accessed January 6, 2009). Reprinted with permission.

Journalism Employment/Careers

Radio-Television News Directors Association/Hofstra University Survey—The Real Story of TV News Staffing and Other Numbers for TV and Radio in 2008

The Real Story of TV News Staffing and Other Numbers for TV and Radio in 2008 RTNDA/ Hofstra University Survey - 2008

By Bob Papper

I spoke to a number of local TV news directors in July and August who said that they were among the "lucky ones" that haven't had to cut staff or leave positions unfilled this year. Actually, I think their experience has been typical. In a follow-up to the RTNDA/Hofstra University Survey of more than 300 stations, almost three-quarters have reported either no staff cuts or staff increases. Unfilled positions were counted as staff reductions, and news directors were quick to point out that most of those TV news staff reductions happened through attrition, or by hiring freezes, rather than letting people go. TV news' itinerant nature makes that easier to accomplish.

TV News Staff Changes Since January 1, 2008

	Staff Increase	*Staff Decrease*	*Same*
All TV news	22.1%	28.6%	49.4%

In an era of generally increasing TV news staff, those figures are comparatively depressing. Most years, the percentage of stations with increases would be 10 percent higher, and the percentage of stations with decreases would be at least 10 percent lower. This year, there were more layoffs than additions, far more people were cut than added, and some of those layoffs involved dozens of people at one time. In a number of cases, station cuts outside of news meant that the spared newspeople had to pick up the slack.

Stations that increased staff added an average of 2.9 people (median 2); stations that cut dropped by an average 3.8 people (median 2). Subtracting gains from losses and projecting across all stations, local TV news, nationwide, has lost about 360 people since the first of the year. There are about 24,500 people who work full-time in local TV news.

Recession aside, news directors expect the remainder of the year to be far better.

TV News Staff Changes Expected Over the Next Few Months

	Staff Increase	*Staff Decrease*	*Same*
All TV news	17.9%	9.1%	72.7%

While nearly three-quarters of the news directors expect no change in staff size, almost twice as many expect to add people as cut them. The industry-wide projection would be a net increase in TV

newspeople of 151 through the remainder of the year. That would result in a 2008 net loss of 209 jobs. I'll know in more detail after the next full RTNDA/Hofstra University Annual Survey, but TV news staffing appears to have slipped to its fourth highest level ever—behind 2007, earlier this year and 2001.

The pain of this year's layoffs has not been spread evenly across all stations. The biggest markets, 1–25, and markets 101–150 have been hit the hardest. In both cases, just over a third of the stations have cut staff. Not surprisingly, the smallest markets, 151+, already on the lean side, were the least likely to see staff reductions (16.7 percent) and the most likely to remain unchanged (70.8 percent).

Stations in the South and Midwest were also hit harder than stations in the Northeast or West. While almost half the stations for every region remained the same, more than 30 percent of the stations in the Midwest and South had cutbacks. That is seven to 10 points higher than stations in the Northeast or West.

CBS affiliates suffered far more than others. Almost 40 percent of CBS stations had cutbacks. That compares with 28.2 percent of NBC affiliates, 25.9 percent of ABC affiliates, 18.2 percent of all other and just 11.1 percent of Fox stations. In fact, more than 40 percent of Fox affiliates reported staff increases.

Outlook For the Rest of the Year

Most stations appear to be done with most of their cuts. There are still some big layoffs on the horizon, but they're likely to be the exception, and few—if any—will come in markets smaller than 50. Overall, stations will be hiring more than letting people go, although many if not most of those hired will simply fill replacement spots left vacant because of hiring freezes.

Jobs are a little more likely to open up in the West and South, and Fox affiliates are likely to continue leading the way. But also look for modest rehiring at CBS affiliates as well. ABC and NBC stations are more likely to sit tight.

But hasn't it been widely reported that the cuts in TV news reflect the beginning of the end? That does seem to be the assumption, but the evidence doesn't support it. Virtually no one is cutting back on news. The latest figures put 2008 even with 2007's all-time record for highest amount of local TV news. A total of 774 stations are originating local news. That's down three stations from a year ago and four from the all-time record of 778. There are also 196 local stations that get news from one of those 774.

Hours of Local TV News Per Day

	Average weekday	*Weekday maximum*	*Average Saturday*	*Saturday maximum*	*Average Sunday*	*Sunday maximum*
All TV news	4.1	10.0	1.8	7.0	1.7	6.0
Big four affiliates	4.3	10.0	1.8	7.0	1.8	6.0
Other commercial	3.1	10.0	1.4	4.0	1.2	3.0
Market size:						
1–25	4.0	9.0	2.5	7.0	2.4	6.0
26–50	4.3	7.0	2.6	6.0	2.5	6.0
51–100	4.7	10.0	1.9	5.0	1.8	5.0
101-150	4.1	10.0	1.4	3.0	1.3	5.0
151+	3.3	10.0	1.1	2.0	1.0	2.0
Staff size:						
Staff 51+	5.7	9.5	3.0	6.0	2.8	6.0

(Continued)

(Continued)

	Average weekday	*Weekday maximum*	*Average Saturday*	*Saturday maximum*	*Average Sunday*	*Sunday maximum*
Staff 31-50	4.5	8.0	1.8	5.0	1.8	5.0
Staff 21-30	4.0	10.0	1.2	3.0	1.1	3.0
Staff 11-20	2.8	10.0	1.0	2.0	0.9	2.0
Staff 1-10	1.8	5.0	1.0	1.5	1.0	1.5
Affiliation:						
ABC	4.2	9.5	1.8	5.0	1.8	5.0
CBS	4.4	10.0	1.8	6.0	1.7	6.0
Fox	3.9	10.0	1.3	5.0	1.4	5.0
NBC	4.6	8.0	2.1	7.0	2.0	6.0
PBS	1.1	2.5	0	0	1.2	1.5

The average amount of local TV news is virtually unchanged from last year's record high. Some market sizes or staff sizes rose a little, and some fell a little, but there were no meaningful changes, and the bottom line was that the weekday average remained exactly the same at 4.1 hours of local news. The Saturday average rose by 18 minutes, and the Sunday average fell by 6 minutes.

Fox affiliates run a little less news than other affiliates. Stations in the South and Northeast continue to run the most news, but this year their edge over the Midwest and West has gotten smaller.

Amount of News Changes… The Past Year

	Increase	*Decrease*	*Same*	*Not sure*
All TV news	42.7%	2.1%	54.6%	0.6%
Big four affiliates	44.1	1.0	54.2	0.7
Other commerical	40.7	11.1	48.1	
Market size:				
1–25	**35.0**	**1.7**	**63.3**	
26–50	26.7	0	73.3	
51–100	48.3	3.4	47.1	1.1
101–150	45.5	3.4	50.01	1.1
151+	50.9	0	49.1	

The figures here look a lot like last year's. A majority of stations a year ago said they ran the same amount of news, and a slightly larger majority this year said the same thing. Stations reporting an increase in news fell by almost 4 percent; stations saying they decreased the amount of local news rose by half a percent. As with a year ago, growth was more likely in smaller markets. Stations in the South and West were more likely to add news than stations in the Midwest or Northeast. At 16.7 percent, stations with the smallest staffs (1–10 people) were the most likely to decrease the amount of news they run.

Amount of News Planned… The Next Year

	Increase	*Decrease*	*Same*	*Not sure*
All TV news	39.4%	3.6%	49.9%	7.2%
Big four affiliates	39.5	3.7	49.0	7.8

(Continued)

	Increase	*Decrease*	*Same*	*Not sure*
Other commercial	37.0	0	59.3	3.7
Market size:				
1–25	30.0	6.7	58.3	5.0
26–50	40.0	4.4	51.1	4.4
51–100	37.2	2.3	52.3	8.1
101–150	47.1	4.6	40.2	8.0
151+	40.4	0	50.9	8.8

Stations in the West were more likely to expect an increase in the amount of news (45.2 percent versus 36.4 percent). CBS and Fox affiliates were a bit more likely to expect to increase news than ABC or NBC stations.

TV Staff Size – 2008

	Avg full-time	*Median full-time*	*Maximum full-time*	*Avg part-time*	*Median part-time*	*Maximum part-time*	*Avg total staff*	*Median total*	*Maximum total staff*
All TV	37.3	30.0	152	8.7	6.0	130	41.3	33.5	153
Big four affiliates	39.3	32.0	152	8.6	6.0	130	43.2	36.0	153
Other commercial	25.5	21.5	92	9.9	8.0	27	31.3	27.5	114
Market size:									
1–25	57.5	58.0	152	14.2	8.5	47	65.6	66.0	153
26–50	54.6	54.0	102	7.3	6.0	22	58.4	55.0	109
51–100	40.7	40.5	112	6.1	5.0	15	43.7	43.0	112
101–150	25.8	26.0	51	9.8	5.0	130	30.2	29.0	148
151+	19.0	19.5	46	5.9	5.0	13	20.7	21.0	51

The above employment figures were gathered in the fourth quarter of 2007. Last year, the average staff size fell but the median went up. This year, it was just the opposite. At 37.3, the average full-time staff size is the highest ever. But I view the median size as a better indicator of what's happening, overall, in the industry, and the median fell from its all time high by 2 to 30. Both average and median part-time numbers rose substantially this year, suggesting that stations may be economizing by "filling" full-time vacancies with part-timers. For full-time staff, overall, larger markets (1–50) tended to grow; the middle group (51–150) tended to slip back a bit; and the smallest group (markets 151+) stayed largely the same. But the increase in part-timers was across the board.

There were relatively small staff size differences among affiliate stations—which was also true last year. Regional differences were small.

Staff Size Changes…The Past Year

	Increase	*Decrease*	*Same*	*Don't know*
All TV news	34.5%	19.9%	45.2%	0.3%
Big four affiliates	35.7	19.2	44.8	0.3
Other commercial	33.3	25.9	40.7	

A plurality of stations said their staff size remained the same: around 45 percent—which was the same as a year ago. But the percentage of stations reporting increases fell by almost 7 points, and stations reporting a decrease rose by almost 6. About a quarter of the newsrooms with 31 or more newspeople reported decreases, and almost a third of the smallest newsrooms (1–10 people) reported a staff decrease—although only the latter group actually had more stations reporting decreases than increases. Fox affiliates were the most likely to report increasing staff—as were stations in the West.

Planned Staff Changes…The Next Year

	Increase	*Decrease*	*Same*	*Not sure*
All TV news	32.9%	4.2%	58.7%	4.2%
Big four affiliates	33.2	4.1	59.0	3.7
Other commercial	40.7	3.7	44.4	11.1

As usual, most news directors expect no changes in staff size in the next year, but only about 4 percent expect a decrease. Fox affiliates and stations in the South and West are a little more likely to expect staff increases.

TV News Budget…The Past Year

	Increase	*Decrease*	*Same*	*Don't know*
All TV news	45.9%	13.4%	33.7%	7.0%
Big four affiliates	47.4	12.4	33.0	7.2
Other commercial	44.4	22.2	25.9	7.4
Market size:				
1–25	32.8	20.7	37.9	8.6
26–50	51.1	15.6	28.9	4.4
51–100	53.6	11.9	27.4	7.1
101-150	41.2	12.9	41.2	4.7
151+	50.9	7.0	31.6	10.5

After a pretty good budget year last time, budgets slipped a bit this reporting period. A plurality still rose, but the percentage reporting an increase was down almost 8 from a year ago. And 5 percent more said their budgets fell with 2 percent more saying they stayed the same. The biggest drop came in markets 101–150, followed by 151+ and 1–25. Changes were smaller in markets 26–100. There were no consistent patterns based on staff size, affiliation or geography.

TV News Profitability…1999 to 2008

	2008	*2007*	*2006*	*2005*	*2004*	*2003*	*2002*	*2001*	*2000*	*1999*
Showing pofit	55.4%	56.2%	57.4%	44.5%	58.4%	55.3%	54.9%	56%	58%	57%
Breaking even	11.5	11.5	8.1	24.2	10.4	13.6	11.6	13	11	9
Showing loss	10.5	6.4	10.0	12.1	9.2	9.2	11.2	10	11	11
Don't know	22.6	26.0	24.4	19.2	22.0	21.9	22.3	21	20	23

TV newsroom profitability remained in the mid 50 percentile range—where it has almost always been over the last decade. The percentage showing a loss rose to 10.5 percent, but that actually put it back to where it's been most of the last 10 years.

TV News Profitability…by Size and Affiliation – 2008

	Showing profit	*Breaking even*	*Showing loss*	*Don't know*
Market size:				
1–25	53.4%	10.3%	15.5%	20.7%
26–50	59.5	7.1	11.9	21.4
51–100	62.2	8.5	8.5	20.7
101-150	59.5	10.7	8.3	21.4
151+	38.6	21.1	10.5	29.8
Staff size:				
51+	71.0	8.1	4.8	16.1
31–50	67.9	6.2	8.6	17.3
21–30	54.7	14.0	9.3	22.1
11–20	41.9	14.0	16.3	27.9
1–10	20.8	12.5	25.0	41.7
Affiliation:				
ABC	53.8	8.8	7.5	30.0
CBS	62.2	12.2	6.7	18.9
Fox	60.0	12.5	15.0	12.5
NBC	59.2	10.5	10.5	19.7
Big four affiliates	58.7	10.8	9.1	21.3
Other commercial	37.0	11.1	22.2	29.6

The profitability level of stations in the biggest markets would be much higher were it not for downward pull from the smallest stations (staff size 1–10) that drag it down. The most significant change from a year ago is the drop in profitability among stations in markets 151+, where profitability plunged from 61.5 percent to 38.6 percent. Breaking even in those markets rose by almost 9 points and showing a loss doubled to 10.5.

Percentage of TV Station Revenue Produced by News – 2008

	Average	*Median*	*Minimum*	*Maximum*	*Not sure*
All TV news	44.6%	42.5%	9.0%	89.0%	63.9%
Market size:					
1–25	40.2	40.0	9.0	89.0	51.5
26–50	43.7	46.0	20.0	80.0	58.0
51–100	50.2	50.0	20.0	75.0	60.8
101–150	44.9	40.0	30.0	65.0	73.9
151+	44.4	45.0	10.0	75.0	72.1
Staff size:					
51+	46.8	46.0	20.0	89.0	62.5
31–50	47.3	50.0	22.0	75.0	70.2
21–30	43.1	40.0	9.0	75.0	69.3
11–20	40.0	30.0	20.0	60.0	84.1
1–10	12.5	12.5	10.0	15.0	76.0
Affiliation:					
ABC	46.1	50.0	20.0	70.0	68.6
CBS	44.2	40.0	10.0	70.0	66.7
Fox	36.3	30.0	22.0	60.0	64.3
NBC	53.5	50.0	20.0	89.0	64.5
Big four affiliates	46.2	45.0	10.0	89.0	66.3
Other commercial	37.3	35.0	9.0	80.0	44.4

Both the average and median revenue percentages are up slightly from a year ago—the average is up by about two and a half percent and the median up by half a percent. Almost all the categories are up slightly as well. These numbers are right in line with the revenue percentages we've seen for the last decade. Note that two-thirds of TV news directors do not know the percentage of station revenue that news brings in, but that's actually less than last year's 78 percent.

Radio

Almost three-quarters (71.6 percent) of radio news directors said there was a centralized newsroom for all or most of their stations that air local news. That's the first drop—albeit a small one—since radio consolidation took hold. The average centralized newsroom supplied news to 2.9 stations within the local market (the median was 2) and 1.4 stations somewhere else (the median figure was 0). Those figures present a mixed picture compared to a year ago. The average number of stations within the market is down by half a station compared to a year ago, and the median dropped from 3 to 2. But the average number outside the market rose by a full station. We'll have to wait for at least another year to know whether we're starting to see a trend develop.

Average Minutes of Locally-Produced Radio News – 2008

	All radio	*Major market*	*Large market*	*Medium market*	*Small market*
Weekdays:					
AM drive	24.3	24.0	28.7	23.8	19.1
Midday	12.2	19.8	8.1	9.7	10.9
PM drive	14.5	20.8	13.3	13.6	11.3
Night	15.1	19.3	5.7	6.1	8.6
Total weekday	66.1	83.9	55.8	53.2	49.9
Saturday:					
AM drive	16.8	15.3	11.6	16.4	7.3
Midday	9.5	8.3	8.0	8.4	8.8
PM drive	1.7	6.0	0	4.1	5.8
Night	8.6	9.0	0	4.0	5.8
Total Saturday	36.6	38.6	19.6	32.9	29.8
Sunday:					
AM drive	14.4	5.3	6.0	7.4	9.3
Midday	10.0	8.3	8.0	9.7	8.1
PM drive	10.8	6.0	8.0	2.8	6.7
Night	9.3	9.0	0	4.0	6.3
Total Sunday	44.5	28.6	22.0	23.9	30.4

Fueled by a jump in the amount of news reported in afternoon drive and the evening, the average amount of radio news per day—both weekday and weekend—rose from a year ago. The biggest growth came in major and medium markets with smaller increases in large and small markets. Generally, the bigger the staff, the more news produced, but there was no relationship between how much news was run and the number of stations in a market. Independent stations tended to produce more news than group-owned stations.

Radio Staff Size – 2008

	Avg. full-time	*Median full-time*	*Max full-time*	*Avg part-time*	*Med part-time*	*Max part-time*	*Avg total staff*	*Med total staff*	*Max total staff*
All radio news	2.1	1.0	9	2.4	2.0	12	3.1	2.0	16
Market size:									
Major	4.0	3.5	9	2.4	2.0	7	5.4	5.0	16
Large	2.9	3.0	7	2.7	2.0	5	4.1	3.0	10
Medium	1.9	1.0	5	2.5	1.5	12	3.1	2.0	13
Small	1.6	1.0	5	2.1	2.0	8	2.3	1.0	8

The average staff size fell back down this year. Two years ago, it was 2.0; last year 2.5; this year back down to 2.1. The median staff size remained at 1.0—as it has for a number of years. Both average and median part time numbers rose by about 1 from a year ago. Generally, the bigger the market, the more newspeople a station had. Group-owned stations tended to employ slightly more newspeople than independent stations.

Changes in Radio News, Staff and Budget in the Last 12 Months and Planned for the Future – 2008

	Increase	*Decrease*	*Same*	*Not sure*
Amount of news the past year	34.8%	4.5%	60.6%	0
Plan to change amount of news next year	25.0	0	68.9	6.1
Total news staff the past year	12.9	12.1	74.2	0.8
Plan to change amount of staff next year	12.9	0.8	75.8	10.6
Change in news budget from the year before	11.3	4.0	66.9	17.7

As usual, most stations voted for "same" in the amount of news, plans for more news, current and planned staff and news budget. On the other hand, the percentage saying that they ran more news last year or plan to this year both doubled. In contrast, the percentage of news directors reporting that their staff rose last year or they expect it to this year dropped in half compared to a year ago. The budget figures are little changed. There were no consistent patterns to any of these numbers based on staff size, number of stations, market size, ownership or geography.

Radio News Profitability . . . 1999 to 2008

	2008	*2007*	*2006*	*2005*	*2004*	*2003*	*2002*	*2001*	*2000*	*1999*
Showing profit	21.0%	29.1%	18.1%	19.6%	22.5%	25.2%	15.2%	17%	25%	19%
Breaking even	13.7	13.1	17.6	14.4	17.1	13.8	13.9	17	15	18
Showing loss	10.5	8.6	6.4	3.1	7.2	2.4	7.3	0	7	6
Don't know	54.8	49.1	58.0	62.9	53.2	58.6	63.6	66	53	57

Last year I suggested that the jump in profitability might well be just a statistical anomaly, and this year's retreat to the past indicates that that was probably the case. There were no consistent patterns based on staff size, station number, market size or ownership. Note that, as usual, most radio news directors do not know whether the station makes a profit on news.

Radio News Profitability by Market Size – 2008

	Showing profit	*Breaking even*	*Showing loss*	*Don't know*
Major market	0	22.2%	11.1%	66.7%
Large market	27.8	27.8	5.6	38.9
Medium market	18.4	14.3	12.2	55.1
Small market	23.9	6.5	10.9	58.7

Major markets are those with 1 million or more potential listeners. Large markets are from 250,000 to 1 million. Medium markets are 50,000 to 250,000. Small markets are fewer than 50,000.

Number of Stations Where the Radio News Director Oversees the News – 2008

No. of Stations	*Percentage*
One	21.0%
Two–three	18.5
Four	8.6
Five–Six	11.1
Seven–Eight	40.7
Overall	Number
Average	2.9 (Locally) + 1.4 Elsewhere
Median	2.0
Maximum	14

These numbers are virtually unchanged from a year ago.

What Else Radio News Directors Do – 2008

After dropping last year, the percentage of radio news directors saying they have responsibilities other than news rose to a record high 83.1 percent. There were no meaningful differences in that percentage based on staff size, number of stations, market size, ownership or geography. The only meaningful variation was that news directors at non-commercial stations were a little less likely to have other responsibilities than their commercial counterparts.

Other job	*Percentage*
Talk show host	23.2%
Announcing (including sports and weather)	17.1
Program Director	11.0
General Manager	9.8
Operations	7.3
Sales	7.3
Public Afffairs	7.3
Production	4.9
Owner	2.4
Other	9.8

Most of these numbers are generally in line with the last few years.

Miscellaneous

Percentage of TV News Departments Providing Content to Other Media – 2008

	Another local TV station	*TV in another market*	*Cable TV channel*	*Local radio*	*Station website*	*Other website*	*Other*
All TV news	23.8%	10.6%	15.6%	39.4%	80.6%	3.2%	3.5
Big four affiliates	24.9	10.3	15.9	41.2	83.4	3.3	3.3

(Continued)

(Continued)

	Another local TV station	*TV in another market*	*Cable TV channel*	*Local radio*	*Station website*	*Other website*	*Other*
Other commercial	11.1	14.8	14.8	18.5	51.9	3.7	3.7
Market size:							
1–25	26.2	6.6	6.6	29.5	63.9	8.2	4.9
26–50	26.1	13.0	23.9	37.0	89.1	2.2	4.3
51–100	23.9	6.8	20.5	35.2	78.4	2.3	3.4
101-150	22.7	13.6	15.9	48.9	85.2	3.4	3.4
151+	21.1	14.0	10.5	43.9	87.7	0	1.8

Most of these numbers are little changed from a year ago. Note that for every market size, 21 to 26 percent of the stations supply news to another local TV station. Even the smallest markets. Another 10 percent are supplying news to a TV station outside the local market; and 15 percent are supplying news to a cable channel.

Convergence

After three years at around 40 percent, the percentage of news directors saying that they're doing something that they consider to be convergence rose to 47 percent this year. Not a big increase, but an increase nonetheless. But that increase came despite a steady drop in the percentage of TV stations saying that they're working with a newspaper. In the last three years, the percentage has fallen from 59.8 percent to 50 percent to this year's 38 percent.

Type of Convergence Partner	*Percent of the stations of those involved in convergence*
Newspaper(s)	38.0%
Website(s)	31.7
Radio station(s)	20.4
Other television	8.5
Cell phone	4.9
Magazines	3.5
Podcasting	2.1
Other languages	1.4
Other	14.1

News Director Age and Tenure … 2008

TV news directors ranged in age from 23 to 68 … with an average age of 44.7 and a median age of 44. That's virtually identical to a year ago—and the year before that, and so on. Apparently, TV news directors do not age. As usual, there was no meaningful variation based on market size, staff size, network affiliation or geography.

The number of years a TV news director had been news director at that station ranged from just over 2 months to 34 years. The average was 4.9 and the median was 3. The old adage that TV news directors are at their station for two years and then out hasn't been true for years. There's no consistent

pattern by market size, staff size or region, but news directors at Fox stations are a year under the averages and medians.

Radio news directors ranged in age from 16 (is that legal?) to 75 . . . with an average of 46.6 and a median of 49. That's about a half-year older than a year ago, and as with TV, there were no differences based on any station grouping.

We didn't ask radio news directors about time on the job this year, but last year we reported that they averaged 11.5 years with that station, with a median tenure of 8 years.

Bob Papper is professor and chair of the Department of Journalism, Media Studies, and Public Relations at Hofstra University and has worked extensively in radio and TV news. *This research was supported by the School of Communications at Hofstra University and the Radio Television News Directors Association.*

About the Survey

The RTNDA/Hofstra University Survey was conducted in the fourth quarter of 2007 among all 1,647 operating, non-satellite television stations and a random sample of 2,000 radio stations. Valid responses came from 1,241 television stations (75.3 percent) and 138 radio news directors and general managers representing 271 radio stations. Data for the number of TV stations originating local news and getting it from others is based on a complete census and is not projected from a smaller sample.

Bob Papper. "The Real Story of TV News Staffing and Other Numbers for TV and Radio in 2008." Radio-Television News Directors Association/Hofstra University Survey. http://www.rtnda.org/media/pdfs/research/Bob%20Papper%20-%20Profitability%20Survey%202.pdf (accessed January 6, 2009). Reprinted with permission.

Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor— Occupational Outlook Handbook, 2008–09 Edition: *News Analysts, Reporters, and Correspondents*

Significant Points

- Competition will be keen for jobs at large metropolitan and national newspapers, broadcast stations, and magazines; small publications and broadcast stations and online newspapers and magazines should provide the best opportunities.
- Most employers prefer individuals with a bachelors degree in journalism or mass communications and experience gained at school newspapers or broadcasting stations or through internships with news organizations.
- Jobs often involve long, irregular hours and pressure to meet deadlines.

Nature of the Work

News analysts, reporters, and correspondents gather information, prepare stories, and make broadcasts that inform us about local, State, national, and international events; present points of view on current issues; and report on the actions of public officials, corporate executives, interest groups, and others who exercise power.

News analysts—also called newscasters or news anchors—examine, interpret, and broadcast news received from various sources. News anchors present news stories and introduce videotaped news or live transmissions from on-the-scene reporters. News correspondents report on news occurring in the large U.S. and foreign cities where they are stationed.

In covering a story, reporters investigate leads and news tips, look at documents, observe events at the scene, and interview people. Reporters take notes and also may take photographs or shoot videos. At their office, they organize the material, determine the focus or emphasis, write their stories, and edit accompanying video material. Many reporters enter information or write stories using laptop computers and electronically submit the material to their offices from remote locations. In some cases, newswriters write a story from information collected and submitted by reporters. Radio and television reporters often compose stories and report "live" from the scene. At times, they later tape an introduction to or commentary on their story in the studio. Some journalists also interpret the news or offer opinions to readers, viewers, or listeners. In this role, they are called commentators or columnists.

Newscasters at large stations and networks usually specialize in a particular type of news, such as sports or weather. Weathercasters, also called weather reporters, report current and forecasted weather conditions. They gather information from national satellite weather services, wire services, and local and regional weather bureaus. Some weathercasters are trained meteorologists and can develop their own weather forecasts. (See the statement on atmospheric scientists elsewhere in the Handbook.) Sportscasters select, write, and deliver sports news. This may include interviews with sports personalities and coverage of games and other sporting events.

General-assignment reporters write about newsworthy occurrences—such as accidents, political rallies, visits of celebrities, or business closings—as assigned. Large newspapers and radio and television stations assign reporters to gather news about specific topics, such as crime or education. Some reporters specialize in fields such as health, politics, foreign affairs, sports, theater, consumer affairs, social events, science, business, or religion.

Investigative reporters cover stories that may take many days or weeks of information gathering.

Some publications use teams of reporters instead of assigning each reporter one specific topic, allowing reporters to cover a greater variety of stories. News teams may include reporters, editors, graphic artists, and photographers working together to complete a story.

Reporters on small publications cover all aspects of the news. They take photographs, write headlines, lay out pages, edit wire-service stories, and write editorials. Some also solicit advertisements, sell subscriptions, and perform general office work.

Work environment. The work of news analysts, reporters, and correspondents is usually hectic. They are under great pressure to meet deadlines. Broadcasts sometimes are aired with little or no time for preparation. Some news analysts, reporters, and correspondents work in comfortable, private offices; others work in large rooms filled with the sound of keyboards and computer printers, as well as the voices of other reporters. Curious onlookers, police, or other emergency workers can distract those reporting from the scene for radio and television. Covering wars, political uprisings, fires, floods, and similar events is often dangerous.

Working hours vary. Reporters on morning papers often work from late afternoon until midnight. Radio and television reporters usually are assigned to a day or evening shift. Magazine reporters usually work during the day.

Reporters sometimes have to change their work hours to meet a deadline or to follow late-breaking developments. Their work demands long hours, irregular schedules, and some travel. Because many stations and networks are on the air 24 hours a day, newscasters can expect to work unusual hours.

Training, Other Qualifications, and Advancement

Most employers prefer individuals with a bachelor's degree in journalism or mass communications, but some hire graduates with other majors. They look for experience at school newspapers or broadcasting stations, and internships with news organizations. Large-city newspapers and stations also may prefer candidates with a degree in a subject-matter specialty such as economics, political science, or business. Some large newspapers and broadcasters may hire only experienced reporters.

Education and training. More than 1,500 institutions offer programs in communications, journalism, and related programs. In 2007, 109 of these were accredited by the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications. Most of the courses in a typical curriculum are in liberal arts; the remaining courses are in journalism. Examples of journalism courses are introductory mass media, basic reporting and copy editing, history of journalism, and press law and ethics. Students planning a career in broadcasting take courses in radio and television news and production. Those planning newspaper or magazine careers usually specialize in news-editorial journalism. To create stories for online media, they need to learn to use computer software to combine online story text with audio and video elements and graphics.

Some schools also offer a master's or Ph.D. degree in journalism. Some graduate programs are intended primarily as preparation for news careers, while others prepare journalism teachers, researchers and theorists, and advertising and public relations workers. A graduate degree may help those looking to advance more quickly.

High school courses in English, journalism, and social studies provide a good foundation for college programs. Useful college liberal arts courses include English with an emphasis on writing, sociology, political science, economics, history, and psychology. Courses in computer science, business, and speech are useful as well. Fluency in a foreign language is necessary in some jobs.

Employers report that practical experience is the most important part of education and training. Upon graduation many students already have gained much practical experience through part-time or summer jobs or through internships with news organizations. Most newspapers, magazines, and broadcast news organizations offer reporting and editing internships. Work on high school and college newspapers, at broadcasting stations, or on community papers or U.S. Armed Forces publications also provides practical training. In addition, journalism scholarships, fellowships, and assistantships awarded to college journalism students by universities, newspapers, foundations, and professional organizations are helpful. Experience as a

stringer or freelancer—a part-time reporter who is paid only for stories printed—is advantageous.

Other qualifications. Reporters typically need more than good word-processing skills. Computer graphics and desktop-publishing skills also are useful. Computer-assisted reporting involves the use of computers to analyze data in search of a story. This technique and the interpretation of the results require computer skills and familiarity with databases. Knowledge of news photography also is valuable for entry-level positions, which sometimes combine the responsibilities of a reporter with those of a camera operator or photographer.

Reporters should be dedicated to providing accurate and impartial news. Accuracy is important, both to serve the public and because untrue or libelous statements can lead to lawsuits. A nose for news, persistence, initiative, poise, resourcefulness, a good memory, and physical stamina are important, as is the emotional stability to deal with pressing deadlines, irregular hours, and dangerous assignments. Broadcast reporters and news analysts must be comfortable on camera. All reporters must be at ease in unfamiliar places and with a variety of people. Positions involving on-air work require a pleasant voice and appearance.

Advancement. Most reporters start at small publications or broadcast stations as general-assignment reporters or copy editors. They are usually assigned to cover court proceedings and civic and club meetings, summarize speeches, and write obituaries. With experience, they report more difficult assignments or specialize in a particular field. Large publications and stations hire few recent graduates; as a rule, they require new reporters to have several years of experience.

Some news analysts and reporters can advance by moving to larger newspapers or stations. A few experienced reporters become columnists, correspondents, writers, announcers, or public relations specialists. Others become editors in print journalism or program managers in broadcast journalism, who supervise reporters. Some eventually become broadcasting or publishing industry managers.

Employment

News analysts, reporters, and correspondents held about 67,000 jobs in 2006. About 59 percent worked for newspaper, periodical, book, and directory publishers. Another 23 percent worked in radio and television broadcasting. About 11 percent of news analysts, reporters, and correspondents were self-employed (freelancers or stringers).

Job Outlook

There is expected to be little or no change in employment through 2016. Competition will continue to be keen for jobs on large metropolitan and national newspapers, broadcast stations and networks, and magazines. Small broadcast stations and publications and online newspapers and magazines should provide the best opportunities. Talented writers who can handle highly specialized scientific or technical subjects will have an advantage.

Employment change. Employment of news analysts, reporters, and correspondents is expected to grow 2 percent between 2006 and 2016, which is considered to be little or no change in employment. Many factors will contribute to the limited job growth in this occupation. Consolidation and convergence should continue in the publishing and broadcasting industries. As a result, companies will be better able to allocate their news analysts, reporters, and correspondents to cover news stories. Constantly improving technology also is allowing workers to do their jobs more efficiently, another factor that will limit the number of workers needed to cover a story or certain type of news. However, the continued demand for news will create some job opportunities. Job openings also will result from the need to replace workers who leave their occupations permanently; some news analysts, reporters, and correspondents find the work too stressful and hectic or do not like the lifestyle, and transfer to other occupations.

Job prospects. Competition will continue to be keen for jobs on large metropolitan and national newspapers, broadcast stations and networks, and magazines. Job opportunities will be best for applicants in the expanding world of new media, such as online newspapers or magazines. Small, local papers and news stations also will provide greater job prospects for potential reporters and news analysts. For beginning newspaper reporters,

freelancing will supply more opportunities for employment as well. Students with a background in journalism as well as another specific subject matter, such as politics, economics, or biology, will have an advantage over those without additional background knowledge.

Journalism graduates have the background for work in closely related fields such as advertising and public relations, and many take jobs in these fields. Other graduates accept sales, managerial, or other nonmedia positions.

The number of job openings in the newspaper and broadcasting industries—in which news analysts, reporters, and correspondents are employed—is sensitive to economic upswings and downturns because these industries depend on advertising revenue.

Projections Data

Projections data from the National Employment Matrix

Occupational title	*SOC Code*	*Employment, 2006*	*Projected employment, 2016*	*Change, 2006–16*	
				Number	Percent
News analysts, reporters and correspondents	27–3020	67,000	68,000	1,200	2
Broadcast news analysts	27–3021	7,700	8,200	500	6
Reporters and correspondents	27–3022	59,000	60,000	700	1

NOTE: Data in this table are rounded. See the discussion of the employment projections table in the *Handbook* introductory chapter on *Occupational Information Included in the Handbook*.

Earnings

Salaries for news analysts, reporters, and correspondents vary widely. Median annual earnings of reporters and correspondents were $33,470 in May 2006. The middle 50 percent earned between $24,370 and $51,700. The lowest 10 percent earned less than $19,180, and the highest 10 percent earned more than $73,880. Median annual earnings of reporters and correspondents were $31,690 in newspaper, periodical, book, and directory publishing, and $38,050 in radio and television broadcasting.

Median annual earnings of broadcast news analysts were $46,710 in May 2006. The middle 50 percent earned between $30,080 and $83,370. The lowest 10 percent earned less than $22,430, and the highest 10 percent earned more than $145,600. Median annual earnings of broadcast news analysts were $48,790 in radio and television broadcasting.

For the latest wage information:

The above wage data are from the Occupational Employment Statistics (OES) survey program, unless otherwise noted. For the latest National, State, and local earnings data, visit the following pages:

- Broadcast news analysts
- Reporters and correspondents

[See source line at end of document for website to link you to these documents.]

Related Occupations

News analysts, reporters, and correspondents must write clearly and effectively to succeed in

their profession. Others for whom good writing ability is essential include writers and editors and public relations specialists. Many news analysts, reporters, and correspondents also must communicate information orally. Others for whom oral communication skills are important are announcers, interpreters and translators, those in sales and related occupations, and teachers.

Sources of Additional Information

Disclaimer:

Links to non-BLS Internet sites are provided for your convenience and do not constitute an endorsement.

For information on broadcasting education and scholarship resources, contact:

- National Association of Broadcasters, 1771 N St. NW, Washington, DC 20036. Internet: http://www.nab.org

Information on careers in journalism, colleges and universities offering degree programs in journalism or communications, and journalism scholarships and internships may be obtained from:

- Dow Jones Newspaper Fund, Inc., P.O. Box 300, Princeton, NJ 08543-0300.

Information on union wage rates for newspaper and magazine reporters is available from:

- Newspaper Guild, Research and Information Department, 501 Third St. NW, Suite 250, Washington, DC 20001.

For a list of schools with accredited programs in journalism and mass communications, send a stamped, self-addressed envelope to:

- Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications, University of Kansas School of Journalism and Mass Communications, Stauffer-Flint Hall, 1435 Jayhawk Blvd., Lawrence, KS 66045. Internet: http://www.ku.edu/~acejmc/STUDENT/STUDENT.SHTML

Names and locations of newspapers and a list of schools and departments of journalism are published in the Editor and Publisher International Year Book, available in most public libraries and newspaper offices.

OOH ONET Codes

27-3021.00, 27-3022.00

Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor. *Occupational Outlook Handbook, 2008–09 Edition.* "News Analysts, Reporters, and Correspondents." http://www.bls.gov/oco/ocos088.htm#emply (accessed January 6, 2009).

Key Trends in Journalism

Project for Excellence in Journalism— State of the News Media 2008: Overview of Major Trends

By the Project for Excellence in Journalism

In this, the fifth edition of our annual report tracing the revolution of news, several trends bear particular notice heading into 2008.

• **News is shifting from being a product—today's newspaper, Web site or newscast—to becoming a service—how can you help me, even empower me?** There is no single or finished news product anymore. As news consumption becomes continual, more new effort is put into producing incremental updates, as brief as 40-character e-mails sent from reporters directly to consumers without editing. (The afternoon newspaper is also being reborn online.) Service also broadens the definition of what journalists must supply. Story telling and agenda setting—still important—are now insufficient. Journalism also must help citizens find what they are looking for, react to it, sort it, shape news coverage, and—probably most important and least developed—give them tools to make sense of and use the information for themselves. News people are uncertain how the core values of accuracy and verification will hold up. Some of the experiments, even the experimenters think, are questionable. And people are being stretched thinner, posing hard questions about how to manage time and where to concentrate. But the hope is that service, more than storytelling, could prove a key to unlocking new economics.

• **A news organization and a news Web site are no longer final destinations.** Now they must move toward also being stops along the way, gateways to other places, and a means to drill deeper, all ideas that connect to service rather than product. "The walled garden is over," the editor of one of the most popular news sites in the country told us. A site restricted to its own content takes on the character of a cul de sac street with yellow "No Outlet" sign, reducing its value to the user. "Search has become the predominant . . . paradigm," an influential market research report circulating throughout the industry reads. That means every page of a Web site—even one containing a single story—is its own front page. And each piece of content competes on its own with all other information on that topic linked to by blogs, "digged" by user news sites, sent in e-mails, or appearing in searches. As much as half of every Web page, designers advise, should be devoted to helping people find what they want on the rest of the site or the Web. That change is already occurring. A year ago, our study of news Web sites found that only three of 24 major Web sites from traditional news organizations offered links to outside content. Eleven of those sites now offer them. Some of this may simply be automated, which may be a service of limited value.

• **The prospects for user-created content, once thought possibly central to the next era of journalism, for now appear more limited, even among "citizen" sites and blogs.** News people report the most promising parts of citizen input currently are new ideas, sources, comments and to some extent pictures and video. But citizens posting news content has proven less valuable, with too little that is

new or verifiable. (It may thrive at smaller outlets with fewer resources.) And the skepticism is not restricted to the traditional mainstream media or "MSM." The array of citizen-produced news and blog sites is reaching a meaningful level. But a study of citizen media contained in this report finds most of these sites do not let outsiders do more than comment on the site's own material, the same as most traditional news sites. Few allow the posting of news, information, community events or even letters to the editors. And blog sites are even more restricted. In short, rather than rejecting the "gatekeeper" role of traditional journalism, for now citizen journalists and bloggers appear to be recreating it in other places.

• **Increasingly, the newsroom is perceived as the more innovative and experimental part of the news industry.** This appears truer in newspapers and Web sites than elsewhere. But still it represents a significant shift in the conversation. A decade ago, the newsroom was often regarded as the root of journalism's disconnection from the public and its sagging reputation. "I think we may need to just blow up the culture of the newsroom," one of the country's more respected editors told a private gathering of industry leaders in 1997. Now the business side has begun to be identified as the problem area, the place where people are having the most difficulty changing. "My middle management in advertising and distribution is where I see the deer-in-the-headlights look," one publisher recently told us. "Advertising doesn't know how to start to cope," said a major industry trade association leader. A survey of journalists from different media (being released with this year's report) reinforces this sense. Majorities think such things as journalists writing blogs, the ranking of stories on their Web sites, citizens posting comments or ranking stories, even citizen news sites, are making journalism better—a perspective hard to imagine even a few years ago. These new technologies are seen as less a threat to values or a demand on time than a way to reconnect with audiences. News people also are less anxious about credibility, the focus of concern a few years ago. Their worries now are about money.

• **The agenda of the American news media continues to narrow, not broaden.** A firm grip on this is difficult but the trends seem inescapable. A comprehensive audit of coverage shows that in 2007, two overriding stories—the war in Iraq and the 2008 presidential campaign—filled more than a quarter of the newshole and seemed to consume much of the media's energy and resources. And what wasn't covered was in many ways as notable as what was. Other than Iraq—and to a lesser degree Pakistan and Iran—there was minimal coverage of events overseas, some of which directly involved U.S. interests, blood and treasure. At the same time, consider the list of the domestic issues that each filled less than a single percent of the newshole: education, race, religion, transportation, the legal system, housing, drug trafficking, gun control, welfare, Social Security, aging, labor, abortion and more. A related trait is a tendency to move on from stories quickly. On breaking news events—the Virginia Tech massacre or the Minneapolis bridge collapse were among the biggest—the media flooded the zone but then quickly dropped underlying story lines about school safety and infrastructure. And newer media seem to have an even narrower peripheral vision than older media. Cable news, talk radio (and also blogs) tend to seize on top stories (often polarizing ones) and amplify them. The Internet offers the promise of aggregating ever more sources, but its value still depends on what those originating sources are providing. Even as the media world has fragmented into more outlets and options, reporting resources have shrunk.

• **Madison Avenue, rather than pushing change, appears to be having trouble keeping up with it.** Like legacy media, advertising agencies have their own history, mores and cultures that keep them from adapting to new technology and new consumer behavior. The people who run these agencies know the old-media methods and have old-media contacts. New media offer the promise of more detailed knowledge of consumer behavior, but the metrics are still evolving and empirical data have not yet delivered a clear path. Advertising executives, in other words, do not have answers any more than the news professionals. In the short run, this may be helping traditional media hold onto share of advertising revenue. For now, the future seems to point to more confusion and fragmentation before new models emerge. But the

losses could begin to accelerate when answers come. The question of whether, and how, advertising and news will remain partners is unresolved.

These trends add to those we have discussed in earlier years of this report. In the inaugural State of the News Media report in 2004, we outlined the broad contours of the revolution in news. Journalism is not disappearing, we concluded, but it is changing. Consumers trust and rely on journalists less, and expect more of them, because they have alternative sources of information. In subsequent years we have tracked the splintering of journalism into new norms, including the rise of a new commercially driven Journalism of Affirmation, the shift at many traditional news outlets toward becoming niche products, the emergence of what we call the new Answer Culture in news, and growing doubts about the ultimate potential of advertising online. We have also outlined ways in which newsrooms of the future probably need to change.

The study, which we believe is unique in depth and scope, breaks the news industry into eight sectors (newspapers, magazines, network, cable and local television, the Internet, radio and ethnic media) and builds off many of the findings from a year ago.

This year, we have a special report on the future of advertising, a survey of journalists, and a new comprehensive study of the content of the press.

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Appendix A

Journalism Awards and Prizes

Introduction

As with most mass media, journalism gives a wide variety of awards and prizes for superior work. Countless organizations (some directly related to journalism, others emphasizing other fields) offer one or more annual honors for work in just about every journalism specialty and format.

This appendix briefly describes some of the more important awards and prizes for print or electronic journalism, though by no means all of them, as new ones are appearing all the time. Not included are awards given for very subject-specific reporting, fellowships and internships, or awards granted outside the United States. The honors included here are awarded for excellent work, whether over the previous year or through lifetime achievements. Virtually all these award programs are designed to both encourage and recognize high quality output by regularly acknowledging the best work.

Journalism award programs vary in many ways. A few are given but not applied for (e.g., the Benjamin Bradlee award), though most are conducted as active contests where applications are encouraged and form the universe from which winners are chosen. Some bestow only one or two awards each year, while others (e.g., Sigma Delta Chi) award a substantial list of winners in different categories. Awards overlap in many cases, and it's not unusual to apply for more than one. How awards are judged varies as well, usually relying on the judgment of peers in any given area. Some prizes carry monetary awards (which can be substantial), but many provide only a plaque or some other indicator of status. Many award programs provide just that—quite extensive and ongoing processes that lead to prizes given for a host of sometimes quite-specific categories. Most are named either in honor of key figures in the field, or those who provided the initial award funding.

Awards included in this appendix are listed alphabetically by their name under five broad categories—(1) the Pulitzer Prizes, for which we provide considerable detail, and then (2) general journalism awards, (3) specialized journalism awards and prize programs, (4) awards for the electronic media, and (5) prizes for photography and political cartoons.

—Christopher H. Sterling
Volume Editor

The Pulitzer Prizes

Based on an endowment to Columbia University given by New York publisher Joseph Pulitzer early in the twentieth century, these prizes, first awarded in 1917, hold unique status as the most prestigious awards in journalism. They are not open to printed magazines or broadcast media or their respective websites. (Pulitzer Prizes are also awarded in numerous other categories not detailed here, such as music, drama, poetry, and for books of biography, history, fiction, and nonfiction.) Most of the prize categories carry a $10,000 award. The coveted public service award earns the winning newspaper a gold medal.

In 2009, Internet-only writing was first recognized across all 14 Pulitzer journalism categories. Online-only content had been initially allowed starting in 2006, but only for the breaking news and breaking-news photography categories. The broadening of online prize acceptability is surely another indicator of the growing importance of online journalism generally.

The New York Times and its staff have won more Pulitzers than any other paper—101 by 2009. Sadly, a number of the traditional newspapers found on these prize lists are no more (in considerable part because of competition from that same online source), having succumbed during the economic collapse of newspapers late in the twenty-first century's first decade. Many others are in a perilous state and may not survive.

As with any prize, the Pulitzers have raised controversy from time to time. Perhaps the best known concerned a prize category not included here, though it did concern journalism. W. A. Swanberg's *Citizen Hearst* (Scribner 1961) was nominated for the biography award, but—later news reports indicated—the evaluation team for the award could not see clear to giving their prize to a study, no matter how good, of Joseph Pulitzer's chief rival. The story reverberated for weeks.

This appendix lists the most recent three decades of the prizes. The Pulitzers have been arranged into four categories—the important public service prize (given to a publication rather than individuals), the many reporting awards, prizes for comment and criticism, and the prizes given for photography and editorial cartoons. Over the years, the number and categories of the Prizes have changed (and slowly increased). Where possible, the listings below show how former categories relate to current ones. For prizes currently given out annually, we include the words describing what the honor is designed to recognize. We also provide the gist of the award citation for awards since 1980 (since 1960 for the public service prize) to offer a sense of just what sort of writing, photography, or cartooning is being honored. And we provide the online source for older (pre-1980) award information. The Pulitzer website offers more details (and often the actual winning story, photos, or cartoons), and the runner-ups for the prizes given since 1995.

Public Service Prize (1917 to Present)

One of the handful of awards dating back to the origin of the Pulitzer program, this is the single most prestigious prize. It honors "a distinguished example of meritorious public service by a newspaper or eligible news organization through the use of its journalistic resources which, as well as reporting, may include editorials, cartoons, photographs and online material, presented in print or online or both." The prizes granted since 1960 include:

> *2009 Las Vegas Sun,* "and notably courageous reporting by Alexandra Berzon, for exposure of the high death rate among construction workers on the Las Vegas Strip amid lax enforcement of regulations, leading to changes in policy and improved safety conditions."

2008 *The Washington Post* "for the work of Dana Priest, Anne Hull and photographer Michel du Cille in exposing mistreatment of wounded veterans at Walter Reed Hospital, evoking a national outcry and producing reforms by federal officials."

2007 *The Wall Street Journal* "for its creative and comprehensive probe into backdated stock options for business executives that triggered investigations, the ouster of top officials and widespread change in corporate America."

2006 *The Times-Picayune* [New Orleans] "for its heroic, multi-faceted coverage of Hurricane Katrina and its aftermath, making exceptional use of the newspaper's resources to serve an inundated city even after evacuation of the newspaper plant."

and to

Sun Herald [Biloxi-Gulfport, MS] "for its valorous and comprehensive coverage of Hurricane Katrina, providing a lifeline for devastated readers, in print and online, during their time of greatest need."

2005 *Los Angeles Times* "for its courageous, exhaustively researched series exposing deadly medical problems and racial injustice at a major public hospital."

2004 *The New York Times* "for the work of David Barstow and Lowell Bergman that relentlessly examined death and injury among American workers and exposed employers who break basic safety rules."

2003 *The Boston Globe* "for its courageous, comprehensive coverage of sexual abuse by priests, an effort that pierced secrecy, stirred local, national and international reaction and produced changes in the Roman Catholic Church."

2002 *The New York Times* "for 'A Nation Challenged,' a special section published regularly after the September 11th terrorist attacks on America, which coherently and comprehensively covered the tragic events, profiled the victims, and tracked the developing story, locally and globally."

2001 *The Oregonian* [Portland] "for its detailed and unflinching examination of systematic problems within the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, including harsh treatment of foreign nationals and other widespread abuses, which prompted various reforms."

2000 *The Washington Post,* "notably for the work of Katherine Boo that disclosed wretched neglect and abuse in the city's group homes for the mentally retarded, which forced officials to acknowledge the conditions and begin reforms."

1999 *The Washington Post* "for its series that identified and analyzed patterns of reckless gunplay by city police officers who had little training or supervision."

1998 *Grand Forks* [ND] *Herald* "for its sustained and informative coverage, vividly illustrated with photographs, that helped hold its community together in the wake of flooding, a blizzard and a fire that devastated much of the city, including the newspaper plant itself."

1997 *The Times-Picayune* [New Orleans] "for its comprehensive series analyzing the conditions that threaten the world's supply of fish."

1996 *The News & Observer* [Raleigh, NC] "for the work of Melanie Sill, Pat Stith and Joby Warrick on the environmental and health risks of waste disposal systems used in North Carolina's growing hog industry."

1995 *The Virgin Islands Daily News* [St. Thomas, VI] "for its disclosure of the links between the region's rampant crime rate and corruption in the local criminal justice system. The reporting, largely the work of Melvin Claxton, initiated political reforms."

1994 *Akron Beacon Journal* "for its broad examination of local racial attitudes and its subsequent effort to promote improved communication in the community."

1993 *The Miami Herald* "for coverage that not only helped readers cope with Hurricane Andrew's devastation but also showed how lax zoning, inspection and building codes had contributed to the destruction."

1992 *The Sacramento* [CA] *Bee* "for 'The Sierra in Peril,' reporting by Tom Knudson that examined environmental threats and damage to the Sierra Nevada mountain range in California."

1991 *Des Moines Register* "for reporting by Jane Schorer that, with the victim's consent, named a woman who had been raped—which prompted

widespread reconsideration of the traditional media practice of concealing the identity of rape victims."

1990 *Washington* [NC] *Daily News* "for revealing that the city's water supply was contaminated with carcinogens, a problem that the local government had neither disclosed nor corrected over a period of eight years."

and to

The Philadelphia Inquirer "for reporting by Gilbert M. Gaul that disclosed how the American blood industry operates with little government regulation or supervision."

1989 Anchorage Daily News "for reporting about the high incidence of alcoholism and suicide among native Alaskans in a series that focused attention on their despair and resulted in various reforms."

1988 *The Charlotte* [NC] *Observer* "for revealing misuse of funds by the PTL television ministry through persistent coverage conducted in the face of a massive campaign by PTL to discredit the newspaper."

1987 *The Pittsburgh Press* "for reporting by Andrew Schneider and Matthew Brelis, which revealed the inadequacy of the FAA's medical screening of airline pilots and led to significant reforms."

1986 *The Denver Post* "for its in-depth study of 'missing children,' which revealed that most are involved in custody disputes or are runaways, and which helped mitigate national fears stirred by exaggerated statistics."

1985 *Fort Worth* [TX] *Star-Telegram* "for reporting by Mark J. Thompson which revealed that nearly 250 U.S. servicemen had lost their lives as a result of a design problem in helicopters built by Bell Helicopter—a revelation which ultimately led the Army to ground almost 600 Huey helicopters pending their modification."

1984 *Los Angeles Times* "for an in-depth examination of southern California's growing Latino community by a team of editors and reporters."

1983 *Jackson* [MS] *Clarion-Ledger* "for its successful campaign supporting Governor Winter in his legislative battle for reform of Mississippi's public education system."

1982 *The Detroit News* "for a series by Sydney P. Freedberg and David Ashenfelter which exposed the U.S. Navy's cover-up of circumstances surrounding the deaths of seamen aboard ship and which led to significant reforms in naval procedures."

1981 *Charlotte* [NC] *Observer* "for its series on 'Brown Lung: A Case of Deadly Neglect.'"

1980 Gannett News Service "for its series on financial contributions to the Pauline Fathers."

1979 *Point Reyes Light* "a California weekly, for its investigation of Synanon."

1978 *The Philadelphia Inquirer* "for a series of articles showing abuses of power by the police in its home city."

1977 *Lufkin* [TX] *News* "for an obituary of a local man who died in Marine training camp, which grew into an investigation of that death and a fundamental reform in the recruiting and training practices of the United States Marine Corps."

1976 *Anchorage Daily News* "for its disclosures of the impact and influence of the Teamsters Union on Alaska's economy and politics."

1975 *The Boston Globe* "for its massive and balanced coverage of the Boston school desegregation crisis."

1974 *Newsday* [Garden City, NY] "for its definitive report on the illicit narcotic traffic in the United States and abroad, entitled, 'The Heroin Trail.'"

1973 *The Washington Post* "for its investigation of the Watergate case."

1972 *The New York Times* "for the publication of the Pentagon Papers."

1971 *Winston-Salem* [NC] *Journal and Sentinel* "for coverage of environmental problems, as exemplified by a successful campaign to block a strip mining operation that would have caused irreparable damage to the hill country of northwest North Carolina."

1970 *Newsday* [Garden City, NY] "for its three-year investigation and exposure of secret land deals in eastern Long Island, which led to a series of criminal convictions, discharges and resignations among public and political officeholders in the area."

1969 *Los Angeles Times* "for its exposé of wrongdoing within the Los Angeles City Government Commissions, resulting in resignations or criminal convictions of certain members, as well as widespread reforms."

1968 *Riverside* [CA] *Press-Enterprise* "for its exposé of corruption in the courts in connection with the handling of the property and estates of an Indian tribe in California, and its successful efforts to punish the culprits."

1967 Milwaukee Journal "for its successful campaign to stiffen the law against water pollution in Wisconsin, a notable advance in the national effort for the conservation of natural resources."

and to

Louisville Courier-Journal "for its successful campaign to control the Kentucky strip mining industry, a notable advance in the national effort for the conservation of natural resources."

1966 *The Boston Globe* "for its campaign to prevent confirmation of Francis X. Morrissey as a Federal District Judge in Massachusetts."

1965 *Hutchinson* [KS] *News* "for its courageous and constructive campaign, culminating in 1964, to bring about more equitable reapportionment of the Kansas Legislature, despite powerful opposition in its own community."

1964 *St. Petersburg* [FL] *Times* "for its aggressive investigation of the Florida Turnpike Authority which disclosed widespread illegal acts and resulted in a major reorganization of the State's road construction program."

1963 *Chicago Daily News* "for calling public attention to the issue of providing birth control services in the public health programs in its area."

1962 *Panama City* [FL] *News-Herald* "for its three-year campaign against entrenched power and corruption, with resultant reforms in Panama City and Bay County."

1961 *Amarillo* [TX] *Globe-Times* "for exposing a breakdown in local law enforcement with resultant punitive action that swept lax officials from their posts and brought about the election of a reform slate. The newspaper thus exerted its civic leadership in the finest tradition of journalism."

1960 *Los Angeles Times* "for its thorough, sustained and well-conceived attack on narcotics traffic and the enterprising reporting of Gene Sherman, which led to the opening of negotiations between the United States and Mexico to halt the flow of illegal drugs into southern California and other border states."

(For earlier awards, see http://www.pulitzer.org/bycat/Public-Service.)

Reporting Prizes

This changing series forms the core of the Pulitzer journalism prize program—awards granted to individual reporters for superior work in specific kinds of reporting. For the 2009 awards, the competition was expanded to include online-only news organizations "primarily dedicated to original news reporting and coverage of ongoing stories."

Beat Reporting (1991 to 2006); was Specialized Reporting (1985 to 1990)

2006 Dana Priest of *The Washington Post* "for her persistent, painstaking reports on secret 'black site' prisons and other controversial features of the government's counterterrorism campaign."

2005 Amy Dockser Marcus of *The Wall Street Journal* "for her masterful stories about patients, families and physicians that illuminated the often unseen world of cancer survivors."

2004 Daniel Golden of *The Wall Street Journal* "for his compelling and meticulously documented stories on admission preferences given to the children of alumni and donors at American universities."

2003 Diana K. Sugg of *The Baltimore Sun* "for her absorbing, often poignant stories that illuminated complex medical issues through the lives of people."

2002 Gretchen Morgenson of *The New York Times* "for her trenchant and incisive Wall Street coverage."

2001 David Cay Johnston of *The New York Times* "for his penetrating and enterprising reporting that exposed loopholes and inequities in the U.S. tax code, which was instrumental in bringing about reforms."

2000 George Dohrmann of *St. Paul* [MN] *Pioneer Press* "for his determined reporting, despite negative reader reaction, that revealed academic fraud in the men's basketball program at the University of Minnesota."

1999 Chuck Philips and Michael A. Hiltzik of *Los Angeles Times* "for their stories on corruption in the entertainment industry, including a charity sham sponsored by the National Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences, illegal detoxification programs for wealthy celebrities, and a resurgence of radio payola."

1998 Linda Greenhouse of *The New York Times* "for her consistently illuminating coverage of the United States Supreme Court."

1997 Byron Acohido of *The Seattle Times* "for his coverage of the aerospace industry, notably an exhaustive investigation of rudder control problems on the Boeing 737, which contributed to new FAA requirements for major improvements."

1996 Bob Keeler of *Newsday* [Long Island, NY] "for his detailed portrait of a progressive local Catholic parish and its parishioners."

1995 David Shribman of *The Boston Globe* "for his analytical reporting on Washington developments and the national scene."

1994 Eric Freedman and Jim Mitzelfeld of *The Detroit News* "for dogged reporting that disclosed flagrant spending abuses at Michigan's House Fiscal Agency."

1993 Paul Ingrassia and Joseph B. White of *The Wall Street Journal* "for often exclusive coverage of General Motors' management turmoil."

1992 Deborah Blum of *The Sacramento* [CA] *Bee* "for her series, 'The Monkey Wars,' which explored the complex ethical and moral questions surrounding primate research."

1991 Natalie Angier of *The New York Times* "for her compelling and illuminating reports on a variety of scientific topics."

1990 Tamar Stieber of *Albuquerque Journal* "for persistent reporting that linked a rare blood disorder to an over-the-counter dietary supplement, L-Tryptophan, and led to a national recall of the product."

1989 Edward Humes of *Orange County Register* "for his in-depth reporting on the military establishment in Southern California."

1988 Walt Bogdanich of *The Wall Street Journal* "for his chilling series of reports on faulty testing by American medical laboratories."

1987 Alex S. Jones of *The New York Times* "for 'The Fall of the House of Bingham,' a skillful and sensitive report of a powerful newspaper family's bickering and how it led to the sale of a famed media empire."

1986 Andrew Schneider and Mary Pat Flaherty of *Pittsburgh Press* "for their investigation of violations and failures in the organ transplantation system in the United States."

1985 Randall Savage and Jackie Crosby of *Macon* [GA] *Telegraph and News* "for their in-depth examination of academics and athletics at the University of Georgia and the Georgia Institute of Technology."

Breaking News Reporting (1998 to present); was Spot News Reporting (1991 to 1997)

"For a distinguished example of local reporting of breaking news, with special emphasis on the speed and accuracy of the initial coverage, presented in print or online or both."

2009 Staff of *The New York Times* "for its swift and sweeping coverage of a sex scandal that resulted in the resignation of Gov. Eliot Spitzer, breaking the story on its Web site and then developing it with authoritative, rapid-fire reports."

2008 Staff of *The Washington Post* "for its exceptional, multi-faceted coverage of the deadly shooting rampage at Virginia Tech, telling the developing story in print and online."

2007 Staff of *The Oregonian* [Portland] "for its skillful and tenacious coverage of a family missing in the Oregon mountains, telling the tragic story both in print and online."

2006 Staff of *The Times-Picayune* [New Orleans] "for its courageous and aggressive coverage of Hurricane Katrina, overcoming desperate conditions facing the city and the newspaper."

2005 Staff of *The Star-Ledger* [Newark, NJ] "for its comprehensive, clear-headed coverage of the resignation of New Jersey's governor after he announced he was gay and confessed to adultery with a male lover."

2004 Staff of *Los Angeles Times* "for its compelling and comprehensive coverage of the massive wildfires that imperiled a populated region of southern California."

2003 Staff of *The Eagle-Tribune* [Lawrence, MA] "for its detailed, well-crafted stories on the accidental drowning of four boys in the Merrimack River."

2002 Staff of *The Wall Street Journal* "for its comprehensive and insightful coverage, executed under the most difficult circumstances, of the terrorist attack on New York City, which recounted the day's events and their implications for the future."

2001 Staff of *The Miami Herald* "for its balanced and gripping on-the-scene coverage of the pre-dawn raid by federal agents that took the Cuban boy Elián Gonzalez from his Miami relatives and reunited him with his Cuban father."

2000 Staff of *The Denver Post* "for its clear and balanced coverage of the student massacre at Columbine High School."

1999 Staff of *Hartford* [CT] *Courant* "for its clear and detailed coverage of a shooting rampage in which a state lottery worker killed four supervisors then himself."

1998 Staff of *Los Angeles Times* "for its comprehensive coverage of a botched bank robbery and subsequent police shoot-out in North Hollywood."

1997 Staff of *Newsday* [Long Island, NY] "for its enterprising coverage of the crash of TWA Flight 800 and its aftermath."

1996 Robert D. McFadden of *The New York Times* "for his highly skilled writing and reporting on deadline during the year."

1995 Staff of *Los Angeles Times* "for its reporting on January 17, 1994, of the chaos and devastation in the aftermath of the Northridge earthquake."

1994 Staff of *The New York Times* "for its comprehensive coverage of the bombing of Manhattan's World Trade Center."

1993 Staff of *Los Angeles Times* "for balanced, comprehensive, penetrating coverage under deadline pressure of the second, most destructive day of the Los Angeles riots."

1992 Staff of *Newsday* [Long Island, NY] "for coverage of a midnight subway derailment in Manhattan that left five passengers dead and more than 200 injured."

1991 Staff of *The Miami Herald* "for stories profiling a local cult leader, his followers, and their links to several area murders."

Correspondence (1929 to 1947)

(For details on these early awards, see http://www.pulitzer.org/bycat/Correspondence.)

Explanatory Reporting (1998 to present); was Explanatory Journalism (1985 to 1997)

"For a distinguished example of explanatory reporting that illuminates a significant and complex subject, demonstrating mastery of the subject, lucid writing and clear presentation, in print or online or both."

2009 Bettina Boxall and Julie Cart of *Los Angeles Times* "for their fresh and painstaking exploration into the cost and effectiveness of attempts to combat the growing menace of wildfires across the western United States."

2008 Amy Harmon of *The New York Times* "for her striking examination of the dilemmas and ethical issues that accompany DNA testing, using human stories to sharpen her reports."

2007 Kenneth R. Weiss, Usha Lee McFarling, reporters, and Rick Loomis, photographer, of the *Los Angeles Times* "for their richly portrayed reports on the world's distressed oceans, telling the story in print and online, and stirring reaction among readers and officials."

2006 David Finkel of *The Washington Post* "for his ambitious, clear-eyed case study of the United

States government's attempt to bring democracy to Yemen."

2005 Gareth Cook of *The Boston Globe* "for explaining, with clarity and humanity, the complex scientific and ethical dimensions of stem cell research."

2004 Kevin Helliker and Thomas M. Burton of *The Wall Street Journal* "for their groundbreaking examination of aneurysms, an often overlooked medical condition that kills thousands of Americans each year."

2003 Staff of *The Wall Street Journal* "for its clear, concise and comprehensive stories that illuminated the roots, significance and impact of corporate scandals in America."

2002 Staff of *The New York Times* "for its informed and detailed reporting, before and after the September 11th attacks on America, that profiled the global terrorism network and the threats it posed."

2001 Staff of *Chicago Tribune* "for 'Gateway to Gridlock,' its clear and compelling profile of the chaotic American air traffic system."

2000 Eric Newhouse of *Great Falls* [MT] *Tribune* "for his vivid examination of alcohol abuse and the problems it creates in the community."

1999 Richard Read of *The Oregonian* [Portland] "for vividly illustrating the domestic impact of the Asian economic crisis by profiling the local industry that exports frozen french fries."

1998 Paul F. Salopek of *Chicago Tribune* "for his enlightening profile of the Human Genome Diversity Project, which seeks to chart the genetic relationship among all people."

1997 Michael Vitez, reporter, and April Saul and Ron Cortes, photographers, of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* "for a series on the choices that confronted critically-ill patients who sought to die with dignity."

1996 Laurie Garrett of *Newsday* [Long Island, NY] "for her courageous reporting from Zaire on the Ebola virus outbreak there."

1995 Leon Dash, staff writer, and Lucian Perkins, photographer, of *The Washington Post* "for their profile of a District of Columbia family's struggle with destructive cycles of poverty, illiteracy, crime and drug abuse."

1994 Ronald Kotulak of *Chicago Tribune* "for his lucid coverage of current developments in neurological science."

1993 Mike Toner of *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* "for 'When Bugs Fight Back,' a series that explored the diminishing effectiveness of antibiotics and pesticides."

1992 Robert S. Capers and Eric Lipton of *Hartford* [CT] *Courant* "for a series about the flawed Hubble Space Telescope that illustrated many of the problems plaguing America's space program."

1991 Susan C. Faludi of *The Wall Street Journal* "for a report on the leveraged buy-out of Safeway Stores, Inc., that revealed the human costs of high finance."

1990 David A. Vise and Steve Coll of *The Washington Post* "for stories scrutinizing the Securities and Exchange Commission and the way it has been affected by the policies of its former chairman, John Shad."

1989 David Hanners, reporter, William Snyder, photographer, and Karen Blessen, artist [no newspaper cited] "for their special report on a 1985 airplane crash, the follow-up investigation, and the implications for air safety."

1988 Daniel Hertzberg and James B. Stewart of *The Wall Street Journal* "for their stories about an investment banker charged with insider trading and the critical day that followed the October 19, 1987, stock market crash."

1987 Jeff Lyon and Peter Gorner of *Chicago Tribune* "for their series on the promises of gene therapy, which examined the implications of this revolutionary medical treatment."

1986 Staff of *The New York Times* "for a six-part comprehensive series on the Strategic Defense Initiative, which explored the scientific, political and foreign policy issues involved in 'Star Wars.'"

1985 Jon Franklin of *The Baltimore Evening Sun* "for his seven-part series 'The Mind Fixers,' about the new science of molecular psychiatry."

General News Reporting (1985 to 1990)

1990 Staff of *San Jose* [CA] *Mercury News* "for its detailed coverage of the October 17, 1989, Bay Area earthquake and its aftermath."

1989 Staff of *Louisville Courier-Journal* "for its exemplary initial coverage of a bus crash that claimed 27 lives and its subsequent thorough and effective examination of the causes and implications of the tragedy."

1988 Staff of *Lawrence* [MA] *Eagle-Tribune* "for an investigation that revealed serious flaws in the Massachusetts prison furlough system and led to significant statewide reforms."

and to

Staff of *The Alabama Journal* [Montgomery, AL] "for its compelling investigation of the state's unusually high infant-mortality rate, which prompted legislation to combat the problem."

1987 Staff of *Akron Beacon Journal* "for its coverage, under deadline pressure, of the attempted takeover of Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co. by a European financier."

1986 Edna Buchanan of *The Miami Herald* "for her versatile and consistently excellent police beat reporting."

1985 Thomas Turcol of *Virginian-Pilot and Ledger-Star* [Norfolk, VA] "for City Hall coverage which exposed the corruption of a local economic development official."

International Reporting (1948 to present)

"For a distinguished example of reporting on international affairs, in print or online or both."

2009 Staff of *The New York Times* "for its masterful, groundbreaking coverage of America's deepening military and political challenges in Afghanistan and Pakistan, reporting frequently done under perilous conditions."

2008 Steve Fainaru of *The Washington Post* "for his heavily reported series on private security contractors in Iraq that operate outside most of the laws governing American forces."

2007 Staff of *The Wall Street Journal* "for its sharply edged reports on the adverse impact of China's booming capitalism on conditions ranging from inequality to pollution."

2006 Joseph Kahn and Jim Yardley of *The New York Times* "for their ambitious stories on ragged justice in China as the booming nation's legal system evolves."

2005 Kim Murphy of *Los Angeles Times* "for her eloquent, wide ranging coverage of Russia's struggle to cope with terrorism, improve the economy and make democracy work."

and to

Dele Olojede of *Newsday* [Long Island, NY] "for his fresh, haunting look at Rwanda a decade after rape and genocidal slaughter had ravaged the Tutsi tribe."

2004 Anthony Shadid of *The Washington Post* "for his extraordinary ability to capture, at personal peril, the voices and emotions of Iraqis as their country was invaded, their leader toppled and their way of life upended."

2003 Kevin Sullivan and Mary Jordan of *The Washington Post* "for their exposure of horrific conditions in Mexico's criminal justice system and how they affect the daily lives of people."

2002 Barry Bearak of *The New York Times* "for his deeply affecting and illuminating coverage of daily life in war-torn Afghanistan."

2001 Ian Johnson of *The Wall Street Journal* "for his revealing stories from China about victims of the government's often brutal suppression of the Falun Gong movement and the implications of that campaign for the future."

and to

Paul Salopek of *Chicago Tribune* "for his reporting on the political strife and disease epidemics ravaging Africa, witnessed firsthand as he traveled, sometimes by canoe, through rebel-controlled regions of the Congo."

2000 Mark Schoofs of *The Village Voice* "for his provocative and enlightening series on the AIDS crisis in Africa."

1999 Staff of *The Wall Street Journal* "for its in-depth, analytical coverage of the Russian financial crisis."

1998 Staff of *The New York Times* "for its revealing series that profiled the corrosive effects of drug corruption in Mexico."

1997 John F. Burns of *The New York Times* "for his courageous and insightful coverage of the harrowing regime imposed on Afghanistan by the Taliban."

1996 David Rohde of *The Christian Science Monitor* "for his persistent on-site reporting of the massacre of thousands of Bosnian Muslims in Srebrenica."

1995 Mark Fritz of Associated Press "for his reporting on the ethnic violence and slaughter in Rwanda."

1994 Dallas Morning News Team of *The Dallas Morning News* "for its series examining the epidemic of violence against women in many nations."

1993 Roy Gutman of *Newsday* [Long Island, NY] "for his courageous and persistent reporting that disclosed atrocities and other human rights violations in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina."

and to

John F. Burns of *The New York Times* "for his courageous and thorough coverage of the destruction of Sarajevo and the barbarous killings in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina."

1992 Patrick J. Sloyan of *Newsday* [Long Island, NY] "for his reporting on the Persian Gulf War, conducted after the war was over, which revealed new details of American battlefield tactics and 'friendly fire' incidents."

1991 Serge Schmemann of *The New York Times* "for his coverage of the reunification of Germany."

and to

Caryle Murphy of *The Washington Post* "for her dispatches from occupied Kuwait, some of which she filed while in hiding from Iraqi authorities."

1990 Nicholas D. Kristof and Sheryl Wu Dunn of *The New York Times* "for knowledgeable reporting from China on the mass movement for democracy and its subsequent suppression."

1989 Bill Keller of *The New York Times* "for resourceful and detailed coverage of events in the U.S.S.R."

and to

Glenn Frankel of *The Washington Post* "for sensitive and balanced reporting from Israel and the Middle East."

1988 Thomas L. Friedman of *The New York Times* "for balanced and informed coverage of Israel."

1987 Michael Parks of *Los Angeles Times* "for his balanced and comprehensive coverage of South Africa."

1986 Lewis M. Simons, Pete Carey, and Katherine Ellison of *San Jose* [CA] *Mercury News* "for their June 1985 series that documented massive transfers of wealth abroad by President Marcos and his associates and had a direct impact on subsequent political developments in the Philippines and the United States."

1985 Josh Friedman and Dennis Bell, reporters, and Ozier Muhammad, photographer of *Newsday* [Long Island, NY] "for their series on the plight of the hungry in Africa."

1984 Karen Elliott House of *The Wall Street Journal* "for her extraordinary series of interviews with Jordan's King Hussein which correctly anticipated the problems that would confront the Reagan administration's Middle East peace plan."

1983 Thomas L. Friedman and Loren Jenkins of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post,* (respectively) "for their individual reporting of the Israeli invasion of Beirut and its tragic aftermath."

1982 John Darnton of *The New York Times* "for his reporting from Poland."

1981 Shirley Christian of *The Miami Herald* "for her dispatches from Central America."

1980 Joel Brinkley, reporter, and Jay Mather, photographer, of the *Louisville Courier-Journal* "for stories from Cambodia."

(For earlier prizes, see http://www.pulitzer.org/bycat/International-Reporting.)

Investigative Reporting (1985 to present)

"For a distinguished example of investigative reporting by an individual or team, presented as a single article or series, in print or online or both."

2009 David Barstow of *The New York Times* "for his tenacious reporting that revealed how some retired generals, working as radio and television analysts, had been co-opted by the Pentagon to make its case for the war in Iraq, and how many of them also had undisclosed ties to companies that benefited from policies they defended."

2008 Walt Bogdanich and Jake Hooker of *The New York Times* "for their stories on toxic ingredients in medicine and other everyday products imported from China, leading to crackdowns by American and Chinese officials."

and to

Staff of *Chicago Tribune* "for its exposure of faulty governmental regulation of toys, car seats and cribs, resulting in the extensive recall of hazardous products and congressional action to tighten supervision."

2007 Brett Blackledge of *The Birmingham* [AL] *News* "for his exposure of cronyism and corruption in the state's two-year college system, resulting in the dismissal of the chancellor and other corrective action."

2006 Susan Schmidt, James V. Grimaldi, and R. Jeffrey Smith of *The Washington Post* "for their indefatigable probe of Washington lobbyist Jack Abramoff that exposed congressional corruption and produced reform efforts."

2005 Nigel Jaquiss of *Willamette Week* [Portland, OR] "for his investigation exposing a former governor's long concealed sexual misconduct with a 14-year-old girl."

2004 Michael D. Sallah, Mitch Weiss, and Joe Mahr of *The Blade* [Toledo, OH] "for their powerful series on atrocities by Tiger Force, an elite U.S. Army platoon, during the Vietnam War."

2003 Clifford J. Levy of *The New York Times* "for his vivid, brilliantly written series 'Broken Homes' that exposed the abuse of mentally ill adults in state-regulated homes."

2002 Sari Horwitz, Scott Higham, and Sarah Cohen of *The Washington Post* "for a series that exposed the District of Columbia's role in the neglect and death of 229 children placed in protective care between 1993 and 2000, which prompted an overhaul of the city's child welfare system."

2001 David Willman of *Los Angeles Times* "for his pioneering exposé of seven unsafe prescription drugs that had been approved by the Food and Drug Administration, and an analysis of the policy reforms that had reduced the agency's effectiveness."

2000 Sang-Hun Choe, Charles J. Hanley, and Martha Mendoza of Associated Press "for revealing, with extensive documentation, the decades-old secret of how American soldiers early in the Korean War killed hundreds of Korean civilians in a massacre at the No Gun Ri Bridge."

1999 Staff of *The Miami Herald* "for its detailed reporting that revealed pervasive voter fraud in a city mayoral election, that was subsequently overturned."

1998 Gary Cohn and Will Englund of *The Baltimore Sun* "for their compelling series on the international shipbreaking industry, that revealed the dangers posed to workers and the environment when discarded ships are dismantled."

1997 Eric Nalder, Deborah Nelson, and Alex Tizon of *The Seattle Times* "for their investigation of widespread corruption and inequities in the federally-sponsored housing program for Native Americans, which inspired much-needed reforms."

1996 Staff of *The Orange County Register* [Santa Ana, CA] "for reporting that uncovered fraudulent and unethical fertility practices at a leading research university hospital and prompted key regulatory reforms."

1995 Brian Donovan and Stephanie Saul of *Newsday* [Long Island, NY] "for their stories that revealed disability pension abuses by local police."

1994 Staff of *Providence Journal-Bulletin* "for thorough reporting that disclosed pervasive corruption within the Rhode Island court system."

1993 Jeff Brazil and Steve Berry of *Orlando* [FL] *Sentinel* "for exposing the unjust seizure of millions of dollars from motorists—most of them minorities—by a sheriff's drug squad."

1992 Lorraine Adams and Dan Malone of *Dallas Morning News* "for reporting that charged Texas police with extensive misconduct and abuses of power."

1991 Joseph T. Hallinan and Susan M. Headden of *The Indianapolis Star* "for their shocking series on medical malpractice in the state."

1990 Lou Kilzer and Chris Ison of *Star Tribune* [Minneapolis–St. Paul] "for reporting that exposed a network of local citizens who had links to members of the St. Paul fire department and who profited from fires, including some described by the fire department itself as being of suspicious origin."

1989 Bill Dedman of *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution* "for his investigation of the racial discrimination practiced by lending institutions in Atlanta, reporting which led to significant reforms in those policies."

1988 Dean Baquet, William Gaines, and Ann Marie Lipinski of *Chicago Tribune* "for their detailed reporting on the self-interest and waste that plague Chicago's City Council."

1987 John Woestendiek of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* "for outstanding prison beat reporting, which included proving the innocence of a man convicted of murder."

and to

Daniel R. Biddle, H. G. Bissinger, and Fredric N. Tulsky of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* "for their series 'Disorder in the Court,' which revealed transgressions of justice in the Philadelphia court system and led to federal and state investigations."

1986 Jeffrey A. Marx and Michael M. York of *Lexington* [KY] *Herald Leader* "for their series 'Playing Above the Rules,' which exposed cash payoffs to University of Kentucky basketball players in violation of NCAA regulations and led to significant reforms."

1985 William K. Marimow of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* "for his revelation that city police dogs had attacked more than 350 people—an exposé that led to investigations of the K-9 unit and the removal of a dozen officers from it."

and to

Lucy Morgan and Jack Reed of *St. Petersburg* [FL] *Times* "for their thorough reporting on Pasco County Sheriff John Short, which revealed his department's corruption and led to his removal from office by voters."

National Reporting (1948 to present)

"For a distinguished example of reporting on national affairs, in print or online or both."

2009 Staff of *St. Petersburg Times* "for 'PolitiFact,' its fact-checking initiative during the 2008 presidential campaign that used probing reporters and the power of the World Wide Web to examine more than 750 political claims, separating rhetoric from truth to enlighten voters."

2008 Jo Becker and Barton Gellman of *The Washington Post* "for their lucid exploration of Vice President Dick Cheney and his powerful yet sometimes disguised influence on national policy."

2007 Charlie Savage of *The Boston Globe* "for his revelations that President Bush often used 'signing statements' to assert his controversial right to bypass provisions of new laws."

2006 James Risen and Eric Lichtblau of *The New York Times* "for their carefully sourced stories on secret domestic eavesdropping that stirred a national debate on the boundary line between fighting terrorism and protecting civil liberty."

and to

The San Diego Union-Tribune and Copley News Service with notable work by Marcus Stern and Jerry Kammer "for their disclosure of bribe-taking that sent former Rep. Randy Cunningham to prison in disgrace."

2005 Walt Bogdanich of *The New York Times* "for his heavily documented stories about the corporate cover-up of responsibility for fatal accidents at railway crossings."

2004 Staff of *Los Angeles Times* "for its engrossing examination of the tactics that have made Wal-Mart the largest company in the world with cascading effects across American towns and developing countries."

2003 Alan Miller and Kevin Sack of *Los Angeles Times* "for their revelatory and moving examination of a military aircraft, nicknamed 'The Widow Maker,' that was linked to the deaths of 45 pilots."

2002 Staff of *The Washington Post* "for its comprehensive coverage of America's war on terrorism, which regularly brought forth new information together with skilled analysis of unfolding developments."

2001 Staff of *The New York Times* "for its compelling and memorable series exploring racial experiences and attitudes across contemporary America."

2000 Staff of *The Wall Street Journal* "for its revealing stories that question U.S. defense spending and military deployment in the post-Cold War era and offer alternatives for the future."

1999 *The New York Times* staff, and notably Jeff Gerth "for a series of articles that disclosed the corporate sale of American technology to China, with U.S. government approval despite national security risks, prompting investigations and significant changes in policy."

1998 Russell Carollo and Jeff Nesmith of *Dayton* [OH] *Daily News* "for their reporting that disclosed dangerous flaws and mismanagement in the military health care system and prompted reforms."

1997 Staff of *The Wall Street Journal* "for its coverage of the struggle against AIDS in all of its aspects, the human, the scientific and the business, in light of promising treatments for the disease."

1996 Alix M. Freedman of *The Wall Street Journal* "for her coverage of the tobacco industry, including a report that exposed how ammonia additives heighten nicotine potency."

1995 Tony Horwitz of *The Wall Street Journal* "for stories about working conditions in low-wage America."

1994 Eileen Welsome of *Albuquerque Tribune* "for stories that related the experiences of Americans who had been used unknowingly in government radiation experiments nearly 50 years ago."

1993 David Maraniss of *The Washington Post* "for his revealing articles on the life and political record of [presidential] candidate Bill Clinton."

1992 Jeff Taylor and Mike McGraw of *Kansas City Star* "for their critical examination of the U.S. Department of Agriculture."

1991 Marjie Lundstrom and Rochelle Sharpe of Gannett News Service "for reporting that disclosed hundreds of child abuse-related deaths go undetected each year as a result of errors by medical examiners."

1990 Ross Anderson, Bill Dietrich, Mary Ann Gwinn, and Eric Nalder of *The Seattle Times* "for coverage of the *Exxon Valdez* oil spill and its aftermath."

1989 Donald L. Barlett and James B. Steele of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* "for their 15-month investigation of 'rifle shot' provisions in the Tax Reform Act of 1986, a series that aroused such widespread public indignation that Congress subsequently rejected proposals giving special tax breaks to many politically connected individuals and businesses."

1988 Tim Weiner of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* "for his series of reports on a secret Pentagon budget used by the government to sponsor defense research and an arms buildup."

1987 Staff of *Miami Herald* "for its exclusive reporting and persistent coverage of the U.S.–Iran-Contra connection."

and to

Staff of *The New York Times* "for coverage of the aftermath of the Challenger explosion, which included stories that identified serious flaws in the shuttle's design and in the administration of America's space program."

1986 Craig Flournoy and George Rodrigue of *The Dallas Morning News* "for their investigation into subsidized housing in East Texas, which uncovered patterns of racial discrimination and segregation in public housing across the United States and led to significant reforms."

and to

Arthur Howe of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* "for his enterprising and indefatigable reporting on massive deficiencies in IRS processing of tax returns—reporting that eventually inspired major changes in IRS procedures and prompted the agency to make a public apology to U.S. taxpayers."

1985 Thomas J. Knudson of *Des Moines* [IA] *Register* "for his series of articles that examined the dangers of farming as an occupation."

1984 John Noble Wilford of *The New York Times* "for reporting on a wide variety of scientific topics of national import."

1983 Staff of *The Boston Globe* "for its balanced and informative special report on the nuclear arms race."

1982 Rick Atkinson of *The Kansas City Times* "for the uniform excellence of his reporting and writing on stories of national import."

1981 John M. Crewdson of *The New York Times* "for his coverage of illegal aliens and immigration."

1980 Bette Swenson Orsini and Charles Stafford of *St. Petersburg* [FL] *Times* "for their investigation of the Church of Scientology."

(For the earlier awards, see http://www.pulitzer.org/bycat/National-Reporting.)

Reporting (1917 to 1947)

Telegraphic Reporting—International (1942 to 1947)

Telegraphic Reporting—National (1942 to 1947)

Prizes incorporated into other award category.

Local Reporting

The Pulitzer organization has struggled with just how to best recognize excellent local reporting. It began with—and has returned to—a single award in this category, after experimenting first with whether or not the local reporting was done for a timed edition, and then with two kinds of reporting—general or spot, and investigative and specialized. From 1985 to 2006, there were no local reporting prizes (as such) granted, though as is evident in these listings, many "local" reporting prizes were granted under other categories.

Local Reporting (1948 to 1952, 2007 to present)

"For a distinguished example of reporting on significant issues of local concern, demonstrating originality and community expertise, in print or online or both."

2009 *Detroit Free Press* staff, and notably Jim Schaefer and M.L. Elrick "for their uncovering of a pattern of lies by Mayor Kwame Kilpatrick that included denial of a sexual relationship with his female chief of staff, prompting an investigation of perjury that eventually led to jail terms for the two officials."

and to

Ryan Gabrielson and Paul Giblin of *East Valley Tribune* [Mesa, AZ] "for their adroit use of limited resources to reveal, in print and online, how a popular sheriff's focus on immigration enforcement endangered investigation of violent crime and other aspects of public safety."

2008 David Umhoefer of *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* "for his stories on the skirting of tax laws to pad pensions of county employees, prompting change and possible prosecution of key figures."

2007 Debbie Cenziper of *The Miami Herald* "for reports on waste, favoritism and lack of oversight at the Miami housing agency that resulted in dismissals, investigations and prosecutions."

(For earlier awards, see http://www.pulitzer.org/bycat/Local-Reporting.)

Local General or Spot News Reporting (1964 to 1984)

1984 *Newsday* [Long Island, NY] team of reporters "for their enterprising and comprehensive coverage of the Baby Jane Doe case and its far-reaching social and political implications."

1983 Editorial staff of *Fort Wayne* [IN] *News-Sentinel* "for its courageous and resourceful coverage of a devastating flood in March 1982."

1982 Staffs of *Kansas City Star* and *Kansas City Times* "for coverage of the Hyatt Regency Hotel disaster and identification of its causes."

1981 Staff of *Longview* [WA] *Daily News* "for its coverage of the Mt. St. Helens story, including the photographs by Roger A. Werth."

1980 Staff of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* "for coverage of the nuclear accident at Three Mile Island."

(For earlier awards, see http://www.pulitzer.org/bycat/Local-General-or-Spot-News-Reporting.)

Local Investigative Specialized Reporting (1964 to 1984)

1984 Kenneth Cooper, Joan Fitz Gerald, Jonathan Kaufman, Norman Lockman, Gary McMillan, Kirk Scharfenberg, and David Wessel of *The Boston Globe* "for their series examining race relations in Boston, a notable exercise in public service that turned a searching gaze on some the city's most honored institutions including *The Globe* itself."

1983 Loretta Tofani of *The Washington Post* "for her investigation of rape and sexual assault in the Prince George's County, Maryland, Detention Center."

1982 Paul Henderson of *The Seattle Times* "for reporting which proved the innocence of a man convicted of rape."

1981 Clark Hallas and Robert B. Lowe of *The Arizona Daily Star* "for their investigation of the University of Arizona Athletic Department."

1980 Stephen A. Kurkjian, Alexander B. Hawes Jr., Nils Bruzelius, Joan Vennochi, and Robert M. Porterfield of *The Boston Globe,* Spotlight Team "for articles on Boston's transit system."

(For earlier awards, see http://www.pulitzer.org/bycat/Local-Investigative-Specialized-Reporting.)

Local Reporting—Edition Time

Local Reporting—No Edition Time (1953 to 1963)

Prizes incorporated into other award category.

Photography and Cartooning Prizes

Editorial cartooning has been honored since 1922 while photography had to wait two more decades. The latter is now honored in two categories—feature, and breaking news. The winning photographs and cartoons are available for the winners since 1995 on the Pulitzer website.

Breaking News Photography (2000 to present); was Spot News Photography (1968 to 1999)

"For a distinguished example of breaking news photography in black and white or color, which may consist of a photograph or photographs, a sequence or an album, in print or online or both."

2009 Patrick Farrell of *The Miami Herald* "for his provocative, impeccably composed images of despair after Hurricane Ike and other lethal storms caused a humanitarian disaster in Haiti."

2008 Adrees Latif of Reuters "for his dramatic photograph of a Japanese videographer, sprawled on the pavement, fatally wounded during a street demonstration in Myanmar."

2007 Oded Balilty of Associated Press "for his powerful photograph of a lone Jewish woman defying Israeli security forces as they remove illegal settlers in the West Bank."

2006 Staff of *The Dallas Morning News* "for its vivid photographs depicting the chaos and pain after Hurricane Katrina engulfed New Orleans."

2005 Staff of Associated Press "for its stunning series of photographs of bloody yearlong *[sic]* combat inside Iraqi cities."

2004 David Leeson and Cheryl Diaz Meyer of *The Dallas Morning News* "for their eloquent photographs depicting both the violence and poignancy of the war with Iraq."

2003 Photography staff of *Rocky Mountain News* [Denver] "for its powerful, imaginative coverage of Colorado's raging forest fires."

2002 Staff of *The New York Times* "for its consistently outstanding photographic coverage of the terrorist attack on New York City and its aftermath."

2001 Alan Diaz of Associated Press "for his photograph of armed U.S. federal agents seizing the Cuban boy Elián Gonzalez from his relatives' Miami home."

2000 Photo staff of *Rocky Mountain News* [Denver] "for its powerful collection of emotional images taken after the student shootings at Columbine High School."

1999 Photo Staff of Associated Press "for its portfolio of images following the embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania that illustrates both the horror and the humanity triggered by the event."

1998 Martha Rial of *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* "for her life-affirming portraits of survivors of the conflicts in Rwanda and Burundi."

1997 Annie Wells of *The Press Democrat* [Santa Rosa, CA] "for her dramatic photograph of a local firefighter rescuing a teenager from raging floodwaters *[sic]*."

1996 Charles Porter IV, a freelancer, "for his haunting photographs, taken after the Oklahoma City bombing and distributed by the Associated Press, showing a one-year-old victim handed to and then cradled by a local fireman."

1995 Carol Guzy of *The Washington Post* "for her series of photographs illustrating the crisis in Haiti and its aftermath."

1994 Paul Watson of *The Toronto Star* "for his photograph, published in many American

newspapers, of a U.S. soldier's body being dragged through the streets of Mogadishu by a mob of jeering Somalis."

1993 Ken Geiger and William Snyder of *The Dallas Morning News* "for their dramatic photographs of the 1992 Summer Olympics in Barcelona."

1992 Staff of Associated Press "for photographs of the attempted coup in Russia and the subsequent collapse of the Communist regime."

1991 Greg Marinovich of Associated Press "for a series of photographs of supporters of South Africa's African National Congress brutally murdering a man they believed to be a Zulu spy."

1990 Photo Staff of *The Tribune* [Oakland, CA] "for photographs of devastation caused by the Bay Area earthquake of October 17, 1989."

1989 Ron Olshwanger, freelance photographer, "for a picture published in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of a firefighter giving mouth-to-mouth resuscitation to a child pulled from a burning building."

1988 Scott Shaw of *Odessa* [TX] *American* "for his photograph of the child Jessica McClure being rescued from the well into which she had fallen."

1987 Kim Komenich of *San Francisco Examiner* "for his photographic coverage of the fall of Ferdinand Marcos."

1986 Carol Guzy and Michel duCille of *The Miami Herald* "for their photographs of the devastation caused by the eruption of the Nevado del Ruiz volcano in Colombia."

1985 Photography staff of *The Register* [Santa Ana, CA] "for their exceptional coverage of the Olympic games."

1984 Stan Grossfeld of *The Boston Globe* "for his series of unusual photographs which reveal the effects of war on the people of Lebanon."

1983 Bill Foley of Associated Press "for his moving series of pictures of victims and survivors of the massacre in the Sabra Camp in Beirut."

1982 Ron Edmonds of Associated Press "for his coverage of the Reagan assassination attempt."

1981 Larry C. Price of *Fort Worth* [TX] *Star-Telegram* "for his photographs from Liberia."

1980 Jahangir Razmi of Ettela'at, Iran "for the photograph 'Firing Squad in Iran' that was distributed by United Press International. The photographer remained anonymous until his identity was revealed, with his consent, by Josh Prager of *The Wall Street Journal* in 2006."

(For earlier awards, see http://www.pulitzer.org/bycat/Spot-News-Photography.)

Editorial Cartooning (1922 to present)

"For a distinguished cartoon or portfolio of cartoons published during the year, characterized by originality, editorial effectiveness, quality of drawing, and pictorial effect, in print or online or both."

2009 Steve Breen of *The San Diego Union-Tribune* "for his agile use of a classic style to produce wide ranging cartoons that engage readers with power, clarity and humor."

2008 Michael Ramirez of *Investor's Business Daily* "for his provocative cartoons that rely on originality, humor and detailed artistry."

2007 Walt Handelsman of *Newsday* [Long Island, NY] "for his stark, sophisticated cartoons and his impressive use of zany animation."

2006 Mike Luckovich of *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* "for his powerful cartoons on an array of issues, drawn with a simple but piercing style."

2005 Nick Anderson of *The Courier-Journal* [Louisville, KY] "for his unusual graphic style that produced extraordinarily thoughtful and powerful messages."

2004 Matt Davies of *The Journal News* [city not specified] "for his piercing cartoons on an array of topics, drawn with a fresh, original style."

2003 David Horsey of *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer* "for his perceptive cartoons executed with a distinctive style and sense of humor."

2002 Clay Bennett of *The Christian Science Monitor.*

2001 Ann Telnaes of *Tribune Media Services.*

2000 Joel Pett of *Lexington* [KY] *Herald-Leader.*

1999 David Horsey of *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer.*

1998 Stephen P. Breen of *Asbury Park Press* [Neptune, NJ].

1997 Walt Handelsman of *Times-Picayune* [New Orleans].

1996 Jim Morin of *The Miami Herald*.

1995 Mike Luckovich of *The Atlanta Constitution*.

1994 Michael P. Ramirez of *Commercial Appeal* [Memphis, TN] "for his trenchant cartoons on contemporary issues."

1993 Stephen R. Benson of *The Arizona Republic*.

1992 Signe Wilkinson of *The Philadelphia Daily News*.

1991 Jim Borgman of *The Cincinnati Enquirer*.

1990 Tom Toles of *The Buffalo News* "for his work during the year as exemplified by the cartoon 'First Amendment.'"

1989 Jack Higgins of *Chicago Sun-Times*.

1988 Doug Marlette of *The Atlanta Constitution* and *Charlotte Observer*.

1987 Berke Breathed of The Washington Post Writers Group.

1986 Jules Feiffer of *The Village Voice* [New York City].

1985 Jeff MacNelly of *Chicago Tribune*.

1984 Paul Conrad of *Los Angeles Times*.

1983 Richard Locher of *Chicago Tribune*.

1982 Ben Sargent of *Austin* [TX] *American-Statesman*.

1981 Mike Peters of *Dayton* [OH] *Daily News*.

1980 Don Wright of *The Miami News*.

(For earlier awards, see http://www.pulitzer.org/bycat/Editorial-Cartooning.)

Feature Photography (1968 to present)

"For a distinguished example of feature photography in black and white or color, which may consist of a photograph or photographs, a sequence or an album in print or online or both."

2009 Damon Winter of *The New York Times* "for his memorable array of pictures deftly capturing multiple facets of Barack Obama's presidential campaign."

2008 Preston Gannaway of *Concord* [NH] *Monitor* "for her intimate chronicle of a family coping with a parent's terminal illness."

2007 Renée C. Byer of *The Sacramento Bee* "for her intimate portrayal of a single mother and her young son as he loses his battle with cancer."

2006 Todd Heisler of *Rocky Mountain News* [Denver] "for his haunting, behind-the-scenes look at funerals for Colorado Marines who return from Iraq in caskets."

2005 Deanne Fitzmaurice of *San Francisco Chronicle* "for her sensitive photo essay on an Oakland hospital's effort to mend an Iraqi boy nearly killed by an explosion."

2004 Carolyn Cole of *Los Angeles Times* "for her cohesive, behind-the-scenes look at the effects of civil war in Liberia, with special attention to innocent citizens caught in the conflict."

2003 Don Bartletti of *Los Angeles Times* "for his memorable portrayal of how undocumented Central American youths, often facing deadly danger, travel north to the United States."

2002 Staff of *The New York Times* "for its photographs chronicling the pain and the perseverance of people enduring protracted conflict in Afghanistan and Pakistan."

2001 Matt Rainey of *The Star-Ledger* [Newark, NJ] "for his emotional photographs that illustrate the care and recovery of two students critically burned in a dormitory fire at Seton Hall University."

2000 Carol Guzy, Michael Williamson, and Lucian Perkins of *The Washington Post* "for their intimate and poignant images depicting the plight of the Kosovo refugees."

1999 Photo Staff of Associated Press "for its striking collection of photographs of the key players and events stemming from President Clinton's affair with Monica Lewinsky and the ensuing impeachment hearings."

1998 Clarence Williams of *Los Angeles Times* "for his powerful images documenting the plight of young children with parents addicted to alcohol and drugs."

1997 Alexander Zemlianichenko of Associated Press "for his photograph of Russian President Boris Yeltsin dancing at a rock concert during his campaign for re-election."

1996 Stephanie Welsh, a freelancer, "for her shocking sequence of photos, published by Newhouse News Service, of a female circumcision rite in Kenya."

1995 Staff of Associated Press "for its portfolio of photographs chronicling the horror and devastation in Rwanda."

1994 Kevin Carter, a freelance photographer, "for a picture first published in *The New York Times* of a starving Sudanese girl who collapsed on her way to a feeding center while a vulture waited nearby."

1993 Staff of Associated Press "for its portfolio of images drawn from the 1992 presidential campaign."

1992 John Kaplan of Block Newspapers, Toledo, Ohio, "for his photographs depicting the diverse lifestyles of seven 21-year-olds across the United States."

1991 William Snyder of *The Dallas Morning News* "for his photographs of ill and orphaned children living in subhuman conditions in Romania."

1990 David C. Turnley of *Detroit Free Press* "for photographs of the political uprisings in China and Eastern Europe."

1989 Manny Crisostomo of *Detroit Free Press* "for his series of photographs depicting student life at Southwestern High School in Detroit."

1988 Michel duCille of *The Miami Herald* "for photographs portraying the decay and subsequent rehabilitation of a housing project overrun by the drug crack."

1987 David Peterson of *Des Moines Register* "for his photographs depicting the shattered dreams of American farmers."

1986 Tom Gralish of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* "for his series of photographs of Philadelphia's homeless."

1985 Larry C. Price of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* "for his series of photographs from Angola and El Salvador depicting their war-torn inhabitants."

and to

Stan Grossfeld of *The Boston Globe* "for his series of photographs of the famine in Ethiopia and for his pictures of illegal aliens on the Mexican border."

1984 Anthony Suau of *The Denver Post* "for a series of photographs which depict the tragic effects of starvation in Ethiopia and for a single photograph of a woman at her husband's gravesite on Memorial Day."

1983 James B. Dickman of *Dallas Times Herald* "for his telling photographs of life and death in El Salvador."

1982 John H. White of *Chicago Sun-Times* "for consistently excellent work on a variety of subjects."

1981 Taro M. Yamasaki of *Detroit Free Press* "for his photographs of Jackson (Mich.) State Prison."

1980 Erwin H. Hagler of *Dallas Times Herald* "for a series on the Western cowboy."

(For earlier awards, see http://www.pulitzer.org/bycat/Feature-Photography.)

Photography (1942 to 1967)

Prize incorporated into other award category.

Comment, Criticism, and Features Prizes

Editorial writing has been a part of the Pulitzer program from the beginning while other types of "nonreporting" have only been honored since the 1970s.

Commentary (1970 to present)

"For distinguished commentary, in print or online or both."

2009 Eugene Robinson of *The Washington Post* "for his eloquent columns on the 2008 presidential campaign that focus on the election of the first African-American president, showcasing graceful writing and grasp of the larger historic picture."

2008 Steven Pearlstein of *The Washington Post* "for his insightful columns that explore the nation's complex economic ills with masterful clarity."

2007 Cynthia Tucker of *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* "for her courageous, clear-headed columns that evince a strong sense of morality and persuasive knowledge of the community."

2006 Nicholas D. Kristof of *The New York Times* "for his graphic, deeply reported columns that, at personal risk, focused attention on genocide in Darfur and that gave voice to the voiceless in other parts of the world."

2005 Connie Schultz of *The Plain Dealer* [Cleveland] "for her pungent columns that provided a voice for the underdog and underprivileged."

2004 Leonard Pitts Jr. of *The Miami Herald* "for his fresh, vibrant columns that spoke, with both passion and compassion, to ordinary people on often divisive issues."

2003 Colbert I. King of *The Washington Post* "for his against-the-grain columns that speak to people in power with ferocity and wisdom."

2002 Thomas Friedman of *The New York Times* "for his clarity of vision, based on extensive reporting, in commenting on the worldwide impact of the terrorist threat."

2001 Dorothy Rabinowitz of *The Wall Street Journal* "for her articles on American society and culture."

2000 Paul A. Gigot of *The Wall Street Journal* "for his informative and insightful columns on politics and government."

1999 Maureen Dowd of *The New York Times* "for her fresh and insightful columns on the impact of President Clinton's affair with Monica Lewinsky."

1998 Mike McAlary of *New York Daily News* "for his coverage of the brutalization of a Haitian immigrant by police officers at a Brooklyn stationhouse."

1997 Eileen McNamara of *The Boston Globe* "for her many-sided columns on Massachusetts people and issues."

1996 E.R. Shipp of *New York Daily News* "for her penetrating columns on race, welfare and other social issues."

1995 Jim Dwyer of *Newsday* [Long Island, NY] "for his compelling and compassionate columns about New York City."

1994 William Raspberry of *The Washington Post* "for his compelling commentaries on a variety of social and political topics."

1993 Liz Balmaseda of *The Miami Herald* "for her commentary from Haiti about deteriorating political and social conditions and her columns about Cuban-Americans in Miami."

1992 Anna Quindlen of *The New York Times* "for her compelling columns on a wide range of personal and political topics."

1991 Jim Hoagland of *The Washington Post* "for searching and prescient columns on events leading up to the Gulf War and on the political problems of Mikhail Gorbachev."

1990 Jim Murray of *Los Angeles Times* "for his sports columns."

1989 Clarence Page of *Chicago Tribune* "for his provocative columns on local and national affairs."

1988 Dave Barry of *The Miami Herald* "for his consistently effective use of humor as a device for presenting fresh insights into serious concerns."

1987 Charles Krauthammer of The Washington Post Writers Group "for his witty and insightful columns on national issues."

1986 Jimmy Breslin of *New York Daily News* "for columns which consistently champion ordinary citizens."

1985 Murray Kempton of *Newsday* [Long Island, NY] "for witty and insightful reflection on public issues in 1984 and throughout a distinguished career."

1984 Vermont Royster of *The Wall Street Journal.*

1983 Claude Sitton of *Raleigh* [NC] *News & Observer.*

1982 Art Buchwald of Los Angeles Times Syndicate.

1981 Dave Anderson of *The New York Times* "for his commentary on sports."

1980 Ellen H. Goodman of *The Boston Globe.*

(For earlier awards, see http://www.pulitzer.org/bycat/Commentary.)

Criticism (1970 to present)

"For distinguished criticism, in print or online or both."

2009 Holland Cotter of *The New York Times* "for his wide ranging reviews of art, from Manhattan to China, marked by acute observation, luminous writing and dramatic storytelling."

2008 Mark Feeney of *The Boston Globe* "for his penetrating and versatile command of the visual arts, from film and photography to painting."

2007 Jonathan Gold of *LA Weekly* "for his zestful, wide ranging restaurant reviews, expressing the delight of an erudite eater."

2006 Robin Givhan of *The Washington Post* "for her witty, closely observed essays that transform fashion criticism into cultural criticism."

2005 Joe Morgenstern of *The Wall Street Journal* "for his reviews that elucidated the strengths and weaknesses of film with rare insight, authority and wit."

2004 Dan Neil of *Los Angeles Times* "for his one-of-a-kind reviews of automobiles, blending technical expertise with offbeat humor and astute cultural observations."

2003 Stephen Hunter of *The Washington Post* "for his authoritative film criticism that is both intellectually rewarding and a pleasure to read."

2002 Justin Davidson of *Newsday* [Long Island, NY] "for his crisp coverage of classical music that captures its essence."

2001 Gail Caldwell of *The Boston Globe* "for her insightful observations on contemporary life and literature."

2000 Henry Allen of *The Washington Post* "for his fresh and authoritative writing on photography."

1999 Blair Kamin of *Chicago Tribune* "for his lucid coverage of city architecture, including an influential series supporting the development of Chicago's lakefront area."

1998 Michiko Kakutani of *The New York Times* "for her passionate, intelligent writing on books and contemporary literature."

1997 Tim Page of *The Washington Post* "for his lucid and illuminating music criticism."

1996 Robert Campbell of *The Boston Globe* "for his knowledgeable writing on architecture."

1995 Margo Jefferson of *The New York Times* "for her book reviews and other cultural criticism."

1994 Lloyd Schwartz of *The Boston Phoenix* "for his skillful and resonant classical music criticism."

1993 Michael Dirda of *The Washington Post* "for his book reviews."

1992 (No prize awarded.)

1991 David Shaw of *Los Angeles Times* "for his critiques of the way in which the media, including his own paper, reported the McMartin Pre-School child molestation case."

1990 Allan Temko of *San Francisco Chronicle* "for his architecture criticism."

1989 Michael Skube of *News and Observer* [Raleigh, NC] "for his writing about books and other literary topics."

1988 Tom Shales of *The Washington Post* "for his television criticism."

1987 Richard Eder of *Los Angeles Times* "for his book reviews."

1986 Donal Henahan of *The New York Times* "for his music criticism."

1985 Howard Rosenberg of *Los Angeles Times* "for his television criticism."

1984 Paul Goldberger of *The New York Times* "for architectural criticism."

1983 Manuela Hoelterhoff of *The Wall Street Journal* "for her wide-ranging criticism on the arts and other subjects."

1982 Martin Bernheimer of *Los Angeles Times* "for classical music criticism."

1981 Jonathan Yardley of *The Washington Star* "for his book reviews."

1980 William A. Henry III of *The Boston Globe* "for critical writing about television."

(For earlier awards, see http://www.pulitzer.org/bycat/Criticism.)

Editorial Writing (1917 to present)

"For distinguished editorial writing, the test of excellence being clearness of style, moral purpose, sound reasoning, and power to influence public opinion in what the writer conceives to be the right direction, in print or online or both."

2009 Mark Mahoney of *The Post-Star* [Glens Falls, NY] "for his relentless, down-to-earth editorials on the perils of local government secrecy, effectively admonishing citizens to uphold their right to know."

2008 (No prize awarded.)

2007 Arthur Browne, Beverly Weintraub, and Heidi Evans of *New York Daily News* "for their compassionate and compelling editorials on behalf of Ground Zero workers whose health problems were neglected by the city and the nation."

2006 Rick Attig and Doug Bates of *The Oregonian* [Portland] "for their persuasive, richly reported editorials on abuses inside a forgotten Oregon mental hospital."

2005 Tom Philp of *The Sacramento Bee* "for his deeply researched editorials on reclaiming California's flooded Hetch Hetchy Valley that stirred action."

2004 William R. Stall of *Los Angeles Times* "for his incisive editorials that analyzed California's troubled state government, prescribed remedies and served as a model for addressing complex state issues."

2003 Cornelia Grumman of *Chicago Tribune* "for her powerful, freshly challenging editorials on reform of the death penalty."

2002 Alex Raksin and Bob Sipchen of *Los Angeles Times* "for their comprehensive and powerfully written editorials exploring the issues and dilemmas provoked by mentally ill people dwelling on the streets."

2001 David Moats of *Rutland* [VT] *Herald* "for his even-handed and influential series of editorials commenting on the divisive issues arising from civil unions for same-sex couples."

2000 John C. Bersia of *The Orlando Sentinel* "for his passionate editorial campaign attacking predatory lending practices in the state, which prompted changes in local lending regulations."

1999 Editorial Board of *New York Daily News* "for its effective campaign to rescue Harlem's Apollo Theatre from the financial mismanagement that threatened the landmark's survival."

1998 Bernard L. Stein of *The Riverdale* [NY] *Press* "for his gracefully-written editorials on politics and other issues affecting New York City residents."

1997 Michael Gartner of *The Daily Tribune* [Ames, IA] "for his common sense editorials about issues deeply affecting the lives of people in his community."

1996 Robert B. Semple of *The New York Times* "for his editorials on environmental issues."

1995 Jeffrey Good of *The St. Petersburg* [FL] *Times* "for his editorial campaign urging reform of Florida's probate system for settling estates."

1994 R. Bruce Dold of *Chicago Tribune* "for his series of editorials deploring the murder of a 3-year-old boy by his abusive mother and decrying the Illinois child welfare system."

1993 (No prize awarded.)

1992 Maria Henson of *Lexington* [KY] *Herald-Leader* "for her editorials about battered women in Kentucky, which focused statewide attention on the problem and prompted significant reforms."

1991 Ron Casey, Harold Jackson, and Joey Kennedy of *The Birmingham* [AL] *News* "for their editorial campaign analyzing inequities in Alabama's tax system and proposing needed reforms."

1990 Thomas J. Hylton of *The Pottstown* [PA] *Mercury* "for his editorials about a local bond issue for the preservation of farmland and other open space in rural Pennsylvania."

1989 Lois Wille of *Chicago Tribune* "for her editorials on a variety of local issues."

1988 Jane Healy of *Orlando Sentinel* "for her series of editorials protesting overdevelopment of Florida's Orange County."

1987 Jonathan Freedman of *The Tribune* [San Diego, CA] "for his editorials urging passage of the first major immigration reform act in 34 years."

1986 Jack Fuller of *Chicago Tribune* "for his editorials on constitutional issues."

1985 Richard Aregood of *The Philadelphia Daily News* "for his editorials on a variety of subjects."

1984 Albert Scardino of *Georgia Gazette* [Savannah, GA] "for his series of editorials on various local and state matters."

1983 Editorial Board of *The Miami Herald* "for its campaign against the detention of illegal Haitian immigrants by federal officials."

1982 Jack Rosenthal of *The New York Times.*

1981 (No prize awarded.)

1980 Robert L. Bartley of *The Wall Street Journal.*

(For earlier awards, see http://www.pulitzer.org/bycat/Editorial-Writing.)

Feature Writing (1979 to present)

"For a distinguished example of feature writing giving prime consideration to quality of writing, originality and concision, in print or online or both."

2009 Lane DeGregory of *St. Petersburg Times* "for her moving, richly detailed story of a neglected little girl, found in a roach-infested room, unable to talk or feed herself, who was adopted by a new family committed to her nurturing."

2008 Gene Weingarten of *The Washington Post* "for his chronicling of a world-class violinist who, as an experiment, played beautiful music in a subway station filled with unheeding commuters."

2007 Andrea Elliott of *The New York Times* "for her intimate, richly textured portrait of an immigrant imam striving to find his way and serve his faithful in America."

2006 Jim Sheeler of *Rocky Mountain News* [Denver] "for his poignant story on a Marine major who helps the families of comrades killed in Iraq cope with their loss and honor their sacrifice."

2005 Julia Keller of *Chicago Tribune* "for her gripping, meticulously reconstructed account of a deadly 10-second tornado that ripped through Utica, Illinois."

2004 (No prize awarded.)

2003 Sonia Nazario of *Los Angeles Times* "for 'Enrique's Journey,' her touching, exhaustively reported story of a Honduran boy's perilous search for his mother who had migrated to the United States."

2002 Barry Siegel of *Los Angeles Times* "for his humane and haunting portrait of a man tried for negligence in the death of his son, and the judge who heard the case."

2001 Tom Hallman Jr. of *The Oregonian* [Portland] "for his poignant profile of a disfigured 14-year-old boy who elects to have life-threatening surgery in an effort to improve his appearance."

2000 J.R. Moehringer of *Los Angeles Times* "for his portrait of Gee's Bend, an isolated river community in Alabama where many descendants of slaves live, and how a proposed ferry to the mainland might change it."

1999 Angelo B. Henderson of *The Wall Street Journal* "for his portrait of a druggist who is driven to violence by his encounters with armed robbery, illustrating the lasting effects of crime."

1998 Thomas French of *St. Petersburg Times* "for his detailed and compassionate narrative portrait of a mother and two daughters slain on a Florida vacation, and the three-year investigation into their murders."

1997 Lisa Pollak of *The Baltimore Sun* "for her compelling portrait of a baseball umpire who endured the death of a son while knowing that another son suffers from the same deadly genetic disease."

1996 Rick Bragg of *The New York Times* "for his elegantly written stories about contemporary America."

1995 Ron Suskind of *The Wall Street Journal* "for his stories about inner-city honor students in Washington, D.C., and their determination to survive and prosper."

1994 Isabel Wilkerson of *The New York Times* "for her profile of a fourth-grader from Chicago's South Side and for two stories reporting on the Midwestern flood of 1993."

1993 George Lardner Jr. of *The Washington Post* "for his unflinching examination of his daughter's murder by a violent man who had slipped through the criminal justice system."

1992 Howell Raines of *The New York Times* "for 'Grady's Gift,' an account of the author's childhood friendship with his family's black housekeeper and the lasting lessons of their relationship."

1991 Sheryl James of *St. Petersburg* [FL] *Times* "for a compelling series about a mother who abandoned her newborn child and how it affected her life and those of others."

1990 Dave Curtin of *Colorado Springs Gazette Telegraph* "for a gripping account of a family's struggle to recover after its members were severely burned in an explosion that devastated their home."

1989 David Zucchino of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* "for his richly compelling series, 'Being Black in South Africa.'"

1988 Jacqui Banaszynski of *St. Paul Pioneer Press Dispatch* "for her moving series about the life and death of an AIDS victim in a rural farm community."

1987 Steve Twomey of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* "for his illuminating profile of life aboard an aircraft carrier."

1986 John Camp of *St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch* "for his five-part series examining the life of an American farm family faced with the worst U.S. agricultural crisis since the Depression."

1985 Alice Steinbach of *The Baltimore Sun* "for her account of a blind boy's world, 'A Boy of Unusual Vision.'"

1984 Peter Mark Rinearson of *The Seattle Times* "for 'Making It Fly,' his account of the new Boeing 757 jetliner."

1983 Nan Robertson of *The New York Times* "for her memorable and medically detailed account of her struggle with toxic shock syndrome."

1982 Saul Pett of Associated Press "for an article profiling the federal bureaucracy."

1981 Teresa Carpenter of *The Village Voice* [New York City]. The prize was first awarded to Janet Cooke of *The Washington Post*, but it was returned two days later after *The Post* learned that the winning story was fabricated.

1980 Madeleine Blais of *The Miami Herald* "for 'Zepp's Last Stand.'"

General Journalism Awards

These can cover any medium, sometimes with different awards for national or local work. Most are named in honor of historically important figures from journalism or other fields.

CPJ International Press Freedom Awards

These honor journalists around the world who show courage in defending press freedom in the face of attacks, threats, or imprisonment. Created in 1991, they are administered by the Committee to Protect Journalists. Awards are usually given to four individuals and are intended to focus media coverage on countries where press freedom violations are particularly serious.

Past winners: http://cpj.org/awards/2008

Heywood Broun Award

Named in honor of the New York reporter and columnist (1888–1939), and administered by the Newspaper Guild (which he helped found in 1933), this award, first given in 1941, "is intended to encourage and recognize individual journalistic achievement by members of the working media, particularly if it helps right a wrong or correct an injustice." Employees of newspapers, news services, magazines, and radio and TV stations in the United States, Canada, and Puerto Rico are eligible.

Past winners: http://www.newsguild.org/index.php?ID=906

Kiplinger Distinguished Contributions to Journalism

The National Press Foundation created the W. M. Kiplinger Distinguished Contributions to Journalism Award to honor persons who have, through their vision and leadership, strengthened American journalism and furthered the efforts to establish quality in American journalism. Kiplinger (1891–1967) founded (in 1920) a newsletter and magazine publishing firm in Washington, D.C., that still carries his name. This is not an honor one applies for—winners are selected by the NPF board.

Past winners: http://www.nationalpress.org/info-url3520/info-url_show.htm?doc_id=118477

Livingston Awards

The Livingston Awards have been given since 1980 to media professionals under the age of 35 for local, national, and international reporting. The awards are administered by a New York City–based foundation run by Mollie Parnis Livingston, who was an important dress designer from the 1960s into the 1980s. Named for Livingston's son Robert, publisher of the journalism magazine *More,* the Livingston awards are the largest, all media, general reporting prizes in America. They pit print, broadcast, and online entries against one another for awards in local, national, and international reporting.

Past winners: http://www.livawards.org/winners/past_winners.html

Sidney Hillman Foundation Journalism Awards

Since 1950, the Sidney Hillman Foundation has recognized journalists and writers whose work promotes social and economic justice. Hillman (1887–1946) was the long-time head of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and key political figure during the Roosevelt New Deal of the 1930s. Annual awards were, by 2009, given in six categories:

Books (nonfiction)

Newspaper Reporting

Magazine Reporting

Broadcast Journalism

Photojournalism

Blogs

Past winners: http://www.hillmanfoundation.org/pages/honorees/past_honorees.html

Specialized Journalism Awards

This is the most common category of awards—those given in honor of a specific kind of reporting or other activity. They show the variety of journalism media as well as many reporting specialties.

Benjamin Bradlee Editor of the Year Award

The National Press Foundation established this award in 1984 (and named it after the former *Washington Post* editor some two decades later) to recognize significant achievements that enhance the quality of journalism in the United States. The award, open to an editor at any level, is made in recognition of imagination, professional skill, ethics, and an ability to motivate staff—qualities that produce excellence in media. This is one award that one does not apply for.

Past winners: http://www.nationalpress.org/info-url3520/info-url_show.htm?doc_id=118426

Everett McKinley Dirksen Awards for Distinguished Reporting of Congress

Created in 1980 in honor of the Republican Senator from Illinois (served 1951–69), the award is intended to recognize individuals whose work shows thoughtful appraisal and insight into the workings of the U.S. Congress. Two awards are given annually by the National Press Foundation to print and broadcast journalists.

Past winners: http://www.nationalpress.org/info-url3520/info-url_show.htm?doc_id=118438

Excellence in Online Journalism Award

In 2000 the Board of the National Press Foundation authorized this award to recognize achievement in the rapidly changing field of Internet journalism, and encourage others through the winner's example. The award can be made to a site, or an individual, or a specific project.

Past winners: http://www.nationalpress.org/info-url3520/info-url_show.htm?doc_id=263665

Goldsmith Prize for Investigative Reporting

Given by the Shorenstein Center of the Press, Politics, and Public Policy at Harvard University, the Goldsmith awards have been given since 1993. They honor journalists whose investigative reporting in a story or series of related stories best promotes more effective and ethical conduct of government, the making of public policy, or the practice of politics. The award is named for Berda Marks Goldsmith (1892–1989), a Philadelphia-based follower of both news and politics.

Past winners: http://www.hks.harvard.edu/presspol/prizes_lectures/goldsmith_awards/investigative_reporting.html

Investigative Reporters and Editors Awards

Presented by the Investigative Reporters and Editors organization, these awards are given in multiple categories, each focusing on the quality of investigative reporting.

Newspapers

Circulation less than 100,000

Circulation between 100,000 and 250,000

Circulation between 250,000 and 500,000

Circulation more than 500,000 (or news agency)

Local-circulation weekly

Television

Network or syndicated program

Top 20 market station

Below Top 20 market station

Other Media

Magazine/Specialty Publication

Book

Radio

Online

Special Categories

Tom Renner Award: For the best investigative reporting about organized crime or other criminal acts

FOI Award: Honors an individual or organization whose significant actions furthered open records or open government

Student Award: Outstanding investigative reporting by a student

Past winners: http://www.ire.org/resourcecenter/contest

Maria Moors Cabot Prize

These are the oldest international awards in journalism and recognize distinguished journalistic contributions to inter-American understanding. The endowment was founded in 1938 by Godfrey Lowell Cabot of Boston as a memorial to his wife. They have been awarded annually since 1939 by the Trustees of Columbia University on recommendation of the dean of their Graduate School of Journalism and the Cabot Prize Board, composed of journalists and educators concerned with hemisphere affairs. Three to four medalists from the United States, Canada, and Latin American nations are selected each year.

Past winners: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maria_Moors_Cabot_prize

Martha Gellhorn Prize for Journalism

Named for the war correspondent and novelist (1908–98), the award was established in 1999 by the Martha Gellhorn Trust. It rewards "the kind of reporting that distinguished Martha: in her own words 'the view from the ground.'" This is defined as "essentially a human story that penetrates the established version of events and illuminates an urgent issue buried by prevailing fashions of what makes news." It has been awarded annually to journalists in the United States or abroad, writing in English, whose work has appeared in print or a reputable web publication.

Past winners: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martha_Gellhorn_Prize_for_Journalism

National Headliner Awards

The National Headliner Awards have been given out by the Press Club of Atlantic City since 1935. Since then, more than 2,000 Headliner medallions have been presented to outstanding writers, photographers, daily newspapers, magazines, graphic artists, radio and television stations and networks, and news syndicates. The three main divisions (print, broadcast, and online) are each further divided into types of reporting, and sometimes market size as well.

Print

Newspapers

Magazines

Online

Broadcast

Radio

Television

Online

Journalism

Visual

Past winners: http://www.nationalheadlinerawards.com/PreviousRecipients.html

National Journalism Awards

Since 1953 the Scripps Howard Foundation has recognized the best work in journalism through the National Journalism Awards. As of 2008, the awards were granted in the following categories.

Print

- Business/Economics Reporting
- Commentary
- Editorial Cartooning
- Editorial Writing
- Environmental Reporting
- Human Interest Writing
- Investigative Reporting
- Photojournalism
- Public Service Reporting
- Washington Reporting

Electronic Media

- TV/Cable Excellence
- Radio Excellence
- Web Reporting

Distinguished Service

- First Amendment

Collegiate

- College Cartoonist
- Journalism Administrator of the Year
- Journalism Teacher of the Year

Past winners: http://foundation.scripps.com/foundation/programs/nja/nja.html

National Magazine Awards

Granted by the American Society of Magazine Editors and the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism, these have been presented in multiple categories since 1966. By 2009, the award categories included:

General

- General Excellence
- General Excellence online
- Magazine Section
- Magazine Single-Topic Issue

Specific Types

- Personal Service
- Personal Service online
- Leisure Interests
- Reporting
- Public Interest
- Feature Writing
- Profile Writing
- Essays, Columns and Commentary
- Reviews and Criticism

Technical

- Design
- Photography
- Photojournalism
- Interactive Feature

Past winners: http://www.magazine.org/asme/magazine_awards/searchable_database/index.aspx

National Pacemaker Awards

Despite their name, these awards have nothing to do with medical journalism—the National Pacemaker Awards honor high school and college level journalism. First given in 1927, suspended during the 1950s and revived in 1961, the awards are administered by the National Scholastic Press Association for high school-level work, and the Associated Collegiate Press for college and university contests, along with the Newspaper Association

of America Foundation. For the newspapers, for example, judges select Pacemakers based on coverage and content, quality of writing and reporting, leadership on the opinion page, evidence of in-depth reporting, design, photography, art, and graphics. By 2008, Pacemakers were given in categories that included:

College-University Level

Newspapers

Magazines

Online

High School Level

Newspapers

Magazines

Online

Broadcast operations

Yearbooks

Past winners at the high school level: http://www.studentpress.org/nspa/contests.html

Past winners at the college level: http://www.studentpress.org/acp/contests.html

Online News Association Awards

The Online Journalism Awards (OJAs), given by the Online News Association in cooperation with the University of Miami (Florida) School of Communication, are awarded in more than a dozen categories for different types of online work. One or two in each category are awarded annually—and most carry a cash award as well. The OJAs are the only comprehensive set of journalism prizes honoring excellence in digital journalism. Past winners have included major media, international and independent sites, and individuals producing innovative work in multimedia storytelling.

Knight Award for Public Service

General Excellence in Online Journalism

General Excellence in Online Journalism—Non-English

Breaking News

Specialty Site Journalism

Investigative Journalism

Multimedia Feature Presentation

Online Topical Reporting/Blogging

Online Commentary/Blogging

Outstanding Use of Digital Technologies

Online Video Journalism

Student Journalism

Gannett Foundation Award for Technical Innovation in the Service of Digital Journalism

Further information: http://journalists.org/?page=2009categories

Phillip Mayer Journalism Award

The Philip Mayer Journalism Award is a project of the National Institute for Computer-Assisted Reporting, which is a joint program of Investigative Reporters and Editors, the Missouri School of Journalism, and the Knight Chair in Journalism at Arizona State University. It honors the best journalism done using social science research methods. First given in 2005, the award is named for the author (now emeritus professor) of the seminal book on how to undertake such research-based journalism.

Past winners: http://ire.org/resourcecenter/contest/meyeraward.html

Robert F. Kennedy Journalism Award

This award honors outstanding reporting about the lives of disadvantaged people throughout the world. Often dubbed the "Poor People's Pulitzers" in the press, these award recipients have covered issues spanning from child abuse and juvenile crime to discriminatory banking practices and prejudice against AIDS victims. A group of reporters established the award in honor of New York Senator Robert Kennedy after his assassination in 1968. The awards are judged by more than 50 journalists each year.

Past winners: http://www.rfkmemorial.org/legacyinaction/journalismawards

Sigma Delta Chi Awards

Begun in 1932 and revised in 1939, these are given annually by the Society of Professional Journalists. The more than 50 categories are divided among different types of media (those marked with an asterisk are subdivided by circulation or market size).

Newspapers/Wire Services

- Deadline Reporting*
- Non-Deadline Reporting*
- Investigative Reporting*
- Feature Writing*
- Editorial Writing
- Washington Correspondence
- Foreign Correspondence
- General Column Writing
- Sports Column Writing
- Public Service*

Magazines

- Magazine Writing
- Public Service in Magazine Journalism
- Investigative Reporting

Art/Graphics

- Photography, Breaking News
- Photography, Feature
- Photography, Sports
- Editorial Cartooning
- Informational Graphics

Radio

- Breaking News
- Investigative Reporting
- Feature Reporting
- Documentaries
- Public Service in Radio Journalism

Television

- Breaking News*
- Investigative Reporting*
- Feature*
- Documentaries*
- Public Service in TV Journalism*

Newsletters

Research in Journalism

Online (affiliated with other media, or independent)

- Deadline Reporting*
- Non-Deadline Reporting
- Investigative Reporting
- Public Service in Online Reporting

Past winners: http://www.spj.org/a-sdx-categories.asp

Electronic Journalism Awards

There are many awards given specifically to those active in radio, television, or cable news—and some of them are listed earlier in this appendix, as a part of broader award programs. Those shown here focus on broadcasting—usually television. At least three are named after famed CBS journalist Edward R. Murrow (1908–65), though the awards are granted by different organizations for different things.

Alfred I. duPont–Columbia University Awards

Given by the Graduate School of Journalism at Columbia University since 1968, these awards were established in 1942. They are named for the industrialist and philanthropist Alfred I. duPont (1864–1935) in whose name his family donated the original endowment. For several years in the late 1960s and into the early 1970s, the awards and related essays were published in book form. There are no categories by subject or format. All entries are judged for overall excellence in reporting and production against submissions from peer markets or news organizations in the following media or market-type categories:

Television Programs

Broadcast and Cable Networks

Major Market Stations (top ten markets)

Medium Market Stations (markets 11–50)

Small Market Stations (remaining markets)

Radio Programs

National

Local

Other Productions

Independent

Web-based

Further information: http://www.journalism.columbia.edu/cs/ContentServer/jrn/1165270069766/page/1175295284582/JRNSimplePage2.htm

Past winners: http://www.journalism.columbia.edu/cs/ContentServer/jrn/1175295299814/page/1175295299796/JRNSimplePage2.htm

Edward R. Murrow Award (CPB)

Given since 1977 by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting for "outstanding contributions to public radio, the award (also named for the CBS journalist) recognizes winners' contributions or achievements in any facet of public radio over many years or during a short period of time. Individuals need not be professionals in public radio but should be active in promoting this unique informational and cultural resource."

Past winners: http://www.cpb.org/aboutpb/awards/murrow

Edward Murrow Award (OPC)

Given annually by the Overseas Press Club of America since 1978, for "the best television interpretation or documentary on international affairs," this is named in honor of the CBS journalist.

Past winners: http://www.opcofamerica.org/archive/opc_awards/archive/byaward/body_award_murrow.php

Emmy Awards

These statues (called Emmys) are given for a long list of categories for television and online news and

documentary by the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences.

Regularly Scheduled Newscasts

- Breaking News Story
- News Story
- Feature Story
- Investigative Journalism

News Magazines

- Breaking News Story
- News Story
- Feature Story
- Investigative Journalism

Long Form

- Live Coverage of a Breaking News Story
- Continuing Coverage of a News Story
- Investigative Journalism
- Informational Programming
- Historical Programming

News and Documentary Programs

- Interview
- Cultural and Artistic Programming
- Science, Technology and Nature Programming

Best of

- Story in a Regularly Scheduled Newscast
- Report in a News Magazine
- Documentary

Broadband

- Current News Coverage
- Documentary/Non-Fiction Programming
- Arts, Lifestyle & Culture Programming
- Regional Coverage

Craft Categories

- Writing
- Research
- Cinematography
- Editing
- Graphic & Artistic Design
- Music & Sound
- Lighting Direction & Scenic Design

Past winners: http://www.emmyawardsonline.com/past-emmy-nominations.html

George Foster Peabody Awards

The Peabody Awards have been given since 1941 for excellence in radio and television broadcasting, and are one of the oldest honors in electronic media. Television was added in 1948, and web categories a half century later. The awards are named for banker and philanthropist George Foster Peabody (1852–1938), who donated the funds that made the awards possible. They are administered by the University of Georgia's College of Journalism and Mass Communication. The Peabody Awards honor "achievement within broadcast journalism, documentary film making, educational and children's programming, and entertainment."

Categories (which include others that do not concern journalism) are used for administrative purposes as all entries are in open competition with all other entries for the awards given each year. Among those types of programming sought are:

News

- Spot Coverage (aired in real time without significant editing)
- Reporting
- Investigation
- Interpretation and commentary on news events

Documentary

Public Service

Past winners: http://www.peabody.uga.edu/winners/search.php and (a clearer presentation) at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peabody_Award

George Polk Awards

The George Polk Awards in Journalism have been presented by Long Island University in New York annually since 1948. They are named in honor of a CBS radio correspondent (1913–48) killed while reporting the Greek Civil War. As of 2009, these honors were given in these categories:

By Level of Reporting

Foreign

National

State

Local

By Subject

Economics

Business

Labor

Education

Legal

By Medium

Internet

Magazine

Photojournalism

Radio

Television

Past winners: http://www.brooklyn.liu.edu/polk/prevwinn.html

Radio-Television News Directors Association

The Radio-Television News Directors Association (RTNDA) has three major awards.

Edward R. Murrow Awards

Given by the RTNDA, since 1971, these come in numerous categories, and honor the CBS journalist (1908–65). The RTNDA Murrow awards are further subdivided into six separate competitions based on their reach. Two are national: TV and radio networks; and four are regional: large and small TV markets, and large and small radio markets. Thus each category gives six awards annually.

General categories

Overall Excellence: for the best journalism

Newscast: honoring single whole newscasts

By type of news

Spot News Coverage: for immediate coverage of breaking stories

Continuing Coverage: recognizing long-term coverage of developing major stories

Investigative Reporting

Feature Reporting

Hard News

Sports Reporting

News Series

News Documentary

For technology

Videography

Use of Sound

Writing

Web Site

John F. Hogan Distinguished Service Award

The John F. Hogan Distinguished Service Award is named for the Portland, Maine, broadcaster who founded RTNDA in 1946 and was its first president. This award, given by the RTNDA since 1959, recognizes an individual's contributions to the journalism profession and freedom of the press.

Past winners: http://www.rtnda.org/pages/media_items/john-f.-hogan-distinguished-service-award222.php?g=71?id=222

Paul White Award

This is presented annually by RTNDA and is named for the man (1902–55) who first organized CBS News and directed it through World War II. It is RTNDA's highest honor and recognizes an individual's lifetime contributions to electronic journalism.

Past winners: http://www.rtnda.org/pages/media_items/paul-white-award122.php?g=69?id=122

Sol Taishoff Award for Excellence in Broadcast Journalism

The Taishoff Award has been given since 1983 by the National Press Foundation to reward an active broadcaster's body of work over many years. Sol Taishoff (1904–82) co-founded and published the weekly *Broadcasting* trade magazine for a half century. The award may recognize an individual's accomplishment in field reporting, producing, writing, or work at an anchor desk. One does not apply for this award.

Past winners: http://www.nationalpress.org/info-url3520/info-url_show.htm?doc_id=118488

Photography and Editorial Cartooning Awards

These awards tend to be less known to the general public, but are widely recognized within their specialized fields.

Best of Photojournalism

Awards are given by the National Press Photographers Association and fall into five broad categories (and a host of specific ones):

Still photography

Photo editing

Websites

News video photography

Video editing

Past winners: http://bop.nppa.org/archive.html

Clifford K. & James T. Berryman Award for Editorial Cartoons

Florence Berryman, former art critic of the now defunct *Washington Star,* endowed an annual award in memory of her father and brother, both of whom were Pulitzer Prize–winning political cartoonists. The Berryman Award, administered since 1989 by the National Press Foundation, is open to editorial cartoonists of newspapers and magazines for work that exhibits "power to influence public opinion," plus good drawing and striking effect.

Past winners: http://www.nationalpress.org/info-url3520/info-url_show.htm?doc_id=118567

Ranan Lurie Political Cartoon Award

The United Nations Correspondents Association and the United Nations Society of Writers & Artists established this annual political cartoon award given in the international field, and named after political cartoonist Ranan Lurie (1932–) who edited *Cartoon News.*

Past winners: http://www.lurieunaward.com

The Robert Capa Gold Medal

This award for "best published photographic reporting from abroad requiring exceptional courage and enterprise" is given annually by the Overseas Press Club of America (OPC). Created in honor of the wartime photojournalist Robert Capa (1913–54), the first medal was awarded in 1955.

Past winners: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert_Capa_Gold_Medal

Further Readings

See Appendix C, Section 1-F, for books about the Pulitzer and other journalism prizes.

Cub Reporters Journalism Prizes, http://cubreporters.org/journalism_prizes.html

Fame and Fortune, A–Z listing of journalism awards website: http://www.sources.com/FandF/Index.htm

Journalism Awards, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Category:Journalism_awards

Journalism Awards and Contests, http://www.journalismjobs.com/awards.cfm

Pulitzer Prize website, http://www.pulitzer.org

—*Christopher H. Sterling*

Appendix B

Journalism Freedom: 1980–2008
(Country Ratings From Freedom House)

Introduction

Since 1980, Freedom House has issued annual reports on the state of journalistic freedom in countries around the world. Based on reports from regional and country authorities—often those in the country in question—the summary analyses allow readers to trace the ups and downs of tensions between media and government, as well as key issues and conflicts, over the period of a generation.

This appendix summarizes that information for all the countries that have been tracked by Freedom House; the total number of countries has varied over the years, as has the amount and type of information reported. The aim is to allow the reader to track the growth or decline in freedom of news media over time by individual nation, or regions of the world.

Beyond the individual country information, the ratings also show broader trends in different regions of the world. We summarize these trends in the tables that precede the country pages. Major political and social trends, such as the end of the Soviet Union and its dominance of Eastern Europe in 1989–91, can show up very quickly in the data on both country and regional levels. Summary maps make vividly clear global trends in the rise or fall of news media freedom.

Rating Press Freedom

In developing its annual assessment of news media (or "press") freedom, Freedom House has used a variety of sources, increasingly including reports from "people on the ground" in many of the countries about which they report. Freedom House has developed and steadily fine-tuned what is meant by "press freedom," as well as refining the sources of information and what and how much is reported for each year.

Data Gathering

The process of ranking press freedom begins with assembling information about news media freedom in each country. This is a multilayered process making use of in-country experts and scholars, staff and consultant visits, the findings of other press and human rights organizations, regional specialists, reports from governments and international bodies (such as UNESCO), and numerous domestic and international news media reports. Draft reports and rankings for each nation are developed.

These drafts are reviewed individually and comparatively at six regional meetings covering Asia-Pacific, Central and Eastern Europe and the nations of the former Soviet Union, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Middle East and North Africa, sub-Saharan Africa, and Western Europe.

These meetings involve country experts, ratings advisors with expertise in that region, other invited participants, and Freedom House staff. The draft ratings are compared with the previous year; any projected major shifts or category changes (e.g., free to partially free) are more intensively reviewed. These reviews are followed by cross-regional assessments to assure comparability and consistency in the findings. Many of the key country reports are further reviewed by academic advisors.

Data Analysis

Into the early 1990s, Freedom House analyzed its data on a country's press freedom status using a simple system of three categories: free, partly free, or not free. But these categories were offered with little or no quantitative information to back up the category assigned. Instead, the descriptive text for each nation provided something of a rationale for the category, describing events over the past year to provide a sense of where the ranking had come from.

Since 1994, however, more than half of the total time the reports have been issued, the three categories have been supported by a numerical score ranging from zero (free) to 100 (not free). The lower the total, the more freedom news media in any given country enjoy. The categories are as follows:

Free (up to 30 points);

Partly Free (from 31 to 60 points);

Not Free (from 61 to 100 points).

The number of assigned points, in turn, are based on three overall factors—laws and regulations, politics, and economics. (From 1994 through 2001, a fourth was included—the level of attacks on the press, including physical violence.)

Since 2002, these three factors have been calculated by assigning points to each of more than 20 (23 in 2007) questions. Collectively, these three cover all elements that define just how free a country's journalism is—or is not—and can total as many as 100 points for countries rated as not free.

Legal Environment (up to 30 points) includes such things as whether the country's constitution and basic laws include provisions protecting press freedom; whether there are laws restricting reporting; whether there are penalties for criticizing government officials and organizations (and are they enforced); whether the judiciary is independent; the ability of reporters to readily access government information; can media outlets be established and operated without undue interference; are any media regulatory bodies able to operate freely and independently; and whether there is freedom to become and operate as a journalist.

Political Influence (up to 40 points) includes the extent to which a country's media news and information content is determined either by government or partisan interest; whether access to government official or unofficial sources is controlled; whether there is official censorship and/or do journalists practice self-censorship; is media news coverage robust and does it include a variety of points of view; are both local and foreign journalists able to cover news freely; and whether or not journalists are subjected to extralegal intimidation or physical violence by government or other actors.

Economic Pressures (up to 30 points) reviews the extent to which a nation's media are owned or controlled by government and whether this influences diversity of views; whether private media ownership is transparent, so consumers can judge the impartiality of news; is ownership concentrated and does ownership influence diversity of content; whether there are restrictions on news production or distribution; does the state place prohibitively high costs on establishment and operation of media outlets; do the state or others control media through allocation of advertising revenues or subsidies; are journalists paid by private or public sources to influence the content of what they write; and whether the country's economic situation accentuates media dependency on the state, political parties, big business, or other influential political actors for funding.

Data Reporting

Over the more than a quarter century that Freedom House has reported this information, the amount and labeling of the data provided have gone through four iterations. The number of countries reported on has also increased—to almost 200 by 2009.

1980–88. In this period the reports provided two ratings for each nation—one for print media and one for broadcasting. Each medium was determined to be free, partially free, or not free, as further explained in the annual text discussions for each country which discussed events, trends, and policy issues of the previous year. There were no quantitative measures offered.

1989–93. For this period, the country information was honed down to a single score for these years—an overall summation of media freedom expressed as free, partially free, or not free. Again, text discussion helped provide more details to back up the ratings. For this period, however, print and broadcast media were not separately treated.

1994–2001. For this period, Freedom House reported more detailed information than at any other time. Not only were print and broadcast

media scores separately reported for each country, but those scores were now formally based on four different topics—laws and regulation, political pressures and control, economic influence, and whether or not violent acts had taken place against journalists or news media generally.

2002–08. The most recent (and ongoing) data once again merges print and broadcast information into a single score, expressed along three overall topics—laws and regulations, political pressures and control, and economic influence (a score for violence against journalists is no longer treated separately, but is included in the political category). Text discussion expanded such that the annual published reports grew from 161 to nearly 340 pages in just five years.

Data Publication

Until very recently, Freedom House has published its annual press freedom findings in book form, adding a parallel online element late in the 1990s. The books were not cumulative—that is, they detailed the previous year (e.g., the 2008 volume covered calendar year 2007), but generally did not provide data from previous years (the 2007 and 2008 volumes did include a five-year timeline of ratings for each nation). Full historical data are made available on the Freedom House website, which is the source for most of the information provided here.

The 2008 information was released just as this volume was going to press but was not published in printed book form due to Freedom House budget cuts. It can be found electronically at http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=362. It appears that future reports will also be limited to online distribution. The website also includes global maps showing the rise and fall of press freedom from 1984 to the present.

The brief summary text on each nation in the pages that follow was developed by the Encyclopedia editorial team, based on Freedom House information. To the historical time series information provided for each country, the team has added several things. Most evident is a locator map for each nation. We have also added a brief set of overview statistics for each country—population, gross national income per capita, date of independence, and date of the latest constitution. These additional information points are intended to provide some context—demographic, political, and economic—for each country. The information has been drawn from the United Nations Population Division, the World Development Indicators (a World Bank database), and for the last two, the annual Central Intelligence Agency *CIA Factbook*.

—*Christopher H. Sterling*
Volume Editor

About Freedom House

Freedom House, the source of most of the information provided in this appendix, is an independent private organization with offices in New York and Washington. It was founded in 1941 by Eleanor Roosevelt, Wendell Wilkie, and others to support and promote the expansion of freedom throughout the world. As the organization puts it:

> Freedom is possible only in democratic political systems in which governments are accountable to their own people, the rule of law prevails, and freedoms of expression, association and belief are guaranteed. Working directly with courageous men and women around the world to support nonviolence civic initiatives in societies where freedom is threatened, Freedom House functions as a catalyst for change through its unique mix of analysis, advocacy and action.

Among its analytical functions, in 1972 Freedom House began to annually publish what is now called *Freedom in the World: The Annual Survey of Political Rights and Civil Liberties*, surveying those rights and liberties as they exist (or do not) in each nation. Eight years later, the *Freedom of the Press* series began to appear. The organization actively advocates for greater freedom among national and international organizations. It also provides training, exchanges, and technical assistance to human rights, civil society, and media organizations.

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212-514-8040

www.freedomhouse.org (with content available in seven languages)

AFGHANISTAN

Population (2010, proj.): 29,117,000

Gross National Income per Capita: N/A

Date of Independence: August 19, 1919 (from UK control over Afghan foreign affairs)

Date of Last Constitution: January 26, 2004 (ratified)

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			NF
1993			NF

The lack of press freedom in Afghanistan clearly reflects the fighting that has consumed the country for a generation. Continued fighting between the Taliban and U.S.-backed government forces, as well as warlord control over many parts of the nation, has limited media freedom in areas outside of the capital city of Kabul. However, the number of print and broadcast outlets is increasing, adding some diversity in content.

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	NF
1995	10	10	10	10	10	10	15	15	90	NF
1996	10	10	10	10	10	10	15	15	90	NF
1997	15	15	15	15	15	15	5	5	100	NF
1998	15	15	15	15	15	15	5	5	100	NF
1999	15	15	15	15	15	15	5	5	100	NF
2000	15	15	15	15	15	15	0	0	90	NF
2001	15	15	15	15	15	15	0	5	95	NF
2002	N/A		N/A		N/A				N/A	N/A
2003	24		30		20				74	NF
2004	24		28		20				72	NF
2005	21		27		20				68	NF
2006	21		28		20				69	NF
2007	21		28		20				69	NF
2008	21		30		20				71	NF

ALBANIA

Population (2010, proj.): 3,169,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $3,300

Date of Independence: November 28, 1912 (from the Ottoman Empire)

Date of Last Constitution: November 28, 1998 (promulgated)

From what was once a firmly Stalinist state lacking any media freedom whatever, Albania has made huge progress since the end of Soviet control in 1990. Since that time, its news media have achieved partially free status, although defamation laws remain a chief impediment to critical reporting about the government and its officials.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			PF
1993			PF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	9	9	10	6	5	4	2	8	53	PF
1995	9	9	10	6	5	5	10	13	67	NF
1996	9	9	10	6	5	7	10	15	71	NF
1997	13	13	12	11	5	15	1	5	75	NF
1998	10	8	11	11	5	5	1	5	56	PF
1999	8	8	11	11	5	10	1	2	56	PF
2000	8	8	12	11	6	10	1	0	56	PF
2001	8	8	12	11	6	10	1	0	56	PF
2002	24		12		12				48	PF
2003	20		18		12				50	PF
2004	17		18		14				49	PF
2005	18		17		16				51	PF
2006	17		17		16				50	PF
2007	17		16		17				50	PF
2008	16		16		18				50	PF

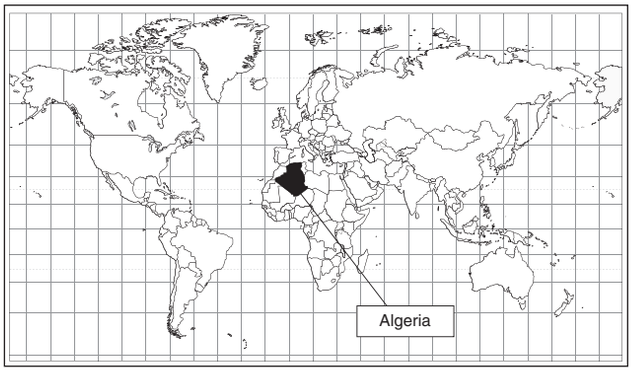
ALGERIA

Population (2010, proj.): 35,423,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $3,620

Date of Independence: July 5, 1962 (from France)

Date of Last Constitution: November 12, 2008 (revised)



As with most countries in the Middle East and North Africa, the news media in Algeria have been closely controlled by the government. Libel of government officials and agencies is forbidden, making criticism difficult. There has been a pattern of harassment against journalists seen as partisan (i.e., not agreeing with those in power).

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**PF**
1991			**PF**
1992			**PF**
1993			**NF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	10	10	10	10	8	10	10	15	**83**	**NF**
1995	10	9	10	10	10	10	20	20	**99**	**NF**
1996	10	9	10	10	10	10	20	20	**99**	**NF**
1997	15	15	15	15	15	15	4	5	**99**	**NF**
1998	15	15	15	15	15	15	2	5	**97**	**NF**
1999	15	13	15	10	10	15	0	5	**83**	**NF**
2000	15	13	15	10	10	15	2	3	**83**	**NF**
2001	15	13	15	7	10	12	0	2	**74**	**NF**
2002	21		26		15				**62**	**NF**
2003	21		24		17				**62**	**NF**
2004	23		22		18				**63**	**NF**
2005	23		23		18				**64**	**NF**
2006	22		22		17				**61**	**NF**
2007	22		23		17				**62**	**NF**
2008	22		23		17				**62**	**NF**

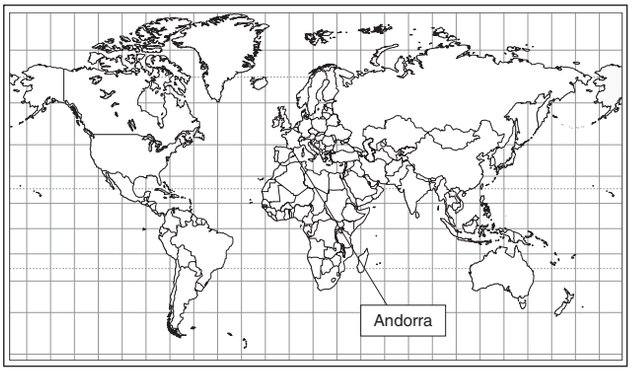
ANDORRA

Population (2010, proj.): 87,000

Gross National Income per Capita: N/A

Date of Independence: 1278

Date of Last Constitution: April 28, 1993 (effective)



A tiny principality lodged in a valley of the Pyrenees between Spain and France, this city/country has long been a business center attracting investors to its low-regulation environment. Its news media thus enjoy one of the world's freest news markets.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			**N/A**
1990			**N/A**
1991			**N/A**
1992			**N/A**
1993			**N/A**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
1995	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
1996	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
1997	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
1998	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
1999	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
2000	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
2001	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
2002	N/A		N/A		N/A				**N/A**	**N/A**
2003	1		1		6				8	**F**
2004	1		4		8				13	**F**
2005	1		5		8				14	**F**
2006	1		5		8				14	**F**
2007	1		4		8				13	**F**
2008	1		4		8				13	**F**

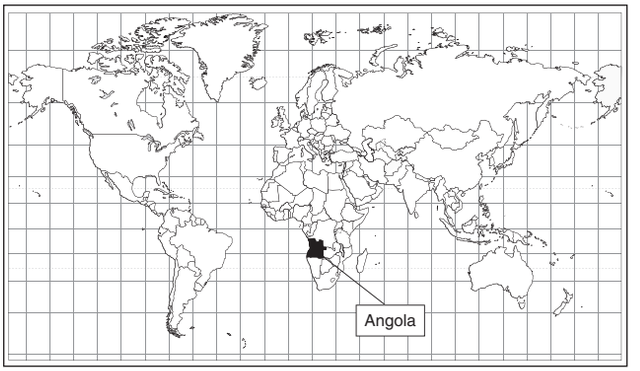
ANGOLA

Population (2010, proj.): 18,993,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $2,540

Date of Independence: November 11, 1975 (from Portugal)

Date of Last Constitution: August 25, 1992 (adopted by People's Assembly)



Site of almost continuous fighting in the generation since it gained independence, Angola keeps a fairly tight rein on its news media, though political controls (if not laws and regulation) have declined somewhat in recent years. Broadcasting—important in a nation with high illiteracy—is closely controlled by the government. Attacks on journalists remain a serious problem.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**NF**
1992			**NF**
1993			**NF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	10	10	10	10	5	5	12	12	**74**	**NF**
1995	10	10	10	10	5	5	5	13	**68**	**NF**
1996	10	10	7	10	6	6	10	10	**69**	**NF**
1997	15	15	13	13	5	5	5	3	**74**	**NF**
1998	15	15	13	13	7	7	2	2	**74**	**NF**
1999	15	15	13	13	7	7	2	2	**74**	**NF**
2000	15	15	13	13	7	7	5	5	**80**	**NF**
2001	15	15	13	13	7	7	5	5	**80**	**NF**
2002	21		33		25				**79**	**NF**
2003	20		30		22				**72**	**NF**
2004	18		27		21				**66**	**NF**
2005	19		26		21				**66**	**NF**
2006	19		25		21				**65**	**NF**
2007	17		24		21				**62**	**NF**
2008	19		23		21				**63**	**NF**

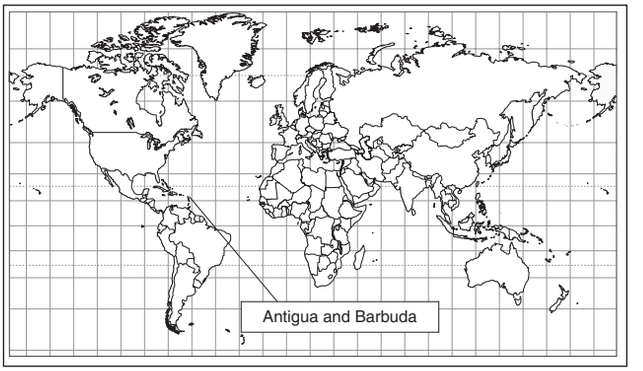
Antigua and Barbuda

Population (2010, proj.): 89,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2006): $11,650

Date of Independence: November 1, 1981 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: November 1, 1981



These Caribbean islands have not followed the free news market philosophy of their former British rulers, but rather have constrained media with numerous rules and regulations. The handful of print and broadcast outlets operate under libel laws that make relations with the government one of continuing tension.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	F	PF	
1983–84	PF	PF	
1985	PF	PF	
1986	PF	PF	
1987	PF	PF	
1988	PF	PF	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	2	2	10	10	1	1	1	1	28	F
1995	5	2	10	10	1	1	3	3	35	PF
1996	6	2	10	9	1	1	3	3	35	PF
1997	15	3	15	9	1	1	1	1	46	PF
1998	15	3	15	9	1	1	1	1	46	PF
1999	15	3	15	9	1	1	1	1	46	PF
2000	15	3	15	9	1	3	0	0	46	PF
2001	15	3	15	9	1	3	0	0	46	PF
2002	12		16		16				44	PF
2003	12		16		17				45	PF
2004	12		16		15				43	PF
2005	12		14		14				40	PF
2006	10		14		14				38	PF
2007	10		14		14				38	PF
2008	10		16		13				39	PF

ARGENTINA

Population (2010, proj.): 40,666,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $6,040

Date of Independence: July 9, 1816 (from Spain)

Date of Last Constitution: May 1, 1853 (amended many times starting in 1860)

In Argentina—one of the most important South American countries in terms of population and economy—most media outlets are privately owned, though some are dependent on government advertising. Attacks on journalists deemed critical of the government remain a problem. Internet use is growing and remains unrestricted.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	NF	
1981	PF	NF	
1982	PF	NF	
1983–84	F	PF	
1985	F	PF	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			**F**
1990			**F**
1991			**F**
1992			**F**
1993			**F**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	3	2	3	2	2	2	7	8	**29**	**F**
1995	4	3	4	3	3	3	3	6	**29**	**F**
1996	4	3	4	3	3	3	4	7	**31**	**PF**
1997	5	4	5	6	3	5	1	2	**31**	**PF**
1998	5	4	5	9	3	5	1	4	**36**	**PF**
1999	6	5	7	9	3	5	2	4	**41**	**PF**
2000	6	4	7	9	3	5	3	4	**41**	**PF**
2001	6	4	6	7	3	5	1	1	**33**	**PF**
2002	10		21		6				**37**	**PF**
2003	11		16		12				**39**	**PF**
2004	8		14		13				**35**	**PF**
2005	10		16		15				**41**	**PF**
2006	12		17		16				**45**	**PF**
2007	13		20		16				**49**	**PF**
2008	11		21		15				**47**	**PF**

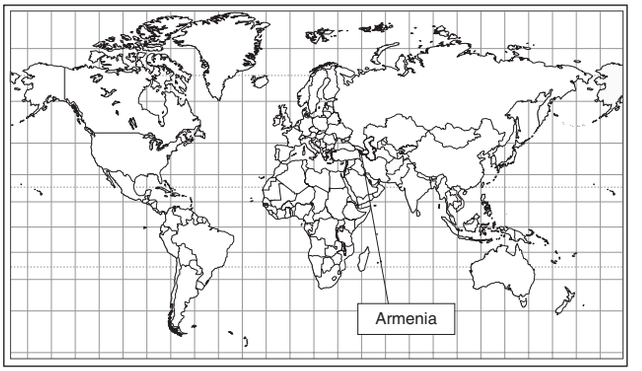
ARMENIA

Population (2010, proj.): 3,090,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $2,630

Date of Independence: September 21, 1991 (from the Soviet Union)

Date of Last Constitution: July 5, 1995



As in many nations, libel laws are a prime deterrent to criticizing government and its officials. Print media, though privately owned, have low circulations and are thus freer than broadcasters, which are often indirectly pressured by government to hew to the official line.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			N/A
1990			N/A
1991			N/A
1992			N/A
1993			PF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	5	5	10	8	6	10	2	2	52	PF
1995	7	5	10	8	6	10	1	10	57	PF
1996	7	4	10	8	6	10	1	10	56	PF
1997	7	7	8	13	6	13	1	1	56	PF
1998	7	7	8	13	6	13	0	2	56	PF
1999	8	8	8	13	6	13	0	0	56	PF
2000	8	8	8	13	6	13	0	1	57	PF
2001	8	8	8	13	6	13	0	2	58	PF
2002	21		26		13				60	PF
2003	23		26		16				65	NF
2004	20		26		18				64	NF
2005	20		26		18				64	NF
2006	20		26		18				64	NF
2007	20		24		20				64	NF
2008	21		25		20				66	NF

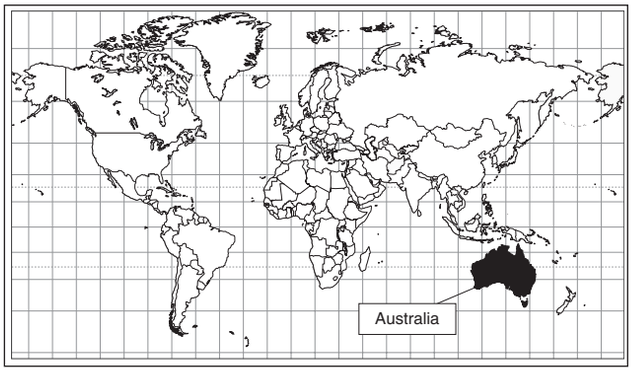
AUSTRALIA

Population (2010, proj.): 21,512,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $35,760

Date of Independence: January 1, 1901 (federation of UK colonies)

Date of Last Constitution: January 1, 1901



Generally enjoying a free and open market, Australian news media remain subject to strong sedition laws limiting criticism of government and officials. Public service broadcasting has suffered severe budget cuts, while Rupert Murdoch is the largest private owner of print and broadcast media in the country.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	1	1	1	0	1	3	0	2	9	F
1995	1	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	7	F
1996	1	1	1	1	1	3	0	0	8	F
1997	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	10	F
1998	1	1	1	1	1	5	0	0	10	F
1999	1	1	1	1	1	5	0	0	10	F
2000	1	1	1	1	1	5	0	0	10	F
2001	1	1	1	1	1	5	0	0	10	F
2002	0		3		7				10	F
2003	3		5		6				14	F
2004	3		4		7				14	F
2005	4		7		7				18	F
2006	5		8		6				19	F
2007	6		9		6				21	F
2008	6		8		7				21	F

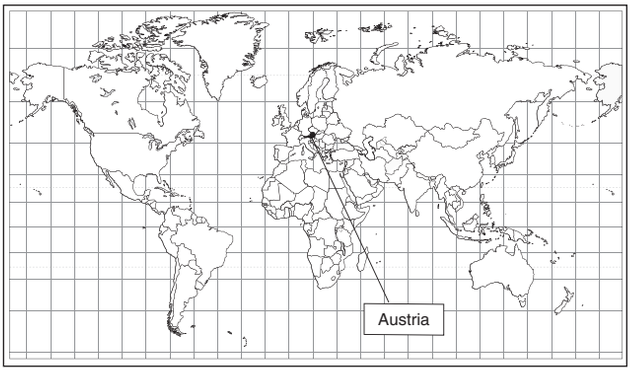
AUSTRIA

Population (2010, proj.): 8,387,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $41,960

Date of Independence: November 12, 1918 (establishment of republic)

Date of Last Constitution: 1920; revised 1929; reinstated May 1, 1945



Though libel laws serve to protect government and its officials, news media are otherwise largely free of controls. Inspired by Austrian involvement in World War II, advocating Holocaust denial or anti-Semitism are illegal. Media ownership is private (but also concentrated), newspaper circulation wars are common, and many German media also serve Austria.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	2	2	10	2	2	0	0	1	19	F
1995	2	2	8	2	2	0	0	2	18	F
1996	3	3	2	2	0	0	0	2	12	F
1997	3	3	2	2	0	0	0	2	12	F
1998	3	3	2	2	0	2	0	0	12	F
1999	3	3	2	2	0	2	0	0	12	F
2000	3	3	2	2	0	2	0	0	12	F
2001	3	4	2	3	0	2	0	0	14	F
2002	10		6		8				24	F
2003	11		6		6				23	F
2004	9		8		6				23	F
2005	8		8		5				21	F
2006	8		8		5				21	F
2007	8		8		5				21	F
2008	8		8		5				21	F

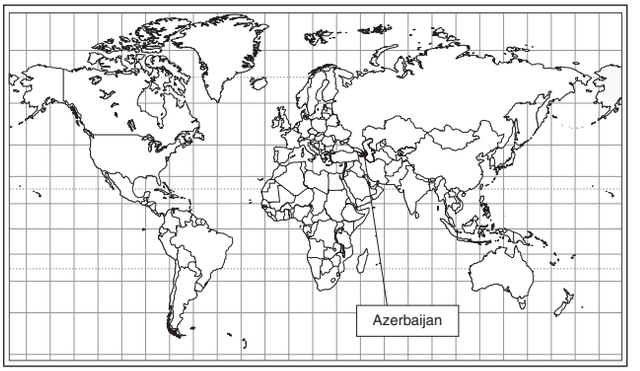
AZERBAIJAN

Population (2010, proj.): 8,934,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $2,640

Date of Independence: August 30, 1991 (from the Soviet Union)

Date of Last Constitution: November 12, 1995; modified August 24, 2002



Despite constitutional and legal guarantees, there is little news media freedom in the country. Attacks on journalists are common, and reporters are limited in their ability to access, let alone critique, government and its officials. The ruling political party controls or subsidizes many media outlets, and independent media lack government advertising—making their competition very limited.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			**N/A**
1990			**N/A**
1991			**N/A**
1992			**N/A**
1993			**NF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	8	10	10	9	6	10	2	15	**70**	**NF**
1995	10	9	9	10	6	10	4	11	**69**	**NF**
1996	10	9	10	10	5	10	5	10	**69**	**NF**
1997	12	10	10	15	5	15	2	5	**74**	**NF**
1998	12	10	10	15	5	15	2	5	**74**	**NF**
1999	11	10	10	15	5	15	2	5	**73**	**NF**
2000	11	7	10	14	5	15	5	3	**70**	**NF**
2001	12	12	13	13	6	12	5	3	**76**	**NF**
2002	26		28		23				**77**	**NF**
2003	22		28		23				**73**	**NF**
2004	24		26		21				**71**	**NF**
2005	23		27		22				**72**	**NF**
2006	23		28		22				**73**	**NF**
2007	24		29		22				**75**	**NF**
2008	25		30		22				**77**	**NF**

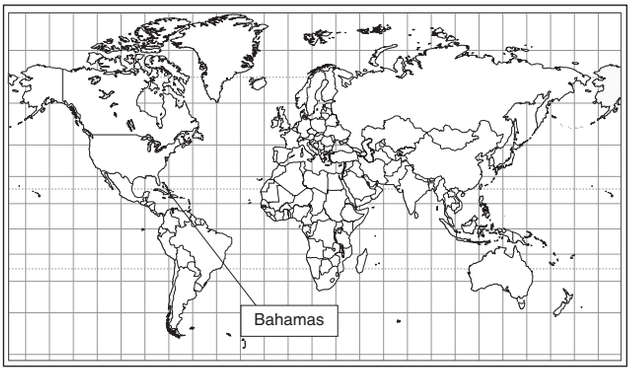
Bahamas

Population (2010, proj.): 346,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2000): $15,300

Date of Independence: July 10, 1973 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: July 10, 1973



These Caribbean islands, long a British colony and tourist destination, generally enjoy news media freedom, though there has been a worrisome rise in political pressure on critical reports about government and its officials.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	PF	
1981	F	PF	
1982	F	PF	
1983–84	F	PF	
1985	F	PF	
1986	F	PF	
1987	F	PF	
1988	F	PF	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	2	4	3	1	2	2	2	2	18	F
1995	1	1	2	1	1	2	0	0	8	F
1996	1	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	7	F
1997	1	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	7	F
1998	1	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	7	F
1999	1	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	7	F
2000	1	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	7	F
2001	1	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	7	F
2002	3		2		3				8	F
2003	3		3		5				11	F
2004	4		5		5				14	F
2005	2		6		6				14	F
2006	2		8		6				16	F
2007	2		9		6				17	F
2008	3		10		7				20	F

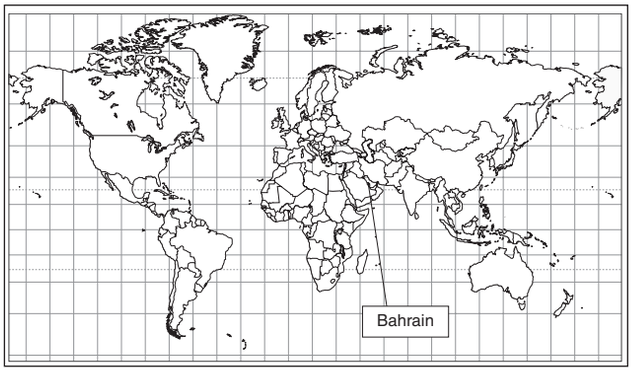
Bahrain

Population (2010, proj.): 807,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2005): $17,390

Date of Independence: August 15, 1971 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: February 14, 2002



As with most nations in the Middle East, there is little press freedom in this tiny Gulf country. The law often says one thing while government actions suggest another—usually tight control on what can be reported in print, broadcast, and even online sources. News about the royal family is especially controlled and criticism of government or its officials is rare.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**NF**
1992			**NF**
1993			**NF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	10	8	10	8	4	9	5	6	**60**	**PF**
1995	10	8	10	8	6	9	3	3	**57**	**PF**
1996	10	10	10	10	7	10	0	3	**60**	**PF**
1997	10	10	10	13	7	10	1	5	**66**	**NF**
1998	12	12	10	13	7	10	1	1	**66**	**NF**
1999	13	13	12	13	7	10	0	1	**69**	**NF**
2000	15	13	15	14	7	10	0	1	**75**	**NF**
2001	15	13	15	14	7	10	0	1	**75**	**NF**
2002	26		24		25				**75**	**NF**
2003	20		25		23				**68**	**NF**
2004	22		25		23				**70**	**NF**
2005	23		26		22				**71**	**NF**
2006	24		26		22				**72**	**NF**
2007	23		26		22				**71**	**NF**
2008	24		27		20				**71**	**NF**

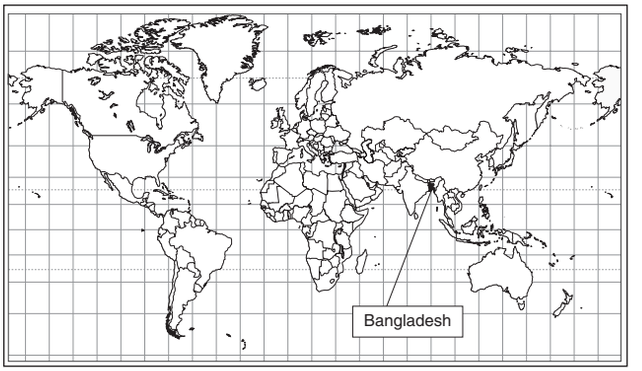
BANGLADESH

Population (2010, proj.): 164,425,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $470

Date of Independence: December 16, 1971 (from West Pakistan)

Date of Last Constitution: November 10, 1986



The former East Pakistan is one of the world's most densely populated regions and suffers a large number of attacks on journalists. Laws, including libel, are widely applied against news media, which are highly partisan in their coverage. Foreign media often have difficulty operating within the country.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	PF	
1981	F	PF	
1982	F	PF	
1983–84	PF	PF	
1985	PF	PF	
1986	PF	PF	
1987	PF	PF	
1988	PF	PF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			F
1993			PF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	3	3	8	7	8	8	5	10	52	PF
1995	5	3	8	7	8	8	1	9	49	PF
1996	5	3	8	7	8	9	1	8	49	PF
1997	5	3	12	11	8	12	1	5	57	PF
1998	5	3	15	11	8	13	1	1	57	PF
1999	5	5	13	12	8	12	0	4	59	PF
2000	13	5	11	10	6	7	3	5	60	PF
2001	13	7	12	9	7	7	0	5	60	PF
2002	16		38		9				63	NF
2003	17		31		17				65	NF
2004	19		31		18				68	NF
2005	20		31		17				68	NF
2006	20		31		17				68	NF
2007	20		30		16				66	NF
2008	22		30		16				68	NF

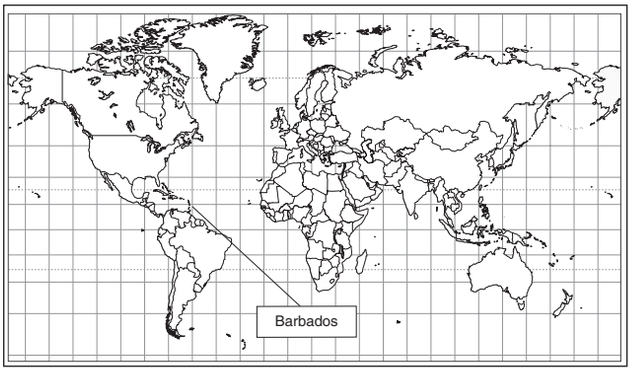
BARBADOS

Population (2010, proj.): 257,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2000): $8,480

Date of Independence: November 30, 1966 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: November 30, 1966



This Caribbean island nation enjoys strong press freedom among both its privately owned services and the government-operated Caribbean Broadcasting Corporation, which is loosely modeled on the BBC. Internet service is widely used and unregulated.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	PF	
1981	F	PF	
1982	F	PF	
1983–84	F	PF	
1985	F	PF	
1986	F	PF	
1987	F	PF	
1988	F	PF	
1989			**F**
1990			**F**
1991			**F**
1992			**F**
1993			**F**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	1	1	3	2	3	3	2	2	**17**	**F**
1995	1	1	6	2	3	3	3	0	**19**	**F**
1996	1	1	6	2	3	3	0	0	**16**	**F**
1997	1	1	6	2	3	3	0	0	**16**	**F**
1998	1	1	6	2	3	3	0	0	**16**	**F**
1999	1	1	6	2	3	3	0	0	**16**	**F**
2000	1	1	6	2	3	3	0	0	**16**	**F**
2001	1	1	6	2	3	3	0	0	**16**	**F**
2002	1		4		11				**16**	**F**
2003	1		4		9				**14**	**F**
2004	4		6		7				**17**	**F**
2005	3		6		8				**17**	**F**
2006	3		8		6				**17**	**F**
2007	3		8		6				**17**	**F**
2008	3		10		6				**19**	**F**

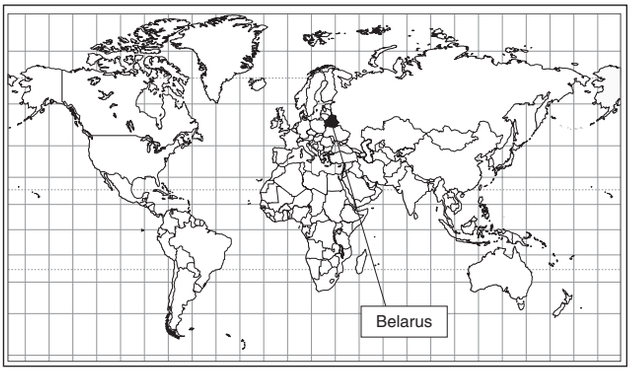
BELARUS

Population (2010, proj.): 9,588,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $4,220

Date of Independence: August 25, 1991 (from the Soviet Union)

Date of Last Constitution: March 15, 1994 (revised October 17, 2004)



This one-time Soviet republic retains a tradition of tight press control. Indeed, criticism of top leaders is considered a criminal offense. Government controls broadcast media, and print outlets are subject to strong political intimidation. The Internet is widely used, but the country's government-run telecommunications service can and does block access to some services.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			N/A
1990			N/A
1991			N/A
1992			N/A
1993			PF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	6	7	10	8	8	8	5	14	66	NF
1995	8	8	10	9	8	10	4	10	67	NF
1996	8	8	10	9	6	9	5	15	70	NF
1997	15	15	15	15	5	15	0	5	85	NF
1998	15	15	15	15	5	15	5	5	90	NF
1999	13	14	14	13	5	11	5	5	80	NF
2000	13	13	14	14	5	11	5	5	80	NF
2001	13	13	14	14	5	11	5	5	80	NF
2002	26		31		25				82	NF
2003	27		32		23				82	NF
2004	26		30		28				84	NF
2005	26		32		28				86	NF
2006	27		33		28				88	NF
2007	27		34		28				89	NF
2008	28		35		28				91	NF

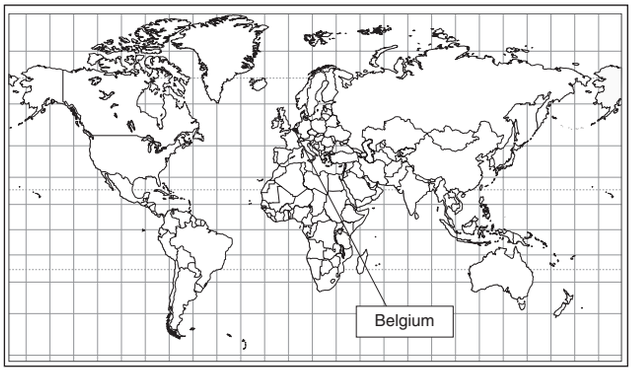
BELGIUM

Population (2010, proj.): 10,698,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $41,110

Date of Independence: October 4, 1830 (from the Netherlands); July 21, 1831 (King Leopold I ascension to the throne)

Date of Last Constitution: February 7, 1831; revised July 14, 1993



Belgian news media enjoy one of the freest markets in the world, although newspaper ownership is increasingly concentrated. Government-run broadcasting serves Flemish and French-speaking sectors of society with their own networks. The Internet is widely used and free of limitations.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			**F**
1990			**F**
1991			**F**
1992			**F**
1993			**F**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	1	1	1	1	0	2	0	1	**7**	**F**
1995	1	1	1	1	0	2	0	1	**7**	**F**
1996	1	1	1	2	0	2	1	2	**10**	**F**
1997	1	1	1	2	0	2	1	2	**10**	**F**
1998	1	1	1	2	0	2	0	3	**10**	**F**
1999	1	1	1	2	0	2	2	0	**9**	**F**
2000	1	1	2	2	0	2	1	0	**9**	**F**
2001	1	1	2	2	0	2	1	0	**9**	**F**
2002	2		2		5				**9**	**F**
2003	3		1		5				**9**	**F**
2004	2		3		4				**9**	**F**
2005	2		4		5				**11**	**F**
2006	2		4		5				**11**	**F**
2007	2		4		5				**11**	**F**
2008	2		4		5				**11**	**F**

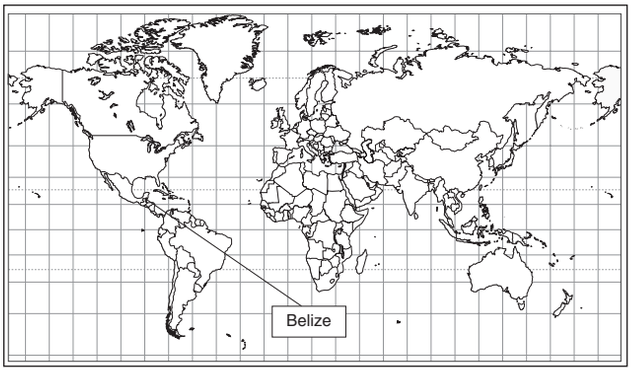
Belize

Population (2010, proj.): 313,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $3,760

Date of Independence: September 21, 1981 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: September 21, 1981



This Central American nation, once home to a pre-Columbian Mayan empire, generally enjoys news media freedom. Libel laws remain a concern, weekly newspapers and broadcast stations are the primary news outlets, and growing Internet use is not restricted.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	F	PF	
1983–84	F	PF	
1985	F	PF	
1986	F	PF	
1987	F	PF	
1988	F	PF	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	2	3	5	3	3	3	5	5	29	F
1995	2	3	5	4	3	5	0	0	22	F
1996	4	2	5	6	3	5	0	0	25	F
1997	4	2	8	6	0	5	0	0	25	F
1998	4	2	8	6	0	5	0	0	25	F
1999	4	2	4	5	5	5	0	0	25	F
2000	4	2	4	5	5	5	0	0	25	F
2001	4	2	4	5	5	5	0	0	25	F
2002	11		8		5				24	F
2003	11		8		4				23	F
2004	8		9		5				22	F
2005	8		7		5				20	F
2006	8		8		5				21	F
2007	8		8		5				21	F
2008	8		9		5				22	F

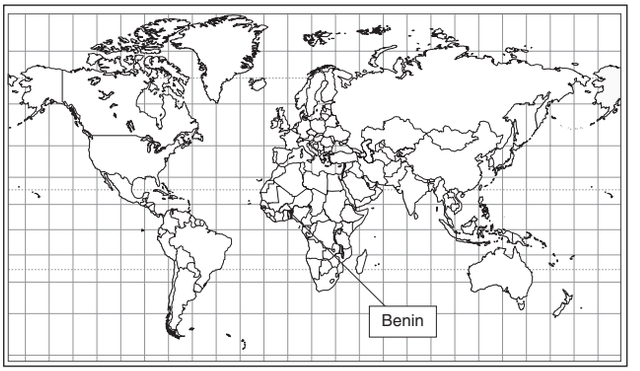
BENIN

Population (2010, proj.): 9,212,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $570

Date of Independence: August 1, 1960 (from France)

Date of Last Constitution: December 2, 1990



Generally enjoying a freer news media than most sub-Saharan African nations, Benin does suffer from libel laws limiting criticism of public officials and the government. Journalists must register to work in the country and conditions to do so are fairly strict. Internet access is low but expanding and is not controlled.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**PF**
1992			**F**
1993			**PF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	10	2	6	4	4	4	2	2	**34**	**PF**
1995	9	2	6	4	4	5	0	1	**31**	**PF**
1996	9	2	5	4	4	5	1	1	**31**	**PF**
1997	9	2	5	4	4	5	0	1	**30**	**F**
1998	9	3	5	4	4	5	0	0	**30**	**F**
1999	9	3	5	4	4	5	0	0	**30**	**F**
2000	9	3	5	3	4	5	1	0	**30**	**F**
2001	9	3	5	3	4	5	0	1	**30**	**F**
2002	8		12		10				**30**	**F**
2003	7		11		10				**28**	**F**
2004	9		11		10				**30**	**F**
2005	10		10		10				**30**	**F**
2006	11		9		10				**30**	**F**
2007	10		10		10				**30**	**F**
2008	11		10		10				**31**	**PF**

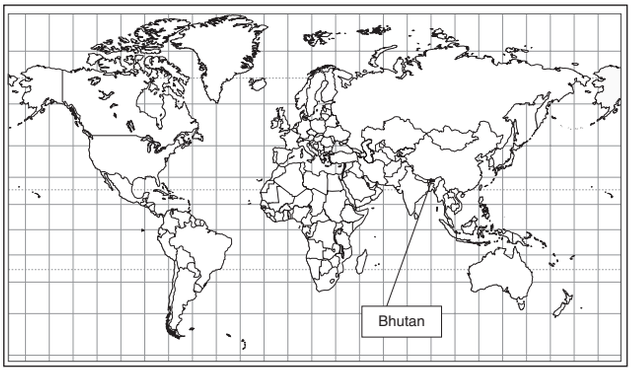
Bhutan

Population (2010, proj.): 708,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $1,770

Date of Independence: 1949 (from India)

Date of Last Constitution: July 18, 2008



This tiny kingdom high in the Himalayan mountains does not allow media to criticize the king or political system. The handful of broadcast stations are operated by and support the government. Cable service limits foreign channels and Internet service is used by only a few, though it is not regulated.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	N/A	
1983–84	NF	N/A	
1985	NF	N/A	
1986	NF	N/A	
1987	NF	N/A	
1988	NF	N/A	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			NF
1993			NF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	10	10	10	10	10	10	3	3	66	NF
1995	10	10	10	8	10	10	1	3	62	NF
1996	10	10	10	8	10	10	2	2	62	NF
1997	12	10	15	8	10	10	0	0	65	NF
1998	12	10	17	8	10	8	0	0	65	NF
1999	15	14	15	14	10	8	0	4	80	NF
2000	15	14	15	14	10	8	0	0	76	NF
2001	15	14	15	14	10	8	0	0	76	NF
2002	26		21		25				72	NF
2003	26		25		19				70	NF
2004	22		24		22				68	NF
2005	20		24		22				66	NF
2006	19		24		22				65	NF
2007	19		23		20				62	NF
2008	19		23		19				61	NF

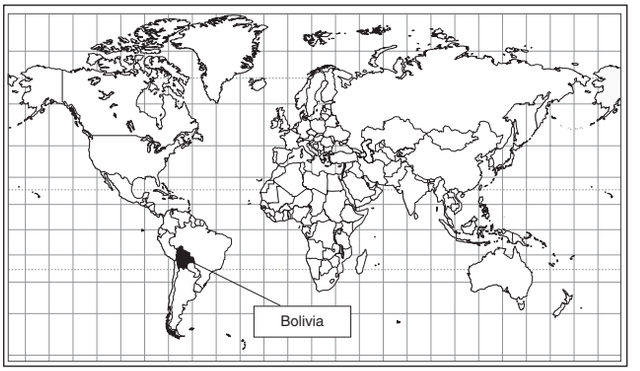
BOLIVIA

Population (2010, proj.): 10,031,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $1,260

Date of Independence: August 6, 1825 (from Spain)

Date of Last Constitution: January 25, 2009 (approved by voters)



This land-locked nation high in the Andes has experienced considerable tension between journalists and government, which reflects internal divisions between eastern and western parts of the country. Though most print and broadcast media are privately owned, libel against public officials is illegal. Hundreds of radio stations provide most news to the countryside. The Internet remains a tiny factor, though it is not controlled.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	PF	NF	
1982	PF	NF	
1983–84	F	PF	
1985	F	PF	
1986	F	PF	
1987	F	PF	
1988	F	PF	
1989			**PF**
1990			**PF**
1991			**F**
1992			**F**
1993			**F**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	2	2	3	1	2	2	4	4	**20**	**F**
1995	2	2	3	1	2	2	3	2	**17**	**F**
1996	2	2	3	1	2	2	3	2	**17**	**F**
1997	2	2	3	3	2	2	1	5	**20**	**F**
1998	4	4	3	3	2	2	0	0	**18**	**F**
1999	4	4	3	3	2	2	0	0	**18**	**F**
2000	4	4	3	3	2	2	1	3	**22**	**F**
2001	4	4	3	3	2	2	0	4	**22**	**F**
2002	7		14		4				**25**	**F**
2003	8		14		8				**30**	**F**
2004	13		17		7				**37**	**PF**
2005	13		15		7				**35**	**PF**
2006	10		13		10				**33**	**PF**
2007	10		16		11				**37**	**PF**
2008	10		18		11				**39**	**PF**

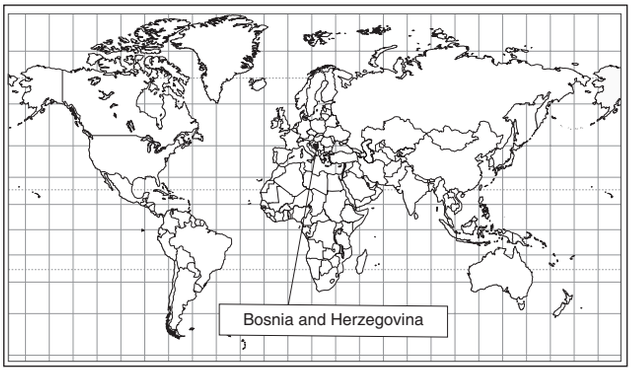
Bosnia and Herzegovina

Population (2010, proj.): 3,760,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $3,790

Date of Independence: March 3, 1992 (from Yugoslavia)

Date of Last Constitution: December 14, 1995 (contained within Dayton Peace Accords)



Since the end of the 1992–95 civil war, Bosnia and Herzegovina has established a very liberal legal environment for media, though enforcement of the laws varies and the courts are overloaded. Threats as well as attacks against journalists are common. There are many independent media, most allied with political parties or economic interests. Most media serve narrow ethnic groups. Internet use is rapidly expanding.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			N/A
1990			N/A
1991			N/A
1992			N/A
1993			NF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	9	9	10	4	10	10	3	15	70	NF
1995	9	9	10	4	9	10	10	11	72	NF
1996	9	9	10	4	9	10	10	15	76	NF
1997	9	9	12	12	9	9	5	5	71	NF
1998	9	9	14	14	9	9	5	5	74	NF
1999	9	9	10	7	8	10	1	2	56	PF
2000	9	9	10	7	8	10	1	2	56	PF
2001	8	8	10	7	8	10	1	2	54	PF
2002	8		19		26				53	PF
2003	8		20		21				49	PF
2004	9		20		19				48	PF
2005	8		21		16				45	PF
2006	8		21		16				45	PF
2007	8		21		16				45	PF
2008	8		21		16				45	PF

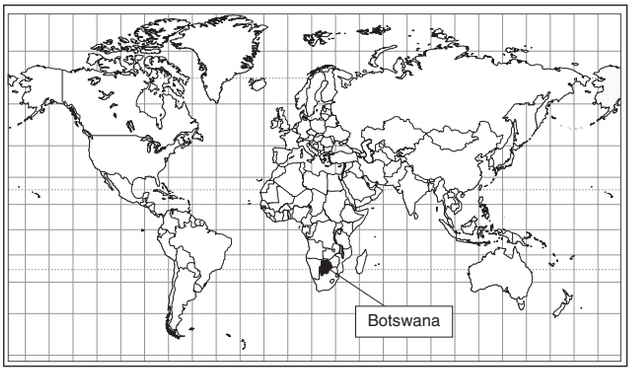
BOTSWANA

Population (2010, proj.): 1,978,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $6,120

Date of Independence: September 30, 1966 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: September 30, 1966



While generally free, especially in the context of sub-Saharan Africa, the threat of libel actions for criticizing government officials remains a serious problem. Overall, media freedom is in decline. Government-operated media (including the only television service) dominate the independent services. Internet access is very limited, though not controlled.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	PF	
1981	F	PF	
1982	F	PF	
1983–84	F	PF	
1985	F	PF	
1986	F	PF	
1987	F	PF	
1988	F	PF	
1989			**PF**
1990			**F**
1991			**F**
1992			**F**
1993			**F**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	4	4	3	3	3	2	0	0	**19**	**F**
1995	5	5	6	4	5	3	0	0	**28**	**F**
1996	5	5	6	4	4	4	0	2	**30**	**F**
1997	5	5	6	4	4	5	0	1	**30**	**F**
1998	6	5	6	4	4	5	0	0	**30**	**F**
1999	6	5	6	4	4	5	0	0	**30**	**F**
2000	5	5	5	4	2	5	1	1	**28**	**F**
2001	5	4	5	4	2	5	1	1	**27**	**F**
2002	4		18		8				**30**	**F**
2003	6		13		11				**30**	**F**
2004	6		14		10				**30**	**F**
2005	6		13		11				**30**	**F**
2006	8		16		11				**35**	**PF**
2007	8		16		11				**35**	**PF**
2008	8		17		11				**36**	**PF**

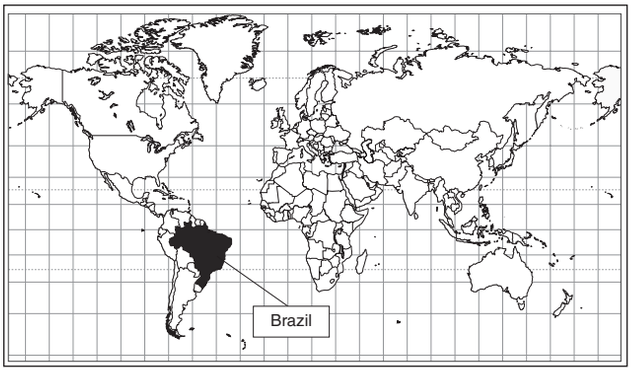
Brazil

Population (2010, proj.): 195,423,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $5,860

Date of Independence: September 7, 1822 (from Portugal)

Date of Last Constitution: October 5, 1988



Brazil, the largest South American nation, is South America's biggest media market. Brazil's media are privately held and generally free, though subject to defamation law (especially concerning government officials), and the pressures of drug cartels. Courts sometimes limit press ability to report on elections and candidates. Brazil has a large and growing Internet presence (the largest on the continent), which remains free of government controls.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	PF	
1981	F	PF	
1982	PF	PF	
1983–84	F	PF	
1985	F	PF	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	2	3	5	3	3	2	4	5	27	F
1995	2	2	5	4	5	3	0	9	30	F
1996	2	2	5	3	5	3	0	10	30	F
1997	2	2	5	8	5	3	0	5	30	F
1998	3	3	5	8	5	3	0	5	32	PF
1999	3	3	5	8	5	3	5	3	35	PF
2000	4	4	5	8	6	5	0	1	33	PF
2001	4	4	4	6	6	5	0	2	31	PF
2002	10		13		9				32	PF
2003	11		18		9				38	PF
2004	10		16		10				36	PF
2005	12		16		12				40	PF
2006	13		15		11				39	PF
2007	15		16		11				42	PF
2008	15		16		11				42	PF

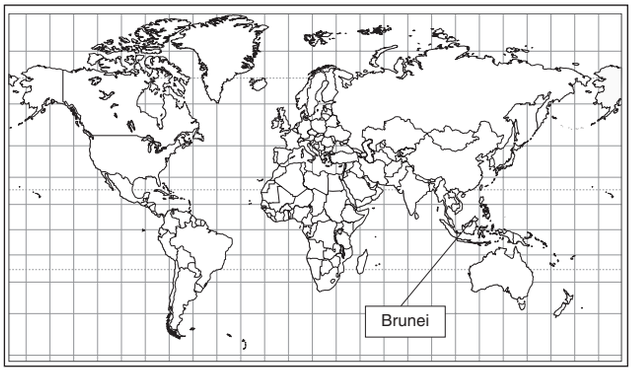
Brunei Darussalam

Population (2010, proj.): 407,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2006): $26,740

Date of Independence: January 1, 1984 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: September 29, 1959



The nation's sultan tightly controls all news media through "emergency" laws that have been in force for a half century. Media can be shut down and journalists jailed for a variety of offences. Internet use is widespread, though the government service provider limits access to many sites judged critical or subversive to government or Islam, and e-mail may be monitored.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**NF**
1992			**NF**
1993			**NF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	3	3	10	9	3	8	15	15	**66**	**NF**
1995	8	7	10	10	9	9	10	10	**73**	**NF**
1996	8	8	10	10	9	9	10	10	**74**	**NF**
1997	14	14	15	15	0	6	5	5	**74**	**NF**
1998	14	14	15	15	5	11	0	0	**74**	**NF**
1999	14	14	15	15	5	11	0	0	**74**	**NF**
2000	14	14	15	15	5	11	0	0	**74**	**NF**
2001	14	14	15	15	5	11	0	0	**74**	**NF**
2002	26		29		23				**78**	**NF**
2003	28		26		22				**76**	**NF**
2004	27		25		22				**74**	**NF**
2005	27		26		22				**75**	**NF**
2006	28		27		22				**77**	**NF**
2007	28		26		22				**76**	**NF**
2008	28		25		22				**75**	**NF**

Bulgaria

Population (2010, proj.): 7,497,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $4,580

Date of Independence: September 22, 1908 (from the Ottoman Empire)

Date of Last Constitution: July 12, 1991

This one-time Soviet satellite nation suffers from defamation laws that make it hard to critique government officials or agencies. There are many independent media, though government broadcasters dominate that sector. Internet access is unrestricted and expanding.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			PF
1992			PF
1993			PF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	3	3	9	3	5	7	5	8	43	PF
1995	4	4	9	4	6	8	4	0	39	PF
1996	7	4	9	6	5	7	8	0	46	PF
1997	9	6	9	6	5	7	1	1	44	PF
1998	7	5	6	3	5	7	2	1	36	PF
1999	7	5	6	3	5	7	1	5	39	PF
2000	6	5	5	3	4	5	1	1	30	F
2001	4	3	5	3	4	5	1	1	26	F
2002	9		11		9				29	F
2003	10		8		12				30	F
2004	10		13		12				35	PF
2005	10		13		12				35	PF
2006	10		12		12				34	PF
2007	10		12		12				34	PF
2008	10		12		11				33	PF

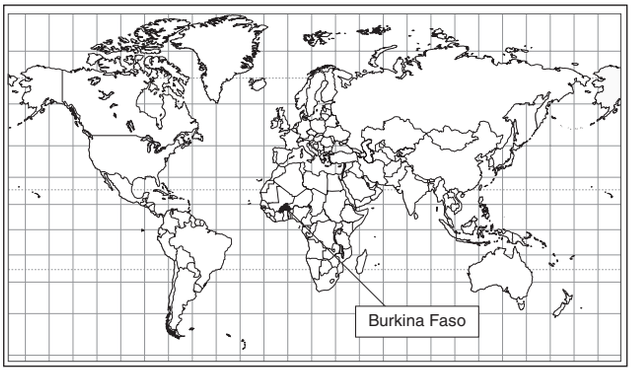
Burkina Faso

Population (2010, proj.): 16,287,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $430

Date of Independence: August 5, 1960 (from France)

Date of Last Constitution: June 11, 1991



While constitutionally free, news media in Burkina Faso can be banned for false information or endangering national security. Yet criticism of the government by the generally privately owned press is common. The government-run broadcast service is progovernment in tone. Access to international media is limited and Internet access almost nonexistent.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	PF	
1981	PF	PF	
1982	PF	PF	
1983–84	PF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**NF**
1992			**PF**
1993			**PF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	10	5	6	7	3	8	0	1	**40**	**PF**
1995	10	5	6	6	3	7	0	0	**37**	**PF**
1996	10	5	6	6	3	7	0	0	**37**	**PF**
1997	10	5	6	6	3	7	0	0	**37**	**PF**
1998	10	5	6	6	3	7	0	2	**39**	**PF**
1999	10	5	6	6	3	7	0	2	**39**	**PF**
2000	10	5	6	6	3	7	0	3	**40**	**PF**
2001	10	5	7	6	3	7	1	0	**39**	**PF**
2002	9		16		14				**39**	**PF**
2003	9		17		13				**39**	**PF**
2004	11		15		13				**39**	**PF**
2005	12		15		13				**40**	**PF**
2006	11		14		13				**38**	**PF**
2007	12		14		13				**39**	**PF**
2008	13		15		13				**41**	**PF**

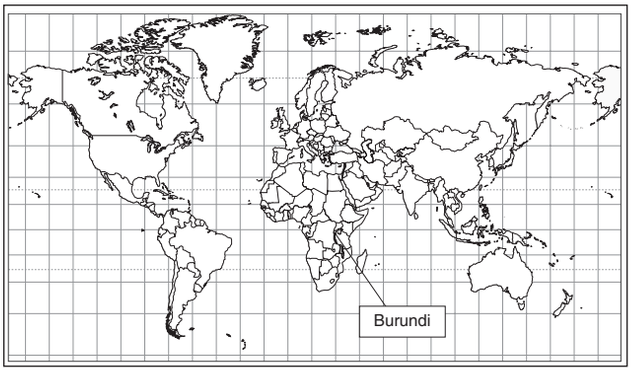
BURUNDI

Population (2010, proj.): 8,519,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $110

Date of Independence: July 1, 1962 (from UN trusteeship under Belgian administration)

Date of Last Constitution: February 28, 2005



Various laws serve to restrict what can be reported in the news media, which reflects tensions between Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups. The government controls the only daily paper and the national television and radio service. There is a handful of private media but they play a minor part in the country. Internet usage is minor, though not directly controlled.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			NF
1993			NF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	10	9	10	9	10	9	18	15	88	NF
1995	10	9	10	9	10	9	15	16	88	NF
1996	10	10	10	9	10	9	15	12	85	NF
1997	15	15	15	15	5	10	5	5	85	NF
1998	15	15	15	15	5	10	5	5	85	NF
1999	15	15	15	15	5	10	3	5	83	NF
2000	15	15	15	15	8	10	0	5	83	NF
2001	13	13	14	13	8	15	0	4	80	NF
2002	25		28		24				77	NF
2003	21		32		23				76	NF
2004	21		30		24				75	NF
2005	21		29		24				74	NF
2006	21		29		24				74	NF
2007	22		31		24				77	NF
2008	21		29		24				74	NF

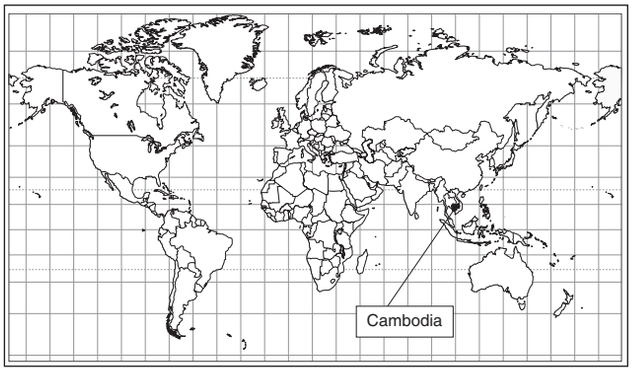
CAMBODIA

Population (2010, proj.): 15,053,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $550

Date of Independence: November 9, 1953 (from France)

Date of Last Constitution: September 21, 1993



Despite constitutional and legal press freedom guarantees, Cambodia's press is just barely in the "partially free" category due to continued government actions against news media that criticize government officials or policies (though many still do). Harassment of journalists is also on the rise. Internet access is almost nonexistent.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**NF**
1992			**NF**
1993			**NF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	5	5	9	3	5	5	8	10	**50**	**PF**
1995	6	6	9	8	5	5	6	15	**60**	**PF**
1996	7	7	9	9	5	5	3	20	**65**	**NF**
1997	7	8	15	15	5	5	5	5	**65**	**NF**
1998	7	8	15	15	5	5	5	5	**65**	**NF**
1999	7	8	15	15	5	5	2	5	**62**	**NF**
2000	12	8	13	10	4	10	0	4	**61**	**NF**
2001	12	8	13	10	4	10	1	3	**61**	**NF**
2002	26		22		20				**68**	**NF**
2003	19		21		24				**64**	**NF**
2004	19		22		22				**63**	**NF**
2005	17		24		21				**62**	**NF**
2006	20		23		18				**61**	**NF**
2007	18		21		19				**58**	**PF**
2008	19		22		19				**60**	**PF**

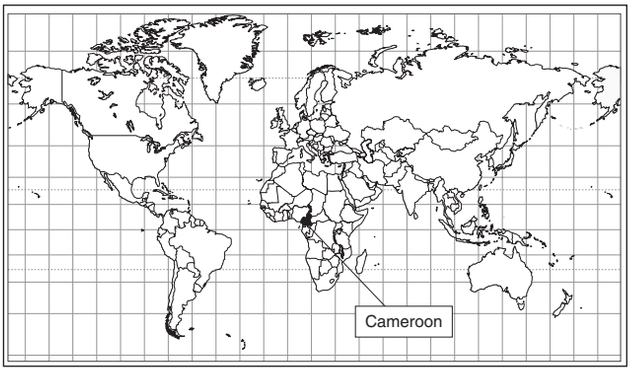
Cameroon

Population (2010, proj.): 19,958,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $1,050

Date of Independence: January 1, 1960 (from UN trusteeship administered by France)

Date of Last Constitution: June 2, 1972 (revised January 1996)



Legal guarantees of press freedom are regularly flouted by the government, and sedition laws continue to dampen criticism of officials or policies. Harassment of and sometimes attacks on journalists are widespread. Private broadcasting was introduced in 2007 to compete with the government-run system that is largely restricted to urban areas. Internet connections are few and expensive.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			NF
1993			NF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	10	10	10	9	10	8	4	18	79	NF
1995	10	8	10	9	6	9	8	18	78	NF
1996	10	10	10	8	7	7	5	15	72	NF
1997	15	10	5	15	7	10	5	5	72	NF
1998	15	15	5	15	7	10	5	5	77	NF
1999	15	15	5	15	7	10	5	5	77	NF
2000	14	11	10	13	7	12	5	5	77	NF
2001	13	11	10	13	7	12	1	4	71	NF
2002	26		23		19				68	NF
2003	25		22		18				65	NF
2004	21		25		21				67	NF
2005	22		25		21				68	NF
2006	19		24		22				65	NF
2007	20		25		22				67	NF
2008	20		24		21				65	NF

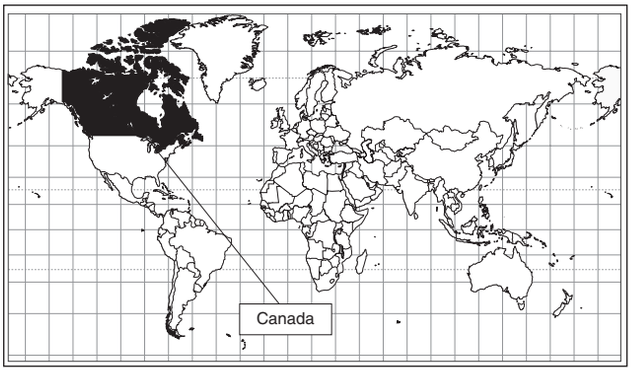
CANADA

Population (2010, proj.): 33,890,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $39,650

Date of Independence: July 1, 1867 (union of British North American colonies)

Date of Last Constitution: March 29, 1867 (Constitution Act); April 17, 1982 (Constitution Act)



Canada enjoys press freedom, though both the government-supported CBC and commercial broadcasters are subject to requirements that they provide substantial amounts of Canadian-made fare. Print and broadcast news media tend to focus on English or (especially in Quebec) French-language service. Media ownership is concentrated, which can limit diversity of views. Internet service is widely available and used.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			**F**
1990			**F**
1991			**F**
1992			**F**
1993			**F**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	1	2	2	1	1	2	1	3	**13**	**F**
1995	1	2	2	2	1	2	0	8	**18**	**F**
1996	1	2	2	2	1	2	8	5	**23**	**F**
1997	1	2	2	2	1	3	0	0	**11**	**F**
1998	1	2	2	2	1	3	0	0	**11**	**F**
1999	1	2	2	2	1	3	2	3	**16**	**F**
2000	1	2	2	2	1	4	1	1	**14**	**F**
2001	1	2	2	2	2	5	0	1	**15**	**F**
2002	1		6		9				**16**	**F**
2003	2		7		8				**17**	**F**
2004	2		7		6				**15**	**F**
2005	3		8		6				**17**	**F**
2006	4		8		6				**18**	**F**
2007	3		8		6				**17**	**F**
2008	4		8		6				**18**	**F**

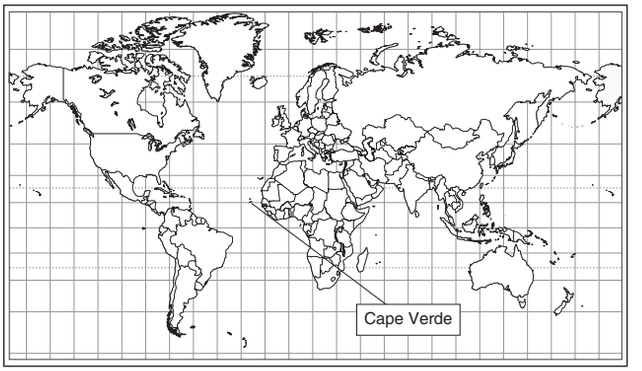
Cape Verde

Population (2010, proj.): 513,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $2,430

Date of Independence: July 5, 1975 (from Portugal)

Date of Last Constitution: September 25, 1992 (major revision on November 23, 1995)



The country enjoys one of the freest news media systems in all of Africa. Libel cases are few as is harassment of journalists—though self-censorship is widespread. Most media are state-owned, though private outlets are slowly increasing. There is no restriction on Internet access; however, the Internet is thus far used by few.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	PF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			PF
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	5	5	2	2	5	5	5	5	34	PF
1995	5	5	3	3	5	5	3	3	32	PF
1996	5	5	3	3	5	5	3	3	32	PF
1997	5	5	5	7	5	5	0	0	32	PF
1998	5	5	5	7	5	5	0	0	32	PF
1999	5	5	5	7	5	5	0	1	33	PF
2000	5	5	5	7	5	5	0	0	32	PF
2001	5	5	5	7	5	5	0	0	32	PF
2002	8		10		12				30	F
2003	8		11		11				30	F
2004	8		16		12				36	PF
2005	7		13		12				32	PF
2006	7		12		13				32	PF
2007	5		19		14				29	F
2008	6		10		12				28	F

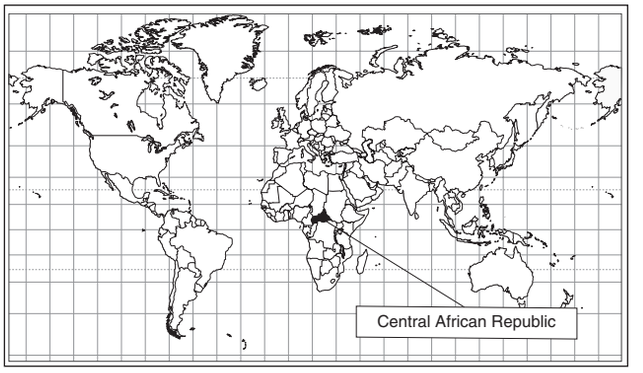
Central African Republic

Population (2010, proj.): 4,506,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $370

Date of Independence: August 13, 1960 (from France)

Date of Last Constitution: December 27, 2004



Legally news media are free, but there is considerable political pressure that limits journalists' access to or criticism of government activities. Continued political unrest in the north underlies concerns about allowing too much press freedom to comment or criticize. Private newspapers are limited to the capital city and practice self-censorship to avoid trouble. Government broadcasting dominates that sector. Internet access is rare.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	PF	PF	
1982	PF	PF	
1983–84	PF	PF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**NF**
1992			**NF**
1993			**NF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	10	8	10	9	5	5	15	18	**80**	**NF**
1995	10	8	9	8	5	5	10	10	**65**	**NF**
1996	10	8	9	8	5	5	10	10	**65**	**NF**
1997	12	12	12	12	5	10	0	2	**65**	**NF**
1998	12	12	12	11	5	8	0	0	**60**	**PF**
1999	12	12	12	11	5	8	0	0	**60**	**PF**
2000	12	9	12	10	5	11	0	1	**60**	**PF**
2001	12	9	12	10	5	11	0	2	**61**	**NF**
2002	24		23		22				**69**	**NF**
2003	20		28		19				**67**	**NF**
2004	25		22		17				**64**	**NF**
2005	23		22		18				**63**	**NF**
2006	21		22		18				**61**	**NF**
2007	18		21		19				**58**	**PF**
2008	19		23		19				**61**	**NF**

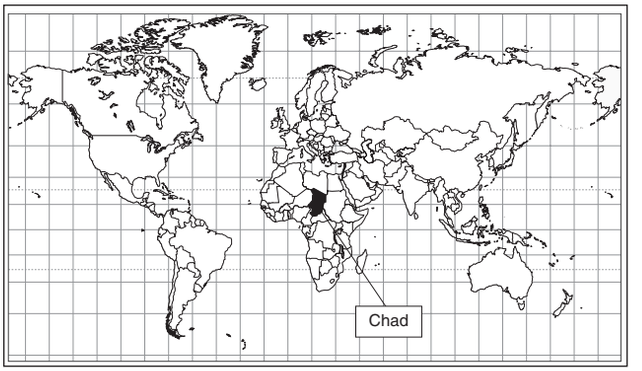
Chad

Population (2010, proj.): 11,506,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $540

Date of Independence: August 11, 1960 (from France)

Date of Last Constitution: March 31, 1996



Criticism of government or much discussion of social issues is frowned upon in this conservative nation. Harassment of journalists is fairly common. Radio is the prime means of communication with both government and some private stations, all of which are closely monitored by the government. Internet access is limited.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			NF
1993			NF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	10	10	10	9	5	5	20	18	87	NF
1995	10	9	10	9	7	7	10	10	72	NF
1996	10	9	10	9	7	7	10	10	72	NF
1997	15	15	15	15	0	10	0	2	72	NF
1998	15	15	15	15	0	10	0	0	70	NF
1999	15	15	15	15	0	10	0	5	75	NF
2000	14	10	14	10	8	15	0	1	72	NF
2001	14	10	14	10	8	15	0	1	72	NF
2002	26		22		26				74	NF
2003	20		26		21				67	NF
2004	24		29		21				74	NF
2005	23		29		21				73	NF
2006	23		29		21				73	NF
2007	23		30		21				74	NF
2008	23		30		21				74	NF

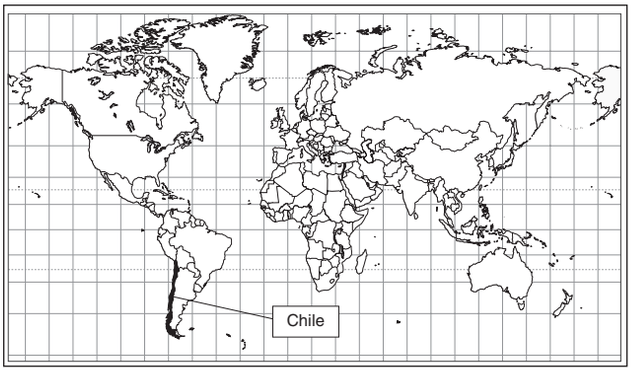
CHILE

Population (2010, proj.): 17,135,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $8,190

Date of Independence: September 18, 1810 (from Spain)

Date of Last Constitution: March 11, 1981 (amended 1989, 1991, 1997, 1999, 2000, 2003, and 2005)



An important economic player in South America, Chile enjoys considerable freedom of expression, though media ownership is concentrated. Discussion of the military dictatorship that ended in 1989 remains a touchy subject. There are far more journalists than news media positions to employ them and many work in other fields. Internet access is widespread.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	PF	
1981	PF	PF	
1982	PF	PF	
1983–84	PF	PF	
1985	PF	PF	
1986	PF	PF	
1987	PF	PF	
1988	PF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**PF**
1991			**F**
1992			**F**
1993			**F**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	2	5	4	2	2	2	6	7	**30**	**F**
1995	4	5	5	3	4	4	0	5	**30**	**F**
1996	4	5	5	3	4	4	0	3	**28**	**F**
1997	4	5	8	5	3	4	0	1	**30**	**F**
1998	4	5	6	5	3	4	0	0	**27**	**F**
1999	4	5	6	5	3	4	0	0	**27**	**F**
2000	4	5	5	5	3	4	0	1	**27**	**F**
2001	4	5	5	5	3	4	0	1	**27**	**F**
2002	7		9		6				**22**	**F**
2003	8		8		6				**22**	**F**
2004	8		7		8				**23**	**F**
2005	8		10		6				**24**	**F**
2006	8		11		7				**26**	**F**
2007	10		12		8				**30**	**F**
2008	10		12		8				**30**	**F**

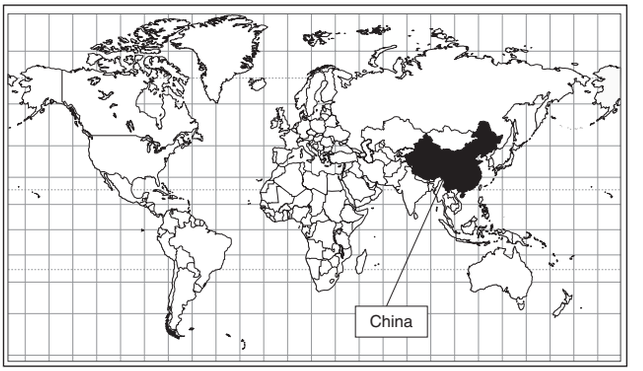
China

Population (2010, proj.): 1,354,146,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $2,370

Date of Independence: October 1, 1949 (People's Republic of China established)

Date of Last Constitution: December 4, 1982 (amended in 1988 and 1993)



China is the world's most populous nation and a fast-rising economic and political power. All media (including the Internet) are closely controlled by the government. Media reports on earthquake and flood events and their aftermath are monitored, though reports of official corruption and misconduct are often allowed. Journalists who push too far, however, risk imprisonment. Despite official pledges to the contrary, news media restrictions continued during and after the 2008 Olympic Games. Internet use—despite content restrictions—is second only to the United States.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			NF
1993			NF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	10	10	10	10	8	8	18	15	89	NF
1995	10	10	10	8	8	7	15	15	83	NF
1996	10	10	10	8	8	7	10	20	83	NF
1997	15	15	15	15	7	10	1	5	83	NF
1998	15	15	15	15	7	8	1	5	81	NF
1999	15	15	15	14	7	8	2	5	81	NF
2000	15	15	14	14	7	8	2	5	80	NF
2001	15	15	14	14	7	8	2	5	80	NF
2002	26		31		23				80	NF
2003	26		34		20				80	NF
2004	27		32		21				80	NF
2005	27		33		22				82	NF
2006	27		34		22				83	NF
2007	28		34		22				84	NF
2008	28		35		21				84	NF

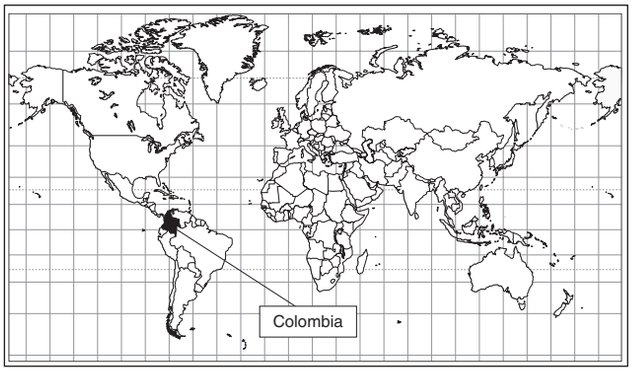
COLOMBIA

Population (2010, proj.): 46,300,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $4,100

Date of Independence: July 20, 1810 (from Spain)

Date of Last Constitution: July 5, 1991



Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			**F**
1990			**F**
1991			**PF**
1992			**PF**
1993			**PF**

While press freedom is guaranteed by law, continued political unrest and battles against drug cartels serve to limit news media coverage. The country is the most dangerous in South America for journalists, who are subject to a variety of attacks and are often seen as the enemies of political figures. Most media are privately owned and radio is expanding. Government advertising is an important revenue source—and means of limiting the freedom to comment or criticize. Journalists are widely suspected of taking bribes. Internet access is not controlled and expanding.

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	2	2	8	7	6	6	8	10	**49**	**NF**
1995	4	3	8	7	6	6	8	6	**48**	**PF**
1996	5	4	8	7	6	6	8	10	**54**	**PF**
1997	9	8	12	9	5	5	2	5	**55**	**PF**
1998	10	8	13	9	5	5	0	5	**55**	**PF**
1999	10	8	15	9	5	5	3	5	**60**	**PF**
2000	10	8	14	9	5	5	3	5	**59**	**PF**
2001	8	8	10	9	5	10	5	5	**60**	**PF**
2002	11		30		19				**60**	**PF**
2003	12		32		19				**63**	**NF**
2004	12		32		19				**63**	**NF**
2005	12		32		19				**63**	**NF**
2006	13		32		16				**61**	**NF**
2007	13		29		15				**57**	**PF**
2008	13		30		16				**59**	**PF**

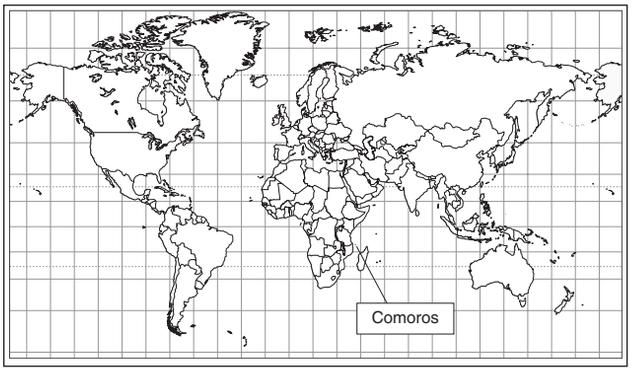
Comoros

Population (2010, proj.): 691,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $680

Date of Independence: July 6, 1975 (from France)

Date of Last Constitution: December 23, 2001



Despite constitutional guarantees of press freedom, in reality there is a high degree of government harassment of journalists and ready use of defamation laws to limit criticism. Government-operated broadcasting faces growing competition from private outlets. Internet service is used by only a few.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			N/A
1990			N/A
1991			N/A
1992			N/A
1993			N/A

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	10	3	5	6	5	6	5	4	44	PF
1995	10	3	5	6	5	6	5	6	46	PF
1996	10	3	5	6	5	6	0	0	35	PF
1997	10	3	5	6	5	6	0	3	38	PF
1998	10	3	7	7	5	6	0	0	38	PF
1999	10	3	7	7	5	6	0	0	38	PF
2000	10	3	7	7	5	6	1	1	40	PF
2001	6	3	7	5	6	9	0	2	38	PF
2002	12		15		14				41	PF
2003	9		20		14				43	PF
2004	12		20		13				45	PF
2005	11		18		15				44	PF
2006	12		20		15				47	PF
2007	12		21		15				48	PF
2008	14		25		15				54	PF

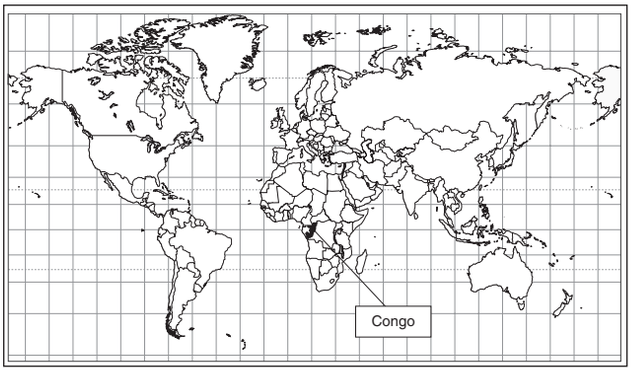
Congo, Republic of

Population (2010, proj.): 3,759,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $1,540

Date of Independence: August 15, 1960 (from France)

Date of Last Constitution: January 20, 2002



Press laws have reduced most jailable offenses to fines, though these can be for publishing "false" news and other hard-to-define crimes. Privately owned weekly papers circulate in the capital city and criticize government, but they have little presence in rural regions. Government controls broadcasting, and Internet access is rare.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**NF**
1992			**PF**
1993			**PF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	7	7	6	6	5	5	10	13	**59**	**PF**
1995	10	7	8	5	5	7	6	5	**53**	**PF**
1996	10	7	8	5	5	7	5	5	**52**	**PF**
1997	10	7	8	5	5	7	0	3	**45**	**PF**
1998	15	15	15	15	5	7	0	0	**72**	**NF**
1999	15	15	15	15	5	7	2	1	**75**	**NF**
2000	15	15	15	15	5	7	5	0	**77**	**NF**
2001	15	12	15	9	5	14	0	1	**71**	**NF**
2002	18		18		17				**53**	**PF**
2003	18		20		17				**55**	**PF**
2004	17		20		17				**54**	**PF**
2005	17		17		17				**51**	**PF**
2006	17		17		17				**51**	**PF**
2007	17		17		17				**51**	**PF**
2008	17		17		17				**51**	**PF**

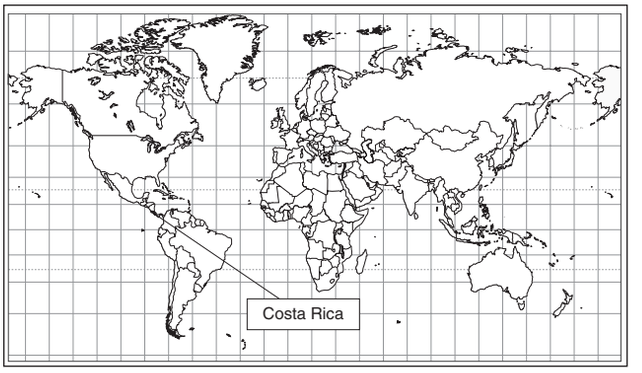
Costa Rica

Population (2010, proj.): 4,640,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $5,520

Date of Independence: September 15, 1821 (from Spain)

Date of Last Constitution: November 7, 1949



A comparative lake of stability in Central America, Costa Rica enjoys a robust free press, though media ownership is concentrated and conservative in tone. Radio listening is widespread and newspapers circulate easily. Internet access is unrestricted and expanding.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	1	1	2	2	4	3	1	2	16	F
1995	2	2	2	2	4	3	6	0	21	F
1996	1	2	2	2	4	3	0	4	18	F
1997	2	3	2	2	4	3	0	0	16	F
1998	2	3	2	2	4	3	0	0	16	F
1999	2	3	2	2	4	3	0	0	16	F
2000	2	3	2	2	4	3	0	0	16	F
2001	2	3	2	2	4	3	0	0	16	F
2002	7		4		6				17	F
2003	4		5		5				14	F
2004	7		7		5				19	F
2005	5		7		7				19	F
2006	5		6		7				18	F
2007	7		7		6				20	F
2008	6		7		6				19	F

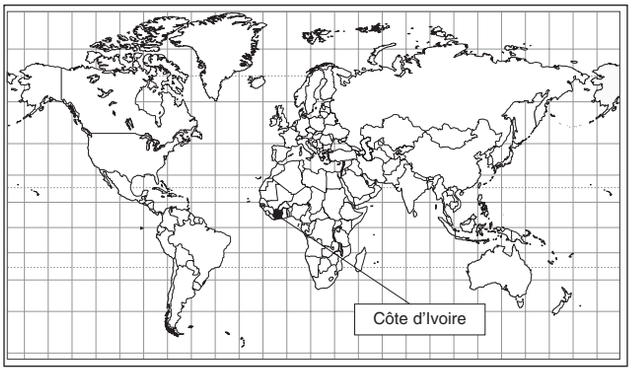
Côte d'Ivoire

Population (2010, proj.): 21,571,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $920

Date of Independence: August 7, 1960 (from France)

Date of Last Constitution: July 23, 2000



This West African nation has suffered press repression due to continued internal fighting. "Student" groups are active as arms of one political group or another and often harass news media and journalists. The government-controlled newspaper and radio station are the most widely circulated media. Internet access is unrestricted but expensive and thus little used.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	NF	
1981	PF	NF	
1982	PF	NF	
1983–84	PF	NF	
1985	PF	NF	
1986	PF	NF	
1987	PF	NF	
1988	PF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**NF**
1992			**PF**
1993			**NF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	10	6	7	6	10	7	4	11	**61**	**NF**
1995	10	8	7	6	10	7	5	10	**63**	**NF**
1996	10	8	7	6	4	7	12	20	**74**	**NF**
1997	15	12	10	15	6	10	1	5	**74**	**NF**
1998	15	12	10	15	6	10	1	5	**74**	**NF**
1999	15	12	10	15	6	10	1	5	**74**	**NF**
2000	15	13	13	13	5	10	0	5	**74**	**NF**
2001	13	13	13	13	8	10	2	5	**77**	**NF**
2002	22		25		19				**66**	**NF**
2003	18		33		17				**68**	**NF**
2004	19		29		17				**65**	**NF**
2005	19		31		19				**69**	**NF**
2006	18		28		19				**65**	**NF**
2007	19		30		19				**68**	**NF**
2008	20		27		19				**66**	**NF**

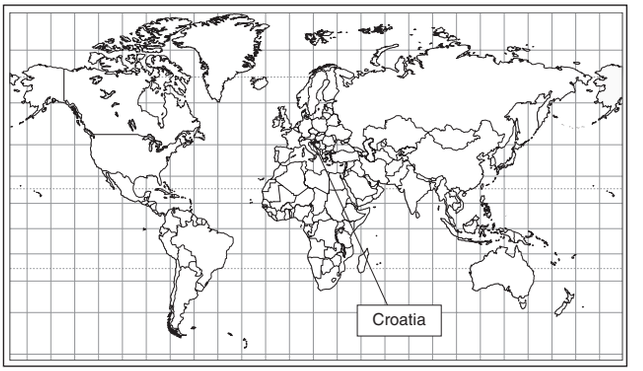
Croatia

Population (2010, proj.): 4,410,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $10,460

Date of Independence: June 25, 1991 (from Yugoslavia)

Date of Last Constitution: December 22, 1990 (revised 2000, 2001)



Constitutionally protected, news media still suffer political intimidation from time to time. State-owned broadcasting outlets dominate that sector. Internet access is widespread and expanding.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			N/A
1990			N/A
1991			N/A
1992			N/A
1993			NF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	9	9	10	6	2	8	3	9	56	PF
1995	9	9	10	8	2	10	3	5	56	PF
1996	9	9	8	8	2	10	7	5	58	PF
1997	12	12	10	12	2	9	1	5	63	NF
1998	12	12	10	12	2	9	1	5	63	NF
1999	12	12	10	12	2	11	1	3	63	NF
2000	12	12	10	12	2	11	0	4	63	NF
2001	10	8	8	9	2	11	1	1	50	PF
2002	8		12		13				33	PF
2003	8		12		13				33	PF
2004	11		12		14				37	PF
2005	11		13		13				37	PF
2006	10		15		14				39	PF
2007	9		14		14				37	PF
2008	9		13		14				36	PF

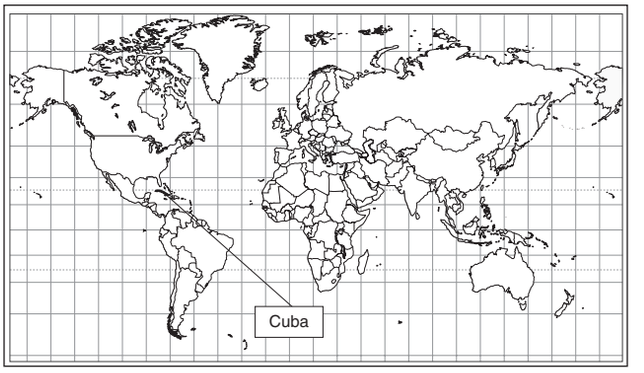
Cuba

Population (2010, proj.): 11,204,000

Gross National Income per Capita: N/A

Date of Independence: December 10, 1902 (from Spain); May 20, 1902 (from U.S. administration)

Date of Last Constitution: February 24, 1976 (amended July 1992 and June 2002)



Despite the passing of Fidel Castro from power, Cuban media remain the most closely controlled by government in the western hemisphere. Virtually all media (save for some underground papers) are government operated. Internet access is tightly controlled as well.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**NF**
1992			**NF**
1993			**NF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	10	10	10	10	10	10	18	18	**96**	**NF**
1995	10	10	10	10	10	10	15	15	**90**	**NF**
1996	10	10	10	10	10	10	15	15	**90**	**NF**
1997	15	15	15	15	10	15	5	5	**95**	**NF**
1998	15	15	15	15	10	15	5	5	**95**	**NF**
1999	15	15	15	15	14	15	0	5	**94**	**NF**
2000	15	15	15	15	14	15	0	5	**94**	**NF**
2001	15	14	15	14	14	15	2	5	**94**	**NF**
2002	26		40		30				**96**	**NF**
2003	30		36		28				**94**	**NF**
2004	30		38		28				**96**	**NF**
2005	30		38		28				**96**	**NF**
2006	30		39		27				**96**	**NF**
2007	30		39		27				**96**	**NF**
2008	30		36		28				**94**	**NF**

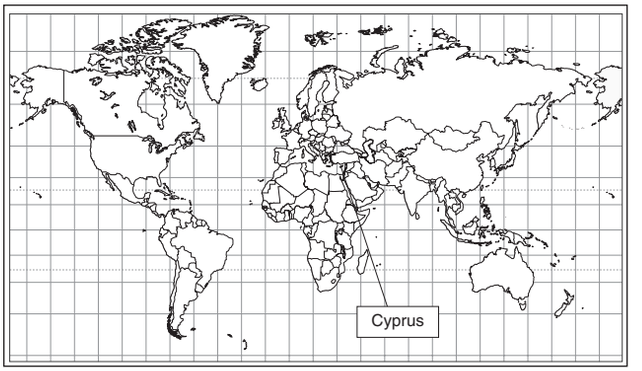
Cyprus

Population (2010, proj.): 880,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $24,940

Date of Independence: August 16, 1960 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: August 16, 1960



This island remains divided into often hostile Greek and Turkish sectors, with greater press freedom in the former (indeed, the numbers below refer to the Greek portion). Newspapers are closely linked to political parties, and broadcasts are widely received from both Turkish and Greek stations. Internet access is widespread and expanding.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	PF	
1981	F	PF	
1982	F	PF	
1983–84	F	PF	
1985	F	PF	
1986	F	PF	
1987	F	PF	
1988	F	PF	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	2	2	5	2	2	3	7	7	30	F
1995	2	2	5	2	2	3	5	3	24	F
1996	2	2	5	2	2	3	0	0	16	F
1997	2	2	5	2	2	3	0	2	18	F
1998	2	2	5	2	2	3	0	2	18	F
1999	2	2	5	2	2	3	0	0	16	F
2000	2	2	5	2	2	3	0	0	16	F
2001	2	2	5	3	2	3	0	1	18	F
2002	2		8		8				18	F
2003	4		6		8				18	F
2004	4		6		8				18	F
2005	5		10		7				22	F
2006	5		9		8				22	F
2007	5		9		8				22	F
2008	5		9		8				22	F

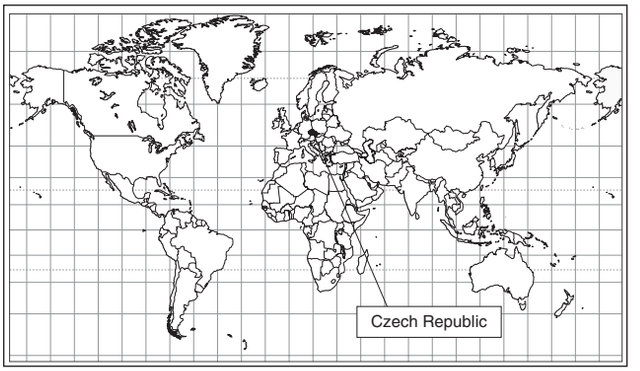
Czech Republic

Population (2010, proj.): 10,411,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $14,580

Date of Independence: January 1, 1993 (Czechoslovakia split)

Date of Last Constitution: January 1, 1993 (amended 1997, 2000, 2001, 2002)



News media enjoy considerable freedom that is guaranteed by law and is generally observed. Most print and broadcast media are privately owned. Internet is widely available.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			N/A
1990			N/A
1991			N/A
1992			N/A
1993			N/A

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	3	2	3	3	1	4	2	2	**20**	**F**
1995	3	3	4	4	1	4	1	1	**21**	**F**
1996	3	3	4	4	1	4	0	0	**19**	**F**
1997	3	3	4	4	1	4	0	0	**19**	**F**
1998	3	3	4	4	1	4	0	0	**19**	**F**
1999	3	3	4	4	1	4	1	0	**20**	**F**
2000	3	3	4	4	1	4	1	0	**20**	**F**
2001	3	3	5	4	3	3	1	2	**24**	**F**
2002	10		6		9				**25**	**F**
2003	9		5		9				**23**	**F**
2004	6		10		7				**23**	**F**
2005	6		9		7				**22**	**F**
2006	5		8		7				**20**	**F**
2007	4		7		7				**18**	**F**
2008	4		7		7				**18**	**F**

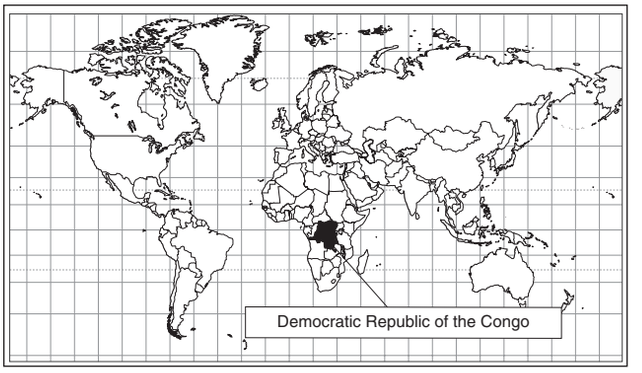
Democratic Republic of the Congo

Population (2010, proj.): 67,827,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $140

Date of Independence: June 30, 1960 (from Belgium)

Date of Last Constitution: February 18, 2006



Despite the appearance of legal protections, press freedom is constrained by the government and other political groups. Licensing, criminal defamation, and jailing without charges are widely used to keep journalists in check. Attacks on news people are common. While there are hundreds of privately owned news outlets, only radio circulates widely and that is state controlled save for one UN-operated and Swiss-funded network. Internet access is rare, though not restricted.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			NF
1993			NF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	8	10	9	9	10	10	15	17	88	NF
1995	10	10	10	9	9	9	10	18	85	NF
1996	10	10	10	10	0	10	16	18	84	NF
1997	15	15	15	15	5	15	3	1	84	NF
1998	15	15	15	15	5	15	2	2	84	NF
1999	15	15	15	15	5	15	5	5	90	NF
2000	15	15	15	15	5	15	5	5	90	NF
2001	13	10	14	12	9	15	5	5	83	NF
2002	26		34		26				86	NF
2003	25		35		22				82	NF
2004	25		31		24				80	NF
2005	25		31		25				81	NF
2006	25		31		25				81	NF
2007	24		32		24				80	NF
2008	25		32		24				81	NF

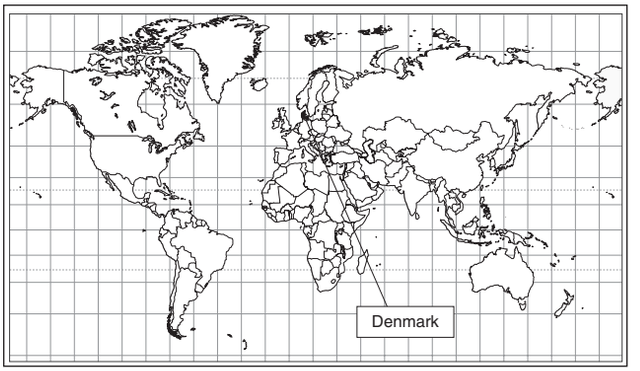
Denmark

Population (2010, proj.): 5,481,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $55,440

Date of Independence: 1849 (becomes constitutional monarchy)

Date of Last Constitution: June 5, 1953



Danish news media are among the freest in the world. Newspapers are privately owned, many by political parties, and government subsidies are available as well. Public service broadcasting is supported by license fees on receivers as is common across Europe, though budget cuts are trimming programming. Satellite, cable, and Internet services are all widely available.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	11	F
1995	1	1	1	1	4	1	0	0	9	F
1996	1	1	1	1	4	1	0	0	9	F
1997	1	1	1	1	4	1	0	0	9	F
1998	1	1	1	1	4	1	0	0	9	F
1999	1	1	1	1	4	1	0	0	9	F
2000	1	1	1	1	4	1	0	0	9	F
2001	1	1	1	1	4	1	0	0	9	F
2002	1		1		7				9	F
2003	1		3		7				11	F
2004	1		1		6				8	F
2005	2		3		5				10	F
2006	2		3		5				10	F
2007	2		4		5				11	F
2008	2		3		5				10	F

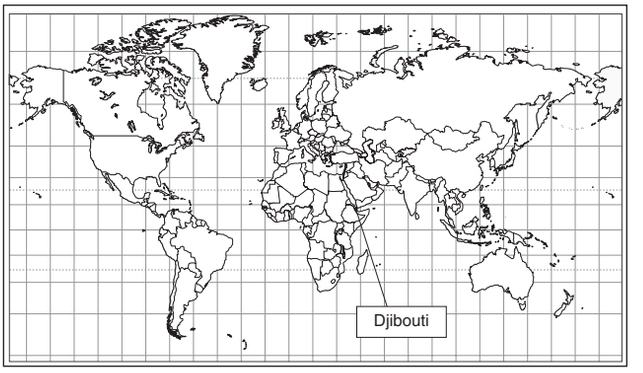
DJIBOUTI

Population (2010, proj.): 879,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $1,090

Date of Independence: June 27, 1977 (from France)

Date of Last Constitution: September 4, 1992



Despite constitutional protections, the press in this tiny African nation is closely monitored or otherwise limited by the government. Libel actions are a widely used threat against reporters who stray too far from government opinion. Government runs the only radio (the most important news medium) and television services as well as the thrice-weekly newspaper. The Internet is a minor factor.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			N/A
1990			N/A
1991			N/A
1992			N/A
1993			N/A

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	5	5	8	8	5	5	17	18	71	NF
1995	9	7	8	8	9	7	5	5	58	PF
1996	9	7	8	8	9	7	2	2	52	PF
1997	10	7	10	9	9	7	0	0	52	PF
1998	15	7	15	9	9	7	0	0	62	NF
1999	15	7	11	9	9	7	0	4	62	NF
2000	15	7	11	9	9	7	1	4	63	NF
2001	15	7	11	10	9	7	0	4	63	NF
2002	26		23		18				67	NF
2003	21		25		19				65	NF
2004	21		25		20				66	NF
2005	22		24		21				67	NF
2006	23		25		21				69	NF
2007	23		25		21				69	NF
2008	24		25		23				72	NF

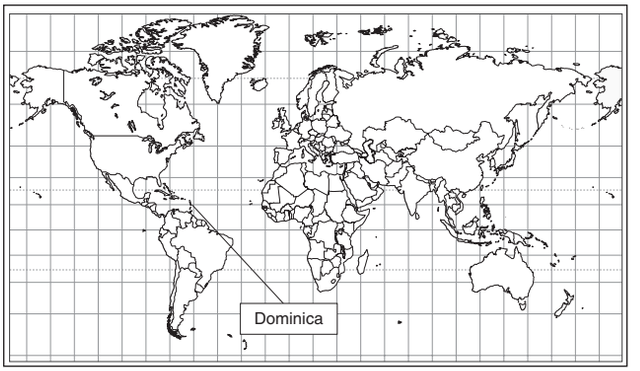
DOMINICA

Population (2010, proj.): 67,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2006): $4,030

Date of Independence: November 3, 1978 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: November 3, 1978



This Caribbean island has few media—-several weekly papers, four radio stations, and a cable network. There is generally little tension between reporters and government. Internet use is common and continues to expand.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	1	1	4	4	2	4	2	2	**20**	**F**
1995	1	1	4	4	2	4	0	0	**16**	**F**
1996	1	1	4	4	2	4	0	0	**16**	**F**
1997	1	1	4	4	2	4	0	0	**16**	**F**
1998	1	1	4	4	2	4	0	0	**16**	**F**
1999	1	1	4	4	2	4	0	0	**16**	**F**
2000	1	1	4	4	2	4	0	0	**16**	**F**
2001	1	1	4	4	2	4	0	0	**16**	**F**
2002	0		6		10				**16**	**F**
2003	0		6		8				**14**	**F**
2004	3		7		7				**17**	**F**
2005	2		8		7				**17**	**F**
2006	3		10		6				**19**	**F**
2007	4		10		6				**20**	**F**
2008	5		11		6				**22**	**F**

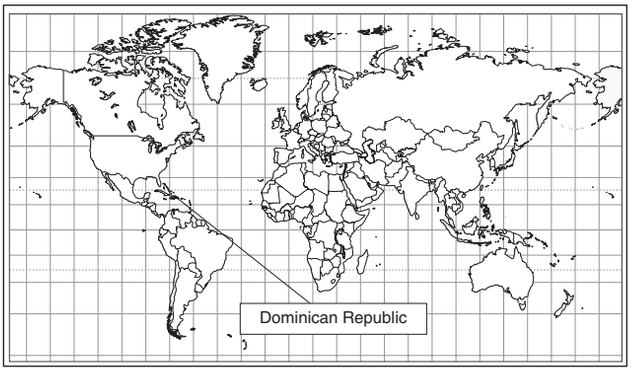
Dominican Republic

Population (2010, proj.): 10,225,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $3,560

Date of Independence: February 27, 1844 (from Haiti)

Date of Last Constitution: November 28, 1966 (amended July 25, 2002)



While protected under law, press freedom has been slowly eroding as government shows less tolerance for critical reporting. Attacks on journalists—often not prosecuted by the police or courts—are relatively common. There are many daily papers, a government-operated radio-television service, some 300 private radio, and 40 television stations. Internet access is costly but not otherwise regulated.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	PF	
1981	F	PF	
1982	F	PF	
1983–84	F	PF	
1985	F	PF	
1986	F	PF	
1987	F	PF	
1988	F	PF	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	2	2	4	5	6	6	1	1	27	F
1995	2	2	6	6	6	6	0	7	35	PF
1996	2	2	6	6	6	6	0	10	38	PF
1997	4	2	6	4	6	8	0	2	32	PF
1998	4	2	6	4	6	8	0	0	30	F
1999	4	2	6	4	6	8	0	0	30	F
2000	4	2	6	4	6	8	0	0	30	F
2001	4	2	6	4	6	8	0	0	30	F
2002	5		12		13				30	F
2003	5		10		18				33	PF
2004	8		16		15				39	PF
2005	7		16		15				38	PF
2006	7		16		14				37	PF
2007	8		18		14				40	PF
2008	7		19		13				39	PF

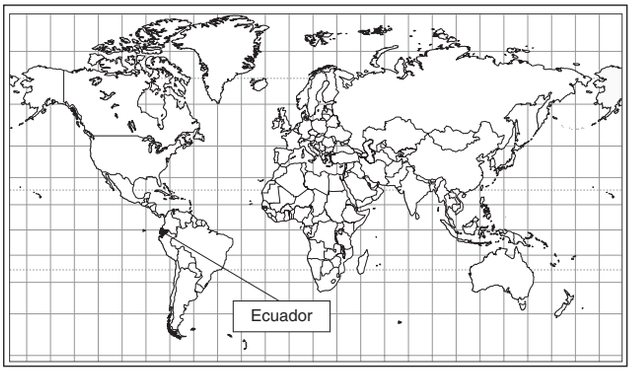
ECUADOR

Population (2010, proj.): 13,775,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $3,110

Date of Independence: May 24, 1822 (from Spain)

Date of Last Constitution: October 20, 2008



This Andean nation enjoys constitutional freedom of the press, though criminal libel laws, in practice, considerably reduce news media freedom of action and encourage self-censorship. Most media are privately owned, though the state runs a newspaper and broadcast stations as well. A new constitution with free press provisions is pending. Internet access, while unrestricted, is not widespread.

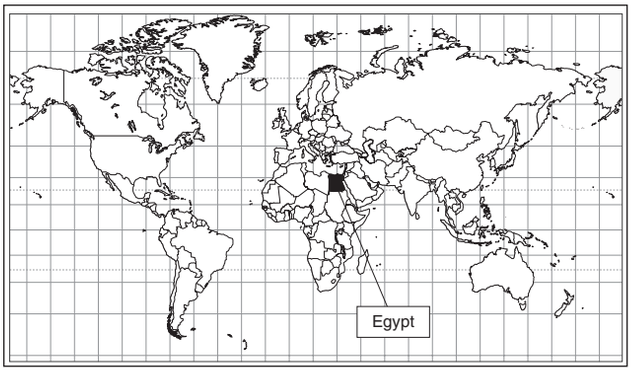
Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			**F**
1990			**F**
1991			**F**
1992			**F**
1993			**F**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	2	3	5	3	2	4	2	2	**23**	**F**
1995	3	4	5	5	2	4	18	0	**41**	**PF**
1996	3	4	5	5	2	4	15	0	**38**	**PF**
1997	7	9	8	10	2	4	0	0	**40**	**PF**
1998	7	9	8	10	2	4	0	0	**40**	**PF**
1999	7	9	8	8	2	4	1	1	**40**	**PF**
2000	7	9	9	9	3	5	1	1	**44**	**PF**
2001	7	7	6	7	5	8	0	0	**40**	**PF**
2002	15		10		15				**40**	**PF**
2003	14		14		13				**41**	**PF**
2004	12		18		12				**42**	**PF**
2005	11		19		11				**41**	**PF**
2006	13		18		10				**41**	**PF**
2007	13		18		10				**41**	**PF**
2008	14		17		10				**41**	**PF**

Egypt

Population (2010, proj.): 84,474,000
Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $1,580
Date of Independence: February 28, 1922 (from the UK)
Date of Last Constitution: September 11, 1971 (amended May 22, 1980; May 25, 2005; and March 26, 2007)



This most populous Arab nation, a key player in Middle East matters, has seen widespread press pressure and repression by the Mubarak government. Criminal defamation and laws against "false" news or that which impugns the honor of the country or Islam generally are widely used tools of control. There are hundreds of news publications and both state-owned and private broadcasters, the latter becoming slowly more outspoken. Internet use is expanding with some government blocking of channels thought too critical of government or Islam.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	NF	
1981	PF	NF	
1982	PF	NF	
1983–84	PF	NF	
1985	PF	NF	
1986	PF	PF	
1987	PF	PF	
1988	PF	PF	
1989			PF
1990			PF
1991			PF
1992			PF
1993			PF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	5	6	10	9	9	9	10	17	75	NF
1995	8	7	10	8	9	9	11	19	81	NF
1996	8	10	10	9	9	9	10	15	80	NF
1997	8	8	15	15	9	9	1	5	70	NF
1998	8	8	15	15	9	9	0	5	69	NF
1999	8	11	14	12	9	10	0	5	69	NF
2000	8	11	14	12	9	10	0	5	69	NF
2001	10	11	14	10	9	10	0	5	69	NF
2002	26		28		23				77	NF
2003	28		27		24				79	NF
2004	26		28		22				76	NF
2005	24		24		20				68	NF
2006	22		21		18				61	NF
2007	22		22		18				62	NF
2008	21		20		18				59	PF

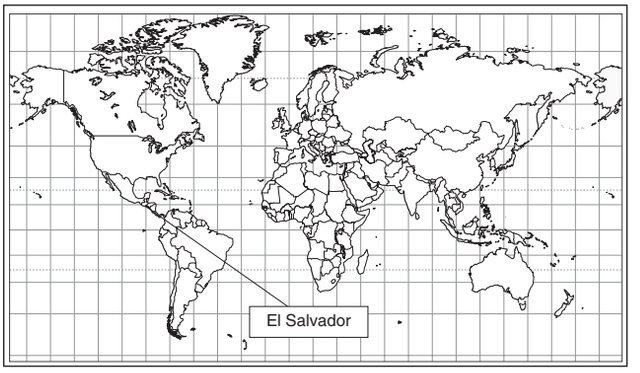
El Salvador

Population (2010, proj.): 6,194,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $2,850

Date of Independence: September 15, 1821 (from Spain)

Date of Last Constitution: December 20, 1983



Freedom of the press is a part of the constitution and is generally observed, though courts can and do limit access to government information. Self-censorship is common; attacks on journalists are not. While there are several large daily newspapers, most of the nation relies on private radio and television stations for news. Internet access continues to expand.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	PF	
1981	PF	PF	
1982	PF	PF	
1983–84	PF	PF	
1985	PF	PF	
1986	PF	PF	
1987	PF	PF	
1988	PF	PF	
1989			**PF**
1990			**PF**
1991			**PF**
1992			**PF**
1993			**PF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	2	2	8	7	7	6	4	5	**41**	**PF**
1995	2	2	6	7	7	6	0	2	**32**	**PF**
1996	2	4	6	7	7	6	7	2	**41**	**PF**
1997	4	9	9	12	7	6	5	1	**53**	**PF**
1998	4	9	12	12	7	6	3	0	**53**	**PF**
1999	4	9	12	12	7	6	3	0	**53**	**PF**
2000	4	9	7	7	7	6	0	0	**40**	**PF**
2001	4	5	7	7	7	7	0	0	**37**	**PF**
2002	5		22		8				**35**	**PF**
2003	9		18		11				**38**	**PF**
2004	11		17		14				**42**	**PF**
2005	11		16		14				**41**	**PF**
2006	11		17		15				**43**	**PF**
2007	10		18		14				**42**	**PF**
2008	10		18		14				**42**	**PF**

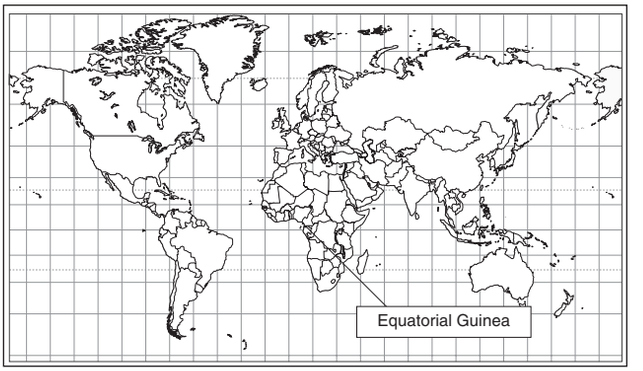
Equatorial Guinea

Population (2010, proj.): 693,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $12,860

Date of Independence: October 12, 1968 (from Spain)

Date of Last Constitution: November 17, 1991 (amended January 1995)



Though press and speech freedoms are legally guaranteed, actual practice is otherwise. Censorship is allowed and exercised, and access to government information is difficult (and not guaranteed in any case). Journalists are monitored and practice self-censorship. There are no independent media—all broadcast outlets, for example, are controlled by government or the President's family—nor are foreign publications available. Internet access is limited due to high cost.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			NF
1993			NF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	5	5	9	10	5	5	19	18	76	NF
1995	6	8	10	10	5	5	10	20	74	NF
1996	9	9	10	10	5	5	10	20	78	NF
1997	15	15	10	10	8	15	0	5	78	NF
1998	15	15	10	10	8	15	0	5	78	NF
1999	15	15	10	15	8	15	0	0	78	NF
2000	15	15	10	15	8	15	0	0	78	NF
2001	14	14	13	15	8	15	0	0	79	NF
2002	26		29		25				80	NF
2003	26		32		23				81	NF
2004	26		35		28				89	NF
2005	26		34		28				88	NF
2006	27		34		27				88	NF
2007	27		35		27				89	NF
2008	27		35		27				89	NF

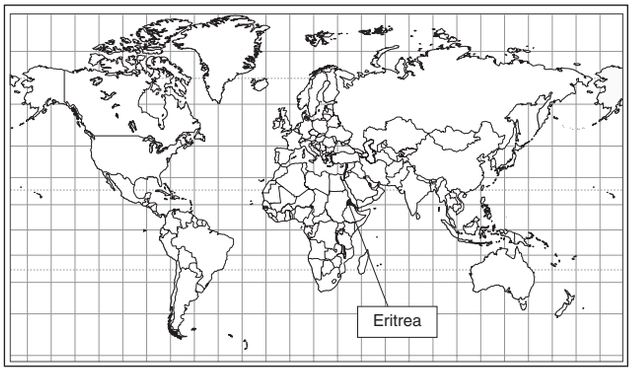
ERITREA

Population (2010, proj.): 5,224,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $270

Date of Independence: May 24, 1993 (from Ethiopia)

Date of Last Constitution: May 23, 1997 (adopted, not yet implemented)



This East African nation suffers severe news media repression, underlined by widespread attacks on journalists. There are no privately owned media—the government operates the handful of newspapers and broadcast stations. Few foreign journalists are admitted and all journalists are licensed. Likewise, Internet access is tightly controlled.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			**N/A**
1990			**N/A**
1991			**N/A**
1992			**N/A**
1993			**N/A**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	10	10	10	10	5	5	20	20	**80**	**NF**
1995	10	10	7	7	10	10	7	7	**68**	**NF**
1996	10	10	7	7	10	10	7	7	**68**	**NF**
1997	15	15	15	15	4	4	0	0	**68**	**NF**
1998	15	15	15	15	4	4	0	1	**69**	**NF**
1999	15	15	15	15	4	4	0	0	**68**	**NF**
2000	15	15	15	15	4	4	0	0	**68**	**NF**
2001	15	13	14	13	4	9	0	0	**68**	**NF**
2002	26		33		20				**79**	**NF**
2003	26		36		21				**83**	**NF**
2004	28		38		23				**89**	**NF**
2005	28		39		24				**91**	**NF**
2006	28		39		24				**91**	**NF**
2007	30		40		24				**94**	**NF**
2008	30		40		24				**94**	**NF**

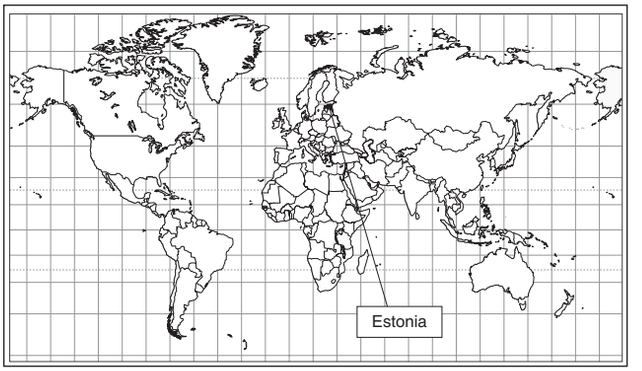
ESTONIA

Population (2010, proj.): 1,339,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $12,830

Date of Independence: August 20, 1991 (from the Soviet Union)

Date of Last Constitution: June 28, 1992



This one-time Soviet satellite nation now enjoys broad news media freedom paralleling elsewhere in Europe. There are numerous media outlets that operate free of government interference. Both government and private broadcasters operate freely. Internet access is widespread.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			N/A
1990			N/A
1991			N/A
1992			F
1993			PF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	2	3	5	3	2	7	3	3	28	F
1995	2	3	5	5	2	7	0	1	25	F
1996	2	3	5	5	2	7	0	0	24	F
1997	2	3	3	3	2	7	0	2	22	F
1998	2	3	3	3	2	7	0	0	20	F
1999	2	3	3	3	2	7	0	0	20	F
2000	2	3	3	3	2	7	0	0	20	F
2001	2	3	3	3	2	7	0	0	20	F
2002	2		5		11				18	F
2003	7		4		6				17	F
2004	6		5		6				17	F
2005	5		6		6				17	F
2006	5		5		6				16	F
2007	5		5		6				16	F
2008	4		6		6				16	F

ETHIOPIA

Population (2010, proj.): 84,976,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $220

Date of Independence: never colonized

Date of Last Constitution: August 22, 1995

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**NF**
1992			**NF**
1993			**NF**

Despite constitutional guarantees of press freedom, the reality in Ethiopia is quite different. A 1992 press law allows use of libel, as well as bans on "false" news and incitement of ethnic hatred, as means of government control. Harassment and jailing of dissident journalists is common. The government controls all radio and the only television station. Access by foreign journalists is limited and international radio services from other countries are often jammed. Internet access is also severely limited.

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	10	9	8	9	10	8	3	16	**73**	**NF**
1995	10	8	10	3	10	4	5	9	**59**	**PF**
1996	10	8	10	5	10	4	0	10	**57**	**PF**
1997	10	8	10	15	10	4	0	5	**62**	**NF**
1998	10	8	10	15	10	4	0	5	**62**	**NF**
1999	10	10	10	15	10	4	0	5	**64**	**NF**
2000	10	10	8	15	10	4	0	5	**62**	**NF**
2001	10	10	8	13	7	12	0	4	**64**	**NF**
2002	23		20		18				**61**	**NF**
2003	23		23		18				**64**	**NF**
2004	24		23		19				**66**	**NF**
2005	25		23		20				**68**	**NF**
2006	27		28		20				**75**	**NF**
2007	27		30		20				**77**	**NF**
2008	27		30		19				**76**	**NF**

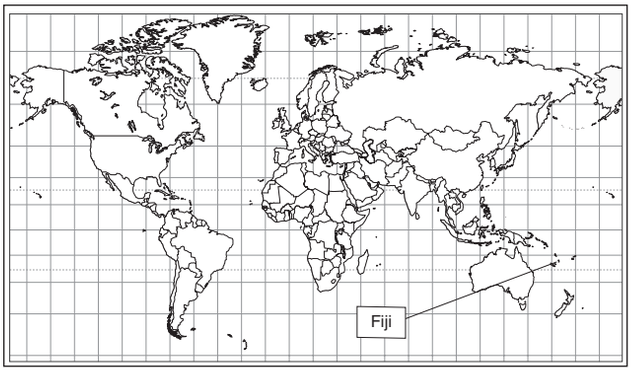
Fiji

Population (2010, proj.): 854,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $3,750

Date of Independence: October 10, 1970 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: July 28, 1998



This Pacific island has suffered numerous political coups, which have often been reflected in ramped up press controls. State and privately owned media compete in both press and broadcasting. Internet access and use appears to be closely monitored—and is not widespread in any case.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			PF
1990			PF
1991			PF
1992			PF
1993			PF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	4	5	7	8	7	7	9	8	55	PF
1995	5	7	8	9	7	7	3	10	56	PF
1996	5	8	8	9	7	7	3	10	57	PF
1997	8	10	8	12	7	7	3	5	60	PF
1998	8	10	8	12	7	7	3	5	60	PF
1999	10	11	8	13	7	7	1	2	59	PF
2000	10	11	7	10	7	7	2	4	58	PF
2001	6	8	7	5	5	9	2	2	44	PF
2002	8		11		14				33	PF
2003	6		11		12				29	F
2004	6		13		10				29	F
2005	7		13		10				30	F
2006	7		11		10				28	F
2007	12		19		8				39	PF
2008	11		18		8				37	PF

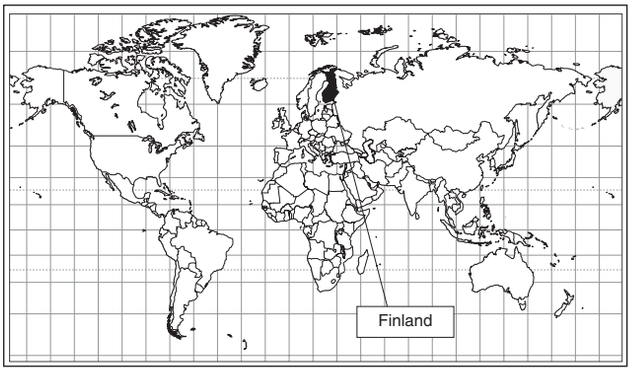
FINLAND

Population (2010, proj.): 5,346,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $44,300

Date of Independence: December 6, 1917 (from Russia)

Date of Last Constitution: March 1, 2000



Finnish media are among the freest and most open in the world. Some 200 newspapers are published (31 are dailies), though ownership is highly concentrated. Government and private radio and television stations compete, and Internet access is among the highest in the world.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	PF	
1981	F	PF	
1982	F	PF	
1983–84	F	PF	
1985	F	PF	
1986	F	PF	
1987	F	PF	
1988	F	PF	
1989			**F**
1990			**F**
1991			**F**
1992			**F**
1993			**F**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	1	1	5	2	3	3	1	1	**17**	**F**
1995	1	1	5	2	3	3	0	0	**15**	**F**
1996	1	1	5	2	3	3	0	0	**15**	**F**
1997	1	1	5	2	3	3	0	0	**15**	**F**
1998	1	1	5	2	3	3	0	0	**15**	**F**
1999	1	1	5	2	3	3	0	0	**15**	**F**
2000	1	1	4	2	3	3	1	0	**15**	**F**
2001	1	1	4	2	3	3	0	0	**14**	**F**
2002	1		3		6				**10**	**F**
2003	1		2		7				**10**	**F**
2004	2		2		5				**9**	**F**
2005	2		3		4				**9**	**F**
2006	2		3		4				**9**	**F**
2007	2		3		4				**9**	**F**
2008	2		3		4				**9**	**F**

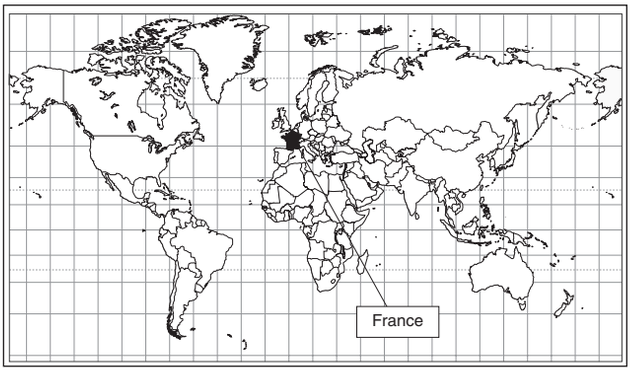
France

Population (2010, proj.): 62,637,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $38,810

Date of Independence: 843 (established from the division of the Carolingian Empire)

Date of Last Constitution: October 4, 1958



French print and broadcast media are generally free and very vocal on political and social matters. Government advertising and other support can be used to ensure favorable news reports. There is some government pressure on journalists concerning confidential sources. Newspapers are privately owned though circulation is declining. As elsewhere in the European Union, some 60 percent of broadcast content must be of European origin. Internet access is widespread.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	PF	
1981	F	PF	
1982	F	PF	
1983–84	F	PF	
1985	F	PF	
1986	F	PF	
1987	F	PF	
1988	F	PF	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	1	1	6	2	2	5	1	1	19	F
1995	1	1	6	3	2	5	0	9	27	F
1996	1	1	6	3	2	5	10	2	30	F
1997	1	1	7	5	3	6	1	2	26	F
1998	1	1	7	5	3	6	0	3	26	F
1999	1	1	7	5	3	6	1	3	27	F
2000	1	1	6	4	3	6	1	2	24	F
2001	1	1	6	4	3	6	0	0	21	F
2002	2		5		10				17	F
2003	5		7		5				17	F
2004	4		10		5				19	F
2005	4		9		7				20	F
2006	5		9		7				21	F
2007	5		9		7				21	F
2008	6		9		7				22	F

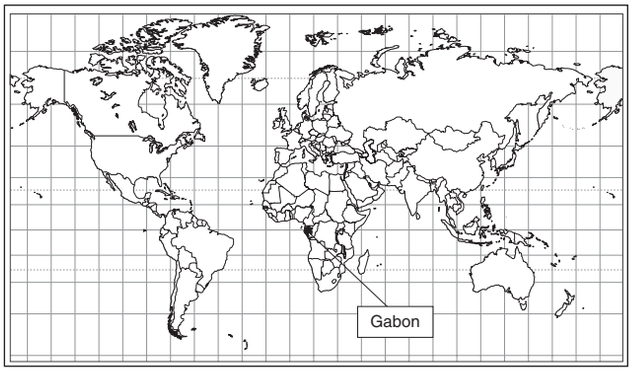
Gabon

Population (2010, proj.): 1,501,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $7,020

Date of Independence: August 17, 1960 (from France)

Date of Last Constitution: March 14, 1991



Though freedom of expression and the press is guaranteed by the constitution, journalists find the environment constrained by de facto government censorship. Limited financial resources also constrain the media environment. In fact, many private newspapers in Gabon must use printing facilities in neighboring Cameroon, given the high cost of manufacturing at the one printing plant operating in Gabon. Internet access is not restricted, though less than 6 percent had access in 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			PF
1992			PF
1993			PF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	3	8	7	4	4	4	14	14	**58**	**PF**
1995	8	6	8	4	4	4	13	5	**52**	**PF**
1996	9	6	9	4	4	4	5	8	**49**	**PF**
1997	10	7	13	6	4	4	2	4	**50**	**PF**
1998	10	7	15	6	6	4	2	0	**50**	**PF**
1999	10	7	15	7	6	4	2	1	**52**	**PF**
2000	10	7	15	7	6	4	4	2	**55**	**PF**
2001	10	7	10	7	10	10	0	1	**55**	**PF**
2002	26		11		15				**52**	**PF**
2003	20		20		18				**58**	**PF**
2004	22		20		20				**62**	**NF**
2005	24		21		21				**66**	**NF**
2006	24		23		20				**67**	**NF**
2007	24		23		22				**69**	**NF**
2008	24		23		22				**69**	**NF**

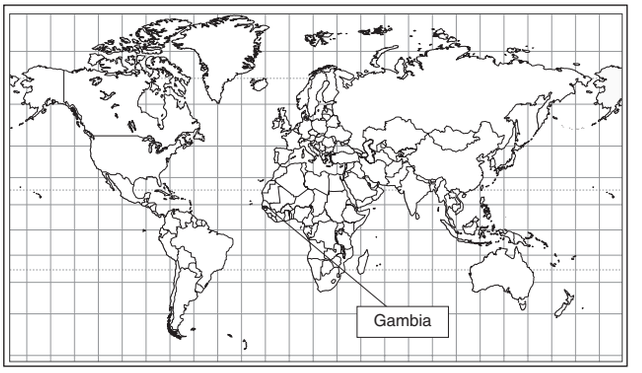
GAMBIA

Population (2010, proj.): 1,751,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $320

Date of Independence: February 18, 1965 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: January 16, 1997



Constitutional guarantees of freedom of expression are weakened by legislative regulation that imposes harsh penalties for libel and sedition. This long history of censorship—dating back to the early 1990s—was strengthened by two pieces of legislation passed in 2004: the Newspaper Amendment Act and the amendment of the criminal code. Extralegal intimidation and violence, or the threat thereof, continues to restrict journalistic activity in the country in 2007. Internet usage is close to 5 percent.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			PF
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	5	4	3	3	0	3	3	3	24	F
1995	10	10	8	10	1	3	5	16	63	NF
1996	10	10	8	10	1	3	5	15	62	NF
1997	15	10	15	15	1	3	1	5	65	NF
1998	15	10	15	15	1	3	1	5	65	NF
1999	15	15	15	15	1	3	1	5	70	NF
2000	15	15	15	15	1	4	0	5	70	NF
2001	14	12	12	13	7	10	1	1	70	NF
2002	18		29		18				65	NF
2003	20		27		18				65	NF
2004	20		25		18				63	NF
2005	22		31		19				72	NF
2006	24		30		19				73	NF
2007	24		33		20				77	NF
2008	25		34		20				79	NF

GEORGIA

Population (2010, proj.): 4,219,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $2,120

Date of Independence: April 9, 1991 (from the Soviet Union)

Date of Last Constitution: August 24, 1995

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			N/A
1990			N/A
1991			N/A
1992			N/A
1993			PF

Journalists in Georgia enjoy constitutional freedoms and laws upholding those freedoms. However, government has been resistant to implementing these legal guarantees. Also, the government cracked down on several news outlets following the November 2007 antigovernment protests. The country has a large number of independent media outlets, especially considering its size: there are 200 independent newspapers and at least 8 independent or privately owned television stations. While growing, the rate of Internet usage in 2007 was about 7 percent of the population.

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	10	10	10	8	10	8	2	15	**73**	**NF**
1995	5	5	8	8	8	10	10	16	**70**	**NF**
1996	6	8	8	8	8	10	10	10	**68**	**NF**
1997	8	8	12	7	8	10	2	0	**55**	**PF**
1998	8	8	12	7	8	10	2	1	**56**	**PF**
1999	8	8	12	7	8	10	0	4	**57**	**PF**
2000	6	6	10	7	8	10	0	0	**47**	**PF**
2001	7	7	10	7	8	10	3	1	**53**	**PF**
2002	20		18		15				**53**	**PF**
2003	18		21		15				**54**	**PF**
2004	16		23		15				**54**	**PF**
2005	14		26		16				**56**	**PF**
2006	13		27		17				**57**	**PF**
2007	13		27		17				**57**	**PF**
2008	14		28		18				**60**	**PF**

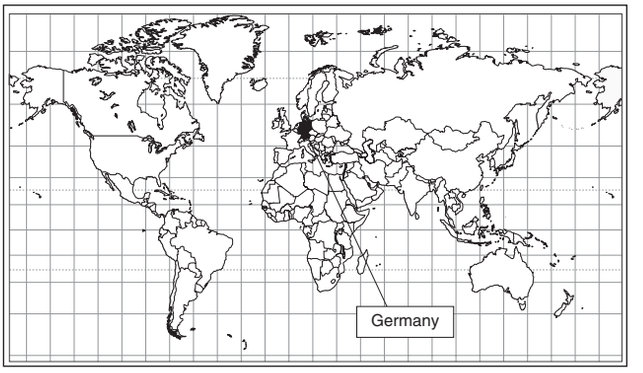
GERMANY

Population (2010, proj.): 82,057,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $38,990

Date of Independence: October 3, 1990 (unification of East and West Germany)

Date of Last Constitution: October 3, 1990



Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			N/A
1990			N/A
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

Characterized by diversity and independence, Germany's 16 individual state governments operate public radio and television stations; the country also enjoys several private radio and TV stations, along with many local/regional and a few national newspapers. Germany's constitution guarantees freedom of expression and the press, but exceptions—for hate speech, Holocaust denial, and Nazi propaganda—exist and are enforced, sometimes in high-profile cases. A freedom of information law exists to regulate access to sensitive information, though court appeal has been successfully used to open access to requested information. Over 64 percent of the population accessed the Internet in 2007.

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	11	F
1995	2	2	2	2	1	2	3	4	18	F
1996	2	2	2	2	1	2	0	10	21	F
1997	2	2	2	2	1	2	0	0	11	F
1998	2	2	2	2	1	2	0	0	11	F
1999	3	3	2	2	1	2	0	0	13	F
2000	3	3	2	2	1	2	0	0	13	F
2001	3	3	2	2	1	2	0	0	13	F
2002	2		8		5				15	F
2003	2		6		7				15	F
2004	5		6		5				16	F
2005	5		6		5				16	F
2006	5		6		5				16	F
2007	6		6		4				16	F
2008	6		6		4				16	F

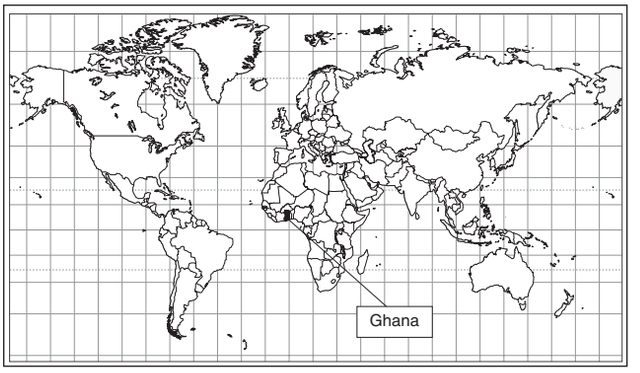
GHANA

Population (2010, proj.): 24,333,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $590

Date of Independence: March 6, 1957 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: April 28, 1992



Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	PF	
1981	PF	PF	
1982	PF	PF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			NF
1993			PF

Freedom of the press is legally guaranteed in Ghana, as well as enjoyed de facto throughout the country. While plagued by lack of financial resources in many cases, media outlets are numerous: for instance, over 135 newspapers (of them, 2 are state-owned dailies) operated in Ghana in 2007. The de-criminalization of libel has also helped expand freedom of the press. Occasional breaches of open access policies—such as the restriction of journalists in covering the African Union meeting in Accra in 2006—have sullied the government's generally supportive policy of press freedom. Internet access, in 2007, was at 2.7 percent.

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	4	7	8	8	10	10	6	10	**63**	**NF**
1995	4	7	8	8	10	9	6	10	**62**	**NF**
1996	4	7	8	8	10	9	8	8	**62**	**NF**
1997	6	13	11	10	6	9	0	4	**59**	**PF**
1998	6	13	11	10	6	9	0	5	**60**	**PF**
1999	6	13	11	10	6	9	1	5	**61**	**NF**
2000	7	13	11	10	6	9	0	5	**61**	**NF**
2001	7	12	9	7	6	9	1	4	**55**	**PF**
2002	4		12		11				**27**	**F**
2003	7		11		12				**30**	**F**
2004	9		9		10				**28**	**F**
2005	8		9		9				**26**	**F**
2006	9		10		9				**28**	**F**
2007	8		9		9				**26**	**F**
2008	8		10		9				**27**	**F**

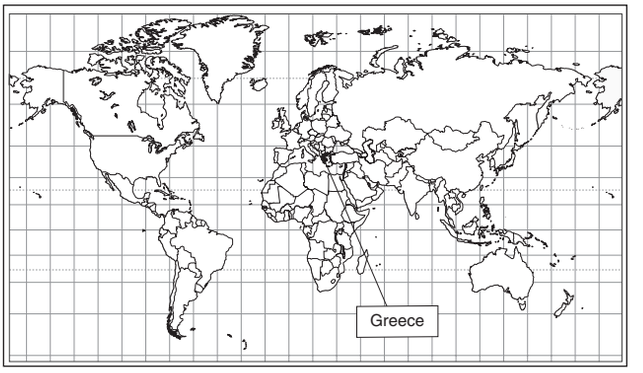
GREECE

Population (2010, proj.): 11,183,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $25,740

Date of Independence: 1829 (from the Ottoman Empire)

Date of Last Constitution: June 11, 1975 (amended March 1986 and April 2001)



Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	PF	
1987	F	PF	
1988	F	PF	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

Freedom of speech and the press are constitutionally guaranteed in Greece, with some exceptions, including for inciting fear, violence, and disharmony among the population. The country enjoys numerous media outlets. Many independent newspapers and magazines, some of which can be highly critical of the government, are in operation; many broadcast stations operate independently, some without official licenses. The reporting by the state-run broadcast stations often reflects a government bias. Internet access is low relative to the rest of Europe, with only a 33 percent access rate in 2007.

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	2	5	2	2	2	2	7	8	30	F
1995	3	5	3	3	2	2	4	4	26	F
1996	3	5	3	3	2	2	3	8	29	F
1997	5	8	4	4	3	3	0	0	27	F
1998	5	8	4	4	3	3	0	3	30	F
1999	5	5	5	5	3	3	2	2	30	F
2000	5	5	5	5	1	3	1	5	30	F
2001	5	5	5	5	1	3	1	5	30	F
2002	16		6		8				30	F
2003	14		6		8				28	F
2004	8		14		6				28	F
2005	8		14		6				28	F
2006	8		14		6				28	F
2007	8		12		5				25	F
2008	9		13		5				27	F

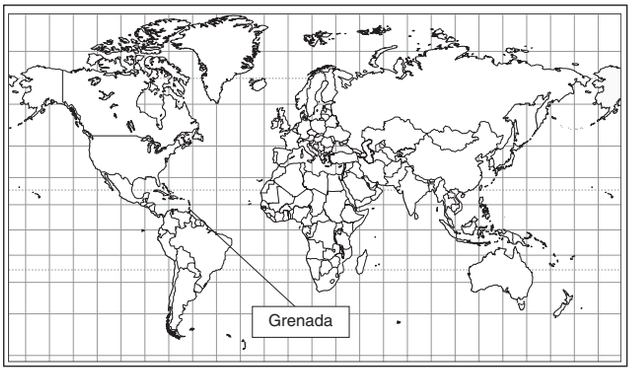
GRENADA

Population (2010, proj.): 104,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $3,920

Date of Independence: February 7, 1974 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: December 19, 1973



Freedom of the press is legally guaranteed in Grenada; however, the government has been known to use the threat of libel suits to attempt to intimidate and control news outlets. As small as it is, Grenada has a considerable number of active media outlets, including 5 television stations, 11 radio stations, and 4 newspapers as of 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	F	PF	
1986	F	PF	
1987	F	PF	
1988	F	PF	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	2	2	3	1	5	5	2	2	22	F
1995	2	2	3	1	5	7	0	0	20	F
1996	2	2	3	1	5	7	0	0	20	F
1997	2	2	4	1	5	6	0	0	20	F
1998	2	2	4	1	5	6	0	0	20	F
1999	2	2	4	1	5	6	0	0	20	F
2000	2	2	4	1	5	6	0	0	20	F
2001	2	2	4	1	5	6	0	0	20	F
2002	4		3		9				16	F
2003	5		3		6				14	F
2004	6		5		5				16	F
2005	5		10		5				20	F
2006	7		10		6				23	F
2007	8		9		6				23	F
2008	8		11		5				24	F

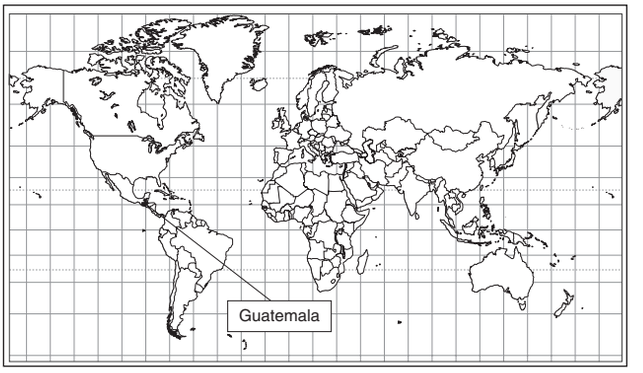
GUATEMALA

Population (2010, proj.): 14,377,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $2,450

Date of Independence: September 15, 1821 (from Spain)

Date of Last Constitution: May 31, 1985



While press freedom is guaranteed constitutionally in Guatemala, sporadic violence against journalists by nonstate actors has created an intimidating and sometimes dangerous environment for the media. The government generally upholds the freedom of the press. News and media outlets are relatively centralized in the hands of financial elites. While there are four national daily newspapers, for instance, ownership is concentrated in one company, Prensa Libre. About 7 percent of the population accessed the Internet in 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	PF	
1981	PF	PF	
1982	PF	PF	
1983–84	PF	NF	
1985	PF	NF	
1986	PF	PF	
1987	PF	PF	
1988	PF	PF	
1989			PF
1990			PF
1991			PF
1992			PF
1993			PF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	5	4	4	4	4	4	14	15	59	PF
1995	5	4	7	7	4	4	13	16	60	PF
1996	5	4	7	7	4	4	10	15	56	PF
1997	8	6	11	12	6	6	2	5	56	PF
1998	8	6	11	12	6	6	5	5	59	PF
1999	8	6	11	12	6	7	5	5	60	PF
2000	8	6	10	9	6	7	3	5	54	PF
2001	7	6	10	9	6	7	1	3	49	PF
2002	16		27		6				49	PF
2003	16		30		12				58	PF
2004	17		30		15				62	NF
2005	17		26		15				58	PF
2006	17		25		16				58	PF
2007	17		26		16				59	PF
2008	17		25		16				58	PF

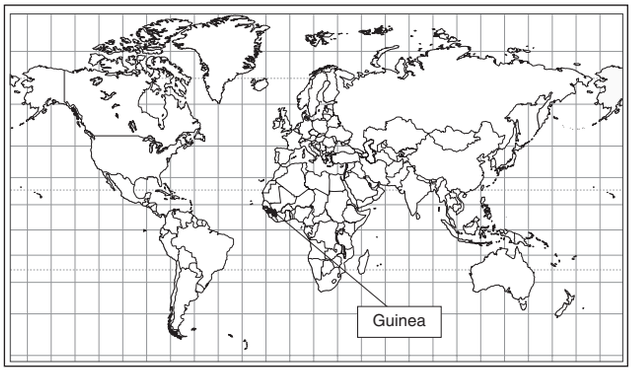
GUINEA

Population (2010, proj.): 10,324,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $400

Date of Independence: October 2, 1958 (from France)

Date of Last Constitution: December 23, 1990



While Guinea's constitution guarantees freedom of the press, the long-ruling government of Lansana Conte is known for bullying and sometimes direct control of news outlets, particularly in times of civil protest. The use of defamation and slander as criminal offenses is still used to intimidate the press, despite a decline in the prosecution of such cases in 2007. Print outlets are more numerous relative to broadcast media, but all private media outlets are hamstrung by financial constraints. Less than 1 percent had access to the Internet in 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**NF**
1992			**NF**
1993			**PF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	10	10	9	7	5	5	15	2	**63**	**NF**
1995	10	10	9	7	6	8	11	5	**66**	**NF**
1996	10	10	9	8	6	8	0	10	**61**	**NF**
1997	15	15	9	9	6	7	0	2	**63**	**NF**
1998	15	15	15	9	6	7	0	2	**69**	**NF**
1999	15	15	15	9	6	7	0	4	**71**	**NF**
2000	15	15	15	9	6	7	0	4	**71**	**NF**
2001	15	12	15	10	6	10	0	3	**71**	**NF**
2002	26		26		22				**74**	**NF**
2003	25		30		19				**74**	**NF**
2004	24		29		18				**71**	**NF**
2005	25		30		18				**73**	**NF**
2006	23		28		16				**67**	**NF**
2007	22		29		16				**67**	**NF**
2008	21		29		16				**66**	**NF**

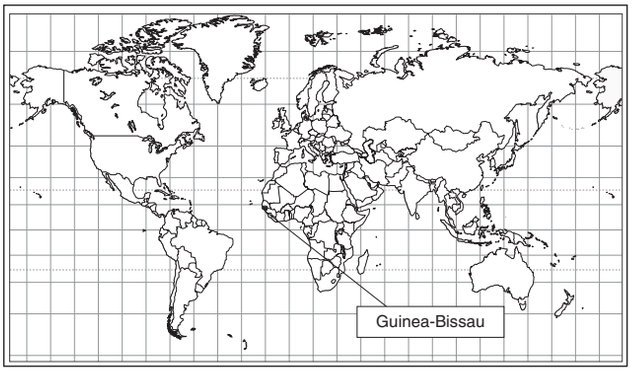
GUINEA-BISSAU

Population (2010, proj.): 1,647,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $200

Date of Independence: September 10, 1974 (from Portugal)

Date of Last Constitution: May 16, 1984 (last amended in 1996)



While recent efforts to liberalize press freedoms have occurred in Guinea-Bissau, notably in 2006, there are troubling signs of intimidation largely by non-state actors, particularly those related to the drug trade. The number of media outlets is limited. For instance, only one television station, a state-run enterprise, operates. In 2007, only 2.4 percent of the population had Internet access.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			PF
1993			PF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	3	3	7	7	10	8	5	5	48	PF
1995	3	3	8	7	10	8	4	7	50	PF
1996	3	3	8	7	10	8	5	5	49	PF
1997	5	5	12	7	10	8	5	5	57	PF
1998	5	5	14	10	10	12	0	1	57	PF
1999	5	5	14	10	10	12	0	1	57	PF
2000	5	5	14	10	10	12	0	0	56	PF
2001	5	5	14	10	10	12	0	0	56	PF
2002	15		23		18				56	PF
2003	15		27		18				60	PF
2004	17		27		19				63	NF
2005	15		23		17				55	PF
2006	13		17		17				47	PF
2007	14		19		15				48	PF
2008	15		23		15				53	PF

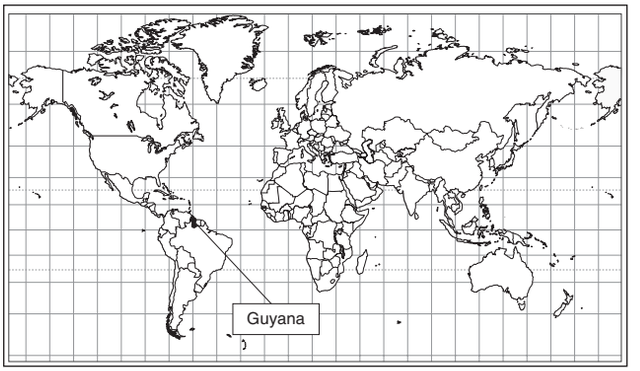
GUYANA

Population (2010, proj.): 761,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $1,250

Date of Independence: May 26, 1966 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: October 6, 1980



Guyana's constitutional guarantee of free speech and the press has translated into a relatively free and active media environment. However, in 2008, government withdrawal of advertising contracts from its own newspaper operation (thought largely to be retribution for negative coverage), along with violence against journalists, has lowered the status of press freedom in the country. As of 2007, Guyana has six newspapers, including one owned by the government, which also operates the country's only two radio stations. There are 23 television stations. Unrestricted access to the Internet totaled 20 percent in 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	PF	
1981	PF	PF	
1982	PF	PF	
1983–84	PF	NF	
1985	PF	NF	
1986	PF	NF	
1987	PF	NF	
1988	PF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**NF**
1992			**PF**
1993			**PF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	3	3	8	7	2	7	5	6	**41**	**PF**
1995	2	2	7	6	2	7	1	1	**28**	**F**
1996	2	2	7	6	2	7	0	0	**26**	**F**
1997	2	2	7	6	2	7	0	0	**26**	**F**
1998	2	2	7	4	2	5	0	0	**22**	**F**
1999	2	2	7	4	2	5	0	0	**22**	**F**
2000	2	2	7	4	2	5	0	0	**22**	**F**
2001	3	2	7	3	2	5	0	0	**22**	**F**
2002	5		5		13				**23**	**F**
2003	5		5		11				**21**	**F**
2004	4		8		8				**20**	**F**
2005	4		9		10				**23**	**F**
2006	6		12		9				**27**	**F**
2007	7		13		9				**29**	**F**
2008	6		14		11				**31**	**PF**

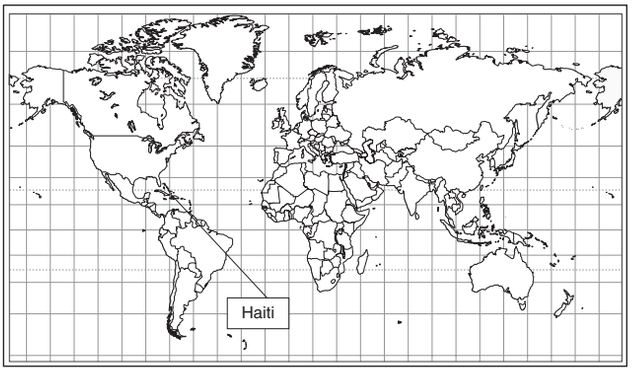
Haiti

Population (2010, proj.): 10,188,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $520

Date of Independence: January 1, 1804 (from France)

Date of Last Constitution: May 2006 (return to constitutional rule established in March 1987)



In 2007, Haiti continued an expansion of press freedom, begun following the 2006 establishment of a coalition government and the ongoing political stabilization of the country. The new government, indeed, has exhibited recent tendencies to prosecute crimes involving violence against journalists. Radio is by far the most popular media outlet, a fact understandable in a country with a relatively high illiteracy rate. Likewise, Internet use is still relatively low, at a rate of about 7 percent.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	PF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	F	F	
1988	PF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			NF
1993			NF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	10	8	10	8	10	10	17	14	87	NF
1995	8	5	8	5	7	7	5	6	51	PF
1996	7	5	8	5	7	7	15	5	59	PF
1997	10	7	13	5	7	7	5	5	59	PF
1998	10	7	13	7	7	7	5	3	59	PF
1999	10	7	13	7	7	7	5	2	58	PF
2000	10	7	13	7	8	8	5	0	58	PF
2001	10	7	13	7	6	10	5	1	59	PF
2002	17		36		19				72	NF
2003	17		39		23				79	NF
2004	19		39		21				79	NF
2005	19		28		19				66	NF
2006	19		30		19				68	NF
2007	16		24		19				59	PF
2008	15		23		18				56	PF

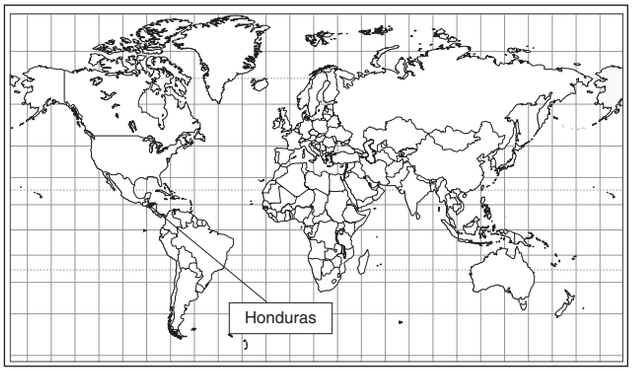
HONDURAS

Population (2010, proj.): 7,616,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $1,590

Date of Independence: September 15, 1821 (from Spain)

Date of Last Constitution: January 20, 1982



While Honduras enjoys constitutional protections of free speech and free press, journalists regularly face intimidation from the government. Assassinations of journalists and threats of violence—many from organized crime—also affect the press environment in the country. Ownership of media outlets is concentrated, for the most part, in the hands of wealthy business elites. Internet use, which is not restricted by the government, was at 4 percent in 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			**PF**
1990			**PF**
1991			**PF**
1992			**F**
1993			**F**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	3	0	10	0	4	N/A	15	0	**55**	**PF**
1995	3	0	10	0	4	N/A	5	0	**45**	**PF**
1996	3	0	10	0	4	N/A	0	0	**34**	**PF**
1997	4	0	12	0	4	N/A	4	0	**47**	**PF**
1998	5	0	12	0	4	N/A	N/A	0	**47**	**PF**
1999	5	0	12	0	4	N/A	N/A	0	**48**	**PF**
2000	5	0	12	0	4	N/A	N/A	0	**48**	**PF**
2001	5	0	10	0	4	N/A	1	0	**45**	**PF**
2002	14		17		12				**43**	**PF**
2003	16		19		16				**51**	**PF**
2004	14		22		16				**52**	**PF**
2005	14		22		15				**51**	**PF**
2006	16		22		14				**52**	**PF**
2007	15		22		14				**51**	**PF**
2008	15		22		14				**51**	**PF**

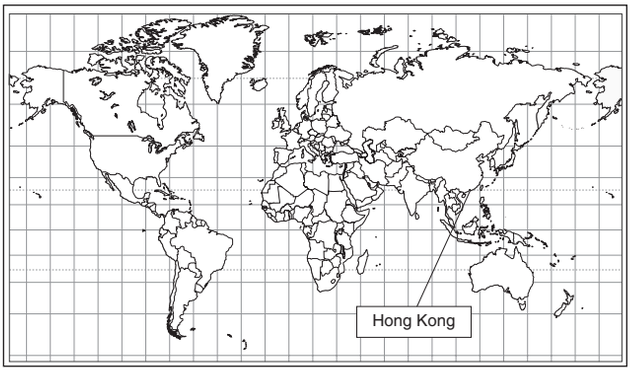
Hong Kong

Population (2010, proj.): 7,069,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $31,560

Date of Independence: none (control transferred from the UK to China in 1997)

Date of Last Constitution: March 1990 (Basic Law, considered Hong Kong's "mini-constitution")



Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			N/A
1990			N/A
1991			N/A
1992			N/A
1993			N/A

Legal guarantees for free speech exist in Hong Kong, which enjoys an active press environment. However, its existence as a special administrative region of China brings journalists under Chinese rule, which often—due to its regulatory oversight and surveillance of the media—dampens journalistic activity. Violence against journalists in 2006 did not recur in 2007, but many media personnel, concerned about their safety, practice self-censorship. Internet access—usually through broadband—is at highest rate in Asia: 74 percent in 2007.

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	2	2	8	8	1	4	2	3	30	F
1995	2	2	8	8	3	5	1	1	30	F
1996	2	2	9	9	3	5	0	0	30	F
1997	2	2	12	9	6	8	0	2	41	PF
1998	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	N/A
1999	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	N/A
2000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	N/A
2001	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	N/A
2002	N/A		N/A		N/A				N/A	N/A
2003	N/A		N/A		N/A				N/A	N/A
2004	N/A		N/A		N/A				N/A	N/A
2005	11		9		8				28	F
2006	11		10		8				29	F
2007	11		11		8				30	F
2008	11		10		9				30	F

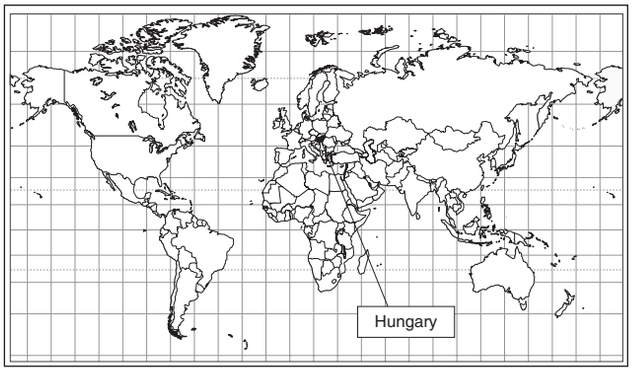
HUNGARY

Population (2010, proj.): 9,973,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $11,680

Date of Independence: April 1849 (from Austria)

Date of Last Constitution: August 20, 1949 (last revised October 18, 1989)



A vibrant and varied media scene—dominated by many privately run outlets—exists in Hungary, bolstered by constitutional/legal guarantees of free speech and press. Coverage by state-owned outlets is biased in the government's favor. In 2007, 35 percent of the population accessed the Internet.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**PF**
1991			**F**
1992			**F**
1993			**F**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	2	2	7	6	2	5	4	2	**30**	**F**
1995	2	2	8	7	6	6	6	1	**38**	**PF**
1996	2	2	8	7	2	8	0	5	**34**	**PF**
1997	3	2	9	6	2	9	0	0	**31**	**PF**
1998	3	2	6	6	2	9	0	0	**28**	**F**
1999	3	2	6	6	2	9	0	0	**28**	**F**
2000	3	2	6	6	2	5	1	5	**30**	**F**
2001	4	4	6	6	2	4	1	1	**28**	**F**
2002	2		8		13				**23**	**F**
2003	4		10		9				**23**	**F**
2004	4		8		8				**20**	**F**
2005	5		8		8				**21**	**F**
2006	5		8		8				**21**	**F**
2007	5		8		8				**21**	**F**
2008	5		9		7				**21**	**F**

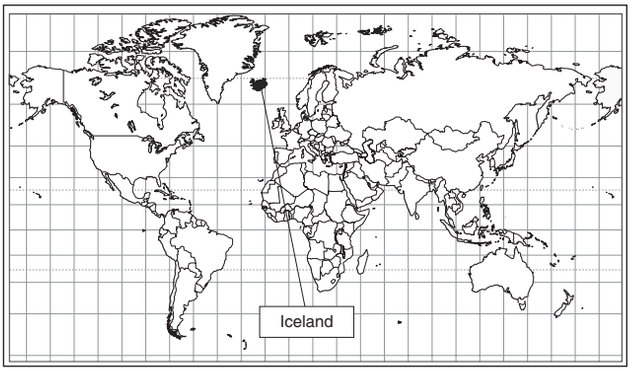
ICELAND

Population (2010, proj.): 329,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $57,750

Date of Independence: June 17, 1944 (from Denmark)

Date of Last Constitution: June 17, 1944



News outlets in Iceland function with a high level of independence and are supported by constitutionally guaranteed freedoms of speech and the press. The country's relatively numerous newspapers are both independent and partisan-affiliated. Ownership of broadcast media is concentrated in the hands of the media company 365. Internet use is high, at a level of 85 percent in 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	1	1	1	1	3	5	1	1	14	F
1995	1	1	1	1	3	5	0	0	12	F
1996	1	1	1	1	3	5	0	0	12	F
1997	1	1	1	1	3	5	0	0	12	F
1998	1	1	1	1	3	5	0	0	12	F
1999	1	1	1	1	3	5	0	0	12	F
2000	1	1	1	1	3	5	0	0	12	F
2001	1	1	1	1	3	5	0	0	12	F
2002	0		2		6				8	F
2003	1		2		5				8	F
2004	1		3		4				8	F
2005	1		4		4				9	F
2006	1		4		4				9	F
2007	1		4		4				9	F
2008	1		4		4				9	F

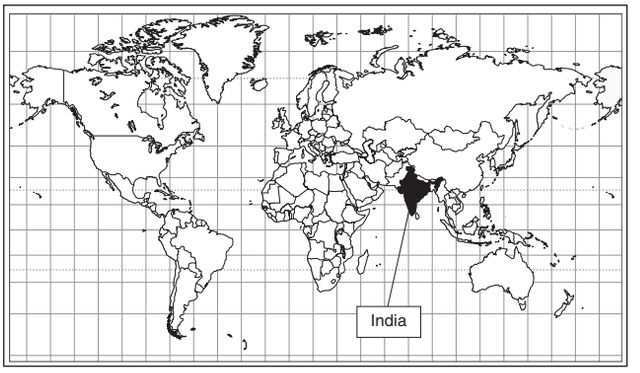
INDIA

Population (2010, proj.): 1,214,464,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $950

Date of Independence: August 15, 1947 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: January 26, 1950



India enjoys the freest media environment in south Asia. Print media—mostly independently owned—are diverse and often scrutinize government activity. That said, some government regulation and restrictions of the media do exist, including attempts to censor and prosecute journalists under the Official Secrets Act. Most media outlets are in private hands. While the well-educated and upper echelons of Indian society have high levels of access to the Internet, the country as a whole has a relatively low access rate, at only 3.5 percent in 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	PF	
1981	F	PF	
1982	F	PF	
1983–84	F	PF	
1985	F	PF	
1986	F	PF	
1987	F	PF	
1988	F	PF	
1989			**F**
1990			**F**
1991			**F**
1992			**F**
1993			**F**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	2	2	8	3	3	8	4	8	**38**	**PF**
1995	2	2	8	3	3	8	11	12	**49**	**PF**
1996	2	2	8	3	3	8	2	20	**48**	**PF**
1997	2	2	12	5	3	8	3	5	**40**	**PF**
1998	2	2	12	5	3	8	2	3	**37**	**PF**
1999	2	2	12	5	3	8	2	3	**37**	**PF**
2000	2	2	12	5	3	8	5	5	**42**	**PF**
2001	7	3	9	5	3	8	2	5	**42**	**PF**
2002	15		16		11				**42**	**PF**
2003	13		20		12				**45**	**PF**
2004	11		17		13				**41**	**PF**
2005	10		17		11				**38**	**PF**
2006	10		16		11				**37**	**PF**
2007	9		16		10				**35**	**PF**
2008	10		16		9				**35**	**PF**

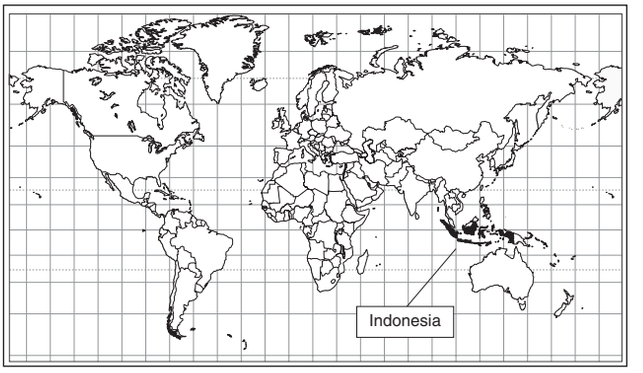
INDONESIA

Population (2010, proj.): 232,517,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $1,650

Date of Independence: August 17, 1945 (from the Netherlands)

Date of Last Constitution: August 1945



Indonesia has a vibrant and active media scene, even though some government interference and control limits the full exercise of the country's constitutionally guaranteed free speech and press. Violence against and intimidation of journalists—though at a low to moderate level—continues to be a problem. Private media outlets abound, though concentration of ownership has increased in recent years. In 2007, over 8 percent of the population accessed the Internet.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	NF	
1981	PF	NF	
1982	PF	NF	
1983–84	PF	NF	
1985	PF	NF	
1986	PF	NF	
1987	PF	NF	
1988	PF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			PF
1993			PF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	4	4	10	9	3	8	8	12	58	PF
1995	4	4	10	10	3	8	12	20	71	NF
1996	8	8	10	10	3	10	5	20	74	NF
1997	12	10	15	15	3	12	5	5	77	NF
1998	12	10	15	15	3	12	5	5	77	NF
1999	12	10	5	5	3	12	3	3	53	PF
2000	10	9	5	5	3	9	3	5	49	PF
2001	8	7	5	5	6	10	3	3	47	PF
2002	19		25		9				53	PF
2003	19		25		12				56	PF
2004	19		24		12				55	PF
2005	20		23		15				58	PF
2006	21		23		14				58	PF
2007	17		22		15				54	PF
2008	17		22		15				54	PF

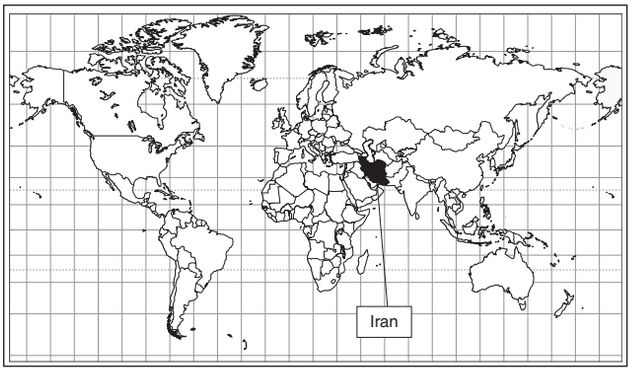
IRAN

Population (2010, proj.): 75,078,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $3,540

Date of Independence: April 1, 1979 (Islamic Republic of Iran proclaimed)

Date of Last Constitution: December 2–3, 1979; revised 1989



Freedom of the press continues to be limited by government policy and action in 2007, a trend developing since the early to mid-1980s. While free press is protected to some degree in the constitution, the government regularly cracks down on a range of coverage, such as that of women's rights and anti-government demonstrations. Even though public use of the Internet was banned in 2006, actual usage continues to rise, and websites and blogs, many antigovernment, continue to multiply.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	PF	
1981	PF	PF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**NF**
1992			**NF**
1993			**NF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	7	7	10	10	10	10	10	17	**81**	**NF**
1995	8	7	10	10	10	10	10	18	**83**	**NF**
1996	10	10	10	10	10	10	0	20	**80**	**NF**
1997	10	15	15	15	10	10	0	5	**80**	**NF**
1998	10	15	15	13	10	10	0	5	**78**	**NF**
1999	10	14	14	13	10	10	0	5	**76**	**NF**
2000	10	12	15	10	8	8	0	5	**68**	**NF**
2001	15	13	15	12	4	8	0	5	**72**	**NF**
2002	26		29		20				**75**	**NF**
2003	25		32		19				**76**	**NF**
2004	27		32		20				**79**	**NF**
2005	28		33		19				**80**	**NF**
2006	28		36		20				**84**	**NF**
2007	29		34		21				**84**	**NF**
2008	29		34		22				**85**	**NF**

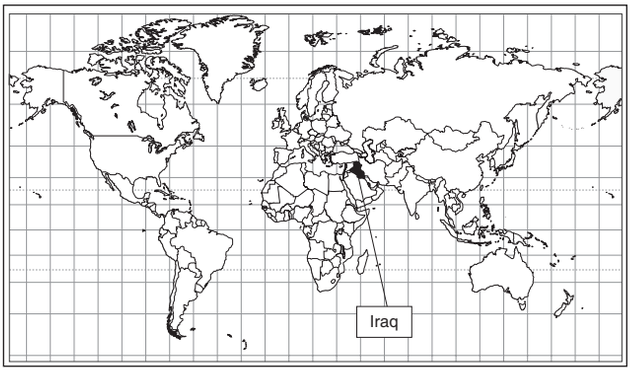
IRAQ

Population (2010, proj.): 31,467,000

Gross National Income per Capita: N/A

Date of Independence: October 3, 1932 (from League of Nations mandate under British administration); June 28, 2004 (from the Coalition Provisional Authority)

Date of Last Constitution: October 15, 2005



Since the Iraq war began in 2003 when the United States invaded the country, Iraq has been the most dangerous place for journalists to live and work. While the new constitution, enacted in 2005, grants limited freedom to the press, laws against criticizing the government are on the books. The number of media outlets has risen dramatically since the fall of Saddam Hussein, and Internet use, while dependent upon a fractured infrastructure, is on the rise, largely through Internet cafes.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			NF
1993			NF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	10	10	10	10	10	10	20	19	99	NF
1995	10	10	10	10	10	10	20	20	100	NF
1996	10	10	10	10	10	10	20	20	100	NF
1997	15	15	15	15	15	15	5	5	100	NF
1998	15	15	15	15	15	15	5	5	100	NF
1999	15	15	14	14	15	15	5	5	98	NF
2000	15	15	14	14	15	15	5	5	98	NF
2001	15	15	15	15	15	15	5	5	100	NF
2002	30		40		26				96	NF
2003	29		39		27				95	NF
2004	22		29		15				66	NF
2005	23		31		16				70	NF
2006	22		33		16				71	NF
2007	22		32		16				70	NF
2008	22		31		16				69	NF

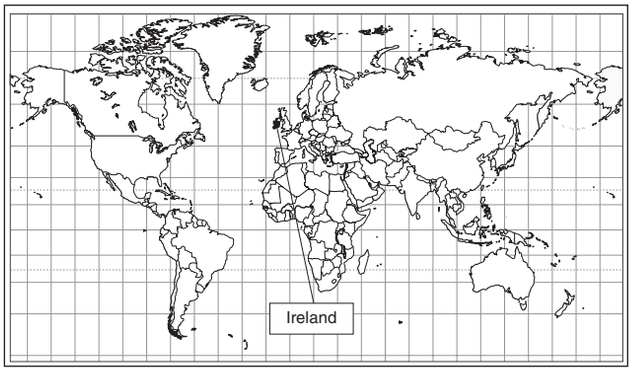
IRELAND

Population (2010, proj.): 4,589,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $47,610

Date of Independence: December 6, 1921 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: December 29, 1937



The Irish constitution guarantees freedom of the press, a right respected in practice by the authorities. Though public radio and television dominate broadcast media, the number of private media outlets is increasing. Print outlets are many and varied. About one-half of Ireland's population accessed the Internet in 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			**F**
1990			**F**
1991			**F**
1992			**F**
1993			**F**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	2	1	3	2	2	3	2	1	**16**	**F**
1995	2	1	3	2	2	3	1	1	**15**	**F**
1996	3	2	3	2	2	3	0	4	**18**	**F**
1997	3	2	3	4	2	3	0	2	**19**	**F**
1998	3	4	3	4	2	5	0	0	**21**	**F**
1999	3	3	3	3	2	6	0	0	**20**	**F**
2000	3	3	3	3	2	6	0	1	**21**	**F**
2001	3	3	2	3	2	5	0	0	**18**	**F**
2002	5		4		7				**16**	**F**
2003	5		6		5				**16**	**F**
2004	3		7		6				**16**	**F**
2005	3		7		5				**15**	**F**
2006	3		7		5				**15**	**F**
2007	4		7		5				**16**	**F**
2008	4		6		5				**15**	**F**

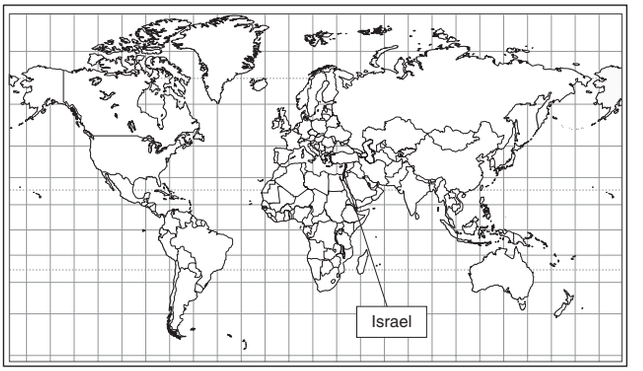
ISRAEL

Population (2010, proj.): 7,285,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $22,170

Date of Independence: May 14, 1948 (from League of Nations mandate under British administration)

Date of Last Constitution: no formal constitution



Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

Israel enjoys a wide and varied media scene, and despite the fact that reporting on security issues is subject to military censorship, the press enjoys relatively wide freedoms. However, in recent years, Arab journalists have been known, on occasion, to be detained by authorities, especially journalists working for media outlets considered to be hostile to Israel. The media landscape is fairly decentralized, which encourages a range of opinions and perspectives. In 2007, Internet use was broad-based and extensive, at around 55 percent.

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	4	5	3	2	1	2	3	10	30	F
1995	3	4	3	2	1	2	5	10	30	F
1996	2	2	3	1	1	1	5	15	30	F
1997	3	6	2	4	2	2	4	5	28	F
1998	3	8	2	6	2	2	0	5	28	F
1999	3	8	2	6	2	2	1	4	28	F
2000	3	8	2	6	2	2	2	5	30	F
2001	4	7	4	6	2	2	1	4	30	F
2002	6		16		8				30	F
2003	7		12		8				27	F
2004	5		14		9				28	F
2005	5		13		10				28	F
2006	5		13		10				28	F
2007	6		13		10				29	F
2008	6		14		8				28	F

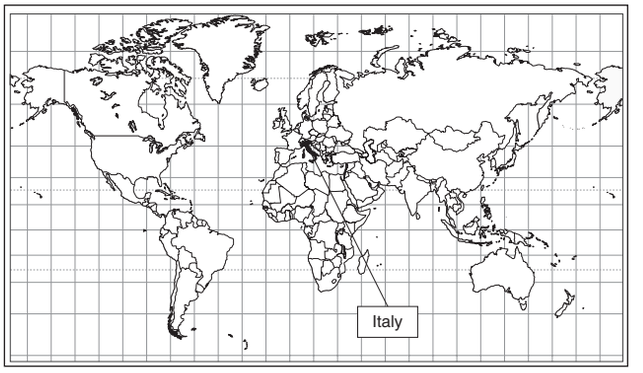
ITALY

Population (2010, proj.): 60,098,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $33,490

Date of Independence: March 17, 1861

Date of Last Constitution: January 1, 1948



The state of news media in Italy is considered to be generally healthy. Freedom of speech and the press is guaranteed in the constitution, while an antiracism law, enacted in 2007, criminalizes speech that incites hatred. Concentration of media ownership is a problem, particularly in respect to Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi's media interests. Around 57 percent of the Italian population accessed the Internet in 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			**F**
1990			**F**
1991			**F**
1992			**F**
1993			**F**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	1	1	5	5	3	7	2	1	**25**	**F**
1995	1	1	6	5	5	7	0	5	**30**	**F**
1996	1	1	6	5	5	5	3	4	**30**	**F**
1997	1	1	8	5	6	6	0	0	**27**	**F**
1998	1	1	8	5	6	6	0	0	**27**	**F**
1999	1	1	8	5	6	6	0	1	**28**	**F**
2000	1	1	8	5	6	6	0	0	**27**	**F**
2001	1	1	7	5	6	6	0	1	**27**	**F**
2002	2		11		14				**27**	**F**
2003	8		6		14				**28**	**F**
2004	11		13		9				**33**	**PF**
2005	9		13		13				**35**	**PF**
2006	9		13		13				**35**	**PF**
2007	9		11		9				**29**	**F**
2008	10		10		9				**29**	**F**

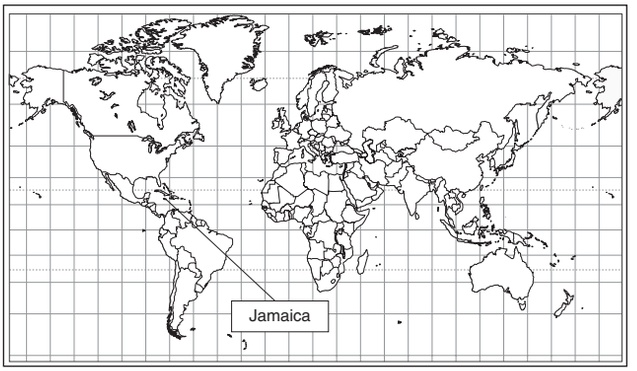
JAMAICA

Population (2010, proj.): 2,730,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $3,330

Date of Independence: August 6, 1962 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: August 6, 1962



Jamaica enjoys a high degree of news media freedom, though lingering use of defamation laws is a worrisome factor. There are two national newspapers. Broadcasting, once controlled by the government, was privatized in 2007. The Internet is widely used and is not regulated.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	NF	
1981	F	NF	
1982	F	PF	
1983–84	F	PF	
1985	F	PF	
1986	F	PF	
1987	F	PF	
1988	F	PF	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	4	4	4	1	4	3	2	1	23	F
1995	4	2	4	1	4	3	0	0	18	F
1996	1	1	2	4	0	3	0	0	11	F
1997	1	1	2	4	0	3	0	0	11	F
1998	1	1	2	4	0	3	0	0	11	F
1999	1	1	2	4	0	3	0	0	11	F
2000	1	1	2	4	0	3	0	0	11	F
2001	1	1	2	2	2	3	0	0	11	F
2002	3		8		6				17	F
2003	3		11		6				20	F
2004	4		7		6				17	F
2005	4		5		6				15	F
2006	3		7		7				17	F
2007	3		6		6				15	F
2008	3		6		6				15	F

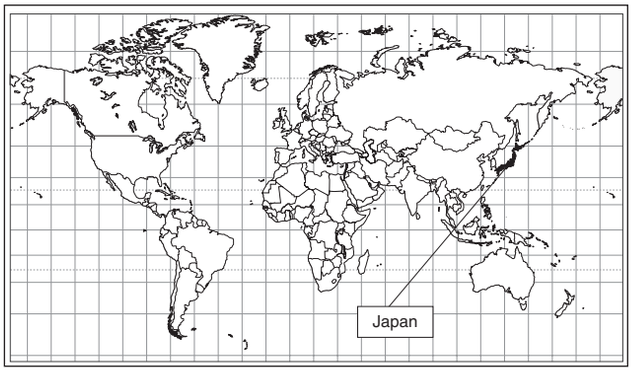
JAPAN

Population (2010, proj.): 126,995,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $37,790

Date of Independence: 660 BC; first recognized by Emperor Meiji in 1873

Date of Last Constitution: May 3, 1947



Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			**F**
1990			**F**
1991			**F**
1992			**F**
1993			**F**

Japan enjoys some of the highest levels of newspaper use in the world (several dailies enjoy circulations greater than a million). However, "press clubs" (*kisha kurabu*) in most communities strongly control who works in print and broadcast journalism, who has access to decision-makers, and often what is said, leading to considerable political self-censorship. Broadcast outlets are divided among private owners and the government-operated network called NHK. The majority of the population has access to and uses the Internet.

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	1	3	4	4	2	5	1	1	**21**	**F**
1995	1	3	4	4	2	5	0	1	**20**	**F**
1996	1	1	6	6	0	5	1	1	**21**	**F**
1997	1	1	6	6	0	5	0	1	**20**	**F**
1998	1	1	6	6	0	5	0	0	**19**	**F**
1999	1	1	6	6	0	5	0	0	**19**	**F**
2000	1	1	6	6	0	5	0	0	**19**	**F**
2001	1	1	5	6	5	5	0	0	**23**	**F**
2002	1		7		9				**17**	**F**
2003	2		7		8				**17**	**F**
2004	3		9		6				**18**	**F**
2005	2		12		6				**20**	**F**
2006	2		12		6				**20**	**F**
2007	2		13		6				**21**	**F**
2008	2		13		6				**21**	**F**

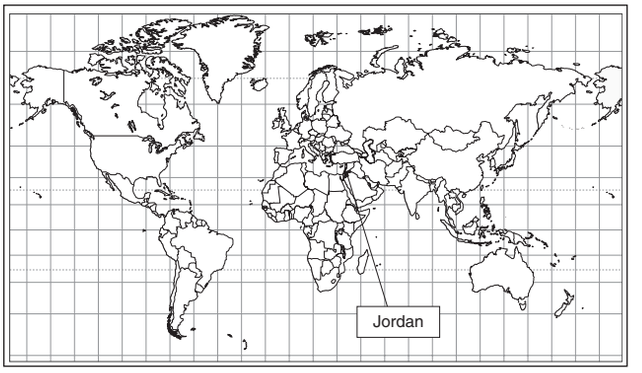
JORDAN

Population (2010, proj.): 6,472,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $2,840

Date of Independence: May 25, 1946 (from League of Nations mandate under British administration)

Date of Last Constitution: January 1, 1952



Jordanian news media suffer a variety of controls—formal press laws, some pressure from intelligence services, and cautious printers and advertisers—-which combine to make the press fairly compliant with government wishes through extensive self-censorship. Libeling Islam or the government is especially dangerous and potentially expensive. Publications are licensed. Private radio (and soon at least one television) outlets began to appear in 2004. Internet use is encouraged, though it appears to be monitored as well.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			NF
1993			PF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	5	5	10	7	3	8	6	8	52	PF
1995	6	6	10	7	7	8	0	4	48	PF
1996	8	8	8	8	6	4	0	3	45	PF
1997	8	7	8	10	6	4	0	5	48	PF
1998	14	13	8	10	6	4	0	5	60	PF
1999	14	14	10	11	6	4	1	5	65	NF
2000	12	12	10	9	6	4	0	4	57	PF
2001	13	10	12	9	4	8	0	4	60	PF
2002	29		20		11				60	PF
2003	29		21		15				65	NF
2004	23		22		18				63	NF
2005	22		22		18				62	NF
2006	21		22		18				61	NF
2007	21		22		18				61	NF
2008	21		24		18				63	NF

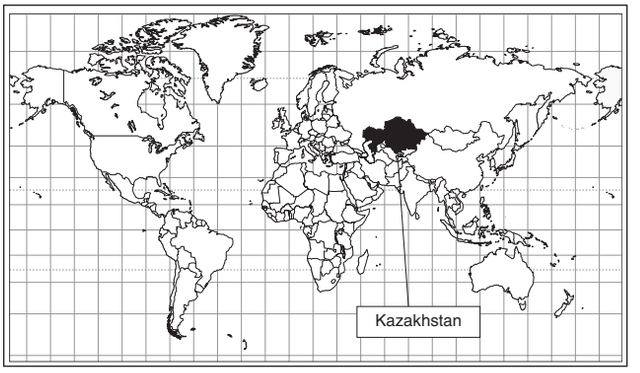
KAZAKHSTAN

Population (2010, proj.): 15,753,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $5,020

Date of Independence: December 16, 1991 (from the Soviet Union)

Date of Last Constitution: August 30, 1995



Political intimidation is widespread in Kazakhstan, and legal restrictions (especially the threat of libel actions) and self-censorship characterize the nation's news media. All news media must register with the government in order to operate. Most broadcast media are government owned or run by members of the President's family. The political opposition has occasionally been banned from use of the Internet though few people yet make regular use of the service.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			**N/A**
1990			**N/A**
1991			**N/A**
1992			**N/A**
1993			**PF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	8	8	9	8	6	6	5	10	**60**	**PF**
1995	8	8	10	9	8	8	5	5	**61**	**NF**
1996	7	7	10	8	8	10	0	12	**62**	**NF**
1997	10	10	12	8	8	10	4	2	**64**	**NF**
1998	10	13	12	10	8	10	0	3	**66**	**NF**
1999	10	13	13	10	8	11	3	0	**68**	**NF**
2000	10	13	13	10	8	1	2	1	**68**	**NF**
2001	13	13	13	10	8	8	3	2	**70**	**NF**
2002	24		22		23				**69**	**NF**
2003	24		27		22				**73**	**NF**
2004	25		27		22				**74**	**NF**
2005	25		28		22				**75**	**NF**
2006	25		28		22				**75**	**NF**
2007	26		28		22				**76**	**NF**
2008	26		30		22				**78**	**NF**

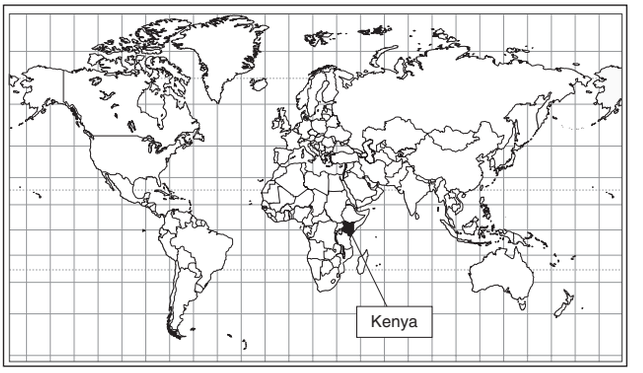
KENYA

Population (2010, proj.): 40,863,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $640

Date of Independence: December 12, 1963 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: December 12, 1963; amended many times



A onetime reputation for aggressive reporting was threatened by the 2007 formation of a statutory media council with still-to-be-defined powers over media outlets. Reporters must register with the council and must have formal training in journalism. After a contested election late in 2007, live broadcasts were banned indefinitely in an attempt to limit dissemination of news. Internet use is limited but growing and will be aided by new broadband connections.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	NF	
1981	PF	NF	
1982	PF	NF	
1983–84	PF	NF	
1985	PF	NF	
1986	PF	NF	
1987	PF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			NF
1993			PF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	8	8	8	8	4	4	5	15	60	PF
1995	8	4	7	7	2	2	9	13	52	PF
1996	6	8	8	10	5	5	0	20	62	NF
1997	9	12	12	11	5	5	0	5	59	PF
1998	9	12	12	13	5	7	0	5	63	NF
1999	9	12	14	13	5	7	5	5	70	NF
2000	10	12	15	15	5	7	1	5	70	NF
2001	10	10	15	12	7	10	1	5	70	NF
2002	24		21		22				67	NF
2003	24		24		20				68	NF
2004	20		21		19				60	PF
2005	21		21		19				61	NF
2006	20		20		18				58	PF
2007	20		21		18				59	PF
2008	21		21		18				60	PF

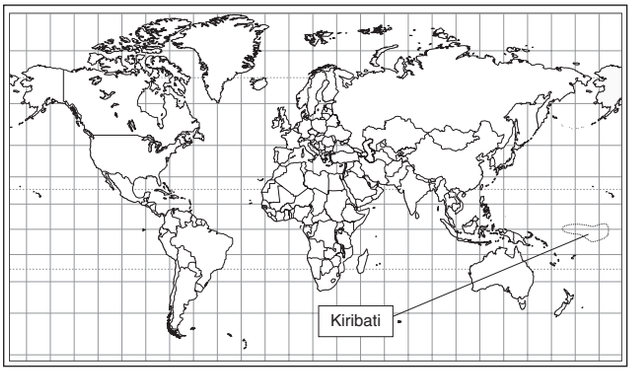
KIRIBATI

Population (2010, proj.): 100,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $1,120

Date of Independence: July 12, 1979 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: July 12, 1979



This tiny Micronesian island nation enjoys a free press, though all newspapers have to register with the government. There is some self-censorship by journalists. There are two weekly newspapers, one government and one private, and two government radio stations. Internet is unrestricted but is the world's most expensive (though change appears to be coming) and thus plays almost no role.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			**N/A**
1990			**N/A**
1991			**N/A**
1992			**N/A**
1993			**N/A**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	1	1	10	10	1	1	1	1	**26**	**F**
1995	2	2	9	9	1	1	0	0	**24**	**F**
1996	4	4	5	5	0	0	0	0	**18**	**F**
1997	4	4	5	5	0	0	0	0	**18**	**F**
1998	4	4	5	4	0	0	0	0	**17**	**F**
1999	4	4	5	4	0	0	0	0	**17**	**F**
2000	4	4	5	4	0	0	0	0	**17**	**F**
2001	6	3	4	4	1	3	0	1	**22**	**F**
2002	4		2		15				**21**	**F**
2003	6		4		16				**26**	**F**
2004	5		8		14				**27**	**F**
2005	4		8		14				**26**	**F**
2006	5		9		14				**28**	**F**
2007	5		8		13				**26**	**F**
2008	5		8		13				**26**	**F**

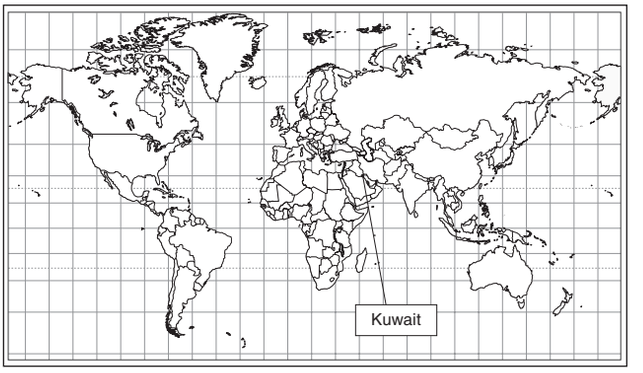
KUWAIT

Population (2010, proj.): 3,051,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2006): $38,420

Date of Independence: June 19, 1961 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: Approved and promulgated November 11, 1962



Kuwait's media are only partially free due to continued government censorship of and punishment for reporting on prohibited religious and political topics—including criticism of Islam or the emir (king). The Ministry of Information can censor books, periodicals and films deemed "morally offensive." Despite this, Kuwaiti media are generally freer than in other Arab nations. Newspapers are privately owned and private broadcast stations are beginning to appear. Internet use is widespread, despite government blocking of services thought critical of Islam or the government.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	NF	
1981	PF	NF	
1982	PF	NF	
1983–84	PF	NF	
1985	PF	NF	
1986	PF	NF	
1987	PF	NF	
1988	PF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			NF
1993			NF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	5	5	10	9	8	10	5	15	67	NF
1995	6	6	10	9	8	10	5	16	70	NF
1996	7	7	8	8	0	4	0	8	42	PF
1997	9	9	11	11	0	4	0	0	44	PF
1998	9	9	11	11	0	4	0	0	44	PF
1999	9	9	11	11	0	4	0	1	45	PF
2000	9	9	11	11	0	4	1	3	48	PF
2001	13	8	14	8	0	4	0	1	48	PF
2002	22		19		8				49	PF
2003	19		22		13				54	PF
2004	19		22		16				57	PF
2005	20		22		16				58	PF
2006	20		20		16				56	PF
2007	19		21		16				56	PF
2008	18		21		15				54	PF

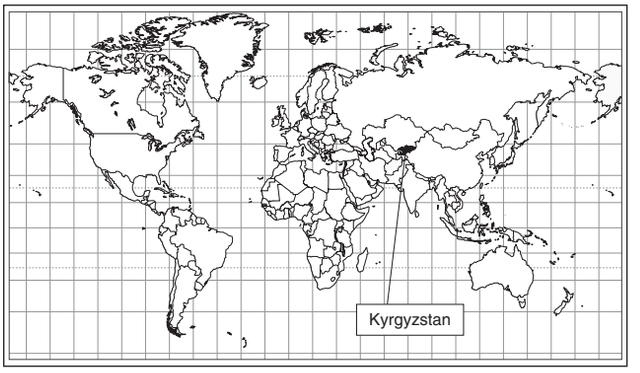
KYRGYZSTAN

Population (2010, proj.): 5,550,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $610

Date of Independence: August 31, 1991 (from the Soviet Union)

Date of Last Constitution: October 21, 2007



Media are closely monitored and regulated; reforms are stalled by the political tension between parties. Assaults on journalists are common, as are police raids on publishers and confiscation of newspaper print runs. There are about 50 newspapers and magazines regularly published. Internet access is limited to a small portion of people, though it provides a lively political arena for those who do use it.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			N/A
1990			N/A
1991			N/A
1992			N/A
1993			**PF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	6	6	9	7	3	8	3	7	**49**	**PF**
1995	6	6	9	9	5	8	3	6	**52**	**PF**
1996	10	10	10	10	0	8	0	12	**60**	**PF**
1997	12	12	11	13	0	11	0	2	**61**	**NF**
1998	12	12	11	13	0	11	0	5	**64**	**NF**
1999	12	12	11	13	0	11	0	5	**64**	**NF**
2000	12	12	11	13	0	11	0	2	**61**	**NF**
2001	10	10	10	12	3	11	2	3	**61**	**NF**
2002	24		22		22				**68**	**NF**
2003	23		26		22				**71**	**NF**
2004	23		27		21				**71**	**NF**
2005	23		27		21				**71**	**NF**
2006	22		23		20				**64**	**NF**
2007	22		25		20				**67**	**NF**
2008	22		28		20				**70**	**NF**

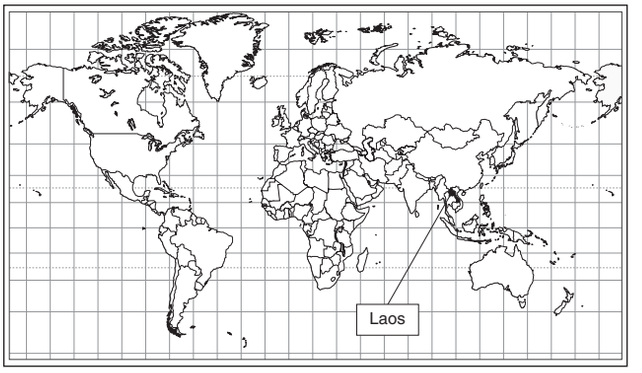
Laos

Population (2010, proj.): 6,436,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2006): $630

Date of Independence: July 19, 1949 (from France)

Date of Last Constitution: Promulgated August 14, 1991



An authoritarian, one-party state, Laos retains tight control over all media. Indeed, all print and broadcast media are owned and journalists are paid by the government. There are no legal safeguards for voicing or printing dissent, resulting in self-censorship among reporters. Foreign journalists must register for special visas and are always accompanied by government escorts; Thai media are especially followed. Internet use is rare due to very high connection costs—ten times typical monthly salaries. Many overseas websites are blocked.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			NF
1993			NF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	9	9	10	10	10	10	5	7	70	NF
1995	9	9	10	10	10	10	5	5	68	NF
1996	10	10	10	10	10	10	0	2	62	NF
1997	11	11	10	10	10	10	0	0	62	NF
1998	13	13	10	10	10	10	0	0	66	NF
1999	13	13	10	10	10	10	0	0	66	NF
2000	13	13	10	10	10	10	0	0	66	NF
2001	13	13	13	13	6	10	1	0	69	NF
2002	26		34		22				82	NF
2003	26		31		23				80	NF
2004	28		31		23				82	NF
2005	28		32		23				83	NF
2006	26		31		24				81	NF
2007	26		31		24				81	NF
2008	26		32		25				83	NF

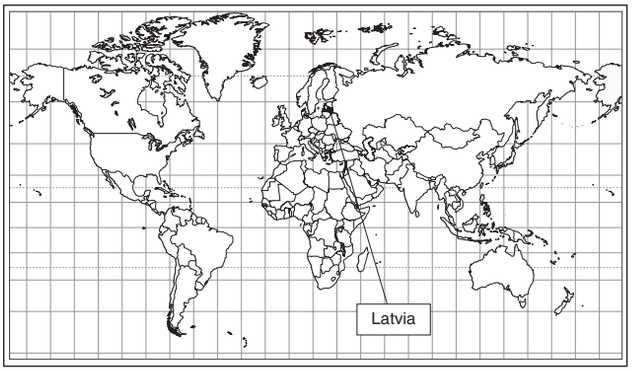
LATVIA

Population (2010, proj.): 2,240,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $9,920

Date of Independence: August 21, 1991 (from the Soviet Union)

Date of Last Constitution: February 15, 1922



This Baltic nation enjoys the press freedom common across most of Europe. Print and broadcast media are private, diversely held, and competitive. There are four national television channels, two government and two private. There are numerous regional private radio and television outlets. Half the population has Internet access and makes use of it.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			N/A
1990			N/A
1991			N/A
1992			F
1993			**PF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	2	2	4	7	3	7	2	2	**29**	**F**
1995	1	1	4	7	4	8	0	4	**29**	**F**
1996	1	0	3	4	4	7	0	2	**21**	**F**
1997	1	0	5	4	4	7	0	0	**21**	**F**
1998	1	0	5	4	4	7	0	0	**21**	**F**
1999	1	1	5	4	4	6	0	0	**21**	**F**
2000	2	2	5	4	4	6	0	1	**24**	**F**
2001	2	2	5	4	4	6	0	1	**24**	**F**
2002	2		7		10				**19**	**F**
2003	7		5		6				**18**	**F**
2004	7		4		6				**17**	**F**
2005	5		6		6				**17**	**F**
2006	6		7		6				**19**	**F**
2007	6		6		7				**19**	**F**
2008	6		8		8				**22**	**F**

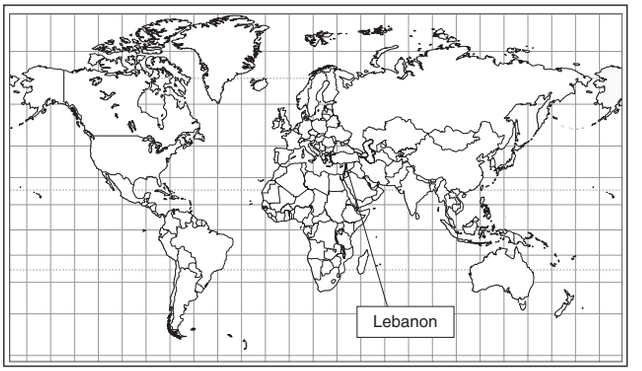
LEBANON

Population (2010, proj.): 4,255,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $5,800

Date of Independence: November 22, 1943 (from the League of Nations mandate under French administration)

Date of Last Constitution: May 23, 1926



Religious and political divisions in Lebanon are reflected in widespread self-censorship by journalists. Criticism of the head of state (or foreign leaders) is banned. Security services can and do censor foreign media. But the media scene is highly competitive—there are a dozen daily papers and hundreds of other publications. Like the press, radio and television outlets are privately owned, though many have ties to political or religious groups and their content reflects those links. Internet usage is widespread and growing, and many enjoy broadband connectivity.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	PF	
1981	PF	PF	
1982	PF	PF	
1983–84	PF	PF	
1985	PF	PF	
1986	PF	PF	
1987	PF	PF	
1988	PF	PF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			PF
1993			**PF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	3	3	5	4	5	9	7	10	**46**	**PF**
1995	5	3	8	7	5	9	11	8	**56**	**PF**
1996	8	8	4	6	0	2	2	16	**46**	**PF**
1997	12	8	6	9	0	4	2	5	**46**	**PF**
1998	14	8	14	12	6	8	0	0	**62**	**NF**
1999	14	8	12	12	6	8	0	2	**62**	**NF**
2000	12	9	12	10	7	9	1	1	**61**	**NF**
2001	12	9	12	10	7	10	0	1	**61**	**NF**
2002	26		31		17				**74**	**NF**
2003	25		29		17				**71**	**NF**
2004	23		27		16				**66**	**NF**
2005	22		23		15				**60**	**PF**
2006	21		24		15				**60**	**PF**
2007	19		25		15				**59**	**PF**
2008	18		21		16				**55**	**PF**

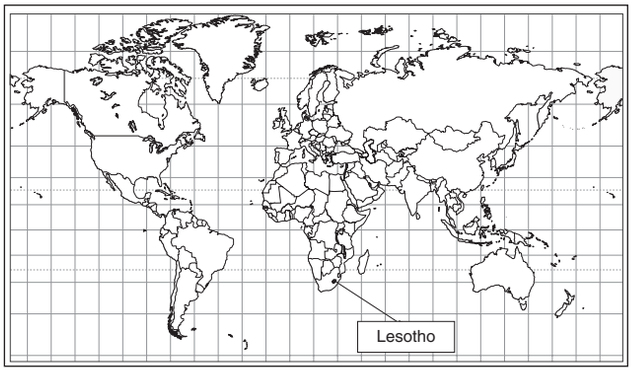
LESOTHO

Population (2010, proj.): 2,084,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $1,030

Date of Independence: October 4, 1966 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: April 2, 1993



While the government respects press freedom in general terms, high fines for criticism of government officials or policies are often invoked. Occasional attacks on or harassment of journalists occurs. State-operated print and broadcast media reflect the party in power, while private outlets are somewhat more outspoken. Many listen to or watch services from South Africa. Internet use is very low, though not regulated.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	PF	
1981	PF	PF	
1982	PF	PF	
1983–84	PF	PF	
1985	PF	PF	
1986	PF	PF	
1987	PF	PF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			PF
1993			**PF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	10	3	6	7	10	7	2	2	**47**	**PF**
1995	10	3	9	6	10	7	3	4	**52**	**PF**
1996	10	10	10	10	7	8	0	0	**55**	**PF**
1997	10	10	10	10	7	8	1	2	**58**	**PF**
1998	12	10	10	8	7	8	0	3	**58**	**PF**
1999	12	10	10	8	7	8	0	4	**59**	**PF**
2000	12	10	10	7	7	8	0	2	**56**	**PF**
2001	10	7	10	6	7	10	0	2	**52**	**PF**
2002	13		15		18				**46**	**PF**
2003	11		15		16				**42**	**PF**
2004	11		15		14				**40**	**PF**
2005	13		15		14				**42**	**PF**
2006	13		15		14				**42**	**PF**
2007	13		15		14				**42**	**PF**
2008	13		19		14				**46**	**PF**

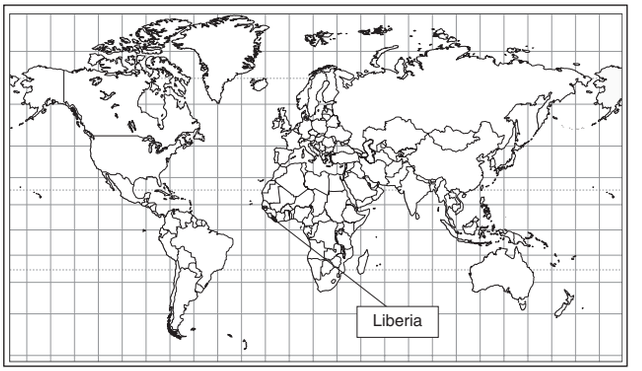
LIBERIA

Population (2010, proj.): 4,102,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $140

Date of Independence: July 26, 1847

Date of Last Constitution: January 6, 1986



In Liberia, which was created in the mid-nineteenth century by former American slaves, news media freedom is largely absent. Laws protecting the press or guaranteeing access to government information are vague and poorly enforced. Libel laws serve to protect government officials and agencies. Harassment of journalists and media outlets is widespread, as is the perception that poorly paid journalists readily accept bribes for good coverage. There are numerous newspapers and radio stations in the capital city of Monrovia, but Internet access, while not regulated, is too expensive for most people.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	PF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	PF	NF	
1985	PF	NF	
1986	PF	NF	
1987	PF	NF	
1988	PF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			NF
1993			NF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	9	7	7	10	7	10	15	15	80	NF
1995	5	4	10	10	7	10	10	15	71	NF
1996	10	10	10	10	0	10	0	20	70	NF
1997	12	12	14	14	0	11	2	5	70	NF
1998	12	12	14	14	0	11	2	5	70	NF
1999	12	12	14	14	0	11	2	5	70	NF
2000	12	12	10	12	10	10	0	1	67	NF
2001	10	10	10	8	10	15	3	2	68	NF
2002	26		31		20				77	NF
2003	22		34		23				79	NF
2004	19		33		23				75	NF
2005	21		29		23				73	NF
2006	19		23		22				64	NF
2007	19		24		22				65	NF
2008	18		25		22				65	NF

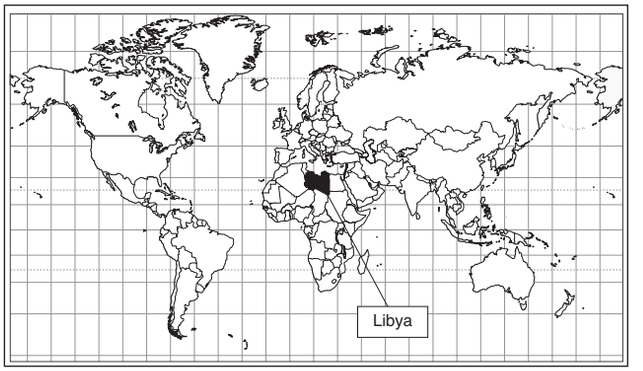
LIBYA

Population (2010, proj.): 6,546,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $9,010

Date of Independence: December 24, 1951 (from UN trusteeship)

Date of Last Constitution: None; adopted the Declaration of the Establishment of the People's Authority in March 1977



Libyan media are among the most tightly controlled in the world. Media outlet and individual journalist rights are almost nonexistent. Content critical of the government or Islam is quickly eliminated. Thus the government-controlled press and broadcast outlets praise the government regularly. Foreign publications or services are rarely available. Satellite television service is common. Internet is provided through one government service and is not widely used. Many foreign sites are blocked.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**NF**
1992			**NF**
1993			**NF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	10	10	10	10	10	10	9	18	**87**	**NF**
1995	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	15	**85**	**NF**
1996	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	19	**89**	**NF**
1997	15	15	15	15	15	15	0	0	**90**	**NF**
1998	15	15	15	15	15	15	0	0	**90**	**NF**
1999	15	15	15	15	15	15	0	2	**92**	**NF**
2000	15	15	15	15	15	15	0	0	**90**	**NF**
2001	15	15	15	15	15	15	0	0	**90**	**NF**
2002	25		36		26				**88**	**NF**
2003	28		34		27				**89**	**NF**
2004	29		36		29				**94**	**NF**
2005	29		37		29				**95**	**NF**
2006	29		38		29				**96**	**NF**
2007	29		38		29				**96**	**NF**
2008	29		36		29				**94**	**NF**

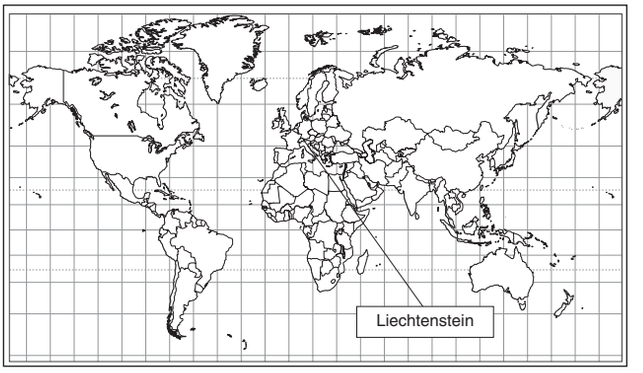
LIECHTENSTEIN

Population (2010, proj.): 36,000

Gross National Income per Capita: N/A

Date of Independence: July 12, 1806 (from the Holy Roman Empire)

Date of Last Constitution: October 5, 1921; amended September 15, 2003



This tiny European principality enjoys some of the world's freest news media. Served by several newspapers and broadcast stations, many in the country also tune to services from neighboring Austria, Germany, and Switzerland. Internet service is unrestricted and used by the majority of people.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			N/A
1990			N/A
1991			N/A
1992			N/A
1993			N/A

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1995	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1996	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1997	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1998	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1999	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
2000	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
2001	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
2002	N/A		N/A		N/A				N/A	N/A
2003	2		3		6				11	F
2004	2		3		7				12	F
2005	1		5		8				14	F
2006	1		5		7				13	F
2007	1		5		8				14	F
2008	1		5		8				14	F

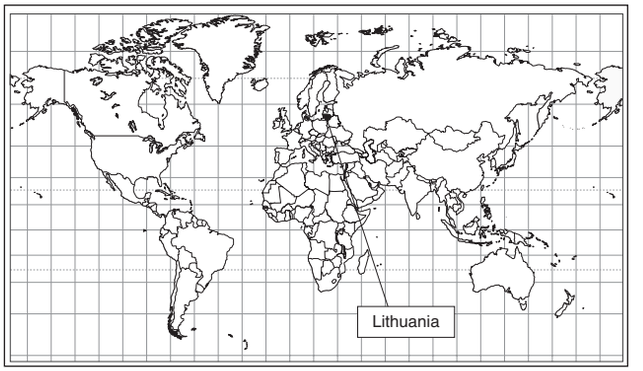
LITHUANIA

Population (2010, proj.): 3,255,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $9,770

Date of Independence: Declared March 11, 1990; Recognized by Soviet Union September 6, 1991

Date of Last Constitution: Adopted October 25, 1992; last amended July 13, 2004



This Baltic nation enjoys a free press. Media are often critical of the government and express a variety of viewpoints. There are some 300 newspapers and many broadcast outlets, though ownership is increasingly concentrated. While not restricted, Internet use is the lowest among the three Baltic countries.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			**N/A**
1990			**N/A**
1991			**N/A**
1992			**F**
1993			**PF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	2	2	2	5	7	6	2	4	**30**	**F**
1995	2	2	4	5	7	6	0	3	**29**	**F**
1996	2	4	0	8	4	2	0	5	**25**	**F**
1997	2	4	0	8	4	2	0	0	**20**	**F**
1998	2	3	0	6	4	2	0	0	**17**	**F**
1999	2	3	1	6	4	2	0	0	**18**	**F**
2000	2	3	1	6	4	4	0	0	**20**	**F**
2001	2	3	1	6	4	4	0	0	**20**	**F**
2002	4		8		9				**19**	**F**
2003	7		5		6				**18**	**F**
2004	5		7		6				**18**	**F**
2005	5		7		6				**18**	**F**
2006	5		7		6				**18**	**F**
2007	5		7		6				**18**	**F**
2008	5		7		6				**18**	**F**

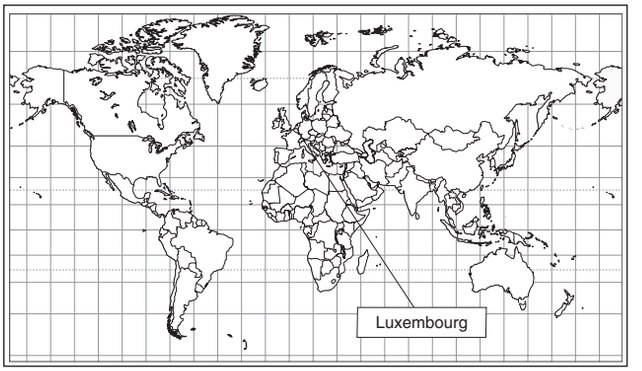
LUXEMBOURG

Population (2010, proj.): 492,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2006): $72,430

Date of Independence: 1839 (from the Netherlands)

Date of Last Constitution: October 17, 1868



A wealthy though tiny nation between Belgium, Germany and France, Luxembourg has a long tradition of free media that serve many outside of the country (Radio Luxembourg was one of the early international commercial services, starting in the 1930s). Privately owned daily papers publish in several languages. Electronic media ownership is highly concentrated. Internet use is widespread.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	12	F
1995	1	1	2	2	2	2	0	0	10	F
1996	1	1	2	2	2	2	0	0	10	F
1997	1	1	2	2	2	2	0	0	10	F
1998	1	1	2	2	2	2	0	0	10	F
1999	1	1	2	2	2	2	0	0	10	F
2000	1	1	2	2	2	2	0	0	10	F
2001	1	1	2	2	2	2	0	0	10	F
2002	3		4		7				14	F
2003	3		3		8				14	F
2004	2		3		7				12	F
2005	2		4		5				11	F
2006	1		3		7				11	F
2007	2		3		7				12	F
2008	2		3		7				12	F

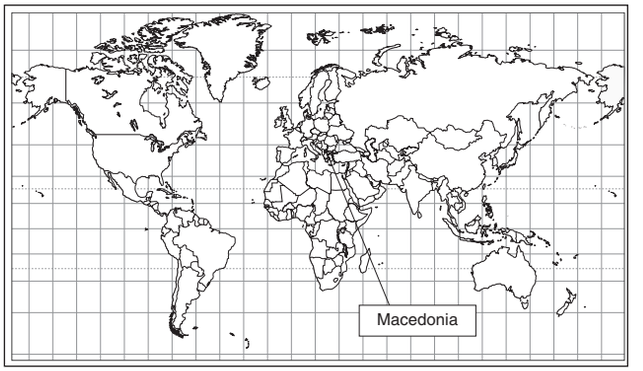
MACEDONIA

Population (2010, proj.): N/A

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $3,470

Date of Independence: September 8, 1991 (from Yugoslavia)

Date of Last Constitution: November 20, 1991 (amended November 2001)



Once part of Yugoslavia, this Balkan nation is served by partly free news media. The many private print and broadcast outlets are generally tied to some political or economic interest, which is reflected in their content. Media ownership also divides on ethnic lines. Attacks on and harassment of journalists is common. Newspaper ownership is concentrated. There are five national television services and many local radio and television outlets, but advertising revenue is limited and journalist pay is low. Internet is not restricted but cost limits use to about a fifth of the population.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			**N/A**
1990			**N/A**
1991			**N/A**
1992			**N/A**
1993			**PF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**N/A**	**N/A**
1995	5	5	7	7	3	7	0	0	**34**	**PF**
1996	10	4	10	6	0	4	0	2	**36**	**PF**
1997	10	4	10	5	0	4	0	0	**33**	**PF**
1998	10	4	10	10	5	5	0	0	**44**	**PF**
1999	10	4	9	9	5	5	0	0	**42**	**PF**
2000	10	4	9	9	5	5	0	0	**42**	**PF**
2001	10	4	9	9	5	5	1	1	**44**	**PF**
2002	11		14		21				**46**	**PF**
2003	12		19		19				**50**	**PF**
2004	17		21		15				**53**	**PF**
2005	14		21		16				**51**	**PF**
2006	13		20		16				**49**	**PF**
2007	11		18		16				**45**	**PF**
2008	12		19		16				**47**	**PF**

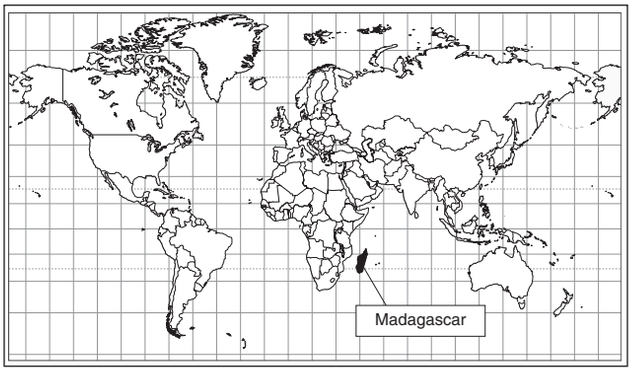
MADAGASCAR

Population (2010, proj.): 20,146,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $320

Date of Independence: June 26, 1960 (from France)

Date of Last Constitution: August 19, 1992



The island nation of Madagascar, off the southeast African coast, has news media partially muzzled by strict libel laws limiting criticism of government officials or policies. Journalists are poorly paid and thus often said to be open to bribes for positive coverage. About a dozen newspapers (which serve a mainly French-speaking elite), 37 television outlets, and nearly 250 radio stations serve the nation, though the country's President owns the private system that runs some of the broadcast stations. Internet is unrestricted but used by only a tiny fraction of the population.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			PF
1992			PF
1993			PF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	3	4	5	6	5	7	5	10	45	PF
1995	4	4	6	6	5	7	5	7	44	PF
1996	4	4	6	10	2	4	0	2	32	PF
1997	4	4	8	10	2	4	0	0	32	PF
1998	4	4	8	10	2	4	0	0	32	PF
1999	4	4	8	10	2	4	0	0	32	PF
2000	4	4	7	10	2	4	1	0	32	PF
2001	4	4	7	8	2	7	0	0	32	PF
2002	3		14		15				31	PF
2003	7		19		12				38	PF
2004	11		18		12				41	PF
2005	15		19		16				50	PF
2006	15		19		15				49	PF
2007	14		21		15				50	PF
2008	14		19		15				48	PF

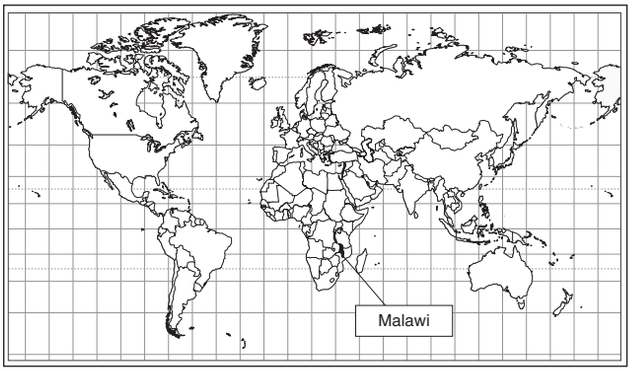
Malawi

Population (2010, proj.): 15,692,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $250

Date of Independence: July 6, 1964 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: May 18, 1994



Freedom of expression is guaranteed in this sub-Saharan nation, though subtle government activity sometimes leads to considerable self-censorship by news media. Six of the eight major newspapers are privately owned and express diverse views. The government operates the two largest radio stations, but there are more than a dozen competing outlets mainly in urban areas. Television is operated only by the government and takes a pro-government line as might be expected. Internet usage levels are negligible.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**NF**
1992			**NF**
1993			**NF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	6	7	9	5	5	5	2	2	**41**	**PF**
1995	8	5	7	5	5	9	0	4	**43**	**PF**
1996	8	4	4	0	0	6	0	14	**36**	**PF**
1997	12	6	4	8	0	6	1	1	**38**	**PF**
1998	12	6	5	8	0	6	0	3	**40**	**PF**
1999	12	6	5	8	0	6	0	5	**42**	**PF**
2000	14	7	8	8	4	6	0	5	**52**	**PF**
2001	12	7	10	6	8	7	0	2	**52**	**PF**
2002	19		21		14				**54**	**PF**
2003	17		24		16				**57**	**PF**
2004	15		22		15				**52**	**PF**
2005	16		22		16				**54**	**PF**
2006	16		22		17				**55**	**PF**
2007	16		20		17				**53**	**PF**
2008	17		20		18				**55**	**PF**

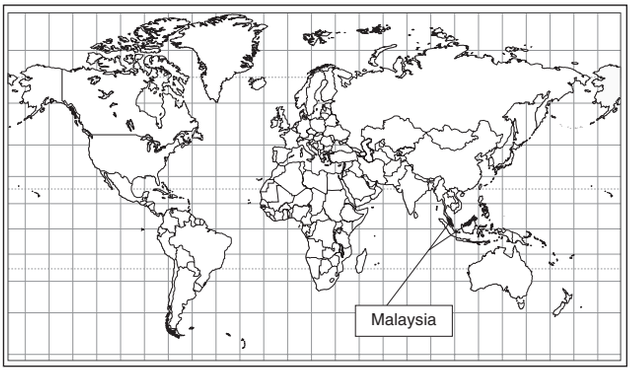
Malaysia

Population (2010, proj.): 27,914,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $6,420

Date of Independence: August 31, 1957 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: August 31, 1957 (amended many times, most recently in 2007)



Malaysian news media have traditionally been constrained by legal restrictions and government intimidation, and this has recently been extended to online services as well. Publishers (newspapers and otherwise) must get an annual permit but the prime minister can revoke these at any time and seemingly without providing a reason. Opposition newspapers are thus often targeted. Broadcast licenses are similarly limited and in 2007 action was taken against a number of bloggers who expressed oppositional views. There is little investigative journalism given the menu of legal actions government can take in response. Censorship of books, film, and foreign media to protect Islam and government views is widespread. Despite some legal limitations, Internet use is intensive and helps counter government's information monopoly.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	NF	
1981	PF	NF	
1982	PF	NF	
1983–84	PF	NF	
1985	PF	NF	
1986	PF	NF	
1987	PF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			PF
1990			PF
1991			PF
1992			PF
1993			PF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	8	9	9	9	3	4	8	8	58	PF
1995	10	9	9	9	6	5	5	11	64	NF
1996	9	9	9	10	5	6	5	8	61	NF
1997	10	10	14	13	5	7	1	1	61	NF
1998	10	11	14	13	5	7	0	1	61	NF
1999	10	11	14	15	5	7	3	1	66	NF
2000	10	11	14	15	5	7	5	3	70	NF
2001	10	11	14	13	5	11	1	5	70	NF
2002	28		24		19				71	NF
2003	26		27		18				71	NF
2004	26		25		18				69	NF
2005	26		26		17				69	NF
2006	23		24		18				65	NF
2007	24		25		19				68	NF
2008	24		23		18				65	NF

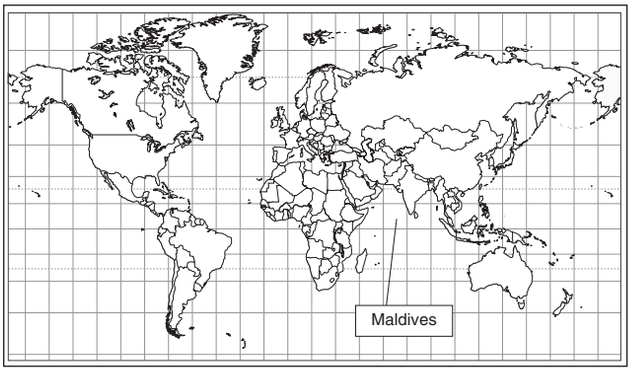
MALDIVES

Population (2010, proj.): 314,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $3,190

Date of Independence: July 26, 1965 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: August 7, 2008



This island nation in the Indian Ocean enjoys only limited press freedom as media protections are not found in the constitution nor most laws.

A variety of content types are restricted or banned and the government can close down media outlets for transgressions. Harassment of journalists is common. Most broadcast stations are government owned and provide a progovernment line. Internet access is available, but few use it. Some oppositional websites are blocked.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	NF	
1981	PF	NF	
1982	PF	NF	
1983–84	PF	NF	
1985	PF	NF	
1986	PF	NF	
1987	PF	NF	
1988	PF	NF	
1989			PF
1990			PF
1991			NF
1992			NF
1993			NF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	9	9	10	10	10	10	5	5	**68**	**NF**
1995	8	8	9	9	9	9	5	5	**62**	**NF**
1996	8	9	10	10	0	8	5	18	**68**	**NF**
1997	15	15	13	14	0	8	0	0	**65**	**NF**
1998	15	15	13	14	0	8	0	1	**66**	**NF**
1999	15	15	13	14	0	8	0	1	**66**	**NF**
2000	15	15	13	14	0	8	0	0	**65**	**NF**
2001	15	14	13	14	0	9	0	0	**65**	**NF**
2002	22		20		19				**61**	**NF**
2003	24		22		18				**64**	**NF**
2004	23		23		18				**64**	**NF**
2005	22		27		19				**68**	**NF**
2006	24		27		19				**70**	**NF**
2007	23		27		18				**68**	**NF**
2008	24		23		18				**65**	**NF**

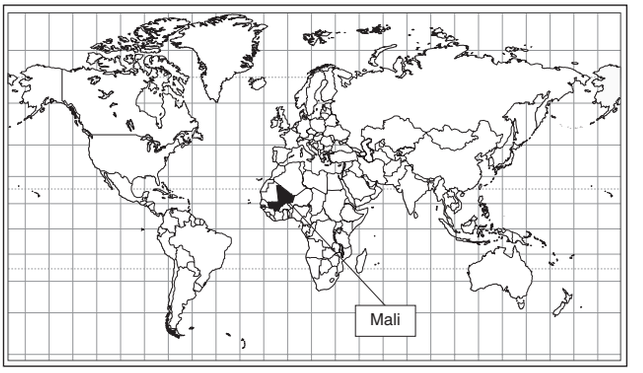
Mali

Population (2010, proj.): 13,323,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $500

Date of Independence: September 22, 1960 (from France)

Date of Last Constitution: January 12, 1992



Print media here are among the freest in all of Africa, although libel laws remain a matter of concern, especially as they are not consistently employed. Some 50 private newspapers and about 100 radio stations do criticize the government. Television service is provided by a government channel that is even-handed in its political coverage. Foreign media may circulate freely and the Internet is not restricted, though it is used by only a handful of people.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			NF
1993			PF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	9	9	5	5	5	6	2	2	43	PF
1995	9	9	8	5	5	6	5	5	52	PF
1996	10	9	3	0	0	0	0	2	24	F
1997	10	9	3	0	0	0	1	1	24	F
1998	10	9	3	2	0	0	2	4	30	F
1999	10	9	3	2	0	2	0	1	27	F
2000	10	9	3	2	0	2	0	0	26	F
2001	7	5	3	2	1	3	0	1	22	F
2002	6		10		7				23	F
2003	6		9		9				24	F
2004	8		10		9				27	F
2005	6		8		9				23	F
2006	6		10		8				24	F
2007	7		9		8				24	F
2008	10		9		8				27	F

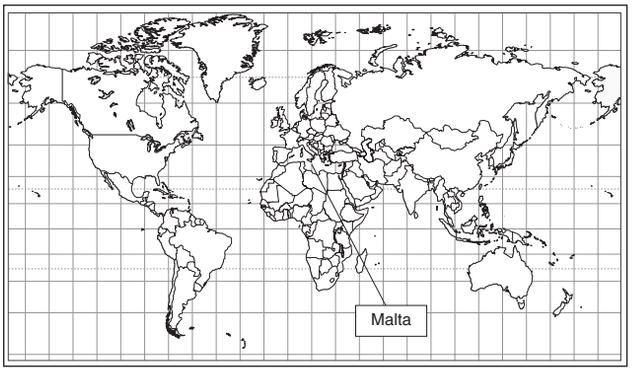
Malta

Population (2010, proj.): 410,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $16,680

Date of Independence: September 21, 1964 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: 1964 (amended many times)



Maltese print and broadcast media are quite free, following the European model, though it is one of only three European Union countries lacking freedom of information legislation. There has been some harassment of journalists, especially those covering protests. There are a half dozen daily newspapers, one television system (though Italian television is widely watched as well), and a number of radio stations. Internet use is not regulated and most people and nearly all the islands' schools have connections.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	PF	
1981	PF	PF	
1982	F	PF	
1983–84	F	NF	
1985	F	NF	
1986	F	NF	
1987	F	NF	
1988	F	PF	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	2	3	6	5	5	3	1	2	**27**	**F**
1995	2	3	6	5	5	3	0	0	**24**	**F**
1996	6	9	0	2	0	0	0	0	**17**	**F**
1997	6	9	0	2	0	0	0	0	**17**	**F**
1998	6	9	0	2	0	0	0	0	**17**	**F**
1999	6	9	0	2	0	0	0	0	**17**	**F**
2000	6	9	0	2	0	0	0	0	**17**	**F**
2001	3	3	3	2	1	2	0	0	**14**	**F**
2002	0		5		8				**13**	**F**
2003	2		4		7				**13**	**F**
2004	2		5		8				**15**	**F**
2005	2		7		9				**18**	**F**
2006	2		7		9				**18**	**F**
2007	2		6		9				**17**	**F**
2008	3		8		9				**20**	**F**

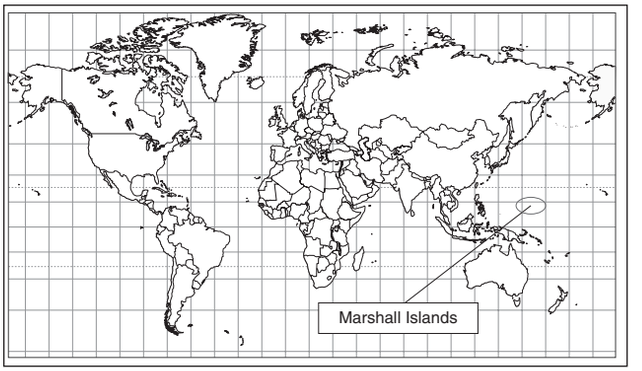
Marshall Islands

Population (2010, proj.): 63,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $3,240

Date of Independence: October 21, 1986 (from the U.S.-administered UN trusteeship)

Date of Last Constitution: May 1, 1979



These Pacific islands enjoy substantial media freedom. A weekly newspaper and government radio and television stations provide news to most people. American broadcasts are available by satellite. The Internet is used by a tiny fraction of the people, though the government is encouraging such use and has a government website.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			N/A
1990			N/A
1991			N/A
1992			N/A
1993			N/A

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	1	1	4	2	3	7	0	0	18	F
1995	1	1	4	2	4	7	0	0	19	F
1996	2	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	8	F
1997	2	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	8	F
1998	2	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	8	F
1999	2	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	8	F
2000	2	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	8	F
2001	2	1	2	1	0	2	0	0	8	F
2002	0		5		5				10	F
2003	0		5		5				10	F
2004	1		5		6				12	F
2005	1		6		6				13	F
2006	1		6		8				15	F
2007	2		6		9				17	F
2008	2		6		9				17	F

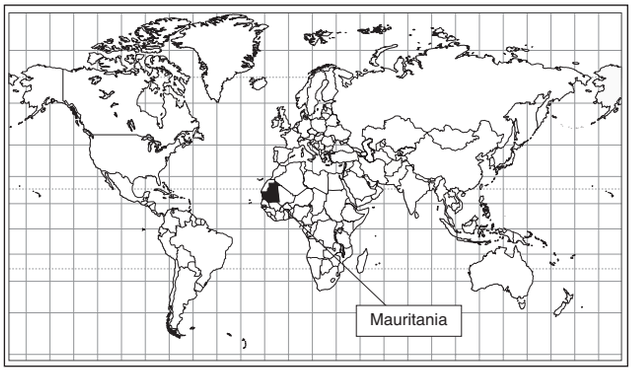
MAURITANIA

Population (2010, proj.): 3,366,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $840

Date of Independence: November 28, 1960 (from France)

Date of Last Constitution: July 12, 1991



Media freedom has increased since a 2005 coup overthrew the former authoritarian regime. A number of laws have helped this process along, though libel remains a potential danger and papers can be closed for publishing things thought critical of Islam or the government. Harassment of journalists is fairly common. Newspapers are both government and privately owned, but this is the only West African nation lacking a private radio or television station. Internet is not controlled but is used by only a handful of people.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**NF**
1992			**NF**
1993			**NF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	10	10	9	10	5	7	8	8	**68**	**NF**
1995	10	10	9	10	5	7	6	20	**77**	**NF**
1996	10	10	10	10	2	8	4	17	**71**	**NF**
1997	12	12	15	15	2	10	0	5	**71**	**NF**
1998	12	12	15	15	2	10	0	5	**71**	**NF**
1999	12	12	15	15	2	10	0	5	**71**	**NF**
2000	12	10	13	10	2	14	1	5	**67**	**NF**
2001	12	10	13	12	2	14	0	4	**67**	**NF**
2002	23		18		20				**61**	**NF**
2003	21		23		17				**61**	**NF**
2004	23		22		19				**64**	**NF**
2005	22		24		19				**65**	**NF**
2006	19		20		18				**57**	**PF**
2007	18		20		17				**55**	**PF**
2008	18		29		18				**56**	**PF**

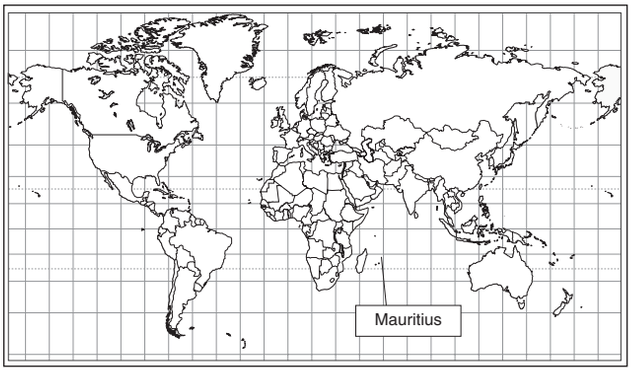
Mauritius

Population (2010, proj.): 1,297,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $5,580

Date of Independence: March 12, 1968 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: March 12, 1968 (amended March 12, 1992)



The country has a traditionally liberal media environment, though it lacks a law requiring public access to government information. There are nine dailies and nearly three dozen weekly newspapers, with ownership concentrated in two groups. Television is the primary news medium, and is controlled by the government as are most, but not all, radio stations. Internet usage exceeds most African nations as a quarter of the population has access.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	PF	
1988	F	PF	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	2	7	4	5	4	2	1	5	30	F
1995	2	6	6	5	4	2	0	5	30	F
1996	5	8	2	10	0	0	0	0	25	F
1997	5	8	2	10	0	0	0	0	25	F
1998	5	8	2	4	0	0	0	1	20	F
1999	5	8	2	4	0	0	0	1	20	F
2000	5	6	2	4	0	0	0	0	17	F
2001	5	4	2	4	0	2	0	0	17	F
2002	5		7		5				17	F
2003	5		9		10				24	F
2004	5		10		11				27	F
2005	6		9		13				28	F
2006	6		8		12				26	F
2007	6		8		12				26	F
2008	6		8		12				26	F

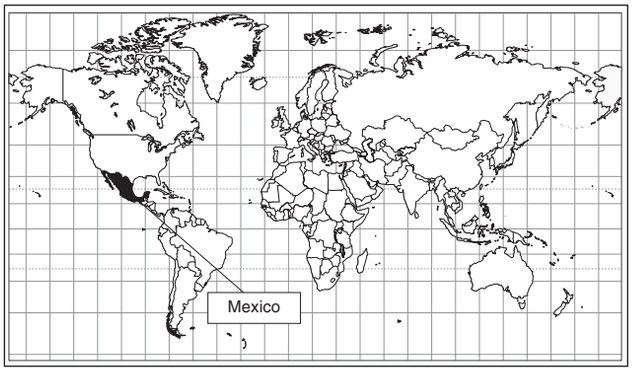
Mexico

Population (2010, proj.): 110,645,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $9,400

Date of Independence: September 27, 1821 (from Spain)

Date of Last Constitution: February 5, 1917



Mexico's ongoing battle with drug cartels has limited news media freedoms, increased harassment of (and substantial violence against) journalists (with little government action in response), and led to more self-censorship in reporting. On the other hand, federal criminal libel laws have been eliminated, though they continue on the books in many states. Major cities are well served by competing media—there are some 300 newspapers in the country—but small towns and rural areas less so. Television is dominated by a long-lasting duopoly ownership. Internet is used by about a quarter of the population.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	PF	
1981	PF	PF	
1982	PF	PF	
1983–84	PF	PF	
1985	PF	PF	
1986	PF	PF	
1987	PF	PF	
1988	PF	PF	
1989			**PF**
1990			**PF**
1991			**PF**
1992			**PF**
1993			**PF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	3	3	8	8	8	8	4	18	**60**	**PF**
1995	3	3	8	4	7	6	5	18	**54**	**PF**
1996	6	4	2	8	2	8	7	15	**52**	**PF**
1997	6	4	5	12	3	12	5	5	**52**	**PF**
1998	6	4	12	12	3	12	0	5	**54**	**PF**
1999	6	4	12	12	3	12	0	5	**54**	**PF**
2000	6	4	12	12	3	12	0	1	**50**	**PF**
2001	6	4	9	8	3	8	3	5	**46**	**PF**
2002	14		20		6				**40**	**PF**
2003	13		16		9				**38**	**PF**
2004	11		16		9				**36**	**PF**
2005	11		20		11				**42**	**PF**
2006	13		22		13				**48**	**PF**
2007	12		23		13				**48**	**PF**
2008	13		25		13				**51**	**PF**

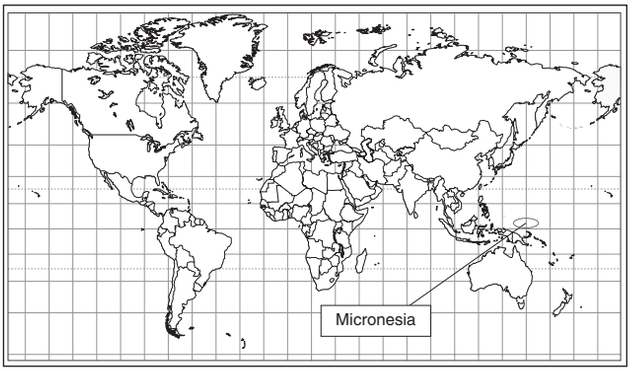
Micronesia

Population (2010, proj.): 111,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $2,280

Date of Independence: November 3, 1986 (from the U.S.-administered UN trusteeship)

Date of Last Constitution: May 10, 1979



Micronesia is made up of many groups of islands, so population is widely scattered making print media distribution difficult. There are five weekly or biweekly papers, and one online daily. Each of the four states has a radio station, and some have television as well. Foreign television is available by satellite. Relatively few people (13 percent in 2007) make use of the Internet.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			N/A
1990			N/A
1991			N/A
1992			N/A
1993			N/A

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	1	1	7	4	5	5	1	1	25	F
1995	1	1	6	5	5	5	0	0	23	F
1996	1	1	6	5	5	5	0	0	23	F
1997	1	1	6	5	5	5	0	0	23	F
1998	1	1	10	5	5	2	0	2	26	F
1999	1	1	10	7	5	2	0	0	26	F
2000	1	1	8	7	5	2	0	0	24	F
2001	2	1	7	5	4	3	0	0	22	F
2002	2		2		16				20	F
2003	2		3		12				17	F
2004	1		7		11				19	F
2005	1		7		10				18	F
2006	1		8		11				20	F
2007	1		8		11				20	F
2008	2		8		11				21	F

MOLDOVA

Population (2010, proj.): 3,576,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $1,210

Date of Independence: August 27, 1991 (from the Soviet Union)

Date of Last Constitution: August 27, 1994

After a short period of partial freedom, Moldova has returned to its Soviet roots and little news media freedom. The government often infringes on legally "guaranteed" press freedom, and harassment of journalists is fairly common. Some newspapers provide a voice for opposition political views, but broadcast news is weaker. The government radio–television service offers a progovernment line. Internet use is not common, though it is not restricted.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			**N/A**
1990			**N/A**
1991			**N/A**
1992			**N/A**
1993			**PF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	5	5	10	9	4	4	2	2	**41**	**PF**
1995	5	7	10	9	6	7	1	2	**47**	**PF**
1996	10	10	10	9	0	9	4	10	**62**	**NF**
1997	12	13	8	7	7	9	1	1	**57**	**PF**
1998	12	13	8	7	7	9	1	1	**58**	**PF**
1999	12	13	8	7	7	9	0	0	**56**	**PF**
2000	12	13	8	7	7	9	0	2	**58**	**PF**
2001	12	13	9	7	7	9	1	1	**59**	**PF**
2002	22		20		17				**59**	**PF**
2003	20		22		17				**59**	**PF**
2004	22		23		18				**63**	**NF**
2005	20		26		19				**65**	**NF**
2006	20		25		20				**65**	**NF**
2007	20		25		20				**65**	**NF**
2008	20		25		21				**66**	**NF**

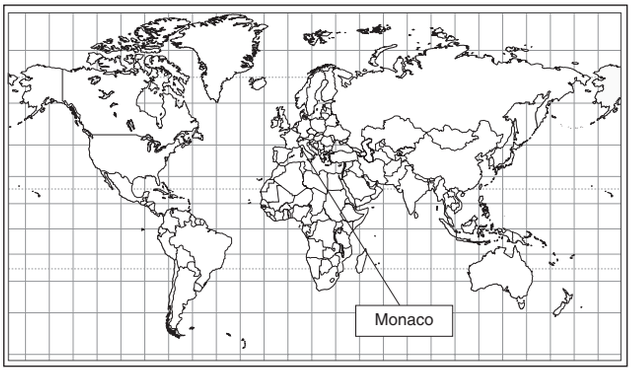
Monaco

Population (2010, proj.): 33,000

Gross National Income per Capita: N/A

Date of Independence: 1419 (beginning of rule by House of Grimaldi)

Date of Last Constitution: December 17, 1962 (modified April 2, 2002)



This tiny principality on the French-Italian border is one of the world's wealthiest enclaves and enjoys a nearly free press (the royal family may not be criticized). There are no daily papers, though French print and broadcast media circulate widely. There are government radio and television stations, and one private (English-language) radio station. Internet use is widespread.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			N/A
1990			N/A
1991			N/A
1992			N/A
1993			N/A

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1995	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1996	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1997	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1998	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1999	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
2000	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
2001	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
2002	N/A		N/A		N/A				N/A	N/A
2003	3		2		4				9	F
2004	3		4		6				13	F
2005	3		5		6				14	F
2006	3		7		6				16	F
2007	3		7		6				16	F
2008	3		7		6				16	F

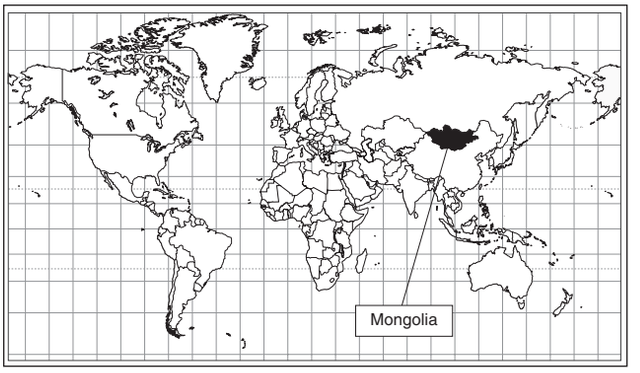
MONGOLIA

Population (2010, proj.): 2,701,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $1,290

Date of Independence: July 12, 1921 (from China)

Date of Last Constitution: January 13, 1992



Mongolia is located between Russia and China, and its media are partially free, though protected by law. Libel law (limiting criticism of government officials) remains a problem, and there is some legal harassment of journalists. Newspapers compete in several cities, but Radio Mongolia is the prime news source, now in transition to private from state control. Provincial media are generally controlled by state authorities. There are a number of private television stations, and foreign programming is received via satellite and cable links. Only about 10 percent of the population makes use of the Internet.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**PF**
1992			**PF**
1993			**F**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	10	6	6	9	6	8	0	0	**40**	**PF**
1995	9	5	6	9	6	6	0	0	**41**	**PF**
1996	7	6	8	5	0	8	0	0	**34**	**PF**
1997	7	6	8	5	0	8	0	0	**34**	**PF**
1998	7	6	8	5	0	8	0	0	**34**	**PF**
1999	7	6	6	3	0	8	0	0	**30**	**F**
2000	6	5	6	3	0	8	0	1	**29**	**F**
2001	6	5	6	3	0	8	0	0	**28**	**F**
2002	4		12		15				**31**	**PF**
2003	11		11		14				**36**	**PF**
2004	11		12		13				**36**	**PF**
2005	11		12		12				**35**	**PF**
2006	11		12		11				**34**	**PF**
2007	12		13		11				**36**	**PF**
2008	13		13		12				**38**	**PF**

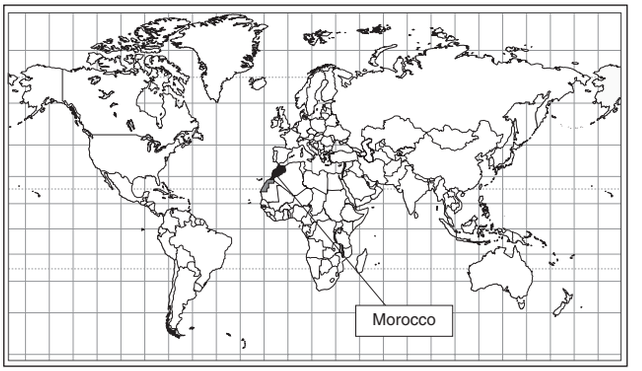
Morocco

Population (2010, proj.): 32,381,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $2,290

Date of Independence: March 2, 1956 (from France)

Date of Last Constitution: March 10, 1972 (last revised September 1996)



Moroccan media are restricted from reporting anything critical of the royal family or Islam—or anything against the government position concerning the Western Sahara. Fines and prison terms can face journalists who transgress these limitations. Seventeen daily and about 90 weekly papers (plus six online news sites) circulate, and most receive subsidies from the government. Broadcast outlets are still dominated by state control. About a fifth of the country makes use of the Internet (some websites are blocked).

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	NF	
1981	PF	NF	
1982	PF	NF	
1983–84	PF	NF	
1985	PF	NF	
1986	PF	NF	
1987	PF	NF	
1988	PF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**PF**
1992			**PF**
1993			**PF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	7	7	7	6	7	5	5	15	**59**	**PF**
1995	7	7	7	6	6	5	5	10	**53**	**PF**
1996	10	10	5	9	0	10	0	4	**48**	**PF**
1997	11	11	6	10	0	10	1	2	**51**	**PF**
1998	11	11	6	10	0	10	1	2	**51**	**PF**
1999	11	11	6	10	0	10	1	2	**51**	**PF**
2000	11	11	6	10	0	10	0	1	**49**	**PF**
2001	11	11	6	10	0	10	1	4	**53**	**PF**
2002	22		22		14				**58**	**PF**
2003	19		22		16				**57**	**PF**
2004	21		23		17				**61**	**NF**
2005	21		25		17				**63**	**NF**
2006	22		22		17				**61**	**NF**
2007	23		22		17				**62**	**NF**
2008	24		23		17				**64**	**NF**

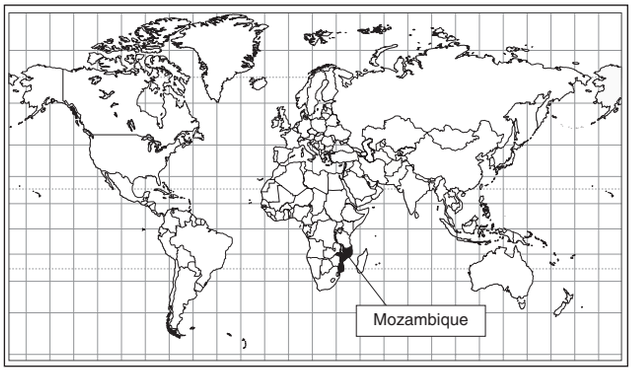
MOZAMBIQUE

Population (2010, proj.): 23,406,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $330

Date of Independence: June 25, 1975 (from Portugal)

Date of Last Constitution: November 30, 1990



This south African nation provides for press freedom in its constitution and a 1991 press law. But there is still some harassment of journalists and use of libel law to limit negative reports on government officials. Newspapers are largely limited to the capital city and have little impact on the illiterate interior. Radio is more important—-there are government broadcast stations and a number of private competitors as well. The level of Internet use is negligible.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**NF**
1992			**PF**
1993			**PF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	8	9	5	6	5	9	9	10	**61**	**NF**
1995	8	9	5	3	5	9	5	10	**54**	**PF**
1996	5	5	7	9	5	5	0	0	**36**	**PF**
1997	8	7	10	13	5	5	2	0	**50**	**PF**
1998	8	7	10	13	5	5	0	0	**48**	**PF**
1999	8	7	10	13	5	5	0	0	**48**	**PF**
2000	8	7	10	10	5	5	0	3	**48**	**PF**
2001	8	7	10	7	5	8	0	3	**48**	**PF**
2002	17		14		17				**48**	**PF**
2003	14		18		15				**47**	**PF**
2004	13		17		15				**45**	**PF**
2005	13		17		15				**45**	**PF**
2006	12		17		14				**43**	**PF**
2007	11		15		14				**40**	**PF**
2008	11		15		14				**30**	**PF**

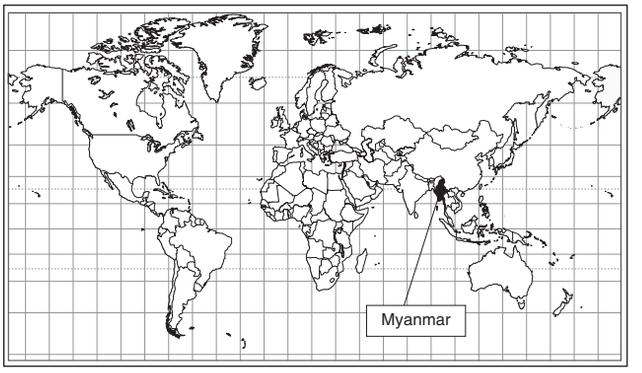
Myanmar (Burma)

Population (2010, proj.): 50,496,000

Gross National Income per Capita: N/A

Date of Independence: January 4, 1948 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: May 10, 2008 (approved)



The repressive and reclusive military regime exerts close control on the nation's media—it owns all broadcast stations and daily newspapers. Prison terms are common and can be protracted for dissident journalists. Prepublication censorship is standard. The ability of domestic and foreign journalists to do basic reporting is restricted. Internet access is expensive, regulated, and censored, and few make use of it.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			NF
1993			NF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	10	10	10	10	4	10	18	18	90	NF
1995	10	10	10	10	9	10	20	20	99	NF
1996	10	10	10	10	9	10	20	20	99	NF
1997	15	15	15	15	15	15	4	5	99	NF
1998	15	15	15	15	15	15	4	5	99	NF
1999	15	15	15	15	15	15	2	5	97	NF
2000	15	15	15	15	15	15	5	5	100	NF
2001	15	15	15	15	15	15	5	5	100	NF
2002	30		40		26				96	NF
2003	30		37		27				94	NF
2004	30		38		27				95	NF
2005	30		38		28				96	NF
2006	30		38		28				96	NF
2007	30		38		28				96	NF
2008	30		29		28				97	NF

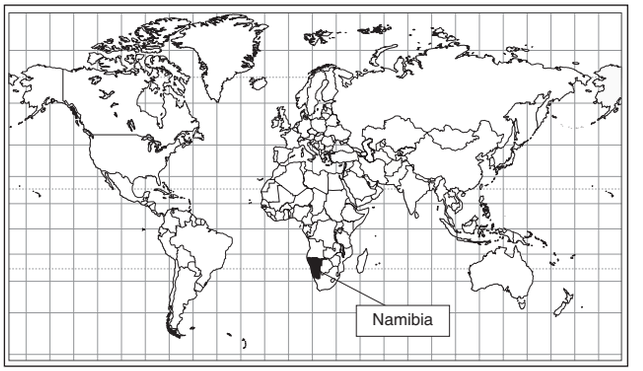
NAMIBIA

Population (2010, proj.): 2,212,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $3,450

Date of Independence: March 21, 1990 (from South African mandate)

Date of Last Constitution: March 12, 1990



The country enjoys some of the freest media on the African continent. Six of the eight newspapers are privately owned. The government-owned radio and television service is dominant, though there are a dozen private radio stations and two television outlets. Satellite television brings in foreign services. Internet use is limited to a handful of users by high cost and limited access, though there is no content regulation.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			**N/A**
1990			**N/A**
1991			**N/A**
1992			**F**
1993			**F**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	2	5	2	2	4	5	1	2	**23**	**F**
1995	2	4	2	2	4	5	4	0	**23**	**F**
1996	2	2	7	7	0	2	6	4	**30**	**F**
1997	3	3	10	10	0	3	1	0	**30**	**F**
1998	3	3	10	10	0	3	0	1	**30**	**F**
1999	3	3	10	12	0	3	5	2	**38**	**PF**
2000	3	3	10	12	0	3	1	2	**34**	**PF**
2001	3	3	10	12	1	3	1	1	**34**	**PF**
2002	3		19		12				**34**	**PF**
2003	8		15		14				**37**	**PF**
2004	9		12		13				**34**	**PF**
2005	8		9		12				**29**	**F**
2006	8		10		12				**30**	**F**
2007	8		10		12				**30**	**F**
2008	8		10		12				**30**	**F**

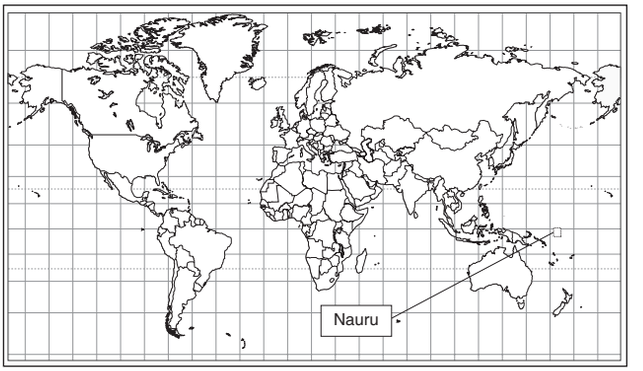
Nauru

Population (2010, proj.): 10,000

Gross National Income per Capita: N/A

Date of Independence: January 31, 1968 (from the Australia-, New Zealand-, and UK-administered UN trusteeship)

Date of Last Constitution: January 29, 1968 (amended May 17, 1968)



There are no daily papers and the government operates radio and television services. A poor economy hurts media ability to improve its reporting role. There are no limits on Internet use but few use it.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	1	1	7	3	2	4	1	1	20	F
1995	1	1	7	3	2	4	0	0	18	F
1996	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	6	F
1997	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	6	F
1998	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	6	F
1999	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	6	F
2000	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	6	F
2001	1	1	5	2	2	1	1	0	13	F
2002	5		12		10				27	F
2003	5		11		10				26	F
2004	2		10		13				25	F
2005	4		12		13				29	F
2006	4		13		13				30	F
2007	4		11		13				28	F
2008	4		11		13				28	F

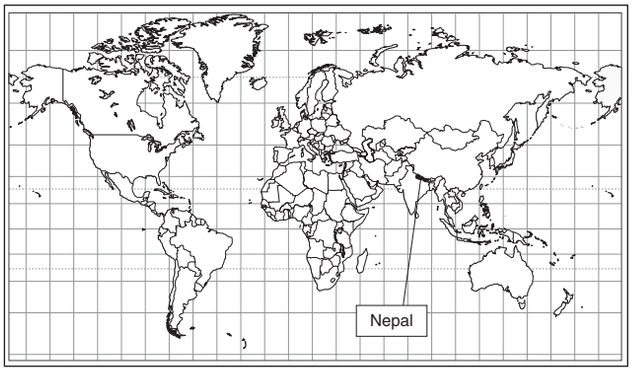
NEPAL

Population (2010, proj.): 29,853,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $350

Date of Independence: 1768 (unified by Prithvi Narayan Shah)

Date of Last Constitution: January 15, 2007



This Himalayan nation between India and China suffered a long civil war and in 2008 an election resulted in a Maoist government. To that point, media had been partially free under the ruling king, since deposed. Violence against journalists was common. The government owned the chief newspaper as well as radio and television service, though private companies competed in all media as well. Internet usage is negligible.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	NF	
1981	PF	NF	
1982	PF	NF	
1983–84	PF	NF	
1985	PF	NF	
1986	PF	NF	
1987	PF	NF	
1988	PF	NF	
1989			**PF**
1990			**PF**
1991			**PF**
1992			**F**
1993			**F**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	8	8	9	8	6	8	3	3	**53**	**PF**
1995	8	8	9	8	6	8	1	6	**54**	**PF**
1996	8	9	7	8	0	8	0	12	**52**	**PF**
1997	12	14	10	12	0	8	0	0	**56**	**PF**
1998	12	14	10	12	0	8	0	3	**59**	**PF**
1999	12	14	10	10	0	8	0	5	**59**	**PF**
2000	12	14	10	10	0	8	0	5	**59**	**PF**
2001	12	10	10	8	3	11	0	3	**57**	**PF**
2002	21		24		15				**60**	**PF**
2003	19		34		12				**65**	**NF**
2004	20		31		14				**65**	**NF**
2005	20		32		17				**69**	**NF**
2006	23		35		19				**77**	**NF**
2007	17		27		14				**58**	**PF**
2008	15		28		14				**57**	**PF**

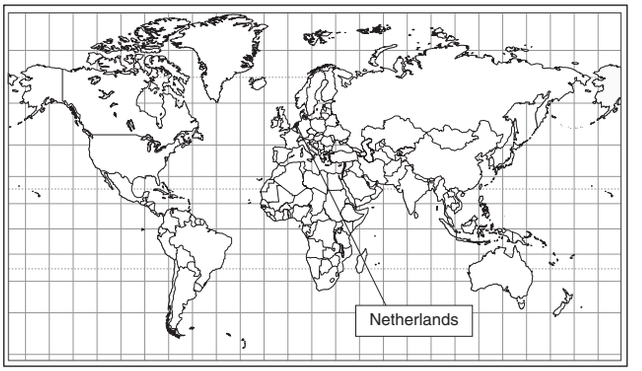
NETHERLANDS

Population (2010, proj.): 16,653,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $45,650

Date of Independence: Formally declared July 26, 1581; recognized by Spain January 30, 1648

Date of Last Constitution: Adopted 1815; amended most recently in 2002



As with other Western European nations, Dutch media are remarkably free. Rules against criticism of the royal family are seldom enforced. Newspaper ownership is concentrated. Public service broadcasting has faced commercial competition since 1988. Internet usage is nearly universal.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	3	3	1	1	1	3	1	1	14	F
1995	3	3	2	1	1	3	4	1	18	F
1996	3	3	2	2	1	3	0	0	14	F
1997	3	3	2	2	1	3	0	0	14	F
1998	3	3	2	2	1	3	0	0	14	F
1999	3	3	2	2	1	3	0	0	14	F
2000	3	3	2	2	1	3	0	0	14	F
2001	3	3	2	2	1	3	0	1	15	F
2002	5		4		6				15	F
2003	5		4		6				15	F
2004	2		4		6				12	F
2005	1		6		4				11	F
2006	1		6		4				11	F
2007	2		7		4				13	F
2008	2		7		4				13	F

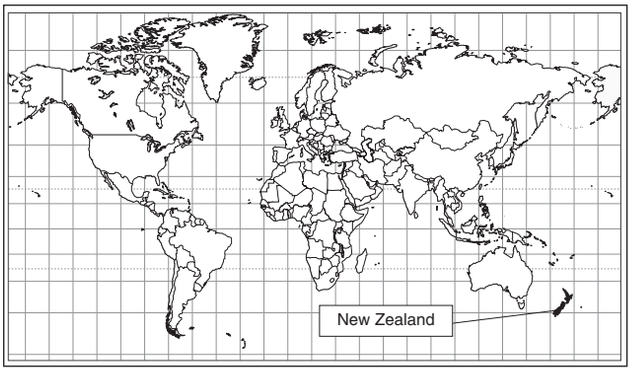
New Zealand

Population (2010, proj.): 4,303,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $27,080

Date of Independence: September 26, 1907 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: Adopted January 1, 1987



New Zealand media are free more by tradition than constitutional provision. Four foreign firms (largely Australian) dominate the newspaper market and private broadcasters compete with the government radio–television system. Internet use is widespread.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			**F**
1990			**F**
1991			**F**
1992			**F**
1993			**F**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	1	1	2	1	1	2	0	0	**8**	**F**
1995	1	1	2	1	1	2	0	0	**8**	**F**
1996	1	1	1	2	0	1	0	0	**6**	**F**
1997	1	1	1	2	0	1	0	0	**6**	**F**
1998	1	1	1	2	0	1	0	0	**6**	**F**
1999	2	2	1	2	0	1	0	0	**8**	**F**
2000	2	2	1	2	0	1	0	0	**8**	**F**
2001	2	1	1	2	1	1	0	0	**8**	**F**
2002	0		1		7				**8**	**F**
2003	1		1		6				**8**	**F**
2004	1		3		6				**10**	**F**
2005	2		4		6				**12**	**F**
2006	2		5		6				**13**	**F**
2007	3		5		5				**13**	**F**
2008	2		5		6				**13**	**F**

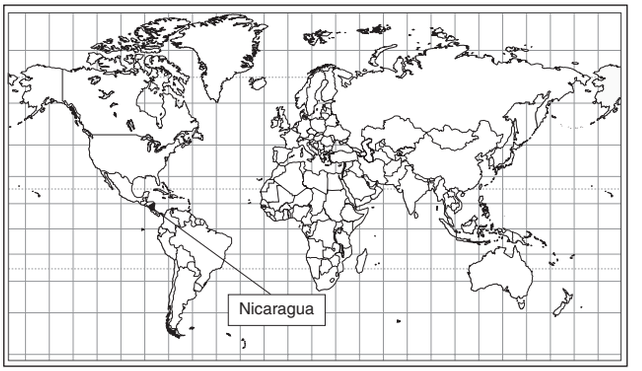
NICARAGUA

Population (2010, proj.): 5,822,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $990

Date of Independence: September 15, 1821 (from Spain)

Date of Last Constitution: January 9, 1987 (last revised in 2005)



Tensions between government and the news media are traditional here, and intimidation of (though, less commonly, violence against) reporters is widespread. Self-censorship is common. All media rely on government advertising given the weak economy—and it is often limited only to outlets backing the government. The capital city of Managua is served by ten television and about 100 radio stations, the latter providing the chief source of news for most people in the country. Internet usage is negligible.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	PF	
1981	F	PF	
1982	PF	PF	
1983–84	PF	NF	
1985	PF	NF	
1986	PF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	PF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			PF
1992			PF
1993			PF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	5	6	5	6	4	6	14	10	56	PF
1995	5	6	5	6	4	6	10	11	53	PF
1996	5	6	5	6	4	6	6	6	44	PF
1997	6	8	6	7	5	8	1	1	44	PF
1998	6	8	6	7	5	8	0	0	40	PF
1999	6	8	6	6	5	8	1	0	40	PF
2000	6	8	6	6	5	8	1	0	40	PF
2001	6	5	6	5	8	10	0	0	40	PF
2002	6		15		11				32	PF
2003	10		16		14				40	PF
2004	10		14		13				37	PF
2005	14		17		11				42	PF
2006	14		18		12				44	PF
2007	14		16		12				42	PF
2008	14		17		12				43	PF

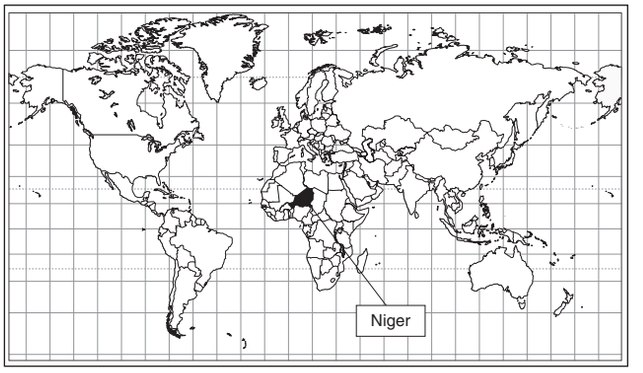
NIGER

Population (2010, proj.): 15,891,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $280

Date of Independence: August 3, 1960 (from France)

Date of Last Constitution: Adopted July 18, 1999



As in many developing countries, press freedom is guaranteed, but rarely observed. Civil conflict in the northern part of Niger has worsened the situation as government clamps down on formerly independent media to limit coverage of events. Radio is the most important news medium, and some private stations compete with the government service. Internet usage is negligible.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**NF**
1992			**NF**
1993			**NF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	5	8	9	6	5	8	5	15	**61**	**NF**
1995	5	8	8	8	5	9	5	13	**61**	**NF**
1996	6	7	9	9	5	9	0	9	**54**	**PF**
1997	8	9	13	13	5	9	3	3	**63**	**NF**
1998	8	9	13	13	5	9	3	3	**63**	**NF**
1999	9	10	14	14	5	9	5	2	**68**	**NF**
2000	9	10	14	14	5	9	0	1	**62**	**NF**
2001	9	9	11	12	9	11	0	1	**62**	**NF**
2002	20		14		15				**49**	**PF**
2003	21		17		15				**53**	**PF**
2004	20		20		16				**56**	**PF**
2005	19		18		16				**53**	**PF**
2006	21		19		16				**56**	**PF**
2007	21		20		17				**58**	**PF**
2008	22		24		17				**63**	**NF**

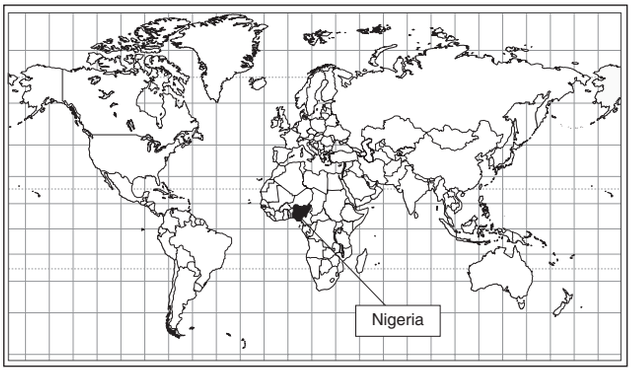
NIGERIA

Population (2010, proj.): 158,259,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $920

Date of Independence: October 1, 1960 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: Adopted May 5, 1999; effective May 29, 1999



In Nigeria, one of Africa's most important countries, government harassment of the news media is fairly common, especially around elections. Access to government information is marginal at best. Violence against journalists is also common. There are more than 100 national and local publications, and 300 radio stations (the most important news medium), while television is limited to urban areas. Foreign broadcasts are an important source of news. Internet use is very low.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	PF	
1981	F	PF	
1982	F	PF	
1983–84	F	PF	
1985	PF	PF	
1986	PF	PF	
1987	PF	PF	
1988	PF	PF	
1989			F
1990			PF
1991			PF
1992			PF
1993			PF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	5	10	9	9	5	3	4	12	57	PF
1995	7	10	9	10	5	6	3	19	69	NF
1996	10	10	10	10	8	10	14	20	92	NF
1997	15	15	15	15	8	15	5	5	93	NF
1998	15	15	15	15	8	15	5	5	93	NF
1999	15	15	3	4	8	10	0	0	55	PF
2000	8	8	5	6	8	10	3	5	53	PF
2001	8	8	5	6	8	10	5	5	55	PF
2002	15		24		18				57	PF
2003	15		22		16				53	PF
2004	15		23		15				53	PF
2005	15		21		16				52	PF
2006	15		21		18				54	PF
2007	14		24		17				55	PF
2008	14		22		17				53	PF

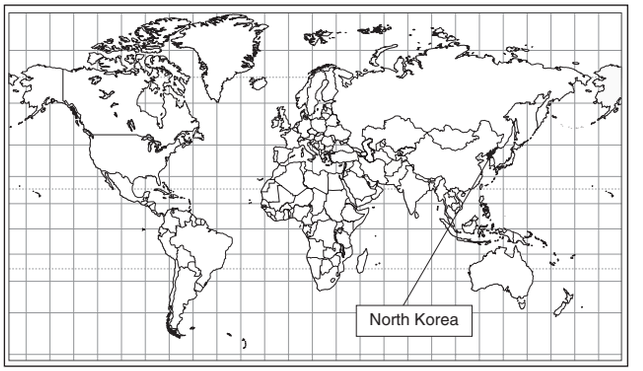
North Korea

Population (2010, proj.): 23,991,000

Gross National Income per Capita: N/A

Date of Independence: August 15, 1945 (from Japan)

Date of Last Constitution: Adopted 1948; revised most recently in September 1998



There is virtually no press freedom in this dictatorship. Print and broadcast media, all owned by the state, parrot government propaganda. Radio receivers must be registered and are limited to government radio frequencies. Access to any external media, including the Internet, is closely controlled.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**NF**
1992			**NF**
1993			**NF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	10	10	10	10	5	5	20	20	**90**	**NF**
1995	10	10	10	10	10	10	15	17	**92**	**NF**
1996	10	10	10	10	10	10	20	20	**100**	**NF**
1997	15	15	15	15	15	15	5	5	**100**	**NF**
1998	15	15	15	15	15	15	5	5	**100**	**NF**
1999	15	15	15	15	15	15	5	5	**100**	**NF**
2000	15	15	15	15	15	15	5	5	**100**	**NF**
2001	15	15	15	15	15	15	5	5	**100**	**NF**
2002	30		36		30				**96**	**NF**
2003	30		40		26				**96**	**NF**
2004	30		39		29				**98**	**NF**
2005	30		38		29				**97**	**NF**
2006	30		38		29				**97**	**NF**
2007	30		38		29				**97**	**NF**
2008	30		39		29				**98**	**NF**

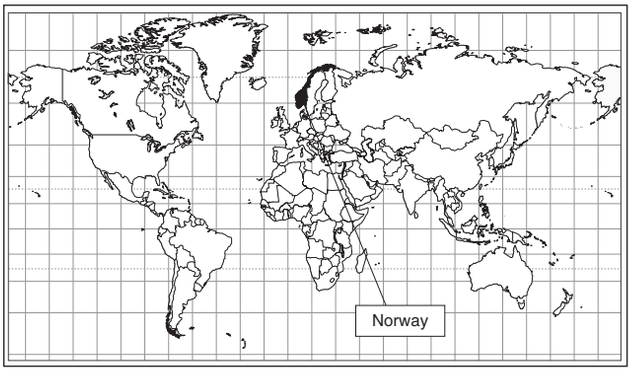
Norway

Population (2010, proj.): 4,855,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $77,370

Date of Independence: Declared union with Sweden dissolved June 7, 1905; Sweden agrees to repeal of the union October 26, 1905

Date of Last Constitution: May 17, 1814; amended many times



Norway enjoys the European tradition of a free news media, including more than 200 newspapers. Three companies dominate the print media sector. Broadcasting is both state-owned and private, and Internet usage is nearly universal.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	10	F
1995	1	1	1	2	2	1	0	0	8	F
1996	1	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	5	F
1997	1	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	5	F
1998	1	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	5	F
1999	1	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	5	F
2000	1	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	5	F
2001	1	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	5	F
2002	6		1		2				9	F
2003	2		1		6				9	F
2004	3		3		3				9	F
2005	3		3		4				10	F
2006	3		3		4				10	F
2007	3		4		4				11	F
2008	3		3		4				11	F

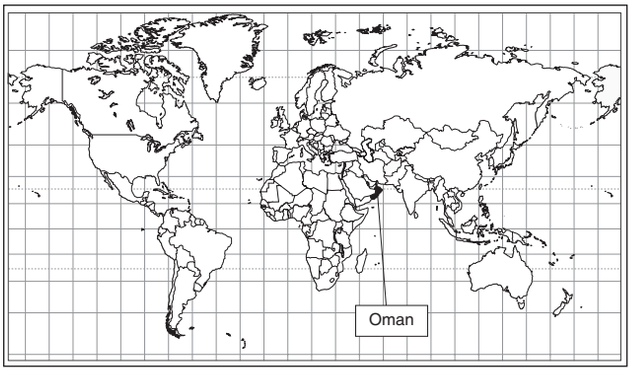
OMAN

Population (2010, proj.): 2,905,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2006): $12,860

Date of Independence: 1650 (expulsion of the Portuguese)

Date of Last Constitution: no official constitution



Oman's media are among the most regulated and restricted in the Arab world—which is saying something. Yet some news (though rarely local) is available from domestic and (by satellite) international services. Journalists must be licensed and can lose their rights for a wide variety of transgressions. There are seven daily newspapers, five of them privately owned. There are several government radio and television stations, and a slowly growing number of privately owned competing outlets. Internet service is both expensive and broadly censored—and is used by perhaps 10 percent of the population, low for the region.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**NF**
1992			**NF**
1993			**NF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	10	10	10	8	10	10	5	5	**68**	**NF**
1995	10	10	10	9	10	10	5	5	**69**	**NF**
1996	10	10	10	10	10	10	0	2	**62**	**NF**
1997	15	15	15	15	0	5	1	1	**67**	**NF**
1998	15	15	15	15	0	15	0	0	**75**	**NF**
1999	15	15	15	15	0	15	0	0	**75**	**NF**
2000	15	15	13	13	0	15	0	0	**71**	**NF**
2001	15	15	13	13	0	15	0	0	**71**	**NF**
2002	26		18		24				**68**	**NF**
2003	26		25		22				**73**	**NF**
2004	26		26		22				**74**	**NF**
2005	25		26		21				**72**	**NF**
2006	22		26		22				**70**	**NF**
2007	24		28		19				**71**	**NF**
2008	25		27		19				**71**	**NF**

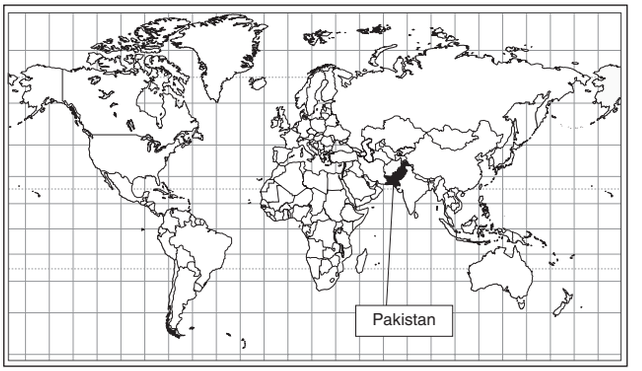
PAKISTAN

Population (2010, proj.): 184,753,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $860

Date of Independence: August 14, 1947 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: April 12, 1973 (suspended and restored multiple times, most recently restored on December 15, 2007)



Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	PF	NF	
1987	PF	NF	
1988	PF	NF	
1989			F
1990			PF
1991			PF
1992			PF
1993			PF

Political unrest and some strong content regulation (against criticism of the government, religion, the armed forces, and the constitution) limit the freedom of Pakistani news media. Government advertising is an important source of media revenue—and its withdrawal a means of press control. Libel law is widely used to control media reporting as well. Intimidation and attacks on journalists are commonplace. There are 21 national daily newspapers and 13 regional papers. Only government radio and television stations can provide news—which generally supports the government position. The government bans some websites, and Internet use is very limited.

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	3	3	9	8	7	8	9	11	58	PF
1995	4	4	9	8	6	5	5	18	59	PF
1996	4	6	5	10	0	3	12	20	60	PF
1997	6	9	13	11	0	9	1	5	54	PF
1998	6	9	13	11	0	9	5	5	58	PF
1999	6	9	13	13	0	9	5	5	60	PF
2000	6	9	15	15	0	9	5	5	64	NF
2001	9	6	13	9	1	14	0	5	57	PF
2002	15		26		16				57	PF
2003	17		25		16				58	PF
2004	17		24		18				59	PF
2005	18		25		18				61	NF
2006	18		25		18				61	NF
2007	17		28		18				63	NF
2008	20		29		17				66	NF

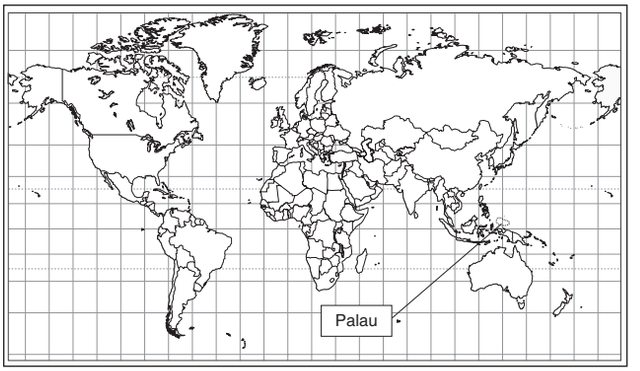
PALAU

Population (2010, proj.): 21,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $8,270

Date of Independence: October 1, 1994 (from the U.S.-administered UN trusteeship)

Date of Last Constitution: January 1, 1981



This Pacific island nation is one of the world's smallest in terms of population—about the size of a small American town. Press censorship is rare. There are just a handful of weekly papers and radio stations. Internet use is nearly nonexistent.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			**N/A**
1990			**N/A**
1991			**N/A**
1992			**N/A**
1993			**N/A**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
1995	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
1996	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
1997	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
1998	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
1999	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
2000	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
2001	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
2002	N/A		N/A		N/A				**N/A**	**N/A**
2003	0		2		7				**9**	**F**
2004	1		3		7				**11**	**F**
2005	1		4		8				**13**	**F**
2006	1		5		8				**14**	**F**
2007	1		6		7				**14**	**F**
2008	1		5		8				**14**	**F**

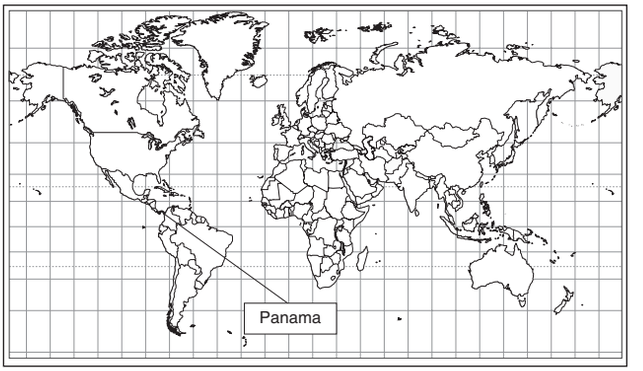
PANAMA

Population (2010, proj.): 3,508,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $5,500

Date of Independence: November 3, 1903 (from Colombia; became independent from Spain November 28, 1821)

Date of Last Constitution: October 11, 1972 (last revised in 2004)



This Central American nation provides a difficult environment for journalists, one heavy with intimidation. Low pay leads to widespread corruption (bribes are common). Access to government information is limited. Media tend to parallel political party views. Less than 10 percent of the population accesses the Internet.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	PF	
1981	F	PF	
1982	PF	PF	
1983–84	PF	PF	
1985	PF	PF	
1986	PF	PF	
1987	PF	PF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	4	4	2	3	4	5	2	3	27	F
1995	3	3	2	2	4	5	0	3	22	F
1996	7	8	2	2	4	7	0	0	30	F
1997	7	8	2	2	4	7	0	0	30	F
1998	7	8	2	2	4	7	0	0	30	F
1999	7	8	2	2	4	7	0	0	30	F
2000	7	8	2	2	4	7	0	0	30	F
2001	7	8	2	2	4	7	0	0	30	F
2002	14		9		7				30	F
2003	16		11		7				34	PF
2004	19		17		9				45	PF
2005	17		17		10				44	PF
2006	17		16		10				43	PF
2007	18		16		9				43	PF
2008	18		17		9				44	PF

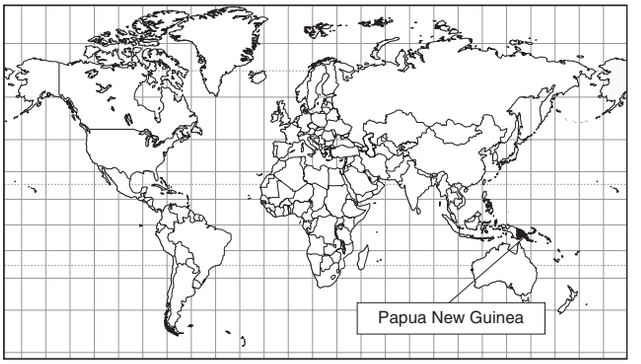
Papua New Guinea

Population (2010, proj.): 6,888,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $850

Date of Independence: September 16, 1975 (from the Australian-administered UN trusteeship)

Date of Last Constitution: September 16, 1975



News media freedom is guaranteed in the constitution and is generally observed. The country's two daily papers are both foreign owned (one by Rupert Murdoch). Fiji controls the other and the only television station. There is both a government and private radio network. Internet usage is very low.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			**F**
1990			**F**
1991			**F**
1992			**F**
1993			**F**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	2	2	3	3	4	4	5	2	**25**	**F**
1995	2	2	3	3	4	4	1	4	**23**	**F**
1996	5	5	7	5	2	2	4	0	**30**	**F**
1997	5	5	7	7	2	2	2	0	**30**	**F**
1998	5	5	7	7	2	2	0	0	**28**	**F**
1999	5	5	7	7	2	2	0	0	**28**	**F**
2000	5	5	7	7	2	2	0	0	**28**	**F**
2001	5	5	3	4	6	5	1	0	**29**	**F**
2002	3		6		17				**26**	**F**
2003	3		10		12				**25**	**F**
2004	5		11		9				**25**	**F**
2005	4		13		12				**29**	**F**
2006	4		13		12				**29**	**F**
2007	4		14		12				**30**	**F**
2008	4		13		11				**28**	**F**

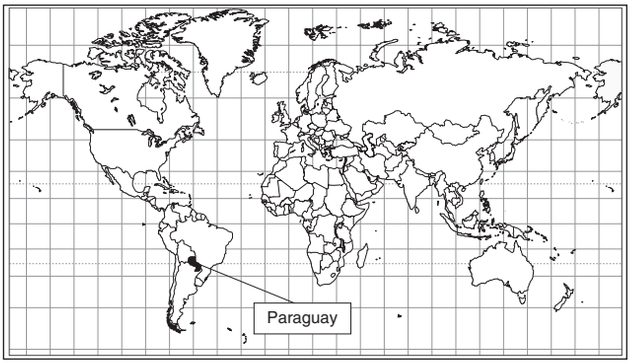
PARAGUAY

Population (2010, proj.): 6,460,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $1,710

Date of Independence: May 14, 1811 (from Spain)

Date of Last Constitution: June 20, 1992



This South American nation has a constitution guaranteeing press freedom though numerous loopholes provide a means for government intimidation of news media. Attacks on journalists are common and so is self-censorship. A number of independent newspapers and broadcast stations are overshadowed by the Colorado party's six decades in power—it controls perhaps 80 percent of the country's radio stations, for example. Internet use is minimal.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	PF	
1981	PF	PF	
1982	PF	PF	
1983–84	PF	PF	
1985	PF	PF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	PF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			PF
1991			PF
1992			PF
1993			PF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	2	2	5	5	5	5	5	12	41	PF
1995	2	2	7	7	5	5	8	20	56	PF
1996	5	5	5	9	3	3	14	8	52	PF
1997	7	7	8	13	4	6	2	5	52	PF
1998	7	7	8	13	4	6	2	5	52	PF
1999	7	7	8	13	4	6	1	1	47	PF
2000	7	7	8	13	4	6	3	3	51	PF
2001	8	7	10	8	8	6	2	2	51	PF
2002	12		23		16				51	PF
2003	13		24		18				55	PF
2004	15		22		17				54	PF
2005	17		21		18				56	PF
2006	18		20		19				57	PF
2007	19		23		18				60	PF
2008	19		23		18				60	PF

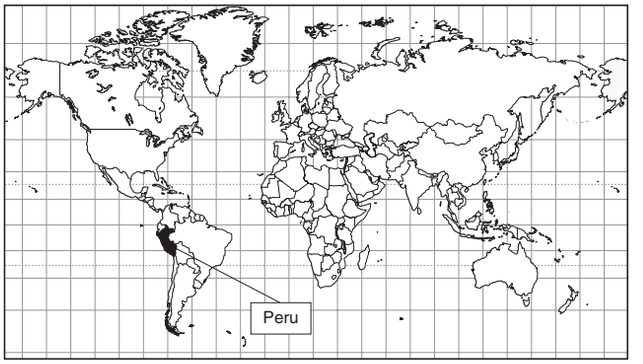
PERU

Population (2010, proj.): 29,496,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $3,410

Date of Independence: July 28, 1821 (from Spain)

Date of Last Constitution: December 29, 1993



This Andean nation guarantees press freedom in the constitution, but the reality is something considerably short of that. Libel laws ("disrespect") are widely applied. Attacks on journalists are all too common. Private newspapers and broadcast stations enjoy larger audiences than state-operated media. About a fifth of the country's people access the Internet.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	PF	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			**F**
1990			**F**
1991			**PF**
1992			**PF**
1993			**PF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	6	6	5	7	7	6	6	15	**58**	**PF**
1995	5	5	8	8	3	8	8	12	**57**	**PF**
1996	8	8	5	5	3	3	18	10	**60**	**PF**
1997	12	12	8	8	5	5	5	1	**56**	**PF**
1998	12	13	8	10	5	5	1	5	**59**	**PF**
1999	12	13	8	10	5	5	5	5	**63**	**NF**
2000	12	13	10	12	5	5	5	5	**67**	**NF**
2001	10	10	8	7	5	8	3	3	**54**	**PF**
2002	8		13		9				**30**	**F**
2003	9		17		9				**35**	**PF**
2004	10		14		10				**34**	**PF**
2005	12		17		11				**40**	**PF**
2006	11		17		11				**39**	**PF**
2007	13		18		11				**42**	**PF**
2008	15		18		11				**44**	**PF**

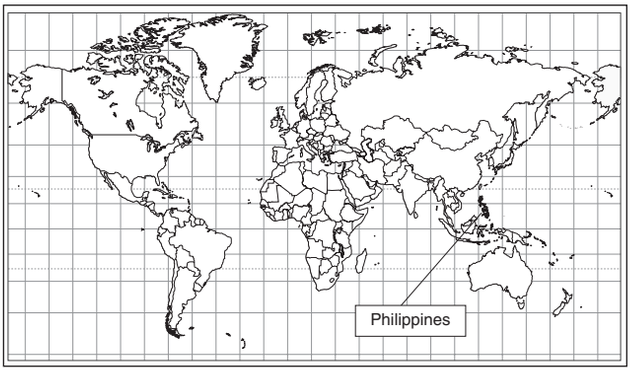
PHILIPPINES

Population (2010, proj.): 93,617,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $1,620

Date of Independence: June 12, 1898 (from Spain); July 4, 1946 (from the U.S.)

Date of Last Constitution: February 11, 1987



Made up of hundreds of islands large and small, the nation enjoys a partially free news media, weakened by widespread attacks on journalists in recent years. There are no licensing requirements to publish newspapers or to be a journalist. But libel law is widely used to intimidate journalists. A censorship board operates for film and television, though it rarely focuses on political concerns. Most media are privately owned, though ownership concentration has increased in recent decades. Perhaps 15 percent of the people used the Internet in 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	NF	
1981	PF	NF	
1982	PF	NF	
1983–84	PF	NF	
1985	PF	NF	
1986	PF	PF	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			PF
1993			PF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	2	2	6	5	10	10	12	8	55	PF
1995	2	2	6	5	8	8	7	8	46	PF
1996	5	5	7	7	8	8	0	6	46	PF
1997	5	5	8	7	8	9	2	2	46	PF
1998	5	5	7	3	4	5	1	0	30	F
1999	5	5	7	3	3	5	2	0	30	F
2000	5	5	7	5	3	3	0	2	30	F
2001	3	3	7	5	3	4	2	3	30	F
2002	3		16		11				30	F
2003	3		17		10				30	F
2004	6		19		9				34	PF
2005	6		19		10				35	PF
2006	8		21		11				40	PF
2007	11		24		11				46	PF
2008	11		23		11				45	PF

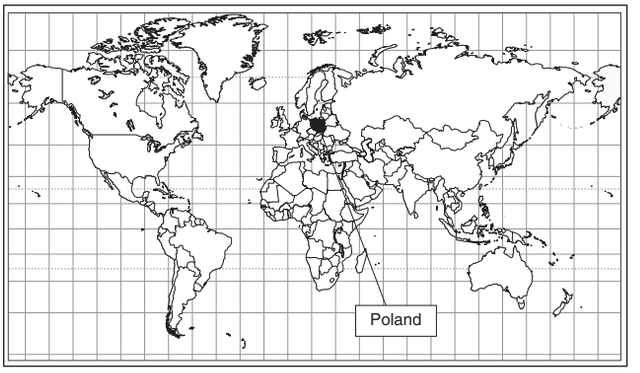
POLAND

Population (2010, proj.): 38,038,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $9,850

Date of Independence: November 11, 1918 (republic proclaimed)

Date of Last Constitution: October 17, 1997



After years as a Soviet satellite country, Poland and its media emerged into freedom in the early 1990s. Censorship is forbidden, and the constitution enshrines freedom of the press. Media ownership is largely private and diversified, though government television is the primary news source. The Internet is accessed by about 40 percent of the population.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	PF	NF	
1982	PF	NF	
1983–84	PF	NF	
1985	PF	NF	
1986	PF	NF	
1987	PF	NF	
1988	PF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**PF**
1991			**F**
1992			**F**
1993			**F**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	5	5	5	3	2	2	3	5	**30**	**F**
1995	5	4	5	3	2	2	3	5	**29**	**F**
1996	6	6	2	3	2	2	0	0	**21**	**F**
1997	6	4	7	4	2	2	0	2	**27**	**F**
1998	6	4	7	4	2	2	0	0	**25**	**F**
1999	6	4	7	4	2	2	0	0	**25**	**F**
2000	4	4	3	4	2	2	0	0	**19**	**F**
2001	4	3	3	3	2	4	0	0	**19**	**F**
2002	6		6		6				**18**	**F**
2003	6		5		7				**18**	**F**
2004	6		6		7				**19**	**F**
2005	5		8		7				**20**	**F**
2006	6		8		7				**21**	**F**
2007	7		8		7				**22**	**F**
2008	8		9		7				**24**	**F**

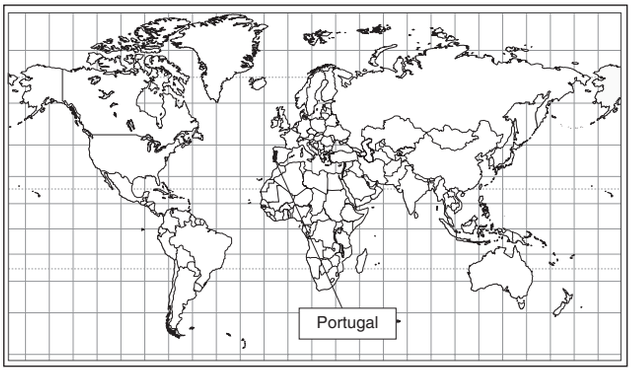
PORTUGAL

Population (2010, proj.): 10,732,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $18,950

Date of Independence: 1143 (Kingdom of Portugal proclaimed); October 5, 1910 (republic proclaimed)

Date of Last Constitution: April 2, 1976



Six national newspapers, four dailies and two weeklies, are the primary elements of the press. There are some 300 local or regional radio stations. Commercial television is gaining in news importance. About 40 percent of the population accessed the Internet in 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	1	1	6	2	1	5	1	1	18	F
1995	1	1	6	2	1	3	0	2	16	F
1996	5	4	2	2	2	2	0	0	17	F
1997	5	4	2	2	2	2	0	0	17	F
1998	5	4	2	2	2	2	0	0	17	F
1999	5	4	2	2	2	2	0	0	17	F
2000	5	4	2	2	2	2	0	0	17	F
2001	5	4	2	2	2	2	0	0	17	F
2002	3		5		7				15	F
2003	5		4		6				15	F
2004	2		5		7				14	F
2005	2		6		6				14	F
2006	2		6		6				14	F
2007	2		6		6				14	F
2008	4		6		6				16	F

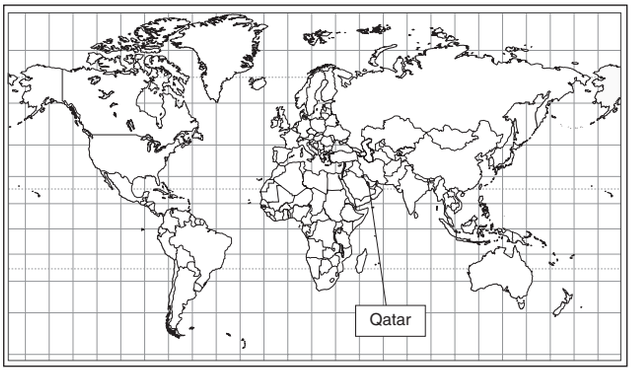
QATAR

Population (2010, proj.): 1,508,000

Gross National Income per Capita: N/A

Date of Independence: September 3, 1971 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: June 9, 2005



The home of the international Al Jazeera network, the Persian Gulf kingdom is otherwise one that strongly controls domestic media. Few specific laws protect media freedom. There are seven newspapers, four Arabic and two English, whose owners are close to the royal family. The government controls electronic media. A third of the population uses the Internet, which is closely monitored, and some websites deemed negative to the country's interests are banned.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**NF**
1992			**NF**
1993			**NF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	8	8	10	10	10	10	5	5	**64**	**NF**
1995	8	8	10	10	10	10	4	4	**64**	**NF**
1996	10	10	10	10	10	10	0	2	**62**	**NF**
1997	8	8	8	8	10	10	0	1	**53**	**PF**
1998	8	8	14	12	10	10	0	0	**62**	**NF**
1999	8	8	14	12	10	10	0	0	**62**	**NF**
2000	7	8	13	14	10	10	0	0	**62**	**NF**
2001	7	8	13	14	10	10	0	0	**62**	**NF**
2002	14		24		24				**62**	**NF**
2003	16		24		21				**61**	**NF**
2004	14		24		23				**61**	**NF**
2005	17		23		22				**62**	**NF**
2006	18		23		20				**61**	**NF**
2007	18		24		21				**63**	**NF**
2008	19		24		21				**64**	**NF**

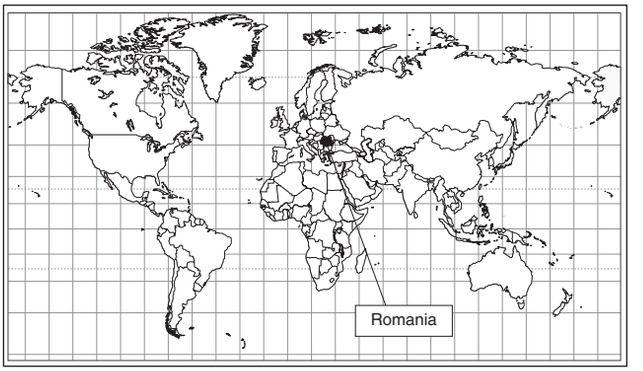
ROMANIA

Population (2010, proj.): 21,190,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $6,390

Date of Independence: 1877 (from Ottoman Empire)

Date of Last Constitution: December 8, 1991; revision effective October 29, 2003



Romania's constitution protects press freedom and the government increasingly acts accordingly. While criminal defamation remains a problem for journalists trying to report on government officials, government information is increasingly accessible. Public and private broadcasters compete, though ownership concentration is evident as there are more outlets than the economy can afford. About a third of the population used the Internet by 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			PF
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	3	3	7	7	3	10	10	12	55	PF
1995	3	3	7	7	7	10	7	6	50	PF
1996	6	5	5	6	8	9	4	6	49	PF
1997	6	4	7	7	7	10	2	4	47	PF
1998	6	4	7	7	7	8	0	0	39	PF
1999	6	4	7	7	7	8	0	5	44	PF
2000	6	4	7	7	7	8	1	4	44	PF
2001	6	4	7	7	7	8	1	4	44	PF
2002	11		14		10				35	PF
2003	12		14		12				38	PF
2004	13		19		15				47	PF
2005	13		18		16				47	PF
2006	13		16		15				44	PF
2007	12		15		15				42	PF
2008	13		16		15				44	PF

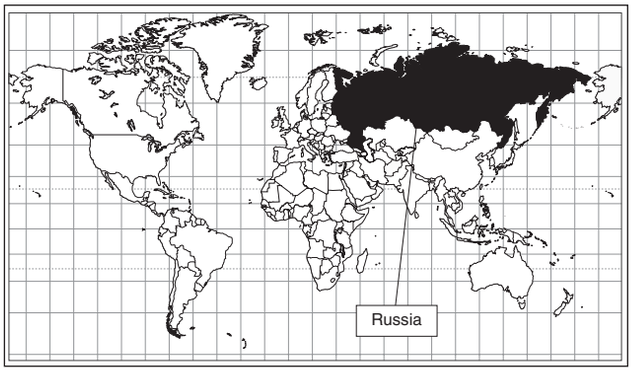
Russian Federation

Population (2010, proj.): 140,367,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $7,530

Date of Independence: August 24, 1991 (from the Soviet Union)

Date of Last Constitution: December 12, 1993



Operating in the core of the former Soviet Union, Russian news media have descended in recent years from a brief period of partially free operation back to an authoritarian pattern. Criminal defamation is now a widespread issue, and there is little independent reporting in the country. Self-censorship is rife—as are attacks on journalists and media institutions. State-owned print and broadcast media promote government views. About a quarter of the population used the Internet in 2007 but were subject to growing monitoring.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			**N/A**
1990			**N/A**
1991			**N/A**
1992			**N/A**
1993			**PF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	3	2	7	2	3	10	3	10	**40**	**PF**
1995	3	2	7	4	3	6	10	20	**55**	**PF**
1996	3	2	7	4	5	5	12	20	**58**	**PF**
1997	5	3	12	11	5	7	5	5	**53**	**PF**
1998	5	3	12	11	5	7	5	5	**53**	**PF**
1999	5	3	12	11	8	10	5	5	**59**	**PF**
2000	6	6	10	10	8	10	5	5	**60**	**PF**
2001	7	7	10	8	8	10	5	5	**60**	**PF**
2002	13		30		17				**60**	**PF**
2003	14		30		22				**66**	**NF**
2004	14		30		23				**67**	**NF**
2005	14		31		23				**68**	**NF**
2006	16		32		24				**72**	**NF**
2007	18		33		24				**75**	**NF**
2008	21		33		24				**78**	**NF**

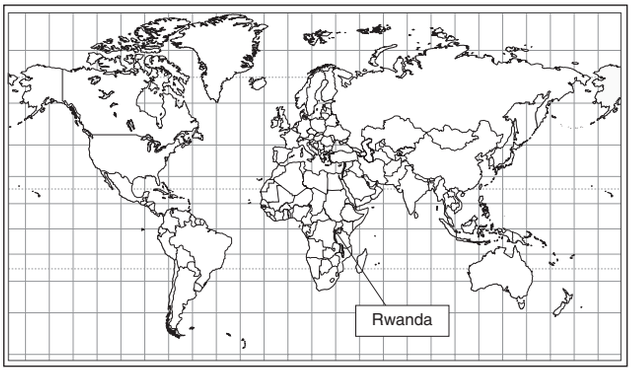
RWANDA

Population (2010, proj.): 10,277,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $320

Date of Independence: July 1, 1962 (from Belgian-administered UN trusteeship)

Date of Last Constitution: May 26, 2003



There is little media freedom here. Censorship is common (despite laws to the contrary) as is use of criminal libel laws to limit critiques of the government. Journalists are commonly attacked and jailed for a wide variety of offenses. Only the state-owned newspaper publishes regularly due to harassment of competing papers. Internet access is monitored and hardly used by anyone.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			N/A
1990			N/A
1991			N/A
1992			NF
1993			NF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	10	8	7	8	7	7	5	10	63	NF
1995	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	NF
1996	10	8	10	9	10	9	2	16	74	NF
1997	14	11	15	15	6	7	3	3	74	NF
1998	14	11	15	15	6	10	0	0	71	NF
1999	14	11	15	15	6	10	0	1	72	NF
2000	14	11	15	15	6	10	0	1	72	NF
2001	14	11	15	13	7	12	0	0	72	NF
2002	26		37		24				87	NF
2003	24		33		23				80	NF
2004	24		33		25				82	NF
2005	24		34		26				84	NF
2006	24		35		26				85	NF
2007	24		34		26				84	NF
2008	24		34		26				84	NF

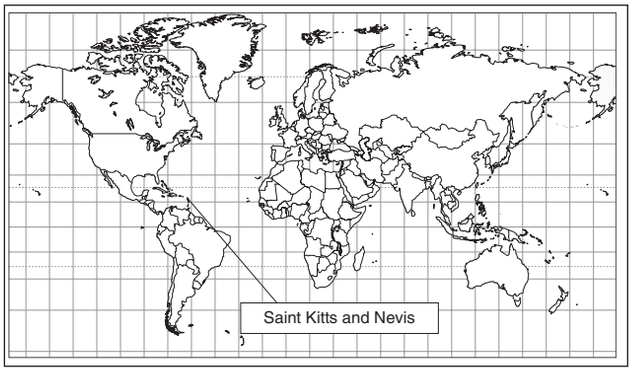
Saint Kitts and Nevis

Population (2010, proj.): 52,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $9,990

Date of Independence: September 19, 1983 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: September 19, 1983



These Caribbean islands enjoy press freedom as enshrined in the constitution. Many independent media operate, and a wide diversity of views is regularly expressed. There are both government and private weekly papers, and government and private broadcast stations. About a quarter of the population accessed the Internet in 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	2	2	5	3	2	3	2	2	**21**	**F**
1995	2	2	5	3	2	3	0	2	**19**	**F**
1996	7	5	3	1	0	2	0	0	**18**	**F**
1997	7	5	3	1	0	2	0	0	**18**	**F**
1998	7	5	3	1	0	2	0	0	**18**	**F**
1999	7	5	3	1	0	2	0	0	**18**	**F**
2000	7	5	3	1	0	2	0	0	**18**	**F**
2001	7	5	3	1	0	2	0	0	**18**	**F**
2002	4		6		8				**18**	**F**
2003	4		7		7				**18**	**F**
2004	2		9		10				**21**	**F**
2005	6		8		9				**23**	**F**
2006	4		9		8				**21**	**F**
2007	4		8		8				**20**	**F**
2008	4		8		7				**19**	**F**

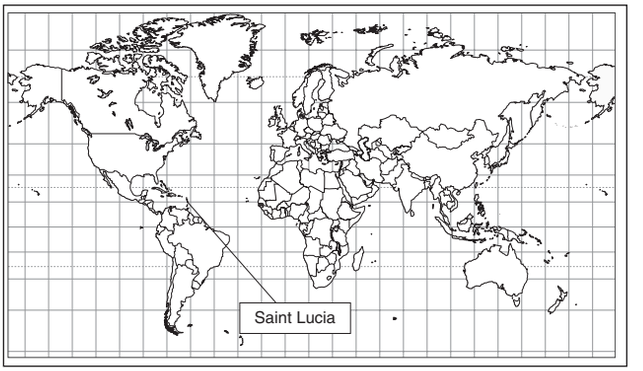
Saint Lucia

Population (2010, proj.): 174,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $5,520

Date of Independence: February 22, 1979 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: February 22, 1979



In Saint Lucia, another Caribbean island nation, several newspapers and broadcast stations operate freely. About a third of the public uses the Internet as of 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	1	1	2	2	2	3	1	1	13	F
1995	1	1	2	2	3	3	1	0	13	F
1996	3	3	3	2	0	2	0	0	13	F
1997	3	3	3	2	0	2	0	0	13	F
1998	3	3	3	2	0	2	0	0	13	F
1999	3	3	3	2	0	2	0	0	13	F
2000	3	3	3	2	0	2	0	0	13	F
2001	3	3	3	2	0	2	0	0	13	F
2002	0		4		7				11	F
2003	0		4		4				8	F
2004	4		3		4				11	F
2005	6		5		5				16	F
2006	6		7		5				18	F
2007	4		7		5				16	F
2008	3		9		4				16	F

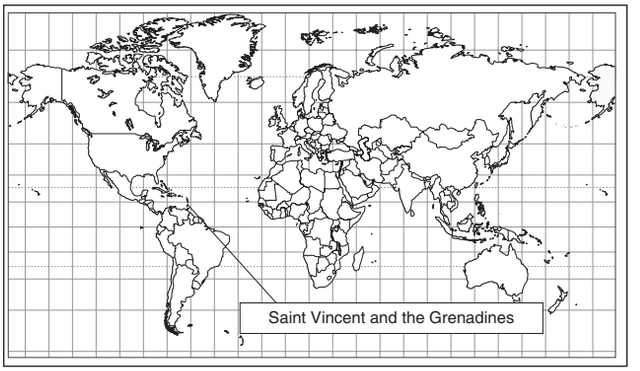
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines

Population (2010, proj.): 109,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $4,210

Date of Independence: October 27, 1979 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: October 27, 1979



This former British Caribbean possession enjoys a constitutional right of free press that is widely observed. The main newspapers are privately held; broadcasting outlets are run by the government and many private owners. But only about 10 percent of the population uses the Internet as of 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	PF	
1981	F	PF	
1982	F	PF	
1983–84	F	PF	
1985	F	PF	
1986	F	PF	
1987	F	PF	
1988	F	PF	
1989			**F**
1990			**F**
1991			**F**
1992			**F**
1993			**F**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	2	2	5	3	2	4	3	1	**22**	**F**
1995	1	1	1	3	2	4	0	0	**12**	**F**
1996	3	3	5	3	0	2	0	0	**16**	**F**
1997	3	3	5	3	0	2	0	0	**16**	**F**
1998	3	3	5	3	0	2	0	0	**16**	**F**
1999	3	3	5	3	0	2	0	0	**16**	**F**
2000	3	3	5	3	0	2	0	0	**16**	**F**
2001	3	3	5	3	0	2	0	0	**16**	**F**
2002	2		7		7				**16**	**F**
2003	2		8		7				**17**	**F**
2004	1		5		8				**14**	**F**
2005	2		5		9				**16**	**F**
2006	3		6		7				**16**	**F**
2007	4		7		6				**17**	**F**
2008	4		7		6				**17**	**F**

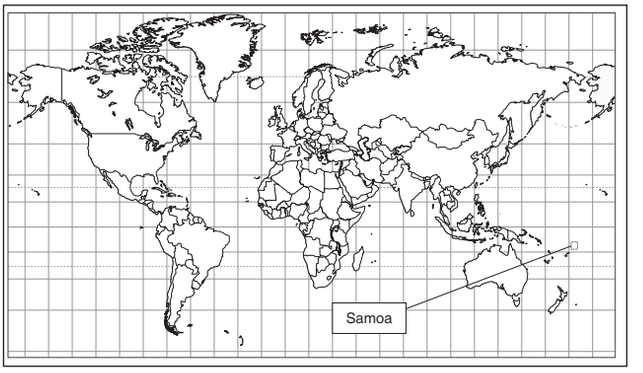
Samoa

Population (2010, proj.): 179,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $2,700

Date of Independence: January 1, 1962 (from New Zealand–administered UN trusteeship)

Date of Last Constitution: January 1, 1962



The Pacific island nation enjoys a constitutional right to a free press, though libel laws remain an issue of concern. Both print and broadcast media outlets are operated by the government and private owners and compete vigorously. Satellite service brings in further channels from overseas. Internet use was very minor as of 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			N/A
1990			N/A
1991			N/A
1992			N/A
1993			N/A

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	2	6	10	2	5	3	1	1	30	F
1995	3	4	6	5	5	5	0	1	29	F
1996	3	4	6	5	5	5	0	0	28	F
1997	3	4	6	5	5	5	0	0	28	F
1998	3	4	6	5	5	5	0	0	28	F
1999	3	4	6	6	5	5	0	2	31	PF
2000	3	4	6	6	5	5	0	5	34	PF
2001	2	2	3	3	5	6	0	0	21	F
2002	4		5		14				23	F
2003	4		4		16				24	F
2004	4		8		12				24	F
2005	4		9		12				25	F
2006	6		12		11				29	F
2007	7		12		11				30	F
2008	7		12		10				29	F

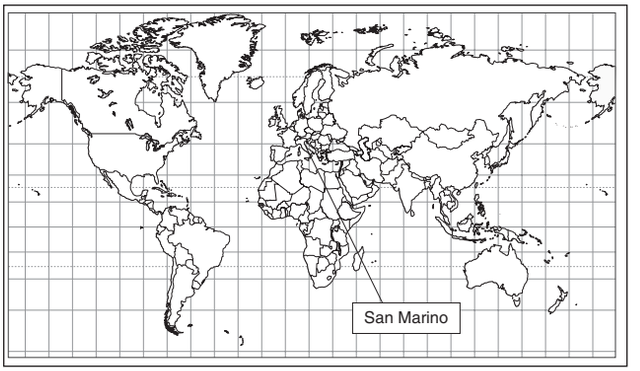
San Marino

Population (2010, proj.): 32,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $46,770

Date of Independence: September 3, 301

Date of Last Constitution: October 8, 1600 (electoral law of 1926 serves some of the functions of a constitution)



This tiny European principality enjoys freedom of its news media. There are three daily private newspapers but radio and television are government monopolies. Many people also use Italian media. The Internet is accessed by more than half the population as of 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			**N/A**
1990			**N/A**
1991			**N/A**
1992			**N/A**
1993			**N/A**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
1995	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
1996	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
1997	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
1998	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
1999	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
2000	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
2001	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
2002	N/A		N/A		N/A				**N/A**	**N/A**
2003	1		3		5				**9**	**F**
2004	1		7		6				**14**	**F**
2005	1		8		7				**16**	**F**
2006	4		6		7				**17**	**F**
2007	4		6		7				**17**	**F**
2008	4		6		7				**17**	**F**

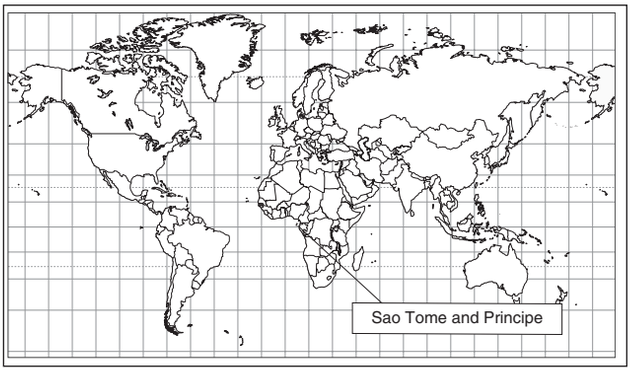
Sao Tome and Principe

Population (2010, proj.): 165,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $870

Date of Independence: July 12, 1975 (from Portugal)

Date of Last Constitution: September 10, 1990



This sub-Saharan African nation enjoys a constitutional protection of press freedom that is widely observed. Though there is little government interference with news reporting, self-censorship is widely practiced by the country's journalists. Nine newspapers (seven of them private), and government radio and television stations (private radio began only in 2006) provide service. In 2007, about 14 percent of the people made use of the Internet.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			PF
1993			PF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	4	4	10	8	8	8	4	6	52	PF
1995	6	6	6	6	2	5	2	1	34	PF
1996	6	6	8	8	1	5	6	8	48	PF
1997	9	9	12	12	0	5	1	0	48	PF
1998	7	7	6	5	0	5	0	0	30	F
1999	7	7	6	5	0	5	0	0	30	F
2000	7	7	4	4	0	5	0	0	27	F
2001	7	5	4	4	0	5	0	0	25	F
2002	1		3		15				19	F
2003	1		3		15				19	F
2004	4		10		14				28	F
2005	4		10		14				28	F
2006	4		11		14				29	F
2007	4		11		14				29	F
2008	4		10		14				28	F

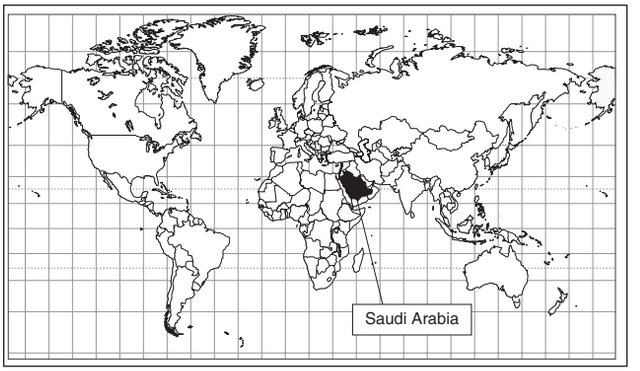
Saudi Arabia

Population (2010, proj.): 26,246,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $15,470

Date of Independence: September 23, 1932 (unification of the kingdom)

Date of Last Constitution: governed according to Islamic law (Basic Law promulgated by royal decree in 1992)



The desert kingdom maintains tight control over its media—journalism is more oppressed here than in most Arab nations. Media are seen as a means of promoting government views, education, and national unity. Criticism of the royal family or religion is banned. The Ministry of Culture and Information administers all media including ten dailies (some owned by the royal family), and radio and television outlets. Satellite reception is illegal—but widely used. Internet websites are often blocked and about a fifth of the country's people have access.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**NF**
1992			**NF**
1993			**NF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	9	9	10	10	10	8	5	10	**71**	**NF**
1995	10	10	10	10	10	10	5	11	**76**	**NF**
1996	10	10	10	10	10	10	0	2	**62**	**NF**
1997	15	15	15	15	10	10	0	0	**80**	**NF**
1998	15	15	15	15	10	10	0	0	**80**	**NF**
1999	15	15	15	15	10	15	0	0	**85**	**NF**
2000	15	15	15	15	15	15	0	0	**90**	**NF**
2001	15	15	15	15	15	15	1	1	**92**	**NF**
2002	26		28		26				**80**	**NF**
2003	29		28		23				**80**	**NF**
2004	29		27		24				**80**	**NF**
2005	29		28		23				**80**	**NF**
2006	28		28		23				**79**	**NF**
2007	28		39		24				**82**	**NF**
2008	28		29		24				**81**	**NF**

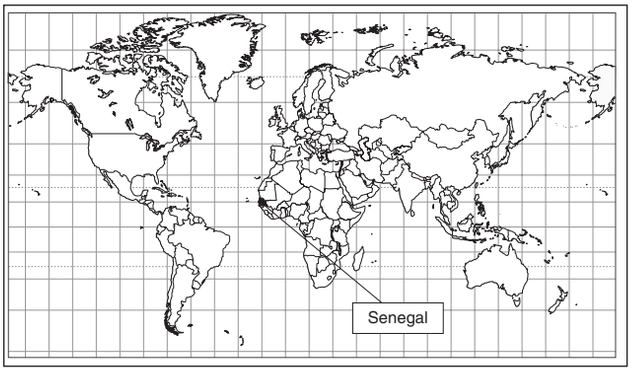
SENEGAL

Population (2010, proj.): 12,861,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $830

Date of Independence: April 4, 1960 (from France)

Date of Last Constitution: January 7, 2001



Persecution of journalists is widespread in this African nation and appears to be getting worse, despite government pledges to the contrary. Criminal libel is a primary tool of government to keep the press in line. Still, many private print publications and more than 80 private radio stations operate, though many are in the hands of those backing the regime. The only television station is run by the government. Reception of foreign services by satellite is available, as is Internet though only about 5 percent used the latter in 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	PF	
1981	PF	PF	
1982	PF	PF	
1983–84	PF	PF	
1985	PF	PF	
1986	PF	PF	
1987	PF	PF	
1988	PF	PF	
1989			PF
1990			PF
1991			PF
1992			PF
1993			PF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	9	9	10	7	8	7	3	3	56	PF
1995	8	6	8	7	8	5	1	5	48	PF
1996	8	6	4	5	0	6	0	2	31	PF
1997	8	6	4	6	0	9	1	3	37	PF
1998	8	6	4	6	0	9	0	0	33	PF
1999	8	6	4	6	0	9	0	0	33	PF
2000	8	6	4	6	0	9	0	0	33	PF
2001	8	5	4	3	3	9	0	2	34	PF
2002	19		14		6				39	PF
2003	15		14		9				38	PF
2004	12		16		9				37	PF
2005	10		15		12				37	PF
2006	12		20		12				44	PF
2007	13		21		12				46	PF
2008	16		20		13				49	PF

Serbia and Montenegro

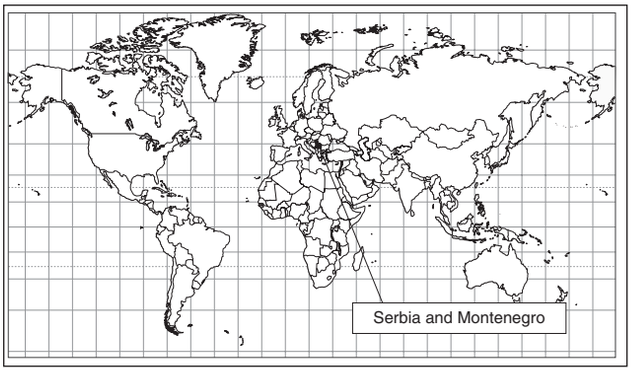
As of 2006, Serbia and Montenegro were recognized as two independent countries.

Population (2010, proj.): 9,856,000 / 626,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $4,540 / $5,270

Date of Independence: June 5, 2006 / June 3, 2006

Date of Last Constitution: November 10, 2006 / October 19, 2007



These Balkan countries, once part of Yugoslavia, suffer from the ethnic tensions rife in the area, as well as past conflicts. Attacks on journalists are fairly common. Self-censorship is common in both print and broadcast media, most of which are privately owned. Only a small minority of people access the Internet.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			**N/A**
1990			**N/A**
1991			**N/A**
1992			**N/A**
1993			**NF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	10	10	10	9	10	10	12	15	**86**	**NF**
1995	10	10	10	9	5	10	13	20	**87**	**NF**
1996	10	10	10	10	7	10	0	20	**77**	**NF**
1997	12	12	12	12	7	10	5	5	**75**	**NF**
1998	12	12	12	12	7	10	5	5	**75**	**NF**
1999	13	13	13	13	8	11	5	5	**81**	**NF**
2000	13	13	14	12	8	11	5	5	**81**	**NF**
2001	8	10	7	9	7	9	3	3	**56**	**PF**
2002	11		20		14				**45**	**PF**
2003	10		18		12				**40**	**PF**
2004	12		16		12				**40**	**PF**
2005	12		17		11				**40**	**PF**
2006	12		17		11				**40**	**PF**

Serbia

2007	13	17	9		39	PF
2008	13	17	9		39	PF

Montenegro

2007	12	16	10		38	PF
2008	12	16	10		38	PF

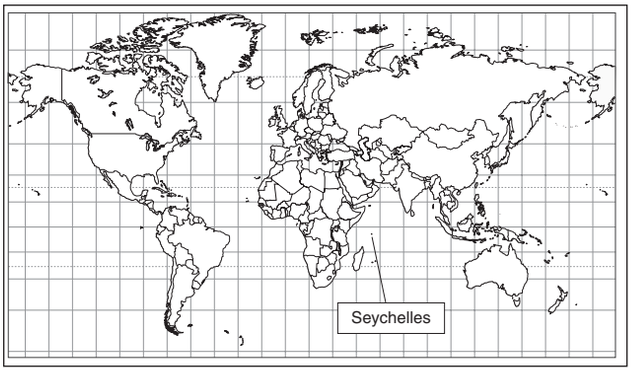
SEYCHELLES

Population (2010, proj.): 85,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $8,960

Date of Independence: June 29, 1976 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: June 18, 1993



This island nation protects freedom of speech in its constitution but has many exceptions that weaken that protection. Material held to be "against the national interest" can be banned. The only daily newspaper is government operated. Government dominates broadcasting as well due to high annual license costs for private outlets. About a quarter of the people could access the Internet in 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**NF**
1992			**NF**
1993			**PF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	8	10	6	2	8	6	2	2	**44**	**PF**
1995	8	8	8	8	5	9	5	6	**57**	**PF**
1996	10	10	10	10	3	7	0	0	**50**	**PF**
1997	10	10	10	10	3	7	0	0	**50**	**PF**
1998	10	10	10	10	3	7	0	0	**50**	**PF**
1999	10	10	10	10	3	7	0	0	**50**	**PF**
2000	10	10	10	10	3	6	0	1	**50**	**PF**
2001	13	8	10	10	3	6	0	1	**51**	**PF**
2002	25		12		14				**51**	**PF**
2003	17		16		17				**50**	**PF**
2004	17		17		18				**52**	**PF**
2005	21		19		18				**58**	**PF**
2006	20		21		19				**60**	**PF**
2007	20		21		19				**60**	**PF**
2008	20		20		19				**59**	**PF**

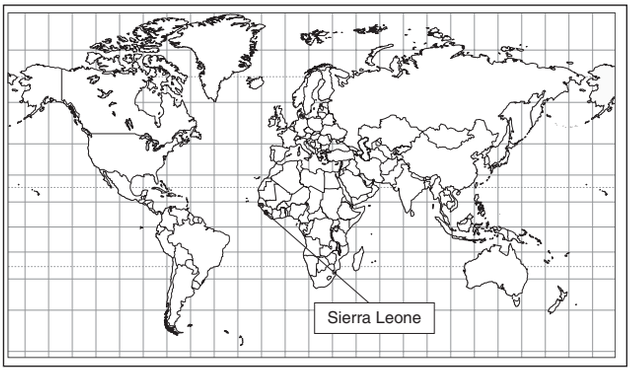
Sierra Leone

Population (2010, proj.): 5,836,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $260

Date of Independence: April 27, 1961 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: October 1, 1991



Sierra Leone is recovering from a long civil war and resulting instability. The country's constitution protects freedom of expression but with notable exceptions. Criminal libel is a common weapon against journalists and even distributors of newspapers. Journalists are often threatened with violence or prison. More than 35 newspapers publish, some of them critical of government. Hardly anyone used the Internet in 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	PF	NF	
1985	PF	NF	
1986	PF	NF	
1987	PF	NF	
1988	PF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			PF
1992			PF
1993			NF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	9	10	10	9	10	10	8	15	81	NF
1995	10	10	9	10	8	8	3	14	72	NF
1996	10	10	10	10	5	10	0	20	75	NF
1997	15	15	10	15	5	10	0	5	75	NF
1998	15	15	10	15	5	10	5	5	80	NF
1999	15	15	15	15	5	10	0	5	80	NF
2000	15	15	15	15	5	10	5	5	85	NF
2001	13	12	13	12	5	13	2	5	75	NF
2002	13		28		21				62	NF
2003	17		26		18				61	NF
2004	18		20		20				58	PF
2005	20		21		18				59	PF
2006	19		22		18				59	PF
2007	17		21		18				56	PF
2008	18		23		18				59	PF

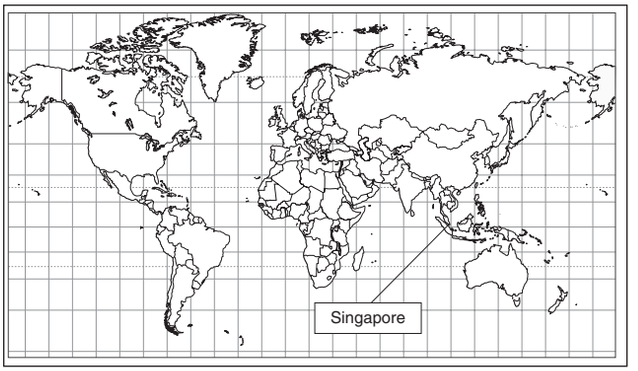
SINGAPORE

Population (2010, proj.): 4,837,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $32,340

Date of Independence: August 9, 1965 (from Malaysian Federation)

Date of Last Constitution: June 3, 1959 (amended 1965)



This Southeast Asian city-state has an authoritarian government that encourages journalists' self-censorship, which is widespread. Various laws constrain press freedom, and there is, for example, no right to protect news sources from being identified. Foreign periodicals must post a substantial bond in order to publish on the island. The government, or those close to it, control most print and electronic media outlets. Internet sites are monitored, many are banned, yet two-thirds of the population uses the web as of 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	PF	NF	
1987	PF	NF	
1988	PF	NF	
1989			**PF**
1990			**PF**
1991			**PF**
1992			**PF**
1993			**PF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	9	9	9	8	7	9	1	8	**60**	**PF**
1995	9	9	9	9	8	8	3	10	**65**	**NF**
1996	10	10	8	10	7	10	0	6	**61**	**NF**
1997	13	13	8	10	7	15	0	0	**66**	**NF**
1998	13	13	8	10	7	15	0	0	**66**	**NF**
1999	13	13	8	10	7	15	0	0	**66**	**NF**
2000	13	13	8	10	7	15	0	0	**66**	**NF**
2001	13	13	10	10	7	15	0	0	**68**	**NF**
2002	26		22		20				**68**	**NF**
2003	24		21		21				**66**	**NF**
2004	23		22		19				**64**	**NF**
2005	23		24		19				**66**	**NF**
2006	23		24		19				**66**	**NF**
2007	24		24		21				**69**	**NF**
2008	24		24		21				**69**	**NF**

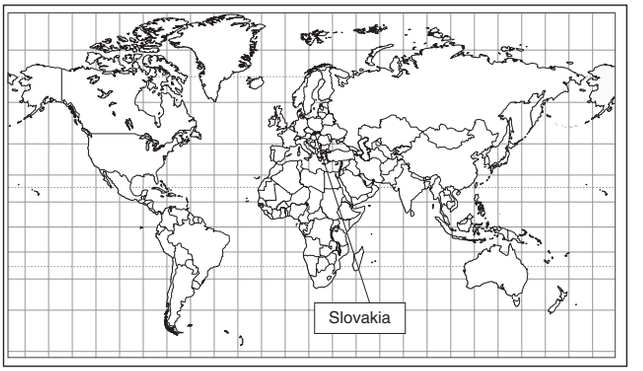
SLOVAKIA

Population (2010, proj.): 5,412,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $11,720

Date of Independence: January 1, 1993 (Czechoslovakia split into the Czech Republic and Slovakia)

Date of Last Constitution: January 1, 1993



Slovakian news media freedom is protected in the constitution and in practice. Government run television has been accused of promoting a pro-government line, but most print and electronic media are privately owned, and many use media from neighboring nations as well. Fully half the nation uses the Internet—and more than 90 percent of younger people.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			N/A
1990			N/A
1991			N/A
1992			N/A
1993			N/A

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	3	3	8	5	4	7	9	8	47	PF
1995	5	5	9	9	5	7	7	8	55	PF
1996	10	6	8	5	3	7	0	2	41	PF
1997	10	8	10	7	4	7	1	2	49	PF
1998	10	8	10	7	4	7	0	1	47	PF
1999	8	8	3	3	4	4	0	0	30	F
2000	7	8	3	3	4	4	0	1	30	F
2001	5	6	3	3	4	4	0	1	26	F
2002	10		5		7				22	F
2003	9		6		6				21	F
2004	8		7		6				21	F
2005	5		9		7				21	F
2006	5		8		7				20	F
2007	5		8		7				20	F
2008	6		9		7				22	F

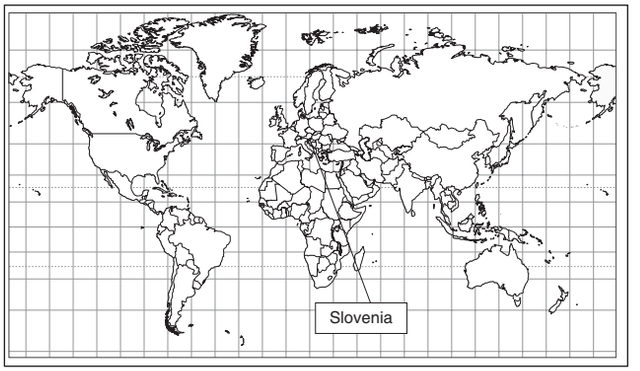
SLOVENIA

Population (2010, proj.): 2,025,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $21,510

Date of Independence: June 25, 1991 (from Yugoslavia)

Date of Last Constitution: December 23, 1991



Part of the former Yugoslavia, Slovenia has avoided much of the ethnic strife afflicting the region. While media freedom is protected in the constitution, there has been slowly growing tension between journalists and the government, the former accusing the latter of exerting political and economic pressure to achieve favorable coverage. This is especially evident in government-operated electronic media, as most newspapers are privately owned. Two-thirds of the people accessed the Internet in 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			**N/A**
1990			**N/A**
1991			**N/A**
1992			**N/A**
1993			**PF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	2	2	6	6	8	8	4	4	**40**	**PF**
1995	2	2	6	6	6	5	5	5	**37**	**PF**
1996	4	2	6	4	3	8	0	0	**27**	**F**
1997	4	2	6	4	3	8	0	1	**28**	**F**
1998	4	2	6	4	3	8	0	0	**27**	**F**
1999	4	2	6	4	3	8	0	0	**27**	**F**
2000	4	2	6	4	3	8	0	0	**27**	**F**
2001	4	2	5	3	3	4	0	0	**21**	**F**
2002	2		5		13				**20**	**F**
2003	3		6		10				**19**	**F**
2004	3		9		7				**19**	**F**
2005	3		9		7				**19**	**F**
2006	4		9		7				**20**	**F**
2007	5		9		7				**21**	**F**
2008	6		10		7				**23**	**F**

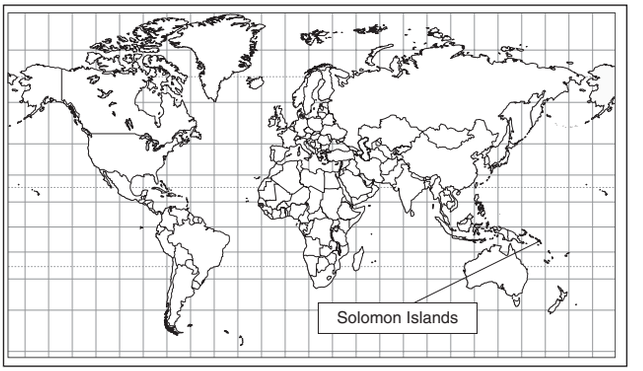
Solomon Islands

Population (2010, proj.): 536,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $750

Date of Independence: July 7, 1978 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: July 7, 1978



This Pacific islands nation has a constitutional guarantee of freedom of the press. There are one daily and three weekly papers, all privately owned. Radio is the most important news medium and outlets are operated by the government and private parties. There is no domestic television, though satellite reception of TV in other countries is common. Internet use is a negligible factor.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			N/A
1990			N/A
1991			N/A
1992			N/A
1993			N/A

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	8	22	F
1995	3	3	3	3	3	3	0	0	18	F
1996	3	2	3	2	0	3	0	0	13	F
1997	3	2	4	2	0	3	0	0	14	F
1998	3	2	4	2	0	3	0	0	14	F
1999	3	2	4	2	0	3	0	2	16	F
2000	3	2	6	4	0	3	0	0	18	F
2001	3	2	7	5	1	3	0	1	22	F
2002	3		6		15				24	F
2003	3		11		11				25	F
2004	4		14		12				30	F
2005	5		14		11				30	F
2006	5		14		11				30	F
2007	5		14		11				30	F
2008	5		14		11				30	F

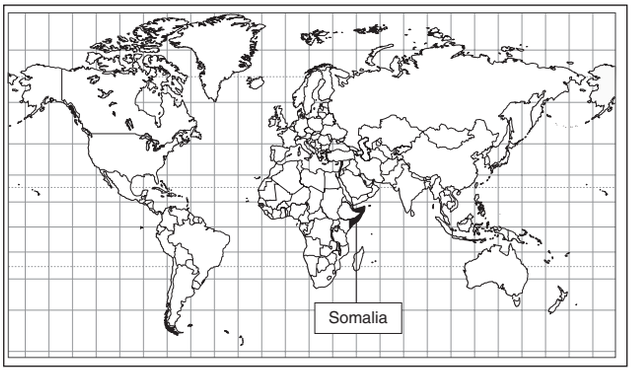
SOMALIA

Population (2010, proj.): 9,359,000

Gross National Income per Capita: N/A

Date of Independence: July 1, 1960 (from UN trusteeship administered by Italy)

Date of Last Constitution: September 23, 1979



Dysfunctional government (which controls but a third of the country) means that practicing journalism in this lawless state is highly dangerous, subject to ethnic and political pressure at all times. Attacks on journalists are common. Small daily papers and radio stations have proliferated, usually allied with one side or tribe or another. Internet use is negligible.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**NF**
1992			**NF**
1993			**NF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**	**NF**
1995	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**	**NF**
1996	10	10	10	10	10	10	5	14	**79**	**NF**
1997	15	15	15	15	13	13	0	0	**86**	**NF**
1998	15	15	15	15	13	13	0	0	**86**	**NF**
1999	15	15	15	15	13	13	0	2	**88**	**NF**
2000	15	15	15	15	13	13	0	2	**88**	**NF**
2001	14	13	15	15	13	13	1	2	**86**	**NF**
2002	26		36		26				**88**	**NF**
2003	23		35		22				**80**	**NF**
2004	24		33		23				**80**	**NF**
2005	26		33		24				**83**	**NF**
2006	26		33		24				**83**	**NF**
2007	27		34		24				**85**	**NF**
2008	27		35		22				**84**	**NF**

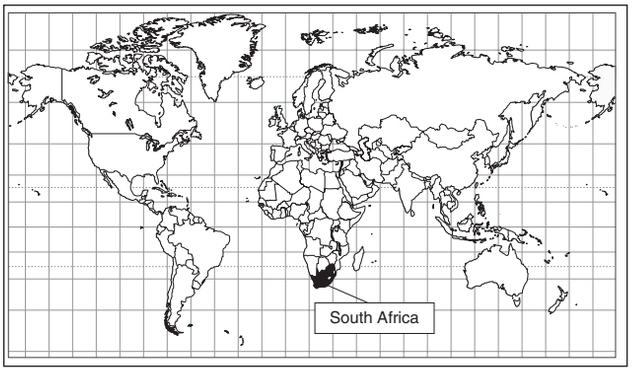
South Africa

Population (2010, proj.): 50,492,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $5,720

Date of Independence: May 31, 1910; May 31, 1961 (republic declared); April 27, 1994 (majority rule)

Date of Last Constitution: December 10, 1996



Post-apartheid South Africa is the most important sub-Saharan nation, a comparative economic powerhouse, and something of a model for other countries. Freedom of expression and the press is protected in the constitution and is generally observed. Most media are privately held. The government South African Broadcasting Corporation has been accused of progovernment bias and self-censorship. Private stations are beginning to appear. Internet access is growing but many cannot afford the service fees involved.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	NF	
1981	PF	NF	
1982	PF	NF	
1983–84	PF	NF	
1985	PF	NF	
1986	PF	NF	
1987	PF	NF	
1988	PF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			PF
1991			PF
1992			PF
1993			PF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	7	7	2	2	1	4	5	10	38	PF
1995	5	3	3	4	1	3	0	11	30	F
1996	6	2	5	3	2	6	2	4	30	F
1997	6	2	7	5	1	3	0	3	27	F
1998	6	2	7	5	1	3	1	3	28	F
1999	6	2	7	5	1	3	1	3	28	F
2000	6	2	7	5	1	3	0	1	25	F
2001	5	2	6	3	3	3	0	1	23	F
2002	4		9		10				23	F
2003	6		9		10				25	F
2004	7		8		9				24	F
2005	7		10		9				26	F
2006	7		11		9				27	F
2007	7		12		9				28	F
2008	7		12		9				28	F

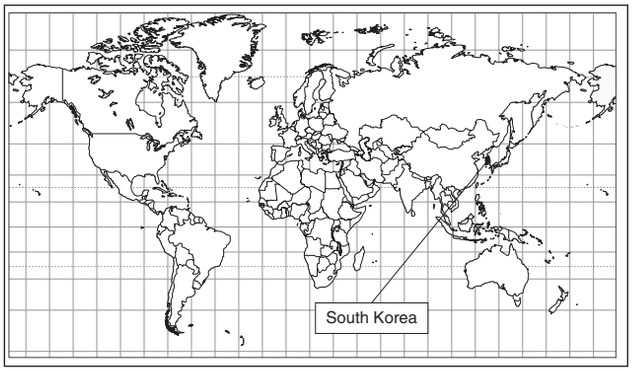
South Korea

Population (2010, proj.): 48,501,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $19,730

Date of Independence: August 15, 1945 (from Japan)

Date of Last Constitution: July 17, 1948 (last revised October 29, 1987)



Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	PF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	PF	NF	
1983–84	PF	NF	
1985	PF	NF	
1986	PF	NF	
1987	PF	NF	
1988	PF	NF	
1989			**F**
1990			**F**
1991			**F**
1992			**F**
1993			**F**

Press freedom is guaranteed in the constitution and is widely observed, making the country one of Asia's freest media markets. Expressing support for North Korea is banned. Access to government information is limited. There are more than 100 daily papers and both public and private radio and television stations, all competing vigorously. Online media are widespread and active as some 70 percent of the country uses the Internet.

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	2	1	8	8	2	5	2	1	**29**	**F**
1995	2	1	8	8	2	5	1	1	**28**	**F**
1996	2	4	2	6	0	2	0	6	**22**	**F**
1997	2	4	6	8	0	5	0	0	**25**	**F**
1998	2	4	7	10	0	5	0	0	**28**	**F**
1999	2	4	7	9	0	5	0	1	**28**	**F**
2000	2	4	7	9	0	5	0	0	**27**	**F**
2001	2	3	7	7	2	5	0	1	**27**	**F**
2002	3		11		16				**30**	**F**
2003	7		10		12				**29**	**F**
2004	8		11		10				**29**	**F**
2005	8		11		10				**29**	**F**
2006	9		11		10				**30**	**F**
2007	9		11		10				**30**	**F**
2008	9		12		9				**30**	**F**

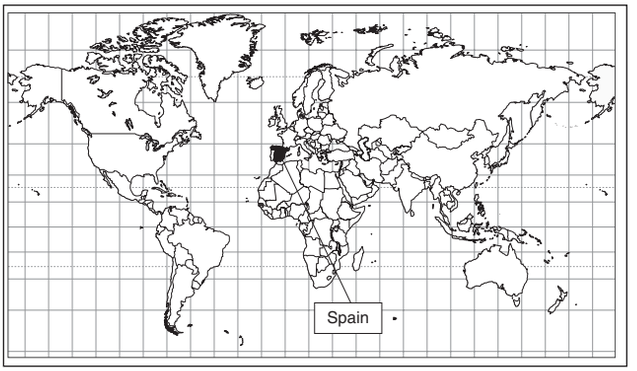
Spain

Population (2010, proj.): 45,317,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $29,290

Date of Independence: 1492

Date of Last Constitution: December 29, 1978



Spanish media are free in the European model, with vigorous competition. Press freedom is guaranteed in the constitution and widely observed. Antiterrorism rules and criminal libel laws are limits to press freedom, however. Criticism of the royal family is a touchy subject. Newspaper ownership is largely concentrated in two groups. Internet access is not restricted and is widely used.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	1	1	3	2	2	3	1	1	14	F
1995	1	1	3	3	3	8	0	4	23	F
1996	5	1	5	2	0	4	0	0	17	F
1997	5	1	5	2	0	4	1	1	19	F
1998	5	1	5	2	0	4	0	0	17	F
1999	5	1	5	2	0	4	3	1	21	F
2000	5	1	5	2	0	4	0	1	18	F
2001	4	1	4	2	2	4	1	2	20	F
2002	1		9		7				17	F
2003	1		8		7				16	F
2004	3		10		6				19	F
2005	4		13		5				22	F
2006	4		12		5				21	F
2007	4		13		5				22	F
2008	5		13		5				23	F

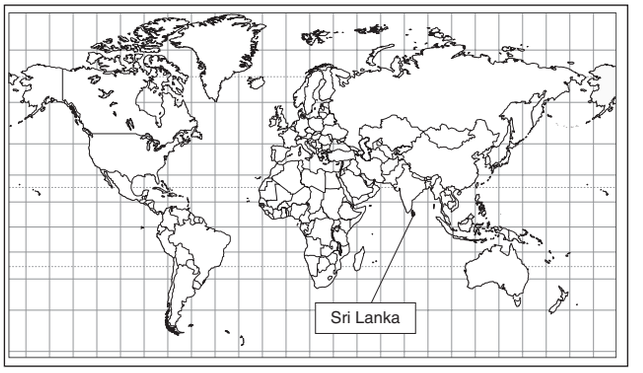
Sri Lanka

Population (2010, proj.): 20,410,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $1,540

Date of Independence: February 4, 1948 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: August 16, 1978 (amended December 20, 2000)



The former island of Ceylon has been the site of fierce fighting with a Tamil separatist group and that tension has limited press freedom, especially in the north. While press freedom is guaranteed, many laws restrict it in practice. Prepublication censorship was introduced in 2006. Distribution and suspension of broadcast licenses appears somewhat arbitrary. Intimidation of journalists is widespread. Privately owned print and electronic media have become more politically polarized. Few use the Internet (under 2 percent) because of the high costs of doing so.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	PF	
1983–84	PF	PF	
1985	PF	PF	
1986	PF	PF	
1987	PF	PF	
1988	PF	PF	
1989			**PF**
1990			**PF**
1991			**PF**
1992			**PF**
1993			**PF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	5	5	5	7	5	8	3	5	**43**	**PF**
1995	5	5	6	6	6	6	0	7	**41**	**PF**
1996	6	6	2	8	2	5	2	15	**46**	**PF**
1997	6	6	12	11	5	7	5	2	**54**	**PF**
1998	6	6	12	11	5	7	0	3	**50**	**PF**
1999	9	9	12	11	5	7	0	5	**58**	**PF**
2000	9	9	15	15	5	7	5	5	**70**	**NF**
2001	11	11	13	13	7	9	5	5	**74**	**NF**
2002	17		29		17				**63**	**NF**
2003	11		27		14				**52**	**PF**
2004	15		22		16				**53**	**PF**
2005	15		24		17				**56**	**PF**
2006	15		26		17				**58**	**PF**
2007	17		29		17				**63**	**NF**
2008	19		31		17				**67**	**NF**

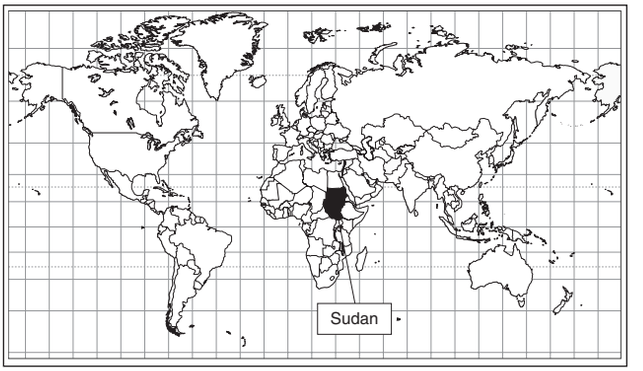
SUDAN

Population (2010, proj.): 43,192,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $950

Date of Independence: January 1, 1956 (from Egypt and the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: Interim National Constitution ratified July 5, 2005; Constitution of Southern Sudan signed December 2005



Sudan is a country seemingly at war with itself and with its Darfur western region. Media freedom is almost nonexistent, though more stable in the southern part of the country. Official censorship has been lifted, but the National Press Council licenses journalists and can suspend newspapers. Attacks on journalists are common. Newspapers are privately owned, though closely monitored by the government. Radio and television are dominated by the government and present a progovernment point of view. About 10 percent of the public, largely in urban areas, use the Internet.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	PF	NF	
1988	PF	NF	
1989			PF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			NF
1993			NF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	7	7	10	10	10	10	17	17	88	NF
1995	10	10	10	10	10	10	0	16	76	NF
1996	10	10	10	10	10	10	0	20	80	NF
1997	15	15	15	13	5	13	5	4	85	NF
1998	15	15	15	15	7	13	0	5	85	NF
1999	15	15	15	15	7	13	0	5	85	NF
2000	15	15	15	15	7	13	0	5	85	NF
2001	15	15	15	15	7	13	0	5	85	NF
2002	26		36		25				87	NF
2003	26		35		23				84	NF
2004	27		33		25				85	NF
2005	28		33		25				86	NF
2006	27		32		26				85	NF
2007	27		30		24				81	NF
2008	26		29		23				78	NF

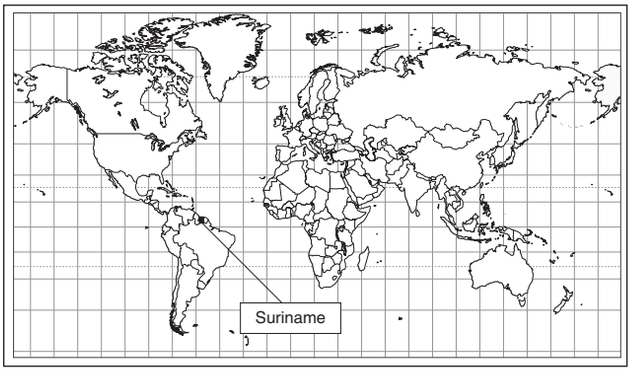
SURINAME

Population (2010, proj.): 524,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $4,730

Date of Independence: November 25, 1975 (from the Netherlands)

Date of Last Constitution: October 30, 1987



While press freedom is enshrined in the constitution and is widely observed, self-censorship by journalists is also common. There are two daily Dutch-language newspapers and seven radio stations, but television is government owned. Few (about 6 percent in 2007) use the Internet.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	PF	NF	
1989			**F**
1990			**PF**
1991			**PF**
1992			**PF**
1993			**PF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	2	2	5	5	7	7	10	5	**43**	**PF**
1995	2	2	5	7	7	7	5	10	**45**	**PF**
1996	6	4	4	7	4	6	0	0	**31**	**PF**
1997	6	4	4	7	4	6	0	0	**31**	**PF**
1998	6	4	4	7	4	6	0	0	**31**	**PF**
1999	6	4	4	6	4	6	1	0	**31**	**PF**
2000	6	4	4	7	4	6	0	0	**31**	**PF**
2001	6	4	3	4	4	6	0	1	**28**	**F**
2002	0		11		14				**25**	**F**
2003	0		12		14				**26**	**F**
2004	2		10		6				**18**	**F**
2005	2		11		7				**20**	**F**
2006	4		12		7				**23**	**F**
2007	5		11		6				**22**	**F**
2008	5		12		6				**23**	**F**

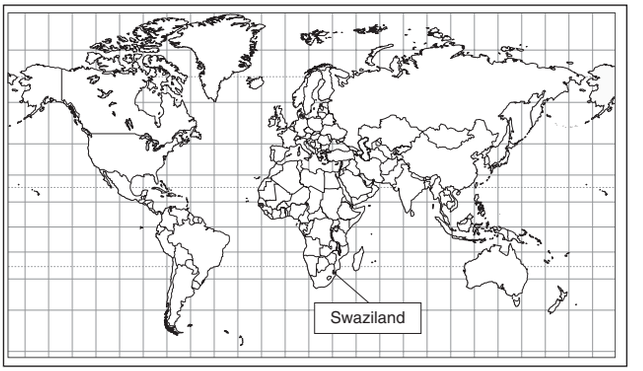
SWAZILAND

Population (2010, proj.): 1,202,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $2,560

Date of Independence: September 6, 1968 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: February 8, 2006



Freedom of the press is limited here, especially concerning political issues or the royal family. Nor are there many protections for journalists. Access to information is limited, and libel laws are often used to limit reporters. There are two newspapers, one of them relatively free, the other controlled by the royal family. Government controls television, though there is one private religious radio station. South African media are received as well. Internet use is negligible.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			PF
1993			PF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	7	9	9	8	10	9	10	10	72	NF
1995	7	9	9	8	10	9	10	11	73	NF
1996	9	10	10	10	0	10	0	20	69	NF
1997	13	13	15	14	0	13	1	0	69	NF
1998	15	15	15	14	0	13	0	3	75	NF
1999	15	15	15	14	0	13	0	3	75	NF
2000	15	15	15	14	0	13	0	5	77	NF
2001	15	15	15	14	0	13	0	5	77	NF
2002	26		26		25				77	NF
2003	23		26		25				74	NF
2004	23		28		26				77	NF
2005	25		28		26				79	NF
2006	25		27		25				77	NF
2007	25		26		25				76	NF
2008	25		26		25				76	NF

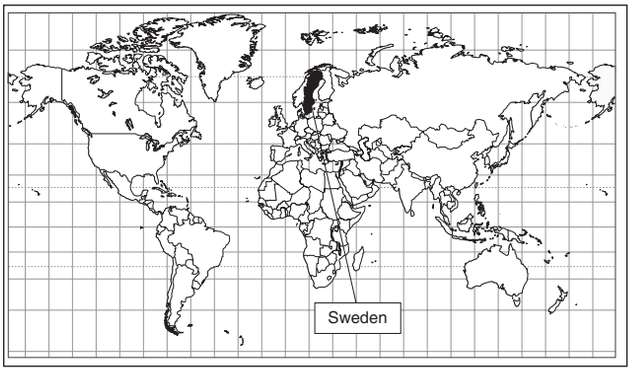
SWEDEN

Population (2010, proj.): 9,293,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $47,870

Date of Independence: June 6, 1523 (Gustav Vasa elected king)

Date of Last Constitution: January 1, 1975



Sweden enjoys some of the world's freest media. Public radio and television is widely used, and private station ownership is concentrated. The government subsidizes newspapers to retain competition of views. Internet use in 2007 approached 80 percent, one of the highest proportions in the world.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			**F**
1990			**F**
1991			**F**
1992			**F**
1993			**F**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	**11**	**F**
1995	2	2	1	1	2	2	0	0	**10**	**F**
1996	2	2	1	1	2	2	0	0	**10**	**F**
1997	2	2	1	1	2	2	0	0	**10**	**F**
1998	2	2	1	1	2	2	0	0	**10**	**F**
1999	2	2	1	1	2	2	0	0	**10**	**F**
2000	2	2	1	1	2	2	0	1	**11**	**F**
2001	2	2	1	1	2	2	0	0	**10**	**F**
2002	1		2		5				**8**	**F**
2003	1		2		5				**8**	**F**
2004	2		2		4				**8**	**F**
2005	2		3		4				**9**	**F**
2006	2		4		4				**10**	**F**
2007	2		5		4				**11**	**F**
2008	2		5		4				**11**	**F**

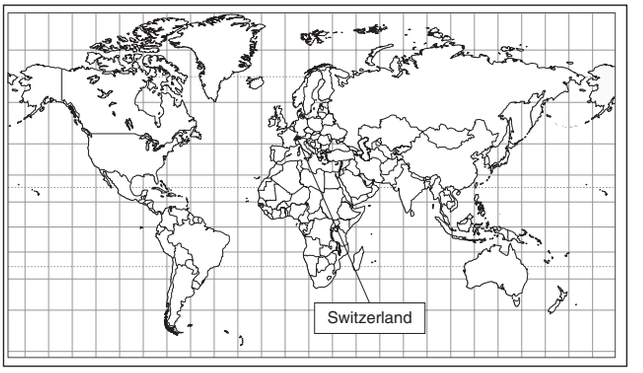
SWITZERLAND

Population (2010, proj.): 7,595,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $60,820

Date of Independence: August 1, 1291 (founding of the Swiss Confederation)

Date of Last Constitution: January 1, 2000



Media freedom is guaranteed and widely observed. The Swiss Broadcasting Corporation operates seven television and 18 radio stations. Cable television service is widespread as is Internet use (about 70 percent of the public in 2007).

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	11	F
1995	2	2	1	1	1	2	0	1	10	F
1996	2	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	8	F
1997	2	2	1	1	1	1	0	1	9	F
1998	2	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	8	F
1999	2	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	8	F
2000	2	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	8	F
2001	2	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	8	F
2002	1		2		5				8	F
2003	2		3		5				10	F
2004	2		2		5				9	F
2005	3		3		5				11	F
2006	3		3		5				11	F
2007	4		3		5				12	F
2008	5		3		5				13	F

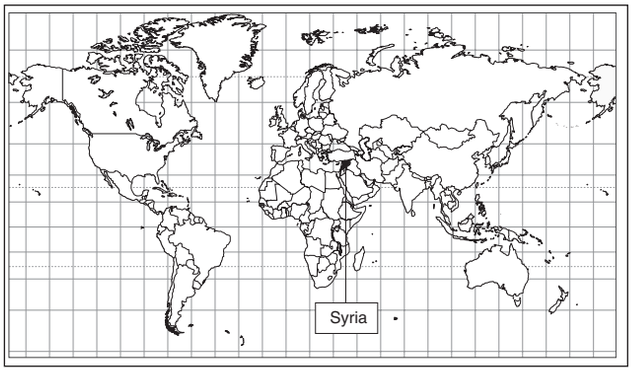
Syrian Arab Republic

Population (2010, proj.): 22,505,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $1,780

Date of Independence: April 17, 1946 (from League of Nations mandate under French administration)

Date of Last Constitution: March 13, 1973



As with most Arab nations, there is little media freedom here. Repressive laws are the reality though the constitution guarantees press freedom. An "emergency" law in place since 1962 enables widespread censorship and other government control across all media platforms. Journalists are widely intimidated, and prison terms are common for a variety of supposed offenses. Radio and television are state owned (a few private stations provide no news). Satellite television is widely available. Internet use is regulated, and less than a tenth of the population used the service in 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			NF
1993			NF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	10	10	10	10	9	10	8	8	75	NF
1995	10	10	10	10	10	10	5	10	75	NF
1996	10	10	10	10	5	5	5	20	75	NF
1997	15	15	15	15	7	7	0	1	75	NF
1998	15	15	15	15	7	7	0	0	74	NF
1999	15	15	15	15	7	7	0	0	74	NF
2000	15	15	15	13	7	7	0	1	73	NF
2001	15	15	15	12	7	7	0	0	71	NF
2002	24		30		24				78	NF
2003	25		33		22				80	NF
2004	28		32		20				80	NF
2005	29		34		20				83	NF
2006	29		33		22				84	NF
2007	29		33		21				83	NF
2008	29		33		21				83	NF

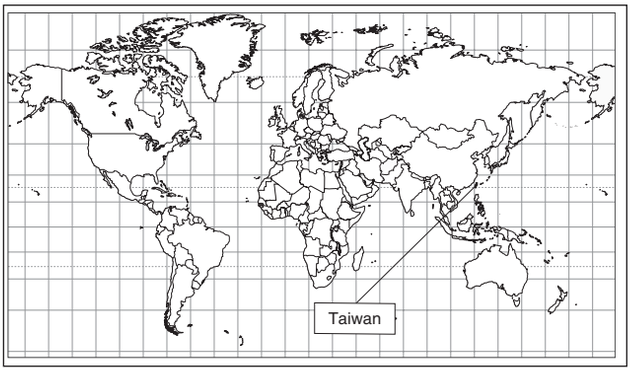
Taiwan

Population (2010, proj.): N/A

Gross National Income per Capita: N/A

Date of Independence: 1949 (from mainland China)

Date of Last Constitution: December 25, 1947 (last revised in 2005)



The Taiwan media market is perhaps the freest in all of East Asia. Free press protections are in the constitution and are widely followed. Criticism of government is often published or broadcast. Print media from mainland China are also available. There are more than 360 private newspapers and radio stations. Satellite television offers well over 140 channels. Internet is used by 70 percent of the people as of 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	PF	
1981	PF	PF	
1982	PF	PF	
1983–84	PF	PF	
1985	PF	PF	
1986	PF	PF	
1987	PF	PF	
1988	PF	PF	
1989			PF
1990			PF
1991			PF
1992			PF
1993			PF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	3	4	9	2	6	1	2	2	29	F
1995	3	1	6	4	4	3	8	1	30	F
1996	3	1	6	4	4	4	8	0	30	F
1997	5	2	7	5	4	4	0	1	28	F
1998	5	2	6	4	4	4	0	0	25	F
1999	5	2	6	4	4	4	0	0	25	F
2000	4	1	5	3	4	4	0	0	21	F
2001	4	1	5	3	4	4	0	1	22	F
2002	8		6		7				21	F
2003	9		8		7				24	F
2004	9		7		7				23	F
2005	8		6		7				21	F
2006	7		7		6				20	F
2007	7		7		6				20	F
2008	7		7		6				20	F

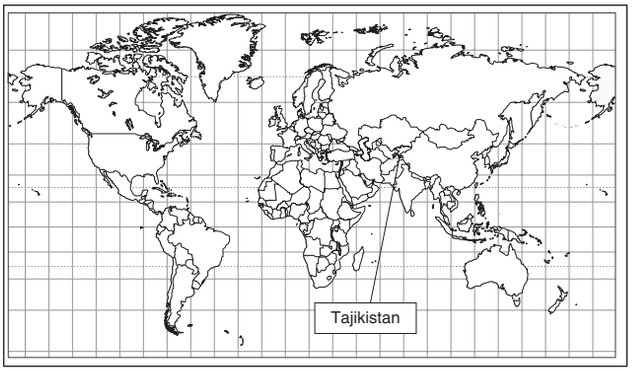
TAJIKISTAN

Population (2010, proj.): 7,075,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $460

Date of Independence: September 9, 1991 (from the Soviet Union)

Date of Last Constitution: November 6, 1994



Though press freedom is guaranteed in the constitution, legal realities are quite different with many repressive laws on the books. Intimidation of (though not usually violence against) journalists is common. Licensing and registration requirements are used to limit (or close down) media. State-run broadcast media are dominant. Internet usage is negligible, yet the government closely regulates it—including the use of libel laws.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			**N/A**
1990			**N/A**
1991			**N/A**
1992			**N/A**
1993			**NF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	10	10	10	10	10	10	15	18	**93**	**NF**
1995	10	10	10	10	10	10	17	16	**93**	**NF**
1996	10	10	10	10	10	10	18	18	**96**	**NF**
1997	15	15	15	15	15	15	5	0	**95**	**NF**
1998	15	15	15	15	15	15	2	2	**94**	**NF**
1999	15	15	15	15	15	15	2	2	**94**	**NF**
2000	15	15	15	15	15	15	0	4	**94**	**NF**
2001	13	10	13	11	14	13	5	0	**79**	**NF**
2002	29		27		24				**80**	**NF**
2003	26		26		24				**76**	**NF**
2004	24		27		22				**73**	**NF**
2005	24		27		23				**74**	**NF**
2006	24		28		24				**76**	**NF**
2007	24		28		24				**76**	**NF**
2008	25		28		24				**77**	**NF**

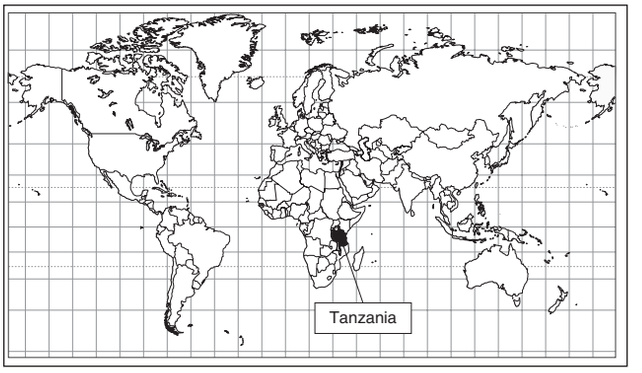
Tanzania

Population (2010, proj.): 45,040,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $410

Date of Independence: April 26, 1964 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: April 25, 1977; major revisions October 1984



Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			NF
1993			PF

Constitutional rights to free speech are, in practice, limited by a number of laws. Newspapers must be registered with the government (yet there are more than 500 of them). Libel laws are used to repress unfriendly reporters. Access to government information is limited. Zanzibar journalists must be licensed, and private broadcasting is not allowed—restrictions that do not apply elsewhere in the country. There are a dozen television and nearly 50 radio stations operating, though only four of the latter have a national reach. The government monitors Internet sites and use—of which there is hardly any.

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	7	8	9	8	5	4	7	12	60	PF
1995	7	7	6	6	5	4	4	10	49	PF
1996	9	8	9	8	3	7	0	5	49	PF
1997	11	10	9	8	3	7	0	1	49	PF
1998	11	10	7	8	2	6	0	4	48	PF
1999	11	10	7	8	2	6	3	4	51	PF
2000	11	10	8	8	2	6	0	4	49	PF
2001	11	10	8	8	2	6	0	4	49	PF
2002	18		18		13				49	PF
2003	18		16		13				47	PF
2004	18		17		15				50	PF
2005	18		18		15				51	PF
2006	16		19		15				50	PF
2007	16		20		15				51	PF
2008	15		18		15				48	PF

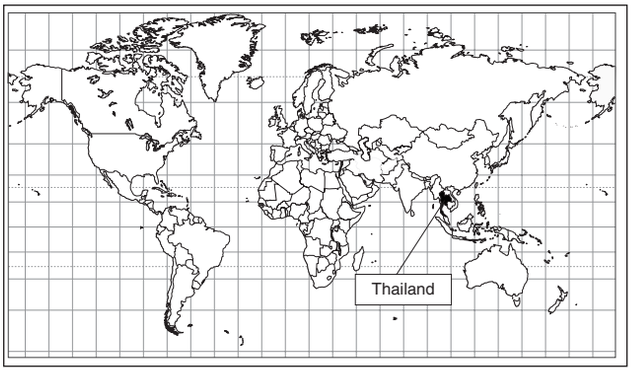
THAILAND

Population (2010, proj.): 68,139,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $3,400

Date of Independence: Never colonized

Date of Last Constitution: August 24, 2007



Despite constitutional protections, the military government restricts media freedom—including some of the world's harshest Internet laws. Libel laws are widely used to limit journalistic reporting. But newspapers continue to operate more freely—the restrictions (including censorship) apply largely to broadcast outlets (nearly all government controlled anyway) and the Internet. In 2007, only about 13 percent of the public used the Internet, which has been censored since 2003.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	NF	
1981	PF	NF	
1982	PF	NF	
1983–84	PF	NF	
1985	PF	NF	
1986	PF	NF	
1987	PF	PF	
1988	PF	PF	
1989			**PF**
1990			**PF**
1991			**F**
1992			**PF**
1993			**F**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	5	5	10	7	8	7	9	3	**54**	**PF**
1995	5	3	10	5	8	7	5	6	**49**	**PF**
1996	6	5	6	3	2	5	0	4	**31**	**PF**
1997	7	5	7	5	2	5	0	3	**34**	**PF**
1998	7	5	7	5	2	5	0	0	**31**	**PF**
1999	7	5	7	3	2	5	0	1	**30**	**F**
2000	7	5	6	3	2	5	0	2	**30**	**F**
2001	7	5	6	3	2	5	0	1	**29**	**F**
2002	10		9		11				**30**	**F**
2003	12		12		12				**36**	**PF**
2004	12		15		12				**39**	**PF**
2005	13		17		12				**42**	**PF**
2006	15		21		14				**50**	**PF**
2007	17		24		15				**56**	**PF**
2008	17		24		15				**56**	**PF**

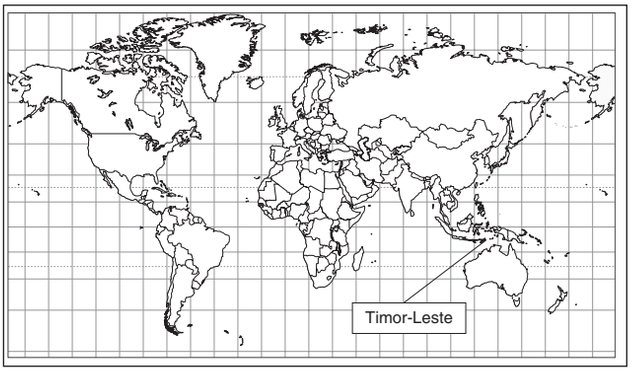
Timor-Leste

Population (2010, proj.): 1,171,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $1,510

Date of Independence: November 28, 1975 (from Portugal); 2002 (from Indonesia)

Date of Last Constitution: March 22, 2002



Formerly East Timor and part of Indonesia, this tiny country is filled with ethnic tensions that are reflected in the constitution that protects press freedom—-and the many laws that limit it. Libel laws are but one tool to control unruly journalists. There are three daily newspapers and both radio and television service. Community radio outlets have been largely dysfunctional. The Internet is not controlled, but it is also not used by the vast majority of people.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			N/A
1990			N/A
1991			N/A
1992			N/A
1993			N/A

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	N/A
1995	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	N/A
1996	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	N/A
1997	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	N/A
1998	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	N/A
1999	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	N/A
2000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	N/A
2001	3	3	3	3	4	5	0	0	21	F
2002	6		9		6				21	F
2003	3		8		11				22	F
2004	6		11		12				29	F
2005	7		14		9				30	F
2006	11		16		12				39	PF
2007	12		17		13				42	PF
2008	12		13		13				38	PF

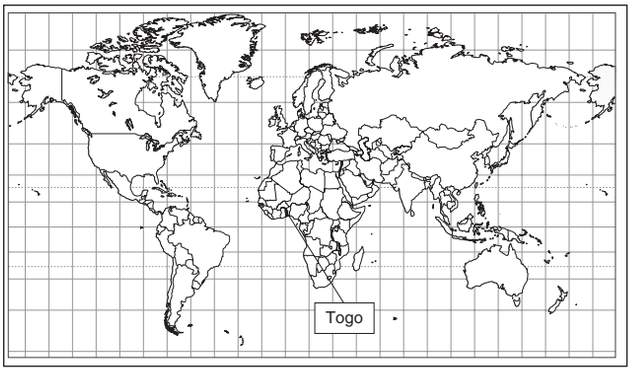
Togo

Population (2010, proj.): 6,780,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $360

Date of Independence: April 27, 1960 (from French-administered UN trusteeship)

Date of Last Constitution: September 27, 1992



There is no legal protection for freedom of the press or of speech. Censorship is widespread and attacks on journalists go unpunished. The many private print and broadcast outlets actively compete, though most are highly politicized. The only daily paper and television outlets are government run, though four private television channels have very limited coverage in the national capital. Internet use is small—about 5 percent in 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**NF**
1992			**PF**
1993			**NF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	7	9	7	8	10	10	15	19	**85**	**NF**
1995	7	9	10	10	10	10	0	11	**67**	**NF**
1996	10	10	10	10	0	10	0	20	**70**	**NF**
1997	15	15	14	15	0	10	0	1	**70**	**NF**
1998	15	15	14	15	0	10	0	4	**73**	**NF**
1999	15	15	14	15	0	10	0	4	**73**	**NF**
2000	15	15	14	15	0	10	0	5	**74**	**NF**
2001	15	12	14	13	3	10	0	5	**72**	**NF**
2002	28		21		19				**68**	**NF**
2003	26		27		21				**74**	**NF**
2004	25		32		21				**78**	**NF**
2005	21		31		21				**73**	**NF**
2006	23		34		21				**78**	**NF**
2007	22		31		21				**74**	**NF**
2008	23		29		22				**74**	**NF**

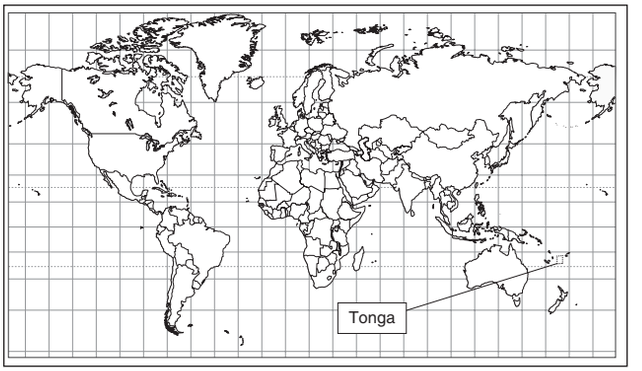
Tonga

Population (2010, proj.): 104,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $2,480

Date of Independence: June 4, 1970 (from UK protectorate)

Date of Last Constitution: November 4, 1875; revised January 1, 1967



Freedom of the press is guaranteed here and generally observed as well. There are a number of newspapers (one is printed in New Zealand) and broadcast outlets on the island, and there are private broadcasters as well. Internet users in 2008 comprised about 7 percent of the population.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	PF	PF	
1985	PF	PF	
1986	PF	PF	
1987	PF	PF	
1988	PF	PF	
1989			NF
1990			PF
1991			PF
1992			PF
1993			PF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	2	2	9	4	5	8	1	5	35	PF
1995	3	3	8	4	8	8	0	3	37	PF
1996	8	4	8	8	0	7	0	0	35	PF
1997	10	6	8	8	0	7	0	2	41	PF
1998	10	6	8	7	0	7	0	1	39	PF
1999	10	6	8	7	0	7	0	1	39	PF
2000	8	6	8	7	0	7	0	0	36	PF
2001	8	6	8	7	0	7	0	0	36	PF
2002	18		12		6				36	PF
2003	12		11		9				32	PF
2004	16		17		11				44	PF
2005	11		15		11				37	PF
2006	10		11		11				32	PF
2007	11		11		9				31	PF
2008	11		10		10				31	PF

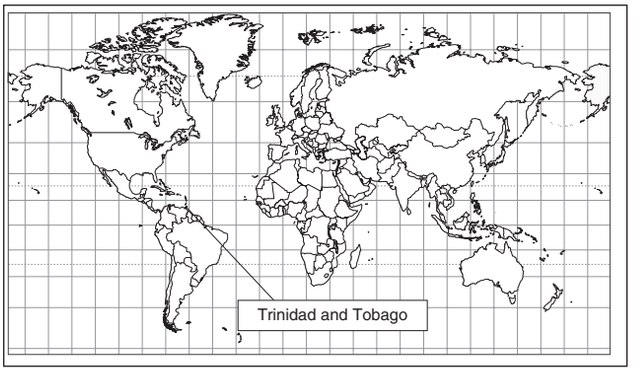
Trinidad and Tobago

Population (2010, proj.): 1,344,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $14,480

Date of Independence: August 31, 1962 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: August 1, 1976



These Caribbean islands enjoy freedom of the press, though access to government information is limited. Tension between African and East Indian populations is reflected in the media and in some government actions as well. There are three dailies and another three weekly papers, four television stations, and some 35 radio outlets. The Internet is not regulated, and about 12 percent (in 2007) made use of it.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	3	3	6	3	4	8	1	1	**29**	**F**
1995	2	2	6	3	4	7	0	1	**25**	**F**
1996	5	3	6	4	2	6	0	0	**26**	**F**
1997	5	3	6	4	2	6	0	4	**30**	**F**
1998	6	4	6	4	2	6	0	0	**28**	**F**
1999	6	4	6	4	2	6	0	0	**28**	**F**
2000	6	4	6	4	2	6	0	0	**28**	**F**
2001	6	4	6	4	2	6	0	0	**28**	**F**
2002	4		17		9				**30**	**F**
2003	4		11		10				**25**	**F**
2004	6		10		9				**25**	**F**
2005	4		11		9				**24**	**F**
2006	6		12		8				**26**	**F**
2007	5		11		8				**24**	**F**
2008	6		10		7				**23**	**F**

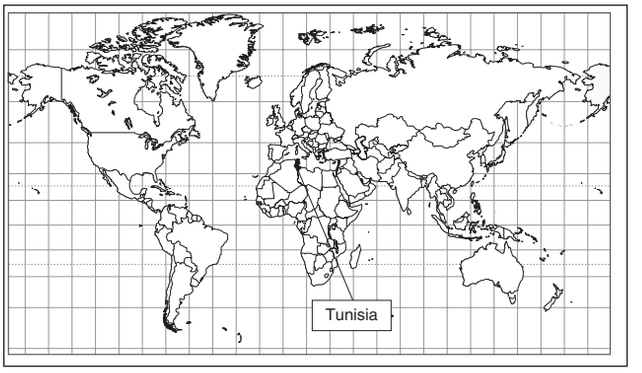
TUNISIA

Population (2010, proj.): 10,374,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $3,210

Date of Independence: March 20, 1956 (from France)

Date of Last Constitution: June 1, 1959 (last revised in 2002)



Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	NF	
1981	PF	NF	
1982	PF	NF	
1983–84	PF	NF	
1985	PF	NF	
1986	PF	NF	
1987	PF	NF	
1988	PF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			PF
1991			PF
1992			PF
1993			PF

Press freedom is guaranteed in the constitution except for "conditions laid down by law," which leaves many loopholes for government action against the news media. Libel laws are one problem for journalists, intimidation (and sometimes attacks) is another, and newspaper censorship is fairly common. Self-censorship is widespread and government often interferes with newspaper distribution. The largest newspapers are government controlled or owned by those close to the regime. Satellite reception brings in many foreign television channels—though some are blocked if they broadcast material not desired by the government. Internet usage is rising, with about 10 percent of the population accessing the Internet in 2007.

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	9	9	10	9	7	8	2	5	59	PF
1995	9	9	10	9	10	8	2	7	64	NF
1996	10	10	10	10	0	10	0	20	70	NF
1997	15	15	15	15	0	9	0	1	70	NF
1998	15	15	15	15	0	9	0	5	74	NF
1999	15	15	15	15	0	9	0	5	74	NF
2000	15	15	15	15	0	9	0	5	74	NF
2001	15	13	15	14	0	12	0	5	74	NF
2002	26		25		22				73	NF
2003	27		28		23				78	NF
2004	27		30		23				80	NF
2005	26		30		24				80	NF
2006	28		31		24				83	NF
2007	28		31		24				83	NF
2008	27		30		24				81	NF

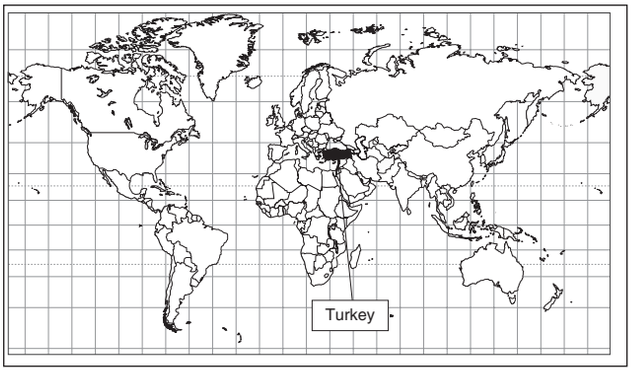
TURKEY

Population (2010, proj.): 75,705,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $8,030

Date of Independence: October 29, 1923 (successor state to the Ottoman Empire)

Date of Last Constitution: November 7, 1982



Press operations and freedom have been limited by tensions over secularization, nationalism, and separatism in the country. Turkey's desire to enter the European Union is providing another set of pressures, resisted by many in the religious communities. Libel laws (such as those concerning the "denigration of Turkishness") are widely applied, and attacks on journalists are fairly common. Self-censorship is widely evident. Four conglomerates control most media, including hundreds of private radio (a handful serving Kurdish areas) and television outlets. About a fifth of the population made use of the Internet in 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	PF	
1981	PF	NF	
1982	PF	NF	
1983–84	PF	NF	
1985	PF	NF	
1986	PF	NF	
1987	PF	NF	
1988	PF	NF	
1989			**PF**
1990			**PF**
1991			**PF**
1992			**PF**
1993			**PF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	7	9	8	7	4	7	4	13	**59**	**PF**
1995	7	9	8	7	4	7	11	20	**73**	**NF**
1996	7	8	9	9	3	8	10	20	**74**	**NF**
1997	11	12	13	12	3	8	1	5	**65**	**NF**
1998	11	12	13	12	3	8	5	5	**69**	**NF**
1999	11	12	13	12	3	8	5	5	**69**	**NF**
2000	11	11	11	9	3	8	0	5	**58**	**PF**
2001	11	11	11	9	3	8	0	5	**58**	**PF**
2002	26		23		9				**58**	**PF**
2003	23		23		9				**55**	**PF**
2004	18		23		11				**52**	**PF**
2005	16		21		11				**48**	**PF**
2006	17		20		11				**48**	**PF**
2007	19		19		11				**49**	**PF**
2008	20		20		11				**51**	**PF**

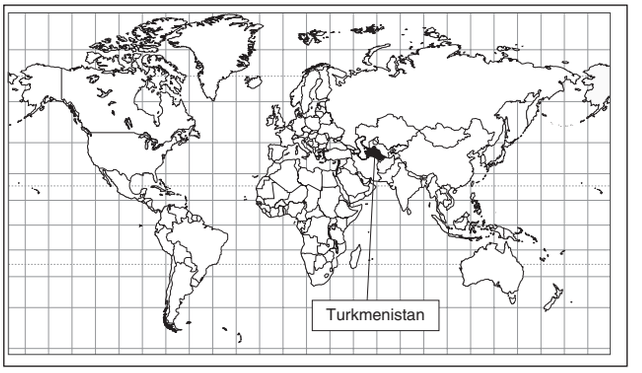
TURKMENISTAN

Population (2010, proj.): 5,177,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2000): $650

Date of Independence: October 27, 1991 (from the Soviet Union)

Date of Last Constitution: May 18, 1992



Press repression here resembles that of the former Soviet Union. The government retains a monopoly over all media services, and foreign publications are banned as well. Attacks on journalists are fairly common and are often not investigated. Internet access is expensive and regulated, and use is negligible.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			N/A
1990			N/A
1991			N/A
1992			N/A
1993			NF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	19	89	NF
1995	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	14	84	NF
1996	10	10	10	10	10	10	12	12	84	NF
1997	15	15	15	15	11	11	0	2	84	NF
1998	15	15	15	15	12	12	0	0	84	NF
1999	15	15	15	15	12	12	1	0	85	NF
2000	15	15	15	15	13	13	0	0	86	NF
2001	15	15	15	15	13	13	3	0	89	NF
2002	28		33		30				91	NF
2003	30		33		29				92	NF
2004	30		36		29				95	NF
2005	30		37		29				96	NF
2006	30		37		29				96	NF
2007	30		37		29				96	NF
2008	30		37		29				96	NF

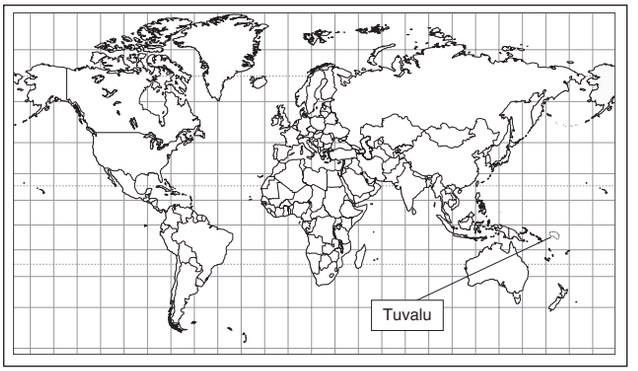
TUVALU

Population (2010, proj.): 10,000

Gross National Income per Capita: N/A

Date of Independence: October 1, 1978 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: October 1, 1978



Press freedom is guaranteed by the constitution, though the only radio station and newspaper on this island are controlled by the government. There is no television. Infrastructure limitations made Internet use difficult, and only 16 percent used it in 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			**N/A**
1990			**N/A**
1991			**N/A**
1992			**N/A**
1993			**N/A**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
1995	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
1996	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
1997	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
1998	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
1999	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
2000	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
2001	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	**N/A**	**N/A**
2002	N/A		N/A		N/A				**N/A**	**N/A**
2003	0		2		14				**16**	**F**
2004	1		6		12				**19**	**F**
2005	1		7		12				**20**	**F**
2006	3		11		12				**26**	**F**
2007	3		11		12				**26**	**F**
2008	3		11		12				**26**	**F**

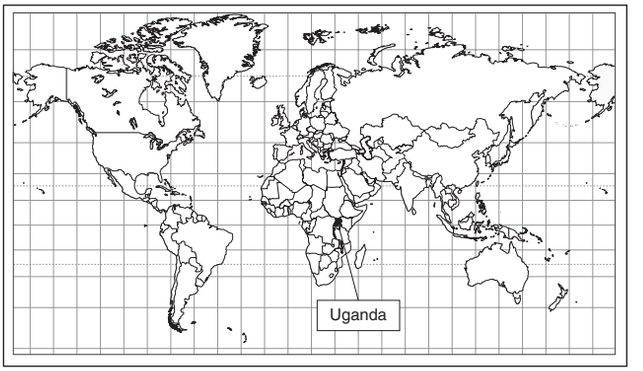
Uganda

Population (2010, proj.): 33,796,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $370

Date of Independence: October 9, 1962 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: October 8, 1995 (amended 2005)



While the constitution promises press freedom, "national security" laws limit that in practice. Journalists are often intimidated or attacked. After the government loosened controls in 1993, media outlets greatly increased—there are two dozen daily and weekly papers and some 100 private radio and television stations. The state radio service is progovernment in tone. Internet use is very low—less than 3 percent in 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	PF	PF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	PF	NF	
1986	PF	NF	
1987	PF	NF	
1988	PF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			NF
1993			NF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	10	10	10	9	10	10	10	15	84	NF
1995	4	4	7	6	6	6	0	5	38	PF
1996	8	6	7	8	0	3	0	6	38	PF
1997	10	8	7	8	0	3	0	2	38	PF
1998	10	8	7	8	0	3	0	4	40	PF
1999	10	8	7	10	0	3	0	2	40	PF
2000	10	8	7	10	0	3	0	2	40	PF
2001	10	8	7	4	4	5	1	1	40	PF
2002	14		15		13				42	PF
2003	15		16		14				45	PF
2004	16		17		11				44	PF
2005	15		17		12				44	PF
2006	19		20		13				52	PF
2007	20		21		13				54	PF
2008	20		20		13				53	PF

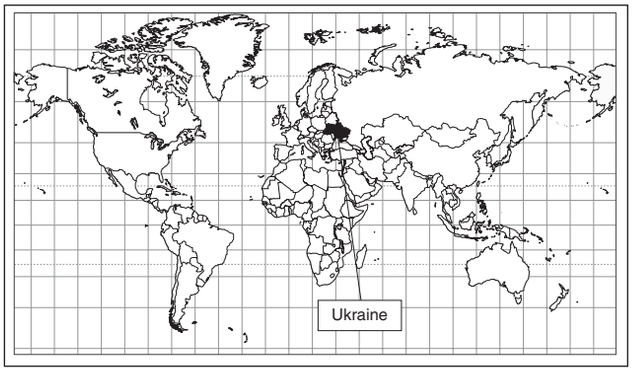
UKRAINE

Population (2010, proj.): 45,433,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $2,560

Date of Independence: August 24, 1991 (from the Soviet Union)

Date of Last Constitution: June 28, 1996



This former part of the old Soviet Union has been torn by political tensions that are evident in its news media. Press freedom is provided for in the constitution and is generally adhered to. Secrecy and corruption remain an issue in government agencies. Threats against and harassment of the media are fairly common. There are hundreds of print and broadcast media outlets, some owned by those close to the government. About 12 percent of the people made use of the Internet in 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			**N/A**
1990			**N/A**
1991			**N/A**
1992			**N/A**
1993			**PF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	9	5	7	4	9	8	1	1	**44**	**PF**
1995	9	5	7	5	8	7	1	0	**42**	**PF**
1996	8	4	4	5	2	6	0	10	**39**	**PF**
1997	10	8	7	7	4	8	4	1	**49**	**PF**
1998	10	8	7	7	4	8	0	5	**49**	**PF**
1999	10	8	7	7	4	8	1	5	**50**	**PF**
2000	10	8	10	9	5	8	5	5	**60**	**PF**
2001	10	8	10	9	5	10	3	5	**60**	**PF**
2002	23		26		11				**60**	**PF**
2003	15		29		23				**67**	**NF**
2004	15		29		24				**68**	**NF**
2005	15		21		23				**59**	**PF**
2006	13		19		21				**53**	**PF**
2007	13		19		21				**53**	**PF**
2008	14		19		20				**53**	**PF**

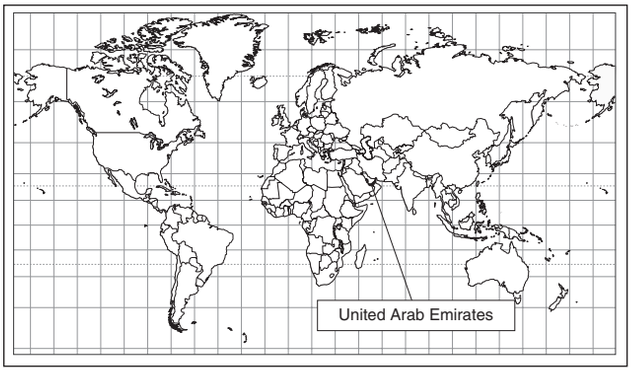
United Arab Emirates

Population (2010, proj.): 4,707,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2000): $19,270

Date of Independence: December 2, 1971 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: December 2, 1971; made permanent in 1996



This Gulf kingdom centered on Dubai has very limited news media freedom. Laws give the central government a whole variety of ways to control media content—more than most Arab nations. All media are owned by the government or closely allied to it. Newspapers must be licensed, are subsidized, and are subject to censorship. Journalists suffer various kinds of intimidation. Nearly 40 percent use the Internet, but it is closely monitored by the government, which blocks many websites.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	NF	
1981	PF	NF	
1982	PF	NF	
1983–84	PF	NF	
1985	PF	NF	
1986	PF	NF	
1987	PF	NF	
1988	PF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			NF
1993			NF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	9	9	10	8	10	10	5	15	76	NF
1995	10	10	10	9	9	9	10	10	77	NF
1996	10	10	10	10	10	10	8	8	76	NF
1997	15	15	15	15	6	10	0	0	76	NF
1998	15	15	15	15	6	10	0	0	76	NF
1999	15	15	15	15	6	10	0	0	76	NF
2000	15	15	15	15	6	10	0	0	76	NF
2001	15	15	15	15	6	10	0	0	76	NF
2002	26		23		25				74	NF
2003	24		27		23				74	NF
2004	27		25		23				75	NF
2005	26		24		22				72	NF
2006	23		22		20				65	NF
2007	23		23		22				68	NF
2008	23		23		22				68	NF

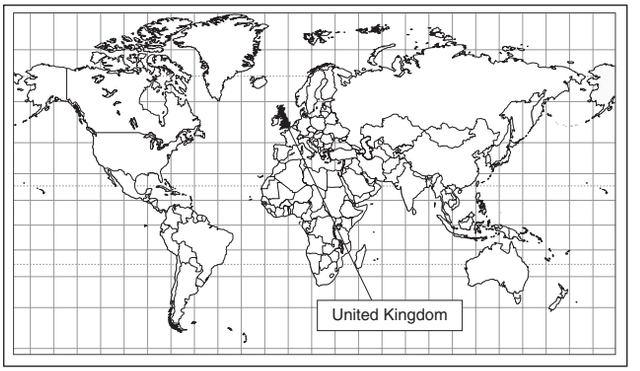
United Kingdom

Population (2010, proj.): 61,899,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2006): $40,660

Date of Independence: January 1, 1801 (completion of the legislative union of Great Britain and Ireland under the name of the United Kingdom)

Date of Last Constitution: Unwritten; partly statutes and partly common law and practice



British media are free and very competitive. Many newspapers are distributed across the country—nearly a dozen compete in the London market, divided between upmarket and tabloid approaches. The BBC provides a world model for public service radio and television. Private television was introduced in 1955; radio in 1974, though the latter is very limited. Satellite television service is widely available. Roughly two-thirds of the country's population used the Internet in 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			**F**
1990			**F**
1991			**F**
1992			**F**
1993			**F**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	4	4	3	3	2	3	2	3	**24**	**F**
1995	4	4	3	3	2	3	1	2	**22**	**F**
1996	4	3	1	3	1	6	0	4	**22**	**F**
1997	4	3	3	4	1	6	0	1	**22**	**F**
1998	4	3	3	4	1	6	0	0	**21**	**F**
1999	4	3	3	3	1	6	0	0	**20**	**F**
2000	4	3	3	3	1	6	0	0	**20**	**F**
2001	3	2	3	2	3	4	0	0	**17**	**F**
2002	4		7		7				**18**	**F**
2003	6		5		7				**18**	**F**
2004	4		8		7				**19**	**F**
2005	5		7		6				**18**	**F**
2006	5		7		7				**19**	**F**
2007	5		8		6				**19**	**F**
2008	6		7		5				**18**	**F**

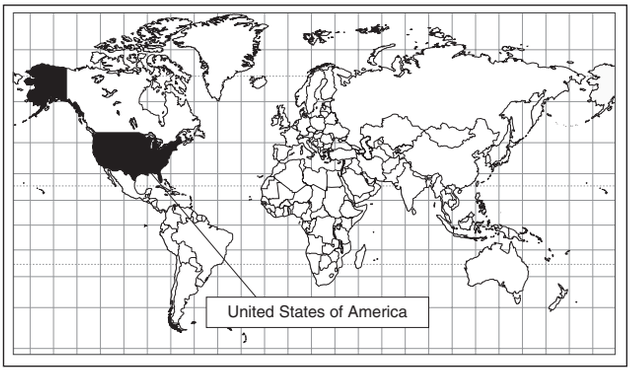
United States of America

Population (2010, proj.): 317,641,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $46,040

Date of Independence: July 4, 1776 (from Great Britain)

Date of Last Constitution: September 17, 1787 (last amended in 1992)



American media are protected by the Constitution's First Amendment, which is deeply respected and broadly upheld. Many states have shield laws protecting journalists from revealing sources, and attempts to develop a similar national law are underway. Government secrecy and unwillingness to release documents have been a problem. Coverage of government and business is aggressive. Media ownership is private and concentrated. There are some 1,400 daily papers, many in economic trouble as circulation and advertising drops. Public radio is widely listened to, and public television plays an important news and documentary role. Perhaps three-quarters of the population made use of the Internet in 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	1	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	12	F
1995	1	1	1	1	3	2	0	3	12	F
1996	1	1	1	1	2	4	0	4	14	F
1997	2	2	1	1	2	4	0	2	14	F
1998	1	1	1	1	2	4	0	2	12	F
1999	1	1	2	2	3	4	0	0	13	F
2000	1	1	2	2	3	3	0	1	13	F
2001	1	1	2	2	3	4	1	1	15	F
2002	3		6		7				16	F
2003	5		6		6				17	F
2004	3		6		4				13	F
2005	5		7		5				17	F
2006	6		6		4				16	F
2007	6		6		4				16	F
2008	5		8		4				17	F

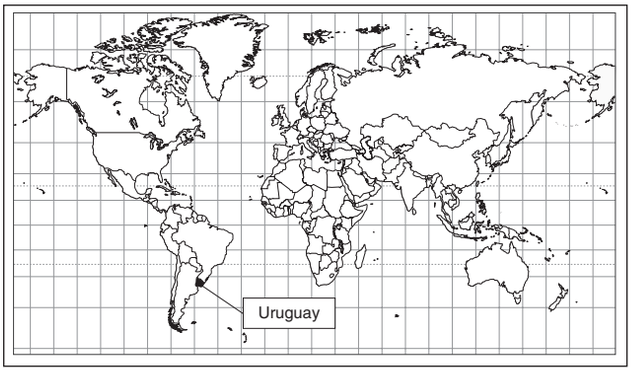
URUGUAY

Population (2010, proj.): 3,372,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $6,390

Date of Independence: August 25, 1825 (from Brazil)

Date of Last Constitution: November 27, 1966



News media are freer here than in many Latin American nations. Community radio stations were allowed in 2007—there will be some 200 of them eventually. Use of libel laws against journalists remains an issue as does access to government information. There are about 100 privately owned newspapers, though ownership is concentrated. There are about as many radio stations and some 20 television outlets. About a fifth of the population made use of the Internet in 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	PF	PF	
1982	PF	PF	
1983–84	PF	PF	
1985	PF	PF	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	3	3	3	4	3	3	1	3	**23**	**F**
1995	4	5	2	3	1	2	4	4	**25**	**F**
1996	5	5	5	5	2	3	0	0	**25**	**F**
1997	6	6	5	5	2	3	1	1	**29**	**F**
1998	7	6	5	5	2	4	0	1	**30**	**F**
1999	7	6	6	5	2	4	0	0	**30**	**F**
2000	7	5	6	5	2	4	0	0	**29**	**F**
2001	7	5	4	4	4	5	0	1	**30**	**F**
2002	14		8		3				**25**	**F**
2003	12		7		11				**30**	**F**
2004	7		9		10				**26**	**F**
2005	9		9		11				**29**	**F**
2006	8		9		11				**28**	**F**
2007	10		10		10				**30**	**F**
2008	10		10		10				**30**	**F**

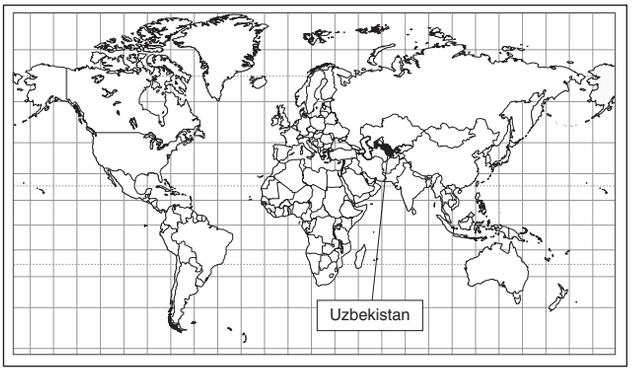
UZBEKISTAN

Population (2010, proj.): 27,794,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $730

Date of Independence: September 1, 1991 (from the Soviet Union)

Date of Last Constitution: December 8, 1992



Uzbekistan is another part of the former Soviet Union, and the nation's government ignores constitutional guarantees of press freedom. Uzbek laws use libel broadly, especially for any criticism of the President. Foreign media are harassed as are domestic reporters. Nearly all media are either owned by the government or closely allied to it. Internet sites are routinely blocked and only 6 percent of the population used the web in 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			N/A
1990			N/A
1991			N/A
1992			N/A
1993			NF

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	9	10	10	10	9	10	10	17	85	NF
1995	10	10	10	10	10	10	8	11	79	NF
1996	10	10	10	10	10	10	0	15	75	NF
1997	15	15	15	15	7	7	0	2	76	NF
1998	15	15	15	15	8	8	0	0	76	NF
1999	15	15	15	15	8	8	1	2	79	NF
2000	15	15	15	14	10	10	2	2	83	NF
2001	15	15	15	15	10	10	2	2	84	NF
2002	26		36		22				84	NF
2003	26		36		24				86	NF
2004	25		34		25				84	NF
2005	26		34		25				85	NF
2006	28		37		25				90	NF
2007	29		37		25				91	NF
2008	29		38		25				92	NF

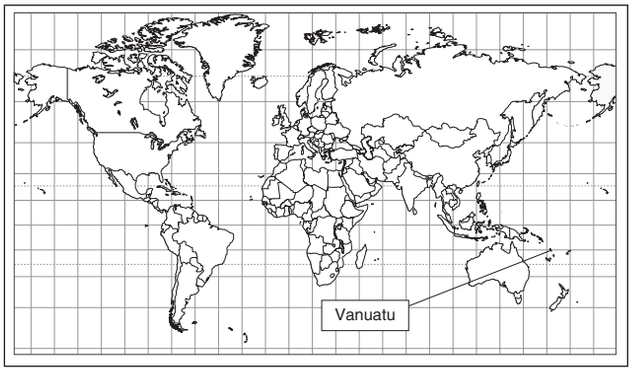
VANUATU

Population (2010, proj.): 246,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $1,840

Date of Independence: July 30, 1980 (from France and the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: July 30, 1980



A Pacific island nation, Vanuatu enjoys a free press, though some journalists have been censored or even intimidated at times. The only radio and television stations are government owned. There are private print media. Internet use is negligible.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	PF	PF	
1986	PF	PF	
1987	PF	PF	
1988	PF	PF	
1989			**F**
1990			**F**
1991			**F**
1992			**F**
1993			**F**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	10	10	2	10	3	10	0	0	**45**	**PF**
1995	6	6	9	9	5	9	5	5	**54**	**PF**
1996	9	8	9	6	5	5	0	0	**42**	**PF**
1997	9	8	9	6	5	5	0	0	**42**	**PF**
1998	9	8	9	6	5	5	0	0	**42**	**PF**
1999	9	8	9	6	5	5	0	0	**42**	**PF**
2000	9	8	9	6	5	5	1	1	**44**	**PF**
2001	7	6	9	5	5	5	0	0	**37**	**PF**
2002	4		4		16				**24**	**F**
2003	2		5		14				**21**	**F**
2004	4		8		11				**23**	**F**
2005	4		9		11				**24**	**F**
2006	5		10		10				**25**	**F**
2007	6		9		9				**24**	**F**
2008	6		8		9				**23**	**F**

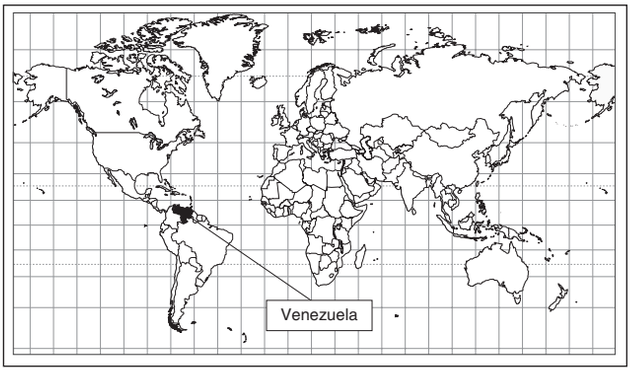
VENEZUELA

Population (2010, proj.): 29,044,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $7,550

Date of Independence: July 5, 1811 (from Spain)

Date of Last Constitution: December 30, 1999



The regime of Hugo Chavez has progressively clamped down on media, shifting this country from a free press to one that is not free, and all in the space of a few years. Private media have been restricted if not actually closed down. Attacks on journalists are now common as is intimidation of media outlets not seen as supporting the government. The government controls many broadcast outlets, and its advertising supports many media. The Internet is not regulated, however, though less than 15 percent of the people used it in 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	F	F	
1981	F	F	
1982	F	F	
1983–84	F	F	
1985	F	F	
1986	F	F	
1987	F	F	
1988	F	F	
1989			F
1990			F
1991			F
1992			F
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	3	3	4	4	2	4	4	6	30	F
1995	7	7	9	6	5	5	2	8	49	PF
1996	2	8	2	8	1	6	0	4	31	PF
1997	3	9	3	9	1	7	0	0	32	PF
1998	3	9	3	9	1	7	0	1	33	PF
1999	3	9	3	9	1	7	0	1	33	PF
2000	3	9	3	9	1	7	1	1	34	PF
2001	7	4	7	4	3	7	1	1	34	PF
2002	19		15		10				44	PF
2003	23		29		16				68	NF
2004	22		29		17				68	NF
2005	24		30		18				72	NF
2006	25		30		17				72	NF
2007	26		30		18				74	NF
2008	26		29		19				74	NF

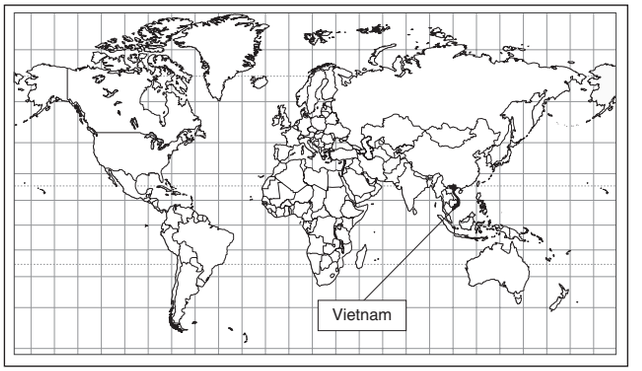
VIETNAM

Population (2010, proj.): 89,029,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $770

Date of Independence: September 2, 1945 (from France)

Date of Last Constitution: April 15, 1992



All media are controlled by the government or ruling Communist party, and press freedom—despite statements in the constitution and laws—is nonexistent. Harassment and imprisonment of journalists is common. Satellite television is widespread in urban areas, and about a fifth of the nation's population uses the Internet (as of 2007).

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	NF	NF	
1981	NF	NF	
1982	NF	NF	
1983–84	NF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**NF**
1992			**NF**
1993			**NF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	10	10	10	8	5	5	8	15	**71**	**NF**
1995	10	10	10	9	10	10	0	9	**68**	**NF**
1996	10	10	10	10	0	10	0	8	**68**	**NF**
1997	14	14	14	14	0	10	0	3	**69**	**NF**
1998	15	15	15	15	0	10	0	1	**71**	**NF**
1999	15	15	15	15	0	10	0	1	**71**	**NF**
2000	15	15	15	15	0	10	0	5	**75**	**NF**
2001	15	15	15	15	5	10	0	5	**80**	**NF**
2002	30		30		22				**82**	**NF**
2003	30		30		22				**82**	**NF**
2004	28		30		24				**82**	**NF**
2005	28		30		24				**82**	**NF**
2006	27		29		23				**79**	**NF**
2007	27		28		22				**77**	**NF**
2008	27		33		22				**82**	**NF**

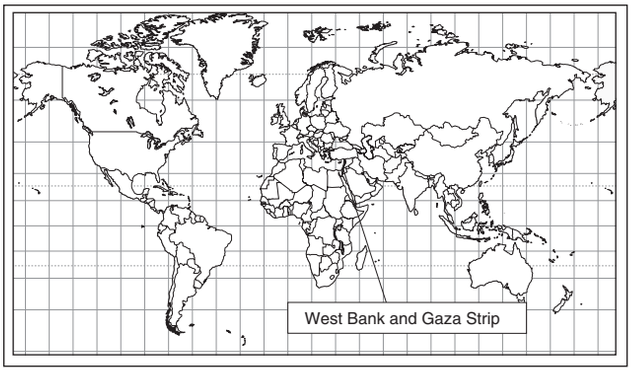
West Bank and Gaza Strip

Population (2010, proj.): 4,409,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2005): $1,290

Date of Independence: N/A

Date of Last Constitution: N/A



Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			N/A
1990			N/A
1991			N/A
1992			N/A
1993			N/A

The media situation in the Israeli-occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip is tenuous, to say the least. Israeli occupation officials, the Palestinian Authority (which is the ruling entity in the West Bank), and the Islamist party Hamas (which is the ruling entity in Gaza) severely restrict press freedom. In addition, journalists encounter physical threats and violence from all three official ruling entities, as well as from radical militant factions, which have been accused of kidnapping journalists. That said, press activity is active and diverse, with many local and foreign media representatives engaged in reporting on the conflict and events on the ground.

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	NF
1995	10	10	10	10	10	10	17	17	94	NF
1996	8	10	8	8	0	8	0	16	58	PF
1997	12	12	12	12	0	8	2	5	63	NF
1998	12	12	12	12	0	8	4	5	65	NF
1999	12	12	12	12	0	8	4	5	65	NF
2000	12	12	12	12	0	8	5	4	65	NF
2001	12	10	13	13	2	10	5	5	70	NF
2002	26		36		22				84	NF
2003	30		38		18				86	NF
2004	29		37		20				86	NF
2005	28		36		20				84	NF
2006	28		36		22				86	NF
2007	28		34		22				84	NF
2008	20		34		22				84	NF

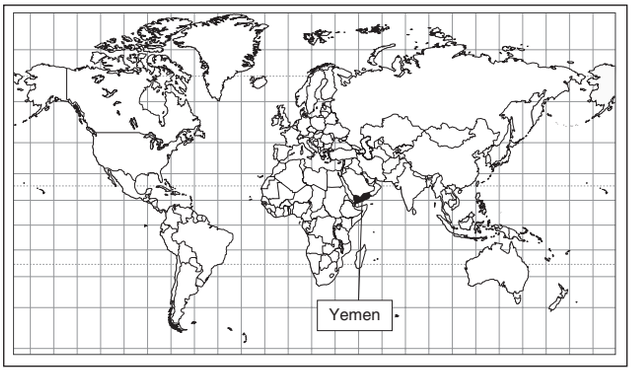
YEMEN

Population (2010, proj.): 24,256,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $870

Date of Independence: May 22, 1990 (by merger of Yemen and Aden)

Date of Last Constitution: May 16, 1991 (last revised February 2001)



Despite constitutional provisions to the contrary, news media are restricted under a 1990 law. Libel is widely construed and used to limit reporting, as is intimidation and violence, resulting in widespread self-censorship. There are five daily papers (three are official) with another 80 independent or party papers that appear less often. Newspapers are licensed annually and the license may be revoked at any time. The state runs radio (the most important news medium) and television. Satellite television is expensive but available. Few use the Internet because of cost.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	N/A	N/A	
1981	N/A	N/A	
1982	N/A	N/A	
1983–84	N/A	N/A	
1985	N/A	N/A	
1986	N/A	N/A	
1987	N/A	N/A	
1988	N/A	N/A	
1989			**N/A**
1990			**N/A**
1991			**NF**
1992			**NF**
1993			**NF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	5	5	8	5	8	9	5	10	**55**	**PF**
1995	10	10	9	9	9	9	0	7	**63**	**NF**
1996	10	10	10	10	0	8	0	20	**68**	**NF**
1997	15	15	15	15	0	3	2	3	**68**	**NF**
1998	15	15	15	15	0	3	0	5	**68**	**NF**
1999	15	13	15	13	0	9	0	3	**68**	**NF**
2000	14	13	14	13	0	9	1	4	**68**	**NF**
2001	15	12	14	12	3	9	0	4	**69**	**NF**
2002	27		23		15				**65**	**NF**
2003	27		24		18				**69**	**NF**
2004	26		22		19				**67**	**NF**
2005	28		28		20				**76**	**NF**
2006	28		33		20				**81**	**NF**
2007	28		31		21				**80**	**NF**
2008	26		31		21				**78**	**NF**

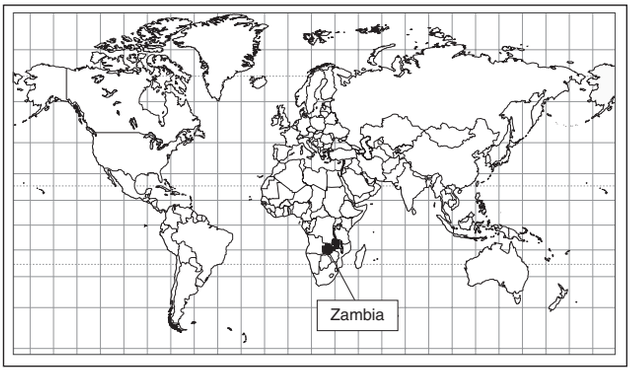
Zambia

Population (2010, proj.): 13,257,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2007): $770

Date of Independence: October 24, 1964 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: August 24, 1991; amended in 1996



While protected in the constitution, press freedom is curbed in practice. Government harassment of journalists is common. Government-owned press and broadcast outlets dominate the media scene. There are a few independent newspapers and one radio station. Internet use is very low—less than 5 percent as of 2007.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	PF	
1981	PF	NF	
1982	PF	NF	
1983–84	PF	NF	
1985	PF	NF	
1986	PF	NF	
1987	PF	NF	
1988	PF	NF	
1989			NF
1990			NF
1991			NF
1992			PF
1993			F

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	Broadcast	Print	SCORE	STATUS
1994	7	9	7	2	8	2	5	10	50	PF
1995	7	8	8	8	7	7	8	8	61	NF
1996	7	9	8	9	0	7	0	20	60	NF
1997	7	11	15	15	0	7	1	5	61	NF
1998	7	11	12	13	0	7	5	5	60	PF
1999	7	11	12	14	0	8	5	5	62	NF
2000	7	12	13	14	1	10	0	5	62	NF
2001	7	12	13	10	5	10	0	5	62	NF
2002	24		24		19				65	NF
2003	20		24		19				63	NF
2004	19		24		20				63	NF
2005	20		25		20				65	NF
2006	19		24		21				64	NF
2007	19		24		21				64	NF
2008	20		24		20				64	NF

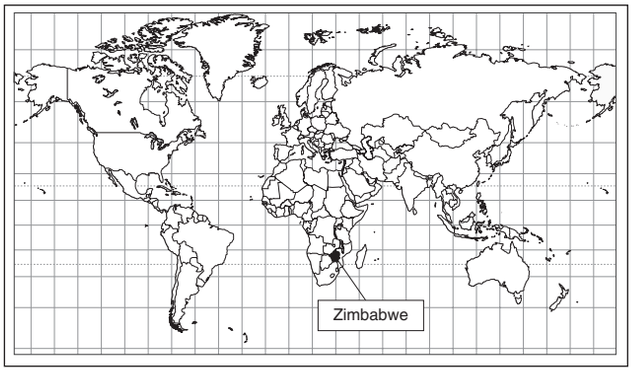
ZIMBABWE

Population (2010, proj.): 12,644,000

Gross National Income per Capita (current, 2005): $340

Date of Independence: April 18, 1980 (from the UK)

Date of Last Constitution: December 21, 1979



The repressive Mugabe regime tightly constricts the country's media. Draconian laws and repression are the rule of the land. Intimidation of journalists is widespread, and foreign journalists are severely limited in what they can do—which does not even include living in the country. Government-run broadcasting is subject to censorship. About 10 percent of the people use the Internet despite regulation and high cost.

Historical Ratings

	Print	Broadcast	Overall Status
1980	PF	NF	
1981	PF	NF	
1982	PF	NF	
1983–84	PF	NF	
1985	NF	NF	
1986	NF	NF	
1987	NF	NF	
1988	NF	NF	
1989			**NF**
1990			**NF**
1991			**PF**
1992			**PF**
1993			**PF**

	Laws and Regulations		Political Pressures/Control		Economic Influence		Violence/Attacks			
	Broadcast	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**Broadcast**	**Print**	**SCORE**	**STATUS**
1994	5	5	10	9	7	9	1	2	**48**	**PF**
1995	6	7	10	9	8	9	5	5	**59**	**PF**
1996	10	9	5	10	0	10	0	12	**56**	**PF**
1997	12	10	8	12	0	10	0	5	**57**	**PF**
1998	12	10	10	15	0	10	0	4	**61**	**NF**
1999	12	10	10	15	3	11	0	3	**64**	**NF**
2000	12	11	10	15	3	11	0	5	**67**	**NF**
2001	12	11	10	15	3	13	0	5	**69**	**NF**
2002	26		34		23				**83**	**NF**
2003	30		34		24				**88**	**NF**
2004	30		34		25				**89**	**NF**
2005	30		34		25				**89**	**NF**
2006	30		35		25				**90**	**NF**
2007	29		33		27				**89**	**NF**
2008	29		33		27				**89**	**NF**

Appendix C

Journalism: A Guide to Recent Literature

Compiled and edited by Christopher H. Sterling

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Notes to the User

Introduction

That journalism performs a central function within modern society is evident in the huge amount of book and online material that has been produced about the field and its practitioners. There is hardly a newspaper, magazine, or television program that (or a major journalist who) is not recorded in at least one book—and probably a webpage as well. This portion of the volume consists of a bibliography that comprehensively surveys English-language research and professional literature (defined as monographs and websites) on all aspects of journalism published since 1990. Many important earlier books are cited as well.

This bibliography is designed to organize and briefly describe the substantial number of scholarly and professional books and relevant websites about most aspects of journalism, past and present. As will be evident when perusing the preceding table of contents, it is arranged by subject, as that is how most of us seek out information. It is also designed to be a free-standing reference source that can be used either in conjunction with the rest of this encyclopedia or on its own.

Using This Bibliography

A number of editorial decisions have guided the assembly, ordering, annotating, and editing of these bibliographic entries. The best means of finding information on a given subject is to use the detailed table of contents, which is designed to help you hone in on topic(s) of interest quickly. The topical arrangement is "free standing" in that it does not directly parallel the material in other volumes in the encyclopedia.

The bibliography becomes more inclusive the more recent its entries are. Put another way, the emphasis here is on the most recent books and web materials. Selectivity increases the older the material is, especially prior to 1990. For older material, the emphasis is on works still considered of value, either as history (regardless of the book's original intent) or because they contribute something else to modern research needs. There isn't much point, for example, in listing a two-decade-old book on a topic of rapid change (say, libel law), unless that book offers a valuable snapshot or record of an earlier time.

Each book and website is listed only once, with some internal cross-referencing. This means a decision has to be made for each title as to where it fits best—and naturally my decision might be different than yours. As a rule, I've tried to place titles in the most obvious or relevant place. But not all histories are found in Section 2. For example, a book on press coverage of the immigration issue over a century could appear there or under news categories (Sections 5 and 6). In fact, because it is about a single type of news, it appears under the latter, with a number of similar books in a subcategory on ethnicity and minorities. So spending some time with the table of contents and getting the drift of its approach and organization will likely pay off in finding the material you seek.

All sections (and subsections) are arranged by author (or title if no author is cited), in alphabetical order by last name. Books by the same author are listed chronologically. Works with more than two authors or editors are listed under the first author or editor, followed by "et al."

A conscious effort has been made to place reference works in the most appropriate sections. The

most general and broad ranging are found in Section 1, which is devoted to the broadest reference sources. More specialized titles appear as would regular publications—under the closest topical heading (most often at the beginning of the different topical sections).

The substantial focus here—as with the encyclopedia it supports—is on American journalism: For a selection of books and websites about other parts of the world, see Section 10 on global and comparative journalism. Most material on other countries, regardless of medium or format, is found there. Some very topic-specific entries (or those with substantial U.S. content) will be under the relevant topic in the other sections. But the "foreign" material is more selective than that concerning the United States, simply for reasons of space. Another project the size of this one would be needed for comprehensive coverage of even the English-language material about other countries.

Overall arrangement in most sections proceeds chronologically, more or less as the various media actually appeared historically, beginning with print (newspapers, then magazines, followed by editorial cartoons), followed by photography, and documentary film, and then broadcasting (radio, television, and cable), and finally online services. This is particularly true for Sections 2, 3, 7, and 9.

The latest known edition of each book is indicated (but please understand that books used as texts are now aggressively revised and reissued on from one- to three-year schedules—whether they need it or not—in an attempt to control computer networks of used copies). Information is current as of going to press—mid-2009.

A Few Exclusions

Despite its length and detail, several exclusions delimit the bibliographic material included. Among those things that will *not* be found in the pages that follow are these items. While an annotated listing of the more important trade and scholarly periodicals appears in Section 11, for example, the bibliography does not cite individual articles, which are nearly numberless. Modern search engines make this mass of material far easier to search online than used to be the case before their arrival.

Most histories of individual newspapers, magazines, or broadcasting stations are excluded, with a few exceptions for nationally important outlets. News agencies, broadcast networks, and cable news services *are* all included. Some important media controversies—such as children and media, violence, or obscenity issues—are not included (despite the vast amount of material about them), as they have only a marginal relationship with journalism.

The bibliography does not include the large number of "how to" or books of instruction on journalism methods. This includes most books designed as texts unless they have lasting value to a more general readership (and many do). But most "hands on" guides are generally missing here. Likewise, foreign language books or sites (defined as anything in a language other than English) are not included. Nor are URLs for individual blogs. The fields of public relations and most titles on advertising are also generally excluded, save for a few reference sources.

—Christopher H. Sterling
Volume Editor

Acknowledgments

This volume builds on the strong shoulders of many predecessors. A number of earlier published journalism bibliographies—many of them included in Section 1 here—provided valuable leads and a quality check for important subjects and individual citations. Credit must be given to the pioneers in bibliographic efforts like this—such people as Ralph Nafziger, Eleanor Blum, Warren Price, and Ralph McCoy spring to mind as earlier bibliographic toilers (each produced a book-length bibliographic guide—Blum and McCoy did more than one) whose efforts have helped shape the book in your hands. Jo Cates has produced three editions of her invaluable modern guide to journalism reference sources. All of these people were preceded—Carl Cannon produced what appears to have been the first comprehensive bibliography in this field, for the New York Public Library, way back in 1924, though only some of it was annotated.

Among other resources used in the development of this bibliography, the first was a careful page-by-page review of my own *Communication Booknotes Quarterly* and its bimonthly predecessor, *Communication Booknotes*. Begun as a mere mimeographed newsletter in late 1969, editing and writing this publication over four decades has helped to hone my understanding of and appreciation for the huge literature of journalism and related fields.

Several individuals were very helpful in this effort. They are thanked here in alphabetical order. Bruce Austin of Rochester (New York) Institute of Technology, once one of my graduate students, has been a colleague and fellow book reviewer for years—his knowledge of books on motion pictures has been hugely helpful. James K. Bracken of Ohio State University's Memorial Library has been a bibliographic partner in numerous projects over the years. His knowledge of publication in the communications field is immense and he shares it readily. The 1998 bibliography we co-authored with Susan Hill was very useful in shaping the present project. Rick Mastroianni, the head of the Newseum's World Center Library (in Laurel, Maryland, outside of Washington, D.C.) was very helpful and made his wonderful collection available to me. Many additional citations resulted, as did corrections and updates of others. The University of Illinois communication librarian, Lisa Romero, produces quarterly listings of her collection's accessions that were very helpful for inclusion of recent publications. David Sheddon, the Poynter Institute's library director, has made a hugely useful series of current subject bibliographies available online and was most generous to let me use them. His lists include vast numbers of online sites which change so easily.

These days, producing, checking, and correcting bibliographic work is made far easier by the gremlins (in the positive sense of that term) who work for the Library of Congress and so many other library websites, Jeff Bezos's Amazon.com, and the thousands of second-hand book dealers who list material on the pages of abebooks.com. These last two are among the most used sites on my computer. All these online sources are invaluable ways of double-checking things like a publisher, edition, or date—and sometimes even nailing down a firm title when sources disagree (and if the book itself is not readily available). They make it possible to conduct much of this bibliographic work on a desktop computer equipped with a broadband web connection.

—Christopher H. Sterling
Washington, D.C.

Section 1

General Reference

While reference resources can be found throughout this bibliography, here the focus is on those books and websites that are useful across multiple subjects.

A. Directories and Yearbooks

Material of this nature is increasingly migrating (though nearly always on a subscription basis) to the Internet, which allows ready updating while eliminating printing and distribution costs.

Bacon's Directories. Chicago: Bacon's Information Inc., annual. Multiple annual volumes as follows include concise directory information on media outlets as indicated:

1. *Newspaper Directory*. 1952–present. Some 15,000 daily and weekly (and community) papers, news services, syndicates and Sunday supplements in U.S. and Canada.
2. *Magazine Directory*. 1952–present. information for more than 10,000 business, trade, professional, and consumer publications, including circulation, advertising rates, news executives and editors names, types of unsolicited materials accepted, descriptions and profiles of content and targeted audience.
3. *Radio Directory*. 1987–present. Covers virtually all American and Canadian radio stations and program services.
4. *TV/Cable Directory*. 1987–present. Includes stations, cable systems, networks for both and other related services.
5. *International Media Directory*. 1974–present. Covers European media including newspapers and business and trade periodicals.

Broadcasting & Cable Yearbook. New Providence, NJ: Bowker, 1935–present, annual, two volumes in recent years (title has varied). Standard reference work featuring directories of radio and television stations in the United States and Canada showing their frequency, channel, power, date station began broadcasting, licensee, ownership, and date of acquisition. Includes format and programming information and market data. Cable section features directory of multiple systems operators, independent owners, and cable systems. Yearbook includes directories of programming, satellite, advertising and marketing, technical, and professional services; equipment manufacturers; and government agencies. (For the parent trade weekly, see Section 11.)

Broderick, James F., and Darren W. Miller. *Consider the Source; A Critical Guide to the 100 Most Prominent News and Information Sites on the Web*. Medford, NJ: CyberAge Books, 2007. Really a directory of some 100 in-depth (three to five pages each), critical reviews listed alphabetically (many are news media websites) using a four-star rating system. Reviews motives behind the sites. There is also a related website discussed in the book.

Burrelle's Media Directory. Livingston, NJ: Burrelle's Information Services, 1981–present. Directory of media outlets in the United States and Canada as follows (this is also available by subscription online):

1. *Daily Newspapers*.
2. *Magazines and Newsletters*. (2 vols.).
3. *Radio*. Lists some 11,000 stations.
4. *TV and Cable*. Lists some 1,600 stations and 650 cable systems.

Cable & TV Station Coverage Atlas. Washington, DC: Warren Publishing, 1966–present, annual (issued in recent years as a CD-ROM). State-arranged individual market maps showing TV station coverage patterns (especially their "Grade B contour"), their digital coverage as of the scheduled 2009 digital transmission changeover, and local cable system service areas.

Editor & Publisher International Year Book. New York: Editor & Publisher, 1924–present, annual. Standard directory for newspaper industry. Directories provide address, circulation, personnel, advertising rates, special editions, broadcast affiliates, political leanings for some newspapers, groups, and mergers. By 2008 it was appearing in three vols:

1. *Dailies*.
2. *Weeklies* (about 10,000 of them).
3. *Contacts Directory* (some 46,000 people).

Separately, the trade monthly (see Section 11) issues a *Syndicate Directory* in August, providing information on some 2,500 syndicated features under more than 70 subject headings.

Gale Directory of Publications and Broadcast Media: An Annual Guide to Publications and Broadcasting Stations Including Newspapers, Magazines, Journals, Radio Stations, Television Stations, and Cable Systems. Detroit, MI: Gale, 1869–present, annual (5 vols., also available online). Formerly *Ayer Directory of Publications,* this is a comprehensive and authoritative directory of media in the United States, Canada, and Puerto Rico. Broadcast stations and cable systems were added in 1990. First four volumes cover the U.S. and Canada.

1–2. *Stations* (listed by state).
3. *Networks and Syndicates, Indexes Tables*.
4. *Regional Market Index*.
5. *International, Indexes*.

See Media Post Directories, Section 7-A.

News Media Directory. New Providence, NJ: ProQuest, 2007–present, annual. Formerly issued as *Working Press of the Nation* (Bowker, 1950–2006, annual). Now published in three volumes (data are as of the 58th edition, 2008):

1. *Newspaper Directory*. Includes some 8,600 papers and 150 news services.
2. *Magazine and Newsletter Directory*. More than 10,000 magazines and 1,600 newsletters, arranged under 225 subject categories.
3. *Television & Radio Directory*. Some 17,000 broadcast stations and 250 networks.

See News Media Yellow Book, Section 7-A.

Standard Periodical Directory. New York: Oxbridge, 1964–present, annual. Includes more than 12,000 U.S. and Canadian magazines and journals, 12,000 newsletters, 10,000 newspapers, 3,500 directories, and 1,000 yearbooks.

Stankus, Tony, ed. *Journals of the Century*. New York: Haworth Information Press, 2002. Twenty-one chapters arrange hundreds of research or academic journals by subject with a paragraph of description for each.

Television & Cable Factbook. Washington, DC: Warren Publishing, Inc., 1947–present, annual, 3 vols. by 1990; now 5 vols. As follows:

1–2. *Stations*. Includes directory, contour maps, and historical information.
3–4. *Cable*. Cable television systems arranged by state and then city.
5. *Services*. Alphabetical and classified listings of services such as associations, brokers, attorneys, program sources, and publications.

Theodric Technologies. *Radio-Locator*. http://www.radio-locator.com. Portal allowing searches for American and overseas stations with a web presence, including some 10,000 stations and another 2,500 audio streams. Can be searched by call letters, format, state, city, ZIP code, etc. Canadian and other international stations can be separately searched. Formerly issued as the "MIT List of Radio Stations on the Internet."

Tribune Media Services, *Television Stations and Services*. http://tv.zap2it.com. Directory of cable and TV networks and TV stations, searchable by state, city, and other means, and including international networks.

Ulrich's Periodicals Directory. New Providence, NJ: Bowker, annual. A long-standard reference work to serials and periodicals of all kinds, and readily found in libraries. Includes volumes on:

1. Classified List and Titles, Titles Beginning A to Edu.
2. Titles Beginning Ele to Med.
3. Titles Beginning Mee to Z.
4. Indexes.
5. U.S. Newspapers.

Willings Press Guide. Chesham, England: Romeike Research, annual. Covers print and broadcast media, especially in Britain. Volumes provide a detailed director of newspapers, magazines, broadcast stations, advertising representatives, and more.

1. United Kingdom.
2. Western Europe.
3. World (excluding U.K. and Western Europe).

B. Dictionaries and Glossaries

For historical dictionaries, see Section 2-A.

Abercrombie, Nicholas, and Brian Longhurst. *Dictionary of Media Studies*. London: Penguin Books, 2007. Provides an alphabetical listing of terms central to all media and studying about them. Authors, both British sociologists, have assembled several hundred terms and mini-biographies of key figures, with a strong stress on British practice and companies. Still, many terms included cut across national borders, or are nearly universal. Entries vary in length from three or four lines to upwards of a page or more (and a few, such as that on "radio," extend for three pages). *See also* Watson, below, and Downing under encyclopedias.

Bognár, Desi K. *International Dictionary of Broadcasting and Film*. Newton, MA: Focal Press, 2000 (2nd ed.). Several thousand terms are clearly and concisely defined in this edition, which adds about 40 pages of material to original edition.

Crystal, David. *A Glossary of Netspeak and Textspeak*. Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press, 2004. Hundreds of terms are explained with some sense of how they have been used and how those uses are changing. Even includes a listing of emoticons, widely used in e-mail.

Diamant, Lincoln. *Dictionary of Broadcast Communications*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1989 (3rd ed.). About 6,000 terms are briefly defined and some are illustrated.

Ellmore, R. Terry. *NTC's Mass Media Dictionary*. Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook, 1991. Includes some 20,000 terms across all media.

Hansen, Douglas E. *Educational Technology Telecommunications Dictionary with Acronyms*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Educational Technology Publications, 1991. Nontechnical definitions of about 750 common terms and acronyms.

Harnett, Richard M. *Wirespeak: Codes and Jargon of the News Business*. San Mateo, CA: Shorebird Press, 1997. Collection of glossary-like guides to wire service terms, cable terms, commercial telegraphic codes, and newspaper terms.

Jones, Glenn R. *Jones Cable Television and Information Infrastructure Dictionary*. Englewood, CO: Jones Interactive, Inc., 1994 (4th ed.). Defines 350 acronyms and 2,900 terms and provides 750 cross-references.

Kent, Ruth Kimball. *The Language of Journalism: A Glossary of Print-Communications Terms*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1970. Includes a separate listing of abbreviations.

Mazda, Xerxes, and Fradoon Mazda. *The Focal Illustrated Dictionary of Telecommunications*. Oxford, England: Focal Press, 1999. Some 6,000 terms, some of which are relevant to journalism and reporting.

Moshkovitz, Mose. *Dictionary of Television and Audiovisual Terminology*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1998. Some 1,500 terms are briefly defined.

Orlebar, Jeremy. *The Practical Media Dictionary*. London: Arnold / New York: Oxford University Press, 2003. Offers a British guide to terminology of audio, video, and film production as well as multimedia. Included are specialist job and skill definitions, major organizations, multimedia terms, computer graphics, and both studio and location terms.

Penny, Edmund F. *The Facts on File Dictionary of Film and Broadcast Terms*. New York: Facts on File, 1991. Details some 2,500 terms on equipment, technology, program formats, camera shots, talent, production, organizations and general terms. Focus is on creative and business functions of both media.

Pepper, Charles M. *Dictionary of Newspaper and Printing Terms*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959. English and Spanish terms are provided (as this was published with Inter American Press Association).

Reed, Robert M. *Dictionary of Television, Cable & Video*. New York: Facts on File, 1994. Defines words and terms from three overlapping fields of electronic media.

Watson, James, and Anne Hill. *Dictionary of Media and Communication Studies*. London: Hodder Arnold / New York: Oxford University Press, 2006 (7th ed.). Updates the book first published more than two decades ago. English authors have continually updated this handy guide that includes theories, trends, advertising, broadcasting, commissions and committees, communication models, cyberculture, gender matters, interpersonal communications, media ethics, history, institutions, issues and debates, ownership and control of media, media power and effects, technologies, news media, research methods. *See also* Abercrombie, above, and Downing under encyclopedias.

C. Encyclopedias and Handbooks

More specialized encyclopedias are listed in later sections under the proper topic; those appearing here are fairly wide-ranging in scope. Entries in all of these are longer than in the dictionaries and glossaries listed above.

Broecker, William L., ed. *International Center of Photography Encyclopedia of Photography*. New York: Crown, 1984. Some 1,300 illustrated entries on all aspects of the field including people, techniques, cameras, film types, commercial aspects, famous firsts, processes, organizations and more. Length varies from a paragraph to several columns (book is arranged in a three-column format, well-illustrated, with some in color).

Brown, Les. *Les Brown's Encyclopedia of Television*. Detroit, MI: Gale Research, 1992 (3rd ed.). Dated but still useful historically. Adds 900 new entries to the work first issued in 1977 to include programs, people, organizations, technologies, laws and policies, FCC commissioners, and more in a handy one-volume format. Many appendices provide historical statistics or other information.

Donsbach, Wolfgang, ed. *The International Encyclopedia of Communication*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008 (12 vols.). While many of the 1,300 or so entries in this huge work (sponsored by the International Communications Association) range beyond journalism, there is a good deal of valuable and current material presented with a global outlook. Overall coverage includes theory, media research, problems and concepts and technology.

Downing, John D. H., et al., eds. *The SAGE Handbook of Media Studies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2004. Contributors from many countries provide 26 comprehensive survey essays arranged within five interconnected areas: humanistic and social scientific approaches; global and comparative perspectives; relation of media to economy and power; media users; and specific arenas of media research ranging from media ethics to advertising, from popular music to digital technologies, advertising, electronic media, and violence and sex. *See also* Abercrombie, and Watson, under dictionaries above.

Hollis, Daniel W. *The ABC-CLIO Companion to the Media in America*. Santa Barbara, CA:

ABC-CLIO, 1995. Designed for general readers, coverage is very broad here, ranging over history, specific media, key people and publications, events and legal issues, and trends. More a dictionary than an encyclopedia, more than half of its 250 relatively short alphabetical entries cover specific newspapers, magazines, and important people in their history. Most entries include cross-references and further reading lists. Emphasis is largely on history (technology gets relatively short shrift) and general aim of the volume is more at public and high school libraries than academic collections.

Johnston, Donald H., ed. *Encyclopedia of International Media and Communications*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press, 2003 (4 vols.). Emphasizes depth given it has only 219 articles—but they range upwards of 10 to 15 pages each. In addition to entries on media in major countries or regions, this work covers media types and formats, media issues and relationships with other fields, history and "futures" essays. The substantial benefit of this set is its depth—something few other reference works offer—making it suitable for academic libraries. As an example of its approach, journalism ranges throughout the set, with just two entries under "J" (on education, and on codes of ethics and conduct) while the journalistic remainder appears under specific country or media headings. Four broad entries center on newspapers, two on news reporting in broadcasting, and another on world news agencies.

Murray, Michael D., ed. *Encyclopedia of Television News*. Phoenix, AZ: Oryx, 1999. Very useful compendium of information on anchors, reporters, producers, programs, network news departments, and issues in broadcast network news programming.

Newcomb, Horace, ed. *Encyclopedia of Television*. New York: Fitzroy Dearborn/Routledge, 2004 (2nd ed., 4 vols). Several hundred entries on people (actors, producers, directors), programs, organizations, issues, policy and law, technology, and other aspects of broadcast and cable television. All entries from the first edition are available online: http://www.museum.tv/archives/etv/index.html.

Pool, Hilary W., and Christos J. P. Moschovitis, eds. *The Internet: A Historical Encyclopedia*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2005 (3 vols.). Includes one volume each on chronology, biography of key people, and issues. One of the best resources on this subject.

Sterling, Christopher H., ed. *Encyclopedia of Radio*. New York: Fitzroy Dearborn/Routledge, 2003 (3 vols.). Several hundred often lengthy (multipage) entries on people, programs, organizations, issues, policy and law, technology, and other aspects of aural broadcasting with an emphasis on the U.S. and other English-speaking countries.

Sterling, Christopher H., and Cary O'Dell, eds. *The Concise Encyclopedia of American Radio*. New York: Routledge, 2009. Selected from the title immediately above, with updates throughout and about a dozen new entries added.

Wahl-Jorgensen, Karin, and Thomas Hanitzsch, eds. *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*. New York: Routledge, 2009. An impressive collection of 30 academic papers in sections including news production, content, journalism and society, and worldwide journalism studies. It provides a useful summation of academic knowledge about most aspects of journalism, with good summaries of research work done in Europe and the U.S.

D. Bibliographies

The literature of journalism is huge as the following listing begins to hint. Indeed, earlier bibliographies date back to at least the 1920s if not before (for historical bibliographies, see Section 2-A). By definition, any bibliographic publication is selective, and while some make clear what the factors of selection are, many do not.

D-1: Journalism in General

Block, Eleanor S., and James K. Bracken. *Communication and the Mass Media: A Guide to the Reference Literature*. Englewood, CO: Libraries Unlimited, 1991. Arranged by type of publication with sections on bibliographies, dictionaries and encyclopedias, indexes and abstracts, biographical sources, library catalogs, online and CD-ROM databases, core periodicals, research centers and archives, and societies and associations. While dated, this remains useful.

Blum Eleanor, and Frances Wilhoit. *Mass Media Bibliography: An Annotated Guide to Books and Journals for Research and Reference*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1989 (3rd ed.). Final version of a long-standard guide to some 2,100 indexed annotated entries covering wider scope than just journalism. Again, dated but still useful.

Cates, Jo A. *Journalism: A Guide to the Reference Literature*. Westport, CT: Libraries Unlimited, 2004 (3rd ed.). Includes hundreds of annotated sources divided by type of publication, with good author/title and subject indexing. Last revised in 1997, this latest edition features 785 entries, 155 of which are new, 420 have been revised (and 127 cut). There's also a new chapter on Internet resources. Arrangement is by type of publication rather than subject, but the annotations are often extensive and critical—all too rare in such books.

Columbia University Journalism Library. *Journalism Library Reference Resources*. http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/indiv/jour/coll/ref_res.html. Includes print and online materials such as guides to research, bibliographies, dictionaries, directories, encyclopedias, handbooks, and indexes.

Greenberg, Gerald. *Tabloid Journalism: An Annotated Bibliography of English-Language Sources*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1986. Compilation of some 800 English-language books and articles, briefly summarized, commenting on phenomenon of sensationalism in news reporting. Coverage includes historical penny and yellow presses; Britain's Fleet Street publications; and supermarket tabloids, spanning the eras of Northcliffe, Pulitzer, Hearst, and Murdoch.

Henderson, Harry. *Power of the News Media*. New York: Facts on File, 2004. Includes development, perspectives and issues, media law, a chronology, biographical listings, a glossary, and how to research news media plus an annotated bibliography and listing of relevant organizations and agencies.

See Lasswell, et al., Section 10-G-1.

McCoy, Ralph E. *Freedom of the Press: An Annotated Bibliography*. Carbondale: University of Southern Illinois Press, 1968; updated with a *Supplement, 1967–77* (1979), and a *Second Supplement, 1978–1992* (1993). Three volumes together provide more than 10,000 citations, though parameters for coverage narrow with supplement volumes. [This had been available online through the SIU university library's website, but now is apparently provided only by subscription.]

McKerns, Joseph. *News Media and Public Policy: An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Garland, 1986. Includes more than 700 entries, arranged topically.

Milner, Anita Cheek. *News Indexes: A Location and Subject Guide for Researchers*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1977, 1979, 1982 (3 vols.). Lists foreign language papers, subject collections, and church periodicals.

See Nafziger, Section 10-A.

Price, Warren C. *Literature of Journalism: An Annotated Bibliography*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1959. Excellent and standard source for material published to that point, especially for history and biography, arranged by subject. Updated by next entry.

Price, Warren C., and Calder M. Pickett. *An Annotated Journalism Bibliography, 1958–1968*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1970. Updates title immediately above, though arranged alphabetically rather than by subject.

Romero, Lisa. *New Books in the Communications Library*. Urbana: University of Illinois College of Media, quarterly. A very useful accessions list for one of country's major academic media libraries, divided by topic and annotating all materials, print and electronic.

Semonche, Barbara P., ed. *News Media Libraries: A Management Handbook*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1993. Not quite a bibliography, but a collection of 30 papers on such topics as their background and history, plus maintaining collections of clippings, photos, electronic resources, microfilms, and the like, with six case studies of effective libraries.

Shedden, David. *Poynter Journalism Bibliographies*. http://www.poynter.org/content/content_view

.asp?id=896. Eighteen of them on various topics, all kept quite current, and including both websites and print resources.

Shedden, David. *Libraries with Journalism Resources*. http://www.poynter.org/content/content_view.asp?id=1247. Another Poynter service, this offers direct links to dozens of libraries and research centers offering more reference material. Includes further links to resources at journalism schools and English departments with media studies.

See Smith, et al., Section 10-G-1.

Sterling, Christopher H., et al. *Mass Communications Research Resources: An Annotated Guide*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1998. While dated (there is only limited reference to websites, for example), this includes nearly 1,450 primary and secondary sources, organizations, and online materials assessed under sections on general reference, history, technology, industry and economics, content, research and audiences, policy and regulation, international, media periodicals, and audiovisual resources.

Tonella, Karla, comp. *Journalism Resources*. http://bailiwick.lib.uiowa.edu/journalism. Some 40 annotated webpages citing online material on all aspects (including cyberjournalism, media law, organizations, teaching resources, schools and colleges, news sources, gender and race, listservs, and more), provided by a researcher at University of Iowa, designed both for those who study and those actively involved in journalism.

Wolseley, Roland E., and Isabel Wolseley. *The Journalist's Bookshelf: An Annotated and Selected Bibliography of United States Print Journalism*. Indianapolis: R.J. Berg Co., 1986 (8th ed.). Final edition of a work which first appeared in 1939 and was previously revised in 1961 (with 1,324 entries), this version provides nearly 2,400 entries arranged under 34 topical headings. Emphasis is on practical and "how to" aspects rather than books about journalism.

D-2: Print Media

Paine, Fred K., and Nancy E. Paine. *Magazines: A Bibliography for Their Analysis, with Annotations and Study Guide*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1987. While dated, this remains the most comprehensive guide on magazine industry; including some 2,200 items in more than 30 topical sections, with indexes. Part 1 includes an annotated list of popular, trade, and scholarly journals and articles that cover them, and also lists reference books. Part 2 is a bibliography of over 2,000 articles, as well as books and dissertations about magazines.

Schwarzlose, Richard A. *Newspapers: A Reference Guide*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1987. Dated but informed narrative guide to abundant literature about newspapers and news people. Topics include histories, newspaper people before the twentieth century, newspaper people during the twentieth century, newspaper work, producing newspapers, newspapers and society, newspapers and law, newspapers and technology, and references and periodicals about newspapers. Appendices provide a chronology of newspapers and descriptions of major research collections of newspapers and about newspapers.

D-3: Electronic Media

Carothers, Diane Foxhill. *Radio Broadcasting from 1920 to 1990: An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Garland, 1991. This remains the most inclusive listing with some 1,800 resources on radio—with chapters on background, economic aspects, production, programming, international, public, regulation, amateur and ham radio, women and minorities, careers, and reference sources.

Cassata, Mary, and Thomas Skill. *Television: A Guide to the Literature*. Phoenix, AZ: Oryx Press, 1985. While dated, this offers useful coverage of earlier decades in ten topical chapters (history, reference, process and effects, children, television news, television and politics, the industry, criticism, and anthologies of television writing) with discussions and listings of several thousand titles with good author and title indexes.

Emmons, Mark. *Film and Television: A Guide to the Reference Literature*. Westport, CT: Libraries Unlimited, 2006. While much of this material concerns film entertainment and is thus off point, it does serve to identify important recent publications of all kinds. It also reflects how important the Internet has become as a home to reference sites.

Fisher, Kim N. *On the Screen: A Film, Television, and Video Research Guide*. Littleton, CO: Libraries Unlimited, 1986. Annotated and indexed guide to more than 700 publications and associations, arranged by subject.

Garay, Ronald. *Cable Television: A Reference Guide to Information*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1988. Useful for early decades of cable development, with narrative discussion about (followed by citations on) general sources, business and industry/economic resources, program services and content as well as cable uses and effects, cable law and regulations, and videotex.

Hill, George H., and Lenwood Davis. *Religious Broadcasting 1920–1983: A Selectively Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Garland, 1984. Includes 80 books, 170 theses and dissertations, and some 1,400 articles, though with few annotations. Not all of this concerns religious news, but many entries do.

Kittross, John M. *A Bibliography of Theses & Dissertations in Broadcasting: 1920–1973*. Washington, DC: Broadcasting Education Association, 1978. Some 4,300 of them are listed with a variety of indexes for ready access. *See also* next entry.

McBride, Donald L. *Doctoral Dissertation on Broadcast Journalism: A Bibliography*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, Department of Radio and Television, 1990. Unannotated list. *See also* previous entry.

McCavitt, William E. *Radio and Television: A Selected, Annotated Bibliography,* and *Supplement One: 1977–1981*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1978, 1982. First attempt in decades at a comprehensive bibliography, this includes some 1,500 items in both volumes, topically divided and indexed. Many items are not annotated and there is some confusion in topical arrangement. Updated further by Pringle, Peter K., and Helen H. Clinton. *Radio and Television: A Selected, Annotated Bibliography, Supplement Two: 1982–1986* (1989), adding another 1,000 entries.

Smith, Myron J. *U.S. Television Network News: A Guide to Sources in English*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1984. Some 3,200 entries in a topically arranged bibliography, though only some are annotated.

E. Media Statistics

News media businesses thrive on numbers of all kinds, and there is a whole subindustry that generates commercial information—such as circulation, broadcast receiver sales, and ratings. Most data are a "snapshot" for the present year and perhaps the previous one—historical information is a bit harder to dig out. But beware—all numbers are NOT created equal, and it is important to know how numbers are derived and for what purpose. There is considerable discussion of this in the two Sterling sources noted below.

E-1: General

Two things limit availability of these "numbers" to those outside media industries. For one, government is collecting less data—the FCC, for example, stopped much of its annual data-gathering years ago. For another, trade associations rarely provide anything free anymore, though some still have helpful websites. Once-free publications have either disappeared in recent years, or are provided only online—and even then, at a cost.

Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce. *Annual Survey of Communication Services*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1990–present, annual. Covers telephone, broadcast, cable, and pay cable industries in charts and tables, usually comparing data over a number of years. *See also* chapter on communications in the *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (Government Printing Office, annual and online).

See European Audiovisual Observatory, Section 10-A.

McHale, Magda Cordell. *Facts and Trends: The Changing Information Environment—An Information Chartbook*. Rome: Intergovernmental Bureau for Informatics, n.d., but ca. 1984. Imaginative use of tables and charts to show then-current status of all modes of communication (including supporting technology), with some time-series data as well.

Project for Excellence in Journalism. *The State of the News Media*. http://www.stateofthenews media.org/2008. Invaluable survey drawn from many sources of newspapers, magazines, ethnic media, and electronic media, covering most topics, some with historical data. Reports from 2004 on are also available online. Includes tables and charts from a wide variety of media information sources, many otherwise only available at a price. *See also* trade associations in subsection E-3, below.

Statistical Yearbook: Cinema, Television, Video and New Media in Europe. Strasbourg: European Audiovisual Laboratory, 1994–present, annual. Impressive collection of tabular and chart data, which began in one volume and became several, with current regional and per-country data allowing a variety of comparisons. Most data are given for decade-long periods.

U.S. Census Bureau. *Information and Communications*. http://www.census.gov/compendia/statab/cats/information_communications.html. Relevant section of annual *Statistical Abstract of the United States,* including tables concerning print, electronic, and film media, usually over time and sometimes decades. *See also* Carter, below.

U.S. Department of Commerce. *STAT-USA Internet*. http://www.stat-usa.gov. Fee-based single source access point for a huge variety of government-gathered statistical information on all sectors of the economy. *See also* Carter, below.

See World Press Trends, Section 10-A.

See World Radio and Television Receivers, Section 10-A.

E-2: Historical

Carter, Susan B., et al., eds. "Communications," in *Historical Statistics of the United States: Millennial Edition.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006 (5 vols.). Forming part of Vol. 4, "Economic Sectors," this includes multiple time-series tables (some ranging well back into the nineteenth century) along with supporting text concerning print, electronic, and film media as well as telecommunications (telegraph, telephone, etc.). Other sections in this massive publication are relevant as well.

Chapin, Richard E. *Mass Communications: A Statistical Analysis*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1957. Pioneering attempt to pull together time-series statistics on print (books, magazines, newspapers), film, and electronic media (radio and television), with some discussion of value of those data.

King, D. W., et al. *Statistical Indicators of Scientific and Technical Communication, 1960–1980*. Rockville, MD: King Research, 1976. Primarily charts (with supportive descriptive text), including projections for late 1970s.

Rubin, Michael Rogers, and May Taylor Huber. *The Knowledge Industry in the United States, 1960–1980*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986. Economic and other measures of knowledge production and distribution (including media) in tables (some with data before 1960) and supporting text.

Sterling, Christopher H., and Timothy R. Haight. *The Mass Media: Aspen Institute Guide to Communication Industry Trends*. New York: Praeger, 1978. Some 200 tables and supporting text that describes what numbers say as well as their sources and value, covering overall media industry size, ownership and control, economics, employment and training, content trends (including news and political uses), media audiences, and American media overseas.

Sterling, Christopher H. *Electronic Media: A Guide to Trends in Broadcasting and Newer Technologies, 1920–1983*. New York: Praeger, 1983. Reprints and updates portions of book immediately above, adding new tables and text on home entertainment and media regulation.

E-3: Trade Associations

Once a valuable source of information, industry trade associations are increasingly only providing information at a price (often a stiff one), whether online or in print. The following were exceptions

at the time of going to press—most are updated annually. *See also* Section 9-D for radio audience statistical information.

Magazine Publishers of America, *The Magazine Handbook*. http://www.magazine.org/advertising/handbook/Magazine_Handbook.aspx. Free download of annual booklet filled with statistical and other information about consumer magazines including circulation trends and readership.

National Cable & Telecommunications Association, *Cable Statistics*. http://www.ncta.com/Statistic/Statistic/IndustryStatistics.aspx. Overall data for cable TV industry, and regularly revised, including number of subscribers, systems, system owners, cable program services or networks, and so on.

Newspaper Association of America, *Trends and Numbers*. http://www.naa.org/TrendsandNumbers.aspx. Offers a changing variety of publications and data, much of it free for downloading, that tout different aspects (circulation, readership, advertising, operations) of newspapers, often broken out by weekday and Sunday distribution.

Radio Advertising Bureau. *Radio Marketing Guide and Fact Book*. http://www.rab.com/public/MediaFacts/factbook.cfm. Regularly updated compendium of information in chart and tabular form about commercial radio business, chiefly designed to attract advertisers.

Television Bureau of Advertising, *TV Basics*. http://www.tvb.org/nav/build_frameset.aspx. Annually revised set of tables and charts about television, sometimes in comparison with other media. Includes some time-series historical information.

F. Major Journalism Awards

As with most media, there is a plethora of available awards—only a handful of the more important ones are represented here.

F-1: Pulitzer Prizes

These are easily the premier annual awards in journalism and have been well recorded in books and websites.

Buell, Hal. *Moments: The Pulitzer Prize Photographs*. New York: Black Dog & Leventhal, 2007 (2nd ed.). Famous photos from World War II into twenty-first century. *See also* Rubin, below.

Columbia University, *The Pulitzer Prize*. http://www.pulitzer.org. Official pages include historical information on journalism (and other) prizes over the years.

Fischer, Heinz-Dietrich, comp. *Outstanding International Press Reporting: Pulitzer-Prize Winning Articles in Foreign Correspondence*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1983–91 (vols. 1–4); Munich: K. G. Saur, 2000 (vol. 5): reprints the award-winners chronologically. Each volume is arranged into sections by country or region involved in the reporting.

1. *1928–1945*.
2. *1946–1962*.
3. *1963–1977*.
4. *1978–1989*.
5. *1990–1999*.

Fischer, Heinz-Dietrich, and Erika J. Fisher, eds. *The Pulitzer Prize Archive: A History and Anthology of Award-Winning Materials in Journalism, Letters and Arts*. Munich: K. G. Saur, 1987–2000 (8 vols.). Provides detailed lists of winners and selections from top winners. The series includes these volumes devoted to various journalism awards (other volumes concern awards for biography and nonfiction):

1. *International Reporting 1928–1985: From the Activities of the League of Nations to Present-Day Global Problems*. 1987.
2. *National Reporting 1941–1986: From Labor Conflicts to the* Challenger *Explosion*. 1989.
3. *Local Reporting 1947–1987: From A County Vote Fraud to a Corrupt City Council*. 1989.
4. *Political Editorial 1916–1988: From War-Related Conflicts to Metropolitan Disputes*. 1990.
5. *Social Commentary 1969–1989: From University Troubles to a California Earthquake*. 1992.

6. *Cultural Criticism 1969–1990: From Architectural Damages to Press Imperfections*. 1993.
13. *Editorial Cartoon Awards 1922–1997*. 1999.
14. *Press Photography*. 2000.
16. *Complete Biographical Encyclopedia of Pulitzer Prize Winners 1917–2000: Journalists, Writers and Composers on Their Ways to the Coveted Awards*. 2002. Provides biographical information on winners rather than the prize-winning materials detailed in previous volumes.

Garlock, David. *Pulitzer Prize Feature Stories: America's Best Writing, 1979–2003*. Ames: Iowa State Press, 2003 (2nd ed.). The winning stories and some commentary on them. *See also* Sloan and Alexander below.

Harris, Roy J. *Pulitzer's Gold: Behind the Prize for Public Service Journalism*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008. First book to trace 90-year history of Pulitzer Prize for Public Service, awarded annually to a newspaper rather than to individuals. Harris recalls dozens of stories behind news reports, often allowing journalists involved to share their own accounts.

Hohenberg, John, ed. *The Pulitzer Prize Story*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959. Includes examples from best as exemplified by prize winners in all categories, most of them journalistic. Updated with author's *The Pulitzer Prize Story II: Award-Winning News Stories, Columns, Editorials, Cartoons, and News Pictures, 1951–80* (Columbia University Press, 1981).

Johnson, Gerald W. *The Lines Are Drawn: American Life since the First World War as Reflected in the Pulitzer Prize Cartoons*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1958. Thirty-five of them are reproduced and their context is discussed.

Lewis, Anthony, ed. *Written into History: Pulitzer Prize Reporting of the Twentieth Century from* The New York Times. New York: Times/Holt, 2001. Collection with some brief contextual commentary.

Morrison, Mary E. *The Pulitzer Prize in Journalism—1917–1985*. Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, 1986. Provides an index to the microfilmed files by year, news organization, author, and prize category.

Rubin, Cyma, and Eric Newton, eds. *Capture the Moment: The Pulitzer Prize Photographs*. New York: Norton, 2001. Some 115 of best from 1942 to 2009, arranged chronologically. *See also* Buell, above.

Sloan, William David, and Laird B. Alexander, eds. *Pulitzer Prize Editorials: America's Best Writing, 1917–2003*. Ames: Iowa State Press, 2003 (3rd ed.). Collection first published in 1980 of winning editorials and commentary about them—and why on several occasions, no prize has been awarded. *See also* Garlock, above.

F-2: Other Awards

Columbia University Journalism School, *The Alfred I. duPont-Columbia University Awards*. http://www.journalism.columbia.edu/cs/ContentServer/jrn/1165270069766/page/1175295284582/JRNSimplePage2.htm. Information on current and past awards. *See also* Barrett, Section 4-G.

Shedden, David. *[Journalism] Awards and Contests*. http://www.poynter.org/content/content_view.asp?id=1241. Useful portal to scores of often-annual journalism award programs, some focused on specific media.

University of Georgia Libraries, *Peabody Awards Collection*. http://www.libs.uga.edu/media/collections/peabody/pbdatabase/index.html. Archive of George Foster Peabody Award–winning radio and television network and station programs since 1940, a large proportion of which concern news and public affairs.

Section 2

History

Journalism's long history stretches back at least to the Fugger newsletters of Renaissance Europe, if not to news readers in ancient Greece and Rome. The first daily newspapers date to the early 1700s, early magazines to just a few decades later, motion pictures to the turn of the twentieth century, radio to 1920 (though its journalism role took more than a decade to develop), television (which featured news from the start) to the 1940s, and the commercial Internet only to 1995. Each of these is historically reviewed in the entries that follow, providing a fair sampling of recent historical writing.

While this chapter adheres to the general emphasis of this bibliography (largely books published since 1990, as well as useful websites), here especially will be found a scattering of important earlier studies that provide information often lacking in more recent titles. For development of the various underlying media technologies, see Section 3. Some historical titles appear elsewhere in this guide if they focus on specific subjects (especially specific types or topics of news content, which are covered in Sections 5 and 6).

A. Reference Sources

Included here are a variety of sources largely *intended* to be for historical reference. But many other sources listed in Section 1 and subsequent sections now have historical value as well.

A-1: Historical Dictionaries

Most of these are mini-encyclopedias, providing very short entries ranging from a line or two up to a paragraph or column on major topics. They are essentially historical handbooks to the field described in their titles. For dictionaries of journalists, see Section 7-A.

Eaman, Ross. *Historical Dictionary of Journalism*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2008. Hundreds of brief (paragraph-long) entries concern people, events, trends, specific newspapers and magazines, broadcast programs, and organizations.

Godfrey, Donald G., and Frederic A. Leigh, eds. *Historical Dictionary of American Radio*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1998. Using many contributors, this includes more than 600 brief (from a few lines to a paragraph) entries about people, programs, organizations, laws, technical definitions, networks, and stations.

See Manning, Section 10-G-1.

Reinehr, Robert C., and Jon D. Schwartz. *Historical Dictionary of Old-Time Radio*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2008. Hundreds of brief entries largely concern entertainment, but include some material on news programs and people.

Roth, Michael P. *Historical Dictionary of War Journalism*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1997. Entries cover reporters, photographers, and artists who represented a newspaper, magazine, radio, or television station, or another news source as well as significant events and terms relating to war reporting from 1846 to 1990s Gulf and Yugoslavian conflicts.

Slide, Anthony. *The American Film Industry: A Historical Dictionary*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1986. *See* next entry.

Slide, Anthony. *The International Film Industry: A Historical Dictionary*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1989. This and the previous volume provide well over 1,200 entries on people, studios, major films, technologies and film equipment, archives, specific places or countries, issues and controversies, laws, film series and genre. Entry length ranges from a few lines to a page or more.

Slide, Anthony. *The Television Industry: A Historical Dictionary*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1991. About a thousand short entries on key personnel, programs and program genre, networks and other organizations, cable, educational/public stations, and technical devices. The focus is on American television with occasional global references.

A-2: Archives

A growing number of media-related archives allow for substantial searching for materials online.

Godfrey, Donald G., comp. *Reruns on File: A Guide to Electronic Media Archives*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1992. While dated, this guide arranged by state provides a useful starting point to find archives of broadcasters, networks, historical associations, and other organizations.

Gregory, Winifred, comp. *American Newspapers: A Union List of Files Available in the U.S. and Canada*. New York: Bibliographic Society of America, 1937 (reprinted by Kraus, 1967). Important reference for finding U.S. and Canadian papers published from 1820 to 1935, listing in what libraries or archives they could be found. Earlier newspapers are listed in Brigham, subsection B-1, below.

Heritage Microfilms. *Newspaper Archive*. http://www.newspaperarchive.com/KeywordLaunch.aspx?key=newspapearticles. Allows for subject or individual name searches of more than 90 million newspaper pages covering over 200 years from cities across the nation. It adds more of them daily.

Library of American Broadcasting. http://www.lib.umd.edu/LAB. The one-time Broadcast Pioneers library, this University of Maryland Libraries site is a combination archive and reference library on all aspects of radio and television, including journalism—and is one of the country's largest such collections.

Library of Congress. *Motion Picture and Television Reading Room*. http://www.loc.gov/rr/mopic. Access point for Library's massive collection of audio-visual material, as well as paper archives, some held in Washington, with the remainder now in the new Packard Center in Culpeper, Virginia, about an hour's drive south.

Library of Congress. *Newspaper and Current Periodical Reading Room*. http://www.loc.gov/rr/news/lcnewsp.html. Entry page for extensive collection of both current and historical newspapers stretching back three centuries. *See also* National Digital Newspapers Program website: http://www.loc.gov/ndnp.

Library of Congress. *Newspaper Archive Sources on the Web*. http://www.loc.gov/rr/news/oltitles.html. Useful portal providing access to both national and state/local newspaper archives that are in some way represented or indexed online, though some are available only for a charge.

Library of Congress. *Prints and Photographs Reading Room*. http://www.loc.gov/rr/print. Includes extensive photojournalism holdings from both government and private entities.

Museum of the Moving Image. *The Living Room. Candidate*. http://www.livingroomcandidate.org. A video archive of television political advertising, including examples from presidential races from 1952 campaign up to the present, all available online. This site is typically active online only during presidential campaign season.

National Archives and Record Administration, *Motion Picture Films and Sound and Video Recordings*. http://www.archives.gov/research/formats/film-sound-video.html. Including materials held at 14 presidential libraries, this is best entry point for NARA's extensive holdings.

National Endowment for the Humanities. *U.S. Newspapers Program*. http://www.neh.gov/projects/

usnp.html. A directory of state archives of microfilmed newspapers, a project supported by National Endowment for the Humanities. Users can click on a map to get further information for any state.

National Public Broadcasting Archives. http://www.lib.umd.edu/NPBA/index.html. Official repository for NPR and PBS materials, among other holdings—this useful site provides access to many topics and offers links to others.

Pacifica Foundation. *Pacifica Radio Archive*. http://www.pacificaradioarchives.org/welcome.html. Focused substantially on news and public affairs, these are programs from Pacifica's five stations across the country, the first dating to 1947.

Purdue University. *C-SPAN Video Library*. http://www.c-spanarchives.org/library/index.php?main_page=aboutus. Archive for cable public affairs network, this includes every program aired since 1987, providing a unique record of Congress and many other Washington, D.C., organizations and events. It continues to record all three C-SPAN networks at all times. *See also* Vanderbilt, below.

Special Libraries Association. *International News [paper] Archives on the Web*. http://www.ibiblio.org/slanews/internet/intarchives.htm. Arranged by world region, then country, and then city, right down to individual publications. Same site provides detailed listing of Asian and Canadian newspaper archives as well.

Special Libraries Association. *Other Sources for News on the Web*. http://www.ibiblio.org/slanews/internet/archives_other.html. Includes further resource archives for both U.S. and international newspapers and electronic media, broadcast news archives, media directories, and news search engines.

Special Libraries Association. *U.S. News[paper] Archives on the Web*. http://www.ibiblio.org/slanews/internet/archives.html. Maintained by SLA volunteers, this provides a state-by-state listing of available newspaper archives, many of them searchable online.

Startt, John D., comp. *Oral Histories Relating to Journalism History*. http://facstaff.elon.edu/dcopeland/ajha/oralhistory.htm. Extensive directory of oral history collections found in national and state archives and in presidential libraries.

Vanden Heuvel, Jon. *Untapped Sources: America's Newspaper Archives and Libraries*. New York: Gannett Foundation, Columbia University, 1991. While now dated, this provides holdings and access information about a host of collections as well as general journalism history.

Vanderbilt University. *Television News Archive*. http://tvnews.vanderbilt.edu. Since 1968, Vanderbilt's Archive has recorded and indexed network television evening newscasts (now including Fox and CNN) and some other programs—all can be searched and copies borrowed. For C-SPAN, see Purdue, above.

Wisconsin Historical Society. *Mass Communications History Collections*. http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/libraryarchives/readroom/masscol.asp. One of nation's most important collections—dating back to a gift by newsman H. V. Kaltenborn in 1955—this includes among many archives, those of NBC radio and television networks into the mid-1950s, National Educational Television, academic groups, and many journalists. Much of it can be searched online.

A-3: Bibliographies

Caswell, Lucy Shelton. *Guide to Sources in American Journalism History*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1989. Begins with seven essays on bibliographic resources and research methods for American journalism, historiography, trends in research, printed bibliographies and electronic databases, the U.S. Newspaper Program (see above), and oral history, each with bibliographies. Remainder offers a 40-state listing of important archival collections (ten states apparently lacking anything of importance).

Cole, Robert. *Propaganda in Twentieth Century War and Politics: An Annotated Bibliography*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1996. While including a broader range of topics than the present volume, much of this material relates to journalism. Annotations range up to a paragraph of description.

Flannery, Gerald V. *Mass Media: Marconi to MTV 1900–1988: A Selected Bibliography of* New York Times *Sunday Magazine Articles on Communication*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1989. Chronological, and with good indexes, though entries are not annotated.

May, James E. *Bibliography of Studies of Eighteenth Century Journalism and the Periodical Press, [Published from] 1986–2008*. http://www.bibsocamer.org/BibSite/May/May-C18-jour.pdf. Extensive listing of articles and monographs on all aspects of journalism during formative 1700s.

Pollay, Richard W. *Information Sources in Advertising History*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1979. While dated and to some extent superceded, much information here remains valid and useful (though many more resources have appeared in years since). Includes an extensive annotated subject-divided bibliography.

Sloan, W. David. *American Journalism History: An Annotated Bibliography*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1989. A compilation of more than 2,600 scholarly books, dissertations, and articles from 1810 to 1988, broken into 13 chronological periods plus a chapter on broadcasting.

Sterling, Christopher H., and George Shiers. *History of Telecommunications Technology: An Annotated Bibliography*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2000. Includes, among many other topics, annotated entries of many published historical sources for telegraph, telephone, radio, television, and newer media technologies.

A-4: Encyclopedias

Many of the general encyclopedias listed in Section 1-C also include extensive historical material.

Blanchard, Margaret A., ed. *History of the Mass Media in the United States*. Chicago: Fitzroy-Dearborn, 1998. Covers from 1690 to 1990 and includes technology, law, important people and publications, issues, and trends. Major subject areas include advertising, alternative media, books, broadcasting, general media, legal issues, magazines, motion pictures, news agencies, newspapers, photography, political figures and media, radio, reporting, television, and war. Focus is on trends and issues rather than organizations or people.

Hudson, Robert V. *Mass Media: A Chronological Encyclopedia of Television, Radio, Motion Pictures, Magazines, Newspapers, and Books in the United States*. New York: Garland, 1987. Just that—divides American history into 16 periods, and then into media material for each. In what must have taken far more work than is readily evident, compiler (a professor of journalism at Michigan State University) provides a wealth of often quite specific information, with some entries ranging over a page or two. Important legal cases offer useful concise summaries of what happened and why. Items range from specific events to broader trends.

Vaughn, Stephen L, ed. *Encyclopedia of American Journalism*. New York: Routledge, 2008. Though not clear in its title, this provides some 400 largely historical entries on people, specific media, issues, policies, important stories and more, some of them quite lengthy.

B. General Journalism History

Altschull, J. Herbert. *From Milton to McLuhan: The Ideas Behind American Journalism*. White Plains, NY: Longman, 1990. A historical approach based on 300 years of seminal ideas (such as press freedom, social responsibility, public "right" to know, objectivity and watchdog notion) and thinkers about journalism's social and cultural roles.

See Chapman, Section 10-B.

Cray, Ed, et al., eds. *American Datelines: Major News Stories from Colonial Times to the Present*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003. Anthology of 100 articles published between 1704 and 2000 by American newspapers: what the editors call "a family photograph album" of "memorable moments in American history," culled primarily from local newspapers and edited down to no more than two pages each.

Emery, Michael, et al., eds. *America's Front Page News: 1690 to 1970*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday,

1970. Reproduces important stories as seen on front pages of nearly 300 different newspapers, each briefly annotated. (This is an update of a book first published five years earlier by the author's father, Edwin.)

Emery, Michael, and Edwin Emery. *The Press in America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1997 (9th ed.). Encyclopedic text describes changes in dominant media, complexity of media industry, and key media figures. This has been a longtime standard university text since its first appearance in 1954.

Folkerts, Jean, et al. *Voices of a Nation: A History of Mass Media in the United States.* New York: Allyn & Bacon, 2008 (5th ed.). Survey text of mass media in the U.S. provides historical, social and legal context, and detail about media professionals/journalists and media organizations, including newspapers, magazines, and news services.

The History of American Journalism [Series]. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994–2006 (7 vols.). Relates story from colonial era to present, examining changing nature of journalism in each period, noteworthy journalists, and relationship of journalism to society. In order of period covered, volumes include:

1. Sloan, William David, and Julie Hedgepeth Williams. *The Early American Press, 1690–1783.* 1994.
2. Humphrey, Carol Sue. *The Press of the Young Republic, 1783–1833.* 1996.
3. Huntziger, William E. *The Popular Press, 1833–1865.* 1999.
4. Smythe, Ted Curtis. *The Gilded Age Press, 1865–1900.* 2003.
5. Teel, Leonard Ray. *The Public Press, 1900–1945.* 2006.
6. Davies, David R. *The Postwar Decline of American Newspapers, 1945–1965.* 2006.
7. McPherson, James Brian. *Journalism at the End of the American Century, 1965–present.* 2006.

See Kaplan, Section 6-A.

Leonard, Thomas C. *News for All: America's Coming-of-Age with the Press.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1995. Relates the overall story from the early nineteenth century to the end of the twentieth, focusing on print, but including electronic media news as well.

Mindich, David T. Z. *Just the Facts: How Objectivity Came to Define American Journalism.* New York: New York University Press, 1998. Draws on high profile examples, showing degree to which journalism and its evolving commitment to objectivity has altered—and in some cases limited—public understanding of events and issues. Chapters focus on different components including detachment, nonpartisanship, inverted pyramid writing style, "facticity," and balance.

Mott, Frank Luther. *American Journalism: A History 1690–1960.* New York: Macmillan, 1962 (3rd ed.). Long a standard history of newspapers (first published in 1941), this remains useful with its "great man" approach emphasizing editors and publishers and their changing roles. Emphasis is heavily on newspapers with good coverage of magazines (on which author was an authority), though less on broadcasting.

Schudson, Michael. *Perspectives on Mass Communication History.* Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1991. Comprising 24 historiographical essays, each discussing major interpretations of a different and significant topic in media history.

Sloan, W. David, et al. *The Media in America: A History.* Northport, AL: Vision, 2002 (5th ed.). A college-level survey text, regularly revised.

Sloan, W. David, and Lisa Mullikin Parcell, eds. *American Journalism: History, Principles, Practices.* Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2002. Gathers 39 essays, each providing a historical overview of an important aspect of journalism history, including ethics and objectivity, types of news coverage such as photojournalism and foreign correspondence, and issues related to television journalism and news transmission.

Stephens, Mitchell. *A History of News.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2007 (3rd ed.).

A wide-ranging history emphasizing long history of printed news, this makes for a useful and concise survey of a huge subject.

Streitmatter, Rodger. *Mightier Than the Sword: How the News Media Have Shaped American History*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 2008 (2nd ed.). Assesses journalism's development by weighing its impact on people and events in more than a dozen case studies, adding one on coverage of 9/11 events and their aftermath.

Tulloch, John. *Journalism: A Brief Global History*. New York: Routledge, 2009. With case studies drawn from Europe, North America, Asia, and the Middle East, this provides a framework for understanding journalism development as a global phenomenon. Compares and contrasts development of multiple journalism systems from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, and their differing functions, and links journalism to creation of global systems of trade and dominion, and resistance to those processes.

B-1: History to 1850

See also subsection C on newspapers, below.

Brigham, Clarence S. *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers (1690–1820)*. Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1947 (2 vols.; reprinted by Greenwood, 1976). Remains most thorough work for its period of coverage. Includes information on papers and their founders and printers (more than 2,800 people) and where copies may be found. Some *Additions and Corrections* appeared in 1950. For later years, see Gregory, subsection A-2, above.

Burns, Eric. *Infamous Scribblers: The Founding Fathers and the Rowdy Beginnings of American Journalism*. New York: Public Affairs, 2006. Tells of Ben Franklin, Alexander Hamilton and Sam Adams—leading "Founding Father" journalists; of George Washington and John Adams as leading critics of journalists; and Thomas Jefferson as leading manipulator of journalists of that era.

Copeland, David A., ed. *Debating Historical Issues in the Media of the Time*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2000–present (2 vols., but continuing). Each includes some 30 chapters built around important period issues and quoting papers and pamphlets:

1. *Debating the Issues in Colonial Newspapers: Primary Documents on Events of the Period*. 2000.
2. *The Antebellum Era: Primary Documents on Events from 1820 to 1860*. 2003.

John, Richard R. *Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995. Describes pretelegraph postal system as an agent of change, its expanding network, and its role in dissemination of newspapers and magazines. *See also* next entry.

Kielbowicz, Richard B. *News in the Mail: The Press, Post Office, and Public Information, 1700–1860s*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1989. Intertwined story of press and post office prior to Civil War with discussion of postal rates, post roads, news gathering by mail, postal express service, and other policies. *See also* previous entry.

Levy, Leonard W. *Legacy of Suppression: Freedom of Speech and Press in Early American History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960 (revised and expanded as *Emergence of a Free Press,* Oxford University Press, 1985). Growth of press in colonial and early independence eras, arguing that free press views then were considerably narrower than they are now. Revised version somewhat modifies that finding in a valuable reassessment of an oft-quoted period.

Levy, Leonard W., ed. *Freedom of the Press from Zenger to Jefferson*. Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966. Anthology of documents (some of them excerpted) that helps illustrate development of American thinking about press freedom in the eighteenth century. For continuation, see Nelson, subsection B-2, below.

Raymond, Joad. *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641–1649*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996. First detailed account of origins and early development of the English newspaper, using new evidence on the

origins of newsbooks and their many complex roles in English Civil War society.

Schlesinger, Arthur M. *Prelude to Independence: The Newspaper War on Britain, 1764–1776*. New York: Knopf, 1958. Classic history of a vital dozen years that helped to shape American journalism for decades as editors found an independent political voice through a series of confrontations with England over political and economic issues.

Smith, Jeffrey A. *Printers and Press Freedom: The Ideology of Early American Journalism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987. "Early" means pre-Revolution and author disagrees with much previous research, arguing that early views were largely absolutist—journalists should be largely free of any governmental interference.

Williams, Julie Hedgepeth. *The Significance of the Printed Word in Early America: Colonists' Thoughts on the Role of the Press*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1999. Surveys distribution and impact of such material through 1765.

B-2: History, 1850–1930

For the muckraking period of the early twentieth century, see Section 5-D.

Abbott, Richard H., and John W. Quist, eds. *For Free Press and Equal Rights: Republican Newspapers in the Reconstruction South*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004. Describes years following Civil War when most Southern newspapers—like most of southern white society—fiercely resisted racial reconciliation. This book studies exceptions to this rule: Republican newspapers that tried to put down roots in the infertile soil of Democratic Dixie. Abbott analyzes more than 400 papers between 1865 and 1877.

See Baker and Brentano, Section 4-B.

Baldasty, Gerald J. *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992. Using content analysis among other techniques, this traces dramatic changes from creation of the penny press in the 1830s to newspaper giants at century's end, how news became a commodity—and why.

Brown, Richard D. *Knowledge Is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700–1865*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989. Begins in Massachusetts and Virginia in the early eighteenth century, when public information was limited to the wealthy, learned, and powerful, who used it to reinforce political order and cultural unity. Brown explains that by the Civil War era, cultural unity had become a thing of the past. Assisted by changing technology of printing and distribution as well as an expanding economy, Americans had created a pluralistic information marketplace.

Campbell, W. Joseph. *The Year That Defined American Journalism: 1897 and the Clash of Paradigms*. New York: Routledge, 2007. Argues that events of that year are a landmark in newspaper publishing, focusing on the rise of yellow journalism (a term that first appeared that year) and debunking some of its stories. Chapters review what was going on in the country, clash of news paradigms (represented by Hearst's *Journal* on one extreme and Ochs's *New York Times* on the other), and year's major news stories.

Dary, David. *Red Blood and Black Ink: Journalism in the Old West*. New York: Knopf, 1998 (reprinted by University Press of Kansas, 1999). Chronicles the exciting and often surprising story of western journalism—from the freewheeling early 1800s to the classic small-town weeklies and busy city newsrooms of the 1920s. Traces many of the printers who founded the first papers, arriving in town with a shirttail of type and a secondhand press, setting up shop under trees, in tents, in barns or storefronts, moving on if the town failed, or into larger quarters if it flourished, and sometimes forced to defend their right of free speech with fists or guns.

Dicken-Garcia, Hazel. *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989. Traces the role of nineteenth-century papers and changing news, two chapters on rising criticism of press, and subsequent development of reporting and editing standards.

Dicken-Garcia, Hazel, and Giovanna Dell'Orto. *Hated Ideas and the American Civil War Press*. Seattle: Marquette Books, 2008. Analyzes newspaper coverage of such "hated" ideas as abolitionism and slavery (depending on audience views). Authors conclude that war strengthened journalism's responsibility; editors often had eloquent free speech discussions; and opposition presses were sometimes defended. Yet data suggest tolerance was the exception; editors consistently supported larger political system over any professional journalism ideology, common good over individual rights, and military discretion over constitutional principles.

Douglas, George H. *The Golden Age of the Newspaper*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1999. Discusses century from origins of penny press in 1830s to Depression a century later, an era before newspapers faced electronic competition.

See Gregory, subsection A-2, above.

Kaplan, Richard L. *Politics and the American Press: The Rise of Objectivity, 1865–1920*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002. Reviews origins of modern journalism's ideals and political practices, changes in political content of the press (using a content analysis of newspaper news and editorials over 55 years), and appropriate political role and professional ethics of journalists in a modern democracy.

See Maihafer, Section 5-B.

Nelson, Harold L., ed. *Freedom of the Press from Hamilton to the Warren Court*. Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966. Covers the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth in an anthology of documents, many excerpted. For first volume, see Levy, subsection B-1, above.

Spencer, David R. *The Yellow Journalism: The Press and America's Emergence as a World Power*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2007. Offers a different approach to a popular topic—late-nineteenth-century sensational journalism as practiced by William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer in New York. Spencer dissects people and trends of the period to sift out some positive elements in yellow journalism, including improved graphic design and writing, covering new beats, and changing relationships between publishers and advertisers.

Weber, Ronald. *News of Paris: American Journalists in the City of Light between the Wars*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2006. Focused on the 1920s, this reviews lives and journalistic work of a host of soon-to-be-famous expatriate writers, some of whom would make their names reporting about Spain or World War II for radio or newspapers.

See Winfield, Section 7-J.

B-3: History, 1930–1995

Alwood, Edward. *Dark Days in the Newsroom: McCarthyism Aimed at the Press*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2007. Centered on James Eastland's senate committee hearings of 1955, which investigated communism among journalists, as well as the formation and role of Newspaper Guild, Alwood melds individual stories with broader trends, tracing rise of journalist concerns during the Depression, a period that saw many seek out socialist or communist ties. Ten chapters range from 1930s through 1950s plus an epilogue that relates what later happened to key figures discussed.

Baughman, James L. *The Republic of Mass Culture: Journalism, Filmmaking and Broadcasting in America since 1941*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006 (3rd ed.). Useful integrated assessment of print, film, and broadcasting development. Emphasizes television's growing dominance, with other media seen as striving rivals.

Edy, Jill A. *Troubled Pasts: News and the Collective Memory of Social Unrest*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006. Applies framing and narrative theory to better understand uses of historical news events in journalism, focusing specifically on Watts (Los Angeles) riots in 1965, and protests at 1968 Democratic Convention (Chicago) to explore how over time the conflicts were resolved and how those resolutions are represented in media reports. Study is based on newspaper reporting because, as Edy explains, television news archiving only began in 1968 and is only marginally indexed.

Gans, Herbert J. *Deciding What's News: A Study of* CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, *and* Time. New York: Pantheon, 1979 (republished, with new introduction, Northwestern University Press, 2004). Landmark study analyzing decision-making by elite national press of the 1960s and 1970s. While the journalistic landscape has changed significantly since then—it has grown, fragmented, and arguably declined in quality—Gans argues that his overall conclusions about how mainstream media decide what's news is largely similar today as it was a quarter century ago.

Halberstam, David. *The Powers That Be*. New York: Knopf, 1979. Powerfully written narrative history of four specific media outlets: *Time,* the *Los Angeles Times,* CBS News, and *The Washington Post,* focusing on key personnel, major events and trends, and the impact of these news services on U.S. history. Provides a good sense of an era when each of them played a far larger national role than they do today.

B-4: News From Washington

While most of the news from the nation's capital is and has been political, not all of it is. Given the centrality of Washington news to the nation, there are probably more books about its journalism than any city outside of New York.

Campbell, Don, and Wendell Cochran. *Inside the Beltway: A Guide to Washington Reporting*. Ames: Iowa State Press, 2003 (2nd ed.). Adds chapters on the relationship between press and government, regional reporters based in Washington, and covering Washington as a foreign correspondent. Also assesses covering Congress, departments and agencies, specialty beats, White House, courts, politics, and money, as well as investigative reporting and reportorial resources. The authors argue that the growth of cable news and the Internet have challenged traditional press–government relationships.

Cater, Douglass. *The Fourth Branch of Government*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959. An insider's view of the reporter's role in Washington as seen at the end of the Eisenhower administration, including coverage of the President, Congress, the fight against secrecy, and how Washington news looked from abroad.

See Hess, Section 7-C-1.

Hiebert, Ray Eldon, ed. *The Press in Washington: Sixteen Top Newsmen Tell How the News Is Collected, Written, and Communicated from the World's Most Important Capital*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1966. Based on an American University lecture series, this reviews a variety of media (broadcast, dailies, and magazines), beats (White House, Congress, and departments), and issues (secrecy, types of reporting).

Kimball, Penn. *Downsizing the News: Network Cutbacks in the Nation's Capital*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994. Explores how network television news coverage is declining as fewer people are assigned to consistent news beats, due to competition and changing priorities.

Marbut, F. B. *News from the Capital: The Story of Washington Reporting*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1971. Provides an overall history, including two chapters on the Civil War period, two on the late nineteenth century, and coverage of Presidents, federal departments, the role of columnists, and the rise of broadcasting.

See Mudd, Section 7-G.

Reliable Sources: The National Press Club in the American Century. Louisville, KY: Turner Publishing, 1999. Commemorative book on the club's centennial, shedding some light on Washington reporting events and personnel.

Nimmo, Dan. *Newsgathering in Washington: A Study in Political Communication*. New York: Prentice Hall, 1964. How the system worked then and varied roles of government—as both subject and regulator.

Phillips, Cabell, et al., eds. *Dateline: Washington—The Story of National Affairs Journalism in the Life and Times of the National Press Club*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1949 (reprinted by Phillips Press, 2007). Honoring the club's first four decades, these 18 chapters, many by distinguished writers, review most aspects of reporting from the nation's capital.

Ritchie, Donald A. *Reporting from Washington: The History of the Washington Press Corps*. New

York: Oxford University Press, 2005. This is at least the third such survey (see Rosten [1937], for the first, and Marbut [1971] for the second take). Ritchie focuses on period since 1932 when Roosevelt's New Deal began to change relationship of press and government.

Rivers, William L. *The Opinion Makers*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1965. Changing role of Washington political journalists, and overall press–government relationship is assessed using a variety of examples from early Kennedy–Johnson years (1961–65). Includes discussion of news managers and role of key journalists such as James Reston and David Brinkley.

Rosten, Leo C. *The Washington Correspondents*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1937 (reprinted by Arno Press, 1974). Classic study of 1935–06 New Deal–era reporting and reporters, with assessments of overall government–press relationship, different beats, a profile of reporters, and many roles they played in that era.

Thomas, Helen. *Watchdogs of Democracy? The Waning Washington Press Corps and How It Has Failed the Public*. New York: Scribner, 2006. Veteran UPI White House correspondent criticizes journalism in Washington, ranging over past and potential of what journalism has been and can be, eruptions of corruption, growing difficulty of reporters getting to the President other than at staged events, increasingly central role of press secretaries, spinning news, protection of leakers and whistle-blowers, newspapers as a business and how that is impacting Washington reportorial scene, recent role of the FCC, press as government lapdogs, varied record of foreign reporters in Iraq, and some of the best recent journalists.

B-5: News From Other Places

There are many books on individual newspapers, but fewer attempting to tell the overall story of news reporting in specific cities or states. Further, many state historical societies and similar groups have issued "union lists" of newspapers found in state and other archives. And many state press associations have issued their own organizational histories as well. Only a selection is included here.

Atwood, Evangeline, and Lew Williams Jr. *Bent Pins to Chains: Alaska and Its Newspapers*. Philadelphia: Xlibris, 2006. Informal narrative history.

Bruce, John. *Gaudy Century: The Story of San Francisco's Hundred Years of Robust Journalism*. New York: Random House, 1948. Covers mainly mid-nineteenth-century Gold Rush years up into World War I period, as seen by a former city editor of the *Chronicle*.

Chapin, Helen G. *Guide to Newspapers of Hawai'i 1834–2000*. Honolulu: Hawaii Historical Society, 2000. Broken out by categories of papers and including a chronology.

Dougan, Michael B. *Community Diaries: Arkansas Newspapering 1819–2002*. Little Rock: August House and Arkansas Press Association, 2003. Mini-narratives on most of the state's papers.

Gilluly, Sam. *The Press Gang: A Century of Montana Newspapers, 1995–1985*. Helena: Montana Press Association, 1985. Good example of locally produced historical record providing considerable detail on people and specific publications.

Hornsher, Lola. *Guide to Wyoming Newspapers*. Cheyenne: Wyoming State Library, 1971. Listed by county, with indication of libraries holding copies.

Janowitz, Morris. *The Community Press in an Urban Setting*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1952. Scholarly survey of more than 80 small papers (with a total circulation of nearly a million) within city limits of Chicago, assessing them from a variety of viewpoints, including content analysis and readership studies.

Kiska, Tim. *A Newscast for the Masses: The History of Detroit Television Journalism*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2009. Examines evolution of television news in Detroit from its beginnings in the late 1940s, when television was considered a "wild young medium," to the early 1980s, when cable television permanently

altered the broadcast landscape. Shows how local news, initially considered a poor substitute for respectable print journalism, became the cornerstone of television programming and the public's preferred news source.

Lingenfelter, Richard E., and Karen Rix Gash. *The Newspapers of Nevada: A History and Bibliography, 1954–1979*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1984. An example of a statewide survey of postwar publications and source material about them, listed by county.

Louisiana Newspapers 1794–1940: A Union List of Louisiana Newspaper Files Available in Offices of Publishers, Libraries, and Private Collections in Louisiana. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, Hill Memorial Library, 1941. An example of a Works Progress Administration cultural work, this lists papers by county, then community of publication.

Lyle, Jack. *The News in Megalopolis*. San Francisco: Chandler, 1967. Scholarly assessment of print and broadcast news media in Los Angeles—a scholarly book not written as history, but useful now in that light.

McPhaul, John J. *Deadlines & Monkeyshines: The Fabled World of Chicago Journalism*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1962. Informal and people-focused anecdotal review of city's newspapers and some of their major scoops and stories.

Moore, John Hammond. *South Carolina Newspapers*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988. County listing, and what organizations retain archives.

Stevens, John D. *Sensationalism and the New York Press*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1991. Growth in newspaper readership among general readers beginning with rise of the penny press in 1830s, ranging through Bennett's *New York Herald,* "yellow journalism" of 1890s, and the illustrated tabloid press in the 1920s.

Turnbull, George S. *History of Oregon Newspapers*. Portland, OR: Binsford & Mort, 1939. One of better prewar surveys that relates the story of both territorial and statehood periods in a thorough fashion.

C. Newspapers

For newspaper illustration and design/layout, see Section 3-B-3.

Bernhard, Jim. *Porcupine, Picayune, and Post: How Newspapers Got Their Names*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2007. A long-needed study of terms and nomenclature, demonstrating that most titles result from historical trend or accident—or even whim—and why there are so many of some names and so few of others.

Cloud, Barbara. *The Coming of the Frontier Press: How the West Was Really Won*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2008. Argues that newspapers played a crucial role in pushing aside both wildlife and Native Americans to make room for settlers who would become their readers. Western news sheets not only shaped reader attitudes but also undertook innovations in content and appearance that would affect newspapers nationwide.

Fedler, Fred. *Media Hoaxes*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1989. Inventing often fantastic news stories for newspapers and magazines was especially popular during the nineteenth century.

Harris, Michael, et al., eds. *Studies in Newspaper and Periodical History*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1994–97. This brief annual series continued the *Journal of Newspaper and Periodical History* (London, 1984–92) with articles and reviews including an annual survey of scholarly work in newspaper history.

Hench, John B., ed. *Three Hundred Years of the American Newspaper*. Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1991. Reprinted from the AAS *Proceedings,* this is a series of six articles surveying the story, including "The Newspapers of Provincial America," "Newspapers and American Nationhood," "The Nineteenth-Century Origins of Modern American Journalism," "Preparing the Minds of the People," and an overview of "The American Journalist."

Knudson, Jerry W. *In the News: American Journalists View Their Craft*. Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 2000. A history told through words of practicing journalists—and their critics—with brief contextual comment.

Lee, Alfred McClung. *The Daily Newspaper in America: The Evolution of a Social Instrument*. New York: Macmillan, 1937 (reprinted by Routledge, 2000). This early classic social and economic history remains invaluable for its focus on larger trends rather than specific papers or editors and was one of earliest studies to make extensive use of economic analysis. Lee's study had an important impact on teaching about journalism.

Lora, Ronald, and William Henry Longton, eds. *The Conservative Press in Twentieth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1999. Short descriptive essays on some 65 journals that published during the twentieth century (and people behind them), divided into ten parts by type (such as church or literary reviews).

Schudson, Michael. *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers*. New York: Basic Books, 1978. Social history shows that the idea of impartial, objective "news" was a social product of democratization of political, economic, and social life in the nineteenth century.

Sheppard, Si. *The Partisan Press: A History of Media Bias in the United States*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2008. Relates long history of partisan bias in newspapers, threatened for a time by post–World War II objective journalism as a goal, and now returning thanks to technology-driven partisan media alternatives. Includes material on newspaper endorsements of presidential candidates.

Smith, Anthony. *The Newspaper: An International History*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1979. Reviews principal trends (largely in Britain) over six periods, and in just under 200 pages.

Smith, Anthony. *Goodbye Gutenberg: The Newspaper Revolution of the 1980s*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980. How computer (and other) technology was even then changing.

Starr, Paul. *The Creation of the Media: Political Origins of Modern Communication*. New York: Basic Books, 2004. Insightful and important analysis (by a Pulitzer Prize winner) of how and why American newspapers (with some mention of broadcasting) developed into important national arbiters of public policy and political development.

Villard, Oswald Garrison. *The Disappearing Daily: Chapters in American Newspaper Evolution*. New York: Knopf, 1944. An important early critical assessment reviewing wartime status of newspapers and seeking reasons for the declining number of daily papers. Offers chapters on key papers, markets, editors and publishers, and Associated Press.

Wallace, Aurora. *Newspapers and the Making of Modern America: A History*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2005. A survey of twentieth-century press, this examines case studies of specific papers within their markets, assessing their multiple roles as a prime mover in enacting policy, supporting development, building neighborhoods, and generally modifying physical and built environment.

D. News Agencies

Though central to the process of world news communication, there has been relatively little serious published research about news agencies ("wire services"). Given their importance in global journalism, virtually all the known English-language books are included here.

Agence France-Presse History. http://www.afp.com/english/afp/?pid=history. Offers a brief chronology, mainly of post-Havas years since World War II.

Associated Press: A Complete History. http://www.ap.org/pages/history/comphis.html. Includes sections on origins of AP, its broadcast and news photo arms, role of technology, and its organization.

Baillie, Hugh. *High Tension: The Recollections of Hugh Baillie*. New York: Harper, 1959. Longtime chief of United Press relates his reporting life starting in 1910 and that of the news agency he headed from 1935 into post–World War II years.

Bickel, Karl A. *New Empires: The Newspaper and the Radio*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1930. Head of United Press from 1923 to 1935 discusses the relationship, and includes a useful appendix on international radio broadcasting.

See Blondheim, Section 3-D-2.

Boyd-Barrett, Oliver. *The International News Agencies*. London: Constable, 1980. A still-valuable study of main four Western agencies (AP, UPI, Reuters, and Agence France-Presse), which explores them as businesses, their structure and process, wholesaling of news both to domestic and foreign client media, smaller national agencies, and changing markets for news. Compare with Fenby, below.

Boyd-Barrett, Oliver, and Daya Kishan Thussu. *Contra-Flow in Global News: International and Regional News Exchange Mechanisms*. London: John Libbey, 1992. Concerned with news flow *from* developing back *to* industrial nations—hence world "contra" in main title, as most news agency content travels the other way. Chapters on role of news exchanges in context, objectives of news exchanges, their ownership and management, contents and services offered, clients of such exchanges, their resources (finance, people, and technology), and some conclusions.

Boyd-Barrett, Oliver, and Terhi Rantanen. *The Globalization of News*. London: Sage, 1998. Helps bring previous entry up to date. Incorporating institutional, historical, political, economic and cultural studies perspectives, authors provide a solid review of news agencies in a world of fast-changing news communication.

Cooper, Kent. *Barriers Down: The Story of the News Agency Epoch*. New York: Farrar, Rinehart, 1942 (reprinted by Kennikat, 1969). Longtime head of Associated Press relates the story of breaking down of dominance of world news reporting by Havas, Wolff, and Reuters after 1914. *See also* Cooper, Section 6-B.

See Desmond, Section 10-C.

Fenby, Jonathan. *The International News Services*. New York: Schocken Books, 1986. Focusing on major four Western international agencies, this discusses their origins, operation, provisions of business news and photos, finance, their marketing and news process, and news exchanges. Compare to Boyd-Barrett, above.

Gordon, Gregory, and Ronald E. Cohen. *Down to the Wire: UPI's Fight for Survival*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1990. Ultimately a sad book, this traces often complex but steady decline of UPI in 1980s in face of AP competition—and reasons for that decline (which continued). *See also* Harnett, below.

Gramling, Oliver. *AP: The Story of News*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1940 (reprinted by University Microfilms, 1969). Perhaps the best known popular history, this breaks AP's story into three periods highlighted by years: 1848 when agency began, 1900 at height of world news agency cartel, and 1925 when radio and news photography had begun broadening news.

Harnett, Richard M., and Billy G. Ferguson. *Unipress: United Press International—Covering the 20th Century*. Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 2001. Informally surveys history of agency from its founding as United Press, through 1958 merger with International News Service, to its fading in late 1990s. Emphasis is on people and how news was reported.

Harris, Phil. *Reporting Southern Africa: Western News Agencies Reporting from Southern Africa*. Paris: UNESCO, 1981. Study of content of stories about developing nations of sub-Saharan Africa, concluding there is too little coverage of this region by Western agencies.

Haskovec, Slavoj. *The News Agency in the System of Mass Media*. Prague: International Organization of Journalists, 1980. Example of cold war propaganda

as IOJ then supported Warsaw Pact (Soviet) political views. This is largely a critique of major western agencies as creatures of their governments and political views.

Jones, Roderick. *A Life in Reuters*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1951 / Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1952. An informal autobiography by longtime (1915–41) managing director of British news agency.

Kim, Soon Jin. *EFE: Spain's World News Agency*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1989. One of few English-language books about a news agency in another country (other than the United States or United Kingdom)—indeed, the most important one in Hispanic world. Relates story from EFE's formation at end of the 1930s Spanish Civil War through late 1980s.

Kruglak, Theodore E. *The Two Faces of TASS*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1962. A cold war–era analysis, this remains only English-language study of Soviet news agency and its operations.

Laurenson, John, and Lionel Barber. *The Price of Truth: The Story of the Reuters £££ Millions*. Edinburgh, Scotland: Mainstream Publishing, 1985. Focuses critically on conversion of Reuters from almost a "public trust" to a highly lucrative organization focused on financial news services.

Mooney, Brian, and Barry Simpson. *Breaking News: How the Wheels Came Off at Reuters*. Chichester, England: Capstone, 2003. Investigative journalism and the management decisions that led to near financial collapse of the news agency.

Morris, Joe Alex. *Deadline Every Minute: The Story of United Press*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1957 (reprinted by Greenwood, 1968). On eve of its merger with INS to form UPI, this informally relates story of UP news agency from its formation in 1907.

Planet Earth. *Internet News Agencies*. http://www.geocities.com/TheTropics/Island/2771/links/freenews.htm. Portal providing ready access to nearly two-dozen Internet *only* news agencies.

Rantanen, Terhi. *Foreign News in Imperial Russia: The Relationship between International and Russian News Agencies, 1856–1914*. Helsinki, Finland: Soumalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1990. Development of news agencies, news-sharing agreements among them, and rise of modern news media in pre–World War I Russia, including private and then government agencies within Russia.

Read, Donald. *The Power of News: The History of Reuters 1849–1989*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1992. Thorough history of London-based news and business data service making clear its ties to British national and foreign policy.

Reporters of the Associated Press. *Breaking News: How the Associated Press Covered War, Peace, and Everything Else*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007. Coverage of war, trials, aviation, sports, elections, civil rights, foreign news, disasters, and the White House are included in this anthology of behind-the-scenes narratives on how AP got stories and reported them.

Robinson, Gertrude Joch. *News Agencies and World News in Canada, the United States, and Yugoslavia*. Fribourg, Switzerland: Institute for Journalism and Mass Communication Research, University of Fribourg, 1981. Collects author's 1970s papers on operation of news agencies; three on Yugoslavia, four on U.S. and Canadian agencies, and a final two on Canadian Press Agency.

Rosewater, Victor. *History of Cooperative News-Gathering in the United States*. New York: Appleton, 1930 (reprinted by Johnson Reprint, 1970). While obviously dated and largely superceded by Schwarzlose (next entry), this was a pioneering serious history of news agencies.

Schwarzlose, Richard A. *The Nation's Newsbrokers*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1989–90 (2 vols.). Definitive history of American news agencies up to 1920 (based in part on author's dissertation), as follows:

1. *The Formative Years: From Pretelegraph to 1865*. 1989. Details creation and early operation of Associated Press and other lesser news agencies, building on use of telegraphy.

2. *The Rush to Institution: From 1865 to 1920*. 1990. Includes rise and initial development of United Press and International News Service, among others, showing how telephone assisted news reporting.

Scott, J. M. *Extel 100: The Centenary History of the Exchange Telegraph Company*. London: Ernest Benn, 1972. The domestic British news service is reviewed.

Shrivastava, K. M. *News Agencies: From Pigeon to Internet*. Elgin, IL: New Dawn, 2007. Tracing history and growth of international news agencies during past 25 years, clarifying their role and discussing why most have survived technological developments such as Internet. Profiles of several key news organizations, including those in India, are included, as well as a discussion of industry values and diversification strategies.

Storey, Graham. *Reuters: The Story of a Century of News Gathering*. New York: Crown, 1951 (reprinted by Greenwood, 1970). Published to mark centennial of Reuters, this is not documented but includes a good sense of people and events. For a scholarly analysis, see Read, above.

Thomson Reuters History. http://www.thomsonreuters.com/about/company_history. Detailed reverse chronology (most recent events cited first) of the British news agency.

UNESCO. *News Agencies: Their Structure and Operation*. Paris: UNESCO, 1953 (reprinted by Greenwood, 1970). While more than a half century old, this remains an invaluable historical record and detailed review of world's news agencies (most of them confined to one country), legal organization, telegraphic news agencies (meaning major world organizations), telecommunication and transmission of news, international regulation, news agencies and radio broadcasting, and how public receives news.

Whitehurst, Ken, et al. *The Downhold Project*. http://www.thedownholdproject.info. A site devoted to all facets of United Press International (UPI) history, largely by former agency personnel.

Williams, Francis. *Transmitting World News: A Study of Telecommunications and the Press*. Paris: UNESCO, 1953 (reprinted by Arno Press, 1972). Assesses history and then-current operation of technical side of world and national news agency transmission of news over distances.

E. Magazines

Magazine publishing continues to be one segment of American media that is poorly treated historically—perhaps because there are so many magazine titles and it is difficult to generalize from so many cases. For feature stories in magazines, see Section 4-E-4.

E-1: Reference

Endres, Kathleen L., ed. *Trade, Industrial, and Professional Periodicals of the United States*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1994. Profiles about 125 titles, including some important titles in communications. Each profile includes history and current trends. *See also* Nourie and Riley, below.

Nourie, Alan, and Barbara Nourie. *America's Mass Market Magazines*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1990. More than 100 are profiled here, reviewing their history and (if still published) their current status, along with information on title changes, editors, and the like. *See also* Endres, above, and Riley, below, for other titles in same series.

Riley, Sam G., ed. *Guides and Indexes to Magazines*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1986–1993 (6 vols.). These provide either detailed listings (indexes) or multipage narrative profiles of selected titles. *See also* two previous entries for other volumes in same series.

Index to Southern Periodicals. 1986. Nearly 7,000 are listed.

Magazines of the American South. 1986. About 90 are profiled.

Index to City and Regional Magazines of the United States. 1989. Not their content, but listings of pre-1950 geographically specific publications themselves (edited with Gary Selnow).

Regional Interest Magazines of the United States. 1990. Brief profiles (edited with Gary Selnow).

Corporate Magazines of the United States. 1992. Brief profiles of 51 selected titles plus short mention of several hundred additional ones.

Consumer Magazines of the British Isles. 1993. Brief profiles of 50 selected titles.

E-2: General History

Angeletti, Norbeto, and Alberto Oliva. *Magazines That Make History: Their Origins, Development and Influence*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004. Well-illustrated chapters provide case studies of *Time, Der Spiegel, Life, Paris Match, National Geographic, Reader's Digest, ¡Hola!,* and *People*. Each traces changes in publication and provides a good sense of its graphic design as well.

Cyganowski, Carol Klimick. *Magazine Editors and Professional Authors in Nineteenth-Century America: The Genteel Tradition and the American Dream*. New York: Garland, 1988. Includes discussion of both fiction and nonfiction magazine editors and article authors.

Elson, Robert T. *Time Inc.: The Intimate History of a Publishing Enterprise, 1923–1941*. New York, Atheneum, 1968. Continued by the author's *The World of Time Inc., 1941–1960* (Atheneum, 1973), and Curtis Prendergast's (with Geoffrey Colvin) *The World of Time Inc., 1960–1980* (Atheneum, 1986) to provide one of most in-depth studies of any single publisher and its leadership. This trilogy was an official company project, however, and needs to be read accordingly.

Friedrich, Otto. *Decline and Fall*. New York: Harper & Row, 1970. Dramatic account, partially told from the inside, of the decline and disappearance of the once-mighty weekly, *The Saturday Evening Post,* and its parent, Curtis Publishing Company. *See also* next entry.

Goulden, Joseph C. *The Curtis Caper*. New York: Putnam, 1965. Describes the magazine publishing company in its great years, including its monthly *The Ladies Home Journal* and weekly *The Saturday Evening Post,* focusing on editors and other key personnel. *See also* previous entry.

Janello, Amy, and Brennon Jones. *The American Magazine*. New York: Harry Abrams (with the Magazine Publishers of America, and American Society of Magazine Editors), 1991. Handsome illustrated history of all types of magazines, focusing on mainstream publications. An appendix provides starting (and some closedown) dates.

Kitch, Carolyn. *Pages from the Past: History & Memory in American Magazines*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005. Drawing on some 60 magazine titles, author reviews how they have helped to create and record American collective memory and identity. Among other topics, chapters focus on mourning of celebrities, nostalgia magazines and reader recollections, anniversary celebrations of a collective past, and lasting story of 9/11.

Mott, Frank Luther. *A History of Magazines in America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930–68 (5 vols.; first volume originally published by Appleton). Though never completed as planned, this classic set remains a magisterial study from 1741 to 1905 in four volumes, with last volume more briefly profiling 21 magazines of 1905–30 era. This is the standard and definitive source for its coverage to the early twentieth century.

Perlmutter, David D. *Picturing China in the American Press: The Visual Portrayal of Sino-American Relations in* Time *Magazine*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007. How the then-new People's Republic of China was viewed (including maps and illustrations) in *Time* from 1949 into 1960s, a period of high cold war tensions between the United States and China.

Peterson, Theodore. *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964 (2nd ed.). Though not designed as history per se, this provides a detailed treatment of all aspects of the American periodical industry—and its many magazine types—as seen when television was already showing its impact. It offers the best treatment of magazines during the first six decades of the century.

Schneirov, Matthew. *The Dream of a New Social Order: Popular Magazines in America, 1893–1914*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994. Melds cultural and journalism history at the turn of the twentieth century.

Tebbel, John, and Mary Ellen Zuckerman. *The Magazine in America 1741–1990*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991. The most recent attempt at an overall history, by a longtime student of field (Tebbel), providing a broad sweep of trends with much discussion of individual titles and their importance.

Wolseley, Roland E. *Understanding Magazines*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1965. A broad survey including history, many types of publication, and their varied roles.

Wood, James Playsted. *Magazines in the United States*. New York: Ronald Press, 1956 (2nd ed.). Overall history and study of their editors, content trends, and influence, with an emphasis on general circulation titles.

Zalampas, Michael. *Adolph Hitler and the Third Reich in American Magazines, 1923–1939*. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1989. Reviews German content and coverage in ten general-circulation magazines of interwar period, including news magazines, then among most popular. Concludes American readers were generally well served with truthful images and stories that most magazines reported.

F. Editorial Cartoons

For current political cartooning, see Section 4-F; biographies by or about cartoonists are listed in Section 7-E.

Block, Herbert. As one good example of a national editorial cartoonist's long history (over a half century) and prodigious output that had considerable impact (and at least three Pulitzer Prizes) not just in the nation's capital city but elsewhere as well (his work was syndicated to more than 200 papers), these are "Herblock's" collected works in book form. *See also* his autobiography, Section 7-E.

1. *The Herblock Book*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1952. His first book, this includes work for *The Washington Post* from mid-1940s covering Truman administration years.
2. *Herblock's Here and Now*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1955. Some 150 cartoons of early 1950s, with accompanying text.
3. *Herblock's Special for Today*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1958. Some 430 cartoons (and related text) concerning Eisenhower era.
4. *Straight Herblock*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1964. More than 450 cartoons focus on end of Eisenhower administration and also cover Kennedy years.
5. *The Herblock Gallery*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1968. Over 550 cartoons of Lyndon Johnson years.
6. *Herblock's State of the Union*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1972. Nixon years.
7. *Herblock Special Report*. New York: Norton, 1974. Some 450 cartoons trace Richard Nixon's career to his resignation from office.
8. *Herblock on All Fronts*. New York: New American Library, 1980. Covers the Ford and Carter years.
9. *Herblock through the Looking Glass*. New York: Norton, 1984. Initial Reagan years.
10. *Herblock at Large: "Let's Go Back a Little…" and Other Cartoons*. New York: Pantheon, 1987. More on Reagan years.

Brooks, Charles, et al., ed. *Best Editorial Cartoons of the Year*. New York: Pelican Press, 1975–present, annual. Useful—and often delightful—yearly compilation of work from a wide variety of papers and cartoonists, usually broken into subject categories.

Conrad, Paul. *Conartist: Paul Conrad, 30 Years with the* Los Angeles Times. Los Angeles: Los Angeles Times Co., 1993. With brief texts introducing each decade by radio dramatist Norman Corwin, this includes more than 300 cartoons dating back to 1963.

Dewey, Donald. *The Art of Ill Will: The Story of American Political Cartoons*. New York: New

York University Press, 2007. Includes coverage of Presidents, wars and foreign relations, ethnic and racial issues, domestic politics, and business and labor issues.

See Douglas, Section 5-B-5.

Examining Issues through Political Cartoons. [Series] Detroit, MI: Greenhaven Press/Gale, 2002–05. A series of more than 20 short volumes each focusing on a specific historical topic. An introductory essay offers an overview and each cartoon is presented with information including original publication data, facts about cartoonist, and information and commentary on cartoon itself. Examples from series include:

Dudley, William, ed. *Terrorism*. 2002.

Dudley, William, ed. *Illegal Immigration*. 2003.

Dudley, William, and Scott Barbour, eds. *The Great Depression*. 2004.

Egendorf, Laura K., ed. *World War II*. 2004.

Gerdes, Louise I., ed. *The Vietnam War*. 2004.

Williams, Mary, ed. *Abortion*. 2002.

Fischer, Roger A. *Them Damned Pictures: Explorations in American Political Cartoon Art*. North Haven, CT: Archon, 1996. Nine essays and about 100 cartoon examples from the nineteenth century illustrate work of key figures.

Hess, Stephen, and Milton Kaplan. *The Ungentlemanly Art: A History of American Political Cartoons*. New York: Macmillan, 1975 (2nd ed.). Focuses substantially on nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century material with text and extensive commentary on many illustrated examples. Covers work from both newspapers and magazines.

Hess, Stephen, and Sandy Northrop. *Drawn & Quartered: The History of American Political Cartoons*. Montgomery, AL: River City, 2008 (2nd ed.). First part (to 1975) is much like the book above, but material for last three decades is new here.

See Johnson, Section 1-F.

Keller, Morton. *The Art and Politics of Thomas Nast*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968. The life and work of the nineteenth-century American cartoonist who created Republican elephant and Democrat's donkey symbols, among many others.

G. Photojournalism

Pulitzer prize winners are found under Section 1-F; current photojournalism is under Section 4-F; and photojournalists are in Section 7-F.

Bezner, Lili Corbus. *Photographs and Politics in America: From the New Deal into the Cold War*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999. Role of documentary photography and its censorship concerns as told through story of the Photo League from 1930s into 1950s when political blacklisting did it in.

Brugioni, Dino A. *Photo Fakery: The History and Techniques of Photographic Deception and Manipulation*. Herndon, VA: Brassey's, 1999. Most interesting for its many illustrated examples, dating back to before Civil War. Author also suggests how to spot fakery.

Carlebach, Michael L. *The Origins of Photojournalism in America*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Press, 1992. First of two volumes (see next entry), this covers four decades to 1880 and how technical development made news photography possible. Traces early photographers and their work during and after Civil War and expanding railways, among other subjects.

Carlebach, Michael L. *American Photojournalism Comes of Age*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Press, 1997. Continuation of title above into the twentieth century, carrying the story to the 1930s and the Depression, discussing improving technology, key photographers, and the role of press photos.

Chapnick, Howard. *Truth Needs No Ally: Inside Photojournalism*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1994. As seen from the 1930s to the 1990s by the head of the Black Star Agency.

Galassi, Peter, and Susan Kismaric, eds. *Pictures of the* Times*: A Century of Photography from the*

New York Times. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1996. An exhibition catalogue, this includes an illustrated chronology tracing evolution of technology and business of news photography, with special attention to role of the *Times* and to recent rise of digital technologies in newspaper production.

Giles, Matthew, ed. *Facing the World: Great Moments in Photojournalism*. New York: Abrams, 2001. Displays work of Agence France-Presse photographers since 1985 as seen in some 400 color photos.

Golden, Reuel. *Photojournalism 1855 to the Present: Editor's Choice*. New York: Abbeville, 2006. Some 250 images over more than a century and a half, places in context with a running text.

Hallett, Michael. *Stefan Lorant: Godfather of Photojournalism*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2005. Lorant was a pioneer in European photojournalism in the 1920s and 1930s and did his work in Hungary, Germany, and England. His layouts and interviews became familiar largely through the pages of his own creations, particularly weekly *Picture Post*.

Haynes, Gary. *Picture This!: The Inside Story and Classic Photos of UPI Newspictures*. New York: Bulfinch, 2006. As seen by a member of its staff, this carries story to eventual control of UPI's photo library by Corbus.

Lacayo, Richard. *Eyewitness: 150 Years of Photojournalism*. New York: Time, Inc. Home Entertainment, 1999. Light review of pictorial highlights.

Lewinski, Jorge. *The Camera at War: A History of War Photography from 1848*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1978. Some 300 photos and considerable text telling the story from the Crimean War to Vietnam. *See also*, Moeller, below.

Michel, Ulli, ed. *The Art of Seeing: The Best of Reuters Photography*. New York: Prentice Hall, 2000. Though news agency only entered this business in 1985, collection exemplifies value of being in right place at right time.

Miller, Russell. *Magnum: Fifty Years at the Front Line of History: The Story of the Legendary Photo Agency*. New York: Grove Press, 1997. Story of the first half century of the agency founded by Robert Capa and Henri Cartier-Bresson, among others. This offers a good collection of its best work with commenting text tying them together.

Moeller, Susan D. *Shooting War: Photography and the American Experience of Combat*. New York: Basic Books, 1989. From the Spanish-American war to the end of fighting in Vietnam nearly 80 years later, this book reviews how photography covered war and reflected changing American society as well. Covers important photographers, changing technology, military censorship issues, press use of photos, and ethical concerns. *See also* Lewinski, above.

Neubauer, Hendrik. *Black Star: 60 Years of Photojournalism*. New York: Black Star Publishing, 1997. Multilingual text describes hundreds of photos from this agency.

Newhall, Beaumont. *History of Photography: From 1839 to the Present*. New York: Bullfinch, 1982 (5th ed.). There are many general histories of photography, but this is one of the better known, written by a longtime authority on the subject, and first issued decades ago.

Panzer, Mary, and Christian Caujolle. *Things as They Are: Photojournalism in Context since 1955*. New York: Aperture, 2006. Published on the fiftieth anniversary of World Press Photo, this begins with the heyday of *Life* magazine and *Picture Post,* and the Museum of Modern Art's defining "Family of Man" exhibition in 1950s, running up to modern digital media. Photos are shown in context on pages of newspapers and magazines as originally experienced.

Yapp, Nick. *150 Years of Photo Journalism*. Columbia, NY: Konemann, 1998. A broad survey from mid-nineteenth century, covering work done in all countries.

H. Documentary Film

The overall literature on motion picture history has grown huge over the past four decades—and

continues to expand. Noted here are some of the better assessments of the documentary and nonfiction film. Current documentary is found in Section 4-F.

Bächlin, Peter, and Maurice Muller-Strauss. *Newsreels across the World*. Paris: UNESCO, 1952. Techniques of making such films and how they are exchanged—and early impact of television on their distribution.

Barnouw, Erik. *Documentary: A History of the Non-Fiction Film*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993 (2nd rev. ed.). Barnouw considers the medium in light of an entirely new political and social climate, exploring filmmaking technology, and effects that video cassettes and cable television had on production of documentaries.

Boon, Timothy. *Films of Fact: A History of Science in Documentary Films and Television*. London: Wallflower, 2008. This is the first in-depth history of the British genre, which began with amateur hobbyists in the early twentieth century, played a key role in government postwar health programs, and became a treasured part of popular culture with BBC2's *Horizon* and programming of Channel 4. Central figures discussed include Paul Rotha and John Grierson.

Ellis, Jack C., and Betsy A. McLane. *A New History of Documentary Film*. New York: Continuum, 2005. An international history arranged in chapters in specific countries' efforts in chronological periods, this includes discussion of television documentary (many of them shot on film) as well.

Evans, Gary. *John Grierson and the National Film Board: The Politics of Wartime Propaganda*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Wartime and immediate postwar operations of the Canadian entity responsible for government documentary filmmaking. *See also* next entry.

Evans, Gary. *In the National Interest: A Chronicle of the National Film Board of Canada from 1949 to 1989*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991. Focuses more on its expansive period based on interviews and documents. Includes discussion of Canadian documentaries, French filmmakers, women's films, and feature drama productions.

Fielding, Raymond. *The March of Time: 1935–1951*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978. Time, Inc. film documentary series that grew out of both its newsweekly magazine and a radio program of same name is traced in detail.

Fielding, Raymond. *The American Newsreel: A Complete History, 1911–1967*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2006 (2nd ed.). From initial film actualities of the late nineteenth century to final theatrical newsreels of late 1960s, this traces key companies, producers and story trends of the only pre-television means of illustrating news events in motion. New edition adds a chapter on newsreel ethical issues and shortcomings.

Izod, John, et al., eds. *From Grierson to Docu-Soap: Breaking the Boundaries*. Luton, England: University of Luton Press, 2000. Twenty papers review all aspects of documentary history. Much of focus is on John Grierson, important in both British and Canadian documentary production and mentor to many other producers and directors.

Kahana, Jonathan. *Intelligence Work: The Politics of American Documentary*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2008. Historical view of how American documentary developed over eight decades, ranging from federal agency films made about (or by) elements of Roosevelt administration to producers that adopted quite different strategies for commercial television in 1950s and 1960s. Final chapters explore attempts to revitalize documentary form with television and video technologies in 1960s and 1970s, and current trends in political documentary.

Rothman, William. *Documentary Film Classics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997. Offers close readings on a number of major films, such as *Nanook of the North, Land Without Bread, Night and Fog, Chronicle of a Summer* and *Don't Look Back*. Spanning history of documentary film tradition, it analyzes philosophical and historical issues and themes implicit in these and other works.

Smither, Roger, and Wolfgang Klaue, eds. *Newsreels in Film Archives*. Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1996. Drawn from a 1993 symposium, this surveys issues of developing, indexing, and maintaining such collections, with examples from many countries. Also touches on their applications, such as teaching history.

Swann, Paul. *The British Documentary Film Movement, 1926–1946*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008. A political and social history of period characterized by actuality-based films made outside commercial film industry. Based on examinations of official government records, author reviews relationship between John Grierson and civil service bureaucracy when a melding of production, philosophy, and source of funding created a distinguished body of work.

I. Electronic Media

Much of the historical writing on radio and television broadcasting focuses on popular entertainment programming. News has generally gotten less attention, save in times of controversy. *See* Section 4-G for current material; and Section 7-G for broadcasters.

Barnouw, Erik. *A History of Broadcasting in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1966–70, 3 vols. While now four decades old (it stops with late 1960s), this trilogy is still best narrative on U.S. broadcasting development to that time, based on both primary and secondary sources. It is a wonderfully readable account full of people and events and social impact, with increasing commentary as author moves into later years.

1. *A Tower in Babel: To 1933*. 1966.
2. *The Golden Web: 1933–1953*. 1968.
3. *The Image Empire: From 1953*. 1970.

An expansion and updating of television portions of this history—drawn from volumes 2 and 3 and expanded through 1980s—is found in author's *Tube of Plenty* (Oxford University Press, 1990, 2nd rev. ed.).

Barnouw, Erik. *The Sponsor: Notes on a Modern Potentate*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978. History and critique of radio and television sponsors and advertising, focusing on television.

Bergreen, Laurence. *Look Now, Pay Later: The Rise of Network Broadcasting*. New York: Doubleday, 1980. Overall survey of both radio and television network development (a surprisingly untreated topic given their importance) in their "classic" period before inception of cable competition.

Bliss, Edward, Jr. *Now the News: The Story of Broadcast Journalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1991. Still the only book-length study of both radio and television news history, written by a longtime CBS producer. It focuses substantially on a narrative of people and programs, many of whom author knew.

Gomery, Douglas. *A History of Broadcasting in the United States*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008. Explores important social, political, and cultural ramifications of how broadcasting operated through much of the twentieth century, focusing on aesthetics of programming. Relates story in four key periods from 1921 to 1996 to examine recent changes, including impact of cable TV and home video.

Halper, Donna L. *Invisible Stars: A Social History of Women in American Broadcasting*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2001. First overall history of subject, told in decade-focused chapters from radio through television. Author reviews role of women both on and off air, some of them well known, but many others less so. Study helps correct and balance male-centric history of broadcasting.

Hilliard, Robert L., and Michael C. Keith. *The Broadcast Century and Beyond: A Biography of American Broadcasting*. Stoneham, MA: Focal Press, 2004 (4th ed.). A useful illustrated survey history (designed as a text, and regularly updated), with many sidebars on key figures in the radio–television business.

Hilmes, Michele. *Only Connect: A Cultural History of Broadcasting in the United States*. Belmont, CA: Thomson/Wadsworth, 2006 (2nd ed.). History of American broadcasting from its earliest days in

radio, through the rise of television, to the era of digital media and Internet competition. Each chapter discusses a historical period, traces development of media policy, growth of media industries, and history of programming, closing with ways broadcasting has been understood over time.

Hilmes, Michele. *Connections: A Broadcast History Reader*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2002. Nineteen contemporary writings keyed to the textbook immediately above.

Hilmes, Michele, ed. *NBC: America's Network*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007. Collects about a dozen original chapters by as many authors tracing different aspects of the network's story (including news) over seven decades. This is one of the few research-based studies of networks.

Kahn, Frank J., ed. *Documents of American Broadcasting*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1984 (4th ed.). More than 40 excerpted documents from government (including key court decisions), corporate, and other sources, arranged chronologically along with a thematic listing, all to help explain development of radio and television.

Miller, Jeff. *History of American Broadcasting* http://jeff560.tripod.com/broadcasting.html. Extensive series of links divided into sections on AM, FM, and television services and ranging over their whole history: articles, lists of stations at different times, detailed coverage of some stations, chronologies, etc.

Sterling, Christopher H., and John M. Kittross. *Stay Tuned: A History of American Broadcasting*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2002 (3rd ed.). Integrated treatment of ten eras in development of radio-TV and related services from their prehistory in the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twenty-first. Includes extensive coverage of stations and networks, advertising, programming (including broadcast journalism's development), policy and regulation, and audiences and research about them.

I-1: Radio

For the development of radio's technology, see Section 3-D-3. A good deal of writing about "old time radio" (OTR) covering up to about 1960 is for the recorded program or radio receiver collecting fraternity. For regulatory development, see Section 8-D.

Baker, John C. *Farm Broadcasting: The First Sixty Years*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1981. Records a breed of radio dying when the book appeared. Basically a state-by-state chronicle of stations, broadcasters, and programs, it offers an overview as well, from earliest broadcasts to weather and market programs and the role of regional and national network and wire news services.

Brown, Robert J. *Manipulating the Ether: The Power of Broadcast Radio in Thirties America*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1998. Divided into three parts, this details Roosevelt as a radio President, developing role of radio reporting from abroad, and role of the 1938 "War of the Worlds" broadcast in demonstrating radio's growing impact.

Craig, Douglas B. *Fireside Politics: Radio and Political Culture in the United States, 1920–1940*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000. Explores the rise of radio broadcasting and its regulation, expanding role of the medium in political life between world wars, and ways that radio helped contribute (or not) to citizenship. Useful for assessing radio in the era before television changed the older medium's role.

Hosley, David H. *As Good as Any: Foreign Correspondence on American Radio, 1930–1940*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1984. One of first narratives of these men (they nearly all were at that point) and their reporting roles in the formative decade of American radio foreign correspondence.

Jackaway, Gwenyth L. *Media at War: Radio's Challenge to the Newspapers, 1924–1939*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995. Reviews a hot controversy that peaked in the early 1930s as daily newspapers faced and tried to limit growing radio competition, tracing the growing press fear of radio and the latter's search for respectability among both listeners and advertisers. The media story unfolds against the Depression years and rising tensions abroad that fed the desire for instant (i.e., radio) news.

Miller, Edward D. *Emergency Broadcasting and 1930s American Radio*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003. Explores how radio covered breaking news, including chapters on the 1937 *Hindenburg* disaster, Roosevelt and Depression "fireside chats," audience impact as seen in the 1938 "War of the Worlds" drama (which was made to sound like breaking news), and many other programs.

Sterling, Christopher H., and Michael C. Keith. *Sounds of Change: A History of FM Broadcasting in America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008. First overall history of the second radio service from its innovation in the 1930s, through its decline in the 1950s, to its eventual rebirth and great success after the 1960s. Melds discussion of government (FCC) policy, industry trends, programming and growing audiences.

Smulyan, Susan. *Selling Radio: The Commercialization of American Broadcasting 1920–1934*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Press, 1994. A careful study of just how radio came to be largely commercially sponsored, getting behind trend to national programming networks, many arguments over radio broadcasting (advertising was not a done deal by any means, though many today think so), changes in programming from early years to an organized business during the late 1920s and early 1930s, and backlash against radio advertising.

White, Thomas H. *United States Early Radio History*. http://earlyradiohistory.us. A high-quality website with articles, reproduced historical documents, and data on the rise of wireless, radio, and broadcasting to about 1927—with a helpful table of contents to its 24 parts.

I-2: Television

For the development of television's technology, see Section 3-D-5.

Allen, Craig. *News Is People: The Rise of Local TV News and the Fall of News from New York*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 2001. Using sample stations, offers a history of local market television news, including discussion of news consultants, development of "eyewitness" and "action" news concepts during the late 1960s and early 1970s, rise and role of ENG technology, importance of anchor personnel, and news content trends.

Auletta, Ken. *Three Blind Mice: How the TV Networks Lost Their Way*. New York: Random House, 1991. Journalistic account of three major television networks under siege before and after they all changed ownership during the mid-1980s. Focus on people and anecdotes, but with good insight and some reference to network news divisions.

Ball, Rick. Meet the Press: *Fifty Years of History in the Making*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1998. Chronological survey of programs on long-running NBC television news interview program, with excerpts and comment.

Bernhard, Nancy E. *U.S. Television News and Cold War Propaganda, 1947–1960*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999. Argues importance of network television news in presenting cold war events to Americans, showing important role that federal agencies played in getting certain images and views aired.

Bluem, A. William. *Documentary in American Television: Form, Function, Method*. New York: Hastings House, 1965. First and classic assessment of televised documentary with many examples from the medium's first 15 years, written while genre was still in its heyday. Coverage continues in Hammond, below.

Boddy, William. *Fifties Television: The Industry and its Critics*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990. Chapters on television regulation and policy, broadcast industry and its major issues, programs and sponsors, and critical reactions to television's first decade. Provides good context for fledgling network news divisions.

Curtin, Michael. *Redeeming the Wasteland: Television Documentary and Cold War Politics*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995. Focuses on the early 1960s to explore how television explored life under communism, increasing the

global role of American companies, and general growth of television news.

Donovan, Robert J., and Ray Scherer. *Unsilent Revolution: Television News and American Life 1948–1991*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992. Useful assessment of four decades of political news making (co-authored by two experienced journalists) divided into two parts: a review of coverage of a dozen specific news events followed by a broader contextual review of TV news in more general terms.

Hammond, Charles Montgomery, Jr. *The Image Decade: Television Documentary 1965–1975*. New York: Hastings House, 1981. Continues Bluem (above) with sections on major themes, producers, reporters, and events during an era of considerable domestic and international unrest and active network documentary production. *See also* Raphael, below.

Henson, Robert. *Television Weathercasting: A History*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1990. Only study of its kind, discussing key people, changing technology, and general place of weather within television newscasts.

MacDonald, J. Fred. *Television and the Red Menace: The Video Road to Vietnam*. New York: Praeger, 1985. Argues that what people saw during the 1950s and early 1960s (both news and entertainment programs) helped create a public acceptance for what government reported about the developing war, thanks to television's portrayal of government, military forces, and larger communist threat.

Mickelson, Sig. *The Decade That Shaped Television News: CBS in the 1950s*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998. Former head of developing television network news division relates how it all happened. Discusses the role of improving technology, battles with network officials, key personnel, rise of television documentaries, and relationship of profit and news.

See Mudd, Section 7-G-2.

Murray, Michael D., and Donald G. Godfrey, eds. *Television in America: Local Station History from across the Nation*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1997. First video history to approach medium from point of view of 22 local stations drawn from markets, large to small, all over the United States. Considerable focus is on local news and public affairs.

Raphael, Chad. *Investigated Reporting: Muckrakers, Regulators, and the Struggle over Television Documentary*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2005. Assesses 1960–75 period of network documentaries, exploring pressures within news divisions and outside that impacted program content, including varied roles of official and other sources. *See also* Hammond, above.

Shedden, David. *Katie Couric / CBS Timeline (1975–2008)*. http://www.poynter.org/content/content_view.asp?id=104912. Chronology (including many links) of both network's news division and its eventual anchor, beginning when the latter graduated from high school.

See Slide, Section 2-A-1.

See Smith, Section 10-B-1.

Watson, Mary Ann. *The Expanding Vista: American Television in the Kennedy Years*. New York: Oxford, 1990. Good social history on all aspects—including then-vital and important network evening news—during the early 1960s.

Watson, Mary Ann. *Defining Visions: Television and the American Experience in the 20th Century*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008 (2nd ed.). Reviews changing program menu, including news, as a reflection of American life during the second half of the twentieth century.

I-3: Public Broadcasting

For parallel discussion of public service broadcasting in Europe and elsewhere, see Section 10-D-5.

Blakely, Robert J. *To Serve the Public Interest: Educational Broadcasting in the United States*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1979. Focuses primarily on radio and early development of noncommercial television in first scholarly history, written by an active participant, and often critical.

Carnegie Commission on Educational Television. *Public Television: A Program for Action.* New York: Harper & Row, 1967. Landmark study that led within a year to the creation of Corporation for Public Broadcasting and the modern U.S. public broadcasting system. Most of its recommendations were enacted, though not those on system funding.

Carnegie Commission on the Future of Public Broadcasting. *A Public Trust.* New York: Bantam, 1979. Less well-known (than 1967 study immediately above) assessment of national system's first decade and its need for greatly increased funding. Study failed in changing public policy but remains a useful record of what had been accomplished to that point.

Corporation for Public Broadcasting, *Who Pays for Public Broadcasting?* http://www.cpb.org/aboutpb/faq/pays.html. Annual reports on tax, foundation, and viewer donation statistics.

Day, James. *The Vanishing Vision: The Inside Story of Public Television.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995. Best overall history to that point, written by a longtime participant.

Engleman, Ralph. *Public Radio and Television in America: A Political History.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1996. Places modern story in context of battles over public service radio during the 1930s. Several chapters each on public radio, public television, and community television.

Land, Jeff. *Active Radio: Pacifica's Brash Experiment.* St. Paul: University of Minnesota Press, 1999. Brief history (and occasional critique) of controversial stations and developing network formed starting in 1949. *See also* next title.

Lasar, Matthew. *Pacifica Radio: The Rise of an Alternative Network*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999. A survey of the station group to the mid-1960s, appearing in sections on the war years (exploring World War II genesis of the notion of such a public service network), dialogue (postwar struggle to get KPFA running and funded, and expansion to other markets), and dissent (developing upheavals at New York and Berkeley stations over station direction and management).

Looker, Thomas. *The Sound and the Story: NPR and the Art of Radio.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1995. Something of an ethnographic approach to National Public Radio's people and programs, this is a readable account based heavily on observation and interviews.

McCauley, Michael P. *NPR: The Trials and Triumphs of National Public Radio.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2005. Developing role of news and public affairs at public radio's national network is reviewed. *See also* Mitchell, below.

McCauley, Michael P., et al., eds. *Public Broadcasting and the Public Interest.* Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2003. More than 20 papers on most aspects of American public radio and television, arguing the system is generally doing well.

Mitchell, Jack. *Listener-Supported: The Culture and History of Public Radio.* Westport, CT: Praeger, 2005. A study of (to name the books's three parts) dreams, reality, and critiques of National Public Radio's first 35 years, as told by a player in that network. *See also* McCauley, above.

Quality Time? The Report of the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Public Television. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1993. First such overview since 1979 Carnegie Commission assessment (above), this one calling for substantial changes in structure and operations of the system as it celebrated a quarter century on the air.

Starr, Jerold M. *Air Wars: The Fight to Reclaim Public Broadcasting.* Boston: Beacon Press, 2000. Reviews public movement to make public stations more truely public-minded. Starr reviews issues raised at a number of public television stations.

Stewart, David. *The PBS Companion: A History of Public Television.* New York: RV Books/HarperCollins, 1999. Focuses on three decades of development and airing of important program series, exploring how decisions are made.

Witherspoon, John, et al. *A History of Public Broadcasting.* Washington, DC: Current, 2000 (rev. ed.). First part (originally published in 1987) takes story to the mid-1980s while second covers

the next dozen years, both in Washington policy establishment, and among local stations and program producers.

I-4: Cable Television

Historical writing about cable television is only just beginning to appear.

Baldwin, Thomas F., and D. Stevens McVoy. *Cable Communications*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1988 (2nd ed.). While dated, this provides a useful cross-section view of the entire cable business and its underlying technology when it was rapidly expanding thanks to satellite networks.

Frantzich, Stephen, and John Sullivan. *The C-SPAN Revolution*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996. First overall history of Cable-Satellite Public Affairs Network (C-SPAN), the cable industry-supported service created and directed by Brian Lamb.

Lockman, Brian, and Don Seavey. *Pioneers of Cable Television: The Pennsylvania Founders of an Industry*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2005. Useful study of the late 1940s and early 1950s and why and how the first community antenna systems got started and developed.

Mullen, Megan. *The Rise of Cable Programming in the United States: Evolution or Revolution?* Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005. First attempt to trace story, this explores the relationship of cable and broadcast television programming over a half century including how business expanded after first use of satellite distribution.

Mullen, Megan. *Television in the Multichannel Age: A Brief History of Cable Television*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008. A concise survey of a now huge industry, arranged in a series of chronological chapters.

Parsons, Patrick R. *Blue Skies: A History of Cable Television*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008. First six decades of cable are definitively described and assessed in this lengthy history that melds technology with industry, programming, and economic aspects of the business. The expanding role of cable, from carrying a handful of channels to hundreds of them, is traced as is the changing complexity of policy controlling this business.

Whittemore, Hank. *CNN: The Inside Story*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1990. Chatty portrayal of people involved in and planning for CNN, as well as the early development of the news service, which first aired in June 1980.

J. Journalism Depicted in Media

A perhaps surprising number of feature films have focused upon or featured journalists, newspapers or even broadcasting operations. But journalism also figures in fiction, novels—and even art.

Apgar, Garry, et al. *The Newspaper in Art*. Spokane, WA: New Media Ventures, 1996. An impressive album reproducing more than 200 paintings (of people, scenes) where one or more newspapers figure in the image. May be only study of its type.

Barris, Alex. *Stop the Presses! The Newspaperman in American Film*. South Brunswick, NJ: A. S. Barnes, 1976. How reporters, editors, and publishers have been portrayed in feature films over time.

Berry, Thomas Elliott. *The Newspaper in the American Novel, 1900–1969*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1970. Chronological treatment explores a variety of novels.

Ehrlich, Matthew C. *Journalism in the Movies*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004. Covers many movies about the press, with two of them, *Front Page* and *Citizen Kane,* deservedly getting their own chapters.

Good, Howard. *Acquainted with the Night: The Image of Journalism in American Fiction, 1890–1930*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1986. Explores depictions of the profession in a variety of fictional contexts.

Good, Howard. *Outcasts: The Image of Journalists in Contemporary Film*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow,

1989. Author's initial book on the topic (three more follow), suggesting reporters and others don't come off well in feature motion pictures.

Good, Howard. *Girl Reporter: Gender, Journalism, and the Movies*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 1998. Reviews a classic Hollywood role that suggests that female film reporters—and possibly their real-world counterparts—are the grittiest girls around.

Good, Howard. *The Drunken Journalist: The Biography of a Film Stereotype*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2000. Analyzes stereotype of hard-drinking journalist, why it exists and how it appears to operate in motion pictures.

Good, Howard, ed. *Journalism Ethics Goes to the Movies*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008. Twelve papers on as many feature films assess ethical issues in journalism that are raised in each of them and how those issues are a part of journalism's real world.

Langman, Larry. *The Media in the Movies: An Illustrated Catalog of American Journalism Films, 1900–1996*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1997. Discusses more than 1,000 feature films that include print, radio, television, and photojournalism, though most entries deal with films about newspaper reporters. Information includes date of release, producing studio or distributor, director, screenwriter, and cast. Annotations average from several lines to half a page and are mainly plot summaries.

Ness, Richard. *From Headline Hunter to Superman: A Journalism Filmography*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1997. Brief mention of each of more than 2,100 feature films from silent era to mid-1990s that deal with journalism. Each entry includes title, studio, running time, production credits, cast, and plot summary and analysis that focus on journalism content.

Schindler, Paul E., Jr. *Journalism Movies*. http://psacot.typepad.com/ps_a_column_on_things/journalism-movies.html. More information about a host of films featuring or focusing upon journalism and journalists.

Slovick, Matt. *Journalists in the Movies*. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/local/longterm/tours/newseum/journfilms1.htm. Includes separate sections describing (in a paragraph, with one still each) films concerned with newspapers, television, and foreign correspondents.

See Underwood, Section 5-G.

K. Advertising

The literature on all aspects of advertising is huge—included here are only a few of the classic and more recent and broadly useful titles. For more of the current scene, impact on journalism, and political advertising, see Section 4-D.

Advertising Age. The Advertising Century. http://adage.com/century/index.html. Online version of a 1999 publication includes a timeline that covers nearly 300 years of ad history, and information on top advertising campaigns over the twentieth century and "top" other things such as ad jingles or slogans, and key people.

See Barnow, subsection I, above.

Duke University Libraries. *Emergence of Advertising in America*. http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/eaa. More than 9,000 images from one of the key major archives of advertising material.

Fox, Stephen. *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertising and Its Creators*. New York: Murrow, 1984 (reprinted by University of Illinois Press, 1998). Social history based heavily on primary source materials, and focusing on key individuals (copywriters, artists, managers), ad agencies and their accounts.

Goodrum, Charles, and Helen Dalrymple. *Advertising in America: The First 200 Years*. New York: Abrams, 1990. Handsomely illustrated survey arranged more by topic than chronology, naturally stressing print advertising, which is reproduced throughout.

Hower, Ralph M. *The History of an Advertising Agency: N. W. Ayer & Son at Work, 1869–1949*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949 (rev. ed.). Classic history first published in 1939

about one of the earliest and largest ad agencies and its role in shaping ad campaigns in print and later broadcast media.

Lears, Jackson. *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America*. New York: Basic Books, 1994. A serious study (with 50 pages of notes) that places changing advertising trends against what was going on in the United States at the time. Particularly good for its discussion of some main themes in advertising messages.

Marchand, Roland. *Creating the Corporate Soul: The Rise of Public Relations and Corporate Imagery in American Big Business*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998. Detailed case studies of AT&T, General Motors, General Electric, Metropolitan Life, and other firms, showing developing role of institutional advertising during the first half of the twentieth century.

McGovern, Charles F. *Sold American: Consumption and Citizenship, 1890–1945*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006. Explores growing conflict between advertisers and consumer advocates, much of it played out in newspapers and magazines. This is a study of key people and organizations (such as Consumer's Union) and persuasive themes used by both sides.

Presbrey, Frank. *The History and Development of Advertising*. New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1929 (several later reprints). Classic and still valuable history of print (mainly newspaper) advertising with hundreds of examples. Includes chapters on transit, outdoor, and early radio advertising, and assesses role of changing technology (such as halftone printing) on ad content.

See Ross and Richards, Section 7-J-1.

Samuel, Lawrence R. *Brought to You By: Postwar Television Advertising and the American Dream*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001. Covers period to the mid-1960s, demonstrating changing trends and themes in the growing amount of on-air advertising, touching on some controversies and policies of the period.

See Smulyan, subsection I-1, above.

Tungate, Mark. *Adland: A Global History of Advertising*. London: Kogan Page, 2007. A brief survey with much on British trends and those in Europe and elsewhere, centering on key people and ad agencies as well as overall trends and themes.

Wood, James Playsted. *The Story of Advertising*. New York: Ronald Press, 1958. An early and still useful narrative focused largely on print advertising with some discussion of broadcast and other forms of advertising.

L. Online Services

These titles focus on development of the relevant software applications for computers and on the Internet. For the underlying technology, see Section 3-E.

Aspray, William, and Paul E. Ceruzzi, eds. *The Internet and American Business*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008. Seventeen papers appear in sections on the Internet before its commercialization, developing an Internet business model, development of retail and dot.com online businesses, Internet transformation and selective adoption, old and new business uses, and lessons learned and future opportunities. Section 9 focuses specifically on media business.

Bourne, Charles P., and Trudi Bellardo Hahn. *A History of Online Information Services, 1963–1976*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003. Inception and initial development of things we now all take for granted, told in a detailed survey of programs, people, and companies.

Campbell-Kelly, Martin. *From Airline Reservations to Sonic the Hedgehog: A History of the Software Industry*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003. From origins of software business during 1950s to shaping of both personal and corporate software markets.

Cortada, James W. *The Digital Hand, Volume 2: How Computer Changed the Work of American Financial, Telecommunications, Media, and Entertainment Industries*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. Second of three volumes focusing on different sectors of the economy, this

one includes journalism and how computers have revolutionized news gathering, reporting, and dissemination.

Internet Society. *Histories of the Internet*. http://www.isoc.org/internet/history. An annotated collection of highly useful links to many websites.

Keirstead, Philip O. *Computers in Broadcast and Cable Newsrooms: Using Technology in Television News Production*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2005. Designed to help train students about electronic media news production techniques. Discusses what a television news producer does, what people use to produce news and how they do it, where it all comes together, gathering up stories (their audio and video parts), assembling a production team, assignment desk, computers in television control room, computer-assisted reporting, and managing a computerized newsroom.

Li, Xigen, ed. *Internet Newspapers: The Making of a Mainstream Medium*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2006. Explores the rise and growth of online newspapers as seen in 16 research papers. They assess information delivery and access of Internet newspapers, the role of an emerging medium in an interactive process, and Internet newspapers and public including their utility for news use, and contribution of net news to cyber democracy.

Owen, Bruce M. *The Internet Challenge to Television*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999. Reviews technology, economics and business, and policy factors in expansion of Internet and what threats each poses to broadcast television. Sections compare and contrast rise and key elements of both analog and digital systems, and how they may meld in coming years.

Steinbock, Dan. *The Birth of Internet Marketing Communications*. Westport, CT: Quorum, 2000. How the Internet became a commercial resource is traced, including development of websites, portals, and home pages.

Section 3

Technology

Technical literature on all media services is substantial, including historical works dating to the nineteenth century. Some of this material concerning electronic media gets quite technical indeed, being aimed primarily at engineers. Other sources center on "great men" inventors and their breakthroughs. More recently technical history has sought to place media innovations within larger social and political contexts. Noted here are some of the more useful secondary sources that include technical history as well as surveys of current media technology.

A. General Histories

These are wide-ranging sources surveying many different technologies, often over lengthy periods of time. More specialized material appears in other sections of this chapter.

Chandler, Alfred D., Jr., and James W. Cortada, eds. *A Nation Transformed by Information: How Information Has Shaped the United States from Colonial Times to the Present*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000. While this ranges back to print and the mails in the eighteenth century, study primarily focuses on electrical era since the 1830s. Includes considerable discussion of growing uses of computers in business and industry.

Dooley, Patricia L. *The Technology of Journalism: Cultural Agents, Cultural Icons*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2007. Discusses dynamics of change, quest for more news, printers and readers, electrification, visualizing news, development of digital modes, and likely future of printed news given growing Internet competition.

Fang, Irving. *A History of Mass Communication: Six Information Revolutions*. Newton, MA: Focal Press, 1997. Revolutions include those created by writing, printing, mass media, entertainment, electronic communication into households, and the Internet.

Fang, Irving. *Alphabet to Internet: Mediated Communication in Our Lives*. St. Paul, MN: Rada Press, 2007. Very broad-scale history by a longtime student of changing communication technology, ranging from writing up to digital video games, with a chapter on each over time.

Gardner, Robert, and Dennis Shortelle. *From Talking Drums to the Internet: An Encyclopedia of Communications Technology*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 1997. Some 210 entries, written (and often illustrated) for a general readership.

Lacy, Dan. *From Grunts to Gigabytes: Communications and Society*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1996. Development of communication systems from writing and printing to audiovisual revolution, and coming of computers.

Lebow, Irwin. *Information Highways and Byways: From the Telegraph to the 21st Century*. New York: Institute of Electrical and Electronic Engineers, 1995. Telegraph and telephone, radio and television, growing communication–computer symbiosis and ongoing digital revolution are all outlined.

Lubar, Steven. *Infoculture: The Smithsonian Book of Information Age Inventions*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1993. Handsome coffee table book illustrating most communication inventions and some of their applications. Designed in part as a catalog for a long-running "Information Age" display, study focuses on print, film, and electrical media innovations as well as computers and related devices.

Meadow, Charles T. *Making Connections: Communication through the Ages*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2002. Described by publisher as "a Cook's tour of communication technologies across time," this begins with writing and printing and progresses to modern scene in clear nontechnical language.

B. Printing Technology

B-1: History

See also Section 4-C for labor's reactions to technological change.

Eisenstein, Elizabeth L. *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1979 (2 vols.; reprinted as one in 1980). A classic analysis of watershed 1400s and 1500s revolution in printing technology (moveable type) in Europe. *See also* the author's shorter *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1983), which contains the essential story. Author's discussion of the rise of print culture and its interaction with and speeding effects of both Renaissance and Reformation movements is unsurpassed.

Marshall, Alan. *Changing the Word: The Printing Industry in Transition*. London: Comedia, 1983. Based on British trends and examples, this illustrated survey reviews development of and changes in printing focusing on developments in recent decades as electronic systems grew to dominance.

McMurtrie, Douglas C. *The Book: The Story of Printing & Bookmaking*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1943 (3rd ed.). A standard history with many examples, most drawn from books rather than periodicals.

Spencer, Otha C. *Staley McBrayer and the Offset News Revolution*. Commerce, TX: Texas A&M University, 1997. Brief illustrated treatment of the 1950s creation of web-offset printing and its use in suburban newspapers.

Steinberg, S. H., and John Trevitt. *Five Hundred Years of Printing*. London: British Library, 1996 (new ed.). Illustrated updating of a long-standard history of printing, which emphasizes books but reviews changing printing technology.

Thompson, John Smith. *The Mechanism of the Linotype and the History of Composing Machines*. New York: Garland, 1980. Crucial late-nineteenth-century mechanisms that allowed great expansion of newspaper print runs.

B-2: Typewriters

An essential tool used by journalists during the twentieth century, these were replaced by desktop and laptop computers—and PDAs—in the twenty-first.

Beeching, Wilfred. *A Century of Typewriters*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1974. Insightful review of its development with hundreds of photos, and chapters on different keyboard arrays, information on type styles and changing mechanics of these machines.

Bellis, Mary. *Typewriters, QWERTY, and Typing*. http://inventors.about.com/library/inventors/bltypewriter.htm. Includes discussion of keyboard design (and why it matters), various uses and many links to further information, historical and otherwise.

Bliven, Bruce, Jr. *The Wonderful Writing Machine*. New York: Random House, 1954. While more than a half century old, this remains one of best popular histories of how this vital this machine developed up through early electric typewriters.

IBM Archives. *The Typewriter*. http://www-03.ibm.com/ibm/history/exhibits/modelb/modelb_informal.html. Useful overall history plus detailed information on IBM machines, including IBM's long history of developing electric devices.

Lundmark, Torbjorn. *Quirky Qwerty: The Story of the Keyboard @ Your Fingertips*. Sydney:

University of New South Wales Press, 2002. Explains how we ended up with the current keyboard ("QWERTY" being the first six letters on the upper left side of universal English keyboards of both typewriters and computers)—and why it matters.

Polt, Richard. *The Classic Typewriter Page*. http://staff.xu.edu/~polt/typewriters/index.html. All about many types of machines manufactured, their makers, many pictures and references, plus a brief history.

Richards, G. Tilghman. *The History and Development of Typewriters*. London: Science Museum, 1964. Well-illustrated exhibit guide to steadily improving machine, including electric typewriters.

Russo, Thomas A. *Mechanical Typewriters: Their History, Value, and Legacy*. Atglen, PA: Schiffer, 2002. Designed as a collector's guide, this provides color pictures and descriptions of changes in machines over more than a century.

B-3: Graphics, Layout, and Design

Most titles dealing with these topics are textbooks.

Allen, John E. *Newspaper Designing*. New York: Harper, 1949. Combines and updates author's *Newspaper Makeup* (1936) and *The Modern Newspaper* (1940), providing a good sense of mid-century design concepts.

Ames, Steven E. *Elements of Newspaper Design*. New York: Praeger, 1989. Covers every aspect of newspaper design from typography to photography, from redesign to specifics of a design style book.

Arnold, Edmund C. *Modern Newspaper Design*. New York: Harper & Row, 1969. Updating of his *Functional Newspaper Design* (1956), this is a standard treatment including some historical background.

Baker, Nicholson, and Margaret Brentano. *The World on Sunday: Graphic Art in Joseph Pulitzer's Newspaper, 1898–1911*. New York: Bullfinch, 2005. Reproduced from bound copies in British Library collection, this illustrates many layouts and glorious use of color that will surprise those who think papers of this era were just grey type.

Barnhurst, Kevin G. *Seeing the Newspaper*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994. An informal history of changing newspaper design and use of such visual elements as photos and charts, placing those changes against broader journalism context and functions as well as general technological change.

Barnhurst, Kevin G., and John C. Nerone. *The Form of News: A History*. New York: Guilford Press, 2002. Using four historical periods, authors explore genres of presentation, including typography, space, and pictures using archival material to trace the changing "look" of newspapers from Revolutionary era to present day.

Brown, Joshua. *Beyond the Lines: Pictorial Reporting, Everyday Life, and the Crisis of Gilded Age America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002. Reviews the role and impact of wood engravings in newspapers and magazines (especially *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*) of late-nineteenth-century America, including coverage of politics, race and ethnicity, and labor's struggles.

Garcia, Mario R. *Contemporary Newspaper Design*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1993. Discusses typography, layout, photo features, sports and editorial sections, and information graphics.

Garcia, Mario R. *Newspaper Evolutions*. St. Petersburg, FL: Poynter Institute, 1997. Details the changes made in 20 newspapers around the world, showing growing use of color, modified layouts, and the like.

Harrower, Tim. *The Newspaper Designers' Handbook*. Dubuque, IA: William C. Brown, 1992. Just that, with some historical context.

Heller, Steven, and Julie Lasky. *Borrowed Design: Use and Abuse of Historical Form*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1993. Analysis of recurring themes in graphic art, especially advertising, including values of nostalgia, defining intellectual

property, art of parody, five "commandments of borrowing," and overall background and uses of typography.

Heller, Steven, and Teresa Fernandes. *Magazines inside and Out*. New York: PBC International, 1996. Arranged by type of magazine (for example, art and architecture, news and business, lifestyle, science and technology, culture) to show the latest design ideas.

Heller, Steven, and Seymour Chwast. *Graphic Style: From Victorian to Digital*. New York: Abrams, 2000 (new ed.). Traces changes in graphic thinking and layout over more than a century, reviewing newspapers and other print outlets.

Hutt, Allen. *The Changing Newspaper: Typographic Trends in Britain and America, 1622–1972*. London: Fraser, 1973 (reprinted by Sandstone Press in 1981). Useful and well-illustrated comparisons of development in both countries.

Kraus, Jerelle. *All the Art That's Fit to Print (And Some That Wasn't): Inside* The New York Times *Op-Ed Page*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009. Fascinating text and graphics assess the development of the world's pioneering op-ed page, making clear the importance of illustrations—and the frustration of internal editorial battles over their use. Focuses on 1970s and 1980s, but includes examples through the 2008 elections.

Meggs, Philip B. *Type and Image: The Language of Graphic Design*. New York: Wiley, 2002. Demonstrates elements that combine to form a design—signs, symbols, words, pictures, and supporting forms. Discusses graphic design's ability to function as language, and innovative ways that designers combine words and pictures, illustrated with case studies.

Meggs, Philip B., and Alston W. Purvis. *Meggs' History of Graphic Design*. New York: Wiley, 2005 (4th ed.). Standard history of the field and its changing technology, divided into several historical periods, and demonstrating the impact of different printing technologies as well as uses of color.

Moen, Daryl, R. *Newspaper Layout and Design*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1995 (3rd ed.). A standard text.

Silverstein, Louis. *Newspaper Design for the Times*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1990. The author was chief designer for *The New York Times* and demonstrates changes there and in four regional papers, using both text and sample pages.

Society for News Design. *Best of Newspaper Design*. Beverly, MA: Rockport, 1980–present (annual). Featuring work selected by a panel of judges from thousands of international publication entries, this annual survey provides a good record of excellence in journalistic design. Layouts feature best in news, features, portfolios, visuals, and more. Each entry is accompanied by commentary on elements that made example pieces standout winners.

C. Photography and Film

For current photojournalism, see Section 4-F-3.

C-1: Photographic History

This topic has generated a huge literature that is only briefly indicated here.

Barger, Susan, and William White. *The Daguerreotype: Nineteenth Century Technology and Modern Science*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991. Reviews development of the pre-photography technology in mid-nineteenth-century America, its many uses and its important limitations.

Coe, Brian. *Cameras from Daguerreotypes to Instant Pictures*. New York: Crown, 1978. Clear diagrams—many printed in color—supplement a history of analog equipment and processes. Chapters cover early apparatus, folding stand cameras, hand plate cameras, early roll-film cameras, the 35mm camera, small and miniature cameras, reflex cameras, twin-lens and stereo cameras, panoramic cameras, and lenses, shutters, exposure meters, and flash equipment.

Digicam, *History of Cameras*. http://www.digicamhistory.com. Extensively illustrated and very

detailed chronological history covering all types of cameras and, toward the end, focusing on digital cameras, with numerous links to additional sites.

Jenkins, Reese V. *Images & Enterprise: Technology and the American Photographic Industry, 1839 to 1925*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975. Divides story into major technical eras: Daguerreotypes (to 1855), collodion technology (1855–80), gelatin plate systems (1880–95), amateur roll film systems (1895 to 1909), and silent cinematography (1909–25).

Mees, C. E. Kenneth. *From Dry Plates to Ektachrome Film: A Story of Photographic Research*. New York: Ziff-Davis, 1961. Based heavily on author's half-century career with Kodak, this is a broad survey of early-twentieth-century research developments concerning different applications of photographic methods.

C-2: Film Technology History

This literature is slowly growing—most writing on film technology concerns the "here and now" in how-to form.

Barclay, Stephen. *Motion Picture Image: From Film to Digital*. Woburn, MA: Focal Press, 2000. Details the production process through postproduction, reviewing current equipment and approaches including high-definition television.

Enticknap, Leo. *Moving Image Technology: From Zoetrope to Digital*. New York: Wallflower Press, 2005. A history and theory of moving image film, video, sound recording, and allied technologies as well as a discussion of impacts of new and emerging media technologies, including e-cinema and digital video. Chapters discuss film, cinematography and film formats, color, sound, cinema exhibition, television and video, and archival preservation and restoration.

Fielding, Raymond, ed. *A Technological History of Motion Pictures and Television*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967. Collects 28 documented historical papers on motion picture technology and four on television, reprinted from issues of *SMPTE Journal*.

Haines, Richard W. *Technicolor Movies: The History of Dye Transfer Printing*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1993. History of different types of color film and their early applications.

Macgowan, Kenneth. *Behind the Screen: The History and Technology of the Motion Picture*. New York: Delacorte Press, 1965. Insightful analysis to about 1930, and then more episodic treatment of film history with strong emphasis on development of underlying technologies. Useful especially for silent film era and early development of sound techniques.

McGee, Marty. *Encyclopedia of Motion Picture Sound*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2001. Entries on people, systems and processes, specific films, manufacturers, and sound technicians from 1920s to the present.

Raimondo-Souto, H. Mario. *Motion Picture Photography: A History, 1891–1960*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2007. Relates development of equipment and the process of shooting films: early cameras and their lenses, first studios, film processing, initial color formats, development of mobile camera, silent newsreels, cameramen on location, motion picture laboratories, impact of sound as well as developments in lighting and special effects, film during World War II, and rise of wide-screen and 3-D film techniques during 1950s—in all up to when color became industry standard.

Schoenherr, Steven E. *Motion Picture Sound*. http://history.sandiego.edu/GEN/recording/motionpicture1.html. Three-part website (up to 1929, 1930–89, and 1990–2000) with extensive information on origin and development of motion picture sound systems. Incorporates many links to other sites.

D. Electrical/Electronic Technologies

D-1: Surveys

Most historical overviews of electrical technologies take a biographical approach centering on key inventors and innovators.

Bray, John. *Innovation and the Communications Revolution: From the Victorian Pioneers to*

Broadband Internet. London: Institution of Electrical Engineers, 2002. Reviews key people and innovations on both sides of Atlantic from era of telegraphy to Internet, well illustrated with diagrams and photos.

Burns, Russell W. *Communications: An International History of the Formative Years*. London: Institution of Electrical Engineers, 2004. Development of electrical and electronic communications from telegraph to the rise of black-and-white television in the late 1930s, so relating about a century of development. This important study includes both point-to-point and mass communication technology.

Chandler, Alfred D., Jr. *Inventing the Electronic Century: The Epic Story of the Consumer Electronics and Computer Industries*. New York: The Free Press, 2001. Surveys expansion across many nations of both industries, especially tracing the story in the United States. and Japan with some reference to Europe as well.

Inglis, Andrew F. *Behind the Tube: A History of Broadcasting Technology and Business*. Stoneham, MA: Focal Press, 1990. Topic-by-topic approach to technical history is useful, though with something of an RCA bias; the business history is less insightful.

D-2: Facsimile

Hills, Lee, and Timothy J. Sullivan. *Facsimile*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1949. Two newspaper facsimile editors detail developments to that point and offer many case studies of what then appeared to be a technology on the verge of wide-spread adoption.

McConnell, Kenneth R., et al. *Fax: Facsimile Technology and Systems*. Dedham, MA: Artech House, 1999. Includes fairly detailed history in its second chapter, and more on current systems ("group 3" standards).

Rensen, Marius. *History and Development of Facsimile*. http://www.hffax.de/history/index.html. Extensive site making clear in timeline and other sections many generations of fax machine from the early-nineteenth-century innovations to equipment used today.

D-3: Telegraph and Telephone

Nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century literature on the telegraph and telephone is immense. Included here is a selection of the more useful modern history material. Both devices proved vital to journalism, and the telephone (now usually in its mobile form) still is. For news agency use of telegraphy and telegraph cables, see Section 2-D.

Ahvenainen, Jorma. *The Far Eastern Telegraphs: The History of Telegraphic Communications between the Far East, Europe, and America before the First World War*. Helskinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1981. An important study, this focuses on Danish Great Northern and British Eastern companies, mainly on business and politics, including use of telegraph cables for transmission of news.

Blondheim, Menaham. *News over the Wires: The Telegraph and the Flow of Public Information in America, 1844–1897*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994. An important study, this provides a history of news wire services (mainly Associated Press of New York and its relationship with Western Union) focusing on effects of its technology on speed and content of news reporting.

Boettinger, H. M. *The Telephone Book: Bell, Watson, Vail and American Life, 1876–1983*. Croton-on-Hudson, NY: Riverwood Publishers, 1977; New York: Stearn Publishers, 1983 (2nd ed.). Lavish pictorial history (much in color) of people (especially Bell and his assistant, plus early AT&T chief Theodore Vail) and appliances of telephony, especially those of AT&T.

Bowers, Raymond, et al., eds. *Communications for a Mobile Society: An Assessment of New Technology*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1978. One historical paper; remaining 15 papers now form a useful historical record of early mobile communication development globally and its many early applications.

Calvert, James B. *Telegraph: History of Telecommunications and Related Matters*. http://mysite.du.edu/~jcalvert/tel/telhom.htm1. Offers very extensive historical descriptions and analysis

of telegraphy and equipment that made it possible, with many links to further details.

Casle, John. *Telegraph-History*. http://www.telegraph-history.org. Primarily articles that first appeared in "Key and Telegraph" column of *The AWA Journal* (a quarterly published by the Antique Wireless Association), these web versions have been expanded to include additional information, images and illustrations. Other articles include original works by telegraph pioneers, engineers, and inventors.

Coates, Vary T., and Bernard S. Finn. *A Retrospective Technology Assessment: Submarine Telegraphy—The Transatlantic Cable of 1866*. San Francisco: San Francisco Press, 1979. Unique and insightful analysis of numerous and varied impacts (on journalism, diplomacy, business)—not all of them predicted—of initial successful trans-Atlantic telegraph cable, based on careful analysis of many contemporary resources.

Fischer, Claude S. *America Calling: A Social History of the Telephone to 1940*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992. Important analysis of how telephone technology impacted American life before World War II, told through analysis of contemporary literature and studies of several California communities.

Garard, Garry A. *Cellular Communications: Worldwide Market Development*. Norwood, MA: Artech, 1998. Considerable historic background is provided here on radio before cellular, development of cellular and its trial systems, initial development of cellular in Europe, development of GSM digital standard, and digital developments (including PCS) in the United States.

Israel, Paul. *From Machine Shop to Industrial Laboratory: Telegraphy and the Changing Context of American Invention, 1830–1920*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992. Unique study exploring relationship of research and telegraphy—and how the former became more corporate over time.

Kieve, Jeffrey. *The Electric Telegraph in the U.K.: A Social and Economic History*. Newton Abbot, England / New York: Barnes & Noble, 1973. Best modern history that, despite its subtitle, includes technical development of the telegraphy system as well.

Lubrano, Annteresa. *The Telegraph: How Technological Innovation Caused Social Change*. New York: Garland, 1997. Based on a dissertation, this reviews telegraphy's impact on formal organizations, politics, culture, social stratification, law, nationalism—and on processes of news reporting.

Pool, Ithiel de Sola, ed. *The Social Impact of the Telephone*. Cambridge: MIT Press "Bicentennial Studies," 1977. Twenty-one original papers from a two-day seminar at MIT, these range over telephone's technology and its cultural impact during its first century of usage.

Pool, Ithiel de Sola. *Forecasting the Telephone: A Retrospective Technology Assessment of the Telephone*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1983. Reviews and assesses forecasts of telephone's future applications and impact made from 1876 through the eve of World War II in 1940.

Standage, Tom. *The Victorian Internet: The Remarkable Story of the Telegraph and the Nineteenth Century's On-Line Pioneers*. New York: Walker, 1998. A popular and readable history of telegraphy in Britain and America and its impact, described as an early version of the Internet.

U.S. Congress, Office of Technology Assessment. *Wireless Technologies and the National Information Infrastructure*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1995. One of best surveys to that point of development and status of various technologies and their application, with emphasis on policy concerns and options.

Wasserman, Neil H. *From Invention to Innovation: Long-Distance Telephone Transmission at the Turn of the Century*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985. Study of the application of "loading coils" in early long-distance voice transmission—and their effect on telephony's increasingly effective application.

Young, Peter. *Person to Person: The International Impact of the Telephone.* Cambridge, England: Granta Editions, 1991. An informal journalistic social history of telephony and its varied effects around the world, arranged in approximate chronological fashion. Published with some support from British Telecom.

D-4: Radio

This is another growing literature, generally melding biography and technology.

Aitken, Hugh G. J. *The Continuous Wave: Technology and American Radio, 1900–1932.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985. Pathbreaking study focuses on American developments: Fessenden's alternator transmitter, Elwell's arc transmitter, de Forest's Audion vacuum tube, radio and cables and national interest, development of RCA (three chapters), and expansion of the radio business based on vacuum tube technology during the 1920s.

Douglas, Susan J. *Inventing American Broadcasting, 1899–1922.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987. Readable yet scholarly analysis of how a combination of technological innovation, institutional development, and both visions and business realities led to the radio broadcasting business by the early 1920s. Chapters focus on Marconi as inventor-hero, various inventors' struggles for technical distinction, wireless telegraphy in the U.S. Navy, ups and downs of wireless as a business, the important role of amateur operators prior to World War I, initial radio regulation, growing military and corporate control, and social constructions of broadcasting.

Federal Communications Commission. *The Ideas That Made Radio Possible.* http://www.fcc.gov/omd/history/radio/ideas.html. Online exhibition by the Federal Communications Commission on radio's technical history with audio and visual elements.

See Slotten, Section 8-D.

See White, Section 2-I-1.

D-5: Television

Here again, the literature tends to meld biography and technology.

Abramson, Albert. *The History of Television, 1880 to 1941.* Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1987. Valuable overall source for pre-war development of American and world television. Useful for specifics on inventors and patents as well as general trends in technical development of both mechanical and electronic systems. *See* next entry and also Burns, below.

Abramson, Albert. *The History of Television, 1942 to 2000.* Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2002. Continuation of the study above, this ranges over black-and-white and color systems, development of television recording, transmission and studio equipment, and consumer receivers.

Bellamy, Robert V., Jr., and James R. Walker, eds. *The Remote Control in the New Age of Television.* Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993. Sixteen research papers discuss development of the remote device, individual use, group viewing, and its impact on the television industry.

Bellamy, Robert V., Jr. *Television and the Remote Control: Grazing on a Vast Wasteland.* New York: Guilford, 1996. A more integrated (than the entry immediately above) assessment of remote control development and its many implications.

Brinkley, Joel. *Defining Vision: The Battle for the Future of Television.* New York: Harcourt Brace, 1997. A *New York Times* reporter reviews the on-again, off-again, history of eventual American digital HDTV standard. Very useful record of people and organizations, which shows considerable insight on the changing strategies of key stakeholders during the transition from analog to digital systems.

Burns, R. W. *Television: An International History.* London: Institute of Electrical Engineers, 1997. Discusses developments up to 1940 in the United States, Britain, Germany, and France. This is a definitive treatment of this pioneering era, providing comparisons of developments in different countries

(chiefly Britain and the U.S., but with discussion of France, Germany, Japan, and the Soviet Union as well) in text and tables. *See also* Abramson, above.

Cremer, Charles F., et al. *ENG: Television News*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1996 (3rd ed.). Updates book first published in 1981, which includes discussion of the expanding use of computers in newsrooms, digital editing and news and developing information superhighway.

Dupagne, Michel, and Peter B. Seel. *High-Definition Television: A Global Perspective*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1998. First extensive scholarly assessment of global HDTV development and prospects, including both analog and digital systems. Chapters review technical and then policy developments in the United States, Japan, and Europe.

Federal Communications Commission. *Historical Periods in Television Technology*. http://www.fcc.gov/omd/history/tv. An extensive online exhibition from the Federal Communications Commission.

Fisher, David E., and Marshall Jon Fisher. *Tube: The Invention of Televison*. Washington, DC: Counterpoint, 1996. One of a series of popular histories funded by Sloan Foundation, this is a useful modern survey of television that must be used carefully on some matters of detail. Other than a final section on recent developments (such as HDTV), this is largely a pre-1940 story of the trend from mechanical to electronic systems.

Genova, Tom. *Television History—The First 75 Years*. http://www.tvhistory.tv. An extensive online exhibition of the changing television receiver over time, from experimental mechanical models to high-definition sets, and including those from a variety of countries. Also includes time lines, early advertising, and access to content of early television books and articles.

Howett, Dicky. *Television Innovations: 50 Technological Developments—A Personal Selection*. Tiverton, England: Kelly Books Limited, 2006. Provides something quite different—one authority's assessment of the 50 most important innovations in television. It illustrates with photos and diagrams) and places in context a variety of camera, sound, lighting, and other related innovations, arranged by type of device.

D-6: Recording

Once perfected, means of recording audio and later video became central in electronic news media.

British Broadcasting Corporation. *History of Magnetic Recording*. http://www.bbc.co.uk/dna/h2g2/A3224936. A site with good information and extensive links to numerous related, relevant sites.

Daniel, Eric D., et al., eds. *Magnetic Recording: The First 100 Years*. New York: IEEE Press, 1999. An important historical anthology traces the development of watershed products and technical breakthroughs, including discussion of recording of sound, early devices, audio and video recording methods, and magnetic storage.

Dobrow, Julia R., ed. *Social and Cultural Aspects of VCR Use*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1990. Eleven research papers including discussion of a historical perspective of VCR use, audience measurement of VCR use, VCR libraries, use of VCRs to time-shift and re-view programs, and camcorders and the personalization of television.

Ganley, Gladys E., and Oswald H. Ganley. *Global Political Fallout: The First Decade of the VCR, 1976–1985*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1987. Development and expansion of VCR use, government concerns about uses of VCRs, efforts to control or limit VCR expansion, and implications of that use.

Hoover, Cynthia A. *Music Machines—American Style*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1971. Based on a museum exhibition, this illustrates nineteenth-century mechanical and electrical devices including phonographs, acoustic and electric recordings, impact of radio, movies and music, music jukebox, high fidelity, and electronic instruments.

Marlow, Eugene, and Eugene Secunda. *Shifting Time and Space: The Story of Videotape*. New York: Praeger, 1991. First book devoted to this topic, including discussion of videotape's impact on advertising, programs, and home consumer market.

Morton, David L., Jr. *Sound Recording: The Life Story of a Technology*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2004. Ranges from the mid-nineteenth to early twenty-first century: birth of recording ideas and crude technologies, commercial debut of commercial devices, introduction of discs (rather than more cumbersome cylinders), roles of recording in business world, phonograph's heyday, talking movies, records and radio, recording in World War II, hi-fi trends and development of tape recording, mobile sound, the changing role of record companies, and online future of music listening.

Nwungwun, Aaron Foisi. *Video Recording Technology: Its Impact on Media and Home Entertainment*. Stoneham, MA: Focal Press, 1990. Details multination rise of audio and then video recording system technologies.

D-7: Satellites

Satellite communication, first theorized by Arthur C. Clarke in a 1945 article, was a technology developed (and paid for) by the military that quickly expanded into civilian use.

Butrica, Andrew J., ed. *Beyond the Ionosphere: Fifty Years of Satellite Communication*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office (NASA History Office, "The NASA History Series," NASA SP-4217), 1997. Twenty-two detailed chapters by as many contributors divided into sections on passive military satellite origins, military and commercial developments in the United States. and Canada, European satellite, developing world's satellite system, and applications—an important collection. Also available online at http://history.nasa.gov/SP-4217/contents.htm.

Hudson, Heather E. *Communication Satellites: Their Development and Impact*. New York: The Free Press, 1990. Useful combination of history, technological description, and review of the impact of both domestic and international satellites.

Martin, Donald H., et al. *Communication Satellites*. San Diego, CA: Aerospace Press, 2006 (5th ed.). Careful record of both commercial and military communications satellites, providing full details and specifications for satellites launched by all countries, including coverage maps and often diagrams of satellites themselves. Regularly updated.

Pelton, Joseph N., et al., eds. *Communication Satellites: Global Change Agents*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2004. Discusses technology (three chapters on their evolution, various services, and launch vehicles); history and politics (three chapters on geopolitics and institutions, regulatory issues, and the push–pull between military and civil satellite programs); business, media and economics (role of satellites with Internet and IP networking, benefits of satellite telecommunications, and news and sports as well as entertainment by satellite); impact on society (new opportunities in the twenty-first century, promise of tele-education and telehealth, and satellites and global diversity); future trends (one chapter); and synthesis and conclusions.

Rees, David W. E. *Satellite Communications: The First Quarter Century of Service*. New York: Wiley Interscience, 1990. One of first books to historically survey Intelsat and other global satellite organizations. Chapters discuss needs, international organizations as service providers, international satellite system competitors, international services, business applications, broadcasting applications, mobile services, national telecommunications via domestic satellites, and a future view.

Whalen, David J. *The Origins of Satellite Communications, 1945–1965*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Press, 2002. Along with Butricia, above, this is the second of the most important historical works. This focuses on the changing relationship between military and civilian manufacturers of space technology, and policy debate about military or civilian control of space research in the United States.

Wood, James. *Satellite Communications & DBS Systems*. Oxford, England: Focal Press, 1992. Describes changing technologies in chapters on history, television transmission systems, high-definition television, DBS, propagation of satellite signals, domestic reception of DBS signals, satellite

television as a mass medium, European efforts, and potential fiber optic competition.

E. Converging Media Technologies

For development of applications of these technologies, see Section 2-L.

E-1: Surveys

Bagdikian, Ben H. *The Information Machines: Their Impact on Men and the Media*. New York: Harper & Row, 1971. One of more thoughtful journalists of his time assesses the projected impact of changing technology on traditional print and broadcast news media. While some of the analysis is economic and organizational, the root of the volume concerns expanding technological options including an appendix projecting what would be available. Useful today for a sense of what was expected decades ago.

Dodds, Philip V. W., ed. *Digital Multimedia Cross-Industry Guide*. Newton, MA: Focal, 1995. Institutions' approach to how expanding use of digital technology is impacting all aspects of media entities. Each chapter assesses a different segment with a brief history, legal issues, and how each may develop. Useful snapshot of media on the eve of Internet development, which changed everything.

Grant, August, et al., eds. *Communication Technology Update*. Newton, MA: Focal Press, 1992–present, issued roughly every other year. Useful and concise survey, regularly revised, with more than 30 chapters including a dozen on various electronic media, and as many on telecommunication services.

Jones, Steve, ed. *Encyclopedia of New Media: An Essential Reference to Communication and Technology*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2003. Some 250 entries range from a column to several pages and include cyberculture, legal topics, networks and networking, key people, social issues, and many specific technologies. Includes applications in business and commerce, art, and music.

Koch, Tom. *The Message Is the Medium: Online All The Time for Everyone*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1996. A very early view of the commercial Internet and its likely impact.

Martin, Shannon E., and Kathleen Hansen. *Newspapers of Record in a Digital Age: From Hot Type to Hot Link*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998. Focuses on traditional uses of newspapers by those who use the "newspaper of record" concept, and compares traditional to online newspapers as "records." After a historical review, examines legal and archival uses for newspapers, offers case studies of online newspaper production, and concludes with suggestions for future scholarly, legal, and industry focus on the newspaper of record concept.

Rolls, Albert. *New Media*. New York: Wilson "Reference Shelf" 78:2, 2006. Collection of brief articles and graphics providing a survey of popular press views.

Shedden, David. *New Media Timeline*. http://alpha.poynter.org/content/content_view.asp?id=75953&sid=26. Extensive Poynter Institute year-by-year timeline of media developments and new technologies and their applications, from 1969 to the present.

Willis, Jim. *The Age of Multimedia and Turbonews*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994. On the eve of the commercial Internet's introduction, this surveys electronic publishing, interactive television, multimedia, and the impacts of each on journalism.

E-2: Computer

Computer history has a rapidly growing literature, and only a selection of the better material is included here.

Akera, Atsushi, and Frederik Nebeker, eds. *From 0 to 1: An Authoritative History of Modern Computing*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002. Fifteen original papers appear in sections about machines, software, and computer industry. Appendices review history of computer literature, archives, oral history, and artifact collections.

Campbell-Kelly, Martin, and William Aspray. *Computer: A History of the Information Machine*. New York: HarperCollins, 1996. A readable study

by two authorities, this a Sloan Foundation technology history and appears in four parts: before computer, creating computers, innovation and expansion, and development of personal computer.

Ceruzzi, Paul. *A History of Modern Computing*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003 (2nd ed.). Standard history covering from 1945 to the early twenty-first century, focusing on work of important pioneer innovators and companies and including government's role.

Computer History Museum. *Timeline of Computer History*. http://www.computerhistory.org/timeline/?gclid=COrT3YSyypUCFQwuHgodfA0giw. This is a year-by-year tracing from 1939 with illustrations and many sidebars on people and companies.

Cortada, James W. *The Computer in the United States: From Laboratory to Market, 1930 to 1960*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1993. Development of equipment and the companies that produced them over three decades, laying the ground for eventual widespread use.

Freiberger, Paul, and Michael Swaine. *Fire in the Valley: The Making of the Personal Computer*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2000 (2nd ed.). Very readable survey of computer history that eventually focuses on the rise of Silicon Valley and the PC. It includes discussion of how improving equipment was marketed from original adopters to widespread application.

Norman, Jeremy M., ed. *From Gutenberg to the Internet: A Sourcebook on the History of Information Technology*. Novato, CA: Historyofscience.com, 2005. While ranging back to early printing, the focus of this large anthology reprinting dozens of historical documents is on the rise of computers and systems based on them. Includes a detailed timeline.

Orton, John. *The Story of Semiconductors*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004. An engineering history of core technology found in digital equipment of all kinds. Some material included here is not for beginners, but the story is well told and quite complete.

E-3: Internet

While barely a dozen years old as a consumer service, historical writing is already appearing.

Abbate, Janet. *Inventing the Internet*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999. Standard history of start-up years from DARPAnet beginnings to commercial web of the mid-1990s and since.

Dodds, Philip V. W. *Digital Multimedia Cross-Industry Guide*. Newton, MA: Focal, 1995. Interesting for its early appearance—indeed, the very year commercial Internet operations began. Reviews existing analog media and provides an early sense of digital options and their likely effects.

See Ha and Ganahl, Section 10-B.

Hafner, Katie, and Matthew Lyon. *Where Wizards Stay Up Late: The Origins of the Internet*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996. Popular narrative about key figures behind the development of the Internet in the late 1960s (ARPANET) and early 1970s, and what became the World Wide Web.

Kristula, Dave. *The History of the Internet*. http://www.davesite.com/webstation/net-history.shtml. A year-by-year timeline including a number of backbones and hosts.

Public Broadcasting Service. *Nerds 2.0.1*. http://www.pbs.org/opb/nerds2.0.1/timeline. Based on a PBS television series on the Internet, this includes many links to further information built right into its timeline.

Rayburn, Dan, and Michael Hock. *The Business of Streaming & Digital Media*. Burlington, MA: Focal, 2005. A practical guide with many case study examples of what has worked and what has not.

Tonella, Karla, comp. *Digital Media Resources* http://www.uiowa.edu/~commstud/resources/digitalmedia/index.html. A wide variety of annotated links to many resources on hypertext, cybernetics, multimedia production, news and 'zines, and more.

Tremayne, Mark, ed. *Blogging, Citizenship, and the Future of Media*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

Explores what is on the blogosphere, recognizing that it is difficult to generalize about such a huge and varied topic. Fourteen scholarly research papers cover blogging research using content analysis, examining blog use, antecedents, and consequences and the likely impact of blogging on journalism.

Zakon, Robert Hobbes. *Hobbes' Internet Timeline*. http://www.zakon.org/robert/internet/timeline. Very detailed and often updated.

E-4: Other Systems

Some of these were short lived; other studies provide integrative analyses of multiple services.

Bretz, Rudy, with Michael Schmidbauer. *Media for Interactive Communication*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1983. Still useful early study includes applications of audio and video systems, alphameric systems, data response, teletext and videotex, and developments to come.

Cook, Mark, and Mike Brown. *Teletext Then and Now*. http://teletext.mb21.co.uk/timeline. Useful timeline with many links to period documents and equipment—this focuses largely on British developments.

Dholakia, Ruby Roy, et al., eds. *New Infotainment Technologies in the Home: Demand-Side Perspectives*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1996. Fourteen scholarly papers discuss forecasting demand for newer services, developing strategies for innovation and marketing, entertainment as the driver of most new consumer services, changing definitions of literacy, and case studies in introducing new electronic information services.

Hecht, Jeff. *City of Light: The Story of Fiber Optics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. Another in the Sloan Foundation–sponsored historical series, this traces the history of fiber optic technology including key innovators and technical developments as well as applications.

McLellan, Michele, and Tim Porter. *News, Improved: How America's Newsrooms Are Learning to Change*. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2007. Reports on a four-year project where newspapers experimented with substantially changing how their newsrooms worked, largely through more efficent use of technology.

Tydeman, John, et al. *Teletext and Videotex in the United States: Market Potential, Technology, Public Policy Issues*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1982. Best single survey of these technologies during the brief time when their outlook appeared bright. Includes several chapters (4 of 15) specifically devoted to wire and wireless versions of such technologies.

Section 4

Journalism Business and Process

The process of gathering, reporting, and distributing news goes unseen by most who regularly consume journalism's product. Yet the economics, structure, and ownership of news media have important impacts on that process. This chapter surveys the literature on media businesses, and then moves on to the news process (reporting, editing, etc.) itself, ways of picturing the news, and the large and complex field of broadcast and cable journalism. It concludes with the most rapidly expanding part of journalism today—online uses of blogs and other modes of news dissemination.

A. Media Industries

The study of news media as businesses and their economic aspects is a relatively recent focus of academic research, though business schools often used media entities as case studies. But media economics as a topic of focused study dates back less than a generation.

A-1: Media Economics

The growing study of media economics has spawned titles applying the methods of economics to the often confused media industry scene.

Albarran, Alan B. *Media Economics: Understanding Markets, Industries and Concepts*. Ames: Iowa State Press, 2002 (2nd ed.). Principles of media economics, electronic media, film and recording industries, print industries, and the future of media economics research. This edition added a chapter on the Internet.

Alexander, Alison, et al., eds. *Media Economics: Theory and Practice*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2003 (3rd ed.). Thirteen papers by as many academic contributors on techniques of economic and business analysis, overall characteristics of the media environment, and contemporary business practices within specific media industries, including print, electronic, movie, advertising, and online sectors. Added for this edition were chapters on advertising and both book and magazine publishing.

Hoskins, Colin, et al. *Media Economics: Applying Economics to New and Traditional Media*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2004. Sets out economic principles needed to understand media industry issues with examples drawn from the United States, Canada, Britain, and Australia. Chapters on demand and supply, markets, consumer behavior, production and cost, revenue and profit and management decisions, market structure and theory of the firm, competition and monopoly, oligopoly, pricing and market segmentation, advertising, labor markets, government intervention, and international trade.

Picard, Robert G. *The Economics of Financing of Media Companies*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2002. Survey of financial structures of various media companies, including their marketing and distribution systems using both American and European companies as examples. Discusses product life cycles, as well as outside forces such as global and local economies, interest rates, and trade barriers that impact a company's financial health.

Vogel, Harold L. *Entertainment Industry Economics: A Guide for Financial Analysis*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007 (7th ed.). About half devoted to film, broadcasting, and cable, but also including sports, performing arts, and theme parks. Regularly updated, this is the only book of its kind and is directed chiefly at potential investors.

A-2: Business of Media

Most of these titles seek to survey the business and management side of one or more media.

Albarran, Alan B., and Angel Arrese, eds. *Time and Media Markets*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2003. Eleven papers—some discussing other countries than the United States—on the many ways time is central to media operations; how media view time and make business decisions based on it; time constraints and competition among different media; quantity and quality of time spent in media consumption; audience and readership time valuation/costing/pricing; and emergence of new media businesses around individual time management.

See Albarran and Chan-Olmsted, Section 10-B.

See Artz and Kamalipour, Section 10-B.

A Complete Guide to the Industry. New York: Peter Lang, 2006 (3 vols. thus far). Very brief books covering specific sectors of the media business, including career suggestions. They are hardly "complete" but do provide a quick overview.

McDowell, Walter S. *Broadcast Television*.

Richter, William A. *Radio*.

Sumner, David E., and Shirrel Rhoades. *Magazines*.

Croteau, David, and William Hoynes. *The Business of Media: Corporate Media and the Public Interest*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press/Sage, 2006 (2nd ed.). A critique of media industry amidst change, including (among other topics) discussion of recent mergers, policy changes, continuing integration of the Internet into all media, how business strategy shapes media content, and how media influence society.

See Gershon, Section 10-B.

Kaniss, Phyllis. *Making Local News*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991. Surveys both print and electronic reporting on the market level, including commercial pressures, professional values, alternate voices to mainstream media, local government officials as sources, and a case study of the Philadelphia convention center as news.

Media Industry Series. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1996–2000 (9 vols.). Series of college texts that describe respective industries: with a brief history, review of scope and impact, survey of their core functions and processes, legal environment, and economics (advertising, etc.). Specific titles include:

Albarran, Alan B., and Gregory C. Pitts. *The Radio Broadcasting Industry*. 2000.

Daly, Charles, P., et al. *The Magazine Publishing Industry*. 1996.

Greco, Albert N. *The Book Publishing Industry*. 1996. (New York: Routledge, 2004, 2nd ed.)

Greco, Albert N., ed. *The Media and Entertainment Industries: Readings in Mass Communications*. 1999.

Hull, Geoffrey P. *The Recording Industry*. 1997. (New York: Routledge, 2004, 2nd ed.)

Litman, Barry. *The Motion Picture Mega-Industry*. 1998.

Parsons, Patrick R., and Robert M. Frieden. *The Cable and Satellite Television Industries*. Allyn & Bacon, 1997.

Picard, Robert G., and Jeffrey H. Brody. *The Newspaper Publishing Industry*. 1996.

Walker, James R., and Douglas Ferguson. *The Broadcast Television Industry*. 1998.

Media Management Center of Northwestern University. *Media Info Center*. http://www.mediainfocenter.org/index.asp. A project of the university's

business and media schools, this provides an ongoing news service for all media-related news and data with extensive links to other resources. Includes print and electronic media, audience data, management, and trends.

NewsLink. http://www.newslink.org/index.html. A ready means of linking to American and overseas media by medium, country, type of content carried, etc. Includes newspapers, magazines, and radio-television.

See Picard, Section 10-B-1.

Steinbock, Dan. *Triumph & Erosion in the American Media & Entertainment Industries*. Westport, CT: Quorum, 1995. Financial analysis of changes in American media, based on extensive work in business records and journals. Includes discussion of ownership consolidation, a review of major companies, and general trends over previous decade.

Turow, Joseph. *Media Systems in Society: Understanding Industries, Strategies and Power*. White Plains, NY: Longman, 1996 (2nd ed.). Broad sociological study reviewing how media businesses work, power roles within them, role of government, audience targeting, and their content production processes.

Veronis Suhler Stevenson. *Communication Industry Forecast and Report*. New York: Veronis Suhler Stevenson, 1985–present, annual. Useful industry assessment of the past year or so and projections for the next few years for each business sector within communications in text, charts, and tables.

A-3: Print Media

ASNE—American Association of Newspaper Editors. Reston, VA: ASNE, 1982–2004, annual. A continuation of *Problems of Journalism* (1923–81, annual), this provided an edited transcript of the association's annual convention, with a good sense of the most important newspaper concerns each year.

Broder, David S. *Behind the Front Page: A Candid Look at How the News Is Made*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987 (reissued in 2000). Though focused on political news, this work by a noted *Washington Post* journalist surveys from news rooms to various beats to show how reporters do their jobs and shape what they write.

Cose, Ellis. *The Press*. New York: Morrow, 1989. Describes, compares, and contrasts *The Washington Post,* the Times Mirror company, *The New York Times,* and the Gannett and Knight-Ridder chains of newspapers.

Ellis, L. Ethan. *Newsprint: Producers, Publishers, Political Pressures*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1960. Economic study of newsprint production, distribution, and use over a two-decade period.

See Gough-Yates, Section 10-E-1.

Hamilton, John Maxwell, and George A. Krimsky. *Hold the Press: The Inside Story on Newspapers*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996. Useful behind-the-scenes survey of how the world of newspapers worked in an era before the Internet—from reporting to the final product.

Johnson, Sammye, and Patricia Prijatel. *Magazine Publishing*. Lincolnwood, IL: NCT/Contemporary Publishing, 2000. Covers development of a magazine from concept to production, including legal issues and production.

Lacy, Stephen, and Todd F. Simon. *The Economics and Regulation of United States Newspapers*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1993. Includes chapters on newspaper demand and supply, ownership and competition, changing technology, antitrust and market regulation, and business regulation of newspapers.

Madigan, Charles M., ed. *-30- The Collapse of the Great American Newspaper*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2007. Explores many (usually cited) reasons for the decline: flight of readers (especially youth) to television and the Internet, falling ad revenue and circulation, and misplaced belief that the blogosphere can replace mainstream media. Several case studies of specific newspaper meltdowns are included. ("-30-" is traditional type "slug" meaning the end of copy for a news story.)

Meyer, Philip. *The Vanishing Newspaper: Saving Journalism in the Information Age*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2006. By describing factors that once made journalism work as a business, this provides a model that can make it work amidst changing technologies. Key points are supported with statistical assessments of quality and influence of journalism's product, as well as its effects on business success.

Thorn, William J., and Mary Pat Pfeil. *Newspaper Circulation: Marketing the News*. New York: Longman, 1987. Description of how circulation—getting papers into readers' hands—operates at most newspapers, with several illustrative case studies.

See Villard, Section 2-C.

A-4: Electronic Media

Blumenthal, Howard J., and Oliver R. Goodnough. *This Business of Television*. New York: Billboard Books, 2006 (3rd rev. ed.). Short chapters arranged in parts on distribution, regulation, audience measurement and advertising, programming, large companies, public and religious television, production, legal and business affairs, and television outside America.

Brown, James, and Quaal Ward. *Radio-Television-Cable Management*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1997 (3rd ed.). Textbook treatment of what management takes and its many sectors (technical, sales, programming, personnel) and ramifications at different types of electronic media.

Collins, Scott. *Crazy Like a Fox: The Inside Story of How Fox News Beat CNN*. New York: Portfolio/Penguin, 2004. Chatty personality-driven story of how Fox News, though formed only in 1996, rose in less than a decade to dominate 24/7 cable news, despite—or perhaps because of—its right-leaning tone. Relates who said what to whom (based on interviews with most of key figures) as cable news networks developed and jockeyed for a competitive advantage. This is largely a story of corporate strategy in an ever-tighter marketplace. *See also* next entry.

Kimmel, Daniel M. *The Fourth Network: How Fox Broke the Rules and Reinvented Television*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2004. Takes a broader approach to the Fox story than Collins (see above), dealing with the whole development of Fox Network, including but not limited to its later news operation. This is a more analytical approach to Fox's story, though written in a popular fashion. The author makes clear at the beginning that he got no cooperation from Fox, basing his findings on interviews and archival work. *See also* previous entry.

Owen, Bruce M., and Steven Wildman. *Video Economics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992. Dated but still useful as it details pre-Internet economics of network television, cable, and VCRs in terms of supply and demand and both traditional and new models of program choice. The final 100 pages focus on public policy alternatives, including public and children's TV.

B. Media Ownership and Management

Save for a few critics, the literature on media ownership is also fairly recent, much of it strong on argument but weak on data.

B-1: Ownership

Bagdikian, Ben. *The New Media Monopoly*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2004. First published in 1983, this retitled and strongly critical book helps explain why and how the number of corporations controlling most of America's daily newspapers, magazines, radio and television stations, book publishers, and movie companies (and primary online news sources) has dwindled from 50 to only a handful.

Baker, C. Edwin. *Media Concentration and Democracy: Why Ownership Matters*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007. The author argues against allowing market pressures to dictate media control, feeling that will merely lead to monopoly. He takes on the Federal Communications Commission's arguments to loosen ownership controls and finds them wanting. Some of his numbers are compelling—such as the decline in cities or towns with competing newspapers from 689 in 1910, to 181 in 1940—to only 14 by 2006 and fewer still by the end of the decade.

Barnouw, Erik, et al. *Conglomerates and the Media*. New York: The New Press, 1998. Eight papers drawn from 1996 lectures, critiquing aspects of media ownership concentration. One concern is the blunting of news because of ownership conflicts of interest, but the general tone is one of concern about, if not fear of, what is happening.

Busterna, John C., and Robert G. Picard. *Joint Operating Agreements: The Newspaper Preservation Act and Its Application*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1993. First book-length analysis of 1970 law that largely exempted newspaper owners from antitrust law; it argues that consolidation has been hastened to the detriment of service to readers.

Compaine, Benjamin M., and Douglas Gomery. *Who Owns the Media? Competition and Concentration in the Mass Media Industry*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2000 (3rd ed.). Provides a vast amount of information on media ownership in the 1990s, covering film, broadcast, cable, satellite—but also newspapers, magazines and book publishing, and motion pictures. Authors draw different conclusions and thus write separate closing chapters. *See also* second edition (Compaine, et al., Crown, 1982), which includes much more historical background.

The Failing Newspaper/Newspaper Preservation Act. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1967–69. These volumes of congressional hearings on bills to exempt newspapers from antitrust law (to allow joint operating agreements among formerly competing newspapers in the same city), a law finally enacted in 1970, provide some of most detailed economic information on the state of newspapers during the 1960s. Each reprints law review articles and other background material.

> *The Failing Newspaper Act: Hearings* [7 parts]. U.S. Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, 90th Cong., 1st Sess. 1967. Most extensive hearings, under the original negative name of the proposed law:
>
> *Newspaper Preservation Act: Hearings*. U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on the Judiciary, 90th Cong., 2nd Sess. 1968. This is the bill's name as eventually used on the final (1970) law.
>
> *The Newspaper Preservation Act: Hearings*. U.S. Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, 91st Cong., 1st Sess. 1969.

Klinenberg, Eric. *Fighting for Air: The Battle to Control America's Media*. New York: Metropolitan Books/Holt, 2007. Argues strongly against the ongoing trend toward media consolidation, and the steady disappearance of local programming, including news and public affairs.

Kunz, William M. *Culture Conglomerates: Consolidation in the Motion Picture and Television Industries*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008. Critical survey arguing too much consolidation has been allowed. Chapters review trends in film, broadcast television, and cable and satellite businesses, making clear the author's views on why concerns about ownership matter.

McCord, Richard. *The Chain Gang: One Newspaper Versus the Gannett Empire*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1996. Account of two battles waged by the author with his independent newspapers against the Gannett Company. In Santa Fe, New Mexico, a small weekly he started had to fight for survival against Gannett, and in Green Bay, Wisconsin, he again waged war against Gannett. His experiences provide a real-life account of the struggle for an independent voice in face of corporate competition.

Noam, Eli. *Media Ownership and Concentration in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009. Surveys media concentration, covering everything from early media holdings of Benjamin Franklin to the modern-day cellular phone industry, using a wealth of current data about media outlets, including radio, television, music, print, and publishing, but also discussing ownership and concentration in the information technology sector (computers and software), and telecommunications industry (long-distance and local phone services, and mobile phone services).

Picard, Robert G., et al. *Press Concentration and Monopoly: New Perspectives on Newspaper Ownership and Operation*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing, 1988. Reports results of multiple studies of practices and economics of American papers,

presented with concern over preserving multiplicity of opinions available to the public as chain ownership increases.

Rice, Ronald E. *Media Ownership: Research and Regulation*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 2008. Offers 18 research papers that cover topic in five parts: public interest issues; historical and political issues (including how six firms have come to dominate media); ownership and influence; regulatory and legal matters; and ethical and access concerns including the role of competitive newer media.

Thomas, Pradip N., and Zaharom Nain. *Who Owns the Media? Global Trends and Local Resistance*. London: Zed, 2005. Focuses on both local and international forces behind the control of media. Critiques international capital, but acknowledges bargains struck between local operators and transnational firms. Demonstrates the misfit between media ownership and public accountability.

B-2: Management

Albarron, Alan B., et al., eds. *Handbook of Media Management and Economics*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2006. Collection of 30 scholarly papers on most economic aspects of American mass media industries. Papers discuss, among other topics, historical trends and patterns in media management research and media economics, paradigms and analytical frameworks in media economics, and regulatory and political influences on media management. Includes human relations and strategic management, finance, media project management, transnational media, changing technology, sector-specific management concerns, media competition and consolidation, programming economics, and distribution economics.

Aris, Annet, and Jacques Bughin. *Managing Media Companies: Harnessing Creative Value*. New York: Wiley, 2005. In-depth study of strategies and management practices of leading media companies as well as the core competences media companies need to have to win in the changing media marketplace. Using European company examples, the book is focused on applicability and long-standing best practices with innovative approaches.

Herrick, Dennis F. *Media Management in the Age of Giants: Business Dynamics of Journalism*. Ames: Iowa State Press, 2003. Chapters review media firm responsibilities, preparing for a management post, motivation and work force, qualities of leadership and management, decision-making, media ethics and law, operations and structures of news media companies, budgeting and financial management, sales and marketing analysis, consolidation and convergence, entrepreneurship, and changing technology as a creator of newer media competitors.

Killebrew, Kenneth C. *Managing Media Convergence: Pathways to Journalistic Cooperation*. Ames, IA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005. Reviews how media corporations can manage convergence of print, broadcast, and online technologies, including globalization, technological innovation, management theory, government regulation, and corporate ownership, while attempting to offer some specifics about how to manage "creative" newsroom personnel who are resistant to change.

Küng-Shankleman, Lucy. *Inside the BBC and CNN: Managing Media Organizations*. London: Routledge, 2000. Based on interviews and internal documents, this study looks into two quite different organizations, focusing on BBC as it entered a more competitive marketplace and CNN's quite different corporate ethos. BBC culture comes across as layered and complex (and unhappy) compared to the more open CNN operation.

Lacy, Stephen, et al. *Media Management: A Casebook Approach*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2007 (4th ed.). Ten categories of management issues (such as leadership, motivation, planning, marketing, and strategic management) with several cases provided for each.

Pringle, Peter K., and Michael F. Starr. *Electronic Media Management*. Boston: Focal Press, 2006 (5th ed.). Discusses the Internet and convergence, purchase of stations and systems, and public radio-television stations, regulation and policies, case studies, management theory, audience analysis, broadcast promotion, and marketing.

Wicks, Jan LeBlank. *Media Management: A Casebook Approach*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence

Erlbaum, 2004 (3rd ed.). Chapters—each with several cases—discuss managerial decision-making, leadership and work force, motivation, media organizations, regulation and self-regulation, planning and market analysis, and budgeting.

C. Journalism Unions and Labor

Given the importance of organized labor in media, especially as a part of urban newspaper union strife, there is not much book-length material about the topic. There are numerous studies of motion picture and entertainment media unions that are not covered here. For journalistic coverage of labor and unions across all fields of employment, see Section 5-L.

Cowie, Jefferson. *Capital Moves: RCA's Seventy-Year Quest for Cheap Labor*. New York: New Press, 2000 (updated ed.). Study of the consumer electronics manufacturer's labor policies, focusing on its employment and union role in Bloomington, Indiana, and Ciudad Juarez in Mexico, across the Texas border. This is a story of migration from the industrial centers of the Northeast to the rural communities of the Midwest and South, and then outside the country—one aspect of globalization.

Dertouzos, James N., and Timothy H. Quinn. *Bargaining Responses to the Technology Revolution: The Case of the Newspaper Industry*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 1985. This econometric study based on information from 400 papers concludes that unions were not a barrier to adoption of new equipment and systems and that adjustments came with a minimum of economic pain to workers.

Holtzberg-Call, Maggie. *The Lost World of Craft Printer*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992. Explores change from use of hot to cold type and its many ramifications for printers and publications—and employment.

Keil, Thomas J. *On Strike: Capital Cities and the Wilkes Barre Newspaper Unions*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1988. Case study of a long multiunion strike in a Pennsylvania town, and some of its impacts.

Kelber, Harry, and Carl Schlesinger. *Union Printers and Controlled Automation*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1967. Describes the development and impact of the Linotype machine and its effect on unions and automation with a history of the 114-day newspaper strike in New York in the early 1960s that killed a number of dailies. Includes 24 pages of photographs illustrating each typesetting process from Gutenberg to cathode-ray imaging tube.

Koenig, Allen E., ed. *Broadcasting and Bargaining: Labor Relations in Radio and Television*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970. Collects 17 papers on the craft, performers, technical unions, federal arbitration activities, particular problem areas, and the unions' likely future as then perceived.

Leab, Daniel J. *A Union of Individuals: The Formation of the American Newspaper Guild, 1933–1936*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970. Covers the difficulties of unionizing writers and other journalists during Roosevelt's New Deal.

Lipset, Seymour Martin, et al. *Union Democracy: The Internal Politics of the International Typographical Union*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1956. One of the very few such analyses of media-related union leadership and politics.

Marjoribanks, Timothy. *News Corporation, Technology and the Workplace: Global Strategies, Local Change*. London: Cambridge University Press, 2000. Assesses technological innovations and workplace restructuring carried out by Rupert Murdoch's News Corp. with its newspapers in Britain (and their shift from Fleet Street to Wapping as part of a labor face-off), the United States, and Australia. The study reveals that existing social relations in a particular location have a major impact on workplace reforms.

Mooney, Jack. *Printers in Appalachia: The International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America 1907–1967*. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press "Working Class Culture Series," 1993. Chronology of six decades of International Printing Pressmen & Assistants' Union.

Rumble, Walter. *The Swifts: Printers in the Age of Typesetting Races*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003. Story of an elite group of nineteenth-century compositors (printers who set

type) who became famous by winning typesetting races. Discusses displacement of hyper-skilled typesetters by more automated printing processes; broadening of work opportunities for women as they were increasingly able to enter the printer's trade; rise of an entertainment culture; and redefinition of printer competency from primarily valuing speed to aesthetics of typographical design.

A Study of the History of the International Typographical Union, 1852–1963. Colorado Springs, CO: The Executive Council of the ITU, 1964, 1967 (2 vols.). Detailed history focusing on internal union operations and conventions.

U.S. National Labor Relations Board. *Collective Bargaining in the Newspaper Industry*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1939. Useful early study of the then relatively new Newspaper Guild, as well as several mechanical trade unions, and their conflicts within the newspaper industry during the New Deal period.

D. Advertising

The literature on all aspects of advertising is—as might be expected—huge, and only a relative handful of important reference sources are included here. For sources on advertising history, see Section 2-K; for the extensive literature on political advertising, see Section 6-F.

"Advertising Age." *Datacenter*. http://adage.com/datacenter. Includes considerable information from the standard trade weekly, including top ad agencies and their holdings, leading advertisers domestically and abroad, top 100 media companies, largest magazine publishers, and other measures.

Baker, C. Edwin. *Advertising and a Democratic Press*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994. Strong critique of the impact of advertising on news content, speaking of "structural subversion" of the journalism process by seriously distorting and diminishing the media's independent role.

Bogart, Leo. *Commercial Culture: The Media System and the Public Interest*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995. A longtime authority explores tensions between the media system and the broader public interest. He concludes that media are excessively commercial; content serves advertisers' rather than public's purpose; sensational, vulgar programming dominates; and sensationalism distorts perceptions and distracts public attention from social problems.

Jones, John Philip. *Advertising Organizations and Publications: A Resource Guide*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2000. Information on nearly 80 organizations (30 of them outside the United States), including trade groups, research organizations, academic groups, and groups that use advertising to promote their own views. Each is described in several pages.

McDonough, John, et al., eds. *Encyclopedia of Advertising*. Chicago: Fitzroy-Dearborn, 2003 (3 vols.). Perhaps the most inclusive survey of advertising history, agencies, and trends by different products, key creative people, etc. Entries range from a column or so up to several pages for major topics, and are all signed by their authors. Cross-references and further readings for each entry. Includes reference to 120 ad agencies, 52 entries on advertising in other nations, nearly 50 key people, 160 corporate advertisers, entries on market research methods and companies, and nearly 70 entries on major themes in advertising.

University of Iowa, Online Communication Studies Resources. *Advertising Resources*. http://www.uiowa.edu/~commstud/resources/advertising.html. Valuable annotated listing of a wide variety of online resources on all aspects of advertising.

E. The News Process

Over the last half century or so, researchers have looked more deeply into how news is gathered and reported, and with what effect. Often journalists themselves contribute to this research, as both observers and subjects. For the many criticisms of this process, and the resulting news that is reported, see Section 8-H.

E-1: General

Auletta, Ken. *Backstory: Inside the Business of News*. New York: Penguin, 2003. Collection of previously published essays by *The New Yorker*'s

media critic, briefly updated here. Coverage includes the role of former *New York Times* executive editor Howell Raines, New York's tabloid newspaper wars, and the role of Fox News. The author explores such issues as dangers of conglomerate ownership and public distrust of news media.

Babb, Laura Longley, ed. *Of the Press, by the Press, for the Press, and Others, Too: A Critical Study of the Inside Workings of the News Business from the News Pages, Editorials, Columns and Internal Staff Memos of* The Washington Post. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1976 (2nd ed.). Pastiche of material from the newspaper on a wide variety of issues and problems in the press of the time.

Mayer, Martin. *Making News*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1987 (reissued by Harvard Business School Press, 1993). Interweaving analyses of then recent stories such as the Tylenol contamination cases, 1984 elections, and 1989 Chernobyl nuclear disaster, this is an insider's look at print and broadcast media—how they evolved, how they function, and their influence. Discusses news media people, industry, and influence.

McClellan, Michele, and Tim Porter. *News, Improved: How America's Newsrooms Are Learning to Change*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2007. Summarizes results of four years of study by Knight Foundation–supported researchers, most of them practising journalists. Using case examples, reviews leadership, goals, newsroom culture, training and education, and business imperatives.

Overholser, Geneva, and Kathleen Hall Jamieson, eds. *The Press: Institutions of American Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005. Twenty-five original papers by as many journalists and scholars reviewing most aspects of news media in American life, including sections on the orientation of the press, functions of news media in a democracy, ambivalent relationship of the press and government, and the structure and nature of the U.S. news media.

Speck, Bruce W. *Managing the Publishing Process: An Annotated Bibliography*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1995. Hundreds of entries broken into sections on products, personnel, and other.

E-2: Reporting

The many college-level texts on reporting methods are not included here.

Alsop, Joseph, and Stewart Alsop. *The Reporter's Trade*. New York: Reynal, 1958. Two longtime fixtures of the Washington press corps describe and critique what they and others do, and perhaps remarkably, much remains the same a half century later.

Colón, Aly, and Julie Moos. *Best News Writing*. Washington, DC: CQ Press / St. Petersburg, FL: Poynter Institute, 1979–present, annual. The winners and finalists in the American Society of Newspaper Editors Award competition are reprinted. Includes all types of news reporting.

DeFleur, Margaret H. *Computer-Assisted Investigative Reporting: Development and Methodology*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1997. Offers a history of CAIR and then a series of applications, the legal status of some electronic records (and how they can be used—or not), and basic techniques of using large databases.

Goldstein, Norm. *The Associated Press Stylebook and Briefing on Media Law*. New York: Basic Books, 2007 (rev. ed.). Contains a 40-page section on media law, guides for punctuation and bibliographies, and specialized glossaries for business and sports writing, all in addition to its 280-page generalized stylebook.

Lasky, Melvin J. *The Language of Journalism*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 2000–2005 (3 vols.). An extended and quite critical discussion on how language used by journalists in their reporting is based on and reflects its cultural context.

> *Volume One: Newspaper Culture*. 2000. Covers a lot of ground: deficiencies in grammar and syntax with examples from newspapers and magazines drawn from German as well as English-language press; accuracy and authenticity; problem of bias in everything from racial reporting to cultural correctness; and competition between popular media and redefinition of pornography and its language.

Volume Two: Profanity, Obscenity and the Media. 2004. Has a long descriptive subtitle: "Being a second volume, wherein the language of journalism is examined, its splendors and miseries—including clichès and trivia, sensationalism and prurience, wit and witlessness, fiction and faction, pseudery and jabberwocky, scoops and hoaxes, racism and sexism, profanity and obscenity, virtue and reality, culture and anarchy—and the abuse of slang, style, and the habits of writing good prose."

Volume Three: Media Warfare—The Americanization of Language. 2005. Again, a long subtitle that partially explains its critical content: author argues strongly that journalism has been harmed by its use of "cliches and trivia, sensationalism and prurience, wit and witlessness, fiction and faction…scoops and hoaxes, racism and sexism, profanity and obscenity, virtue and reality, culture and anarchy—and the abuse of slang, style, and the habits of good writing prose."

Strentz, Herbert. *News Reporters and News Sources: Accomplices in Shaping and Mis-Shaping News*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1989. Assesses their relationship before stories are published and proper ways to extract information.

E-3: Editing

Most of the books on this topic are also texts and how-to guides, and are thus not covered here

After "Jimmy's World": Tightening Up in Editing. New York: National News Council, 1981. Most extensive study in the council's eight years, following up on what turned out to be a fake series in *The Washington Post,* because of which it had to return a Pulitzer Prize and fire reporter Janet Cooke. Offers a good analysis of what happened and why.

Patterson, Benton Rain, and Coleman E. P. Patterson. *The Editor-in-Chief: A Management Guide for Magazine Editors*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 2003 (2nd ed.). How to acquire, edit, and display content; planning an issue; selecting a cover; spotting legal or ethical problems; and a chapter on online magazines' special editing concerns.

Speck, Bruce W. *Editing: An Annotated Bibliography*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1991. Covers the topic broadly, from 1960 to time of publication, with nearly 650 entries. Annotations are quite detailed.

E-4: Features

Such reporting figures in both newspapers and magazines. For more on the latter, often including material on feature writing, see Section 2-E. Investigative reporting—which often leads to features, is covered in Section 5-D, while literary and narrative journalism is in Section 5-G.

Abrahamson, David, ed. *The American Magazine: Research Perspectives and Prospects*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1995. Seventeen papers review all aspects of magazine content (and other topics) including their political content, specialized business press, editorial content of selected magazines, magazine feature writing, city and regional magazines, and use of magazines to trace social trends.

Paulos, John Allen. *A Mathematician Reads the Newspaper*. New York: Basic Books, 1995. The good, bad, and ugly when it comes to using statistics and numbers in newspaper stories and features, including many short vignettes of how numbers have been used, sometimes correctly, but often not. Covers a variety of subject stories.

Weldon, Michele. *Everyman News: The Changing American Front Page*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008. Demonstrates how, and to some extent why, feature stories are taking space from breaking news in American dailies, based on a sample of 800 front pages from 20 papers in varied markets over a four-year period.

F. Picturing the News

For well over a century, newspapers have offered more than just print. This subsection assesses editorial cartoons (for the cartoonists themselves, see Section 7-E), maps in the news, photojournalism (for photojournalists, see Section 7-F), and documentary film.

F-1: Editorial Cartoons

For their history, see Section 2-F. There are many published collections of the work of individual cartoonists, and some of cartoons from specific newspapers—most of those are not included here. The emphasis below is generally broader—the work of many people, over time, to pull out themes and trends.

Cagle, Daryl. *Daryl Cagle's Professional Cartoonists Index*. http://www.cagle.com. Wide variety of current political/editorial cartooning is displayed.

Lamb, Chris. *Drawn to Extremes: The Use and Abuse of Editorial Cartoons*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004. Penetrating look at changes in the world of newspaper editorial (or political) cartooning from the pioneering days of Thomas Nast to the glory years of Herbert Block ("Herblock") of *The Washington Post* and Paul Conrad with the *Los Angeles Times,* to the all-too-timid efforts of many cartoonists today. The author takes on wimpy cartoonists, but even more their editors, fearful of offending anyone and thus rarely defending cartoonists' rights.

Somers, Paul P. *Editorial Cartooning and Caricature: A Reference Guide*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1998. Chapters assess reference materials on the history and criticism of cartooning, anthologies and reprints, reference works and periodicals and research collections in 36 states. Appendices provide a chronology, list of Pulitzer winners, etc.

Trostle, J. P. *Attack of the Political Cartoonists: Insights and Assaults from Today's Editorial Pages*. Madison, WI: Dork Storm Press, 2004. Here 150 members of the Association of American Editorial Cartoonists, whose work has appeared in most major newspapers in North America, join in this celebration of an art form. These cartoonists have won hundreds of journalism awards, including a dozen Pulitzers.

Wallis, David. *Killed Cartoons: Casualties from the War on Free Expression*. New York: Norton, 2007. Collects a variety of unpublished cartoons from many intended sources, detailing why they never appeared and thus issues of censorship in cartooning.

F-2: Maps

Though long an important aspect of newspaper journalism, there has been little research done into the use of maps.

Bosse, David, comp. *Civil War Newspaper Maps: A Cartobibliography of the Northern Daily Press*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1993. Scholarly papers discuss map makers, the developing newspaper map enterprise, map production, design and appearance, contemporary criticism, and published record and map accuracy.

Herzog, David. *Mapping the News: Case Studies in GIS and Journalism*. Redlands, CA: ESRI Press, 2003. Ten examples from a variety of newspapers showing how geographic information systems (GIS) can contribute to investigative reporting.

Monmonier, Mark. *Maps with the News: The Development of American Journalistic Cartography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989. Development and use of maps in news reporting in both print and electronic media, looking at the impact of technology as well as integration of maps with news. (*See also* the same author's *How to Lie with Maps,* University of Chicago Press, 1991.)

F-3: Photojournalism

For more on the development of photojournalism, see Section 2-G; for the professional lives of photojournalists, Section 7-F.

Adatto, Kiku. *Picture Perfect: Life in the Age of the Photo Op*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008 (updated ed.). Reviews use and misuse of photos and other images in an era of Photoshop editing and Facebook. Originally issued in 1993, the book makes many of the same points but with a variety of newer examples, including some from political campaigns, drawn from the online world.

Best of Photojournalism. Durham, NC: National Press Photographers Association, 1976–present, annual. Now published as a special issue of the NPPA's *News Photography,* this includes the best work of the previous year. For past winners, see http://bop.nppa.org/archive.html. Professionals

judge the work of their peers—this includes awards (since 2002) in categories on still photography, photo editing, websites, and work done for television news. *See also World Press Photo,* below.

Brennen, Bonnie, and Hanno Hardt, eds. *Picturing the Past: Media, History, and Photography*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1999. Ten scholarly papers explore how photojournalism shapes what we remember, and how we remember it, including many examples such as presidential deaths, the Holocaust, and other stories.

Chapnick, Howard. *Truth Needs No Ally: Inside Photojournalism*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1994. Introductory survey of the field, including development, professional responsibilities, and standards of conduct, as well as selected examples of great photographic essays. Includes roles of women and minorities in photojournalism, and reference information on workshops, awards, and grants available.

Evans, Harold. *Pictures on a Page: Photo-Journalism, Graphics and Picture Editing*. New York: Pimlico, 1997 (rev. ed.). A noted editor combines history and how-to advice in this guide to effective photojournalism techniques.

The Eyes of History. Washington, DC: White House News Photographers Association, 1975–present, annual. More than just photos of politicians or the President, this is a fairly wide-ranging work.

Horton, Brian. *Associated Press Guide to Photojournalism*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2000 (2nd ed.). Using his work and that of others, the author illustrates key factors in newsworthy photography.

Howe, Peter. *Shooting under Fire: The World of the War Photographer*. New York: Artisan, 2002. A brief history, assessing problems, horrors and highs of such work, featuring 150 sample photos by ten photographers. (*See* Section 5-B for related works.)

Lester, Paul Martin, and Susan Dente Ross, eds. *Images That Injure: Pictorial Stereotypes in the Media*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003 (2nd ed.). Ethnic, gender, age, physical, sexual orientation, and other types of stereotyping are discussed, each with examples.

Newton, Julianne H. *The Burden of Visual Truth: The Role of Photojournalism in Mediating Reality*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2001. Examines theoretical and ideological bases for visual truth, particularly as conveyed by news media, and discusses photojournalism and reality imagery in contemporary newspaper, broadcast, and Internet professional practice.

Perlmutter, David D. *Photojournalism and Foreign Policy: Icons of Outrage in International Crises*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998. Explores the interplay of news images and public press and political reaction, using case studies including the execution of a Vietcong suspect in Saigon in 1968, a protester in front of Chinese tanks in 1989, and American soldiers in Somalia in the 1990s. Author dubs these "icons of outrage" and assesses their impact.

World Press Photo. London: Thames & Hudson (publisher has varied), 1977–present, annual. Provides the results of an annual contest for the best work that began in 1955, with submissions from around the world. *See also Best of Photojournalism,* above.

F-4: Documentary Film

There is a large literature here—the few titles that follow only suggests what is available. For documentary film development, see Section 2-H.

Aitken, Ian, ed. *Encyclopedia of the Documentary Film*. London: Routledge, 2005 (3 vols.). Includes 256 entries on specific films and nearly 300 on specific individuals, ranging from 500-word treatments to longer discussions (up to 5,000 words) of more important films and filmmakers. Entries also discuss nearly 60 production companies, organizations, festivals, and institutions, and 112 entries cover documentary film traditions of various countries and regions, as well as thematic topics and theoretical issues.

Hogarth, David. *Realer Than Real: Global Directions in Documentary*. Austin: University of

Texas Press, 2006. Reveals how the documentary form has become a transnational product in terms of its business and production, its many forms of exhibition, and citizens who view films and television shows. Introduction of television coupled with more recent advances in technology have transformed the documentary from what was once an educational public service into a popular, and sometimes influential, televised commodity.

G. Broadcast Journalism

The emphasis here is on the network news divisions, different types of news programming, and how they work. What they broadcast about (as well as print media content) is the focus of Sections 5 and 6; for broadcast journalists, see Section 7-G.

G-1: General

The focus here is on broadcast network news operations.

Barrett, Marvin, et al. *The Alfred I. duPont-Columbia University Survey of Broadcast Journalism*. New York, Grosset & Dunlap, then Crowell, 1969–1980 (7 vols.). While including awards, this now discontinued series of volumes was primarily devoted to an often critical review of one or two years in radio and television journalism, topical essays, and reports about broadcast coverage of specific events or issues. While annual publication ceased, the awards are still given. Specifically:

1. *1968–1969*. Grosset & Dunlap, 1969.
2. *Year of Challenge, Year of Crisis: 1969–1970*. Grosset & Dunlap, 1970.
3. *A State of Siege: 1970–1971*. Grosset & Dunlap, 1971.
4. *The Politics of Broadcasting: 1971–1972*. Crowell, 1973.
5. *Moments of Truth? [1972–1974]*. Crowell, 1975.
6. *Rich News, Poor News [1976–1977]*. Crowell, 1978.
7. *The Eye of the Storm [1978–1979]*. Lippincott & Crowell, 1980.

Boyer, Peter J. *Who Killed CBS? The Undoing of America's Number One News Network*. New York: Random House, 1988. Best of several books about the sharp decline in quality, personnel, and budget of CBS News due to a combination of ownership changes, financial cuts, sometimes poor management, bad decisions, and other factors.

Buzenberg, Susan and Bill, eds. *Salant, CBS, and the Battle for the Soul of Broadcast Journalism: The Memoirs of Richard S. Salant*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1998. Salant headed CBS News for 16 years (most of 1963–79 period) and had begun his memoirs, here rounded out and edited after his death. This is a valuable record of network news development and management and the impact of profit on news programming.

Friendly, Fred W. *Due to Circumstances beyond Our Control*.... New York: Random House, 1967. Former head of CBS News writes compellingly about his years working with Edward R. Murrow and the changing economics of network news decision-making, ending with an indictment of network money over public service concerns. In all, a highly charged critical assessment from the inside.

Gunther, Marc. *The House That Roone Built: The Inside Story of ABC News*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1994. Explores the role of Roone Arledge, former sports producer, in turning the weak ABC news operation into a leader, including key people he hired and their coverage of major events.

Kalbfeld, Brad. *The Associated Press Broadcast News Handbook*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2000. Essentially a hands-on guide for the radio or television station newsroom.

Wenger, Debora Halpern, and Deborah Potter. *Advancing the Story: Broadcast Journalism in a Multimedia World*. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2008. Covers the basics of good television reporting practices, including the strengths of each medium, and how depth, interactivity, and immediacy play different roles as content is separated from "container."

G-2: Radio News and Talk

Here the literature can barely keep up with the plethora of radio talk shows, the vast majority of them conservative if not right-wing in tone.

Barker, David C. *Rushed to Judgment: Talk Radio, Persuasion, and American Political Behavior*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002. Focuses on the rise and role of Rush Limbaugh in an analysis of how call-in radio programs contribute (or do not) to American political discourse, given their largely right-wing bias. Radio today is compared to partisan press of nineteenth century.

Kern, Jonathan. *Sound Reporting: The NPR Guide to Audio Journalism and Production*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008. Narrates a day in the life of a host and lays out nuts and bolts of radio production, explaining the importance of writing how one speaks, how National Public Radio books guests ranging from world to neighborhood news makers, and gives advice on everything from proposing stories to editors to maintaining balance and objectivity, all with examples from popular shows and personalities.

Laufer, Peter. *Inside Talk Radio: America's Voice or Just Hot Air?* New York: Birch Lane/Carol, 1995. Combines historical review with an assessment of those on the air—and why they (and their call-in listeners) "do it." Reporter and former talk show host reviews the rise and role of many specific talkers (Stern, Imus, Limbaugh, etc.), dealing as well with those who peddle hate and sleaze, the battle between right and left political views, the difference between talk hosts and journalists, and the mechanics of getting talk shows on air.

Levin, Murray B. *Talk Radio and the American Dream*. Boston: Lexington Books, 1987. Published the year FCC's Fairness Doctrine was repealed, many of this book's conclusions regarding the political nature and influence of the radio talk show genre are both revealing and prescient. They are based on a survey of talk radio programs in the Boston area in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Munson, Wayne. *All-Talk: The Talk Show in Media Culture*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993. Survey of radio talk shows on nearly 900 stations and their television counterparts: development, how they work, and peoples' reactions to them.

Wertheimer, Linda, ed. *Listening to America: Twenty-Five Years in the Life of a Nation as Heard on National Public Radio*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1995. Includes many selections from *All Things Considered* including news, features, interviews, and debates.

G-3: Television News

Television broadcast network news has been in decline since at least the 1990s, though many local stations thrive with long newsblocks that do well with viewers and advertisers—and the literature reflects these changes. For TV news anchors, see Section 7-G-2.

Barkin, Steve M. *American Television News: The Media Marketplace and the Public Interest*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2002. Concise history of news broadcasting from radio in the 1920s to television after World War II through to the present, demonstrating how commercial interests, regulatory matters, and financial considerations have long shaped broadcasting. In the 1980s, cable news created intense competition for viewers of both national and local news.

Epstein, Edward Jay. *News from Nowhere: Television and the News*. New York: Random House, 1973 (reissued by Ivan R. Dee, 2000, with a new introduction by the author). Well-received critique of network news—how it was then organized and operated—and some of its strengths and weaknesses in an era before any discernable competition.

Hinds, Lynn Boyd. *Broadcasting the Local News: The Early Years of Pittsburgh's KDKA-TV*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995. Useful historical study of one of the early station news operations from 1949 to 1960, exploring what then shaped local news reporting, much of it based on interviews.

Kerbel, Matthew R. *If It Bleeds, It Leads: An Anatomy of Television News*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000. Former public broadcast writer takes reader minute-by-minute through two-and-one-half real hours of syndicated, local, and network information programming to uncover

what passes as news and brevity and simplicity with which stories are crafted.

Postman, Neil, and Steve Powers. *How to Watch TV News*. New York: Penguin, 2008 (rev. ed.). Fifteen years after the first edition, the authors again conclude that anyone who relies exclusively on television for accurate world news is making a big mistake. Laden with money from advertisers, "news" gluts viewers with celebrity coverage rather than what they really should know. And problems have multiplied—along with competitive power of the Internet and an abundance of cable channels.

Rosensteil, Tom, et al. *We Interrupt This Newscast: How to Improve Local News and Win Ratings, Too*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007. Argues—based on five years of research—that local television news need not rely so heavily on crime, disaster, and fires ("shake and bake") or dumbed-down news to gain and hold audiences. Chapters discuss various elements of research that back up discussion of local television news ("I-teams" and "eye candy"), myths that dominate the field (including the fallacy of the "hook and hold" method of presenting news), how to make local television news that viewers will watch, techniques for changing newsroom culture, and the likely future of local news.

G-4: Television Documentary/ Magazine Programs

Most television documentary for the past two decades has been increasingly light in tone, focusing on crime news or show business rather than the hard news focus of TV network golden age production in the 1960s and 1970s.

Blum, David. *Tick…Tick…Tick: The Long Life and Turbulent Times of* 60 Minutes. New York: HarperCollins, 2004. Somewhat superficial history of the most successful network television news program. With what was an original format when it began, the program pioneered the use of hidden cameras and "ambush" interviews at the network level, earned 68 Emmy awards in four decades, and turned its on-camera stars into household names.

Bullert, J. B. *Public Television: Politics and the Battle over Documentary Film*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997. Based largely on interviews with public TV officials, this examines factors in public television's agenda for determining and airing documentary programs. This is a study of power relationships within the system as much as a survey of what is aired—or not.

Campbell, Richard. 60 Minutes *and the News: A Mythology for Middle America*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991. Argues there are at least four frames by which most people view this program and most TV news—mystery, therapy, adventure, and arbitration. There is a chapter on each plus others on news as narrative, news and myth of individualism, and the program's search for "the center."

Einstein, Daniel. *Special Edition: A Guide to Network Television Documentary Series and Special News Reports*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1987, 1997 (2 vols.). Some 10,000 programs are recorded and described, arranged by series (nearly 200 of them) or individual program title, and noting air dates for individual episodes as well as their content. Series and special reports are listed in separate sections in both volumes. This is the definitive guide to broadcast network documentaries for the 1955–90 period (that another volume has not appeared says something about the decline of the network documentary genre). The two volumes:

1. *1955–1979*. 1987.
2. *1980–1989*. 1997.

Koppel, Ted, and K. Gibson. Nightline: *History in the Making and the Making of Television*. New York: Times Books, 1996. Longtime host of ABC late-night news interview program reviews how it developed and provides a sense of its impact.

Madsen, Axel. 60 Minutes: *The Power & The Politics of America's Most Popular TV News Show*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1984. Background of the program's rise and key personalities after 16 years, and reviews of some of its major stories.

Rosteck, Thomas. See It Now *Confronts McCarthyism: Television Documentary and the*

Politics of Representation. Tuscaloosa: University of Arizona Press, 1994. Focuses on four 1953–54 Murrow *See It Now* documentaries at CBS, all centered on the anticommunist crusade of Sen. Joseph McCarthy (R-WI).

G-5: Television Talk

Very little of this programming is news based (though Sunday morning news interview programs are among the longest-running in the medium). More programs are concerned with human interest stories of people in trouble.

Gamson, Joshua. *Freaks Talk Back: Tabloid Talk Shows and Sexual Nonconformity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998. A solid portrayal of "them" in American society as seen on tabloid talk program. Discusses how they developed and are produced, and the political issues raised.

Hirsch, Alan. *Talking Heads: Political Talk Shows and Their Star Pundits*. New York: St. Martin's, 1991. Something of a professional biography of key figures and their programs, along with comment on their role and impact.

Joyner, Patricia. *Public Intimacies: Talk Show Participants and Tell-All TV*. Creskill, NY: Hampton, 1995. Seeks reasons why some people (many types are explored) will talk about seemingly anything on television, and how the medium certifies and lends credence to those who do appear.

Kurtz, Howard. *Hot Air: All Talk, All the Time*. New York: Times/Random House, 1996. Takes on political talk shows especially, but also right-wing on-air nuts and entertaining daytime hosts to seek their appeal and potential impact.

Linder, Laura R. *Public Access Television: America's Electronic Soapbox*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1999. Chronicles the development of public access channels on American cable TV systems, and offers some practical advice to would-be users.

Timberg, Bernard M. *Television Talk: A History of the TV Talk Show*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002. Scholarly history of genre through five periods of its development, including discussion of key figures and nationally televised programs. A 100-page directory details network and syndicated programs discussed.

Tolson, Andrew, ed. *Television Talk Shows: Discourse, Performance, Spectacle*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2001. Offers eight essays applying a unified approach to television talk programs. Topics include analyzing verbal discourse, three main types of talk programs (audience participation, issue-oriented, and trash talk), and an analysis of three American, two British, and one Israeli talk program.

White, Mimi. *Tele-Advising: Therapeutic Discourse in American Television*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1992. Reviews the content and role of daytime television game and talk programs, shopping channels, and televangelism, suggesting the important role the medium has for those who appear, let alone those who watch.

G-6: Cable News and Talk

Cable, of course, has been the chief competitor that has changed (diminished) the news role of broadcast television. Cable's specialized public service networks have created the 24/7 mode of reporting of news of all kinds.

Batten, Frank, with Jeffrey L. Cruikshank. *The Weather Channel: The Improbable Rise of a Media Phenomenon*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Business School Press, 2002. Informal history of the cable network from its founding in 1982.

Beichman, Arnold, ed. *CNN's Cold War Documentary: Issues and Controversy*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution, 2000. Critical analysis of the multipart documentary history aired by the network. The collection of important articles, commentaries, and reviews about the CNN-published book and series presents material on varied sides of the debate over its content.

Frantzich, Stephen, and John Sullivan. *The C-SPAN Revolution*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996. Brief history of public affairs network,

its key people (including founder Brian Lamb), and some of its problems and controversies.

Fuller, Linda K. *Community Television in the United States: A Sourcebook on Public, Educational and Governmental Access*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1994. How community and access programming developed, with many examples of each type, and a discussion of policy and other reasons such programming has not developed to its full potential.

Robinson, Piers. *The CNN Effect: The Myth of News Media, Foreign Policy and Intervention*. New York: Routledge, 2002. Examines "CNN effect"—the saturation of viewers with nonstop, real-time news footage from foreign civil unrest, which often constitute a powerful plea for action. The book examines the relationship between government and news media, and considers the role played by the CNN effect in a series of interventions in Iraq, Somalia, Bosnia, Kosovo, and Rwanda.

Schonfeld, Reese. *Me and Ted against the World: The Unauthorized Story of the Founding of CNN*. New York: Cliff Street, 2001. Autobiographical account of the development and early operation of CNN and parallel Headline News channel as well—until the author was fired by Turner in 1982.

Whittemore, Hank. *CNN: The Inside Story*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1990. Relates the development, initial airing in mid-1980, key people behind and in front of the camera, and subsequent development of the Atlanta-based 24/7 news network that began to change the face of television journalism.

H. Online Journalism

For history, see Section 2-L; for more general discussions of the technology, see Section 3-E.

Anderson, David M., and Michael Cornfield, eds. *The Civic Web: Online Politics and Democratic Values*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003. A dozen scholarly essays concerning the role of the Internet in campaigns and governance, including such topics as online campaigns, election law, issue advocacy, civic participation, and technological imbalance (often termed a "digital divide").

Barlow, Aaron. *The Rise of the Blogosphere*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007. Discusses conception of a popular press, rise of advocacy journalism, heyday of partisan press, rise of professional journalism and press empires, domination of news by electronic media, alternative journalism, failure of American news media, movement toward public journalism, growth of discussion board and birth of blogs, 9/11 and the rise of the blogosphere, and the blog's power.

Beckett, Charlie. *SuperMedia: Saving Journalism so It Can Save the World*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008. Centers on the growing role of online networked journalism, melding efforts of both citizen and professional journalists, but not seeking to marginalize either group. Author discusses the new and still-changing media landscape, networked journalism and politics, terror and community and networked journalism, and editorial diversity and media literacy.

Boczowski, Pablo J. *Digitizing the News: Innovation in Online Newspapers*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2004. Suggests that technology itself may not be all that revolutionary. In a case study of how three newspapers established news websites, the author found that newer media seem to evolve slowly by merging with already pre-existing forms. Online versions of *The New York Times, Houston Chronicle,* and a consortium of New Jersey newspapers grapple with cyber publishing. He traces newspapers' early tinkering with computers in the 1980s to the winnowing of digital options in early 1990s, to their online activities in late 1990s.

Gant, Scott. *We're All Journalists Now: The Transformation of the Press and Reshaping of the Law in the Internet Age*. New York: The Free Press, 2007. Discusses the press and the public under the constitution, press priority, transformation of journalism, and citizen journalists' battle for equality.

Gillmor, Dan. *We the Media: Grassroots Journalism by the People, for the People*. Sebastopol, CA: O'Reilly, 2006. Describes new breed of grassroots journalists armed with laptops, cell phones, and digital cameras, who are transforming news from

a lecture into a conversation, a deep shift in how news is made and consumed.

Gunter, Barrie. *News and the Net.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2003. Broad survey of just how much digital modes are changing how news is gathered, presented, and paid for. The search for an effective new business model where audiences expect a free news product is at center of this discussion.

Küng, Lucy, et al. *The Internet and the Mass Media.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2008. Nine research papers review how web use has changed legacy media use patterns, including perspectives on the impact of the Internet on mass media industries, media technology and innovation, media content, audiences, media policy and copyright law, media organization strategies and structures, and a sector-by-sector assessment of the Internet's impact on media business models.

Li, Xigen, ed. *Internet Newspapers: The Making of a Mainstream Medium.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2006. Sixteen papers explore the first decade of Internet newspapers and both how and why they have grown, structure of an emerging medium in an interactive practice, and Internet papers and their public, mostly based on empirical data.

Perlmutter, David D. *Blog Wars.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2008. Explores how blogs—especially widely used ones—may influence political life, and are in any case becoming essential campaign tools.

Rosenberg, Howard, and Charles S. Feldman. *No Time to Think: The Menace of Media Speed and the 24-Hour News Cycle.* New York: Continuum, 2008. Reviews what is happening to American journalism because of what is sometimes dubbed the "CNN effect," the always-there nature of cable television news (let alone Internet sources) leading to massive coverage of "breaking" stories, often with more words than substance. Much that gets reported isn't correct—and there seems to be no time to think about or assess anything.

Salwen, Michael B., et al. *Online News and the Public.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2005. Provides uses and effects perspective to online news, focusing on websites of newspapers and other traditional news sources, but also reviewing search engine services and web-only publications like *Salon* and *Slate.* Studies are based on five national telephone surveys conducted in 2001–02, examining online news credibility, measures of community building at online newspaper sites, uses and gratifications of online and offline news, the displacement effect of online news on traditional news media consumption, and the use of available technologies on newspaper websites.

Wilkinson, Jeffrey S., et al. *Principles of Convergent Journalism.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2008. Designed to provide important advice and instruction for print, broadcast, and online journalism personnel. Chapters discuss the notion of convergence in journalism, basic skills and roles, repurposing content from print to online, new types of content, repurposing broadcast content to online use, basics of broadcasting, basics of print, Internet news, adding multimedia to websites, converging with other emerging media systems, and a career guide.

Section 5

News Categories

Most books and articles written about American journalism center on its content—either in general or, more likely, focused on one topical subject or medium. This is understandable given that the prime purpose of the news enterprise is to communicate information—and make money doing so. This section includes citations concerning journalism's content save for political communication of all kinds, which is covered in Section 6.

A. General News Content

See also Section 6-B for surveys of media coverage of politics, and 8-H for critiques of journalism.

Beaubien, Michael P., and John S. Wyeth, Jr., eds. *Views on the News: The Media and Public Opinion.* New York: New York University Press, 1994. Contains the Chet Huntley (a former NBC anchorman) memorial lectures from 1979 through 1990 by a host of luminaries addressing different aspects of news reporting, some historically, others critically.

Clayman, Steven, and John Heritage. *The News Interview: Journalists and Public Figures on the Air.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002. Academic study of the modern broadcast interview, using "conversation analysis"—a kind of linguistic content analysis—to dissect transcripts of some 250 news interviews conducted in the United States and Britain over a 20-year span. While style and format of interviews vary for different broadcast programs and among different questioners in England and America, authors conclude that interviewing conventions are nonetheless remarkably similar in both countries.

Cook, Philip, et al. *The Future of News: Television, Newspapers, Wires, Newsmagazines.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992. Fifteen papers from a 1989 Wilson Center conference range widely but focus on news content (and how it is changing, often for the worse) in different media, ending with a case study of coverage of the 1989 Yellowstone Park fires.

Hamilton, James T. *All the News That's Fit to Sell: How the Market Transforms Information into News.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004. Analyzes economic factors that shape news content. Discusses economic theories of news, and prescribes policies to ensure that news media serve the public good: reforms to influence news market (among them reducing cost of information about how government operates); an expanded role for nonprofits in funding journalism; development of norms that stress hard-news reporting; and less-stringent copyright protection to encourage flow of political news.

Newseum. *Today's Front Pages*. http://www.newseum.org/todaysfrontpages/flASH. Outline maps allows one to locate the newspaper front page for many local daily papers on that day from the United States and elsewhere—some 400 of them (and there is an archive of past front pages). Useful for seeing how major news stories "play" in different parts of the country and world.

Winch, Samuel P. *Mapping the Cultural Space of Journalism: How Journalists Distinguish News from Entertainment.* Westport, CT: Praeger, 1997. Many argue that this division is ignored these days—giving us "infotainment"—but the author

reviews how both were then defined and who (at least then) enforced the division.

B. Wars and the Military

In addition to foreign correspondence (see Sections 6-G and 7-C), war reporting is probably the most romantic—and dangerous—of journalism specializations.

B-1: Survey Histories

These titles tend to range over long periods and multiple wars.

Andersen, Robin. *A Century of Media, A Century of War*. New York: Peter Lang, 2006. How military or war stories change and morph from the original reporting done onsite to what is printed or aired in New York and elsewhere, from World War I and the birth of war propaganda to the failed Vietnam War and smaller wars since. Anderson also focuses on the role of CNN and its 24/7 coverage of war, as well as coverage of terrorism.

Carruthers, Susan L. *The Media at War: Communication and Conflict in the Twentieth Century*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000. Theory-based assessment of media's role in war, this traces growth of wartime reporting from World War I through the Gulf War of 1990–91, the impact of the 24-hour reporting day, and how media view past wars. The author sees media as too often an instrument of government in wartime coverage.

Connelly, Mark, and David Welch, eds. *War and the Media: Reportage and Propaganda, 1900–2003*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2005. Collection of essays that treat the topic primarily in context of British conflicts over the past 100 years, from the Boer War through the 2003 invasion of Iraq. Essays touch on various media, including print, radio, film, television, and newer technologies, as well as the complex relationship between propaganda and censorship.

Cooke, John Byrne. *Reporting the War: Freedom of the Press from the American Revolution to the War on Terrorism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. Cooke, son of veteran journalist Alistair Cooke, discusses how media have affected the course of some, though not all, American wars, how government has tried to suppress opposing opinion, and how war has been alternately encouraged, used, and abused.

Cornebise, Alfred E. *Ranks and Columns: Armed Forces Newspapers in American Wars*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1994. Survey from the Civil War through Vietnam. See also the author's earlier study of *The Stars and Stripes* in World War I (under "World Wars" below).

Cumings, Bruce. *War and Television*. New York: Verso, 1992. Reviews the overall story, with special focus (a chapter each) on the Korean, Vietnam, and Gulf Wars. Two chapters review dramatic 1989–92 changes in Eastern Europe.

The Greenwood Library of American War Reporting. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2005 (8 vols.). Chronologically presents news reports from more than 2,000 newspapers and magazines, and later radio and television, on major conflicts from the French and Indian War to the current war on terror. Each volume has a consistent format: wars in question are first covered by a multipage timeline and overall introduction, then numbered topical segments present examples of war reporting.

1. Copeland, David A., and Carol Sue Humphrey, eds. *The French and Indian War & the Revolutionary War*.
2. Copeland, David A., and Carol Sue Humphrey, eds. *The War of 1812 & the Mexican-American War*.
3. Reynolds, Amy, and Debra Redin van Tuyll, eds. *The Civil War, North & South*.
4. Coward, John M., and W. Joseph Campbell, eds. *The Indian Wars & The Spanish-American War*.
5. Collins, Ross F., and Patrick S. Washburn, eds. *World War I & World War II, the European Theater*.
6. Hamm, Bradley, and Donald Lewis Shaw, eds. *World War II, the Asian Theater & the Korean War*.
7. Cook, Russel J., and Shannon E. Martin, eds. *The Vietnam War & Post-Vietnam Conflicts*.
8. Barnett, Brooke, ed. *The Iraq Wars and the War on Terror & Index*.

Knightley, Phillip. *The First Casualty: From the Crimea to Iraq: The War Correspondent as Hero, Propagandist, and Myth Maker*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004 (3rd ed.). This classic historical narrative, first issued in 1975, focuses more on correspondents' lives and reported war events than on analysis. The title refers to truth as the "first casualty" of such reporting for many reasons discussed here including the growing role of government control of news since the Vietnam era.

Young, Peter, and Peter Jesser. *The Media and the Military: From the Crimea to Desert Strike*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997. The changing nature of war—and reporting about it—is reviewed plus the evolution of tensions between military authorities and news media, coverage of hostilities in several hot spots (Ireland, Vietnam, and elsewhere), exclusion of media from the Panama incursion by the United States, and media access during the Gulf War.

B-2: Issues and Controversies

The focus here is on the many problems and drawbacks of war reporting.

Allan, Stuart, and Barbie Zelizer, eds. *Reporting War: Journalism in Wartime*. New York: Routledge, 2004. Nearly 20 papers challenge familiar assumptions about war reporting from varied perspectives, including the influence of censorship and propaganda, "us" and "them" news narratives, access to sources, 24/7 rolling presentation of news and the CNN effect, military jargon (such as "friendly fire" and "collateral damage"), "embedded" and "unilateral" reporters, and tensions between objectivity and patriotism, among others.

Aubin, Stephen P. *Distorting Defense: Network News and National Security*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998. Presents a strongly negative analysis of how poorly "liberal network news programs" reported on defense and national security issues during the selected periods during the 1980s and 1990s. The book is an analysis of nearly 3,000 network news reports from Reagan, Bush, and Clinton administrations on *ABC World News Tonight, CBS Evening News,* and *NBC Nightly News*. The author provides nearly a dozen recommendations for improvement, chiefly more specialized and trained reporting.

Feinstein, Anthony. *Journalists under Fire: The Psychological Hazards of Covering War*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006. Based on recent studies investigating the emotional impact of war on journalists, including trauma-related disorders. Reviews life-threatening hazards war reporters face—abductions, mock executions, the deaths of close colleagues—and discusses their psychological consequences: post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, deterioration of personal relationships, and substance abuse.

Heise, Juergen Arthur. *Minimum Disclosure: How the Pentagon Manipulates the News*. New York: Norton, 1979. Begins with a case study of the My Lai (Vietnam) massacre story and how it broke, then turns to issues involved in covering (or not) the military establishment, and the role of national security.

Kennedy, William V. *The Military and the Media: Why the Press Cannot Be Trusted to Cover a War*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993. Here the military are heroes and media are not to be trusted—reverse of most books on wartime journalism. The author argues for more specialized reporters dealing with military matters and until that time, greater military control of media access to battlefields.

Paul, Christopher, and James J. Kim. *Reporters on the Battlefield: The Embedded Press System in Historical Context*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 2004. Assesses the Iraq war experience with war correspondents in light of historical developments, discussing issues defining the relationship between media and the military, a comparative case study history of that relationship (examining conflicts in Vietnam, Grenada, Panama, the first Gulf War, Somalia, Haiti, former Yugoslavia, and Afghanistan), and various systems for press access and measures for evaluating outcomes.

Smith, Jeffrey A. *War and Press Freedom: The Problem of Prerogative Power*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. Although U.S. military forces might believe they have the right and power to regularly repress news activity in wartime, Smith finds no support for that contention, save for a relatively short list of exceptions

including defense secrets. He points out that instantaneous communication with newer technologies will force an accommodation between the military and news media, because faster communication is harder to control.

Sweeney, Michael S. *The Military and the Press: An Uneasy Truce*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2007. The author reviews the role of war correspondents before World War I, World War I propaganda and censorship, journalists and the home front during World War II, "on the team" reporting of that war (this all takes up roughly half the book), Korea and Vietnam as a great divide in media–military relations, military control of access to media during the 1980s and 1990s, accommodation in twenty-first century, and the likely future.

Sylvester, Judith, and Suzanne Huffman. *Reporting from the Front: The Media and the Military*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005. Largely a study of the embedded reporter approach used during the Iraq war, based on interviews with people who were there as well as back at home. Chapters discuss how the military managed war (and how media reported the same thing), visual journalism, print journalists, television (station and network) journalists, NPR radio journalists, competition and complaints about news coverage and the reporting process in Iraq, and a conclusion.

Tumber, Howard, and Frank Webster. *Journalists Under Fire: Information War and Journalism Practice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2006. Based on more than 50 interviews with journalists about reporting issues—and dangers—in covering modern military events, the authors discuss who war correspondents are and why they do the job despite dangers, what being on assignment in a war zone means, working relations among and between reporters and related personnel (video or still photographers, for example), the role of middlemen such as "fixers" and translators (often locals), fundamental questions of danger and safety, training for such reporting, and coping with fear and danger.

B-3: Civil War (1861–65)

Just as the literature on the Civil War is huge and continues to grow, so we are seeing a continuing flow of studies assessing the period's journalism and just what people knew of major Civil War events at the time.

Andrews, J. Cutler. *The North Reports the Civil War*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1955. *See* next entry.

Andrews, J. Cutler. *The South Reports the Civil War*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970 (reprinted by University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985). Two still-valuable anthologies telling the story of the Civil War as seen at the time by newspaper reporters on both sides, with much material coming from reporters' diaries, dispatches and published news stories. Campaigns in the East were better covered than those farther West. Also compares and contrasts censorship by both armies.

See Bosse, Section 4-F-2.

Coopersmith, Andrew S. *Fighting Words: An Illustrated History of Newspaper Accounts of the Civil War*. New York: New Press, 2004. Includes illuminating (and often contradictory) accounts of the first battle of Manassas the capture and occupation of New Orleans, Emancipation, enlistment of black soldiers, class conflict within the Confederacy between poor whites and slaveholders, New York City draft riots, Sherman's "march to the sea," and Lincoln's assassination, including over 100 reproductions from period newspapers.

See Dicken-Garcia, Section 2-B-2.

Harris, Brayton. *Blue & Gray in Black & White: Newspapers in the Civil War*. Reston, VA: Brassey's, 2000. Newspapering during Civil War, including lengthy extracts from the finest war reporting. Discusses censorship, racial attitudes, and the military's role in news.

Home of the American Civil War. *Civil War Links: Journalism*. http://www.civilwarhome.com/links11.htm#Journalism. Unannotated listing of events and other news elements ("communication" and "telegraph" can also be searched) providing a portal to online contemporary news reports of Civil War developments.

Lewin, J. G., and P. J. Huff. *Lines of Contention: Political Cartoons of the Civil War*. New York: HarperCollins, 2007. Many humorous, clever, and scathing editorial cartoons are reproduced from publications such as *Harper's Weekly, Vanity Fair, Punch,* and *Leslie's Illustrated*. They illuminate the social, political, and cultural climate of Civil War–era America as seen from both sides, providing insight into incidents and opinions surrounding fighting as well as mind-sets and actions of major figures.

Maihafer, Harry J. *The General and the Journalists: Ulysses S. Grant, Horace Greeley, and Charles Dana*. Darby, PA: Diane Publishing, 1998. Discusses interactions of the Union Army commander and two important editors in the 1860–80 era to show how Grant was presented to the American public, from his earliest command appearance, through his final wartime campaigns, and how he was covered during his troubled presidential tenure.

McPherson, James M. *The Most Fearful Ordeal: Original Coverage of the Civil War by Writers and Reporters of* The New York Times. New York: St. Martin's, 2004. Illustrates the drawbacks of contemporary wartime reporting where news melded into propaganda and "facts" were too often wrong. Many stories are fully reproduced, giving a good sense of their tone and coverage.

Miner, Craig. *Seeding Civil War: Kansas in the National News, 1854–1858*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008. "Bleeding Kansas" as it was then covered in major newspapers and magazines in an important lead-up to the Civil War.

Perry, James M. *A Bohemian Brigade: The Civil War Correspondents—Mostly Rough, Sometimes Ready*. New York: John Wiley, 2000. Begins with earlier Crimean War, then focuses on a small selection of reporters for the Union and Confederacy, making clear their drawbacks as well as successes.

Ratner, Lorman A., and Dwight L. Teeter Jr. *Fanatics and Fire-Eaters: Newspapers and the Coming of Civil War*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2003. By tracing coverage of selected news events in five years leading to the opening Confederate attack on Ft. Sumter, the authors show how papers helped shape and promote increasingly disparate points of view of the North and South.

Reynolds, Donald E. *Editors Make War: Southern Newspapers in the Secession Crisis*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1970. Explores increasingly shrill newspaper promotion of secession during 1860–61 in what would become the 11 Confederate states.

Sachsman, David B., et al., eds. *The Civil War and the Press*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Press, 2000. Collects more than 30 research papers on the role of journalism before, during, and after the 1861–65 war. Newspapers (and other periodicals) formed the chief means of promoting pro and con views on slavery, for example.

Sachsman, David B. *Words at War: The Civil War and American Journalism*. Purdue, IN: Purdue University Press, 2008. Analyzes various ways in which newspaper editors and war correspondents covered Civil War events, and in doing so reflected and shaped responses of their readers. Four sections (Fighting Words, Confederates and Copperheads, The Union Forever, and Continuing Conflict) trace the evolving press role in antebellum, wartime, and postwar periods.

Starr, Louis M. *Bohemian Brigade*. New York: Knopf, 1954 (reissued as *Reporting the Civil War: The Bohemian Brigade in Action, 1861–1865* by Collier, 1962; and again by the University of Wisconsin Press, 1987). Useful history of reporters on both sides, though largely focusing on those reporting from and for the Union.

B-4: World War I (1914–18)

The so-called Great War, as it was called before 1939, has a fairly limited literature as far as journalism is concerned—though there are several titles concerned with propaganda media that do not appear here.

Carmichael, Jane. *First World War Photographers*. London: Routledge, 1989. An Imperial War Museum presentation on people and techniques used to get that picture, often in appalling conditions. Includes discussion of official controls.

Cornebise, Alfred E. *The* Stars and Stripes*: Doughboy Journalism in World War I*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1984. American army newspaper than ran 71 weekly issues from February 1918 to June 1919; how it began and was produced, and key people involved.

Crozier, Emmet. *American Reporters on the Western Front, 1914–1918*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1959. Lives and work of reporters based primarily in London and Paris, though sometimes gaining access to military personnel and battlefront locations, and types of stories they posted along with issues of censorship and other controls.

Douglas, Roy. *The Great War, 1914–1918: The Cartoonist's Vision*. London: Routledge, 1995. Provides international selection of over 100 cartoons covering key themes, events, and figures in the war. Both "establishment" and "subversive" cartoons demonstrated concerns of participants from governments, to the soldiers, to the home front. See the author's parallel book on World War II, below.

Paperless Archives *Stars and Stripes* Newspaper. http://www.paperlessarchives.com/wwi_newspapers.html. While this is marketing a full collection of all 71 weeks of the France-based publication, it also provides a useful survey of the army paper's history, relating its different sections and uses of illustrations.

Zacher, Dale E. *The Scripps Newspapers Go to War, 1914–1918*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008. Scripps controlled more than 20 newspapers, plus United Press and a news syndication service in an era without competition from electronic media. The author offers three related stories—the internal family dynamic of the company, costs and logistics of war reporting, and promotion of Wilson administration causes.

B-5: World War II (1939–45)

As might be expected, there are far more books on this conflict than for the earlier world war. For biographies of many individual reporters, see Sections 7-C and 7-G.

Bernstein, Mark, and Alex Lubertozzi. *World War II on the Air: Edward R. Murrow and the Broadcasts That Riveted a Nation*. Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks, 2003. One of a series of books by this author team that combine text with a CD reproducing broadcasts in question. They focus here on live shortwave broadcasts Murrow sent back from London and elsewhere during the 1939–45 period. The narrative, arranged in chronological order, ranges over the whole "Murrow Boys" team that he assembled, many of whom went on to distinguished careers of their own. The book's text is keyed to specific broadcasts included on the CD.

Douglas, Roy. *The World War, 1939–1945: The Cartoonists' Vision*. London: Routledge, 1990. Relates war as seen by editorial cartoonists on all sides, with many examples. *See* author's parallel book on World War I, above.

Preston, Paul. *We Saw Spain Die: Foreign Correspondents in the Spanish Civil War*. London: Constable, 2008. The war (1936–39) was widely seen as a predecessor to the world war that soon followed. Both sides varied greatly in how they worked with reporters—Republicans gave them a free hand while Nationalists were very restrictive. Explores the work of many reporters from different countries, including difficulties of getting stories out.

Pulwers, Jack E. *The Press of Battle: The GI Reporter and the American People*. Raleigh, NC: Ivy House, 2003 (2 vols.). Extensive survey of combat correspondents, information, and news writing about the war as seen in the pages of the three service publications: Army's *Stars and Stripes,* Navy's *All Hands,* and the Marine's *Leatherneck*.

Reporting World War II, 1938–1946. New York: Library of America, 1995 (2 vols.). Includes about 200 pieces selected from all theaters, some in full form, others excerpted, drawn from magazines, books, radio, and newspapers.

Roeder, George. *The Censored War: American Visual Experience during World War Two*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995. How American public opinion about World War II was manipulated both by wartime images citizens were

allowed to see (in pictures, ads, and posters) and by suppressed images. Text is amplified by visual essays that include many previously unpublished photographs from army files.

Steele, Richard. *Free Speech in the Good War*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999. How President Franklin Roosevelt's three attorneys general and their staffs struggled to adjust and apply the free speech ideal (including that for news media) in face of demands from the President and the public for ideological conformity and total security.

Sweeney, Michael S. *Secrets of Victory: The Office of Censorship and the American Press and Radio in World War II*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001. The 1941–45 federal agency and its largely voluntary guideline system is reviewed with a good discussion of how military secrets were handled, even those that at least partially fell into the hands of newspapers or radio.

Voss, Frederick S. *Reporting the War: The Journalistic Coverage of World War II*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian National Portrait Gallery, 1994. Exhibition catalog, with useful profiles of specific reporters and broader essays as well. Includes roles of women, minorities, and also combat artists.

B-6: Vietnam (1959–73)

The controversial Asian war has generated considerable research, especially as media coverage is credited with turning Americans against involvement, forcing withdrawal of U.S. forces in 1973.

Anderegg, Michael, ed. *Inventing Vietnam: The War in Film and Television*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991. Examines many documentary and feature films, reviewing changing attitudes toward war.

Bartimus, Tad, et al., eds. *War Torn: Stories of War from the Women Reporters Who Covered Vietnam*. New York: Random House, 2002. Nine women report on different periods during which they reported Vietnamese events between 1966 and 1975.

Benjamin, Burton. *Fair Play: CBS, General Westmoreland, and How a Television Documentary Went Wrong*. New York: Harper & Row, 1988. Concerns a *CBS Reports* broadcast and its use of quotations out of context. Benjamin conducted the network's later investigation into what happened. *See also* Brewin and Shaw, below.

Braestrup, Peter. *Big Story: How the American Press and Television Reported and Interpreted the Crisis of Tet 1968 in Vietnam and Washington*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1977 (abridged into single volume, Yale University Press, 1983; Presidio Press, 1994). Then a reporter for *The Washington Post,* the author wrote a detailed and informed critique of media performance (and its shortcomings) during a critical moment in the long war, revealing underlying politics that influenced reporting styles and choices.

Brewin, Bob, and Sydney Shaw. *Vietnam on Trial: Westmoreland v. CBS*. New York: Atheneum, 1987. Narrative of a controversial libel trial brought by General. Westmoreland, which grew out of a *CBS Reports* documentary on the war. Useful emphasis on key media and military figures. *See also* Benjamin, above.

Hallin, Daniel C. *The "Uncensored War:" The Media and Vietnam*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986. Content analysis of *The New York Times* from 1961 to mid-1965, and of the television networks from 1965 to early 1973. The author argues that real war issues were rarely if ever covered by news media.

Hammond, William M. *Public Affairs: The Military and the Media*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1988, 1996 (2 vols.). Part of a larger "The U.S. Army in Vietnam" series, these two volumes provide the official military view of its relations with print and electronic media over nearly a dozen years. The volumes divide the narrative story about equally:

1. *1962–1968*. 1988.
2. *1968–1973*. 1996.

Hammond, William M. *Reporting Vietnam: Media and Military at War*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998. Drawn from the official study immediately above, this is a more informal account,

though one still stressing institutions over individual reporters.

Landers, James. *The Weekly War: Newsmagazines and Vietnam*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004. Investigation of some 900 articles published by *Newsweek, Time,* and *U.S. News & World Report*, and the impact of their coverage on the American public and policymakers. Each had its own editorial style: *Newsweek* provided mainstream liberal perspective; *Time* took a more conservative viewpoint; and *U.S. News & World Report* was ultraconservative.

Lembcke, Jerry. *CNN's Tailwind Tale: Inside Vietnam's Last Great Myth*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003. Sociological analysis of CNN's infamous 1998 report claiming the Pentagon illegally used chemical weapons during the Vietnam War in a covert military operation called "Operation Tailwind," a story soon disproved.

Prochnau, William. *Once upon a Distant War: Young War Correspondents and the Early Vietnam Battles*. New York: Crown, 1995. Early years of the war (early 1960s) involved newspaper reporters—television only became important later on. Reviews the developing war story as seen by reporters fighting censorship, battlefield conditions, and disbelieving home editorial offices.

Reporting Vietnam: American Journalism 1959–1975. New York: Library of America, 2000. Collects about 100 examples of newspaper, magazine, book, and television reporting of events in Vietnam and elsewhere related to the war.

Rudenstine, David. *The Day the Presses Stopped: A History of the Pentagon Papers Case*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996. Relates Nixon administration's efforts to prohibit *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* from publishing the top-secret "Pentagon Papers," which traced development of the U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Examines new evidence and challenges conventional views of a historic moment.

Small, Melvin. *Covering Dissent: The Media and the Anti-Vietnam War Movement*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994. Historical survey, placing these largely college-based protests in context with previous ones, while focusing on the 1965–71 period of focused objection to both the war and the draft.

Turner, Kathleen J. *Lyndon Johnson's Dual War: Vietnam and the Press*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985. Based on documents and interviews, this is a careful assessment of how war changed the administration and became its increasing focus after 1965. Covers interaction of news media, Washington politics, and the actual fighting itself.

Wyatt, Clarence R. *Paper Soldiers: The American Press and the Vietnam War*. New York: Norton, 1993; University of Chicago Press, 1995. Argues that news media generally carried official reports and were not as critical as conventional wisdom suggests. Most reporting centered upon small actions rather than the larger picture.

B-7: Falklands (1982)

Several books assess media coverage of the short war between Britain and Argentina over control of the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands.

Harris, Robert. *Gotcha! The Media, The Government and the Falklands Crisis*. London: Faber & Faber, 1983. How British newspaper and television news media fought each other and government officials in covering the fighting, including difficulties of reporting a war so far away from media home markets. (The main title comes from a notorious *Sun* headline announcing the sinking of an Argentinian warship.)

Hooper, Alan. *The Military and the Media*. Brookfield, CT: Gower, 1982. An officer of the Royal Marines discusses the widespread misunderstanding between media and the military as evidenced in the Falklands conflict. Reviews newspapers and both commercial and BBC broadcast coverage, and draws lessons from coverage of Vietnam and Irish "troubles."

Monaghan, David. *The Falklands War: Myth and Countermyth*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998. Role of rhetoric and journalistic writing in

contributing to an image of British greatness reborn in the conflict with Argentina. Focuses on how the Thatcher government's reading of events was developed through political speeches and journalistic writing, and the later films, plays, cartoon strips, and travel books that found national metaphors of a very different kind.

Morrison, David E., and Howard Tumber. *Journalists at War: The Dynamics of News Reporting During the Falklands Conflict*. London: Sage, 1988. Uses coverage of this war as a general treatise on the profession of journalism, demonstrating that journalists in similar situations would show similar patterns of behavior, handling of news in London, and the role of information in liberal democracies during war time.

B-8: Gulf War (1990–91)

The media-related literature on this short and very limited war is surprisingly extensive.

Dennis, Everette, et al., eds. *The Media at War: The Press and the Persian Gulf Conflict*. New York: Gannett Foundation Media Center, Columbia University, 1991. Several papers provide historical background, a survey of journalists involved, the impact of technology on news reporting, various means of measuring reportorial output of war coverage, and assessing public reaction to news reports.

Denton, Robert E., Jr., ed. *The Media and the Persian Gulf War*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993. Thirteen research papers review most aspects of news media access to and reporting of the 1990–91 conflict, including talk radio and C-SPAN, and a seven-country comparison of coverage of the war's beginning.

Fialka, John J. *Hotel Warriors: Covering the Gulf War*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991. Brief first-hand account of reporting from Baghdad and differing points of view about that coverage from military, government sources, and news media.

Greenberg, Bradley S., and Walter Gantz, eds. *Desert Storm and the Mass Media*. Creskill, NY: Hampton, 1993. Anthology of 28 original papers on virtually all aspects of news coverage of the war, including institutions involved, news media and their war content, and public response to the conflict in and outside of the United States.

Jeffords, Susan, and Lauren Rabinovitz. *Seeing Through the Media: The Persian Gulf War*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994. About 20 academic papers, a few of which look back to earlier war coverage, though most center on the 1990–91 conflict and its coverage in news media. Some review gender issues, Arab women and war, and military censorship.

Kellner, Douglas. *The Persian Gulf TV War*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1992. Argues the limitations of visual medium in dealing with a barrage of government propaganda favoring the military effort against Iraq. Combines content analysis with critical commentary.

MacArthur, John R. *Second Front: Censorship and Propaganda in the Gulf War*. New York: Hill & Wang, 1992 (reissued by University of California Press, 1993, 2004). Examines government's assault on constitutional freedoms of American media during the "Desert Storm" Gulf War.

McCain, Thomas A., and Leonard Shyles, eds. *The 1,000 Hour War: Communication in the Gulf*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1993. Ten papers about press–military relationships during the Gulf War, high tech communication from the war zone, and issues and images as they appeared on television.

Morrison, David E. *Television and the Gulf War*. London: John Libbey, 1992. Detailed study of viewer reaction to British television coverage of the Gulf conflict and a content analysis of four British television channels' coverage as well as that of CNN and German, French, Italian, and Russian services.

Mowlana, Hamid, et al., eds. *Triumph of the Image: The Media's War in the Persian Gulf—A Global Perspective*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1992. Nearly 30 papers by authors from 18 nations review the political and audience impact of news coverage, exploring social, economic, and political

context of coverage in their countries, domination of one image (backing the United States) in most of them, and the struggle for alternative perspectives.

Smith, Hedrick, ed. *The Media and the Gulf War/ the Press and Democracy in Wartime*. Arlington, VA: Seven Locks Press, 1992. Anthology of newspaper articles and documents from many national perspectives is critical of American military and their attempts at controlling news media. Includes a discussion of government policy toward media in wartime.

Taylor, Philip M. *War and the Media: Propaganda and Persuasion in the Gulf War*. Manchester, England: Manchester University Press / New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998 (2nd ed.). Analysis of coverage by ten international broadcasters of events of January and March 1991, arguing that coverage is too often more nationalistic propaganda than fair and balanced news. The author argues that part of the problem is lack of sufficiently specialized reporters.

B-9: Iraq/Afghanistan (2002–Present)

These ongoing efforts have attracted considerable research and commentary, in part because of the controversial political nature of both struggles.

Dadge, David. *The War in Iraq and Why the Media Failed Us*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2006. Reviews how the Bush administration sought to control news media before and during the Iraq war, sharply limiting news most Americans heard. Dadge notes there are many causes for this press failure, chief among them a rising sense of patriotism after 9/11. Criticism of war became—to the administration's backers and most conservatives—criticism of soldiers in Iraq. But many problems came from within news media—including the constant fight for ratings and advertisers, and occasional scandals over faked stories.

Engel, Richard. *War Journal: My Five Years in Iraq*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008. NBC reporter reviews successes and setbacks of the Iraq war, including searching for missing soldiers, surviving IED and kidnap attempts, hotel bombings, and ambushes. Engel was the longest-serving broadcaster in Iraq and the only American television reporter to cover the country continuously since before the 2003 U.S. invasion.

Hoyt, Mike, et al. *Reporting Iraq: An Oral History of the War by the Journalists Who Covered It*. Hoboken, NJ: Melville House, 2007. How the war was reported, including contributions from 44 reporters, photographers, translators, editors, and stringers from around the world. Most journalists saw a disaster in Iraq before they were allowed to report that view.

Isikoff, Michael, and David Corn. *Hubris: The Inside Story of Spin, Scandal and the Selling of the Iraq War*. New York: Crown, 2006. A riveting narrative account of how the Bush administration manipulated news media, the bureaucracy, and ultimately the American public to press its case for war in Iraq, focusing on reporting by Judith Miller about (as it turned out) nonexistent weapons of mass destruction.

Katovsky, Bill, and Timothy Carlson. *Embedded: The Media at War in Iraq—An Oral History*. Guilford, CT: Lyons Press, 2003. Many of the 2,700 journalists covering the Iraq war were "embedded" with military forces, a role assessed here in their own words.

Kuypers, Jim A. *Bush's War: Media Bias and Justifications for War in a Terrorist Age*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006. Reviews terrorism as a new justification for war, and assesses several speeches by President Bush carried by news media. The study compares Bush's statements with press coverage, arguing that the nature of American public knowledge concerning our global role has been changed not by 9/11, but by the subsequent argumentative back-and-forth between Bush and the press.

Lewis, Justin, et al. *Shoot First and Ask Questions Later: Media Coverage of the 2003 Iraq War*. New York: Peter Lang, 2006. Offers a study of how print and television covered the early period of fighting from a British point of view, the comparing British and American media. Discusses background to the embedding process, Pentagon and British military perspectives, journalist's views on embedding, themes

in coverage of fighting, sources, watching fighting on television, and public relations and journalism.

Tumber, Howard, and Jerry Palmer. *Media at War: The Iraq Crisis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2004. Covers both pre- and postwar phases, as well as public reaction to these events, and provides a framework for understanding how media and news organizations operated during the Iraq incursion in 2003.

C. Conflict, Terrorism, and Disasters

C-1: Terrorism

Contrary to widespread belief, concern and published research about the role of news media in acts of terrorism did not begin with the events of 9/11 but, in fact, decades earlier.

Alali, A. Odasuo, and Kenoye Kelvin Eke, eds. *Media Coverage of Terrorism: Methods of Diffusion*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1981. Nine papers review (among other topics) coverage in three American dailies, news magazine labeling of terrorists, a case study of network evening broadcasts, BBC coverage of the Irish conflict, and the literature on terrorism.

Dobkin, Bethani A. *Tales of Terror: Television News and the Construction of the Terrorist Threat*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1992. Descriptive and rhetorical analysis of news coverage in 200 selected newscasts during the 1980s, arguing that media often escalate public panic about terrorism. Focuses on narrative framing in network news.

Hess, Stephen, and Marvin Kalb. *The Media and the War on Terrorism*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2003. Compiles edited transcripts of remarks made by nearly 70 journalists, government officials, and educators. Chapters cover early stages of fighting in Afghanistan, the CNN effect, anthrax attacks and bio-terrorism, and Pentagon officials versus news media. Among content threads that weave though the discussion: journalists are readily aware of how changes in technology have affected their work.

Hoskins, Andrew, and Ben O'Loughlin. *Television and Terror: Conflicting Times and the Crisis of News Discourse*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. Discusses television and time, Hurricane Katrina and the failure of the CNN effect, political discourse and the 2003 Iraq war, television's quagmire, drama and documentary, and security and the public.

Kuypers, Jim A. *Bush's War: Media Bias and Justifications for War in a Terrorist Age*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006. Offers an analysis of what President Bush said on and after 9/11 and how what he said was reported in news media. The author focuses on potential conflicts between media bias and the President's justifications for his war on terror—and on Iraq—as seen in several national speeches.

Livingston, Steven. *The Terrorism Spectacle*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1994. Explores what a terrorist is and roles played by news media in helping to define such a person and disseminate his or her views. There are several case studies drawing on examples in America and elsewhere.

Llali, A., and Gary W. Byrd. *Terrorism and the News Media: A Selected, Annotated Bibliography*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1994. Discusses how news media cover terrorism in their reporting. Over 600 entries are divided into three areas: understanding terrorism, terrorism in electronic media, and terrorism depicted in print media.

Miller, Abraham H., ed. *Terrorism: The Media and the Law*. Dobbs Ferry, NY: International, 1982. A 1970s' view with eight papers assessing different aspects, including dealing with hostages, police and media coverage, and recommendations for covering local instances of terrorism.

Nacos, Brigitte L. *Terrorism & the Media: From the Iran Hostage Crisis to the World Trade Center Bombing*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994. Explores how media responded to anti-U.S. terrorism over the previous 15 years, exploring how media can inadvertently serve terrorist needs, polls and the theater of terror, and news choices during terror events.

Nacos, Brigitte L *Mass-Mediated Terrorism: The Central Role of the Media in Terrorism and*

Counterterrorism. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007 (2nd ed.). Updates a book that first appeared in 2002, adding a chapter on terrorism, counterterrorism, and public opinion, plus other updates, though the purpose of the study remains unchanged—to describe how journalists report about events that are often played directly to media to broaden their impact. The author questions the degree to which media are unwittingly spreading the impact of terrorism simply by their regular news reports, let alone by wall-to-wall coverage.

Picard, Robert G. *Media Portrayals of Terrorism: Functions and Meaning of News Coverage*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1993. Psychology of terrorism, setting and types of communication, government and terrorism news, and implications of coverage.

Schaffert, Richard W. *Media Coverage and Political Terrorists: A Quantitative Analysis*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1992. Detailed study of four years of terrorism and how it was covered and with what likely impact—in British, German, and American news media.

Weimann, Gabriel, and Conrad Winn. *The Theater of Terror: Mass Media and International Terrorism*. White Plains, NY: Longman, 1994. Using a quarter-century of data of reports in nine world newspapers and American television network news, the authors assess factors predicting news coverage, media presentations of terrorism, and the emerging character of international terrorism.

C-2: Coverage of 9/11

This epochal terrorist attack has generated considerable writing.

Finnegan, Lisa. *No Questions Asked: News Coverage Since 9/11*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007. Reviews media coverage from the 9/11 attacks of 2001 through the 2003 war in Iraq. It also compares and contrasts how American versus international media covered key events during this period. Explains why journalists responded the way they did during wartime and explores the ramifications for democracy of a comparatively weak news media.

Gilbert, Allison, ed. *Covering Catastrophe: Broadcast Journalists Report September 11*. Chicago: Bonus Books, 2002. Melds recollections of numerous network and local radio and television reporters in covering events in New York, Washington, and Pennsylvania, recreating the chaos and confusion of that day.

Greenberg, Bradley S., ed. *Communication and Terrorism: Public and Media Responses to 9/11*. Creskill, NY: Hampton Press, 2002. Contains 23 essays in two parts—how the story was disseminated, content of many news stories about 9/11 events, and some sense of the news impact on news audiences. *See also* next entry.

Noll, A. Michael, ed. *Crisis Communications: Lessons from September 11*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003. Papers on the function and uses of media during the crisis, diffusion of news about the attacks, problems with communications at the World Trade Center, social dynamics of wireless links that day, content analysis of network newscasts on that and following days, comparing reporting in Germany and America, and comparing online and legacy media content and uses. *See also* previous entry.

Zelizer, Barbie, and Stuart Allan, eds. *Journalism after September 11*. New York: Routledge, 2002. Sixteen researchers from different countries assess coverage and the likely impact of those events on future journalism. Coverage includes photography, Internet, supermarket tabloids, and both broadcast and traditional print news media.

C-3: Disasters

What roles news media play in both natural and man-made disasters (other than terrorism and assassinations) have been receiving more attention in recent years.

Disasters and the Mass Media. Washington, DC: National Academy of Sciences, 1980. Papers from a workshop covering international practices, national and local perspectives, disaster warning and relief and news media, positives and negatives in media reporting of disasters, and research needs. Each topic includes at least two papers.

Fry, Katherine. *Constructing the Heartland: Television News and Natural Disaster*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 2003. How people and technology combine to create vivid news images of weather (such as hurricanes) and other natural disasters.

Masel-Walters, Lynne, et al., eds. *Bad Tidings: Communication and Catastrophe*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1989. Ten research papers on the role of news media in reporting natural and man-made disasters, with many case studies to illustrate points made.

Smith, Conrad. *Media and Apocalypse: News Coverage of the Yellowstone Forest Fires,* Exxon Valdez *Oil Spill, and Loma Prieta Earthquake*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1992. How American television covered three big 1988–89 stories, including how sources were identified and used and how that is often a weak point of such news.

Sylvester, Judith. *The Media and Hurricanes Katrina and Rita: Lost and Found*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. Reviews the disastrous 2005 hurricane season and its impact on New Orleans and elsewhere and how news media portrayed these storms and their devastating aftermath.

Wilkins, Lee. *Shared Vulnerability: The Media and American Perceptions of the Bhopal Disaster*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1987. The chemical plant spill in an Indian city in 1984 is reviewed, as to both news reports and public opinion about it.

C-4: Conflict and Violence

The impact of televised violence (much of it in drama programs) is a long-standing research concern.

Cohen, Akiba, et al. *Social Conflict and Television News*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1990. The role of television in covering and sometimes having an impact upon social conflicts, using both content analysis and survey research methods to review issues and discuss relationships between media presentation and audience perceptions.

Dart Center for Journalism and Trauma. http://www.dartcenter.org. Wide-ranging site concerning coverage of stories of violence and disaster and consequences for journalists (and health and other workers) who cover such stories.

Edy, J. A. *Troubled Pasts: News and the Collective Memory of Social Unrest*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006. Observes the process of negotiating meaning for the past as it unfolds in news, exploring ways that news practices, relationships between actors who make news, expectations of news media audiences, and the impact of current events affect development of collective memories in a mass society. Uses case studies of the 1965 Watts riots and 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago.

Gitlin, Todd. *The Whole World Is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980. Insightful sociological study of how television (especially) expanded the reach and impact of protesting campus activists (especially over the Vietnam War), but later also underlined their darker aspects. The title comes from what protesters at the 1968 Democratic convention in Chicago chanted as they were arrested.

Michigan State University, School of Journalism. *Victims and the Media Program*. http://victims.jrn.msu.edu. Designed to assist news media in reporting about crime, trauma, and catastrophe, this includes symposia of experts, links, and available resources.

Nerone, John. *Violence against the Press: Policing the Public Sphere in U.S. History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. Reviews incidents of violence against news media from the country's beginning to year of publication. The author finds such attacks are systematic and recurring.

Simpson, Roger, and William Coté. *Covering Violence: A Guide to Ethical Reporting about Victims and Trauma*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006 (2nd ed.). Melds examples to assess reporting, including what trauma is, how journalists can be at risk for trauma, lessons from 9/11, reporting the scene, interviews, writing trauma stories, pictures and sounds of trauma,

reporting about children, the Columbine High School shootings, reporting on rape trauma, and the Oklahoma City bombing.

D. Investigative Journalism

The first well-known investigative reporting was that of the muckrakers in the early twentieth century. *See also* reporter biographies, Section 7-C.

Aucoin, James L. *The Evolution of American Investigative Journalism*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005. Traces the rise of in-depth investigative reporting from 1960 to 1990, and more specifically the role of the Investigative Reporters and Editors (IRE) group, including its roles in "mainstreaming" such reporting and its expensive and thus fairly rare social practice in journalism.

See Berry, Section 1-F-1.

Borjesson, Kristina. *Into the Buzzsaw: Leading Journalists Expose the Myth of a Free Press*. Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2004 (rev. ed.). Expanded anthology of articles by investigative reporters whose work ran into criticism by the mainstream media. Some of the case studies are more convincing than others, as one journalist's reputed censorship may be little more than sour grapes or even journalistic malpractice.

Center for Public Integrity. *The Corruption Notebooks: 25 Investigative Journalists Report on Abuses of Power in Their Home Country*. Washington, DC: Public Integrity Books, 2004. Collection of 25 articles by different investigative reporters detailing corruption in their home countries—a compendium of bribery, kickbacks, scams, nepotism, cheating, and organized crime penetration of government, politics, military, and business life.

Collins, Anthony. *Words of Fire: Independent Journalists Who Challenge Dictators, Drug Lords, and Other Enemies of a Free Press*. New York: New York University Press, 2001. Reviews world of independent journalists and the challenges they face confronting dictators, hostile military forces, and narcoterrorists. Such "guerrilla" journalists are often the first on a story and may thus face the brunt of their subject's wrath.

DeFleur, Margaret H. *Computer-Assisted Investigative Reporting: Development and Methodology*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1997. How to do it (electronic records analysis), or do it better, using a number of useful case studies.

Ettema, James S., and Theodore L. Glasser. *Custodians of Conscience: Investigative Journalism and Public Virtue*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998. Reviews reporter's craft as moral discourse, how values and even anger can get lost in the stream of news stories, and the interdependence of fact and value—all illustrated with a number of detailed examples.

Greenwald, Marilyn, and Joseph Bernt, eds. *The Big Chill: Investigative Reporting in the Current Media Environment*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 2000. Scholarly papers (nearly a dozen) on public and institutional reactions to investigative reports published or broadcast during the late 1990s. Using a variety of methods, the authors come up with a mixed verdict and suggest future changes.

Investigative Reporters and Editors. http://www.ire.org. This University of Missouri journalism school-based organization provides access to some of the most recent investigative journalism, and provides training in investigative techniques.

Jensen, Carl, ed. *Stories That Changed America: Muckrakers of the 20th Century*. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2002. Anthology of some of muckraking's "greatest hits" from 1902 to 1971, edited with explanatory introductions. The editor tilts to book authors on the political left in his choice of journalistic heroes, but it is a roster few could challenge.

Miraldi, Robert. *Muckrakers and Objectivity: Journalism's Colliding Traditions*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1990. Reviews both press and broadcast cases and people to project the future of investigative reporting. Reviews role of muckrakers as heroes and villains, the storytelling function of news reporting, why traditional muckraking ended, and the roles of Edward R. Murrow documentaries at CBS in the 1950s and the *New York Times* crusades.

Miraldi, Robert. *The Muckrakers: Evangelical Crusaders*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2000. Eight case studies of key practioners.

Patterson, Margaret Jones, and Robert H. Russell. *Behind the Lines: Case Studies in Investigative Journalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986. Useful narrative of six fairly recent stories and the journalistic digging that brought them to light.

Serrin, Judith, and William Serrin, eds. *Muckraking! The Journalism That Changed America*. New York: The New Press, 2002. An anthology of 121 different articles that celebrate the history of investigative reporting from colonial times to the present, arranged topically into more than a dozen chapters on politics, race, women, war, workers' rights, conservation, courts, the poor, sports, news press, and public health and safety.

Tichi, Cecelia. *Exposes and Excess: Muckraking in America, 1900–2000*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004. Centers on the 1890s and the 1990s "gilded" eras and the growing gulf between those at the economic top and everybody else, focusing on the work of exemplar journalists in each period—and five reprinted stories from the latter era.

Weir, David, and Dan Noyes. *Raising Hell: How the Center for Investigative Reporting Gets the Story*. Reading, MA: Addison-Weslety, 1983. Collection of eight stories with context for each, assessing the first five years' work of the center.

Wilson, Harold. McClure's Magazine *and the Muckrakers*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970. A history of *McClure's,* the most important of muckraking monthlies so popular at the turn of twentieth century, which provided a new medium for many literary and political writers working in the vanguard of the Progressive movement, including Robert Louis Stevenson, Kipling, and Arthur Conan Doyle.

E. Courts and the Law

This covers reporting about courts, crime, and the law. For works on free press/fair trial legal issues, see Section 8-C-4.

Alexander, S. L. *Media and American Courts: A Reference Handbook*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2004. Offers a broad introductory survey including a historical overview of the free press/fair trial conflict. Includes a survey of multiple controversies and problems, a chronology and biographical sketches (of judges, reporters, and attorneys—about 20 of them), some facts and data, an annotated guide to associations, organizations and government agencies, and, finally, some selected print and nonprint resources.

Alexander, S. L. *Covering the Courts: A Handbook for Journalists*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003 (2nd ed.). Provides detailed descriptions of each step of the judicial process along with tips from top journalists on how best to create a comprehensive analysis of courtroom activities.

Benedict, Helen. *Virgin or Vamp: How the Press Covers Sex Crimes*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. Rape myths and language, how stereotypes get in the way of accurate reporting the portrayal of women in news media, and a chapter each on four such crimes during the 1978–90 period and how they were handled by news media.

Bybee, Keith J., ed. *Bench Press: The Collision of Courts, Politics and the Media*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007. Nine papers focusing heavily on courts and their judges and how the latter are selected or elected—and whether the process aids or harms their insulation from politics. Three papers focus on journalists' problems in covering judicial nominations and court proceedings.

Chermak, Steven M. *Victims in the News: Crime and the American News Media*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995. Examines three decades of media portrayals of crime victims, combining content analysis, ethnography, and interviews. Some crime types are more covered than others, especially those affecting children or the elderly.

Chiasson, Lloyd, Jr., ed. *The Press on Trial: Crimes and Trials as Media Events*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1997. Chapters on 15 famous trials dating back to John Peter Zenger in 1735 up to the infamous O. J. Simpson criminal trial in 1995. Each chapter describes a case and its background.

Criminal Justice Journalists, *Covering Crime and Justice: A Guide for Journalists*. http://www.justicejournalism.org/crimeguide. A dozen very extensive

chapters covering all aspects of such reporting, with further resources and story ideas.

Cuklanz, Lisa M. *Rape on Trial: How the Mass Media Construct Legal Reform and Social Change*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995. Examines both news and fictional accounts of three highly publicized trials, discovering more favorable treatment of victims' viewpoints.

Davis, Richard. *Decisions and Images: The Supreme Court and the Press*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1994. Key media-relevant decisions are assessed and placed in context.

Denniston, Lyle W. *The Reporter and the Law: Techniques of Covering the Courts*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992 (rev. ed.). First issued by the American Bar Association in 1980, this offers practical advice that includes covering legislative bodies.

Ericson, Richard V., ed. *Crime and the Media*. Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1995. Anthology of more than 20 scholarly papers from both sides of the Atlantic, including discussions of televised trials, what makes crime news, media politics of crime and criminal justice, police news, reporting of crime numbers and images, drug problems in print media, news media influences on public views of sentencing, and the effects of framing on attributions of responsibility for crime and terrorism.

Ericson, Richard V., et al. *Representing Order: Crime, Law, and Justice in the News Media*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991. Assessment of media content concerning different aspects of the legal system.

Fox, Richard L., et al. *Tabloid Justice: Criminal Justice in an Age of Media Frenzy*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2007 (2nd ed.). Based on both content analysis and survey research, study assesses amount and impact of "trial of the century" coverage by both newspapers and television/cable during the 1990s and early 2000s. Discusses growing news role of each such trial, steady shift of news media to tabloid reporting, the role of these trials in the emergence of newer media (including cable's Court TV, among others), how this kind of coverage affects reader and viewer perceptions of criminal justice system, and the roles of race, gender, and class in these stories.

Hayslett, Jerrianne. *Anatomy of a Trial: Public Loss, Lessons Learned from The People vs. O. J. Simpson*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008. As the court's media liaison, the author mediated between the judge and the media. Written with Judge Ito's cooperation, the study shows how the trial produced a bunker mentality in the judicial system, shaping media and public access to courts with a lasting impact on cameras in the courtroom, jury selection, and fair-trial/free-press tensions.

Hunt, Darnell M. *O. J. Simpson Facts and Fictions: News Rituals in the Construction of Reality*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999. Focusing on local television and press coverage of this case and story, the sociologist author looks at race ("race card") and gender reactions by audiences and compares and contrasts news media images with reality. *See also* Thaler, below.

Jewkes, Yvonne. *Media and Crime*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2004. A basic text on the topic including news reporting of crime; media constructions of children and women as victims and offenders; moral panics over pedophiles; the relationship between media and police; "reality" crime shows; surveillance and social control; and newer media.

Jewkes, Yvonne, ed. *Crime and Media*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2009 (3 vols.). Anthology includes important work from contemporary and classic literature that bridges media studies and criminology. The individual volumes:

I. Surveys theoretical issues in the study of crime and news media and explores both production and consumption of crime-related media in news, documentary and current affairs, soap opera, situation comedy, and docudrama television.

II. Explores notions of "newsworthiness" and news values that underpin media representations of crime.

III. Discusses innovative media technologies and surveillance technologies.

Krajicek, David J. *Scooped! Media Miss Real Story on Crime while Chasing Sex, Sleaze, and Celebrities*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998. Criticizes news media for "drive by" journalism, stressing latest crimes and alarming readers and viewers rather than informing them of the context and larger trends inherent in such stories.

Lawrence, Regina G. *The Politics of Force: Media and the Construction of Policy Brutality*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000. Drawing on a decade-long content analysis of the *Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Times,* the author provides a picture of media coverage of police use of force. *See also* Perlmutter, below.

Lipschultz, Jeremy H., and Michael L. Hilt. *Crime and Local Television News*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2002. Examines how local television newsrooms cover crime, including such controversial issues as use of crime coverage to build ratings and new models for reform of local TV newscasts. Includes national survey data from news managers and content analyses from late night newscasts in a range of markets.

Lotz, Edward Roy. *Crime and the American Press*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1991. Investigates the ample space American papers devote to crime, and justifications and criticisms this has generated. Concludes that 30 percent of front-page stories cover police, courts, and criminals and discusses functions and dysfunctions of crime reporting, ideological biases of crime news, and the balance between coverage of explosive events and less dramatic news of courts and prisons.

Mackenzie, Margaret A. *Courting the Media: Public Relations for the Accused and the Accuser*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2006. Chapters discuss the power of news media, problems with trials of celebrities, accusations in custody disputes, matters of life and death, the media "face" of murder suspects, white-collar crimes, empowering those who are disenfranchised, sexual abuse accusations and motives, "mea culpa" press conferences, and insanity and gag orders, among other topics.

Muraskin, Roslyn, and Shelly Feuer Domash. *Crime and the Media: Headlines vs. Reality*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2006. Examines, through study of ten cases that have made headlines, the fear of crime, especially among heavy users of television. In addition to cases such as Scott Peterson, Marilyn Sheppard, and Jon Benet Ramsey, the authors focus on changes in sentencing laws, policies, and increased incarceration rates, as well as the war on drugs, and seek factors that brought about change.

Perlmutter, David D. *Policing the Media: Street Cops and Public Perception of Law Enforcement*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2000. Centers on police in a small Minneapolis area community, offering a photo-documentary along with interviews and observations about crime coverage based on several mini-case studies when the author was present. *See also* Lawrence, above.

Scheutz, Janice, and Kathryn Snedaker. *Communication and Litigation: Case Studies of Famous Trials*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988. Narrative of seven trials over nearly a century shows how they were covered and what impact that coverage had on trial participants.

Slotnick, Elliot E., and Jennifer A. Segal. *Television News and the Supreme Court: All the News That's Fit to Air?* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998. Explores how important selected decisions were covered by television, how producers decide which cases to report, and accuracy in covering often complex decisions, especially on deadline. Offers useful suggestions for improvement based on the importance of television reporting about the least known or understood branch of the federal government.

Surette, Ray. *Media, Crime, and Criminal Justice: Images, Realities and Policies*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2006 (3rd ed.). Provides a bridge between relevant mass media research findings and criminal justice practice and corrects common misconceptions regarding media effects on crime and justice.

Thaler, Paul. *The Watchful Eye: American Justice in the Age of the Television Trial*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994. Reviews the role and impact of having cameras in courtrooms

using a New York case study and interviews with participants.

Thaler, Paul. *The Spectacle: Media and the Making of the O.J. Simpson Story*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1997. First book-length study of what many dubbed the "trial of the century," divided into sections on the murders and their coverage, and the televised trial of a former sports hero. *See also* Hunt, above.

Tucher, Andie. *Froth & Scum: Truth, Beauty, Goodness and the Ax Murder in America's First Mass Medium*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994. Examines news coverage of the notorious 1836 and 1841 New York City murders and how the penny press covered them, including issues of class and power, presumptions about sin and evil, and who got justice and who did not.

Wilson, Jerry V., and Paul Q. Fuqua. *The Police and the Media*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1975. Presents steps necessary (or at least helpful) to establish or improve the public information process in police departments of all sizes.

Wykes, Maggie. *News, Crime and Culture*. Sterling, VA: Pluto Press, 2001. Explores links between culture, criminality, and social control, reviewing how news reports reinforce particular responses to race, poverty, class, and gender. Considers extent to which crime reporting obscures endemic, fundamental and profound issues of poverty, racism, and patriarchy, and operates instead to emphasize deviancy.

Yocum, Robin. *Dead before Deadline: And Other Tales from the Police Beat*. Akron, OH: University of Akron Press, 2004. Vignettes that describe the sad, funny, and often physically repulsive life of this newspaper crime reporter and the police, criminals, innocent victims of violence, and others he meets.

F. Science, Technology, and Medicine

F-1: General

This is a topic of increasing research focus given the growing role of all three subjects in media coverage.

Bauer, Martin W., and Massimiano Bucchi, eds. *Journalism, Science and Society: Science Communication between News and Public Relations*. New York: Routledge, 2007. Assessment in three parts: science journalists speak to what they do and why; followed by a brief history of science journalism; and finally several scholars comment on the realm of science news.

Burkett, Warren. *News Reporting: Science, Medicine, and High Technology*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1986. Essentially a how-to manual for doing the job better.

Dunwoody, Sharon M., et al., eds. *Communicating Uncertainty: Media Coverage of New and Controversial Science*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1999. Fourteen research papers focus on problems (as well as some successes) of news about the uncertainty inherent in scientific work. Contributors include both journalists and scientists.

Friedman, Sharon M., et al., eds. *Scientists and Journalists: Reporting Science as News*. New York: The Free Press, 1986. Eighteen papers (plus two annotated bibliographies) describe and assess relationships between science and news media from a variety of points of view.

Friedman, Sharon M., et al., eds. *Communicating Uncertainty: Media Coverage of New and Controversial Science*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1999. Exploring interactions around scientific uncertainty and its coverage by news media, the study takes three perspectives: that of communicaton scholars who have studied uncertainty in a number of ways; science journalists who have covered these issues; and scientists who have been involved in researching uncertain science and talking to reporters about it.

Gregory, Jane, and Steve Miller. *Science in Public: Communication, Culture, and Credibility*. New York: Basic Books, 2000. Explores the lengthy history of scientific mass communication and various rationales for encouraging greater public understanding of research processes and results, and assessing forces of academe, government, business, and news media that have profoundly different interests in scientific communication.

Gwin, Louis. *Speak No Evil: The Promotional Heritage of Nuclear Risk Communication.* New York: Praeger, 1990. Examines how the nuclear power industry communicates information about nuclear power risks—this a decade after the Three Mile Island near-disaster. The study ranges from the early film *Our Friend, the Atom* to communicating with those living near nuclear plants.

Kiernam, Vincent. *Embargoed Science.* Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2006. Describes how science news reaches people—and who controls what and when it is released. The "embargo" of the title is how some scholarly journals distribute copies of research findings, but limit recipients (often journalists) as to when they can report results. Discusses how print and broadcast media treat these subjects, lack of sufficient specialized reporters, inevitable questions of time and money, a brief history of embargoes in science journalism, accuracy in reporting, and a conclusion that embargoes should end.

Krieghbaum, Hillier. *Science and the Mass Media.* New York: New York University Press, 1967. One of earlier studies of the relationship, covering the decade after the 1957 launch of the first (Soviet) space satellite, noting how reporting of science can impact policy makers.

Nelkin, Dorothy. *Selling Science: How the Press Covers Science and Technology*. New York: Freeman, 1987. Suggests the danger of excessive hype rather than careful analysis in science stories, assessing the scientist as a "star," the role of news media on public attitudes, promotion and PR in science, and how scientists can control news. Most examples are from newspapers.

Weiss, Carol H., and Eleanor Singer. *Reporting of Social Science in the National Media.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1987. Based in part on content analysis, this reviews the issues and limitations of such journalism.

Wilkins, Lee, and Philip Patterson, eds. *Risky Business: Communicating Issues of Science, Risk, and Public Policy*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1991. Fifteen papers about coverage of science, medicine, technology, and disasters by news media as seen from several different disciplines. Questions why the media are generally uncritical about science and technology.

F-2: Environment

Research is expanding here, too, just as the issue itself grows more important to government and business.

Benarde, Melvin A. *You've Been Had! How the Media and Environmentalists Turned America into a Nation of Hypochondriacs.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002. Argues that media reports exaggerate dangers to the environment and needlessly scare consumers. He argues for a higher degree of scientific literacy among news media and consumers to place reports about dangers to health in better context.

Neuzil, Mark, and William Kovarik. *Mass Media and Environmental Conflict: America's Green Crusades*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1996. Historical anecdotes and examples of growing media awareness of and reporting about environmental issues with an appendix providing a timeline of environmental coverage.

Prato, Lou. *Covering the Environmental Beat: An Overview for Radio and TV Journalists.* Washington, DC: Media Institute, 1992. Covers some politics of the environmental movement, broadcast coverage of its issues, risk assessment and environmental science, and other concerns.

Simon, Julian L. *Hoodwinking the Nation.* New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1999. Argues that journalistic methods poorly and unfairly present environmental news given the news media emphasis on bad news to sell newspapers. Put another way, too much positive news is ignored.

Wyss, Bob. *Covering the Environment: How Journalists Work the Green Beat.* New York: Routledge, 2007. Provides background to help reporters identify audiences of interest and anticipate their reactions to environmental news, the role of such journalists attempting to fairly report such news, and examples of reporting environmental science.

F-3: Medicine and Public Health

As in other scientific disciplines, some of the focus here is on translating research findings into consumer-accessible reporting.

Atkin, Charles, and Lawrence Wallack, eds. *Mass Communication and Public Health: Complexities and Conflicts*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1990. Eleven papers on such things as communicating health information, media and health promotion, news media responsiveness to public health, controversies in advertising of health-related products, and regulatory policies.

Friedman, Lester D., ed. *Cultural Sutures: Medicine and Media*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004. Anthology of 21 original research papers by scholars from different fields, divided into sections about different media, pondering issues of accessibility, accountability, and professionalism raised by popular films and television series, and considering ways in which digital technologies have redefined medicine—all employing many examples and case studies.

Levi, Ragnar. *Medical Journalism: Exposing Fact, Fiction, Fraud*. New York: Wiley/Blackwell, 2001. Explains how journalists can improve stories by asking sharper questions and tapping better sources, and how medical experts should be able to back up statements about treatment effects, health risks, and diagnostic tests.

Seale, Clive. *Media and Health*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2003. Reviews research literature on media representations of health, illness, and health care, covering their production, characteristic forms, and relationships with the everyday lives of media audiences. Brings together both well-known and lesser-known studies in the context of an integrated, sociological argument about media and health.

Shoemaker, Pamela J., ed. *Communication Campaigns about Drugs: Government, Media and the Public*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1989. Ten papers discuss how news media were marshaled in government antidrug campaigns during the 1980s, benefits and limits of media use, and what effects have resulted.

Ziporyn, Terra. *Disease in the Popular American Press: The Case of Diphtheria, Typhoid Fever, and Syphilis, 1870–1920*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1988. Explores the depiction of medical science to people through popular magazines, analyzing very different depictions of these diseases: diphtheria was associated with children, typhoid fever with uncleanliness, and syphilis with immorality. Medical popularizers presented theory as certainty, and medical science as devoid of error.

G. Literary and Narrative Journalism

A style of writing to some, and of reporting to others, this has been a matter of research and commentary for more than a century.

Carey, James W., ed. *Media, Myths and Narratives: Television and the Press*. Newbury, CA: Sage, 1988. A dozen scholarly assessments of news as narrative make effective use of a number of case studies.

Frus, Phyllis. *The Politics and Poetics of Journalistic Narrative: The Timely and the Timeless*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994. Explores the relationship between journalism in periodicals and fiction as well as the nonfiction novel genre.

Hartsock, John C. *A History of American Literary Journalism: The Emergence of a Modern Narrative Form*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000. Traces roots of this distinctive form of writing—whether called new or literary journalism or creative nonfiction at least as far back as late nineteenth century. Drawing on techniques of the realistic novel, the writers developed a new narrative style of reporting. By the 1890s, literary journalism had achieved critical recognition.

Harvard University. *Narrative Journalism Bibliography 2004*. http://www.harvard.com/events/nieman2004.pdf. Produced for a Nieman Center conference, this is arranged by broad topic and includes only those titles then in print.

Keeble, Richard, and Sharon Wheeler, eds. *The Journalistic Imagination: Literary Journalists from*

Defoe to Capote and Carter. New York: Routledge, 2007. Ten papers on one or more aspects of journalistic efforts by Daniel Defoe, William Hazlitt, George Sand, Charles Dickens, Willa Cather, Graham Greene, George Orwell, Martha Gellhorn, Truman Capote, and Angela Carter.

Kerrane, Kevin, and Ben Yagoda, eds. *The Art of Fact: A Historical Anthology of Literary Journalism*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997. In a collection spanning 372 years, the editors focus on the evolution of New Journalism, a term that, we learn, "was originally coined by Matthew Arnold in 1887 to describe the style of Stead's *Pall Mall Gazette:* brash, vivid, personal, reform-minded, and—occasionally, from Arnold's conservative viewpoint—'featherbrained.'"

Koch, Tom. *The News As Myth: Fact and Context in Journalism*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1990. Shows that the narrative form accepted by most academics and practicing news professionals creates a consistent and structural bias that is at root of most "false truths." Demonstrates with early case studies how the use of computer information technologies might modify inadequate narrative styles.

Sims, Norman, ed. *Literary Journalism in the 20th Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990; reprinted by Northwestern University Press, 2008. Collection of a dozen pieces that explore the fine line between fiction and nonfiction from both historical and critical perspectives.

Treglown, Jeremy, and Bridget Bennett, eds. *Grub Street and the Ivory Tower: Literary Journalism and Literary Scholarship from Fielding to the Internet*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. Fourteen papers provide a British review of literary journalism over 200 years, beginning with Henry Fielding, exploring how scholarly interest in literature is often reflected in literary journalism as well.

Underwood, Doug. *Journalism and the Novel: Truth and Fiction, 1700–2000*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008. Focuses on notable journalists-turned-novelists since the early eighteenth century, when novels and commercial periodicals began to emerge as cultural forces. Writers from both sides of the Atlantic are discussed, from Defoe to Dickens, and Twain to Didion. Author shows how literary reputations can be built on journalistic foundations of research and reporting, and how this impacts questions of realism and authenticity throughout the work of many authors.

Weingarten, Marc. *The Gang That Couldn't Write Straight: Wolfe, Thompson, Didion, and the New Journalism Revolution*. New York: Crown, 2006. Critical group biography of the late-twentieth-century new journalists and what they accomplished.

Whitt, Jan. *Settling the Borderland: Other Voices in Literary Journalism*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2008. Focuses on work on Katherine Anne Porter, Eudora Welty, Joan Didion, Sara Davidson, and Susan Orlean, placing them in the larger context of literary journalism more generally.

H. Ethnicity and Minorities

This subsection focuses on news media content; for the minority journalists themselves, see Section 7-I.

H-1: Surveys

These works range from descriptive analyses to how best to undertake such reporting.

Aldrich, Leigh Stephens. *Covering the Community: A Diversity Handbook for Media*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press, 1999. Brief guide on how to do a better reporting job across different ethnic groups.

Biagi, Shirley, and Marilyn Kern-Foxworth. *Facing Difference: Race, Gender, and Mass Media*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge, 1997. Designed as an undergraduate survey text of issues involved in reporting and media portrayals of minorities.

Browne, Donald R., et al. *Television/Radio News & Minorities*. Queenstown, MD: Aspen Institute, 1994. A product of (former President Jimmy) Carter Center, chapters explore examples from several countries reviewing mainstream and specialized programming, coverage of conflict, employment concerns, and obtaining information about minority groups.

Campbell, Christopher P. *Race, Myth, and the News*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995. Seven brief chapters (one a news story case study) exploring myths of marginality, difference, and assimilation with many appendices providing transcripts for each case study.

Cropp, Fritz, et al. *Journalism Across Cultures*. Ames: Iowa State Press, 2003. Provides an overview of journalism issues and research across lines of race, culture, gender, age, sexual orientation, and ideology.

Dines, Gail, and Jean M. Humez, eds. *Gender, Race and Class in Media: A Text-Reader*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2002 (2nd ed.). More than 60 research papers, 10 new to this edition, arranged by type of media content (including news) being discussed.

Ghareeb, Edmund. *Split Vision: The Portrayal of Arabs in the American Media*. Washington, DC: American-Arab Affairs Council, 1983. Based on two waves of interviews with journalists in the Middle East (or those who know the region), focusing on newspaper and editorial cartoon images. Other sections review American reporting about the region. *See also* Nacos, below.

Hamamoto, Darrell Y. *Monitored Peril: Asian Americans and the Politics of TV Representation*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994. Media portrayals and stereotypes are assessed, contrasting recent immigrants with longtime American citizens.

Heider, Don. *White News: Why Local News Programs Don't Cover People of Color*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2000. Detailed study of Albuquerque and Honolulu markets using both the author's own on-air experience and ethnographic research. A final chapter offers suggestions on how to improve things.

Hilliard, Robert L., and Michael C. Keith. *Waves of Rancor: Tuning in the Radical Right*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1999. Provides a chilling review of right-wing "anti" broadcasters since the 1940s, most of whom harp against one or more minority groups. Coverage ranges from "mainstream" figures like Limbaugh to fringe neo-Nazi types.

Keever, Beverly Ann Deepe, et al., eds. *U.S. News Coverage of Racial Minorities: A Sourcebook, 1934–1996*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1997. Extensive literature review of research on news coverage of Native, African, Hispanic, and Asian Americans, as well as Pacific Islanders, divided into six historical periods.

Leff, Laurel. *Buried by The Times: The Holocaust and America's Most Important Newspaper*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005. Critical history of how *The New York Times* deliberately downplayed Hitler's genocide. Acknowledges difficulties of reporting about wartime atrocities, but argues the paper was hobbled by reliance on official sources when the Roosevelt administration was downplaying the Holocaust, because it sought to deflect isolationist criticism that Jews caused the war.

Miller, Sally M., ed. *The Ethnic Press in the United States: A Historical Analysis and Handbook*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1987. Includes coverage of 27 different groups (all immigrants at one time or another) by a variety of academic authors, assessing the development of newspapers, often in native languages, and their influence.

Morgan, Arlene Notoro, et al., eds. *The Authentic Voice: The Best Reporting on Race and Ethnicity*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006. Combines multimedia (there's a DVD and related website) drawn from a series of Columbia University workshops to suggest models of good reporting in this often difficult subject area. Editors provide a host of examples in text and video that "reflect the way news organizations tend to frame coverage" (p. xvi).

Nacos, Brigitte L., and Oscar Torres-Reyna. *Fueling our Fears: Stereotyping, Media Coverage, and Public Opinion of Muslim Americans*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007. Study of New York City's and the nation's reaction to the 9/11 attacks. Includes New York group interviews and content analyses of newspaper and television news. Later chapters review Americans' views about Arabs and Muslims here and abroad, detaining and torturing of terrorism suspects, and American Muslim views about American media. *See also* Ghareeb, above.

Nelson, Jack A., ed. *The Disabled, the Media, and the Information Age*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994. Fifteen papers discuss portrayals of those with disabilities, disability coverage in news media, disability and civil rights, news media workplace for the disabled, and ethical concerns. Includes several case studies.

Riggins, Stephen Harold, ed. *Ethnic Minority Media: An International Perspective*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1992. Twelve papers on models of aboriginal survival (Alaska, Greenland, Australia, and more), and the quest for media space by immigrants and indigenous minority groups.

Shah, Hemant, and Michael C. Thornton. *Newspaper Coverage of Interethnic Conflict: Competing Visions of America*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2004. Using content analysis methodology, this study examines how news media covered conflicts among black, Latino, and Asian American ethnic groups in the final years of the twentieth century in three U.S. cities: Miami, Washington, D.C., and Los Angeles, each of which suffered major racial confrontations.

Simon, Rita J. *Public Opinion and the Immigrant: Print Media Coverage, 1880–1980*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1985. Traces how major magazines have treated the topic, with one chapter reporting newspaper coverage including an analysis of *New York Times* editorials.

Squires, Catherine R. *Dispatches from the Color Line: The Press and Multiracial America*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007. Reviews how journalists utilize information from many sources to link multiracial identity to particular racial norms, policy preferences, and cultural trends. Compares how a new racial group is framed in mass media, and how different media sources reinforce or challenge long-standing assumptions about racial identity and belonging.

Van Dijk, Teun A. *Racism and the Press: Critical Studies in Racism and Migration*. New York: Routledge, 1991. Ethnic affairs reporting during the 1980s as seen in Dutch and British media, including their headlines and subjects of stories, editorials, quotes, and sources.

Wilson, Clint C., III, et al. *Racism, Sexism, and the Media: The Rise of Class Communication in Multicultural America*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2003 (3rd ed.). Examines how people of color fit into American life, and how media tell them (and others) how they fit in, including media portrayals and issues of stereotyping.

H-2: Foreign Language

As the nation assumes a more multilingual profile, this subject is receiving greater attention, though to this point most is historical in nature.

Hoerder, Dirk, ed. *The Immigrant Labor Press in North America, 1840s-1970s: An Annotated Bibliography*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1987 (3 vols.). Provides a comprehensive guide to literature about these papers. The aim was to provide a comprehensive record of non-English language periodical literature produced by European ethnic groups in North America. Material is arranged by language group. The project began with a 1978 academic symposium. Focus throughout is on labor and radical press to enable researchers to compare and contrast experiences of various ethnic groups as part of the North American working class. The volumes:

1. *Migrants from Northern Europe.*
2. *Labor Migrants from Eastern and Southeastern Europe.*
3. *Migrants from Southern and Western Europe.*

Kanellos, Nicolás, and Helvetia Martell. *Hispanic Periodicals in the United States: Origins to 1960—A Brief History and Comprehensive Bibliography*. Houston, TX: Arte Público Press, 2000. First comprehensive source on production, content, and distribution of these periodicals. Includes some 1,700 annotated entries, notes, and three indexes: by subject, date, and geography.

Mansfield-Richardson, Virginia. *Asian Americans and the Mass Media: A Content Analysis of Twenty United States Newspapers and a Survey of Asian American Journalists*. New York: Garland, 2000. Long title sums it up.

Meyer, Doris. *Speaking for Themselves: Neomexicano Cultural Identity and the Spanish-Language Press, 1880–1920*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996. Reviews different types of content carried in those four decades.

Rodriguez, America. *Making Latino News: Race, Language, Class*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press, 1999. Examines Latino news making as part of a larger narrative about cultural productions and conceptions of Latinos. Traces historical and commercial contexts of Latino orientated news production, beginning with late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Spanish language newspapers, and examines production of contemporary Latino news.

Shore, Elliott, et al., eds. *The German-American Radical Press: The Shaping of a Left Political Culture, 1850–1940*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1992. Eleven papers review newspapers aimed at post-1848 immigrants in America, reviewing their editors, a St. Louis paper, labor movement papers in Chicago during the Civil War, the working-class press in Philadelphia during the so-called gilded age, and a socialist paper in New York City.

Wittke, Carl Frederick. *The German-Language Press in America*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1957. Covers more than 200 years, taking an overall view of the importance of such papers for immigrants, and profiling some of the more important titles.

H-3: African Americans

Many additional titles discussing the role of blacks and black imagery in popular television entertainment programs are not included here.

Acham, Christine. *Revolution Televised: Prime Time and the Struggle for Black Power*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004. Focuses on several network television drama programs from the late 1960s through the 1970s—those featuring blacks and aimed (at least in part) at a black audience. While not journalism per se, their content echoed much of what was in the news (and some of the controversies) of the time.

African American History in the Press, 1851–1899: From the Coming of the Civil War to the Rise of Jim Crow, as Reported and Illustrated in Selected Newspapers of the Time. Detroit, MI: Gale Research, 1996 (2 vols.). First volume includes a timeline and carries material through 1869. All entries are arranged by year and include a brief summary of historical events.

Daniel, Walter C. *Black Journals in the United States*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1982. Offers multipage profiles of about 100 black-oriented journals and magazines.

Danky, James Philip, and Maureen E. Hady, eds. *African-American Newspapers and Periodicals: A National Bibliography*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999. Includes some 6,500 publications (from 1827 to 1998) showing, for each one, their frequency of publication, editor and editorial address, subscription rates, publisher, previous editors, variations in title and place or frequency of publication, where they are indexed, and various library holdings. Indexed by writing genres, subjects, editor's and publisher's names, and state.

Dates, Jannette L., and William Barlow, eds. *Split Image: African Americans in the Mass Media*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1990. After a brief history, provides coverage of most media and content types including journalism in print and on commercial and public broadcasting.

Entman, Robert M., and Andrew Rojecki. *The Black Image in the White Mind: Media and Race in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000. Authors find very little in the media that intentionally promotes racism, but find even less that advances racial harmony. They reveal instead a subtle pattern of images that, while making room for blacks, implies a racial hierarchy with whites on top and promotes a sense of difference and conflict.

Fisher, Paul, and Ralph L. Lowenstein. *Race and the News Media*. New York: Praeger, 1967. An early study assessing press coverage, written in the midst of the civil rights struggle across the American South.

Hunt, Darnelle M., ed. *Channeling Blackness: Studies on Television and Race in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004. Presents 15 studies of the shifting relationship between popular television and being black. Using many methodological approaches, examines four issues that have framed popular and scholarly inquiries into the nature of race on television: what authors term the black-white binary; power of news media; distinguishing between "negative" and "positive" images; and the relative importance of markets versus racial motives in television.

Jacob, Donald M., ed. *Antebellum Black Newspapers: Indices*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1976. Includes reference access to four short-lived titles published in New York City between 1827 and 1841.

Martindale, Carolyn. *The White Press and Black America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1986. Assesses trends in reporting of black America, difficulties in covering racial news, past coverage deficiencies, and results of a content analysis of the previous three decades of coverage.

Pride, Armistead, and Clint Wilson II. *A History of the Black Press*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1997. Begins with *Freedom's Journal* in 1827, and carries the story to broadcasting in the late twentieth century.

Reporting Civil Rights: 1941–1973. New York: Library of America, 2003 (2 vols.). Starting with A. Philip Randolph's call in 1941 for African Americans to march on Washington, this presents firsthand accounts of events that overthrew American segregation, including nearly 200 newspaper and magazine reports and book excerpts, and the work of 151 writers. *See also* the website, which includes visual and audio material related to the topic: http://reportingcivilrights.loa.org.

Roberts, Gene, and Hank Klibanoff. *The Race Beat: The Press, The Civil Rights Struggle, and The Awakening of a Nation*. New York: Knopf, 2006. Pulitzer Prize–winning study explores why the mainstream press took so long to cover the South—and the impact media had on the country once such coverage began. Reviews the role of several key reporters and editors who went against the racist Southern hierarchy to bring change.

Sampson, Henry T. *Swingin' on the Ether Waves: A Chronological History of African Americans in Radio and Television Broadcasting, 1925–1955*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2005 (2 vols.). Offers a detailed record of the black experience in American radio and television in chapters dividing the story into five-year chunks. Explores an almost forgotten topic—how the country's largest minority was presented on radio and early television in an era of (compared to today) inherent racism. Largely an annotated chronology, each entry (some quite lengthy) relates a specific event or program, and usually includes a period quote.

Savage, Barbara Dianne. *Broadcasting Freedom: Radio, War, and the Politics of Race, 1938–1948*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. Closely evaluates several government-produced programs (*Americans All, Immigrants All, Freedom's People,* etc.) intended to explore the interface of radio with politics and race. The book points out the importance of radio's role in ongoing debates over the place of black Americans in society.

Simmons, Charles A. *The African American Press*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1998. Following a survey of the topic, the book focuses on four newspapers published before World War II: *Chicago Defender, Pittsburgh Courier,* (Oklahoma City) *Black Dispatch,* and *Jackson Advocate* (Mississippi).

Smith-Shomade, Beretta E. *Shaded Lives: African-American Women and Television*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002. Concludes African American women are still presented on television as distorted and deviant in comedy, music video, television news, and talk shows (Oprah Winfrey is highlighted), showing how they are represented, what forces may influence such images, and what alternates might be available.

Suggs, Henry Lewis, ed. *The Black Press in the South: 1865–1979*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1983. Broad survey of the post–Civil War black press covering ownership, finances, and, most importantly, the many topics they covered.

Suggs, Henry Lewis, ed. *The Black Press in the Middle West, 1865–1985*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1996. Ten essays cover different states and many different aspects (including types of stories carried) of the growing black press.

Thompson, Julius E. *The Black Press in Mississippi, 1865–1985*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993. Chronological discussion of black newspapers within a segregationist society, focusing on developments after 1960.

Ward, Brian. *Radio and the Struggle for Civil Rights in the South*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004. Reviews the growing role of radio in helping blacks define their role in a changing south. Indeed, the author argues that "radio was often the most important mass medium operating within southern black communities during the zenith of the civil rights struggle of the 1950s and 1960s; that it played an important role in laying the foundations for those struggles and was occasionally decisive in determining their outcome" (p. 2).

Washburn, Patrick S. *A Question of Sedition: The Federal Government's Investigation of the Black Press during World War II*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986. Tells the story of an event (an attempt by the Roosevelt administration to use wartime sedition powers to suppress publication of major black newspapers during World War II) that almost happened, didn't, and why it never occurred.

Washburn, Patrick S. *The African American Newspaper: Voice of Freedom*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2007. Provides a broad view of how the black press developed from the nineteenth century to the present, how such papers got started, their difficult early operation in a racially divided society, many examples of important early-twentieth-century papers and editors, the changing black press between the wars, black press during World War II, black press just before the Civil Rights movement, and the roles and impact of the black press during the Civil Rights struggle from the late 1950s into the 1960s.

Wasserman, Ira. *How the American Media Packaged Lynching (1850–1940): Constructing the Meaning of Social Events*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 2006. How national media framed and thus covered this grim topic, including those in favor and against lynching, over four periods in different parts of the country.

Wickham, DeWayne. *Thinking Black: Some of the Nation's Best Black Columnists Speak Their Minds*. New York: Crown, 1996. Anthology of lesser-known newspaper contributors, writing about different aspects of racial discrimination within the black community, political issues, and other things, generally from a liberal perspective.

Wolseley, Roland E. *The Black Press, U.S.A.* Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1990. A longtime student of black newspapers and magazines surveys their history and then-current status including profiles of major publications, the role of journalism education for black reporters, and the pros and cons of black newspapers.

H-4: Native Peoples

With important exceptions cited here, this is a relatively thin literature thus far.

Browne, Donald R. *Electronic Media and Indigenous Peoples: A Voice of Our Own?* Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1996. Includes the theory and definition of indigenous media, programming and operating such enterprises, a case study of Maori electronic media in New Zealand, the role of language, and the politics of indigenous broadcasting.

Coward, John M. *The Newspaper Indian: Native American Identity in the Press, 1820–90*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999. Explores newspaper images of Native Americans as impediments to progress and cultural outsiders with some "Noble Savage" portraits as well. By the 1870s, an Indian "frame" was evident in most coverage as such mythology helped sell newspapers.

Daley, Patrick J., and Beverly A. James. *Cultural Politics and the Mass Media: Alaska Native Voices*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2004. Provides a series of case studies exploring varied uses of newspapers, radio stations, and television programs and how they "became strategic sites of Native resistance to political, economic, and

cultural agendas of non-Native settlers" (from the dustwrapper). A brief conclusion discusses how effective use of various media has helped empower Native groups that long lacked any such tool.

Danky, James P., ed. *Native American Periodicals and Newspapers, 1828–1982: Bibliography, Publishing Record, and Holdings*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1984. After a lengthy introduction, nearly 1,200 titles are listed and indexed in a variety of ways. *See also* Littlefield and Parins, below.

Keith, Michael C. *Signals in the Air: Native Broadcasting in America*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995. The first book on the subject, in seven chapters this relates the story from the earliest "Indian" broadcasts to initial stations devoted to Native American audiences, their funding and impact, and challenges facing such operations. Based largely on interviews with those doing the broadcasting.

Littlefield, Daniel F., and James W. Parins, eds. *American Indian and Alaska Native Newspapers and Periodicals*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1984–86 (3 vols.). Very detailed aid to finding these often elusive publications, some issued by individual tribes, some by government agencies, and some merely writing *about* "Indians." *See also* Danky, above. As follows:

1. *1826–1924*. 1984. Includes about 200 titles.
2. *1925–1970*. 1986. Adds 500 titles.
3. *1971–1985*. 1986. Adds a final 1,000 titles.

Murphy, James E., and Sharon M. Murphy. *Let My People Know: American Indian Journalism*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981. Provides a brief historical view of American Indian newspapers as they worked against misinformation promulgated by many white newspapers in their complicity to provoke fear and hatred of the native population, to denigrate its culture, and to despoil its homelands. It then focuses on modern Native American newspapers and journals, the hopes of their writers and editors, and their assessments of the future.

Strom, Karen M. *Index of Native American Media Resources on the Internet*. http://www.hanksville.org/NAresources/indices/NAmedia.html. Lists and links for general information, newspapers, journals and magazines, documentary photographs, and broadcasting.

Weston, Mary Ann. *Native Americans in the News: Images of Indians in the Twentieth Century Press*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1996. Shows how some images that date from the time of Columbus have persisted to the present, asking whether journalistic practices have helped or hindered accurate portrayals of Native Americans.

H-5: Sexual Orientation

Always controversial in America, research into this subject is growing.

Alwood, Edward. *Straight News: Gays, Lesbians, and the News Media*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996. Reviews the role of gay men and lesbians in both print and electronic journalism. This is basically historical, drawing, as author points out, on a paucity of source material.

Casteñeda, Laura, and Shannon Campbell, eds. *News and Sexuality: Media Portraits of Diversity*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2006. Anthology of 14 papers about the portrayal in news media of gays and related minority groups. Includes many case studies as well as gay men and lesbians in the media between the two world wars, lesbian and gay representation in U.S. news media during in the 1950s, framing the AIDS epidemic story, transgender images in media, news coverage of sex-related hate crimes, media coverage of the U.S. ban on gays in military service, same-sex marriage in a cultural and historical context (a guide for beginning journalists), representation of lesbian and gay parents in the news media, and images of sexual minorities on television.

I. Women's Interests

For works about women journalists, see Section 7-H.

Aronson, Amy Beth. *Taking Liberties: Early American Women's Magazines and Their Readers*.

Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002. Reveals how participatory dynamics and public visibility offered special advantages to women, especially to those with sufficient education, access, and financial means, for whom "ladies magazines" offered opportunities for self-expression, collective discussion, and cultural response.

Bradley, Patricia. *Mass Media and the Shaping of American Feminism, 1963–1975*. Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2003. Examines media traditions that served to curtail understandings of feminism as journalists, following craft formulas of their trade, equated feminism with the bizarre and unusual. Asks how public issues are to be raised when those who ask questions are negatively defined before issues are discussed.

Endres, Kathleen L., and Therese L. Lueck, eds. *Women's Periodicals in the United States*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995–96 (2 vols.). Essentially a descriptive handbook of magazines directed toward women, with multipage profiles of selected titles.

Consumer Magazines. 1995. General overview, with profiles of 75 past and present periodicals.

Social and Political Issues. 1996. A wide variety of titles are covered including those on religion, labor, suffrage, and pacifism.

Farrell, Amy Erdman. *Yours in Sisterhood:* Ms *Magazine and the Promise of Popular Feminism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. Traces the history of *Ms.* from its origins in 1972 to its final commercial issue in 1989. Drawing on interviews with former editors, archival materials, and text of the magazine itself, the author examines its efforts to forge a role within a commercial culture.

Harris, Sharon M., and Ellen Gruber Garvey, eds. *Blue Pencils and Hidden Hands: Women Editing Periodicals, 1830–1910*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2002. Anthology of original critical essays exploring how women periodical editors redefined women's identities and roles, and influenced public opinion about such issues as abolition and woman suffrage.

Humphreys, Nancy K. *American Women's Magazines: An Annotated Historical Guide*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1989. Some 900 descriptive entries are divided into sections on alternative and mainstream publications.

Kitch, Carolyn. *The Girl on the Magazine Cover: The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. The role of 1895–1930 magazine cover imagery in establishing accepted and only slowly changing social norms of women in American life, noting connections between editorial and advertiser interests.

Lent, John A. *Women and Mass Communications: An International Annotated Bibliography*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1991. Some 3,200 items, 85 percent of them annotated, in a broad survey covering all time periods, topics, and global regions (the book is organized by region), and all forms of media. *See also* next entry.

Lent, John A. *Women and Mass Communications in the 1990s: An International, Annotated Bibliography*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1999. Continues the bibliography immediately above, adding 3,800 entries from around the world. Both volumes together provide an excellent survey of a huge mass of relevant material. Annotations range from a few words to several sentences and cover general studies, historical studies, women's media, images of women in news media, women as an audience, and women as mass media professionals.

McCracken, Ellen. *Decoding Women's Magazines: From* Mademoiselle *to* Ms. New York: St. Martin's, 1993. Reviews a number of selected titles during the early 1980s, assessing their covers and internal advertisements.

Meyers, Marian. *News Coverage of Violence against Women: Engendering Blame*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1997. Argues and shows evidence (including example stories) that criminal violence against women is reported differently than violence against males.

Poindexter, Paula, et al., eds. *Women, Men, and News: Divided and Disconnected in the News*

Media Landscape. New York: Erlbaum/Routledge, 2008. Explores the divide in gender use of news media, looking at how men and women have read and used news in the past and present, how they use technology to access news, and how news pertains to and is used by women. Also addresses women's use of news, considering racial, ethnic, international and feminist perspectives.

Walker, Nancy A. *Women's Magazines, 1940–1960: Gender Roles and the Popular Press*. New York: St. Martin's, 1998. This compendium of articles and advertisements from women's magazines during the 1940s and 1950s chronicles the debate over women's domestic and public roles during two decades of enormous social change in America.

Walker, Nancy A. *Shaping Our Mothers' World: American Women's Magazines*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2000. Reviews the content of a range of popular titles in the mid-twentieth century to understand how these publications reflected society, including their role in World War II and postwar consumerism.

Zuckerman, Mary Ellen. *Sources on the History of Women's Magazines, 1792–1960: An Annotated Bibliography*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1991. Business, advertising, market research, content analysis, editors and writers, and images of women in news media are among topics covered in hundreds of entries.

Zuckerman, Mary Ellen. *A History of Popular Women's Magazines in the United States, 1792–1995*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1998. Compares and contrasts magazines and their content with larger social developments at the same time, as well as the role of advertisers and research in changing content and means of presentation. Also illustrates growing specialization of such titles in recent decades.

J. Religion

Another subject controversial by its very nature, much religious writing in news media has been descriptive rather than analytic.

Buddenbaum, Judith M. *Reporting News about Religion: An Introduction for Journalists*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1998. Understanding religion and religious news (trends, audiences), and the writing and reporting process.

Buddenbaum, Judith M., and Debra L. Mason, eds. *Readings on Religion as News*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1999. More than 130 newspaper and magazine articles are collected in chronological order (starting in 1690!), most concerning Christianity, but showing diverse opinions.

Connolly, Diane and Debra L. Mason. *Reporting on Religion: A Primer on Journalism's Best Beat*. Westerville, OH: Religion Newswriters Association, 2006. Offers an overview of what it is like to cover a media religion beat, with practical advice and information for those already covering religion and for those who are new to this area. Included are seven chapters devoted to the field of religious journalism and to those who write about religion and related spiritual and ethical issues for various media.

Erickson, Hal. *Religious Radio and Television in the United States, 1921–1991: The Programs and Personalities*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1991. Encyclopedia of the genre with entries on many specific programs, key personalities, and program categories. Includes both mainline programs of years ago and today's evangelists.

Fackler, P. Mark, and Charles H. Lippy, eds. *Popular Religious Magazines of the United States*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1995. Partially updates Lippy's original guide (*Religious Periodicals of the United States: Academic and Scholarly Journals,* Greenwood, 1986) focusing on those publications aimed at general readers. About 100 magazine profiles range from three to ten pages each.

Hangen, Tona J. *Redeeming the Dial: Radio, Religion & Popular Culture in America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. Seeks origins of today's televangelism by reviewing radio religion to 1939 (mainly free time given to "mainstream" religions), some early on-air religious figures, and the relation of radio religion to postwar popular culture generally.

Hoover, Stuart M. *Religion in the News: Faith and Journalism in American Public Discourse*.

Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1998. Based on surveys and interviews, this study surveys religious reporting in print and electronic media with some discussion of religious journalism audiences.

Lochte, Bob. *Christian Radio: The Growth of a Mainstream Broadcasting Force.* Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2006. An amalgam of both scholarly and popular literature, this is a history of Christian (Protestant) radio broadcasting in the United States, examining people whose work has contributed to its success and, more importantly, an analysis of why Christian radio has expanded far beyond its small station origins to mainstream television and radio.

McCloud, Sean. *Making the American Religious Fringe: Exotics, Subversives, and Journalists, 1955–1993.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004. Offers content analysis of coverage of sects and fringe religions in America published in well-known newsweeklies, general interest magazines, some highly regarded religious magazines, and other titles such as *Life, Look, Esquire, Jet, Seventeen,* and *Catholic World.* Concludes that our definition of "mainstream" religion has changed in press coverage over time.

Melton, J. Gordon, et al. *Prime-Time Religion: An Encyclopedia of Religious Broadcasting.* Phoenix, AZ: Oryx, 1997. Nearly 400 brief entries about radio and television people and programs, past (since 1921) and present.

Meyer, Birgit, and Annelies Moors, eds. *Religion, Media, and the Public Sphere.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006. Scholarly papers examine how media are used by religions and why religion and media have become so interdependent. Authors argue that there is a clear "public presence of religion in the information age" reflected in the Internet, book publishing, press, broadcasting, music, and recordings.

Said, Edward W. *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World.* London: Vintage, 1997 (2nd ed.). How American popular media have used and perpetuated an unfavorable image of Islamic people, and how this has prevented understanding while providing a fictitious common enemy for Americans.

Schmalzbauer, John. *People of Faith: Religious Convictions in American Journalism and Higher Education.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003. Examines the role and meaning of religion in the private lives of journalists and university teachers and how this colors their professional work. The author argues an overarching theme: That there is an "acute (tension) between professional and religious ways of knowing in American society," and thus most journalists and educators wrestle with what is the truth. Two of seven chapters relate to journalism.

Silk, Mark. *Unsecular Media: Making News of Religion in America.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998. A mixture of history and current assessment, this focuses on a content analysis of religious reporting in newspapers and news magazines, arguing that such reporting generally reflects (though it may not be keeping up with) general American beliefs.

Sloan, W. David, ed. *Media and Religion in American History.* Northport, AL: Vision Press, 2000. Anthology of media and scholarly reports offering a review of changing relationships over time.

Soukup, Paul A. *Christian Communication: A Bibliographical Survey.* Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1989. Some 1,300 annotated entries arranged in topical sections, including major European languages as well as English.

Underwood, Doug. *From Yahweh to Yahoo: The Religious Roots of the Secular Press.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002. Argues that the roots, values, and ethics of American journalism lie in past religious history. Reviews past as well as current religious thinking of a national sample of journalists who, the author concludes, are "covertly religious people." Later chapters assess how religion is reported, roles of televangelists, and the Internet's impact.

K. Business and Economics

While they both concern money, these two topics of journalism (*not* the same, as practitioners make

clear) are relative newcomers to the journalistic scene and have developed substantially in recent decades, often taking on a policy coloration.

Epstein, Gene. *Econospinning: How to Read Between the Lines When the Media Manipulate the Numbers*. New York: Wiley, 2006. Covers a variety of topics including eldercare fraud, ways to measure employment, long-term unemployment myths, what the employment-population ratio tells us, average hourly earnings and unemployment rates, wages and productivity, changes in payroll employment data, Greenspan idolatry, "Freakonomics," and Lou Dobbs and jobs.

Greco, Albert N. *Business Journalism: Management Notes and Cases*. New York: New York University, 1988. A case book on the processes of gathering and editing business news.

Gussow, Don. *The New Business Journalism: An Insider's Look at the Workings of America's Business Press*. San Diego, CA: Harcourt, 1984. Useful now for its snapshot of the structure and operations of the sector before substantial digital technology entered the picture.

Kirsch, Donald. *Financial and Economic Journalism: Analysis, Interpretation, and Reporting*. New York: New York University Press, 1979. Briefly reviews development of the this kind of press, then many different types of stories and business records that support such stories. One chapter reviews selected types of specialized industries; another government regulators.

Parsons, Wayne. *The Power of the Financial Press: Journalism and Economic Opinion in Britain and America*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990. Comparative study of the growth of such journalism in both countries, with a focus on *The Economist, The Financial Times,* and *The Wall Street Journal*.

Roush, Chris. *History of Business Journalism*. http://www.bizjournalismhistory.org. A University of North Carolina journalism school site providing a timeline on the development of business and economic journalism in all its forms.

Roush, Chris. *Profits and Losses: Business Journalism and Its Role in Society*. Oak Park, IL: Marion Street Press, 2006. Asserts that current social attitudes were set in place by twentieth-century reporting on finance, business trends, markets, unemployment, governmental economic policy, corporate malfeasance, and consumers. Breakthroughs in automobile safety, food and drug regulation, and public health were brought about, the author argues, by scrutiny from national news media.

Schuster, Thomas. *The Markets and the Media: Business News and Stock Market Movements*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2006. Explores the impact of business (and other) news on broadcast and specialized cable business networks and financial market performance. Includes a 50-page bibliography of business and financial communication.

L. Unions and Labor

Somewhat surprisingly, journalism about unions and employment has thus far produced only a limited literature. *See* Section 4-C for works about media-related unions and labor.

Atkins, Joseph B. *Covering for the Bosses: Labor and the Southern Press*. Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2008. Probes the often difficult relationship between press coverage and organized labor in the South to the present, focusing on the era since World War II. Details the decline of the once-dominant textile industry, the arrival of foreign automakers from Asia and Germany, and the effects of millions of immigrant workers from Mexico and elsewhere. With few exceptions, news media have acted as partners to business and political interests that keep the South the least-unionized region.

Fones-Wolf, Elizabeth. *Waves of Opposition: Labor and the Struggle for Democratic Radio*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006. Focuses on the (often fruitless) struggle of labor and unions to have their political, social, and economic views heard over commercial radio stations up to World War II.

Martin, Christopher R. *Framed! Labor and the Corporate Media*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004. Argues that American news media

have given labor a bum rap by framing stories about labor relations from a consumer perspective; that five news frames dominated news coverage of labor in the 1990s: the consumer is king; the process of production is none of the public's business; the economy is driven by great business leaders and entrepreneurs; the workplace is a meritocracy; and collective economic action is bad. Succeeding chapters critically analyze coverage of five major labor events from the 1990s.

Pizzigati, Sam, and Fred J. Solowey, eds. *The New Labor Press: Journalism for a Changing Union Movement*. Cornell, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992. Anthology of papers on different aspects of labor union publications, including their use of photographs and editorial cartoons. Incorporates several case studies of different union periodicals.

M. Alternative, Dissident, and Underground News Media

Dissent has always been a part of the American press. Underground papers reached their height on college campuses and elsewhere in the 1960s and early 1970s, seeking a very different America from that of mainstream media.

The Alternative Press Center. http://www.altpress.org. Useful entry point for information on alternative publications and trends. Includes an extensive directory of alternative publications of all types.

Armstrong, David. *A Trumpet to Arms: Alternative Media in America*. Los Angeles: Tarcher, 1981 (reissued by South End Press, 1999). Chronicles 200 years of publication, from Tom Paine's *Common Sense* to *I.F. Stone's Weekly,* plus *The Berkeley Barb, L.A. Free Press, Mother Jones,* and *New Age Journal.*

Atton, Chris. *Alternate Media*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2001. Examines how and why people produce and use alternative media (to make meaning, to interpret, and to change the world in which they live), reviews a wide range of alternative media with examples from the United States and Britain, placing contemporary alternative media within their cultural, historical and political contexts.

Embardo, Ellen. *Voices from the Underground*. http://www.lib.uconn.edu/online/research/speclib/ASC/exhibits/voices. An online exhibition from University of Connecticut libraries about "Radical Protest and the Underground Press in the Sixties," including a focus on media and the Vietnam War.

Fulton, Len, ed. *The International Directory of Little Magazines and Small Presses*. Paradise, CA: Dustbooks, 1966–present, annual. While much of this material is cultural and not journalism, this directory is aimed at potential authors, with both a regional and a subject index.

Gitlin, Todd. *The Whole World Is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980. Sociological study of free speech and anti-Vietnam war demonstrations on American campuses and elsewhere, largely in late 1960s and early 1970s, and how media coverage impacted protesters and viewer reactions to protesters.

Glessing, Robert J. *The Underground Press in America*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970. Early survey of the history and development of such newspapers.

Johnson, Michael I. *The New Journalism: The Underground Press, The Artists of Nonfiction, and Changes in the Established Media*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1971. Compares and contrasts writers and their work for mainstream and underground newspapers.

Kessler, Lauren. *The Dissident Press: Alternative Journalism in America*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1984. Provides a brief history of papers outside the mainstream.

Leamer, Laurence. *The Paper Revolutionaries: The Rise of the Underground Press*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1972. Another historical survey.

Ostertag, Bob. *People's Movements, People's Press: The Journalism of Social Justice Movements*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2007. Focuses thematically rather than chronologically on how five movements—abolition, women's suffrage, gay and lesbian liberation, Vietnam antiwar position, and

environmental concerns—were covered in specialized alternative media devoted to each. This study grew out of a report commissioned by the Independent Press Association.

Peck, Abe. *Uncovering the Sixties: The Life and Times of the Underground Press*. New York: Pantheon, 1985. Traces the underground press's origins to *Mad* magazine, and documents fortunes of papers such as *Los Angeles Free Press* and *The East Village Other*. Draws on extensive interviews with writers, readers, and publishers of the underground press, out of which came some notable newspapers and magazines, among them *Village Voice* and *Rolling Stone*.

Roberts, Nancy L. *American Peace Writers, Editors and Periodicals: A Dictionary*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1991. Reviews one genre or focus of alternative publishing.

Streitmatter, Roger. *Voices of Revolution: The Dissident Press in America*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001. Dissident publications and press movements of the last two centuries, and the often colorful individuals behind them, including abolitionist and labor press, black power publications of 1960s, crusade against barbarism of lynching, the women's movement, antiwar journals, gay and lesbian publications, contemporary online journals, and counterculture papers that flourished during the 1960s.

N. Sports

Much of the writing here has focused on the overwhelming role of commercial television coverage of professional sports.

N-1: Surveys

These tend to focus on the development of such reporting as well as its economic effect.

Baker, Aaron, and Todd Boyd, eds. *Out of Bounds: Sports, Media, and the Politics of Identity*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997. Anthology that views media representation of professional sports through the lens of cultural studies. The editors contend that the popularity of sports derives not simply from their appeal as leisure entertainment, but from their contribution to the discussion of larger issues of class, race, gender, and masculinity.

Best American Sports Writing. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1991–present, annual. Anthology of newspaper and magazine reporting from the previous year.

Boyle, Raymond, et al., eds. *Sports and Media: Recent Economic, Legal, and Technological Developments*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2004. Collection of scholarly papers published as a double issue of *Trends in Communication,* discussing how reliable sportscasting is in the anchor role, the development of sportscasting and specialized sporting services as a response to audience demand, and whether the sports fan is being well served.

Caren, Eric C. *Baseball Extra: The Newspaper History of the Glorious Game from Its Beginnings to the Present*. Edison, NJ: Castle, 2000. This collection of rare newspapers chars baseball's history from its beginnings in the mid-1800s to the 1999 World Series game.

Castle, George. *Baseball and the Media: How Fans Lose in Today's Coverage of the Game*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006. Wide-ranging study of press and broadcast coverage including the baseball beat writer, red and blue states of baseball journalism, politics of baseball media, sports-talk radio, and old versus newer media.

Conrad, Mark. *The Business of Sports: A Primer for Journalists*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2006. Something of a meld of business and law, this reviews the structure of professional sports, structure of individual sports, college and high school sports, the international sports system (including the Olympics), sports contracts by type of sport, labor relations in sports, sports agents, team relocation and facility issues, sports injuries and liability, drug testing in sports, discrimination issues, intellectual property ownership and sports teams, and traditional and newer media sports coverage.

Jeanrenaud, Claude, and Stefan Kesenne, eds. *The Economics of Sport and the Media*.

Cheltenham, England: Edward Elgar, 2006. Ten papers on such aspects as domestic and international sports rights; most examples concern European teams and events, though three center on American concerns.

Lowes, Mark Douglas. *Inside the Sports Pages: Work Routines, Professional Ideologies, and the Manufacture of Sports News*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999. An ethnographic study of several sports writers and their methods of producing daily reports for Canadian papers. Centers on how little coverage adult amateur sports receives.

MacCambridge, Michael. *The Franchise: A History of* Sports Illustrated *Magazine*. New York: Hyperion, 1997. Launched by Time Inc. in 1954, *SI* has often pushed change, revolutionizing color printing and making careers of writers and photographers. The author analyzes editorial and marketing strategies, including the infamous swimsuit issue, and profiles most key players—with an emphasis on sportswriters.

Oriard, Michael. *Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993. Explores football's formative years, beginning in the 1870s as a game to be played rather than watched. Within a decade, it became a public spectacle with an immense following, caused primarily by commentary in popular newspapers and magazines. Includes football as a pastime, a sport of gentlemen, a science, a game of rules and their infringements, and a series of cultural stories about power, luck, strategy, and deception—all magnified by football's omnipresence on television. *See* next entry.

Oriard, Michael. *King Football: Sport & Spectacle in the Golden Age of Radio & Newsreels, Movies and Magazines, the Weekly and the Daily Press*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001. Building on his earlier study (above), the author describes football from the 1920s through the 1950s when it became embedded in American life. Though millions experienced college and professional football firsthand, more encountered it through newspapers or radio broadcasts, and in newsreels shown at theaters.

Raney, Arthur A. and Jennings Bryant, eds. *Handbook of Sports and Media*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2006. A research and teaching anthology that creates a compendium of literature summaries, issue discussions, and critical essays. Chapters appear in four sections covering history and development, business and programming, media audiences, and cases and issues.

Wenner, Lawrence A., ed. *Media, Sports and Society*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1989. Offers 13 papers on such things as history of sports coverage in the U.S., media sports production process, media strategies of professional sports, media sports content, and audiences for media sports.

N-2: Broadcast/Cable Sports

The huge financial implications of televised professional team sports has been the subject of much comment and some research. Many of these books are personal memoirs.

Barnett, Steven. *Games and Sets: The Changing Face of Sports on Television*. London: British Film Institute, 1990. Overall mutual impacts of sports and television are reviewed in chapters on British, European, and American media, including development, costs, the role of technology, scheduling and audiences, and sponsorship.

Chandler, Joan M. *Television and National Sport: The United States and Britain*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988. Comparative study of live coverage of various professional sports in both nations, and the impact of that coverage on sports, media, and fans, placed against differing national social contexts.

Daddario, Gina. *Women's Sport and Spectacle: Gendered Television Coverage and the Olympic Games*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998. The gendering of sports coverage at the 1992–96 games is discussed within a context of feminist sports studies, including lack of much coverage (and/or use of stereotypes) in the past, the Olympic skating scandal in 1994, and rhetorical ways of marginalizing women in competition.

Dempsey, John Mark. *Sports-Talk Radio in America*. Binghampton, NY: Haworth Press, 2006. Profiles ten American radio stations with this format to see how they developed, what they program, and how they differ.

Evey, Stuart, and Irv Broughton. *Creating an Empire: ESPN—The No-Holds-Barred Story of Power, Ego, Money, and Vision That Transformed a Culture*. Chicago: Triumph Books, 2004. Origins of the cable network (and its struggle for rights to televise major events) as told by its original chairman, who eventually sold it to ABC. *See also* next entry.

Freeman, Michael. *ESPN: The Uncensored History*. Dallas, TX: Taylor, 2000. Cable sports network's first two decades are detailed, including scandals within its operations (among them, sexual harassment issues), early financial problems and the network's several ownership changes. *See also* previous entry.

Klatell, David A., and Norman Marcus. *Sports for Sale: Television, Money, and the Fans*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988. Explores numerous connections among sports, television, money, and fans, including the emergence of major cable sports networks, growth of corporate marketing campaigns, and the vast impact that TV has had on sports, for good and ill. Includes a study of the Olympics, describing network bidding wars, logistics, and the technical brilliance of broadcasts; as well as careers of major sports media figures.

O'Neill, Terry. *The Game behind the Game: High Stakes, High Pressure in Television Sports*. New York: Harper & Row, 1989. Television producer's view of coverage over previous two decades on ABC Sports.

Patton, Phil. *Razzle-Dazzle: The Curious Marriage of Television and Professional Football*. Garden City, NY: Dial, 1984. Relates how television turned a sport into a multimillion-dollar industry, and the impact of that relationship.

Powers, Ron. *Supertube: The Rise of Television Sports*. New York: Coward-McCann, 1984. Tells, based substantially on 100 interviews, how over three decades the networks and professional sports found each other. Many crucial decisions date to the 1960s and earlier.

Rader, Benjamin G. *In Its Own Image: How Television Has Transformed Sports*. New York: The Free Press, 1984. Highlights some of negative aspects including the passing of minor leagues, sports playing to television's needs rather than to live spectators, the impact of network money on sports, and the decline (or elevation, depending on your point of view) of sports heroes.

Schultz, Brad. *Sports Broadcasting*. Woburn, MA: Focal Press, 2002. A practitioner's handbook relating the rise of such content and its impact, writing and producing sports news, ethical issues in covering big-money sports events, and some of the major on-air sports broadcasters.

Smith, Curt. *Voices of the Game: The First Full-Scale Overview of Baseball Broadcasting, 1921 to the Present*. South Bend, IN: Diamond Communications, 1987. Informal and personality-driven history of radio (first 125 pages) and television coverage of professional baseball.

Smith, Ronald A. *Play-by-Play: Radio, Television, and Big-Time College Sport*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001. Examines the troubled relationship between higher education and broadcasting, the effects of TV revenue on college athletics (notably football), and the odds of achieving meaningful reform.

Spence, Jim. *Up Close and Personal: The Inside Story of Network Television Sports*. New York: Atheneum, 1988. Primarily a study of ABC Sports by a former network official who reviews the people and events he witnessed over a quarter-century.

Walker, James R., and Robert V. Bellamy Jr. *Center Field Shot: A History of Baseball on Television*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008. Traces a sometimes contentious but mutually beneficial relationship from the first televised game in 1939 to the era of Internet broadcasts, satellite radio, and high-definition TV, considered from the perspective of businessmen collecting merchandising fees and advertising rights, franchise owners with ever more money to spend on

talent, and broadcasters trying to present a game long considered "unfriendly" to television.

O. Entertainment and Celebrities

Though subject to considerable debate within news media arguments over hard versus soft news, coverage of these topics has thus far received only limited research focus.

Evans, Jessica, and David Hesmondhaigh, eds. *Understanding Media: Inside Celebrity*. New York: Open University Press, 2005. Cites current scholarship to shed light on how celebrities are manufactured by media and why audiences respond as they do. With case studies, it examines the construction of celebrity in four concepts: history, text, production, and audience.

Kitch, Carolyn, and Janice Hume. *Journalism in a Culture of Grief*. New York: Routledge, 2008. Focuses on how broadcast and print media cover death, especially that of celebrities in the world of entertainment and politics.

Thussu, Daya Kishan. *News as Entertainment: The Rise of Global Infotainment*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2008. Provides a historical appraisal of infotainment; the infrastructure for its globalization as well as coverage of recent wars on television news as high-tech infotainment and growing synergies between Hollywood- and Bollywood-originated infotainment. A "global infotainment sphere" is emerging, the author argues, within which competing versions of news—from 24/7 news networks to bloggers—coexist.

Section 6

Political Communication

As noted in the first entries below, political communication melds many fields—communication studies (including journalism) and political science most obviously, but also sociology, psychology, history, and rhetoric, among others. It also increasingly depends on a whole menu of technologies to connect politicians and candidates with citizens and voters. The Internet is merely the latest.

This is a vast literature and one that is rapidly growing. While publications were few and far between until fairly late in the twentieth century, researchers appear to be making up for lost time as elections increasingly rely on media coverage (and as political communications is increasingly a topic of research interest). Every election is analyzed, some many times. Patterns of communication by politicians in office are also a focus of research interest. A growing amount of interesting work is being done on this topic in Europe as well—see Section 10-D; for political commentators, see Section 7-F.

A. Reference Sources

For public opinion polling, see Section 9-D.

American Political Science Association, *Political Communication Teaching Resources*. http://www.apsanet.org/~polcomm/teaching.html. University course syllabi and other materials useful in learning more about the field.

Bennett, W. Lance. *Political Communication Resources*. http://depts.washington.edu/bennett. One of the important academic researchers (two of his books lead the next subsection) provides a portal to all types of information sources including public opinion and media resources.

Kaid, Lynda Lee, and Christina Holtz-Bacha, eds. *Encyclopedia of Political Communication*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2008 (2 vols.). Several hundred entries in this valuable compendium include biographies, programs and publications, campaigns and elections, issues, law and regulation, political organizations, and theoretical concepts. Most entries, some of which run for several pages, have suggested readings and cross-references. Emphasizes the American scene but includes material from Europe and elsewhere.

See Kaid and Holtz-Bacha, Section 10-A.

Miles, William. *The People's Voice: An Annotated Bibliography of American Campaign Newspapers, 1828–1984*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1987. Details more than 730 examples of a medium many don't know as fewer than 100 were issued after 1900, underlining that such papers were largely a nineteenth-century phenomenon. Following an introductory history of campaign newspapers with a discussion of significant examples, the bibliography lists newspapers supporting major-party and third-party candidates and other presidential hopefuls.

Newman, Bruce I., ed. *Handbook of Political Marketing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1999. Scholars and political professionals from nine different countries contribute to this review of the role of both good and bad marketing in political campaigns. The 40 papers are organized in six sections: conceptual and historical origins of political marketing; management of political campaigns; analysis of political marketplace; development of

political strategies; execution of political campaigns; and political marketing and democracy.

Nimmo, Dan, and Keith R. Sanders, eds. *The Handbook of Political Communication*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1981. Experts author 28 chapters that range over the past, present, and likely future of the field in one of its earliest broad reference works. Papers deal with theory, means and modes of communication, settings of and for political communication, and methodologies.

Schaefer, Todd M., and Thomas A. Birkland, eds. *Encyclopedia of Media and Politics*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2007. Some 300 generally brief entries review American media's influence on public policy, elections, and politics, to cover relevant events, people, principles, and organizations past and present. Defines concepts, trends, and issues in media and politics and surveys policy, legal issues, and legal cases.

Stempel, Guido H., III, and Jacqueline Nash Gifford. *Historical Dictionary of Political Communication in the United States*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1999. Covers concepts, trends, events, journalists, campaign figures, legal cases, candidates, and campaigns through American history. Each entry includes at least one source, and entries (which range from a brief paragraph to a page or more) are signed by their contributors (in many cases, one of the editors).

Stempel, Guido, III. *Media and Politics in America: A Reference Handbook*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2003. Intended as a first-stop source for those lacking much background, in handbook fashion it provides introductory surveys of the history and evolution of political communications, some of its problems, processes of gathering it, a chronology, biographical sketches of key people, selected documents and court cases, a directory of associations and organizations, and an annotated guide to print and nonprint resources.

See Strömbäck and Kaid, Section 10-C.

University of Iowa, Online Communication Studies Resources. *Political Communication and Campaigns*. http://www.uiowa.edu/~commstud/resources/polcomm.html. Annotated listing of links across a wide range of relevant material.

B. Surveys of Media and Politics

These are wide-ranging and often theoretical books (exploring such concepts as agenda-setting and framing, for example), assessing elements in the news media and politics relationship.

Bennett, W. Lance, and Robert M. Entman, eds. *Mediated Politics: Communication in the Future of Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001. Anthology containing 22 articles by postbehavioral political communication scholars. Editors argue that there are more variables to consider, more communication routes to examine, and more methods to use than just public opinion and voter behavior studies.

Bennett, W. Lance. *News: The Politics of Illusion*. New York: Pearson Longman, 2009 (8th ed.). Standard introductory text, first published in 1983, that surveys what news is published or broadcast and what is not—and why—as seen in examples in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, which make clear how much politicians and government officials "control" news.

Braden, Maria. *Women Politicians and the Media*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996. Uses a variety of female politicians, past and present, to assess their use of media and media coverage of their careers, suggesting different standards are applied than for men, but that the situation may be easing toward more equality. *See also* Norris, below.

Cook, Timothy E. *Governing with the News: The News Media as a Political Institution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005 (2nd ed.). Argues that news media are an integral part of three branches of government—indeed, they are inseparable. The author traces the development of this relationship, how media are political institutions, and the roles of government publicity and media.

Davis, Richard. *The Press and American Politics: The New Mediator*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1995 (2nd ed.). Chapters on shaping the news, the context of media's role, covering political institutions, media and policy, and the mass public and electoral process.

Davis, Richard, and Diana Owen. *New Media and American Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. Focuses on the role of talk radio and television, tabloid journalism of all kinds, and "computer networks" (the commercial Internet was but three years old at this point). Authors see "new" media as largely providing a venue for ranting and venting rather than true political give-and-take.

Diamond, Edwin, and Robert A. Silverman. *White House to Your House: Media and Politics in Virtual America*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997. Analyses of what's behind image makers' takeover of Washington policy-making, how Clinton prevailed in 1992 only to lose both good press and job approval ratings less than two years later, what the rise of right-wing populism signifies, how media struggled to identify Hillary Clinton, why health care reform was defeated in newspapers without a vote in Congress, who are audiences for talk radio, and effects of proliferating television channels on political coverage.

Entman, Robert M. *Democracy without Citizens: Media and the Decay of American Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989. Argues that the media system virtually compels politicians to practice demagoguery. Reviewing news events of the 1980s, the author proposes creating subsidized, party-based news outlets as a way of promoting new modes of news gathering and analysis, of spurring established media to more innovative coverage, and of increasing political awareness and participation.

Fallows, James. *Breaking the News: How the Media Undermine American Democracy*. New York: Pantheon, 1996. Offers a jeremiad about the current sad state of American political journalism, noting how news media treat issues as complex as health-care reform and foreign policy as mere exercises in political gamesmanship.

Gamson, William A. *Talking Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992. Reports on an analysis of discussions among small groups of working-class people on four controversial issues: affirmative action, nuclear power, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the troubles in American industry. Also analyzes how these issues have been covered in news media to review how closely group discussions matched news media coverage.

Gans, Herbert J. *Democracy and the News*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003. Explores links between a weakened news media and weakened democracy; how despite the advent of cable news networks, the Internet, and other sources, the role of journalists has shrunk as the audience for news moves away from major print and electronic media to smaller outlets. Argues that journalism suffers from too much assembly-line production of publicity for the President and other top political officials.

Ginsberg, Benjamin, and Martin Shefter. *Politics by Other Means: Politicians, Prosecutors, and the Press from Watergate to Whitewater*. New York: Norton, 1999 (2nd ed.). Assesses the growing power of print and electronic media in the electoral and political process, thanks to coverage of Congressional hearings and criminal justice cases as well as general adversarial journalism. The study stresses adversarial use of the judicial system more than news media.

Graber, Doris. *Processing Politics: Learning from Television in the Internet Age*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001. Integrating a broad range of current research on how people learn, this study demonstrates that the best televised presentations excel at transmitting information and facilitating learning. Critiques current political offerings in terms of their compatibility with our learning capacities and interests, and considers economic and political obstacles that affect content received on the air, cable, or Internet.

Graber, Doris. *Mass Media and American Politics*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 2005 (7th ed.). Explores the foundations of the media system focusing on political and technological developments to show how media influence governmental institutions and functions, and in turn how government shapes how media work and disseminate information. Focuses on news media roles in public and private sectors; the media impact on attitudes and perceptions of ordinary Americans and political elites; and how news media cover governmental institutions and political situations.

Graber, Doris, ed. *Media Power in Politics*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 2006 (5th ed.). Some 36 selections, half new to this edition, include the work of scholars and professionals who mirror the interdisciplinary nature of the field in six sections: media effects in general; the influence of media on political perceptions and opinions, on presidential and referendum elections, on participants within and outside the political power structure, and on formation and implementation of domestic and foreign policies; plus a final part on private and public efforts to control media impact and offerings.

Graber, Doris, et al., eds. *The Politics of News: The News of Politics*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 2008 (2nd ed.). A dozen research papers discuss the political role of journalists in America and abroad, government news management, the role of news media in the 1993–94 Clinton health care reform attempt, the public journalism movement, and the impacts of changing technology.

Hart, Rod P. *Seducing America: How Television Charms the Modern Voter*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1998. How television's format of presenting politics has changed how television-watching citizens act, vote, and feel about politics.

Iyengar, Shanto. *News That Matters: Television and American Public Opinion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987. Assesses the impact of television newscasts on what people think—agenda setting, essentially.

Iyengar, Shanto. *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991. How television has impoverished political discourse, yet still molds political consciousness.

Iyengar, Shanto, and Richard Reeves, eds. *Do the Media Govern? Politicians, Voters, and Reporters in America*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1997. Includes nearly 50 papers in five sections: reporting and the business of news, reporters and public officials, media-based political campaigns, the effects of news on its audiences, and uses of media in policymaking process.

Iyengar, Shanto, and Jennifer A. McGrady. *Media Politics: A Citizen's Guide*. New York: Norton, 2007. Introductory survey comparing American and foreign systems: Reviews the media marketplace, the decline of adversarial journalism between reporters and official sources, the rise of newer media (chiefly the Internet), ways of campaigning using media (managing news media, advertising, negative ads), and the process and consequences of governing through media (presidential and congressional communication, issue advertising).

Kaid, Lynda Lee, ed. *Handbook of Political Communication Research*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2004. Scholarly papers on the theoretical background and diversity of the field, messages in political communication, news media coverage of politics, political issues, and political institutions, international perspectives, and the Internet's role in changing political communication.

Kraus, Sidney, ed. *Mass Communication and Political Information Processing*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1990. Thirteen papers reviewing developments across several countries, with information on theory, strategies and effects, and image-information stimuli (a look at campaign slogans).

Kuhn, Raymond, and Erik Neveu, eds. *Political Journalism: New Challenges, New Practices*. New York: Routledge, 2007. A dozen papers review, among other topics, manipulation of journalists by politicians and vice versa, spin-doctoring, "dumbing-down" of political debate, reporting of scandals, and invention of new styles of news such as public journalism.

Lang, Kurt, and Gladys Engel Lang. *Politics and Television Re-Viewed*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1984. Two longtime students of political media gather decades of their research into a summary volume including their studies from 1951 into the 1970s, examining many applications of television to politics. (*See also* their classic collection of their earlier papers in *Politics and Television,* Chicago: Quadrangle, 1968.)

Leonard, Thomas C. *The Power of the Press: The Birth of American Political Reporting*. New York:

Oxford University Press, 1986. History of journalism's political role as seen through several selected incidents from the colonial period to turn-of-the-century muckraking.

Linsky, Martin. *Impact: How the Press Affects Federal Policymaking*. New York: Norton, 1986. Study of media–government relations, how policymakers deal with news media, and six case studies. The latter are expanded in the author's parallel volume, *How the Press Affects Federal Policymaking: Six Case Studies* (Norton, 1986).

McCombs, Maxwell, et al., eds. *Communication and Democracy: Exploring the Intellectual Frontiers in Agenda-Setting Theory*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1997. Edited by key figures in agenda-setting research, this anthology offers 15 research papers on the agenda-setting process, including both theory and specific examples.

McNair, Brian. *Journalism and Democracy: An Evaluation of the Political Public Sphere*. New York: Routledge, 1999. Challenges the commonly held view that "dumbing down" of the public sphere, "tabloidization" of news, and proliferation of "infotainment" and "spin" are adversely affecting the quality of political journalism and of democracy itself. Combining textual analysis and in-depth interviews with political journalists, editors, presenters and documentary makers, the author offers a more optimistic evaluation of the contemporary public sphere.

See Mindich, Section 2-B.

Neumann, W. Russell, et al. *Common Knowledge: News and the Construction of Political Meaning*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992. Reports on an extensive study of some 1,300 Bostonians to learn how they try to make sense of the news, the role media play in that process, how people learn from news, and how they construct meaning from what they hear, see, and learn.

Nimmo, Dan, and James E. Combs. *Mediated Political Realities*. White Plains, NY: Longman, 1990 (2nd ed.). How media color our reading of and reactions to political events and personalities. Includes many case studies in its discussion of television, women and political celebrities, and popular sports and politics.

Norris, Pippa, ed. *Women, Media and Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996. This collection of 20 papers by academics and journalists examines the impact of media on women's power in America, focusing on how women as citizens, political leaders, and feminist activists have been influenced by news media, for better or worse. Applies various approaches including surveys, content analysis, focus groups, interviews, and personal experience to review the role of women as journalists, the impact of campaign coverage, images of women in power, and coverage of the women's movement and feminist policy issues. *See also* Braden, above.

Paletz, David. *The Media in American Politics: Contents and Consequences*. New York: Longman, 2002 (2nd ed.). A basic text that examines the field broadly with added discussion in this edition on the Internet and a discussion of the 2000 election.

Perloff, Richard M. *Political Communication: Politics, Press, and Public in America*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1998. Wide-ranging introductory survey text of the whole field divided into three parts; media and government institutions, political communication theories and effects, and communication and presidential elections.

Sabato, Larry. *Feeding Frenzy: How Attack Journalism Has Transformed American Politics*. New York: The Free Press, 1991. Based on some 200 interviews with media and political figures alike, the author argues that political coverage has become an inquisition, a kind of mob or bandwagon mentality turning politics into a kind of political warfare.

Savage, Robert L., and Dan Nimmo, eds. *Politics through Familiar Contexts: Projecting Politics through Popular Media*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1990. Fourteen papers about the relationship between news media and politics, noting the role of popular culture as well as journalism.

Shaw, Donald L., and Maxwell E. McCombs. *The Emergence of American Political Issues: The Agenda-Setting Function of the Press*. St. Paul, MN:

West, 1977. Classic early research on the subject from which so many other studies have developed.

Stanyer, James. *Modern Political Communication: Mediated Politics in Uncertain Times*. Cambridge, England: Polity, 2007. Relates how governments, political parties, established media organizations and citizen audiences, in both the United States and the United Kingdom, are adapting to this systemic change. Provides a critical appraisal of the evolving relationships between political communicators and their audience.

Swanson, David L., and Dan Nimmo, eds. *New Directions in Political Communication: A Resource Book*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1990. Ten papers review political communication research of the 1980s, updating an earlier version (Nimmo and Sanders, *Handbook of Political Communication*, Sage, 1981). Covers political language and learning, political messages, an institutional perspective, and a bibliography of recent work.

Zukin, Cliff, et al. *A New Engagement? Political Participation, Civic Life and the Changing American Citizen*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. Explores generational differences underlying participation in the political process, focusing on why those under 40 often turn away from political participation. Based on two national telephone surveys with more than 5,000 respondents, one distinction drawn is the difference between civic and political participation . . . and younger people are more involved with the former than the latter.

C. Presidents and News Media

This subsection focuses on the relations between news media and presidential administrations. Presidential election campaign communication is found under E-2 and E-3 below.

C-1: Historical Surveys

These books typically range over many administrations, offering a comparative assessment of change over time.

Beasley, Maurine H. *Eleanor Roosevelt and the Media: A Public Quest for Self-Fulfillment*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1987. Details how FDR's wife became the first important First Lady through news media. Substantial coverage of her White House years, but a good deal as well on postwar era until her death in 1962.

Beasley, Maurine H. *First Ladies and the Press: The Unfinished Partnership of the Media Age*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2005. Presidential spouses and their varied relationships with news media. *See also* next entry.

Burns, Lisa M. *First Ladies and the Fourth Estate: Press Framing of Presidential Wives*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2008. Analyzes coverage of twentieth-century Presidents' wives in five leading newspapers and magazines—*The New York Times, The Washington Post, Ladies' Home Journal, Good Housekeeping,* and *McCall's*—to show that news media have helped shape the First Lady institution as well as influence changing social and political roles of American women. *See also* previous entry.

Edwards, George C., III. *The Public Presidency: The Pursuit of Popular Support*. New York: St. Martin's, 1983. Offers a useful discussion of how and why Presidents and their administrations use news media (and polls) to seek support for their policies. Such a push is one way to place pressure on Congress to act, for example.

Klein, Woody. *All the President's Spokesmen: Spinning the News—White House Press Secretaries From Franklin D. Roosevelt to George W. Bush*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2008. This first attempt to relate the stories of all 26 White House press secretaries (only two of them women) places them against both their presidential bosses and the period in which they operated. Chapters focus on major issues that Presidents have dealt with—fighting wars, the cold war, scandals, domestic crises (from school integration in the 1950s to Hurricane Katrina a half-century later), domestic controversies, and global issues. *See also* Nelson, below.

Lanoue, David J., and Peter R. Schrott. *The Joint Press Conference: The History, Impact, and Prospects of American Presidential Politics*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1991. Compares and

contrasts the political view that debates impact voter decisions and social science findings that suggest they do not. Reviews their history since 1960, their actual content, and research on their impact. *See* Hellweg, above, and Maltese, below.

Liebovich, Louis W. *The Press and the Modern Presidency: Myths and Mindsets from Kennedy to Election 2000*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001 (2nd ed.). Traces forces that have led news media to focus upon scandals and have encouraged presidential attempts to control news provided to media, leading to a corrosive spiral of sour mistrust pitting White House against press corps, and interfering with responsibly reporting important news to the public. Updated to include the late 1990s' Lewinski scandal, Clinton's impeachment, and the 2000 election.

Maltese, John Anthony. *Spin Control: The White House Office of Communications and the Management of Presidential News*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992. Relates the development of the office from Nixon's administration (focus of the first 100 pages), reviewing people involved as the much as the organization.

Nelson, W. Dale. *Who Speaks for the President? The White House Press Secretary from Cleveland to Clinton*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1998. Historical survey of the men (they all were to this point) who filled the role from 1893 to the 1990s. *See also* Klein, above.

Pollard, James E. *Presidents and the Press*. New York: Macmillan, 1947. A classic, this is the first serious scholarly study, with careful documentation, of the changing role between news media and Presidents, covering the administrations of George Washington through Franklin Roosevelt. It is focused almost entirely on newspapers. *See* next entry.

Pollard, James E. *The Presidents and the Press: Truman to Johnson*. Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press, 1964 (reprinted 1980). Not a continuing narrative like the previous entry, this gathers previously published articles by the author, one on each administration, and adds a new chapter to cover Johnson, who had just been elevated on Kennedy's death.

Ponder, Stephen. *Managing the Press: Origins of the Media Presidency, 1897–1933*. New York: St. Martin's, 1999. Explores the role of Presidents from McKinley through Hoover and how they utilized or were covered by the press. The variance in press relations of those White House occupants who enjoyed press give and take (McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt) versus those who did not (Taft, Wilson, and Hoover) comes clear.

Tebbel, John, and Sarah Miles Watts. *The Press and the Presidency from George Washington to Ronald Reagan*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985. Chronological telling of the often complex relations between news media and the White House, including the impact of radio and later television broadcasting.

Walsh, Kenneth T. *Feeding the Beast: The White House versus the Press*. New York: Random House, 1996. Historical account of successes and mistakes in building the relationship, with emphasis on recent presidencies.

C-2: Lincoln Through Roosevelt (to 1945)

Historical studies of presidential communication, with the exception of Lincoln, are generally restricted to twentieth-century administrations—and most focus on the period during and since the New Deal of the 1930s.

Best, Gary Dean. *The Critical Press and the New Deal: The Press versus Presidential Power, 1933–1938*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1993. Arguing that newspapers of the New the Deal era were more liberal in tone than many historians have suggested, this outlines how the White House and press relationship changed over this five-year period as news media moved away from their initial strong support.

Harper, Robert S. *Lincoln and the Press*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1951. Covers from the first press reports in 1836 to his death, especially the often vituperative hostility toward Lincoln expressed by large segments of the press, the failure of most papers to note his great qualities until after his death, Lincoln's use of the press as a war weapon, the destruction of newspaper plants hostile to Lincoln, and interpretations of Lincoln's

own writing for and manipulation of the press. *See also* Maihafer and Mitang, below.

Juergens, George. *News from the White House: The Presidential-Press Relationship in the Progressive Era*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981. Study of early twentieth-century political news and how it was handled.

Levin, Linda Lotridge. *The Making of FDR: The Story of Stephen T. Early, America's First Modern Press Secretary*. New York: Prometheus, 2008. How Early converted a fairly low-key press briefing function into an important daily news source, drawing on his background with the AP, and having worked with Roosevelt in varying degrees from 1912 to 1945.

Liebovich, Louis W. *Bylines in Despair: Herbert Hoover, the Great Depression, and the U.S. News Media*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994. Reviews the 1929–33 administration and its dismal press relations amidst a worsening Depression, offering something of a press-oriented biography of Hoover.

Maihafer, Harry J. *War of Words: Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War Press*. Dulles, VA: Potomac Books, 2001. Lincoln was always under fire by some hostile portion of news media, but he successfully wooed numerous prominent newspapermen into aiding his agenda. Whether he edited a speech in a newspaper office or invited reporters to the White House to leak a story, he skillfully played his own public relations game. *See also* Harper, above, and next entry.

Mitang, Herbert. *Abraham Lincoln: A Press Portrait*. Chicago: Quadrangle, 1971 (reprinted by University of Georgia Press, 1989; Fordham University Press, 2000). Relates his life and times from original newspaper reports from the Union, Confederacy, and Europe. *See also* Harper and Maihafer, above.

Startt, James D. *Woodrow Wilson and the Press: Prelude to the Presidency*. New York: Palgrave, 2004. Demonstrates the future President's understanding of the press role in American democracy from his 1902–10 time as a university president, to state governor, to his 1912 campaign to win the nomination, the convention, and then to defeat Republican President Taft and Progressive candidate Roosevelt.

Steele, Richard W. *Propaganda in an Open Society: The Roosevelt Administration and the Media, 1933–1941*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1985. Demonstrates the variance in relations with many press reporters as opposed to broadcasting and Hollywood figures, and how this changed through various events and crises to the eve of World War II.

Winfield, Betty Houchin. *FDR and the News Media*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1990 (reissued by Columbia University Press, 1994). The role of press conferences, relations with Washington reporters, the New Deal publicity system, roles of radio and film, wartime press relations, and the lasting legacy of the 1933–45 period.

C-3: Truman and Eisenhower (1945–61)

These center on the rise and impact of television as a political force.

Allen, Craig. *Eisenhower and the Mass Media: Peace, Prosperity, and Prime-Time*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993. Relates the story of the Eisenhower administration (1953–61) in its relation to news media and especially developing television networks. The growing role of television in politics is one theme; another is its coverage of international affairs such as the 1956 crises in the Middle East and Hungary.

Evensen, Bruce J. *Truman, Palestine, and the Press: Shaping Conventional Wisdom at the Beginning of the Cold War*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1992. Analyzes the roles of media, public opinion, and Zionists in the evolution of Palestine policy, claiming that news media and an aroused public opinion frustrated Truman's course and elicited his support of the UN partition of Jewish and Arab states and his early recognition of Israel. The media role in reflecting and shaping competing "visions of reality," which became policy, is a key element.

C-4: Kennedy and the Assassination (1961–63)

The Kennedy assassination has generated a library of research to build on that of the brief

administration itself—which marked the first live use of television at news conferences.

Benson, Thomas W. *Writing JFK: Presidential Rhetoric and the Press in the Bay of Pigs Crisis*. College Station: Texas A&M University, 2003. Examines two speeches and a press conference held shortly after the early 1961 crisis, shedding light on the ways the press mediates and even helps to formulate presidential rhetoric.

Chase, Harold W., and Allen H. Lerman, eds. *Kennedy and the Press: The News Conferences*. New York: Crowell, 1965. Includes edited and annotated transcripts of all of them, many sparked with the President's noted humor. These were the first to be televised live.

Frewin, Anthony, comp. *The Assassination of John F. Kennedy: An Annotated Film, TV, and Videography, 1963–1992*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1993. Lists more than 230 items ranging from TV programs to film and video materials, arranged chronologically and then thematically, covering TV broadcasts, documentary films, collector's archive videos, theatrical motion pictures, and libraries holding assassination footage in the United States and in Britain.

Greenberg, Bradley S., and Edwin B. Parker, eds. *The Kennedy Assassination and the American Public: Social Communication in Crisis*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1965. Important collection of papers on different aspects pulled together in the year after the 1963 assassination and reviewing the response and performance of news media, how people used channels of communication, public attitudes, and the impact of events on political cognition.

Hlavach, Laura, and Darwin Payne, eds. *Reporting the Kennedy Assassination: Journalists Who Were There Recall Their Experiences*. Dallas: Three Forks Press, 1996. Based on a later reunion at Southern Methodist University in Dallas, this anthology includes many reporter's first-hand reminiscences.

Huffaker, Bob, et al. *When the News Went Live: Dallas 1963*. Lanham, MD: Taylor, 2003. A KRLD radio reporter relates the process of reporting a routine political trip and how it became a national tragedy.

Kern, Montague, et al. *The Kennedy Crises: The Press, the Presidency, and Foreign Policy*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983. Addresses the role of news media in the Laotian and Berlin crises (both 1961), the Cuban Missile Crisis (fall 1962), and the growing Vietnam crisis of 1963.

The New York Times, editors of. *Four Days in November: The Original Coverage of the John F. Kennedy Assassination*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2003. Anthology of the paper's contemporary reporting in late November 1963.

Rajski, Raymond B. *A Nation Grieved: The Kennedy Assassination in Editorial Cartoons*. Rutland, VT: Tuttle, 1967. Reproduces more than 100 of them.

Salinger, Pierre. *With Kennedy*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966. Relates the 1960 campaign and the 1961–63 administration as seen by its press secretary.

Trost, Cathy, and Susan Bennett. *President Kennedy Has Been Shot: The Inside Story of the Murder of a President*. Nashville, IL: Sourcebooks, 2003. Tightly edited collection of more than 40 moments from coverage, combining actual reports (including an audio CD with excerpts) with later recollections by reporters who were there.

Zelizer, Barbie. *Covering the Body: The Kennedy Assassination, The Media, and the Shaping of Collective Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992. Main title refers to the charge given journalists to follow a President. This is a reassessment of media's role in shaping the memory of the assassination; it notes that of more than 50 reporters covering Kennedy's visit to Dallas, not one actually witnessed the assassination, and most had no time to verify leads or substantiate reports. Combines those reports with analyses of accounts and investigations since the shooting.

C-5: Johnson, Nixon, and Watergate (1963–74)

For studies of the Vietnam War and media, see Section 5-B-6.

Keogh, James. *President Nixon and the Press*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1972. A former presidential assistant provides a pre-Watergate account of the intensive efforts of the Nixon administration to combat what it saw as biased news coverage, and to get its views before the American public.

Lang, Gladys Engel, and Kurt Lang. *The Battle for Public Opinion: The President, the Press and the Polls during Watergate*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1983. One of the better surveys of the complex 1972–74 scandal, its coverage in newspapers and on television (and the various roles media played during the crisis), and the role of public opinion polls.

Lashner, Marilyn A. *The Chilling Effect in TV News: Intimidation by the Nixon White House*. New York: Praeger, 1984. Based on her dissertation, this is an analysis of network news coverage of the White House from 1969 to 1974.

Liebovich, Louis W. *Richard Nixon, Watergate, and the Press: A Historical Retrospective*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003. After detailing news media coverage of the Watergate debacle and drawing on newly available documents, the study recounts the scandal's long-lasting, corrosive effect on presidential and popular politics.

Schudson, Michael. *Watergate in American Memory: How We Remember, Forget, and Reconstruct the Past*. New York: Basic Books, 1992. Sees memory as a group social function allowing for a variety of interpretations of the Watergate scandal two decades after it happened. Helps bridge research in culture with that concerning communication.

Spear, Joseph C. *Presidents and the Press: The Nixon Legacy*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986. Documents Nixon's strategy, which relied on a constant flow of positive news, sophisticated use of television to evade media and address viewers directly, and intimidation through classified or censored information. Demonstrates the extent to which so-called experts (media specialists, pollsters, and the like) and technology shape views of the presidency.

See Turner, Section 5-B.

Woodward, Bob, and Carl Bernstein. *All the President's Men*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1974. From perhaps the leading investigative political journalism team of its generation, this famous volume (and subsequent film of the same name) relates the story of *The Washington Post* reporters and their sources. The team's *The Final Days* (Simon & Schuster, 1976) fills out the story through the President's resignation.

C-6: Ford Through Clinton (1974–2001)

Presidents Ford, Carter, Reagan, and Clinton had very different experiences with the news media.

Fitzwater, Marlin. *Call the Briefing! Bush and Reagan, Sam and Helen: A Decade with the Presidents and the Press*. New York: Times Books, 1995. Informal memoirs of a press secretary for Presidents Reagan and Bush, focusing mainly on events but with some comment on the process of White House news management and reporting.

Foote, Joe S. *Television Access and Political Power: The Networks, the Presidency, and the "Loyal Opposition."* New York: Praeger, 1990. Reviews the fading role of networks and reporting of political opposition to the administration, amidst economic realities of network journalism.

Grossman, Michael Baruch, and Martha Joynt Kumar. *Portraying the President: The White House and the News Media*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981. Based on direct observation of reporters and officials at the White House and the White House press office.

Hayden, Joseph. *Covering Clinton: The President and the Press in the 1990s*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001. Examines presidential–press relationships in the 1990s, focusing first on the 1992 campaign, then on issues and events over Clinton's two terms, including the press response to programs of the Clinton era as well as scandals, roles of consultants, effectiveness of various press secretaries, and use of pollsters.

Hertsgaard, Mark. *On Bended Knee: The Press and the Reagan Presidency*. New York: Farrar,

Straus & Giroux, 1988. An indictment of relations between major news media and the Reagan administration based on more than 175 interviews with most key figures in the White House and press. Argues the press was far too accepting and nowhere near critical enough.

Kurtz, Howard. *Spin Cycle: Inside the Clinton Propaganda Machine*. New York: The Free Press, 1998. A *Washington Post* media correspondent discusses how the administration tried to control the White House message in the news media and those involved in the process.

Mueller, James E. *Tag Teaming the Press: How Bill and Hillary Clinton Work Together to Handle the Media*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008. Spans the period from the couple's earliest student political activism in the 1960s and continues through Hillary's run for the White House in 2008, based largely on interviews with journalists who covered them.

Nesson, Ron. *It Sure Looks Different from the Inside*. Chicago: Playboy Publishers, 1978. President Ford's press secretary draws useful comparisons between his former life as a television network correspondent and serving as the voice of a President, especially following the Watergate scandal.

Rozell, Mark J. *The Press and the Carter Presidency*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1989. Three national newspapers and weekly newsmagazines are reviewed during the Carter era (1977–81), tracing press coverage of major events in an administration that started with high hopes and ended in inflation, hostages, and a seeming lack of vision. *See also* next two entries.

Rozell, Mark J. *The Press and the Ford Presidency*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992. Covers the brief (1974–77) administration that followed Nixon's resignation.

Rozell, Mark J. *The Press and the Bush Presidency*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1996. Details the senior Bush administration (1989–93).

Smith, Carolyn. *Presidential Press Conferences: A Critical Approach*. New York: Praeger, 1990. Surveys the development of the adversarial press conference, focusing on the Reagan administration with some historical background as well. Assesses structure, agendas, and content of televised news conferences.

Smoller, Fredrik T. *The Six o'Clock Presidency: A Theory of Presidential Press Relations in the Age of Television*. New York: Praeger, 1990. Critical view of the negative stance of television news about the White House and the "sound bite" political response.

terHorst, Jerald F. *Gerald Ford and the Future of the Presidency*. New York: Third Press, 1974. Briefly Ford's first press secretary, terHorst writes of the man and somewhat of the early White House operations of the post-Watergate administration.

C-7: Since 2001

For press coverage of the attacks of September 11, 2001, see Section 5-C-2.

Boehlert, Eric. *Lapdogs: How the Press Rolled Over for Bush*. New York: The Free Press, 2006. A strongly partisan argument that news media (particularly television) did not sufficiently question the Bush White House on policy issues, especially the 2003 invasion of Iraq and reasons for it. The administration saw the press as just another special interest group that needed to be either appeased or held at bay—or, in some cases, squashed.

Cohen, Jeffrey E. *The Presidency in the Era of 24-Hour News*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008. Reveals how the decline of regulation and growth of the Internet and cable news outlets have made news organizations more competitive, resulting in decreased coverage of the President in traditional news media and an increasingly negative tone in the coverage that does occur.

Dadge, David. *Casualty of War: The Bush Administration's Assault on a Free Press*. New York: Prometheus Books, 2004. Assesses the first term of George W. Bush (2001–05), providing a critical examination of press freedom in the wake of the September 11 events.

Fritz, Ben, et al. *All the President's Spin: George W. Bush, the Media, and the Truth*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004. Highly critical assessment covering the 2000 and 2004 campaigns, but also many of the policy initiatives of the administration and how the White House sought to play news media.

Kumar, Martha Joynt. *Managing the President's Message: The White House Communications Operation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007. Draws on first-hand reporting and interviewing to produce analyses of media and communications operations of the past four administrations, including chapters on George W. Bush and Bill Clinton.

McClellan, Scott. *What Happened: Inside the Bush White House and Washington's Culture of Deception*. New York: Public Affairs, 2008. Offers a sharp variation on the usual press secretary volume. This is a hard-bitten attack on the President the author served—and while the former was still in office. McClellan served the President for more than seven years (only some of that as press secretary) and witnessed day-to-day exactly how the administration veered off course.

Mueller, James E. *Towel Snapping the Press: Bush's Journey from Locker-Room Antics to Message Control*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006. Follows the President's lifelong association with news media, showing how he has developed and, over time, modified his tactics. During Bush's years in Texas, news media did not scrutinize him; but as President he became a subject of intense analysis.

D. Congress and News Media

Coverage of the House and Senate by the news media is included here, as well as use of the media by congressmen and the struggle for broadcast access to the floors of both houses.

Bayley, Edwin R. *Joe McCarthy and the Press*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981. A study of the communist-baiting junior senator from Wisconsin showing how the press made his career and how well he, in turn, played to news media. The author focuses on several key points in the early 1950s period of "McCarthyism," as well as the news media's role in his eventual fall.

Blanchard, Robert O., ed. *Congress and the News Media*. New York: Hastings House, 1974. Useful anthology of views about how well or poorly Congress was covered prior to live television coverage of both houses.

Cook, Timothy E. *Making Laws and Making News: Media Strategies in the U.S. House of Representatives*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1989. The complex relationship between publicity and legislation is explored with some reference to history but a primary focus on media and congressional power.

Garay, Ronald. *Congressional Television: A Legislative History*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1984. Issues and debate (since 1922) over radio and then television coverage of floor and committee action in both the House and Senate, including creation of C-SPAN to carry coverage of both houses.

See Hess, Section 7-C-1.

Johnson, Dennis W. *Congress Online: Bridging the Gap between Citizens and Their Representatives*. New York: Routledge, 2004. Examines how members of Congress, congressional committees, and their staffs incorporated technology in communicating with constituents. Reviews advocacy groups, federal, state, and local government agencies, and others whose adoption of electronic communication set an example and a challenge for the more slow-moving Congress. Assesses the role of e-mail on the Hill, including processes employed to deal with the huge volume of messages.

Mann, Thomas E., and Norman J. Ornstein, eds. *Congress, the Press, and the Public*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press/AEI, 1994. Eight papers review how the press can do a better job of covering Congress, offer a historical look at press coverage from 1946 to 1992 and television news coverage of Congress from 1972 to 1992, assess public opinion about Congress, and review the decline of congressional news and reasons for it.

Povich, Elaine S. *Partners and Adversaries: The Contentious Connection between Congress and the Media*. Arlington, VA: Freedom Forum, 1996. Detailed assessment includes history, the image issue, public relations and the press, the quality of coverage of Congress, the impact of television, national versus regional media coverage, and the role of new media.

Ritchie, Donald A. *Press Gallery: Congress and the Washington Correspondents*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991. Covers key reporters of the post–Civil War era and how their coverage of important scandals and other events helped shape the modern press gallery of both House and Senate.

Rozell, Mark J. *In Contempt of Congress: Postwar Press Coverage on Capitol Hill*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1996. Examines the electorate's ongoing disgust with its legislature and reasons for it, including negative press coverage of Congress and government in general, as once healthy skepticism has now largely been replaced by a debilitating cynicism.

E. Election Campaigns

The core of political communication for many, this includes all types of elections, though the most has been written, as one might expect, about presidential elections. For political opinion polling, see Section 9-G-2.

E-1: General Surveys

These usually range over a number of campaigns.

Adams, William C. *Election Night News & Voter Turnout: Solving the Projection Puzzle*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2005. Provides insight into why western states have complained if New York–based television networks made election projections before West Coast polls closed—thus possibly skewing people's plans to vote. Reviews conflicting findings of past studies and election night newscasts, offering a series of western state case studies, concluding that vote predictions do not appear to impact voting in western states.

Clark, Peter, and Susan Evans. *Covering Campaigns: Journalism in Congressional Elections*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1983. A relatively early study of often-overlooked campaigns, using several case studies.

Hollihan, Thomas A. *Uncivil Wars: Political Campaigns in a Media Age*. New York: St. Martin's, 2001. Explores how modern political campaigns work and discusses the complex issues surrounding them, the development of campaign strategy, creation of candidate images, how media cover and shape campaigns, the role of political advertising, and use of strategic polling.

Littlewood, Thomas B. *Calling Elections: The History of Horse-Race Journalism*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998. Examines how treating elections as sporting events has dominated reporting of ideas, including presidential elections as spectator sport, infusion of sports language into political rhetoric, methodological development of "scientific" polling, the perverse conviction of many journalists that substantive politics bore most news consumers, and that partisan speech belongs in the paid advertising portion of newspapers.

Nimmo, Dan. *Political Persuaders: The Techniques of Modern Election Campaigns*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1999 (rev. ed.). Critiques the emerging political industry of professional political management and consulting, the first book-length treatment (when issued in 1970) to do so. With his new introduction, Nimmo hones his critique in light of 30 years and their effects on campaign organization, research, and communication.

Tuman, Joseph S. *Political Communication in American Campaigns*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2007. Argues that modern elections are not really between candidates or parties; rather, they are more about competing messages each player must present to persuade and reach voters. Discussion includes all forms of campaign speech and oratory, rhetorical dimensions of campaign debate, and candidate/campaign interaction with news media.

E-2: Past Presidential Campaigns

These titles review one or more specific presidential election campaigns.

Denton, Robert E., Jr., ed. *The 1992 Presidential Campaign: A Communication Perspective*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994. The role of print and electronic news media in the Bush–Clinton–Perot race, including nominating conventions, debates, campaign advertising, and early use of interactive systems. *See also* next entry.

Denton, Robert E., Jr. *The 1996 Presidential Campaign: A Communication Perspective*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998. This assesses the Clinton–Dole contest. *See also* the previous entry.

Falk, Erika. *Women for President: Media Bias in Eight Campaigns*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008. While Hillary Clinton was the first woman to be a front-runner for a major party nomination, she was far from the first to seek the office. More than 100 women have run, though few for a major party nomination, and most lacked experience or even campaigned hard. Eight are described here, from Virginia Woodhull (first known woman to seek the office—in 1872) to Carol Moseley Braun who sought the Democratic nomination in 2004.

Jamieson, Kathleen Hall, and Paul Waldman. *The Press Effect: Politicians, Journalists, and the Stories That Shape the Political World*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004. Analyzes both press coverage and public opinion in the 2000 presidential election, using the Annenberg 2000 survey of more than 100,000 people to examine the period from the summer of 2000 through the aftermath of September 11.

Kaid, Lynda Lee, and D. G. Bystrom, eds. *The Electronic Election: Perspectives on the 1996 Campaign*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1999. Contributions cover both candidate-controlled communication (political advertising, convention appearances, and internet sites), as well as news and debates not under the control of candidates. Among the results are details on women candidates, antecedents of voter cynicism, and the parts various communication formats play in voter disengagement.

Kendall, K. E. *Communication in the Presidential Primaries: Candidates and the Media, 1912–2000*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2000. Topics covered include the effect of party rules on communication, the role of speeches and debates, the role of political advertising, and media construction of primaries in the pretelevision and television eras. Examines the 1996 primaries in light of patterns discovered in earlier years.

Kerbel, Matthew Roberts. *Edited for Television: CNN, ABC and the 1992 Presidential Campaign*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1994. Reviews cable versus broadcast network coverage, how news media covered themselves as campaign news, and issues and nonissues in political reporting. A second part reviews behind-the-scenes decision-making processes.

Lazarsfeld, Paul F., et al. *The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign*. New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1944 (many later reprints). Pioneering sociological account of Eric County, Ohio, voters in the 1940 Roosevelt–Wilkie campaign and how they decided which way to vote.

McGinnis, Joe. *The Selling of the President, 1968*. New York: Trident, 1969. Classic popular account of Nixon's campaign, focusing on its extensive use of television to successfully create a new and positive image of the candidate using commercial advertising techniques.

Mears, Walter R. *Deadlines Past: Forty Years of Presidential Campaigning: A Reporter's Story*. Kansas City, MO: Andrews McMeel, 2003. Personal account of a Pulitzer Prize reporter who spent 45 years with the Associated Press and covered 11 campaigns. Argues that changes were gradual from Nixon versus Kennedy in 1960 through Bush versus Gore in 2000, but the historical significance of each match-up only becomes evident with time.

Museum of the Moving Image. *The Living Room Candidate: Presidential Campaign Commercials, 1952–2008*. http://www.livingroomcandidate.org. Some 300 of them from over the years, showing dramatic changes in style and content and approach.

Owen, Diana. *Media Messages in American Presidential Campaigns*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1991. Surveys of the 1984 and 1988 campaigns looking at public opinion polling, televised debates as the "ultimate pseudoevent," uses and gratifications in campaign messages, and a model of audience media usage. *See also* Stempel, below.

Patterson, Thomas E., and R. D. McClure. *The Unseeing Eye: The Myth of Television Power in National Elections*. New York: Putnam, 1976. Analysis of the effects of television on the 1972 presidential election that argues television news and political advertising have no influence on the outcome of national elections, thus contradicting prevailing assumptions about television's power.

Patterson, Thomas E. *Out of Order*. New York: Knopf, 1993. Argues that the process of electing Presidents is broken. Culprits include poorly planned performances by newscasters who talk more than candidates and too many primaries that only weaken parties. Patterson calls for a shortened nominating primary season of six weeks and a televised forum in which candidates could speak, debate, and be questioned. (Sadly, of course, it's only gotten worse since.)

Reinsch, J. Leonard. *Getting Elected: From Radio and Roosevelt to Television and Reagan*. New York: Hippocrene, 1988. The author was a key Democratic party broadcast consultant from 1944 to 1969 and writes with that experience in mind.

Rosenberg, William L., et al. *The Politics of Disenchantment: Bush, Clinton, Perot, and the Press*. Cresskill, NY: Hampton Press, 1996. Reviews 1992 campaign where Perot was a third-party candidate.

Rosenstiel, Tom. *Strange Bedfellows: How Television and the Presidential Candidates Changed American Politics*. New York: Hyperion, 1993. As networks cut their political coverage in 1992, presuming George Bush would win re-election, candidates turned to other venues to get out their message.

Shogan, Robert. *Bad News: Where the Press Goes Wrong in the Making of the President*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2001. Draws on lessons of nine presidential elections to show where news media go wrong in the making of the President. Media play the role of enablers; they allow and abet abuse of the political process by candidates and their handlers.

Stempel, Guido, III, and John W. Windhauser, eds. *The Media in the 1984 and 1988 Presidential Campaigns*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1991. Covers broadcast and print (newspaper and magazine) reporting, public attitudes about reporting, and newspaper editorials on elections. *See also* Owen, above.

Taylor, Paul. *See How They Run: Electing the President in an Age of Mediaocracy*. New York: Knopf, 1990. Account of the 1988 race between George Bush and Michael Dukakis—and the candidates and their roles.

Thomson, Charles A. H. *Television and Presidential Politics: The Experience in 1952 and the Problems Ahead*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1956. Pioneering study of the techniques and role of then-new television in a national campaign, including coverage of political conventions and the role of network decision-making.

E-3: Modern Presidential Campaigning

Included here are studies of recent campaigns—generally since 2000—often including discussion of the impact of increasing technological options.

Cunningham, Liz. *Talking Politics: Choosing the President in the Television Age*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995. Collects the author's interviews with national television journalists on their interaction with presidential candidates.

Kaid, Lynda Lee, and Anne Johnston. *Videostyle in Presidential Campaigns: Style and Content of Televised Political Advertising*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001. Systematic analysis of political commercials used in general election campaigns from 1952 through 1996 presidential contests.

Panagopolous, Costas. *Rewiring Politics: Presidential Nominating Conventions in the Media Age*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007.

Fourteen media and politics authorities examine how conventions have been transformed by technologies of "coverage." First radio, and then television, cable networks, and the Internet have transfigured both the presentation and content of nominating process.

Parmelee, J. H. *Meet the Candidate Videos: Analyzing Presidential Primary Campaign Videocassettes*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003. Assesses use of videocassettes in the 2000 race, those which include images and issues often based on polling data and focus groups, and which are sent out before primaries to battleground states to establish an initial candidate image. Multiple methods are used to explore the efforts of candidates who released such videos.

Pfau, Michael, et al. *Mediating the Vote: The Challenging Media Landscape in U.S. Presidential Campaigns*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007. Explores a number of questions about media use and its relation to democratic engagement, analyzing the effects of communication forms on the 2004 presidential elections.

Plissner, Martin. *The Control Room: How Television Calls the Shots in Presidential Elections*. New York: The Free Press, 1999. Former political director of CBS News shows how many elements of elections—primaries, conventions, and counting of ballots—are shaped by the networks' struggle for supremacy.

Skewes, Elizabeth A. *Message Control: How News Is Made on the Presidential Campaign Trail*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007. Reviews the role of media in the 2000 and 2004 presidential elections and notes that modern campaigns are a development of the past four decades as the role of media, and particularly television (and more recently the web) have come to dominate the process.

E-4: Televised Debates

These began with the so-called Great Debates of 1960 between Nixon and Kennedy, resumed again in 1976, and have since become a central part of the quadrennial race—now for vice presidential candidates as well.

American Presidency Project. *Presidential Debates, 1960–2008*. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/debates.php. Includes transcripts of all of them, in reverse chronological order, with links to many related materials.

Bishop, George F., et al., eds. *The Presidential Debates: Media, Electoral, and Policy Perspectives*. New York: Praeger, 1978. An early study, drawing on the Ford–Carter debates of 1976, only the second set of presidential televised debates. *See also* Kraus, below.

Commission on Presidential Debates. http://www.debates.org. The organization that sponsors the quadrennial presidential and vice presidential debates explains its role and background.

Hellweg, Susan, et al. *Televised Presidential Debates: Advocacy in Contemporary America*. New York: Praeger, 1992. Argues that these have dramatically changed campaigns by reviewing their history since 1960, formats used, verbal and visual dimensions of these debates, and their impact.

Jamieson, Kathleen Hall, and David S. Birdsell. *Presidential Debates: The Challenge of Creating an Informed Electorate*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988. Three chapters on debates before broadcasting, then the development and impact of debates on radio and later television, arguing that electronic media have not helped the depth of discussion any.

Kraus, Sidney, ed. *The Great Debates*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1962. Pioneering assessment of the 1960 Nixon–Kennedy televised face-off that probably decided that election and laid the ground for now-regular campaign debates that take place every four years.

Kraus, Sidney. *The Great Debates: Carter vs. Ford 1976*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979. Examination of the genesis and impact of the 1976 presidential debates (the first since 1960) between President Gerald Ford and Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter. *See also* Bishop, above.

Kraus, Sidney. *Televised Presidential Debates and Public Policy*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum,

1999 (2nd ed.). Examines formal presidential debates, considering experience of television in presidential elections, reviewing what has been learned about televised debates, and evaluating that knowledge in the context of election and political processes. Includes the general media role in presidential elections.

Lemert, James B., et al. *News Verdicts, the Debates, and Presidential Campaigns*. New York: Praeger, 1991. The authors conducted 2,350 surveys and analysis of news reports to scrutinize postdebate news of the 1988 campaign (as well as the effects of attack ads used by Bush and Dukakis), and found that news media consistently downplay debate content and instead emphasize their own views on candidate performance.

Minow, Newton N., and Craig L. LaMay. *Inside the Presidential Debates: Their Improbable Past and Promising Future*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008. Combines a review of televised debates (Minow played a key role in organizing them) and discussion of their shortcomings and how they might improve.

Museum of Broadcast Communications. *The History of Televised Presidential Debates*. http://www.museum.tv/debateweb/html/index.htm. Details and sound bites from the 1960–2000 debates and guides to further information.

Schroeder, Alan. *Presidential Debates: 40 Years of High-Risk TV*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001. Drawing on experience as a TV reporter and producer and through interviews with those who have worked on presidential debates, the author sheds light on every debate from 1960 to 2000. From the selection of questioners to camera angles, from issues of makeup to lighting and stage set, he shows how decisions are made that influence audience perceptions of the results.

Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Presidential Debates. *Let America Decide*. New York: The Fund, 1995. Offers a 35-page report with recommendations that build on the success of the 1992 debates, followed by a background paper on the issues involved. *See* Hellweg and Lanoue, above.

F. Campaign Advertising

The coming of television as a political tool dramatically changed the face—and cost—of campaigns. The Internet may have as dramatic an impact (see subsection H, below).

F-1: History

Covers campaigns prior to about 2000.

Ansolabehere, Stephen, and Shanto Iyengar. *Going Negative: How Political Advertisements Shrink and Polarize the Electorate*. New York: The Free Press, 1995. Based on some 3,500 interviews, this study demonstrates that negative campaigning turns off voters.

Diamond, Edwin, and Stephen Bates. *The Spot: The Rise of Political Advertising on Television*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996 (4th ed.). A standard though now dated history (first issued a dozen years earlier) that describes changes in televised political advertising from 1952's first political spot ads through their use in the 1994 off-year elections.

Jamieson, Kathleen Hall. *Packaging the Presidency: A History and Criticism of Presidential Campaign Advertising*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984. Reviews 1952–80 campaigns and their media images for both parties.

Kaid, Lynda Lee, and Anne Johnson. *Videostyle in Presidential Campaigns: Style and Content in Televised Political Advertising*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2000. Results of a systematic analysis of virtually all political commercials used in general election presidential campaigns from 1952 through 1996.

Kern, Montague. *30-Second Politics: Political Advertising in the Eighties*. New York: Praeger, 1989. Samples ads from national and state-level campaigns in 1984, 1986, and 1988 and finds an increasing amount of negative advertising.

West, Darrell M. *Air Wars: Television Advertising in Election Campaigns, 1952–2004*. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2005 (4th ed.). Including material

from the 2004 election, this examines political advertising in election campaigns. The author discusses how ads are put together, emphasizing several key principles such as stereotyping, visual context, and editing; decisions candidates make when buying air time; the messages presented in ads (both broadcast and Internet); relationship between ads and the news; impact of ads on viewers and what citizens learn about candidates; and advertising's role within the democratic process.

F-2: Current

Includes studies since about 2000.

Brader, Ted. *Campaigning for Hearts and Minds: How Emotional Appeals in Political Ads Work*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006. Motivational and persuasive appeals in campaign advertising are studied using social science surveys.

Bystrom, Dianne G., et al. *Gender and Candidate Communication: VideoStyle, WebStyle, and NewsStyle*. New York: Routledge, 2004. Digs into campaigns of the previous decade including thousands of ads, websites, and newspaper articles to find out how successful candidates have been in breaking down gender stereotypes. Among the findings: female candidates dress more formally, smile more, act "tougher" when they can, and prefer scare tactics to aggressive attack ads—and web coverage tends to draw more heavily on old stereotypes.

Franz, Michael M., et al. *Campaign Advertising and American Democracy*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2007. Ties together work done through the 2000s, largely at the University of Wisconsin Advertising project, and drawing on studies of the 2000 and 2004 election cycles. Reviews campaign advertising as a "whipping boy," a spillover theory of campaign advertising effects, measuring exposure to campaign ads, tracing their volume and content, making sense of campaign ads, what target audiences knew and when did they know it, campaign advertising and voter attitudes toward the political process, and advertising tone and citizen engagement.

Thurber, James A., et al., eds. *Crowded Airwaves: Campaign Advertising in Elections*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2000. Analysis of political advertising: its causes, growth, and consequences on American elections, including the merits (or not) of negative advertising, the role of campaign advertising, and the ascendance of issue advertising and its continuing proliferation.

University of Iowa Online Communication Studies Resources. *Political Advertising*. http://www.uiowa.edu/~commstud/resources/pol_ads.html. Provides a host of links on all aspects of campaign advertising on the air and in print over many election cycles.

G. News and Foreign Affairs

The relationship of news media, diplomacy, and international affairs has long been a matter of study and comment—at least since the era of the telegraph in the mid-nineteenth century.

Baum, Matthew A. *Soft News Goes to War: Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy in the New Media Age*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003. Develops the "byproduct" theory of information consumption to explain how technology has fundamentally changed how news media (especially television) cover foreign policy. By transforming political issues involving scandal or violence (especially attacks against America) into entertainment, "soft news" media have captured more viewers who may follow news about foreign crises due to its entertainment value, even if they remain uninterested in foreign policy. Baum tests his theory through content analyses of traditional and soft news media coverage of various post-1945 American foreign crises and statistical analyses of public opinion surveys.

Berry, Nicholas O. *Foreign Policy and the Press: An Analysis of* The New York Times *Coverage of U.S. Foreign Policy*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1990. Examines five case studies from 1961 to the early 1980s, comparing the paper's coverage to administration policy press releases.

Carpenter, Ted Galen. *The Captive Press: Foreign Policy Crises and the First Amendment*. Washington, DC: Cato Institute, 1995. Examines the period since World War II and growing tensions between

government and journalists in international crises, citing examples where officials pressured journalists to abandon their role as monitors of policy and become members of the country's foreign policy team, or to either intimidate or circumvent media. Too often news media join forces with government and the military to rally behind policy instead of asking necessary questions.

Cohen, Bernard C. *The Press and Foreign Policy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963. Important early account of the mutual impact of journalism and foreign policymaking. Discusses how media and those engaged in developing and guiding foreign policy mutually interact, and with what effect.

Dayan, Daniel, and Elihu Katz. *Media Events: The Live Broadcasting of History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992. Television news coverage is seen as a kind of world ritual, using six case studies: the Olympic Games, Anwar Sadat's trip to Jerusalem in the late 1970s, the royal wedding in London in 1981, the funeral of John Kennedy in 1963, the first Moon landing in 1969, and Pope John Paul II's trips to Poland.

Dennis, Everette, et at., eds. *Beyond the Cold War: Soviet and American Media Images*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1991. Fifteen papers on how news media were covering the transition from Soviet-controlled Europe to post–Berlin Wall era, based on a 1989 Moscow conference with American and Russian media scholar participants. Covers print and broadcasting, stereotypes, coverage of summit meetings, and some discussion of news coverage about China.

Desmond, Robert W. *The Press and World Affairs*. New York: Appleton-Century, 1937 (reprinted by Arno Press, 1972). Classic early account reviewing the roles of reporters and news agencies, how news was transmitted, obstacles to news flow (censorship and propaganda), then sections on news reporting in different parts of the world. Useful survey of the pre–World War II situation.

Dorman, William A., and Mansour Farhang. *The U.S. Press and Iran: Foreign Policy and the Journalism of Deference*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988. Explores the complex link between press and policy and ways in which American mainstream journalism portrays a one-time Third World ally, suggesting that news media are far from fulfilling the watchdog role.

Entman, Robert M. *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004. Offers a model of how media framing works—a model that explains why news media cheered American victories over small-time dictators in Grenada and Panama but barely noticed the success of far more difficult missions in Haiti and Kosovo. Suggests ways to more effectively the encourage the exchange of ideas among the government, news media, and the public.

Gilboa, Eytan. *Media and Conflict: Framing Issues, Making Policy, Shaping Opinions*. Ardsley, NY: Transnational Publishers, 2002. Seventeen papers provide a multicultural and transnational survey of current research on the role of media in covering or resolving conflicts. These include a variety of case studies, among them Middle East conflicts, protests against world organizations, land disputes between nations, the CNN effect on global journalism, Russian media on border conflicts, and media and public opinion.

Heald, Morrell. *Transatlantic Vistas: American Journalists in Europe, 1900–1940*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1988. Two world wars created a golden age of American international journalism when figures like John Gunther, William L. Shirer, Dorothy Thompson, and Vincent Sheean turned to interpretation and analysis.

See Hess, Section 7-C-1.

Hohenberg, John. *Between Two Worlds: Policy, Press, and Public Opinion in Asian-American Relations*. New York: Random House, 1967. Assesses the role of the press and public opinion in Asian policy from 1945 to 1965, and thus the early Vietnam War period.

Larson, James F. *Television's Window on the World: International Affairs Coverage of the U.S. Networks*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1984. Coverage by ABC, CBS, and NBC of overseas places and

events of the 1972–81 period is closely assessed—making clear how much less such coverage is the norm three decades later.

Neuman, Johanna. *Lights, Camera, War: Is Media Technology Driving International Politics?* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996. How technology is changing the pace and shape of international affairs and reporting. The author begins with telegraph and traces changes over 150 years with telling examples.

O'Heffernan, Patrick. *Mass Media and American Foreign Policy: Insider Perspectives on Global Journalism and the Foreign Policy Process*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1991. Study of 1977–78 Carter administration policymaking and media coverage about it. Three specific Middle East stories were used as case studies.

Perlmutter, David D., and John Maxwell Hamilton, eds. *From Pigeons to News Portals: Foreign Reporting and the Challenge of New Technology*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007. Seven research papers probe whether better technology leads to improved foreign reporting, including rethinking foreign news from a transnational perspective, reemergence of amateur journalism and what it means for international affairs, bloggers as the new "foreign" correspondents, how American media teach negative and flawed beliefs about the United States to youths in 12 countries, the impact of instant connection, a defense of "parachute" journalism, and the speed and integrity of international news coverage.

Raboy, Marc, and Bernard Dagenais, eds. *Media, Crisis, and Democracy: Mass Communication and the Disruption of Social Order*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1992. Eleven essays on such topics as television and the Persian Gulf War, framing the crisis in Eastern Europe, the terminal crisis of communism in Poland, violence and terror in news media, and the varied roles of media in covering crises.

Rotberg, Robert I., and Thomas G. Weiss, eds. *From Massacres to Genocide: The Media, Public Policy and Humanitarian Crises*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1996. Nine papers on how news media have become increasingly important global crisis agenda setters by reporting on events, refugees, and rescue efforts.

Serfaty, Simon, ed. *The Media and Foreign Policy*. New York: St. Martin's, 1991. Sixteen papers by journalists or senior government officials, divided into sections on who sets the policy agenda (the role of news media), who says what (for example, leakers), do media matter (covering national security and intelligence issues), and news coverage as perceived outside Washington.

H. Politics and Changing Technology

Starting in the 1990s, first e-mail and then the Internet began to exert a growing influence on campaigns—and in governing, too. Considerable research has already resulted.

Bimber, Bruce. *Information and American Democracy: Technology in the Evolution of Political Power*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. Sets the information revolution in historical context, asserting that past developments offer lessons for understanding how the Internet is affecting politics. Examines how citizens and organizations use it for political purposes and whether new technology is making Americans more engaged in their government.

Bimber, Bruce, and Richard Davis. *Campaigning Online: The Internet in U.S. Elections*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003. Reviews the dynamics of the 2000 election on the Internet including how candidates presented themselves online, how voters responded to their efforts—including whether they learned from candidates' websites and whether their opinions were affected by what they saw. Includes data drawn from national and statewide surveys, laboratory experiments, interviews with campaign staff, and analysis of websites.

Chadwick, Andrew. *Internet Politics: States, Citizens, and New Communication Technologies*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. Examines the impact of changing communication technologies on political parties and elections, pressure groups, social movements, local democracy, public bureaucracies, and global governance. Analyzes persistent policy problems, including the often-expressed "digital divide;" Internet governance; tensions between surveillance, privacy, and security; and the political economy of the Internet

sector, providing numerous examples from the United States, Britain, and other countries.

Chadwick, Andrew, ed. *Routledge Handbook of Internet Politics*. New York: Routledge, 2008. Concerned with theoretical and conceptual debates, political institutions and practices, and how the Internet creates new policy problems for both democratic and nondemocratic nations, not to mention their roles in the global system. Reflects a steady stream of high-quality research literature over the last five years and offers contributions from scholars from Britain, Europe, and the United States.

Cornfield, Michael. *Politics Moves Online: Campaigning and the Internet*. New York: Century Foundation Press, 2004. After a survey of the political context of late the 1990s and early 2000s, Cornfield discusses uses of the Internet for research by campaigns, campaign websites, problems and prospects of raising money online, a review of several case studies of online use, and a summary that assesses the transition the political world is going through.

Foot, Kirsten A., and Steven M. Schneider. *Web Campaigning*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006. Examines the evolution of campaigns' web practices, based on hundreds of campaign websites produced by a range of political actors during the American elections of 2000, 2002, and 2004. Developmental analyses of how and why campaign organizations create specific online structures illuminates the reciprocal relationship between production practices and structures of campaign organization and the electoral arena.

Howard, Philip N. *New Media Campaigns and the Managed Citizen*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005. With evidence from ethnographic research, survey data, and social network analysis, examines the evolving act of political campaigning and the changing organization of political campaigns over the last five election cycles, from 1996 to 2004 where both grassroots and elite political campaigns have gone online, built multimedia strategies, and constructed complex relational databases.

Oates, Sarah, et al. *The Internet and Politics: Citizens, Voters, and Activists*. New York: Routledge, 2006. Explores the nature of the Internet's impact on civil society, including: Is the web qualitatively different from more traditional media forms; has it demonstrated real potential to provide an enhancement of communication between government and citizen or via better state transparency; or does it pose a threat to the coherence of civil society as people are encouraged to abandon shared experience for individual and narrow interests?

Prior, Marcus. *Post-Broadcast Democracy: How Media Choice Increases Inequality in Political Involvement and Polarizes Elections*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007. Examines how differences in access to a growing variety of media affects political behavior, using experiments and survey data to show how changes in the media environment reverberate through the political system, affecting news exposure, political learning, turnout, and voting behavior.

Williams, Andrew Paul, and John C. Tedesco, eds. *The Internet Election: Perspectives on the Web in Campaign 2004*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006. Analyzes the unprecedented role of the web in the 2004 presidential campaign with an eye toward future elections, including a discussion of grassroots organizing via the Internet, candidate e-mail strategies, blogs, online discourse about candidates' spouses, and gendering of (other than presidential) candidates on websites.

Section 7

Journalists

Those who practice journalism are—and always have been—a varied lot. Only fairly recently, however, has research underpinned this "known" fact. The subsections that follow provide both general reference and a variety of individual biographies and autobiographies. For sources on journalism labor and unions, see Section 4-C.

Most of the subsections in this section appear in two parts—surveys about that role (publisher, reporter, etc.) including group biographies, followed by individual biographies and autobiographies. Given the massive number of books in this second category, what follows should only be seen as suggestive of what is available, emphasizing works since 1990 and important earlier titles.

A. Reference and General

Included here are biographical dictionaries and other reference works pertaining to journalists of all types, as well as the few general works assessing journalists as a whole.

A-1: Reference

Most of these provide collected bibliography of selected figures, ranging from very brief paragraphs to multipage essays.

Abrams, Alan B., comp. *Journalism Biographies Master Index: A Guide to 90,000 References to Historical and Contemporary Journalists in 200 Biographical Directories and Other Sources*. Detroit, MI: Gale Research, 1979. Arranged by journalist's name (and including publishers, editors, reporters, columnists), this includes some famous people who were only journalists for a time, and covers broadcasters as well as print media news personnel. This is a guide to other guides—the format lists journalist name plus birth and (if applicable) death dates, then a series of abbreviations where more biographical information may be found. But its age is showing—lots of people who are now well known do not appear here.

Applegate, Edd. *The Ad Men and Women: A Biographical Dictionary of Advertising*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1994. More than 50 advertising professionals past and present are profiled, including copywriters, art directors and other creative personnel, and other key figures.

Applegate, Edd. *Literary Journalism: A Biographical Dictionary of Writers and Editors*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1996. Covers—in short essays of a page or two—more than 150 American and British writers and editors, focusing on those then active, but reaching back to the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century authors in Britain who gave birth to the genre. In a short introductory essay, Applegate asserts that these literary journalists use techniques of the novelist that sharply differ in form, style, and language from the objective reportage of a newspaper reporter. *See also* Kaul, below.

Applegate, Edd. *Journalistic Advocates and Muckrakers: Three Centuries of Crusading Writers*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1997. Includes more than 100 of them, arranged alphabetically, from famous ones like Tarbell and others up to more recent examples in the 1960s and 1970s. Entries range from several pages to a couple of paragraphs.

Applegate, Edd. *Muckrakers: A Biographical Dictionary of Writers and Editors*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2008. Some 50 of them are covered, in essays ranging from two to eight pages, including listings of some of their output.

Ashley, Perry J., ed. *American Newspaper Journalists*. Detroit, MI: Gale Research, "Dictionary of Literary Biography" (DLB). Four volumes collectively offer lengthy illustrated essays on hundreds of journalists. The preface to each volume provides historical context for the period covered.

1. *1690–1872*. 1985, DLB vol. 43.
2. *1873–1900*. 1983, DLB vol. 23.
3. *1901–1925*. 1984, DLB vol. 25.
4. *1926–1950*. 1984, DLB vol. 29.

Ashley, Perry J., ed. *American Newspaper Publishers 1950–1990*. Detroit, MI: Gale Research, "Dictionary of Literary Biography," 1993, DLB vol. 127. Profiles 55 leaders of the postwar newspaper press—perhaps a bit of a bending of this series' usual "literary" bent.

Brewer, Annie M. *Talk Shows and Hosts on Radio: A Directory Including Show Titles and Formats, Biographical Information on Hosts, and Topics/Subjects Index*. Dearborn, MI: Whitefoord Press, 1996 (4th ed.). Covers people on networks and in syndication, plus local stations.

Connery, Thomas B., ed. *A Sourcebook of American Literary Journalism: Representative Writers in an Emerging Genre*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1992. Provides lengthy profiles of 35 figures, including Stephen Crane, Dorothy Day, John Hersey, Norman Mailer, and Joan Didion, arranged chronologically from Mark Twain to Tracy Kidder.

Downs, Robert B., and Jane B. Downs. *Journalists of the United States: Biographical Sketches of Print and Broadcast News Shapers from the Late 17th Century to the Present*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1991. Alphabetically arranged biographies of major people in U.S. newspaper and broadcast journalism. Introduction surveys issues and topics in U.S. journalism history, including censorship, muckraking, women journalists, and wartime journalism.

Dziki, Sylwester. *Who's Who in Mass Communications*. Munich: Saur (and the Press Research Centre), 1990 (2nd rev. ed.). Though badly dated, and admittedly far from complete, this is a still-useful collection of self-reported biographical information (a paragraph each) on academic researchers from around the world.

See Fisher and Fisher, Section 1-F-1.

Harrison, S. L. *Cavalcade of Journalists 1900–2000: Chroniclers of an American Century*. Miami, FL: Wolf Den, 2002. Some 230 are listed with a paragraph each, though there is no clear sense provided of how they were chosen.

High Bean Encyclopedia. *Journalism and Publishing: Biographies*. http://www.encyclopedia.com/category/Literature_and_the_Arts/Biographies/pubbio.html. Provides brief information on hundreds of people past and present, with bibliographic references and links to other information (such as obituaries).

Journalism & Mass Communication Directory. Columbia, SC: Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, 1982–present, annual. Includes most higher education academics and college and university programs devoted to journalism education.

Kaul, Arthur J., ed. *American Literary Journalists, 1945–1995, First Series*. Detroit, MI: Gale Research, "Dictionary of Literary Biography," 1997, DLB vol. 185. *See also* Applegate, above.

McKerns, Joseph P., ed. *Biographical Dictionary of American Journalism*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1989. Biographical essays about both living and deceased journalists, describing the lives and professional contributions of nearly 1,000 women and men in U.S. journalism. Well-written entries by journalism scholars include standard biographical information and nonstandard evaluative information about careers and contributions. Appendices include an index of personal names, publication

titles, and a list of entries by category (e.g., columnist, humorist), minority and ethnic journalism, and women in journalism.

MediaPost. *MediaPost Directories*. http://www.mediapost.com/directories. Available by free registration, this includes access to thousands of people working in a variety of news media, as well as directories of various media industries and sectors.

News Media Yellow Book: Who's Who among Reporters, Writers, Editors and Producers in the Leading National News Media. New York: Leadership Directories, 1988–present, quarterly. Directory of personnel (some 33,000 by 2008) rather than media organizations or outlets. Includes people at news services, newspapers, networks, television stations, radio stations, programs, periodicals, non-U.S. media, and publishers. Multiple indexes.

Newton, Eric, ed. *Crusaders, Scoundrels, Journalists: The Newseum's Most Intriguing Newspeople*. New York: Times Books, 1999. Album of nearly 300 news people of all types—from owners and publishers to reporters, photographers, and humorists—who have illuminated American journalism history, each getting one page.

Orodenker, Richard, ed. *Twentieth-Century American Sports Writers*. Detroit, MI: Gale Research, "Dictionary of Literary Biography," 1996, DLB vol. 171. *See* next entry.

Orodenker, Richard. *American Sportswriters and Writers on Sports*. Detroit, MI: Gale Research, "Dictionary of Literary Biography," 2001, DLB vol. 241. Combined with prior entry, this is a highly selective survey of in-depth profiles of sportswriters, nearly all of whom are journalists, though a few have also done books. Each essay is contributed by a different author and includes bibliographic references.

Riley, Sam G., ed. *American Magazine Journalists*. [Series] Detroit, MI: Gale Research, "Dictionary of Literary Biography" (DLB), various years. These four volumes provide solid, heavily illustrated, scholarly biographies of both living and dead U.S. editors, publishers, and writers, supplemented with primary and secondary bibliographies.

1. *1741–1850*. 1988, DLB vol. 73.
2. *1850–1900*. 1988, DLB vol. 79.
3. *1900–1960: First Series*. 1990, DLB vol. 91.
4. *1900–1960: Second Series*. 1994, DLB vol. 137.

Riley, Sam G. *Biographical Dictionary of American Newspaper Columnists*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1995. Some 600 figures are included, with entries ranging from a few sentences to two pages.

Riley, Sam G. *The American Newspaper Columnist*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998. Provides a review of the emergence of columnists and who they have been from Civil War era to present. Nearly 800 of them and their work are examined chronologically—according to when their columns first appeared—within several categories: early (1800s), humor, column poets, syndicated political, other syndicated, local, and minority.

Roberts, Nancy L. *American Peace Writers, Editors and Periodicals: A Dictionary*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1991. Two main parts—writers and editors (short paragraphs on each person), and an annotated listing of American peace advocacy periodicals.

Roth, Mitchel P. *Historical Dictionary of War Journalism*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1997. Despite its title, this is a guide to individual war reporters who have covered conflicts. Entries include reporters, photographers, and artists who represented a newspaper, magazine, radio, or television station, as well as significant events and terms relating to war reporting from 1846 to the early 1990s' Gulf War and Balkan conflicts. It is selective and excludes freelancers and independent observers—and military officers.

Sies, Luther F. *Encyclopedia of American Radio, 1920–1960*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2008 (2nd ed., 2 vols.). Somewhat mistitled as the vast majority of its thousands of entries are very brief citations to individual performers (the rest concern programs), many of them involved with radio journalism.

Sies, Leora M., and Luther F. Sies. *The Encyclopedia of Women in Radio, 1920–1960*. Jefferson, NC:

McFarland, 2003. Includes many newscasters and commentators, though women were rare in such posts in these years.

Taft, William H. *Encyclopedia of Twentieth-Century Journalists*. New York: Garland, 1986. Biographical sketches of over 1,000 media personalities with emphasis on the period since 1945. Inclusion is based on a judgment of the person's achievement and reputation.

A-2: General

Few works have thus far attempted to analyze collectively who journalists are, where they come from and their backgrounds, and what they think about what they do.

Dooley, Patricia L. *Taking Their Political Place: Journalists and the Making of an Occupation*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1997. Explores the rise of the news function in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when journalism's specialized career patterns first became established.

See Fedler, subsection C-1, below.

Johnstone, John W., et al. *The News People: A Sociological Portrait of American Journalists and Their Work*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976. Pioneering study based on a national sample. *See* Weaver et al., below.

McKercher, Catherine, and Vincent Mosco, eds. *Knowledge Workers in the Information Society*. Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2007. The changing nature of work and workers in media, information, and knowledge industries is reviewed in multiple papers, including journalists among many roles.

Tuchman, Gaye. *Making News: A Study of the Construction of Reality*. New York: The Free Press, 1978. An important participant observation study of news making as a social activity with professionals operating within complex organizations. Focusing on television news and daily newspapers, the research demonstrates the interaction among reporters and editors, working with facts and sources, and generally how "objective" news is developed.

Weaver, David H., et al. *The American Journalist*. Published over two decades, this is unusual longitudinal research about who works in journalism, their backgrounds, what they do, and why. A team of Indiana University scholars under Weaver's direction provides a window into journalism workers at a time of dramatic change in their field. (*See also* Johnstone, above.) This important series, based on interviews with a national sample, is as follows:

> *The American Journalist: A Portrait of U.S. News People and Their Work*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991 (2nd ed.). Updates first book that appeared in 1986;
>
> *The American Journalist in the 1990s: U.S. News People at the End of an Era*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1996; and
>
> *The American Journalist in the 21st Century: U S. News People at the Dawn of a New Millennium*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2007. This includes a summary of comparative data across previous volumes.

Weaver, David H., ed. *The Global Journalist: News People around the World*. Cresskill, NY: Hampton Press, 1998. Though skipping coverage of sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, and much of Eurasia and Central Asia, this provides 23 reports on specific nations in different parts of the world. Some 20,000 journalists responded to early 1990s' surveys on which descriptive discussions are based.

B. Editors and Publishers

These two roles were sometimes combined—and were even more often confused—well into the twentieth century, especially in smaller markets.

B-1: Surveys

Includes multiple biographies as well as broader surveys of their roles.

Brendon, Piers. *The Life and Death of the Press Barons*. New York: Atheneum, 1983. Compares and contrasts many of the most important British and American publishers from the beginning of the penny press in the 1830s through the next 150 years, arguing that the one-time "baron" role largely disappeared

after World War II with the stellar exception of Rupert Murdoch.

Coleridge, Nicholas. *Paper Tigers: The Latest, Greatest Newspaper Tycoons*. New York: Birch Lane, 1994. Profiles the influential world of twenty-five of the most important newspaper owners and tycoons and their newspaper dynasties, including Sulzberger, Graham, Chandler, Cox, Ingersoll, Maxwell, and Murdoch.

Daniels, Jonathan. *They Will Be Heard: America's Crusading Newspaper Editors*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965. A survey from the eighteenth to the twentieth century, profiling activities of a selection of editors against the context of their times.

Emery, Edwin. *History of the American Newspaper Publishers Association*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1950 (reprinted by Greenwood, 1970). Established in 1887, now part of the Newspaper Association of America (formed in 1992), this was a major voice in the newspaper field for a century.

Ghiglione, Loren, ed. *Gentlemen of the Press: Profiles of American Newspaper Editors—Selections from the* Bulletin *of the American Society of Newspaper Editors*. Indianapolis, IN: R. J. Berg, 1983. Anthology of reprinted brief articles profiling selected daily newspaper editors.

Pitts, Alice Fox. *Read All about It! Fifty Years of the American Society of Newspaper Editors*. Washington, DC: ASNE, 1974. Written by the organization's first executive secretary, this provides an overview and assesses the role of ASNE in journalism education, Pulitzer Prizes, the American Press Institute, relations abroad, the fight for freedom of information, and highlights from its *Bulletin*. *See* next entry.

Pratte, Paul Alfred. *Gods within the Machine: A History of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, 1923–1993*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995. A sometimes critical history of ASNE, presented in both chronological and topical form, this discusses leadership (or lack of same) concerning such issues as ethics, freedom of the press, world press freedom, newspaper economics, journalism education, diversity, and minority affairs. *See* previous entry.

Seldes, George. *Lords of the Press*. New York: Messner, 1938. A longtime press critic takes on most of the newspaper publishers of the pre–World War II era as selfish and ignoring public interest. Of many discussed here, only a handful come out looking well.

Sneed, Don, and Daniel Riffe. *The Publisher-Public Official: Real or Imagined Conflict of Interest?* New York: Praeger, 1992. First published research study about people filling both roles and how they deal with potential ethical conflicts. More than 100 were interviewed for the case studies presented here.

Stewart, Kenneth, and John Tebbel. *Makers of Modern Journalism*. New York: Prentice Hall, 1952. A history of American journalism told largely through the lives of important editors and publishers—this is a good example of the once-popular "great men" approach to history.

B-2: Biographies

Journalists are writers—nowhere is this more evident than in biography and autobiography. There is scarcely an editor or publisher of any importance who has not been treated in book form.

Baldasty, Gerald J. *E. W. Scripps and the Business of Newspapers*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999. Scripps began the first national newspaper chain and then formed a news agency to service his network of often small working-class papers. This is based on Scripps's personal papers and presumes some knowledge of newspaper history by the reader.

Baughman, James L. *Henry R. Luce and the Rise of the American News Media*. New York: Twayne, 1987 (reprinted by Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001). The twentieth century's most influential magazine publisher, Luce cofounded *Time* in 1923 and later initiated *Fortune* (1930), *Life* (1936), and *Sports Illustrated* (1954). Baughman argues that Luce wielded less political power than his overall impact on the press. Indeed, 40 years after his death, Luce's legacy continues to influence how the news is reported and understood. A new afterword in the 2001 edition chronicles Time Inc. after its mergers

with Warner and AOL. *See also* Herzstein and Swanberg, below.

Bellows, Jim. *The Last Editor: How I Saved* The New York Times, The Washington Post, *and the* Los Angeles Times *from Dullness and Complacency*. Kansas City, MO: Andrews McMeel, 2002. The editor "saved" these papers by editing the now-defunct *New York Herald Tribune,* the *Washington Star,* and the *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner* that competed with them. He helped hire some later-famous writers and innovated widely.

Bower, Tom. *Maxwell: The Outsider*. New York: Viking, 1992. Updated from the earlier British edition to include Maxwell's demise and the end of his publishing empire. *See also* Greenslade and Haines, below.

Bradlee, Ben. *A Good Life: Newspapering and Other Adventures*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995. Bradlee served as editor of *Newsweek* and then of *The Washington Post* at the time of its Watergate scoop.

Bradon, Russell. *Roy Thomson of Fleet Street*. London: Collins, 1965. An early life of the Canadian-born press and publishing magnate controlling with outlets in many countries including the United States.

Brain, Denis. *Pulitzer: A Life*. New York: Wiley, 2001. Biography of the immigrant turned "yellow journalism" publisher (1847–1911), ironically the founder of the country's first journalism school and the famous prizes bearing his name. *See also* Swanberg, below.

Catledge, Turner. *My Life and* The Times. New York: Harper & Row, 1971. For many years the top news editor at the New York paper, Catledge relates his four-decade professional life.

Chadwell, William Robert. *Horace Greeley: Champion of American Freedom*. New York: New York University Press, 2006. There are many biographies of this nineteenth-century journalist; this is among the most recent. *See also* Williams, below.

Chisholm, Anne, and Michael Davie. *Lord Beaverbrook: A Life*. New York: Knopf, 1993. One of the fascinating twentieth-century British publishers, born in Canada but a mover and shaker in mid-century thanks to his control of mass-circulation newspapers and closeness to Winston Churchill. *See also* Taylor, below.

Cohn, Jan. *Creating America: George Horace Lorimer and the* Saturday Evening Post. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989. The longtime (1899–1936) editor of the popular weekly magazine is defined against developments in both journalism and America in general.

Columbia University Journalism Library. *Pulitzer Collections at Columbia*. http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/indiv/jour/coll/pulitzer.html. Annotated guide to materials about the publisher (and the prizes—see also Section 1-F-1), both in print and online.

Cooper, Kent. *Kent Cooper and the Associated Press: An Autobiography*. New York: Random House, 1959. Longtime head of AP news agency tells his story, which is largely that of his employer in the early twentieth century, and its operations as a part of and then against the world news service cartel.

Drew, John M. L. *Dickens the Journalist*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. First critical study to review Charles Dickens's journalism in its own right, and to assess the justice of recent reviews of Dickens's journalism as "outstanding" by relating his 40-year career in media (1833–70) as both writer and editor.

Duncan, Bingham. *Whitelaw Reid: Journalist, Politician, Diplomat*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1975. From his Civil War reporting to his role as editor and then publisher of *The New York Tribune* and later years in government, this is a solid biography of the Gilded Age figure (1837–1901).

Frankel, Max. *The Times of My Life and My Life at* The Times. New York: Random House, 2000. Longtime reporter, then an editor and columnist with *The New York Times*.

Gelb, Arthur. *City Room*. New York: Putnam, 2003. Legendary Horatio Alger story of starting as

a night copy boy in 1944 and rising to become managing editor of *The New York Times*.

Graham, Katherine. *Personal History*. New York: Knopf, 1997. Wonderfully written and quite open, telling of her life largely as publisher (after her husband's suicide) of *The Washington Post* and some of its major triumphs (Watergate) and troubles (labor unrest and strikes).

Greenslade, Roy. *Maxwell: The Rise and Fall of Robert Maxwell and His Empire*. New York: Birch Lane, 1994. Life of the British publisher (1923–91), which ended with his seeming suicide as creditors closed in. *See also* Bower, above, and Haines, below.

Greenwald, Marilyn S. *Woman of* The Times*: Journalism, Feminism, & Career of Charlotte Curtis*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1999. Traces her career from reporter to "women's page" editor to finally editing the newspaper's op-ed page before her premature death at age 59.

Griffith, Sally Forman. *Home Town News: William Allen White and the* Emporia Gazette. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989. Biography of the Kansas editor (1868–1944) whose editorial role grew far beyond his small-town paper to assume national stature. *See also* White, below.

Haines, Joe. *Maxwell*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988. Said to have been the first biography of the British publisher to make use of the subject's archives just a few years before his death. *See also* Bower and Greenslade, above.

Healy, Paul F. *Cissy*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966. Life and publishing career of Eleanor "Cissy" Patterson (1881–1948), editor of the Hearst-owned (until she bought it) *Washington Herald*.

Herzstein, Robert E. *Henry R. Luce,* Time, *and the American Crusade in Asia*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005. Luce used his famous magazines to advance his interventionist agenda in cold war China, Korea, Japan, and above all Vietnam. Using hitherto undiscovered or inaccessible sources, the author describes how Luce saw his notion of the "American Century" as heir to the fading British Empire, though he failed to see the hubris and cultural blindness that would lead to disaster in Vietnam after his own death. *See also* Baughman, above, and Swanberg, below.

Judis, John B. *William F. Buckley, Jr.: Patron Saint of the Conservatives*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1989. A solid biography of the founder and long-time editor of the *National Review*.

Lyon, Peter. *Success Story: The Life and Times of S. S. McClure*. New York: Scribner, 1963. Engaging biography of muckraking magazine publisher who also helped create some of the first feature syndicates.

Maier, Thomas. *Newhouse: All the Glitter, Power, and Glory of America's Richest Media Empire and the Secretive Man Behind It*. New York: St. Martin's, 1994. New York–based S. I. Newhouse and his family, publishers of newspapers and magazines (and primary donor to Syracuse University's communications school), and electronic media. *See also* Meeker, below.

See Maihafer, Section 5-B-3.

Margolies, Daniel S. *Henry Watterson and the New South: The Politics of Empire, Free Trade, and Globalization*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2006. Watterson was the influential editor of the *Louisville Courier-Journal* from the 1860s through World War I, indeed one of the most widely read newspaper editors in American history. An influential New South supporter of sectional reconciliation and economic development, he was also the country's premier advocate of free trade and globalization.

McDougal, Dennis. *Privileged Son: Otis Chandler and the Rise and Fall of the L.A.* Times *Dynasty*. Cambridge: Perseus, 2001. Tells the tale of both the family and their paper from 1884, when the Chandler family gained control of the just-born daily, through April 2000, when they sold it to the Tribune Company. Focuses on the life of Otis Chandler, the paper's chief architect after 1960, whose flamboyant exploits changed the newspaper's perspective as well as Los Angeles.

Meeker, Richard H. *Newspaperman: S. I. Newhouse and the Business of News*. New Haven, CT: Ticknor & Fields, 1983. Relates the story of the publisher (1895–1979) and his growing family, firm, and many publications. *See also* Maier, above.

Nasaw, David. *The Chief: The Life of William Randolph Hearst*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000. Probably the definitive one-volume treatment, this is a readable account of a complex man, life, and his companies. *See also* Proctor, Swanberg, and Whyte, below.

Nissenson, Marilyn. *The Lady Upstairs: Dorothy Schiff and the* New York Post. New York: St. Martin's, 2007. From 1939 until 1976 (when the paper was sold to Rupert Murdoch) she owned and guided the *Post,* the oldest continuously published daily newspaper in America. "Dolly" made it a dedicated supporter of New Deal liberalism.

Ogden, Christopher. *Legacy: A Biography of Moses and Walter Annenberg*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1999. Father and son publishers in Philadelphia, owners of the *Inquirer* and *Daily News* and later of *TV Guide*. The son endowed Annenberg communication schools at the Universities of Southern California and Pennsylvania. (For an earlier view, see John Cooney, *The Annenbergs,* Simon & Schuster, 1982.)

Page, Bruce. *The Murdoch Archipelago*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2003. Among the more recent studies of the Australian-born publisher and his extensive print and electronic media holdings in Britain, the U.S., and Asia. *See also* Shawcross, and Wolff, below.

Pfaff, Daniel W. *No Ordinary Joe: A Life of Joseph Pulitzer III*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005. The longtime publisher of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* when it was among the best papers in the country, the grandson and namesake of the famous yellow journalist was also a leader in business and the arts.

Proctor, Ben. *William Randolph Hearst*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998, 2007 (2 vols.). Drawing on previously unavailable letters and manuscripts, and quoting from Hearst's own editorials, this covers all aspects of Hearst's career: his journalistic innovations, his patriotism, his fierce belief in "government by newspaper," his frustrated political aspirations, profligate spending and art collecting, building of his "castle" at San Simeon, and his tumultuous Hollywood years. *See also* Nasaw, above, and Swanberg and Whyte, both below.

1. *The Early Years, 1863–1910*. 1998.
2. *The Later Years, 1911–1951*. 2007.

Shawcross, William. *Murdoch*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992 (revised paperback, Touchstone, 1997). The powerful innovator of the modern media empire (one of the six largest in the world) that melds print and electronic services across continents is profiled at length. *See also* Page, above, and Wolff, below.

Smith, Richard Norton. *The Colonel: The Life and Legend of Robert R. McCormick, 1880–1955*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997. Biography of the editor and owner of the *Chicago Tribune,* and based in part on his own papers, this relates the story of the sharply conservative daily that under McCormick's leadership became the most widely read full-size newspaper in the United States. (An older study looking at the broader publishing family is John Tebbel's *An American Dynasty: The Story of the McCormicks, Medills and Pattersons*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1947.)

Steele, Janet E. *The Sun Shines for All: Journalism and Ideology in the Life of Charles F. Dana*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1993. Publisher of the *New York Sun* is profiled and placed against events and journalism of his nineteenth-century times. *See also* Maihafer, Section 5-B-3.

Steinberg, Salme Harju. *Reformer in the Marketplace: Edward W. Bok and* The Ladies Home Journal. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979. Bok was the longtime editor (1889–1919) of the *Journal* when it undertook various campaigns to rid society of patent medicines and venereal disease—among other ills.

Swanberg, W. A. *Citizen Hearst: A Biography of William Randolph Hearst*. New York: Scribner's,

1961. Well-received and best-selling biography of William Randolph Hearst, his companies, and his lavish lifestyle. Now largely superceded by Nasaw and Proctor, noted above.

Swanberg, W. A. *Pulitzer*. New York: Scribners, 1967. The story of the man, his two primary papers (the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and the *New York World,* and his late-life work to develop journalism higher education and the prizes that bear his name. *See also* Brain, above.

Swanberg, W. A. *Luce and His Empire*. New York: Scribner's, 1972. Exhaustive and readable critical biography of Henry R. Luce and his magazine publishing house (including *Time, Life,* and *Fortune,* among others) and its often considerable impact. *See also* Baughman and Herzstein, above.

Taylor, A. J. P. *Beaverbrook*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1972. Relates the life of distinguished British historian and admirer of the British press, Lord Beaverbrook. *See also* Chisholm and Davie, above.

Teachout, Terry. *The Skeptic: A Life of H. L. Mencken*. New York: HarperCollins, 2002. From a teenage cub reporter in turn-of-the-century Baltimore to his noisy tenure as founding editor of the *American Mercury,* the most influential magazine of the 1920s, Mencken showed a contrary spirit, a razor-sharp wit, and a keen eye for up-and-coming authors. He covered everything, from the 1925 Scopes evolution trial to the 1948 presidential elections, in pages of the *Baltimore Sun*. He also wrote best-selling books.

Tifft, Susan E., and Alex S. Jones. *The Patriarch: The Rise and Fall of the Bingham Dynasty*. New York: Summit Books, 1991. Latest of several biographies of the Louisville, Kentucky, family that long published the *Louisville Courier Journal* but finally fell out with one another and sold their award-winning paper. Jones (with *The New York Times*) won a Pulitzer for his reporting on the family.

Tifft, Susan E., and Alex S. Jones. *The Trust: The Private and Powerful Family behind the* New York Times. Boston: Little, Brown, 1999. Something of a group biography, this centers on Adolph Ochs who founded the modern paper when he took it over in the 1890s, Arthur Hays Sulzberger, and later Sulzbergers and their impact on the changing paper of national record.

Tofel, Richard J. *Restless Genius: Barney Kilgore and the Invention of Modern Journalism*. New York: St. Martin's, 2009. Kilgore was editor of *The Wall Street Journal* from 1941 to 1967 and helped shape its modern role.

See Tuchman, under "Reporters," below.

Vitek, Jack. *The Godfather of Tabloid: Generoso Pope Jr. and the* National Enquirer. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2008. Grounded in interviews with many of Pope's supporters, detractors, and associates, this is the first comprehensive biography of the man who created the supermarket tabloid and changed publishing. At its peak, the *Enquirer* had a circulation of 5 million.

White, William Allen. *The Autobiography of William Allen White*. New York: Macmillan, 1946 (reprinted by University Press of Kansas, 1990). A real classic among journalism books, this tells the tale of the "sage of Emporia" (1868–1944). *See also* Griffith, above.

Whited, Charles. *Knight: A Publisher in the Tumultuous Century*. New York: Dutton, 1988. The life and newspaper chain of John S. Knight (1894–1981) illustrates the role of important newspapers in the twentieth century.

Whyte, Kenneth. *The Uncrowned King: The Sensational Rise of William Randolph Hearst*. New York: Counterpoint, 2009. The latest biography of the endlessly fascinating swashbuckling publisher, this anecdotal narrative chronicles Hearst's rivalry with Joseph Pulitzer, the undisputed king of New York journalism, in the spectacular "yellow" newspaper war. *See also* Nasaw, Proctor, and Swanberg, above.

Williams, R. C. *Horace Greeley: Champion of American Freedom*. New York: New York University Press, 2006. Greeley was a key figure in New York journalism from the 1830s to his death in 1872 after a disastrous run for the presidency. *See also* Chadwell, above.

Wilner, Isaiah. *The Man Time Forgot: A Tale of Genius, Betrayal, and the Creation of* Time *Magazine*. New York: HarperCollins, 2006. Modern study of co-founder Briton Haddon (1898–1929) who helped Henry Luce form *Time* in 1923 but died tragically young and is largely forgotten today. (For an earlier biography, see Noel F. Busch, *Briton Hadden: A Biography of the Co-Founder of* Time. New York: Farrar, Straus, 1949.)

Wolff, Michael. *The Man Who Owns the News: Inside the Secret World of Rupert Murdoch*. New York: Broadway, 2008. This study builds on many interviews with its subject and others to chronicle the growth of Murdoch's $70 billion media kingdom, probing the Murdoch family dynasty. Focuses substantially on Murdoch's purchase of Dow Jones and *The Wall Street Journal*. *See also* Page and Shawcross, above.

C. Reporters

This subsection focuses on those who write for newspapers and magazines (for radio and television, see Section 7-G). For women reporters, see Section 7-H; for Washington reporters and reporting, see Section 2-B-4; for investigative and muckraking reporting, see Section 5-D; and for foreign reporting, see Section 6-G.

C-1: Surveys

These cover reporters generally, including multiple biographies.

Bassow, Whitman. *The Moscow Correspondents: Reporting on Russia from the Revolution to Glasnost*. New York: Morrow, 1988. The author was one of those about whom he writes—he surveys some 300 of them here.

Emery, Michael. *On the Front Lines: Following America's Foreign Correspondents across the Twentieth Century*. Washington, DC: American University Press, 1995. Reviews the people and process across seven periods, assessing many of the problems.

Fedler, Fred. *Lessons from the Past: Journalists' Lives and Work, 1850–1950*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 2000. Chapters discuss getting hired (and sometimes fired), reporting, journalistic ethics in different eras, how the telephone and typewriter transformed newsrooms (most papers were late adopters of both—adoption of the telegraph and linotype were quicker), and behavior (such as drinking). The author makes good use of examples culled from his subjects' own writings.

Heald, Morrill. *Transatlantic Vistas: American Journalists in Europe, 1900–1940*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1989. Survey of many different reporters over four decades.

Hess, Stephen. Newswork Series. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1981–2005 (6 vols.). Based on interviews with practicing journalists, this important and ongoing series of studies profiles Washington and international reporters—what they do and think about their own work, their backgrounds, and the like. The specific titles:

1. *The Washington Reporters*. 1981.
2. *The Government/Press Connection: Press Officers and Their Offices*. 1984.
3. *The Ultimate Insiders: U.S. Senators in the National Media*. 1986.
4. *Live from Capitol Hill*. 1992.
5. *International News & Foreign Correspondents*. 1996.
6. *Through Their Eyes: Foreign Correspondents in the United States*. 2005.

Hohenberg, John. *Foreign Correspondence: The Great Reporters and Their Times*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1964. Development of overseas reporting, beginning with the late eighteenth-century French Revolution, as seen through the lives and work of key figures.

Inglis, Fred. *People's Witness: The Journalist in Modern Politics*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002. Historical collective biography of twentieth-century news people, nearly all of them reporters, and their political impact.

McLaughlin, Greg. *The War Correspondent*. London: Pluto / Sterling, VA: Stylus, 2002. The

rise and current role of war reporters in five chapters tracing their history as well as the impact of technology, the role of objectivity, and British reporters' experiences.

Milton, Joyce. *The Yellow Kids: Foreign Correspondents in the Heyday of Yellow Journalism*. New York: Harper & Row, 1992. Covers many of them, focusing on Sylvester "Harry" Scovel, Pulitzer's top overseas reporter during the Spanish-American War, the Klondike gold rush and other turn-of-the-twentieth-century events.

Randall, David. *The Great Reporters*. Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto (dist. by University of Michigan Press), 2005. A compendium of 13 "greatest" English-language reporters, chosen by a British journalist. The nine Americans and four Britons include such notables as Ernie Pyle, Nellie Bly, A. J. Liebling, George Seldes, and Edna Buchanan, people who would certainly top any journalism historian's list. But there are limitations: Only individuals, not collaborative teams, were considered, and broadcasting was deemed too collaborative to include. News was valued over news analysis or commentary.

Tunstall, Jeremy. *Journalists at Work: Specialist Correspondents, Their News Organizations, News Sources and Competitor Colleagues*. London: Constable, 1971. Sociological study of specialized journalists in Britain, their backgrounds, how they worked as news gatherers, and how they competed.

Weber, Ronald. *News of Paris: American Journalists in the City of Light between the Wars*. Chicago: Ivan Dee, 2006. Freelancers, reporters for American publications, wire service journalists and budding novelists—they all seemed to congregate in Paris in the 1920s and into the 1930s. This study focuses on a golden era for expatriates at work reporting news across Europe.

C-2: Biographies

Again, journalists—and especially reporters—write for a living. Not surprisingly, there are shelves of books by (or about) many of the better known figures. What follows is a representative sample. Women reporters appear under subsection H, below.

Arnett, Peter. *Live from the Battlefield: From Vietnam to Baghdad—35 Years in the World's War Zones*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994. The war correspondent assesses his role from Vietnam (where he was an AP reporter) through the 1990–91 Gulf War, where he played a central part in CNN's reporting of that brief conflict.

Burlingame, Robert. *Don't Let Them Scare You: The Life and Times of Elmer Davis*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1961. Davis was a respected newspaper correspondent, later a radio commentator, and headed World War II's Office of War Information.

Cottrell, Robert C. *Izzy: A Biography of I. F. Stone*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992. The often outspoken reporter and editor is profiled.

Harry Ransom Center. *Woodward and Bernstein Watergate Papers* (online exhibition). http://www.hrc.utexas.edu/exhibitions/web/woodstein. The reporters' archive of notes and documents from 1972 to Nixon's resignation in August 1974 and the books related to those events are illustrated in a University of Texas Libraries online exhibition.

Harsch, Joseph C. *At the Hinge of History: A Reporter's Story*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1993. Longtime correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor* as well as a regular on radio and television networks, Harsch had a knack for being in the right place at the right time.

Johnson, Owen V. *Ernie Pyle: 60 Years after His Death*. http://journalism.indiana.edu//news/041505pyle. The Indiana-born war reporter of World War II is profiled in a state university site, including a link to some of his stories and an archive of his papers.

Krock, Arthur. *Memoirs: Sixty Years on the Firing Line*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1968. Longtime foreign affairs reporter with *The New York Times* tells his story and that of news gathering in his time.

Langford, Gerald. *The Richard Harding Davis Years: A Biography of a Mother and Son*.

New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1961. A life of the swashbuckling foreign and war correspondent (and his accomplished mother as well) in the last half of the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth.

Lubow, Arthur. *The Reporter Who Would Be King: A Biography of Richard Harding Davis*. New York: Scribner, 1992. Biography of perhaps the best-known American derring-do foreign and war reporter of the late nineteenth century.

MacPherson, Myra. *All Governments Lie: The Life and Times of Rebel Journalist I. F. Stone*. New York: Scribner, 2006. After making his mark on New York dailies and in *The Nation*—scoring such scoops as the discovery of American cartels doing business with Nazi Germany—Stone became unemployable during the McCarthyism era of the early 1950s. Out of desperation he started his four-page *I. F. Stone's Weekly,* which ran from 1953 to 1971. He was an investigative reporter and a strong critic of his own field.

McKeen, William. *Outlaw Journalist: The Life and Times of Hunter S. Thompson*. New York: Norton, 2008. Among the most recent of several biographies of the "gonzo" or "new" journalist who melded creative prose with reporting. The biography draws on Thompson's colleagues as well as the man himself.

Reston, James B. *Deadline: A Memoir*. New York: Random House, 1991. Reston was a longtime reporter, later the Washington bureau chief and editor/columnist for *The New York Times*. *See also* Stacks, below.

Shepard, Alicia C. *Woodward and Bernstein: Life in the Shadow of Watergate*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley, 2007. Decades after they became journalistic folk heroes, the legend of *Washington Post* reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein bringing down a corrupt President endures. The author reviews this folklore and extends it by tracing the very different subsequent careers of its two leading men.

Smith, Merriman. *Thank You, Mr. President: A White House Notebook*. New York: Harper, 1946. Early journalistic life of the United Press White House reporter, talking here about covering the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, who would later win a Pulitzer for his coverage of the Kennedy assassination. *See also* his *A White House Memoir* (New York: Norton, 1972) for a broader overview of his life.

Stacks, John F. *Scotty: James B Reston and the Rise and Fall of American Journalism*. Boston: Little, Brown, 2002. Biography of longtime *New York Times* reporter, columnist, and editor. *See also* Reston, above.

D. Columnists and Commentators

See also subsections C and G of this section, as many of the print and broadcast reporters also became columnists and commentators.

D-1: Surveys

Includes multiple biographies.

See Braden, subsection H-1, below.

Bulman, David, ed. *Molders of Opinion*. Milwaukee, WI: Bruce, 1945. Includes both newspaper and radio commentators of the World War II era, in informal profiles written by other journalists.

Fisher, Charles. *The Columnists*. New York: Howell, Soskin, 1944. Twenty leading newspaper columnists during World War II are profiled here in a somewhat tongue-in-cheek fashion.

Grauer, Neil R. *Wits & Sages*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984. Includes portraits of Jack Anderson, Russell Baker, Erma Bombeck, Jimmy Breslin, David Broder, Art Buchwald, William F. Buckley Jr., Ellen Goodman, James J. Kilpatrick, Carl T. Rowan, Mike Royko, and George F. Will.

Meyer, Karl E. *Pundits, Poets and Wits: An Omnibus of American Newspaper Columnists*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990. More an anthology of their writings, but with some biographical background as well.

Nimmo, Dan, and James E. Combs. *The Political Pundits*. New York: Praeger, 1992. Explores the

rising importance of political commentators in the press, television, and on the lecture circuit. Chapters explore different types of pundit regarding what they talk about and the media they use. Takes a somewhat "bardic" or comic approach to pundits and their output.

Riley, Sam G. *The Best of the Rest: Non-Syndicated Newspaper Columnists Select Their Best Work*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1993. Presents work of 77 of America's most talented local newspaper columnists from 41 states—those chosen for inclusion were "nominated" by a nationwide panel of journalism professors. *See also* the author's other books on columnists in subsection A, above.

Soley, Lawrence C. *The News Shapers: The Sources Who Explain the News*. New York: Praeger, 1992. Discusses oft-quoted academic and other "public intellectuals" and how they are picked and what roles they play in news reporting. Makes clear they are rarely the neutral sources they are made out to be in a comparison of their use in the late 1970s and late 1980s, and using the Persian Gulf War as one case study.

D-2: Biographies

Individuals are covered here.

Abell, Tyler, ed. *Drew Pearson: Diaries, 1949–1959*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1974. Investigative reporter and author of the widely syndicated "Washington Merry-Go-Round" column of national capital political and other gossip. *See also* Klurfeld and Pilat, below.

Anderson, Jack, with James Boyd. *Confessions of a Muckraker*. New York: Random House, 1979. Covers the reporting and writing of the "Washington Merry-Go-Round" column from 1947 to 1969.

Gabler, Neal. *Winchell: Gossip, Power, and the Culture of Celebrity*. New York: Knopf, 1994. Melds a biography of the newspaper and radio (and, though briefly, television) gossip columnist (1897–1972), his life, work, and times.

Klurfeld, Herman. *Behind the Lines: The World of Drew Pearson*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1968. *See also* Abell, above, and Pilat, below.

Pilat, Oliver Ramsey. *Drew Pearson: An Unauthorized Biography*. New York: Harper's Magazine Press, 1973. *See also* Abell and Klurfeld, above.

Riccio, Barry D. *Walter Lippmann: Odyssey of a Liberal*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1994. Biography focusing on his views. *See also* Steel, below.

Steel, Ronald. *Walter Lippmann and the American Century*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1980 (reprinted by Transaction, 1999). Still considered the standard biography of the longtime political columnist and reporter. *See also* Riccio, above.

E. Political Cartoonists

The biographical literature here is fairly thin—cartoonists do their graphic thing and that rarely seems to include writing about themselves or how they achieve what they do. *See also* Section 2-F for related titles.

Adler, John, and Draper Hill. *Doomed by Cartoon: How Cartoonist Thomas Nast and the New York Times Brought Down Boss Tweed and His Ring of Thieves*. Garden City, NY: Morgan James, 2008. Nast was the dominant American political cartoonist of the late nineteenth century; he attacked Tweed in his 160-plus cartoons, almost like a serialized but intermittent comic book covering 1866 through 1878.

Block, Herbert. *Herblock: A Cartoonist's Life*. New York: Macmillan, 1993. The longtime *Washington Post* cartoonist tells his story and reproduces many of his cartoons. (*See also* his many volumes of collected work, listed under Section 2-F.)

Conrad, Paul. *I, Con: The Autobiography of Paul Conrad, Editorial Cartoonist*. Los Angeles: Angel City, 2007. Life and work (mostly the latter reproduced here) of the longtime *Los Angeles Times* cartoonist.

Desparats, Peter. *The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and a Cartoonists' History of Canada*. Toronto: McClelland &

Stewart, 1979. Cartoonists north of the U.S. border make for an interesting comparison with their American counterparts.

Goldstein, Nancy. *Jackie Ormes: The First African American Woman Cartoonist*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008. Ormes's (1911–85) cartoon characters (including Torchy Brown, Candy, and Patty-Jo 'n' Ginger) delighted readers of the *Pittsburgh Courier* and *Chicago Defender*, and spawned other products, including dolls. Includes a selection of her cartoons and comic strips, which survey U.S. culture and history in the 1937–56 era.

Henry, John M., ed. *Ding's Half Century*. New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1962. A retrospective of "Ding" Darling's best work. *See also* Lendt, below.

Keller, Morton. *The Art and Politics of Thomas Nast*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968. The life and work of the famous nineteenth-century American cartoonist who created the Republican elephant and Democrat donkey symbols, among many others.

Lendt, David L. *Ding: The Life of Jay Norwood Darling*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1979. "Ding" Darling (1876–1962) worked for the Des Moine paper for a half century with a few time-outs, and his editorial cartoon output was widely followed in the early twentieth century. *See also* Henry, above.

Low, David. *Low's Autobiography*. London: Michael Joseph, 1956. The longtime British political cartoonist (who began life in New Zealand) relates his life and work. *See also* Seymour-Ure and Schoff, below.

Rall, Ted. *Attitude: The New Subversive… Cartoonists*. New York: Nantier Beall Minoustchine, 2002–06 (3 vols.). Profiles the professional lives and assesses the work of cartoonists whose work runs in local weekly alternative papers or online, including interviews with many of them, plus examples of their work.

1. *Attitude: The New Subversive Political Cartoonists*. 2002.
2. *Attitude 2: The New Subversive Alternative Cartoonists*. 2004.
3. *Attitude 3: The New Subversive Online Cartoonists*. 2006.

Seymour-Ure, Colin, and Jim Schoff. *David Low*. London: Secker & Warburg, 1985. One of the relatively few seriously researched analyses of work of any editorial cartoonist, in this case of the famous British political cartoonist (1891–1963). Well-illustrated papers assess the man, his times, and his work. *See also* Low, above.

Trostle, J. P. *Attack of the Political Cartoonists: Insights and Assaults from Today's Editorial Pages*. Madison, WI: Dork Storm, 2004. Pulls together some of the work and commentary of 150 members of the Association of American Political Cartoonists.

West, Richard S. *Satire on Stone: The Political Cartoons of Joseph Kepler*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988. The cartoonist for the satirical magazine *Puck*.

F. Photojournalists

Most of these treatments emphasize pictures (and often wartime photos) as might be expected. *See also* Sections 2-G for history and 4-F-3 for current role.

F-1: Surveys

Faas, Host, and Tim Page, eds. *Requiem: By the Photographers Who Died in Vietnam and Indochina*. New York: Random House, 1997. How wartime pictures were taken despite or because of the dangers involved.

Howe, Peter. *Shooting under Fire: The World of the War Photographer*. New York: Artisan, 2002. A wide-ranging survey, emphasizing such recent wars as the Gulf War of 1990–91.

Light, Ken, ed. *Witness in Our Time: Working Lives of Documentary Photographers*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000. Explores the work of those in journalism as well as other fields.

Lindekugel, D. M. *Shooters: TV News Photographers and Their Work*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994. The occupational world of electronic news-gathering photographers is the focus here. It seeks to reveal their perceptions of their own work and the competence that underlies it. This is an ethnographic analysis based upon participant observation at work. The study explores the emerging nature of the occupation, context of markets within which it exists, types and roles of people involved, and practical skills required.

F-2: Biographies

Individual memoirs are included here.

Bresson-Cartier, Henri. *Robert Capa, Photographs*. New York: Aperture, 1996. Capa was known for (and died taking) his wartime photos. This collects much of that work and provides background on his life.

Callahan, Sean. *Margaret Bourke-White, 1904–1971*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1998. She did industrial work and other news photos before becoming famous as a war photographer during and after World War II. *See also* Goldberg and Keller, both below.

Goldberg, Bicki. *Margaret Bourke-White: A Biography*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1987. *See also* Callahan, above, and Keller, below.

Eisenstaedt, Alfred. *Eisenstaedt on Eisenstaedt*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1985. For decades, he was one of *Life* magazine's best-known photographers—this album reproduces some of his famous work as he provides background context.

Hallett, Michael. *Stefan Lorant: Godfather of Photojournalism*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2005. Lorant was a pioneer in European photojournalism in the 1920s and 1930s and did his work in Hungary, Germany, and England. His layouts and interviews became familiar largely through the pages of his own creations, particularly the weekly *Picture Post*.

Keller, Emily. *Margaret Bourke-White: A Photographer's Life*. Minneapolis, MN: Lerner, 1996. *See also* Callahan, Goldberg, above.

Mydans, Carl. *Carl Mydans: Photojournalist*. New York: Abrams, 1993. Longtime photographer for the weekly *Life* magazine tells his own story and that of some of his work.

Panzer, Mary. *Matthew Brady and the Image of History*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997. Modern survey (there are many books on Brady) of the life and work of the Civil War–era photographer.

Yochelson, Bonnie, and Daniel Czitrom. *Rediscovering Jacob Riis: Exposure Journalism and Photography in Turn-of-the-Century New York*. New York: The New Press, 2007. Reviews the often startling work of Riis (1849–1914) in shooting poverty, slums, and immigrants in the city.

G. Broadcasters and Cablecasters

This is a large and growing literature, much of it made up of individual memoirs of on-air figures, but including some industry leaders as well.

G-1: Radio

Given the decline of radio news, most of these studies are historical.

Culbert, David Holbrook. *News for Everyman: Radio and Foreign Affairs in Thirties America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1976. Useful professional biographies of six pioneering journalists placed in the context of developing news programming on commercial networks before World War II.

Fang, Irving. *Those Radio Commentators!* Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1977. Fourteen men (and Dorothy Thompson), all network commentators in the 1930s and 1940s (a few later) are profiled sufficiently to get a good sense of their careers and how they differed from one another, with others more briefly mentioned.

Phillips, Lisa A. *Public Radio: Behind the Voices*. Cambridge, MA: CDS Books, 2006. Part 1 focuses

on news and information program hosts on National Public Radio, while part 2 deals with talk and entertainment hosts. (Part 3 concerns music.)

Smith, Curt. *The Storytellers: From Mel Allen to Bob Costas*. New York: Macmillan, 1995. Explores the professional lives and impact of national and local radio and television sportscasters.

Widner, James F. *Radio News Commentators*. http://www.otr.com/news.shtml. Thirteen of them are briefly profiled, and recordings of one or more of their broadcasts are provided.

G-2: Television

See also women journalists, subsection H, below.

Alan, Jeff, with James Martin Lane. *Anchoring America: The Changing Face of Network News*. Chicago: Bonus Books, 2003. Offers brief biographies of 19 network anchors from the 1950s to the present, illustrating the changing roles of television news and its decline in recent years.

Auletta, Ken. *The Highwaymen: Warriors of the Information Highway*. New York: Random House, 1997. Anthology of the author's profiles that appeared in *The New Yorker,* focused largely on electronic media figures and some behind-the-scenes media dealmakers.

Fensch, Thomas, ed. *Television News Anchors: An Anthology of Profiles of the Major Figures and Issues in United States Network Reporting*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1993. Aside from a few "issue" selections, this gathers previously published profiles on about 25 television figures, past and present. Many are interviews.

Foot, Joe S. *Live from the Trenches: the Changing Role of the Television News Correspondent*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1998. Major network newscasters describe different aspects of their jobs and newsbeats in interviews, often featuring insightful use of examples.

Goldberg, Robert, and Gerald Jay Goldberg. *Anchors: Brokaw, Jennings, Rather and the Evening News*. New York: Birch Lane/Carol, 1990. Breezy journalistic survey of the three men who headed the network evening news programs (then watched by 40 million viewers a night)—and did so for another dozen years after the book appeared. The book profiles anchors and their newscasts and some of reporters featured therein.

Kurtz, Howard. *Reality Show: Inside the Last Great Television News War*. New York: The Free Press, 2007. A media critic for *The Washington Post* provides a readable (even gossipy) survey of network anchors of the early twenty-first century as they faced stiff competition from cable and online sources. Much of the focus is on how Brian Williams, Charles Gibson, and Katie Couric reached their elevated status, and how they handled it.

Matusow, Barbara. *The Evening Stars: The Making of the Network News Anchor*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1983. Briefly tracing developments to the time of publication, the author centers attention on key players (some of them only briefly anchors) of the late 1970s and early 1980s. The resulting profiles of journalists are often insightful.

Shedden, David. *Early TV Anchors*. http://alpha.poynter.org/content/content_print.asp?id=99440. The Poynter Institute library director provides useful clips from network newscasts from as early as 1948 while outlining who was on the air on each of the networks and when.

G-3: Biographies

Individual memoirs or biographies are included here.

Arledge, Roone. *Roone: A Memoir*. New York: HarperCollins, 2003. Autobiography of the leading sports and news executive at ABC in the 1970s to 1990s, discussing his key decisions and the events covered.

Bliss, Edward, Jr. *In Search of Light: The Broadcasts of Edward R. Murrow*. New York: Knopf, 1967. Published only two years after Murrow's death, this anthology includes excerpts (and sometimes complete broadcasts) over the CBS reporter's career.

Cloud, Stanley, and Lynne Olson. *The Murrow Boys: Pioneers on the Front Lines of Broadcast Journalism*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996. Readable account of the CBS broadcast team developing during and after World War II by their star journalist Edward R. Murrow. Included are Eric Sevareid, Wlliam L. Shirer, Charles Collingwood, Richard C. Hottelet, Larry LeSeur, and many others.

Cronkite, Walter. *A Reporter Remembers*. New York: Random House, 1996. The longtime CBS anchorman (1962–81), and before that a network correspondent and UP wire service reporter relates his life.

Darnton, Kate, et al. *Peter Jennings*. New York: Public Affairs, 2007. Anchor of ABC's *World News Tonight* (1983–2005); his life is related through memories of his friends, family, competitors, colleagues, and interview subjects.

Donaldson, Sam. *Hold On, Mr. President!* New York: Random House, 1987. The longtime ABC journalist's career in Washington and elsewhere is surveyed.

Frank, Reuven. *Out of Thin Air: The Brief Wonderful Life of Network News*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991. Frank headed NBC news and produced many of their documentaries—this is a combination memoir and critique of how the network news business was changing.

Frantzich, Stephen E. *Founding Father: How C-SPAN's Brian Lamb Changed Politics in America*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008. Lamb created C-SPAN's public service cable network.

Ghiglione, Loren. *CBS's Don Hollenbeck: An Honest Reporter in the Age of McCarthyism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2008. Troubled story of a New York radio newsman widely respected in his time (1905–54), but eventually hounded to his suicide death by a McCarthyite radio-television columnist for the Hearst papers. *See also* the author's *Radio's Revolution: Don Hollenbeck's* CBS Views the Press (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008) for transcripts of some of Hollenbeck's best work.

Goldberg, Robert, and Gerald Jay Goldberg. *Citizen Turner: The Wild Rise of an American Tycoon*. New York: Harcourt, 1995. Biography of Ted Turner both on the screen and off, along with many of his key aides, focusing on the rise and development of CNN cable news service.

Leonard, Bill. *In the Eye of the Storm: A Lifetime with CBS*. New York: Putnam, 1987. A reporter who rose to head network's news division at a difficult time of retrenchment.

McVane, John. *On the Air in World War II*. New York: Morrow, 1979. NBC's man in Europe for much of the war tells his story—he was one of the few allowed to broadcast with little or no censorship.

Paley, William S. *As It Happened: A Memoir*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1979. Autobiography of the longtime CBS leader ranging through his years in radio and then television. *See also* Smith, below.

Persico, Joseph E. *Edward R. Murrow: An American Original*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1988. Thought by many of the "Murrow Boys" to be the best among several biographies of the CBS newsman. Persico made excellent use of interviews (and a technique Murrow himself used of teasing out more information from his informants) with people from Murrow's private and public lives. *See also* Sperber, below.

Rather, Dan, and Mickey Herskowitz. *The Camera Never Blinks*. New York: Morrow, 1977. *See* next entry.

Rather, Dan, and Mickey Herskowitz. *The Camera Never Blinks Twice: The Further Adventures of a Television Journalist*. New York: Morrow, 1994. The CBS reporter, White House correspondent, and 1981–2006 evening news anchor relates his professional life as a parade of anecdotes.

Schorr, Daniel. *Clearing the Air*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1982. Longtime correspondent, often controversial, on CBS (for the period covered here) and later NPR.

Schroth, Raymond A. *The American Journey of Eric Sevareid*. South Royalton, VT: Steerforth

Press, 1995. Details the life of the CBS correspondent (1912–92) on and off the microphone. One of the revered "Murrow Boys," he made his name with World War II reporting and ended up offering commentary on the network evening news before retiring in 1977.

Seib, Philip. *Broadcasts from the Blitz: How Edward R. Murrow Helped Lead America into War*. Dulles, VA: Potomac Books, 2007. Offers a new consideration of the CBS radio journalist—and how he became that way and with what impact. Seib focuses on Murrow's broadcasts from 1939 until American entry into the war at the end of 1941. *See also* Bernstein, above.

Smith, Howard K. *Events Leading Up to My Death: The Life of a Twentieth-Century Reporter*. New York: St. Martin's, 1996. He began as one of the "Murrow boys" in World War II, worked for CBS for years, and then shifted to ABC.

Smith, Sally Bedell. *In All His Glory: The Life of William S. Paley, the Legendary Tycoon and His Brilliant Circle*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990. Exhaustive and insightful biography telling the story of the CBS network through the life of its longtime leader, including his often tense relationship to the news division, its personnel, and programs. *See also* Paley, above.

Sperber, A. M. *Murrow: His Life and Times*. New York: Freundlich Books, 1986; reprinted by Fordham University Press, 1998. Most comprehensive of the several biographies of the CBS reporter (*see also* that by Persico, above). Here is the private (and sometimes inwardly tortured) Murrow who grew out of an unlikely background to world prominence before he reached 30. About 40 percent of this study details the period up to 1945, when it then concentrates increasingly on the growing role of television—and Murrow's decidedly dark view of that medium.

Utley, Garrick. *You Should Have Been Here Yesterday: A Life in Television News*. New York: Public Affairs, 2000. Longtime NBC political correspondent, son of another journalist, relates his own career.

Wallace, Mike, and Gary Paul Gates. *Close Encounters: Mike Wallace's Own Story*. New York: Morrow, 1984. The life and accomplishments of the CBS personality and later newsman, a longtime figure on *60 Minutes*.

Weisman, Alan. *Lone Star: The Extraordinary Life and Times of Dan Rather*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2006. A short, breezy, and balanced biography of the rise-and-fall of the controversial CBS News anchorman, written by one of his former TV producers. *See also* Rather's own volumes, above.

H. Women Journalists

Women have played a growing role in all aspects of journalism, especially since the mid-twentieth century. For biographies of several female publishers, see subsection B-2, above. Other female journalists are all here.

H-1: Surveys and Print Media

There have been many "survey" books that attempt to sum up the role of women in journalism, or group biographies of many of them.

Abramson, Phyllis Leslie. *Sob Sister Journalism*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1990. Focuses on the infamous Harry Thaw murder of architect Stanford White in 1906 and explores how "sob sister" reporting was born. Relates the role of four female reporters covering the story.

Beasley, Maurine, and Kathryn Theus. *The New Majority: A Look at What the Preponderance of Women in Journalism Education Means to the Schools and to the Professions*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1988. Long title largely sums up this Gannett Foundation–supported study.

Beasley, Maurine Hoffman, and Sheila J. Gibbons. *Taking Their Place: A Documentary History of Women and Journalism*. Washington, DC: American University Press, 2003 (2nd ed.). Updates and expands Donna Allen's *Women in Media* (1977) and reprints seminal documents, legal decisions, and other materials including image and

language guidelines of newspapers and other media. Combines historical narrative with interviews and other primary material.

Belford, Barbara. *Brilliant Bylines: A Biographical Anthology of Notable Newspaperwomen in America*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986. Lives and careers of 24 newpaperwomen, including Ellen Goodman, Mary McGrory, Marguerite Higgins, Judith Crist, Dorothy Thompson, and Georgie Anne Geyer, and the many personal friends and professional colleagues who influenced their journalism efforts.

Bois, Danuta. *Distinguished Women in Journalism and Broadcasting*. http://www.distinguished-women.com/subject/journ.html. Alphabetical listing by name of Americans and female journalists of other nationalities, providing access to multiple sources of information. Divided into two groups—those born before the twentieth century, and those born in that century.

Braden, Marie. *She Said What?: Interviews with Women Newspaper Columnists*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2003. Thirteen of them are included, among them pioneers Mary McGrory of *The Washington Post,* syndicated columnist Erma Bombeck, *Chicago Daily News* foreign correspondent Georgie Anne Geyer, *Boston Globe* associate editor Ellen Goodman, syndicated conservative political columnist Mona Charon, Judith Martin ("Miss Manners"), and two black women: Dorothy Gilliam of *The Washington Post* and Marlene Davis of the Lexington (KY) newspaper.

Bradley, Patricia, and Gail Collins. *Women and the Press: the Struggle for Equality*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2005. Relates the fight for job and salary equity in print journalism.

Broussard, Jinx Coleman. *Giving a Voice to the Voiceless: Four Pioneering Black Women Journalists*. New York: Routledge, 2004. Describes the journalism careers of four black women within the context of the era in which they lived and worked. Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Mary Church Terrell, Alice Dunbar-Nelson, and Amy Jacques Garvey were among about 20 black women journalists who wrote for newspapers and magazines during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Burt, Elizabeth V. *Women's Press Organizations, 1881–1999*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2000. Description and analysis of 40 women's press organizations that have been key to the development of women press writers since the first established organization in 1881. Entries describe challenges that brought about each organization's establishment, some women who played key roles in the group's leadership, its major activities and programs, and its contributions to women.

Cairns, Kathleen A. *Front-Page Women Journalists: 1920–1950*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003. Profiles three of the pioneers (reporters and editors) in an era when few women had much of a chance to excel in the field, though more than 20,000 were so employed.

Chambers, Deborah, et al. *Women and Journalism*. New York: Routledge, 2004. Examines strategies women have adopted to gain power in a male-dominated media environment, charting women's independent press, radio, television and Internet initiatives in the United States and Britain.

Creedon, Pamela J., and Judith Cramer, eds. *Women in Mass Communication*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2007 (3rd ed.). Standard treatment that adds material on women's opportunities and problems with online journalism, the role of women in health communication, sports journalism, religious media, and more. Other chapters review the growing role of women in journalism, focused assessments of specific media over the past decade, specializations (health communications, scholastic media), the varied role of women in different Western countries, religious media, and a global view of women in media.

Edwards, Julia. *Women of the World: The Great Foreign Correspondents*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988. Collective biography of about a dozen of those who made it to the top of their calling—including Margaret Bourke-White, Helen Kirkpatrick, Dorothy Thompson, Anne O'Hare McCormick, Mary Roberts Rinehart, Marguerite Higgins, and Dickey Chapelle.

Hoffman, Joyce. *On Their Own: Women Journalists and the American Experience in Vietnam*. Cambridge, MA: Da Capo, 2008. Women journalists who covered the Vietnam War are described as pioneers in being war journalists in what had been a male-dominated role, and that they were every bit as good as their male counterparts in terms of in-depth reporting and analysis.

Library of Congress. *Women Come to the Front: Journalists, Photographers, and Broadcasters during World War II*. http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/wcf/wcf0001.html. The work of eight women is detailed in this online exhibition.

Lutes, Jean Marie. *Front Page Girls: Women Journalists in American Culture and Fiction*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006. Constructs an imaginative exchange between real-life reporters like Nellie Bly and Ida B. Wells and fictional characters like Henrietta Stackpole, the lady-correspondent in Henry James's *Portrait of a Lady*. Chronicles exploits of a neglected group of American women writers and uncovers an alternative reporter–novelist tradition that runs counter to the familiar story of gritty realism generated in male newsrooms.

Marzolf, Marion. *Up from the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists*. New York: Hastings House, 1977. An early history of the slowly expanding role of women in print and in electronic journalism (and a wonderful title).

Middleton, Ken. *American Women's History: A Research Guide—Journalists*. http://frank.mtsu.edu/~kmiddlet/history/women/wh-jour.html. Offers extensive linking to a large number of sites, including many primary resources and also print materials, prepared by a university reference librarian.

Mills, Eleanor, Kira Cochrane, and Naomi Wolf. *Journalistas: 100 Years of the Best Writing and Reporting by Women Journalists*. New York: Carroll & Graf, 2005. Using examples from both sides of the Atlantic, this includes both breaking news reports and feature writing.

Mills, Kay. *A Place in the News: From the Women's Pages to the Front Page*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1988; reprinted by Columbia University Press, 1990. History of women's growing journalism role. Describes how today's women journalists have reached their present positions and argues that the increased presence of women reporters is having an impact on news that appears in daily papers.

Ricchiardi, Sherry, and Virginia Young, eds. *Women on Deadline: A Collection of America's Best*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1991. Collects work of nine female journalists as well as interviews with each of them to profile their professional lives. A final chapter discusses "common threads" of those nine careers.

Robertson, Nan. *The Girls in the Balcony: Women, Men, and the* New York Times. New York: Random House, 1992. Story of female reporters at the *Times* and their fight to the gain respect and parity in jobs and pay. The title refers to the once-odious symbol of gender discrimination in journalism—the balcony of Washington's all-male National Press Club, the only place from which women reporters could cover speeches of world leaders, while males sat at tables and could question speakers.

Schilpp, Madelon Golden, and Sharon M. Murphy. *Great Women of the Press*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983. Brief biographical sketches of selected figures.

Signorelli, Nancy, ed. *Women in Communication: A Biographical Sourcebook*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1996. Profiles 50 women in a variety of fields and positions, with an appendix including briefer information on 30 more.

Sorel, Nancy Caldwell. *The Women Who Wrote the War*. New York: Arcade, 1999. Provides the story of more than 100 female journalists during World War II, based on interviews and other sources. While some names are well known, most are not, thus providing a useful behind-the-scenes survey of the slowly the growing acceptance of women in newsrooms and on battlefronts.

Tusan, Michelle Elizabeth. *Women Making News: Gender and Journalism in Modern Britain*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005. Traces the growing

role of female journalists in early twentieth century British media, including origins of women's political press, the rise of a woman-identified publishing community, suffrage advocacy and Edwardian political culture, women's wartime political journalism, and the remaking of women's political culture after World War I.

Wagner, Lilya. *Women War Correspondents in World War II*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1989. Based on interviews with 18 of them, but lists many more accredited to newspapers or news agencies.

Washington Press Club Foundation. *Women in Journalism* (oral histories). http://wpcf.org/oralhistory/ohhome.html. The Washington Press Club Foundation provides this collection of nearly 60 interviews with women news reporters, columnists, and editors, some of them active as far back as the 1920s.

Whitt, Jan. *Women in American Journalism: A New History*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2008. Explores the lives of women reporters who achieved significant historical recognition, such as Ida Tarbell and Ida Wells-Barnett, as well as literary authors such as Joan Didion, Susan Orlean, Willa Cather, and Eudora Welty, whose work blends influences from both journalism and literature. Numerous women broadened the editorial scope of newspapers and journals, transformed women's professional roles, used journalism as a training ground for major literary works, and led breakthroughs in lesbian and alternative presses.

H-2: Electronic Media

Beadle, Mary, and Michael D. Murray, eds. *Indelible Images: Women of Local Television*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 2001. Profiles 19 women from various local broadcast markets as a means of assessing their varied roles in on-air, production, and writing positions.

Duncan, Jacci, ed. *Making Waves: The 50 Greatest Women in Radio and Television as Selected by American Women in Radio and Television*. Kansas City, MO: Andrews McMeel, 2001. Something of a light "puff" piece produced for the American Women in Radio and Television organization, the book provides a brief background on some important women in a variety of different roles (many not in journalism). They are profiled in three pages and add a page or so of comment themselves.

Gelfman, Judith S. *Women in Television News*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1976. Based substantially on interviews (from which extensive remarks are quoted), this remains useful for its relatively early description of many pioneers and the issues they faced.

Hosley, David H., and Gayle Yamada. *Hard News: Women in Broadcast Journalism*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1987. Provides a narrative history of the slowly expanding variety of women's roles in radio and television news.

Marlane, Judith. *Women in Television News Revisited: Into the Twenty-first Century*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999. Updates the author's 1976 book, profiling some 70 women television journalists and describing some of what they faced to achieve success.

See Mitchell, Section 9-D-1.

O'Dell, Cary, ed. *Women Pioneers and Television: Biographies of Fifteen Industry Leaders*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1997. Most are on-air figures from the 1950s, but a few important managers (and one regulator) are included.

Sanders, Marlene, and Marcia Rock. *Waiting for Prime Time: The Women of Television News*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988. A survey and brief history of the growing role of women both on and off the air in television news, noting both successes and some reasons for long delays in achieving the beginnings of parity with men. (Sanders was a pioneering reporter and later network executive.)

H-3: Individual Biographies

There are more memoirs appearing almost weekly—here is a sample of the better ones, primarily from recent years.

Barbas, Samantha. *The First Lady of Hollywood: A Biography of Louella Parsons*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. From 1915 to 1960, Parsons was America's premier movie gossip reporter and columnist and in her heyday enjoyed a following of more than 40 million readers. This first biography explores her work including complex interactions of publicity, journalism, and movie-making as well as such events as attempts to suppress Welles's 1941 film, *Citizen Kane,* seen as critical of Hearst, her employer.

Geyer, Georgie Anne. *Buying the Night Flight: The Autobiography of a Woman Foreign Correspondent*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001. One of the first American woman to cover wars abroad, tells of her rise from cub reporter to foreign correspondent as she made her way in male-dominated journalism. She relates 30 years of reporting experience in Guatemala, Cuba, Egypt, Russia, and Cambodia, recounting history and politics, adventure and exhaustion of the times with political insight, humor, and passion.

Gross, Terry. *All I Did Was Ask: Conversations with Writers, Actors, Musicians, and Artists*. New York: Hyperion, 2004. The longtime NPR host and interviewer for *Fresh Air* reviews her career in broadcasting about the arts.

Kochersberger, Robert C., ed. *More Than a Muckraker: Ida Tarbell's Lifetime in Journalism*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994. Papers on her life (1857–1944) and work, including the all-important studies of Standard Oil and Owen D. Young, among others. *See also* Weinberg, below.

Kurth, Peter. *American Cassandra: The Life of Dorothy Thompson*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1990. The life and times of a longtime foreign affairs reporter and columnist (1893–1961). *See also* the earlier Marian K. Sanders, *Dorothy Thompson: A Legend in Her Time* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973).

Oppenheimer, Jerry. *Barbara Walters: An Unauthorized Biography*. New York: St. Martin's, 1990. *See* Walters, below.

Rehm, Diane. *Finding My Voice*. New York: Knopf, 1999. Longtime talk show host for WAMU and NPR relates her history—and the fight to keep going when health issues arose.

Thomas, Helen. *Dateline: White House*. New York: Macmillan, 1975. *See* next entry.

Thomas, Helen. *Front Row at the White House: My Life and Times*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000. *See* next entry.

Thomas, Helen. *Thanks for the Memories, Mr. President*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002. Thomas was for several decades UPI's White House correspondent, and toward the end of her career, as the senior journalist present, ended presidential news conferences with "Thank you, Mr. President."

Trotta, Liz. *Fighting for Air: In the Trenches with Television News*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991. Trotta reported for both CBS and NBC at different times. She may have been the first female war correspondent in Vietnam.

Walters, Barbara. *Audition: A Memoir*. New York: Knopf, 2008. Reviews her half-century career in television, most notably as an interviewer, first for NBC and for most of the time with ABC where she briefly served as a news co-anchor.

Ware, Susan. *It's One O'Clock and Here Is Mary Margaret McBride*. New York: New York University Press, 2005. Relates the life of the long-time radio network interviewer (1899–1976) of all types of people. At the height of her fame, she attracted 6 million to 8 million listeners to her afternoon broadcast. McBride was one of the first to explore the potential of talk radio, pioneering the magazine approach many such programs still use.

Weinberg, Steve. *Taking on the Trust: The Epic Battle of Ida Tarbell and John D. Rockefeller*. New York: Norton, 2008. How Tarbell (1857–1944) confronted the company known simply as "The Trust" while she was a muckraking reporter at *McClure's,* helping pioneer investigative journalism. Based on Tarbell and Rockefeller archives, this is a solid history of an important journalist during the Progressive Era. *See also* Kochersberger, above.

I. Ethnic Journalists

This subsection covers minority employment in journalism; for studies of ethnic minority media *content,* see Section 5-H. *See also* women journalists, subsection H, immediately above.

Browne, Donald R., et al. *Television/Radio News & Minorities*. Queenstown, MD: Aspen Institute, 1994. Study of all aspects of hiring and retaining minority employees in broadcast journalism.

Curry, George E., ed. *The Affirmative Action Debate*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1996. Explores how affirmative-action policies came to be, who benefits and who suffers from them, and how such programs work in hiring, contracting, and other fields. Also, what will recent Supreme Court rulings and legislative initiatives mean and does any race-conscious remedy simply perpetuate discrimination? Includes discussion of women, Latinos, and Asian Americans in addition to African Americans.

Nelson, Jack A., ed. *The Disabled, the Media and the Information Age*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1994. Fifteen research papers cover different disability groups and issues, ranging across all programming, not just journalism.

Newkirk, Pamela. *Within the Veil: Black Journalists, White Media*. New York: New York University Press, 2000. Unmasks how race continues to influence reportage, both overtly and covertly; charts a series of race-related conflicts at news organizations across the country, illustrating how African American journalists have influenced and been denied influence to the content, presentation, and very nature of news. Anecdotes are culled from interviews with over 100 broadcast and print journalists.

Streitmatter, Rodger. *Raising Her Voice: African-American Women Journalists Who Changed History*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1994. Eleven case studies of print and broadcast media journalists.

Terry, Wallace. *Missing Pages: Black Journalists of Modern America: An Oral History*. New York: Carroll & Graf, 2007. Covers 19 people over several decades, exploring problems each faced in entering and operating within print or broadcast journalism.

Wolseley, Roland E. *Black Achievers in American Journalism*. Nashville, TN: Winston-Derek, 1995. Examples of those who have made it provides something of a goal for those still striving to do so.

J. Journalism Education

University-level education and training for journalists is more than a century old. There is a growing literature on current issues as well as historical developments.

J-1: General

As media education expands, a growing number of observers and researchers are seeking to trace how it works and how it can be improved.

Blanchard, Robert O., and William G. Christ. *Media Education and the Liberal Arts: A Blueprint for the New Professionalism*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1993. Argues for more of a commitment to diversity, to generalized education, and to modes of course delivery. Reviews factors pushing for reform and suggests what "new professionalism" might entail.

Dickson, Thomas. *Mass Media Education in Transition: Preparing for the 21st Century*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1999. History of and major issues in media education, focusing on journalism, public relations, advertising and media studies. Includes assessment of long-existing tension between media practitioners and academics.

Martindale, Carolyn, ed. *Pluralizing Journalism Education: A Multicultural Handbook*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1993. Provides a rationale and a brief history of efforts to pluralize journalism education, defines ways to recruit and retain students and faculty of color, and surveys ways to pluralize the curriculum in relation to specific minority groups and women.

Murray, Michael D., ed. *Teaching Mass Communications: A Guide to Better Instruction*. New York: Praeger, 1992. Seventeen papers on how best to teach different aspects of the field, with a strong bias toward print journalism. Includes introductory survey courses, applied coursework (such as news writing), advanced courses (such as law and history), and pitfalls to avoid.

Murray, Michael D., and Roy I. Moore, eds. *Mass Communication Education*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 2003. Chapters trace different types of college-level journalism courses and how they have developed and their likely future, including both practical and theoretical classes. Some 20 important academic researchers are also profiled here, focusing on their impact on a new generation of teaching faculty.

Rush, Ramona R., et al., eds. *Seeking Equity for Women in Journalism and Mass Communication Education: A 30-Year Update*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2004. Concentrates on efforts of women and minority men to gain respect and parity in journalism and mass communication, focusing on trends over the past three decades. Contributions provide a history of equity efforts in both academe and professions. Theoretical and international perspectives on equity are also included, as are concerns about equity from new generations now entering the profession.

Zelizer, Barbie. *Taking Journalism Seriously: News and the Academy*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2004. Melds media studies, sociology, cultural studies, and journalism and mass communications by a reporter-turned-academic who tries to integrate practical with theoretical aspects. She reviews literature about journalism—historical, sociological, political, linguistic, and cultural—and argues that it should be taken seriously by scholars and practitioners in ways each discipline often misses. In all, a thought-provoking analysis of journalistic and academic framing best suited for graduate students.

J-2: Development

This literature centers on histories of education in academic specialties, or of specific academic programs.

Boylan, James. *Pulitzer's School: Columbia University's School of Journalism, 1903–2003*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003. A centennial history of the country's first ivy league university journalism program. Changes and development of the program reflect larger changes in the profession and education for it, both described here. It is a story of people (leadership, teachers, famed alumni), publications (home of the respected *Columbia Journalism Review*), curriculum conflicts, and changing technology.

Garay, Ronald. *The Manship School: A History of Journalism Education at LSU*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009. Beginning with one course in 1912–13, Garay chronicles the subsequent building of full-fledged journalism units in liberal arts colleges; the addition of new fields such as broadcasting, advertising, public relations, and political communication; creation of doctoral programs; and the emergence of serious research on the impacts of media on society.

Ross, Billy I., ed. *Seventy-Five Years of Journalism and Mass Communication Leadership: The History of the Association of Schools of Journalism and Mass Communication*. Columbia, SC: ASJMC, 1993. Useful for the light it reflects on changing standards of what a good university journalism program was at different times. More than half of this publication is given over to brief histories of the 100 or so ASJMC member journalism schools across the country.

Ross, Billy I., and Jef I. Richards, eds. *A Century of Advertising Education*. New York: American Academy of Advertising, 2008. Eighteen chapters assess the development of college and university programs, including a brief review of specific selected programs.

Sloan, William David, ed. *Makers of the Media Mind: Journalism Educators and Their Ideas*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1990. Describes the importance of nearly 40 of them (only one is female), many then still active and productive. Divided into sections by specialty: practitioners, historians, philosophers, policy scholars, theorists, and methodologists. Collectively, the profiles help to demonstrate the field's academic development.

Weinberg, Steve. *A Journalism of Humanity: A Candid History of the World's First Journalism School*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008. Centennial history of the Missouri School of Journalism, founded by journalist who lacked a degree, now considered one of best in the country.

Winfield, Betty Houchin. *Journalism, 1908: Birth of a Profession*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008. Issued for the centennial of Missouri's journalism school, this explores how American news media were fundamentally changed by formation of academic departments and schools of journalism, the founding of the National Press Club, and by technical advances that included early newsreels, use of halftone photos in periodicals, and changes in newspaper design.

J-3: International

Most educational programs overseas were formed much more recently than those in the U.S., as is evident in these surveys.

Bazalgette, Cary, et al. *New Directions: Media Education Worldwide*. London: British Film Institute, 1993. The first study to cover all world regions, based on a conference held in 1990, with chapters on (from Europe): Britain, France, Switzerland, Netherlands, Norway, Austria, Italy, Denmark, Russia, and Germany; (from the developing world): Venezuela, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, India, Jordan, and Peru; (and) Canada, Australia, Wales, and Japan.

Gaunt, Philip. *Making the Newsmakers: International Handbook of Journalism Training*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1992. A UNESCO-sponsored survey of training programs in 70 countries, the first one since *The Training of Journalists* (Paris: UNESCO, 1958). After a survey of what is needed and available, most of the study is devoted to descriptions of programs in individual countries.

Katzen, May, ed. *Mass Communication: Teaching and Studies at Universities—A World-wide Survey on the Role of Universities in the Study of the Mass Media and Mass Communication*. Paris: UNESCO, 1975. Arranged by parts of the world, this provides historical background and a detailed snapshot of how things stood at the time of publication—one of the earliest global surveys.

Terzis, Georgios. *European Journalism Education*. London: Intellect, 2009. Provides an updated overview of journalism studies in 33 countries with a brief review of journalism education history in each country, and who provides training today, to whom, and where. Each chapter incorporates an analysis of all university programs in each nation and training provided by private media or journalists' associations. The study also examines substance of this education, i.e., theory vs. practice, communication or journalism studies or a mixed system, studying PR and advertising at the same curriculum as journalism, the impact of new media in the curriculum, the role of internships, the level of different degrees offered, and exchange programs with other institutions.

K. Careers

There are a host of books on journalism careers, many aimed at young people, and often revised fairly regularly. A sample is noted below. A relative handful of books review patterns in news media employment as well as internships. For media-related labor unions and organized labor, see Section 4-C.

K-1: Career Guides

Becker, Lee B., et al. *The Training and Hiring of Journalists*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1987. Given that upwards of 20,000 graduate with journalism degrees annually and only half find work in the field, this assesses data from 1980 to 1983 to find out career paths and how journalists are hired, with case studies of media personnel practices.

Bull, Andy. *The NCTJ Essential Guide to Careers in Journalism*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2007. Written on behalf of the National Council for the Training of Journalists.

Goldbert, Jan. *Careers in Journalism*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005 (3rd ed.). Based in part on interviews with professionals, this details the responsibilities, education, and training required, and employment outlooks for the journalism field.

Grimm, Joe. *Ask the Recruiter: Journalism Career Strategies as Published on Poynter Online for Reporters, Photographers and Editors in Newspapers, TV and Magazines*. Grand Rapids, MI: David Crumm Media, 2008. Takes into account the recent downturn in many journalism jobs.

Lindner, Ken. *Broadcasting Realities: Real-Life Issues and Insights for Broadcast Journalists, Aspiring Journalists and Broadcasters*. Chicago: Bonus Books, 1999. This realistic perspective equips readers with requisite information to make informed and constructive decisions regarding their broadcasting careers.

Mulligan, Joseph, et al. *The Mulligan Guide to Sports Journalism Careers*. Chicago: NTC, 1998. Explores most aspects of careers in print or electronic media dealing with college, professional teams, and other sporting events.

Stone, Vernon. *Let's Talk Pay in Television and Radio News*. Chicago: Bonus Books, 1993. In text and tables, the author makes clear how little most broadcast journalists earn, with discussions of women, minorities, the role of interns, and salary ranges in different fields.

K-2: Internships

Alexander, James P. *Internships in Communications*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1995. While dated, this still provides some useful general advice on finding and getting them, then a guide by field to many then available (many still are).

Gross, Lynne Schafer. *The Internship Experience*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1993 (2nd ed.). Details the process of obtaining one (largely still true despite passage of time) and how to get the most out of it.

Section 8

Regulation, Ethics, and Critique

Under the American system of governance, government agencies and decisions help define the largely private or commercial arena within which journalism is practiced. Under the country's constitution, law provides both benefits and protections but also limitations on what media can or cannot do or report. Generally, however, thanks especially to the First Amendment (1791), government is quite limited in the degree to which it can control news media content.

The literature on all of the topics included in this section is substantial and ever changing thanks to new findings and legal determinations, especially those of the U.S. Supreme Court. Thus for other than historical work, it is necessary to have the latest information at hand, and increasingly that is found online rather than in print. Furthermore, some of this material is narrowly legal in nature, while other studies retain a broader policy context.

A. Reference Sources

American Society of Newspaper Editors. *Codes of Ethics*. http://www.asne.org/ideas/codes/codes.htm. Includes those from a dozen national organizations or associations, plus a survey of important newspapers' codes from around the country. *See also* University of Tampere, below.

Bennett, James R. *Control of the Media in the United States: An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Garland, 1992. Includes some 4,700 books and articles published since 1945 on both print and broadcasting issues. "Control" here includes that by corporate media as well as government.

Bertrand, Claude-Jean. *Media Accountability Systems*. http://www.media-accountability.org. Now housed at the University of Missouri, this extensive site details many different "MAS" types including codes of ethics, news councils, and other approaches, most of which are found in the United States.

First Amendment Center: Collins, Ronald K. L. *The First Amendment Library*. http://www.firstamendmentcenter.org/faclibrary/index.aspx. Portal for a considerable amount of information on relevant Supreme Court petitions for review, arguments, and decisions since 2000, and both information and reviews of new books and reports on all aspects of the First Amendment published since 2003.

First Amendment Center. *First Amendment Glossary*. http://www.firstamendmentcenter.org/about.aspx?item=glossary. Quite good paragraph-length definitions of legal and other relevant First Amendment terms.

First Amendment Center. *First Amendment & Free Expression Sources*. http://www.firstamendmentcenter.org/about.aspx?item=related_links. Extensive listing, with brief description of each site.

Foerstel, Herbert N. *Free Expression and Censorship in America: An Encyclopedia*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1997. Offers alphabetical entries that range from a paragraph to as much as three or four pages for more important topics such as the Freedom of Information Act, or the House Un-American Activities Committee; broad issues such as cryptography, hate speech, and whistle

blowing; and major figures such as Justice Hugo Black. Most entries end with suggestions for further reading (primarily current monographs, but also some journal articles, videocassettes, and dissertations). The range of material is obviously wider than "journalism" per se, but is strongly relevant nonetheless. *See also* next entry.

Foerstel, Herbert N. *Banned in the Media: A Reference Guide to Censorship in the Press, Motion Pictures, Broadcasting, and the Internet*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1998. A companion to the title immediately above. Chapters survey book and other media censorship, prominent media cases, a chronological history of media cases (a paragraph or so each—most are Supreme Court decisions), and profiles of six media figures of importance. Appendices deal with school censorship and relevant organizations.

Hixson, Richard F. *Mass Media and the Constitution: An Encyclopedia of Supreme Court Decisions*. New York: Garland, 1989. Reviews some 200 cases; for each we are told the date of its argument and decision, a summary of the issues, circumstances surrounding the case, a paragraph on the opinion, cases it references, and further reading (usually other related cases). Material is divided into sections on broadcasting business censorship, commercial speech, copyright, fair trial, the freedom of information act, free speech libel, news gathering, obscenity, and privacy. *See also* Campbell and Eastland, next subsection.

Ingelhart, Louis Edward. *Press and Speech Freedoms in America, 1619–1985*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1987. Provides a chronology in 18 chapters paralleling political periods in American colonial and then independent life, with the last half century divided by decade. Arrangement within each year is alphabetical by person or institution involved. Included are views and comments of people about overall issues of freedom of speech or the press, specific incidents or episodes that shed light on the topic, and technological changes that have impacted freedoms. Some reference is made to important Supreme Court findings.

Ingelhart, Louis Edward. *Press Freedoms: A Descriptive Calendar of Concepts, Interpretations, Events, and Court Actions, from 4000 BC to the Present*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1987. Examines events, concepts, and interpretations that led to the idea of freedom of the press in the United States and to often slower and later recognition of the concept of a "free press" in more than 100 other countries. The calendar extends over six millennia and chronicles the historical progress of freedom of the press, involving thousands of people as well as thousands of publishing and media efforts, including newspapers, books, pamphlets, radio, television, and motion pictures.

Jones, Derek, ed. *Censorship: A World Encyclopedia*. Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2001 (4 vols.). An important resource, this includes hundreds of often quite lengthy entries covering all historical aspects, including legal cases and principles, specific controversies, important people, and varied media. Subject areas of censorship covered—many of which relate to media—include religion, literature, performing arts, sexuality and violence, politics and ideology, and visual arts. The role of censorship in virtually every country is discussed.

Murray, John. *The Media Law Dictionary*. Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1978. Dated (and probably hard to find) but still useful as definitions include quotes from court cases to provide vital context. Covers both print and electronic media regulation and general law terms with media applications.

Phillips, Peter, and Project Censored, eds. *Censored: The Top 25 Censored Stories of [Year]*. New York: Seven Stories Press, 1994–present, annual. The year's 25 most important underreported news stories, designed to alert readers to deficiencies in corporate news media and the resurgence of alternative media news sources.

Reporters Committee on Freedom of the Press. http://www.rcfp.org. Constant updating on the latest stories concerning broadcasting, freedom of information, intellectual property, Internet regulation, libel, legal issues in news gathering, prior restraints, privacy, reporter's privilege, legal action in secret courts, and state open government laws.

Shedden, David. *Media Ethics Bibliography*. http://poynteronline.org/content/content_view.asp?id=1208. Includes both online and printed resources; regularly updated.

Swinder, William F. *A Bibliography of Law on Journalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947. Useful for tracing the early development of media law, this includes some 1,200 entries of books, documents, and articles.

University of Tampere (Finland). *EthicNet—Collection of Codes of Journalism Ethics in Europe*. http://ethicnet.uta.fi. Covers most countries in Europe, providing their codes in English. Regularly updated.

B. First Amendment/Freedom of Expression

As might be expected, the subject of free speech and expression has created a huge American literature. What follows emphasizes freedom of the press (and thus media) questions, generally bypassing, for example, works concerning obscenity and indecency or freedom of religion, which rarely arise in journalism.

Allen, David S., and Robert Jensen, eds. *Freeing the First Amendment: Critical Perspectives on Freedom of Expression*. New York: New York University Press, 1995. Closely reasoned papers question whether more speech is the answer to harmful speech. By including many points of view and issues, the editors seek a better understanding of freedom of expression, which they claim creates an aura of sanctity around the very idea of freedom of speech.

Campbell, Douglas D. *The Supreme Court and the Mass Media: Selected Cases, Summaries, and Analyses*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1990. More focused than Hixson (see below), this is divided into sections on libel, privacy (just five cases), and general First Amendment issues—and most cases included were decided after 1964. Cases are summarized in three to five pages, with sections on background, circumstances, a summary of the court's analysis, part of the actual ruling, and a brief sense of its significance. This is the first of three similar titles (*see* Eastland and Hixson, both below).

See Commission on Freedom of the Press (Chafee), subsection H, below.

Cornwell, Nancy C. *Freedom of the Press: Rights and Liberties under the Law*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2004. Provides a tightly organized guide to relevant issues. Chapters introduce basic concepts, trace their origins and early developments (with a page or so to each topic), twentieth-century issues (again, a page or so each), twenty-first-century issues, key people and cases (short profiles), and documents (most are brief abstracts of court cases). As is typical in such a book, coverage is wide but not terribly deep, making this a useful place to begin.

Dickerson, Donna Lee. *The Course of Tolerance: Freedom of the Press in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1990. Chapters discuss "mobocracy" and the War of 1812, defining boundaries for libel, abolitionist publications, and post office rules, Civil War and censorship, the press and Reconstruction, and coverage during the Spanish-American war.

Eastland, Terry, ed. *Freedom of Expression in the Supreme Court: The Defining Cases*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000. Covers 60 selected cases over 80 years, from the 1919 *Schenck v. United States* up to cases in the late 1990s. In each case, the author provides the gist of the case, the main Court opinion, major dissenting views, and press commentary. A useful appendix lists the Court's Justices over the 1919–2000 period. *See* Campbell, above, and Hixon, below.

First Amendment Center. *State of the First Amendment*. http://www.fac.org/sofa_reports/index.aspx. Annual report issued since 1997 on how Americans view their first freedoms of speech, press, assembly, religion, and petition, prepared by the Center for Survey Research & Analysis. All past reports are also available here.

Friendly, Fred W. *Minnesota Rag: Corruption, Yellow Journalism, and the Case That Saved Freedom of the Press*. New York: Random House, 1981 (reprinted by University of Minnesota Press, 2003). Tells the story of people and events behind the landmark *Near v. Minnesota* case of 1931—the

first "press" First Amendment Supreme Court decision.

Garry, Patrick M. *Scrambling for Protection: The New Media and the First Amendment*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1994. Describes the degree to which the First Amendment works—or does not—for newer media technologies, and how to bring them into greater congruence.

Gleason, Timothy W. *The Watchdog Concept: The Press and the Courts in Nineteenth Century America*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1990. Suggests that litigation shaped the law of freedom of the press including the watchdog concept, and argues that it should now be abandoned in favor of an individual rights-based concept of freedom of the press.

Hindman, Elizabeth Blanks. *Rights and Responsibilities: The Supreme Court and the Media*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1997. Analyzing every Supreme Court media case from 1931 to 1996 (nearly 200 of them), this explores how the Court has perceived media freedom, educational and political functions of news media, and the ethical principles of truth telling.

Hixson, Richard F. *Mass Media and the Constitution: An Encyclopedia of Supreme Court Decisions*. New York: Garland, 1989. Covers all the media cases decided to that point, each briefly described with its context and importance. *See also* Campbell and Eastland, above.

Kersch, Ken I. *Freedom of Speech: Rights and Liberties under the Law*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2003. Aimed at those relatively new to the topic, chapters review precursors and origins of the First Amendment to the Constitution, developments in the twentieth century, the future of freedom of speech, a directory of key people, cases, and events (a mini-encyclopedia in its arrangement), and then a lengthy (a bit over 100 pages) documentary appendix with brief information and then longer quotations from key publications and cases (often several pages on each).

Lewis, Anthony. *Freedom for the Thought That We Hate: A Biography of the First Amendment*. New York: Basic Books, 2007. Readable book that focuses on important Supreme Court cases that helped to define First Amendment freedoms, which were anything but a given, even after 1791 when the Amendment became part of the Constitution. Among topics dealt with are libel, privacy, whether reporters should have a right to keep their sources confidential, copyright, and hate speech and the Amendment.

Lidsky, Lyrissa Barnett, and R. George Wright. *Freedom of the Press: A Reference Guide to the United States Constitution*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004. This is what attorneys call a hornbook or treatise and the authors discuss the text and history of the First Amendment, theory and method, prior restraint, content-bound restrictions on media, content-neutral regulation of news media, defamation, liability for publications that invade privacy or inflict emotional distress, legal regulation of harmful media effects on nonconsenting or vulnerable persons (such as children), investigative news gathering and "neutral limits" on press rights, police operations and media, and press access to persons, sites, proceedings, and documents.

O'Neil, Robert M. *The First Amendment and Civil Liability*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001. Assesses seven areas where civil liability can be imposed upon media: libel and slander; privacy; defective or dangerous products; incitement (as in portrayal of dangerous acts that are then copied by someone else); advertising; news gathering; and threats and incitement through the Internet. The author warns that while media have generally prevailed in such cases, that could change.

Parker, Richard A., ed. *Free Speech on Trial: Communication Perspectives on Landmark Supreme Court Decisions*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003. Scholarly papers on 18 cases, not all of them seemingly centered on communication concerns, but clearly having relevance to media issues.

Powe, Lucas A. *The Fourth Estate and the Constitution*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991. After a historical survey up to the Pentagon papers case, reviews major legal issues confronting modern news media: libel, prior

restraints, access to sources and information, and mergers and acquisitions reducing number of voices heard.

Russomanno, Joseph. *Speaking Our Minds: Conversations with the People behind Landmark First Amendment Cases*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2002. Offers interviews with protagonists in ten recent Supreme Court decisions, providing some sense of context of how cases came to the Court, and context about each.

Stein, Laura. *Speech Rights in America: The First Amendment, Democracy, and the Media*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2006. Argues that courts are unduly restricting speech rights of Americans and suggests that media owners are more often winners in such cases rather than general population—indeed, that present day First Amendment law is not conducive to protecting free speech rights needed in a democracy.

Stone, Geoffrey R. *Perilous Times: Free Speech in Wartime from the Sedition Act of 1798 to the War on Terrorism*. New York: Norton, 2004. Investigates how First Amendment and other civil liberties have been compromised in America during wartime by delineating consistent suppression of free speech in six historical periods from Sedition Act of 1798 to the Vietnam War, and ends with assessment of civil liberties in the 2001–09 Bush administration.

Weinstein, James. *Hate Speech, Pornography and the Radical Attack on Free Speech Doctrine*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1999. Questions when free speech has to be limited, reviewing media issues with both pornography and hate speech of all kinds, including the relationship of free speech, equality of treatment of different social groups, and the costs of regulation.

Wittern-Keller, Laura, and Raymond J. Haberski Jr. *The* Miracle *Case: Film Censorship and the Supreme Court*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008. How Supreme Court's unanimous 1952 ruling sparked a chain of litigation that eventually brought filmmaking under protection of the First Amendment, weakening ability of state censorship boards and Catholic Church to influence films Americans were allowed to see.

C. Media Law

For citations on news media coverage of courts and their decisions, see Section 5-E. There are at least a dozen general media law college textbooks in print as this is written, some updated on an annual basis—they are not listed here.

Baker, C. Edwin. *Media, Markets, and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002. Uses economic and democratic theory to undermine two beliefs—that media give people what they want (thus justifying deregulation), and freedom of the press justifies resisting any government action concerning media. Evaluates journalistic practice, to recommend appropriate governmental media policy and defend a preferred constitutional conception of press freedom.

Barron, Jerome A. *Freedom of the Press for Whom?* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973. Expands the author's seminal *Harvard Law Review* paper arguing that the public does deserve a right of response and speaking out on media, though the Supreme Court disagrees.

Barron, Jerome A. *Public Rights and the Private Press*. Toronto: Butterworths, 1981. One of more thoughtful legal critics of media policy reviews recent Supreme Court cases concerning both print and broadcasting and argues there is too little access (or privacy) for the general public as big media and government grapple for dominance.

Carter, T. Barton, et al. *Mass Communication Law in a Nutshell*. St. Paul, MN: Thomson/West, 2007 (6th ed.). This helpful pocket volume covers a lot of ground, including chapters on the First Amendment in perspective, defamation, privacy, obscenity, restraint for purposes of national security, free press-fair trial, freedom to gather news, reporter's privilege and subpoenas, regulation of advertising, and regulation of electronic mass media.

First Amendment Center. *Jailed and Subpoenaed Journalists—A Timeline*. http://www.firstamendmentcenter.org/about.aspx?id=16896. Chronological listing of people and cases since 1735 with about a paragraph on each, plus further sources.

Lawson, Linda. *Truth in Publishing: Federal Regulation of the Press's Business Practices, 1880–1920*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1993. Concerns the Newspaper Publicity Act (1912), which requires commercial newspapers and magazines using preferential second-class mail rates to identify their owners and investors and to label advertisements that resemble news stories or editorials. Daily newspapers are also required to disclose circulation data along with their ownership statements. Analyzes what this episode reveals about Progressive ideology with its reliance on publicity and regulation to solve social and economic problems.

Lomicky, Carol S., and Trudy C. de Goede. *Handbook for Research in Media Law*. Ames, IA: Blackwell, 2005. Guide to undertaking such research in the digital era, this is a how-to guide built largely around the widely used LexisNexis Academic online service.

Pring, George W., and Penelope Canan. *SLAPPS: Getting Sued for Speaking Out*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996. Demonstrates how Strategic Lawsuits Against Public Participation (SLAPPs) have developed as businesses try and stop people from petitioning for redress of grievances. The authors coined the term "SLAPP," so they know whereof they speak. Their study traces the history of SLAPP suits, looks at what groups are most likely to bring such legal actions and what groups are the most likely targets, and then reviews potential legal remedies.

Ramey, Carl R. *Mass Media Unleashed: How Washington Policymakers Shortchanged the American Public*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007. Argues against the deregulation of recent decades amidst technological change, especially for commercial broadcasting, because of the disappearance of most public service programming, content diversity, and reliance on the bottom line means of judging value.

Reynolds, Amy, and Brooke Barnett, eds. *Communication and Law: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Research*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2006. Offers 16 papers divided into two sections: theoretical perspectives and multidisciplinary methods. The first includes the future of interdisciplinary scholarship in communication and law and legal methodology. The second part covers merging legal and social science research in comparing state access laws, researching blacks in the news, dehumanizing depictions of race in television news, defamation in television news, use of public databases, conceptions of free speech in the nineteenth century, federal public interest standards, and advertising in class action lawsuits.

Sanford, Bruce W. *Don't Shoot the Messenger: How Our Growing Hatred of the Media Threatens Free Speech for All of Us*. New York: The Free Press, 1999. Suggests that news media are threatened by public and judicial dislike of their content. Among the evidence the author offers is that an increasing number of jury decisions are going against journalists and that judges across the country are imposing more restrictions on what he considers to be a First Amendment right to gather and disseminate information. He finds repeated examples of misjudgment and misbehavior by journalists that help increase public dislike of media, noting problems that a bottom line emphasis have created.

C-1: Libel

This is among the most important legal problems for journalists and news media, most often resulting in legal proceedings, though the media usually win, or at least sharply reduce financial judgments.

Hopkins, W. Wat. *Actual Malice: Twenty-Five Years after* Times v. Sullivan. New York: Praeger, 1989. Details the story behind the landmark 1964 Supreme Court libel decision that created the "actual malice" standard for public officials seeking to bring libel suits, and its impact since. *See* next entry.

Lewis, Anthony. *Make No Law: The Sullivan Case and the First Amendment*. New York: Random House, 1991. A *New York Times* reporter places the landmark 1964 decision in larger context. *See* previous entry.

Media Law Resource Center. *MLR 50-State Survey: Media Libel Law [Year]*. New York: MLR Center, annual. This large compendium of the law is arranged into chapters by state, prepared by experts in that jurisdiction, and presents case decisions

from the year in a uniform outline format. Though focused on the United States, it also includes Canada and England.

Smolla, Rodney A. *Jerry Falwell v. Larry Flynt: The First Amendment on Trial.* Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1988. This classic libel case based on a 1983 published satire about the religious leader (who lost his suit) is described from its inception through the Supreme Court's final decision.

Soloski, John, and Randall P. Bezanson, eds. *Reforming Libel Law.* New York: Guilford Press, 1992. Ten papers by as many lawyers and judges review ways to update and refine libel statutes and also ways to use alternatives, as well as the potential for a uniform libel law, no-fault suits, and legislative efforts at change.

C-2: Privacy

This is the second most often cited area of concern for news media, one often subject to inadvertent violation. Once again, news media usually win in legal actions.

Alderman, Ellen, and Caroline Kennedy. *The Right to Privacy.* New York: Random House, 1995. Through an interweaving of landmark cases, lesser-known but equally important trial decisions, and dozens of anecdotal narratives, the authors assess a complicated issue. They delve into six general areas: privacy versus law enforcement, privacy and yourself, privacy versus. the press, privacy versus. the voyeur, privacy in the workplace, and privacy and information.

Decew, Judith Wagner. *In Pursuit of Privacy: Law, Ethics, and the Rise of Technology.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997. Surveys the history of the notion of privacy as it first evolved in American tort and constitutional law and then analyzes privacy defined on the basis of information, autonomy, property, and intimacy. Argues that privacy has a fundamental value because it allows us to create ourselves as individuals, offering us freedom from judgment, scrutiny, and the pressure to conform.

Frankel, Ellen, et al., eds. *The Right to Privacy.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000. A baker's dozen of scholarly papers offering a variety of points of view, including assessments of privacy as a matter of taste and right, privacy and constitutional theory, privacy and technology, the right of privacy for medical information, and privacy and the right to die.

Media Law Resource Center. *MLR 50-State Survey: Media Privacy and Related Law [Year].* New York: MLR Center, annual. This large compendium is arranged into chapters by state and prepared by experts in that jurisdiction. It presents privacy case decisions from the year in a uniform outline format. Though focused on the United States, it also includes Canada and England.

Regan, Priscilla M. *Legislating Privacy: Technology, Social Values, and Public Policy.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995. Insight as to why law so often lags behind technology in eight chapters that trace different kinds of privacy as well as the role of Congress.

Solove, Daniel J., et al. *Privacy, Information and Technology.* New York: Aspen, 2006. Treats all important issues involving information privacy including law and policy issues relating to information privacy and computers, databases, and the Internet, coverage of government surveillance topics, wiretapping, computer searches, ISP records, the Electronic Communications Privacy Act, the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, and the USA Patriot Act; plus examination of issues such as privacy and access to public records and government access to personal information.

Solove, Daniel J., et al. *Information Privacy Law.* New York: Wolters Kluwer Law & Business, 2008 (3rd ed.). Readings and cases cover the full range of privacy issues, from Megan's Law to employee monitoring to genetic privacy. It also includes the first extensive coverage of several important topics, especially in such key areas as medical privacy and international law. Includes explanations of key statutes and regulations such as the Freedom of Information Act, the Children's Online Privacy Protection Act, the European Union Data Protection Directive, and the Electronic Communications Privacy Act, among others.

Solove, Daniel J. *Understanding Privacy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008. Provides an overview of the difficulties involved in privacy and suggests resolution. Argues that no single definition can be workable, as there are multiple forms of privacy related to one another by family resemblances. Draws on array of interdisciplinary sources.

Staples, William G., ed. *Encyclopedia of Privacy*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2007 (2 vols.). Includes essays on 226 different topics, such as banking and financial records, and nearly 50 individual court decisions (mostly U.S. Supreme Court). Essays vary in length from paragraphs to pages—one on the Internet, for example, is 17 pages long.

C-3: Intellectual Property/Copyright

Copyright is both a protection for and a limitation on media and is subject to constant legal and research attention, especially given the impact of changing technology.

Branscomb, Anne. *Who Owns Information? From Privacy to Public Access*. New York: Basic Books, 1994. Valuable insight and analysis of the changing world of copyright and protection of other intellectual property, suggesting technology is tearing up long-held views.

Einhorn, Michael A. *Media, Technology and Copyright: Integrating Law and Economics*. Cheltenham, England: Edward Elgar, 2004. Applies economic reasoning to issues in American copyright law, including a rationale of fair use and economic analysis, digital rights management and licensing and privacy concerns, Napster and peer-to-peer issues, digital music and the "anti-commons," publicity rights and consumer rights, software search and data, and open source and innovative copyright.

Ekstrand, Victoria Smith. *News Piracy and the Hot News Doctrine: Origins in Law and Implications for the Digital Age*. New York: LFB Scholarly, 2005. Explores legal protections for the newsman's scoop, or the "hot news" doctrine. Now more than 80 years old, this protects facts for a short period after publication in opposition to American copyright law, which dedicates facts to the public domain. Though imperfect, controversial, and ill defined, the hot news doctrine may offer the best approach to protect uncopyrighted work delivered by newer technologies.

Lutzger, Arnold P. *Content Rights for Creative Professionals: Copyright and Trademarks in a Digital Age*. Boston: Focal Press, 2003 (2nd ed.). Discusses all aspects of both protections, including "things you cannot ignore" (unfair competition, antitrust laws, trade secrets), content rights in media and film (including sports, station call signs, slogans), licensing and distribution and the Internet (Digital Millennium Copyright Act, among other laws).

Matsuura, Jeffrey H. *Managing Intellectual Assets in the Digital Age*. Norwood, MA: Artech House, 2003. Provides a survey including traditional software protection strategies, open source as an alternative model, trademark protection online, protecting the look and feel of online content, managing digital media, the challenge of peer-to-peer and distributed computing, property law and commercial transactions law applied to digital content, controls on technology development and transfer, valuing and managing knowledge assets, and principles for managing intellectual property and knowledge assets.

Meriden, Trevor. *Irresistible Forces: The Business Legacy of Napster & the Growth of the Underground Internet*. New York: John Wiley/Capstone, 2001. Suggests what the Napster peer-to-peer copying case may suggest for a viable model of Internet sharing in the future. Early chapters detail the case, while later ones turn to policy issues such as whether subscription services online can work.

National Research Council. *The Digital Dilemma: Intellectual Property in the Information Age*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 2000. Careful assessment of concerns raised by digital technology (and recording, especially) or, as the report puts it in describing music rights in a chapter title: "intellectual property's canary in the digital coal mine." Includes discussion of privacy and fair use questions, protecting digital intellectual property, and a variety of recommendations.

New York School of Law. *The Fair Use Network*. http://fairusenetwork.org/index.php. Information and resources for both owners and users of intellectual property—what can be used and under what circumstances? Includes basic tutorials, recent actions, evaluating and responding to legal correspondence, and definitions of legal terms.

Perelman, Michael. *Steal This Idea: Intellectual Property Rights and the Corporate Confiscation of Creativity*. New York: Palgrave, 2002. Argues that patent and copyright laws are too stringent and serve to limit creativity while helping greedy corporations make even more money.

Vaidhyanathan, Siva. *Copyrights and Copywrongs: The Rise of Intellectual Property and How It Thwarts Creativity*. New York: New York University Press, 2001. Argues that extension of the sweep and length of copyrights is harming creativity; includes discussion of digital systems and their likely impact.

C-4: Free Press/Fair Trial

The focus here is on journalistic access to courtrooms, sometimes seen as a constitutional conflict between the First and Sixth Amendments. Until the 1980s, broadcasters and photographers were generally banned from courtrooms. For titles on media coverage *of* the courts and crime, see Section 5-E.

Barber, Susanna. *News Cameras in the Courtroom: A Free Press-Fair Trial Debate*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1987. Background on decades of debate concerning broadcast access to courtrooms (banned in most places until the 1980s), and research done on courtroom coverage.

Bruschke, Jon, and William E. Loges. *Free Press vs. Fair Trials: Examining Publicity's Role in Trial Outcomes*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2005. The authors argue that case law is not well developed as regards tension between protecting a defendant's right to a fair trial and maintaining First Amendment guarantees of a free press—because social science has thus far not provided clear findings of publicity effects.

Bunker, Matthew D. *Justice and the Media: Reconciling Fair Trials and a Free Press*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1997. Argues for a consistent policy favoring media access to court proceedings in chapters about (among other topics) the role of the Supreme Court, courts and prejudicial publicity, prior restraints mandated by some judges, and postpublication sanctions.

Freedman, Warren. *Press and Media Access to the Criminal Courtroom*. New York: Quorum, 1988. Discusses the extent to which media coverage of criminal court proceedings should be permitted. Points out the central question as how to strike a balance between the public's right to information and the individual's right to privacy. Reviews underlying legal principles and constitutional issues, describes important cases, and provides citations of applicable case law.

Gillmor, Donald M. *Free Press and Fair Trial*. Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press, 1966. Balanced assessment of conflicts involved in news media coverage of court trials—written at a time broadcasting was banned from nearly all courtrooms.

Scherer, Mark R. *Rights in the Balance: Free Press, Fair Trial, and* Nebraska Press Association v. Stuart. Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2008. From a 1975 murder, the author traces the battle to overturn a media gag order imposed by a state court judge. Prohibited from publishing certain details about the crimes, the association appealed, leading to a landmark Supreme Court ruling, still one of the high court's controlling precedents on recurring conflicts between rights of free press and fair trial.

D. FCC and Electronic Media Law

Federal licensing (and other regulation) of broadcasting stations has been a topic of legal and social science research and comment for three-quarters of a century.

D-1: Development

There is a growing literature on the origin and development of electronic media regulation.

Benjamin, Louise M. *Freedom of the Air and the Public Interest: First Amendment Rights in Broadcasting to 1935*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2001. Historical assessment of the role and definition of free speech on the radio from its inception through passage of the Communications Act of 1934, including interaction among social, political, and economic entities and issues.

Bensman, Marvin R. *Broadcast/Cable Regulation*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990 (2nd ed.). Very useful compilation of decades of FCC decisions and court cases on all aspects of electronic media policy and regulation. This version is topical in organization rather than chronological.

Brinson, Susan L. *The Red Scare, Politics, and the Federal Communications Commission, 1941–1960*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004. Reviews two decades of changing FCC views about Communism and its possible dangers in radio (and television). Given political flows of the 1940s and 1950s, many who seemed central and centered early in this period became politically suspect later on, including some broadcast station owners. In an era of political blacklisting, pressure on the commission to license or not to license often had whiffs of witch-hunting.

McChesney, Robert W. *Telecommunications, Mass Media & Democracy: The Battle for the Control of U.S. Broadcasting, 1928–1935*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. Important analysis of policy debates about radio before the Federal Radio Commission and leading up to passage of the 1934 Communications Act. The author argues that industry largely shaped legislation to its own liking, ignoring radio's potential public interest potential.

Rosen, Philip T. *The Modern Stentors: Radio Broadcasters and the Federal Government, 1920–1934*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1980. Despite a good deal of more recent research, this remains one of the earliest historical analyses of early radio regulation and policy. Rosen does a creditable job of taking the story from the Hoover radio conferences of the early 1920s through the Radio Act of 1927 and up to the still-on-the-books 1934 statute.

Slotten, Hugh R. *Radio and Television Regulation: Broadcast Technology in the United States, 1920–1960*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000. Underlines the importance of technical limits and standards in broadcasting policy with six case studies ranging from the government's role in radio before 1927 up to color television standards in the 1950s. While these don't deal with news directly, they demonstrate how technology defines the realm of electronic media.

D-2: Agencies and Issues

What follows is a sampling of the literature on more or less current regulatory issues.

Brainard, Lori A. *Television: The Limits of Deregulation*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2004. Reviewing three examples of attempts to deregulate television (an attempted rewrite of the 1934 Communications Act in 1978, Mark Fowler's early 1980s regime at the FCC, and the 1996 Telecommunications Act), the author argues that real change comes slowly in this field.

Dunham, Corydon B. *Fighting for the First Amendment: Stanton of CBS vs. Congress and the Nixon White House*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1997. Dramatic retelling of a 1971 confrontation between the network president and Congress over control of documentary "outtakes."

Federal Communications Commission, Media Bureau website. http://www.fcc.gov/mb. Primary center of FCC affairs concerning media, including journalism. Most of the material concerns station licensing and technical regulations.

Friendly, Fred W. *The Good Guys, The Bad Guys and the First Amendment: Free Speech vs. Fairness in Broadcasting*. New York: Random House, 1975. Behind-the-scenes story of what became the landmark 1969 *Red Lion* Supreme Court decision, demonstrating the difficulty of regulating fairness over the air.

Krasnow, Erwin G., et al. *FCC Lobbying: A Handbook of Insider Tips and Practical Advice*. Washington, DC: Telecommunications Reports, 2001. Unique guide to how the commission

operates, designed for those lobbying the agency. Assesses lobbying strategy, making meetings work, the FCC's rules of the road in making decisions, understanding that process, and a series of appendices providing further guidance.

Krattenmaker, Thomas G., and Lucas H. Powe Jr. *Regulating Broadcast Programming*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994. Broad review of how the broadcast regulatory system developed, the limits of competition, diversity, conformity, broadcast issues before the Supreme Court, comparing broadcast and print regulation, the Fairness Doctrine, and regulatory failure.

Napoli, Philip M. *Foundations of Communications Policy: Principles and Process in the Regulation of Electronic Media*. Cresskill, NY: Hampton Press, 2001. Seeks to get behind day-to-day regulation to seek some of the whys and wherefores of the regulatory process. The author spends a chapter each digging into the background of public interest, the marketplace of ideas, diversity, competition, universal service, and localism—all terms widely used in FCC proceedings.

Opel, Andy. *Micro Radio and the FCC: Media Activism and the Struggle over Broadcast Policy*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004. Useful study of the sad and largely failed struggle for tiny, low-power FM radio stations in the United States. It's something of a morality tale, and the author takes a critical studies approach to this story of how the established broadcast business beat back chances for hundreds (perhaps thousands) of tiny specialized radio outlets.

Powe, Lucas A. *American Broadcasting and the First Amendment*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987. Questions why radio and later television never received the same degree of First Amendment protection as newspapers and magazines.

Ramey, Carl R. *Mass Media Unleashed: How Washington Policymakers Shortchanged the American Public*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007. As the title suggests, this is a strong attack on media deregulation over the previous decade, citing many examples of what has gone wrong and why.

Simmons, Steven J. *The Fairness Doctrine and the Media*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978. One of the better surveys of the pros and cons of this controversial FCC regulatory stance (then still in force) that would be dropped in 1987—but is still debated.

Studies in Telecommunication Deregulation: Cable Television. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994–97 (3 vols.). These form part of a larger series; the others focus on telephone policy:

> Hazlett, Thomas W., and Matthew L. Spitzer. *Public Policy toward Cable Television: The Economics of Rate Controls*. 1997. Primarily concerns subscriber costs and experiments in federal deregulation of same.
>
> Johnson, Leland L. *Toward Competition in Cable Television*. 1994. A longtime student of the industry, and an economist, Johnson argues about the potential for deregulating cable in light of the growing number of technology-based competitive options.
>
> Waterman, David, and Andrew A. Weiss. *Vertical Integration in Cable Television*. 1997. Questions the role and regulation of companies controlling cable networks as well as local cable systems.

Zarkin, Kimberly A., and Michael J. Zarkin. *The Federal Communications Commission: Front Line in the Culture and Regulation Wars*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2006. Surveys the 70-plus-year history of the FCC in both broadcast media and common carrier issues. Includes origins and purpose of the agency, how it operates and its political environment, notable controversies in mass media, short biographies of commissioners, an annotated listing of Supreme Court decisions involving the FCC, and a brief chronology.

E. Cyberlaw

This is a relatively new and expanding area of law. Books date quickly here given the continuing flow of often defining court decisions. *See also* subsection G-3, below.

Chilling Effects Clearinghouse. http://www.chillingeffects.org. A shared project of Harvard, Stanford, and other universities, this clearinghouse "monitors

the legal climate for Internet activity," including copyright and privacy issues, and especially receipt of "cease and desist" orders directed to website operators.

Garry, Patrick M. *Scrambling for Protection: The New Media and the First Amendment*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1994. Argues that participation-oriented electronic media (such as the then-new World Wide Web) deserves to be protected from regulatory infringement.

Lessig, Lawrence. *Code: And Other Laws of Cyberspace, Version 2.0*. New York: Basic Books, 2006. Updated from the 1999 publication, this edition was, in part, revised online by some of its users. It relates the transition from an online world (one modifying the ground on which constitutions have been written) subject to little control to one more subject to regulation, though what that is and from whom remains to be defined clearly.

Siegel, Stuart. *Beyond Our Control? Confronting the Limits of Our Legal System in the Age of Cyberspace*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001. Discusses how law relates (or doesn't) to the emerging Internet work, including file-sharing issues, combating fraudulent activity, dealing with online hate and other content, and international models.

F. Comparative Policy and Law

For other studies of news media abroad, see Section 10.

F-1: General Surveys

These review a broad variety of policy issues across multiple nations.

Bertrand, Claude-Jean, ed. *An Arsenal for Democracy: Media Accountability Systems*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 2004. Nearly 30 papers center on news councils or ombudsmen for newspapers and broadcast operations, media codes of ethics, and journalism reviews—using the more inclusive "media accountability systems" term. Focus is heavily on the United States, where many of these notions originated and have been tried out, though in some cases only briefly, with some coverage of European nations as well. *See also* McQuail, below.

Hoffman-Riem, Wolfgang. *Regulating Media: The Licensing and Supervision of Broadcasting in Six Countries*. New York: Guilford, 1996. Countries covered are Britain, Germany, France, Canada, Australia, and the United States. For each the basic provisions of the licensing of radio and television stations is described and assessed.

McQuail, Denis. *Media Accountability and Freedom of Publication*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. Argues that freedom and accountability are not incompatible, reviews theory and practical examples from several countries, and then suggests ways forward to greater responsibility. *See also* Bertrand, above.

Paraschos, Emmanuel E. *Media Law and Regulation in the European Union: National, Transnational, and U.S. Perspectives*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1998. Compares and contrasts general EU law with that of the (then) 15 member states and American practices.

Price, Monroe E., et al., eds. *Media Reform: Democratizing the Media, Democratizing the State*. London: Routledge, 2002. A dozen papers, two providing an integrative overview, while the remainder focus on specific countries: China, Uzbekistan, Indonesia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Jordan, Ukraine, Uganda, India, Poland, and Uruguay.

Robillard, Serge. *Television in Europe: Regulatory Bodies: Status, Functions and Powers in 35 European Countries*. London: John Libbey, 1995. Very useful handbook (though it needs updating) on varied legal regimes and organizations, exploring parallels and differences.

Seabright, Paul, and Jürgen von Hagen, eds. *The Economic Regulation of Broadcasting Markets: Evolving Technology and Challenges for Policy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007. Offers a comparative look at the impact of technology changes (new digital options) of recent years. Ten papers discuss broadcast technology and regulatory developments, competition and market power, the changing status of public service broadcasting,

regulation for pluralism in media markets and of television advertising, lessons for broadcasting from market definitions in printed media, and studies of the U.S. situation, the European Union, and a broader assessment of competition policy and sector-specific economic media regulation.

Smith, Rachael Craufurd. *Broadcasting Law and Fundamental Rights*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. Scholarly study of the development of European broadcast law and varied systems that have developed from that law. Good discussion of derivation and the changing role of public monopoly systems.

Terzis, Georgios, ed. *European Media Governance*. Bristol, England: Intellect Books / Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008 (2 vols.), as follows:

1. *The Brussels Dimension*. Makes clear that European governments are gradually ceding control of their national media to international organizations, especially the European Union. Anthology of 14 papers investigates how various media industries are lobbying EU bureaucrats in Brussels.
2. *National and Regional Dimensions*. Extensive anthology of papers on most European nations, demonstrating how they are slowly shifting direction of their national media systems from government (or government oversight) to marketplace forces including convergence, concentrated ownership, and globalization. Provides an overview of media ownership structures in each country as well as analyses of policies, accountability systems, and technological developments in the regions discussed.

Venturelli, Shalini. *Liberalizing the European Media: Politics, Regulation, and the Public Sphere*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. Centers on political rights of information and participation within the public sphere, concluding that public service has diminished in the face of competition and deregulation.

Ward, David, ed. *Television and Public Policy: Change and Continuity in an Era of Global Liberalization*. New York: Routledge, 2008. Sixteen papers reviewing television policy and deregulatory trends over the past two decades in as many countries, to illustrate the general trend toward liberalization and privatization.

F-2: Specific Legal Subjects

These focus on comparative law in particular topics—such as libel, copyright, or privacy.

Amponsah, Peter N. *Libel Law, Political Criticism, and Defamation of Public Figures: The United States, Europe, and Australia*. El Paso, TX: LFB Scholarly Publishing, 2004. Studies political defamation laws in the United States, the European Court of Human Rights, Britain, and Australia. The prevailing jurisprudence of each weighs political speech against reputation through a preferred balancing approach that gives more protection to political speech.

Aplin, Tanya. *Copyright Law in the Digital Society: The Challenges of Multimedia*. New York: Hart, 2005. Comparative study of British and European Union law concerning protection of content on multimedia.

Glasser, Charles J., Jr., ed. *International Libel and Privacy Handbook: A Global Reference for Journalists, Publishers, Webmasters, and Lawyers*. New York: Bloomberg Press, 2009 (2nd ed.). Written for nonlawyers, this offers a nation-by-nation summary covering Europe, Asia, and the Americas, designed for rapid analysis of media law as it applies to globally accessible publications, Internet sites, and wire services.

Kenyon, Andrew T., and Megan Richardson, eds. *New Dimensions in Privacy Law: International and Comparative Perspectives*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Encompasses three overlapping areas of analysis: privacy protection under general law; legislative measures for data protection in digital communications networks; and the influence of transnational agreements and other pressures toward harmonized privacy standards. Leading, internationally recognized authors discuss developments across these three areas in the United Kingdom, Europe, the United States, APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation), Australia, and New Zealand.

Towse, Ruth, ed. *Copyright in the Cultural Industries*. Cheltenham, England: Edward Elgar, 2002. Compares and contrasts intellectual property laws across a number of European countries, arguing that they should be more openly administered.

G. Journalism Ethics

Long a backwater in both reality and research, this subject has become "hot" over the past decade or so and thus literature about it is rapidly expanding.

G-1: Reference

Cohen, Elliot D., and Deni Elliott. *Journalism Ethics: A Reference Handbook*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 1997. Designed as a "first stop" for those seeking information on the subject. Part of a larger series on ethical concerns, it includes a chronology, issues in journalistic ethics (short pithy summaries), court cases, journalistic codes, print and non-print resources (annotated), and a guide to relevant organizations. Information provided is basic and brief, designed to get readers to dig further elsewhere.

Cooper, Thomas W., et al. *Television and Ethics: A Bibliography*. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1988. Some 1,200 entries, most published after 1970, arranged by topic.

Society of Professional Journalists, *Codes of Ethics*. http://www.spj.org/ethics.asp. Extensive site includes their own code and those of other groups, teaching about ethics, an archive of relevant articles, and an ethics hotline.

G-2: General

This includes many oft-revised texts and casebooks for university use.

Bivins, Thomas. *Mixed Media: Moral Distinctions in Advertising, Public Relations and Journalism*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2004. Discusses what makes an ethical issue, moral claimants, obligation, social responsibility, news media and professionalism, ethical theory, telling the truth, avoiding harm, and a checklist for ethical decision making. Includes codes of ethics of such major groups as SPJ, ASNE, RTNDA, AAF, ASME, PRSA, and IABC.

Christians, Clifford, et al. *Good News: Social Ethics and the Press*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. Building on the 1947 Hutchins Commission report, and the classic 1956 *Four Theories of the Press,* this offers a new model rooted in whole community rather than individuals, thus trying to address the lack of normative theory in this field.

Christians, Clifford, et al. *Media Ethics: Cases and Moral Reasoning*. Boston: Pearson/Allyn & Bacon, 2005 (7th ed.). Demonstrates an understanding of the philosophical bases of mass media ethics, with a series of nearly 80 pertinent cases (about 30 new to this edition) with which to illustrate these principles and their practical consequences.

Craig, David. *The Ethics of the Story: Using Narrative Techniques Responsibly in Journalism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006. Explores ethical aspects of typical narrative journalistic writing at three large newspapers: the *Los Angeles Times,* the *Portland Oregonian,* and the *Dallas Morning News*. Includes perspectives of writers, copy editors, assigning editors, and top-level managers. Chapters range over the power and ethics of a news story, use of anecdotes, the importance of description and attribution, use of quotes and paraphrasing, word choice and bias, interpretation and analysis, and various forms of "voice."

Day, Louis Alvin. *Ethics in Media Communications: Cases and Controversies*. Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth, 2006 (5th ed.). Now-standard text with dozens of real-life case examples. Includes discussions ethics and moral development, ethics and society, and ethics and moral reasoning, followed by cases concerning truth and honesty in media communications, media and privacy, confidentiality, and other issues.

Harcup, Tony. *The Ethical Journalist*. London: Sage, 2007. Chapters discuss ethical journalism in general, why it matters, knowledge as power, news in the public interest, news values at work, journalists and their sources, how crime is reported in news media, regulation of journalism, standing up

for standards, and ethical journalism as good journalism. Most examples (and the regulation discussion) are based on British practices, though basic ethical points apply equally anywhere.

See Howard, Section 2-J.

Merrill, John C. *Journalism Ethics: Philosophical Foundations for News Media*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997. An experienced journalism professor and author distills his experience of a career here, providing connections to ethical thinking in other fields, with good profiles of key people and ideas.

Meyer, Philip, ed. *Newspaper Ethics in the New Century: A Report to the American Society of Newspaper Editors*. Reston, VA: American Society of Newspaper Editors (distribution by Carolina Academic Press), 2006. Updates and compares findings with a 1982 study on the same topic. Based on survey data from 2003 to 2005, chapters discuss the editor–publisher relationship, blogging to stay relevant, why not all journalists are miserable, news gathering on shaky ground, the changing role of ombudsmen, newspapers and the right to privacy, newsroom diversity, financial and other conflicts of interest, fabrication and plagiarism, protecting sources, declining support for news councils, and a 2005 survey of journalist concerns.

Rivers, William L., et al. *Responsibility in Mass Communications*. New York: Harper & Row, 1980 (3rd ed.). A classic, first authored by Wilbur Schramm in 1957 and revised in 1969, this was a pioneering book about ethics and responsibility issues in media.

Rosenstiel, Tom, and Amy S. Mitchell, eds. *Thinking Clearly: Cases in Journalistic Decision-Making*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003. Eight case studies that raise questions about ethics and the social value of news reporting.

Smith, Ron F. *Groping for Ethics in Journalism*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 2003 (5th ed.). Principles and guidelines, conflicts of interest, and case studies on such things as photo manipulation, undercover reporting, and corporate news ownership.

Wilkins, Lee, and Renata Coleman. *The Moral Media: How Journalists Reason*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2005. Report of an extensive survey of more than 200 working journalists about how they reason about matters of ethics. Discussion includes history of moral development theory; research methods (multiple approaches to asking questions); context and results (the Defining Issues Test [DIT] used here); quotations that authors believe reflect the moral development of those interviewed, pictures and ethical reasoning; stereotypes (particularly racial stereotypes), the "color blind," and interaction between views of race and the DIT instrument.

G-3: Digital and Online Ethics

As with anything concerning the Internet, this is a growing realm of research.

Berkman, Robert I., and Christopher A. Shumway. *Digital Dilemmas: Ethical Issues for Online Media Professionals*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 2003. Assesses how ethics fit into digital modes of communication including questions of free speech, intellectual property, and speed versus accuracy, among others. Material on the use of sources and information searches impact more than media professionals.

Friend, Cecilia, and Jane B. Singer. *Online Journalism Ethics: Traditions and Transitions*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2007. Assesses what happens when traditional print or broadcast journalists begin to offer service online, including traditions and conventions—as well as the ethics—of traditional journalism facing changing technology, the process of newsrooms going online and how the gatekeeping function changes, gathering and sharing of information, ethics and law, bloggers and other "participatory journalists," other interactive news forms, commercial issues and content linking, and cross-platform journalism partnering and cross-ownership.

Wheeler, Thomas H. *Phototruth or Photofiction: Ethics and Media Imagery in the Digital Age*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2002. How digital editing makes it all too easy to modify a photo in ways often difficult to detect. Chapters

arguing for a new digital ethics protocol are supported by many examples. The "implied authenticity" of news photos gets special attention.

H. Critiques of Journalism

Criticism of journalism is as old as journalism itself, as is evidenced in the large literature that has accumulated over the years. Everybody blames the messenger, it seems. *See also* further relevant titles in Sections 5-A and 6-B.

Bennett, W. Lance, et al. *When the Press Fails: Political Power and the News Media from Iraq to Katrina*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007. Asks why the press did such a poor job questioning government policies and follow-through during the Bush administration. As the authors put it, "We explore this tendency of the press to record rather than critically examine the official pronouncements of government…" (p. 9).

Capella, Joseph, and Kathleen Hall Jamieson. *Spiral of Cynicism: The Press and the Public Good*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. The authors hold media accountable for much public apathy because of how they perpetuate style over substance, emphasizing sound bites and flash rather than the objective study of issues. Relying heavily on statistics gleaned from three experiments, the study traces the origin and rise of voter cynicism. It concludes that media should look closely at their methods of coverage and take responsibility for contributing to this pervasive negativity.

Commission on Freedom of the Press. *A Free and Responsible Press: A General Report on Mass Communication: Newspapers, Radio, Motion Pictures, Magazines, and Books*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947. Main report of the "Hutchins" commission (after its chair, Robert M. Hutchins), an important watershed document that contributed to the debate over news media's "social responsibility" for many years. Several supporting reports came from the commission staff and same publisher:

> Chafee, Zechariah, Jr. *Government and Mass Communications*. 1947 (2 vols.). In-depth analysis of all aspects of the relationship divided into sections on government powers to limit or suppress discussion, government's role in encouraging communication of news and ideas, and government as a party to communications.
>
> Hocking, William Ernest. *Freedom of the Press: A Framework of Principle*. 1947. The role of freedom in a changing society, freedom of the press as freedom for speakers, nonpolitical impediments to press freedom, press freedom as affected by community and consumer interests, and a summation.
>
> Inglis, Ruth A. *Freedom of the Movies: A Report on Self-Regulation*. 1947. A useful history of the film business and detailed review of early attempts to control film content, evolution and operation of self regulation, and conclusions and recommendations.
>
> White, Llewellyn. *The American Radio: A Report on the Broadcasting Industry*. 1947. Detailed history of the radio business, self-regulation, the failure of educational radio, listener reactions, and government's role.
>
> White, Llewellyn, and Robert D. Leith. *Peoples Speaking to Peoples: A Report on International Mass Communication*. 1946. Physical means of global communication, merchants of words and images, quality of content, and proposals.

Fallows, James. *Breaking the News: How the Media Undermine American Democracy*. New York: Pantheon, 1996. Scathing assessment of how journalists' behavior affects public life with many examples of poor judgment or bad behavior in war reporting, domestic politics, and other realms.

Flink, Stanley E. *Sentinel under Siege: The Triumphs and Troubles of America's Free Press*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1997. Study of newspaper struggles over restrictions on content, whether from official or other sources, including (most recently) conflicts of interest.

Gower, Karla K. *Public Relations and the Press: The Troubled Embrace*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2007. Reviews a relationship that seems to make both sides uncomfortable—a growing corporate mentality that inflicts media, making

"news" more and more like public relations in too many cases, and blurring roles between two once very different fields.

Hachten, William A. *The Troubles of Journalism: A Critical Look at What's Right and Wrong with the Press*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1998. A senior journalism professor reviews and assesses the field, finding much to his liking (how technology boosts the ability to report, for example) but much to lament as well (trivial stories, fading international coverage, and the push for profit above service).

Hallin, Daniel C. *We Keep America on Top of the World: Television Journalism and the Public Sphere*. New York: Routledge, 1994. Sharply critical analysis of such things as coverage of the Vietnam War, elections, White House events, and summit meetings.

Hayes, Arthur S. *Press Critics Are the Fifth Estate: Media Watchdogs in America*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2008. Offers an interesting collection of opinions, with each chapter providing a separate essay on a given subject. After an introduction, we learn more about Reed Irvine's AIM attacking liberal media, the growing role of bloggers, Ben Bagdikian as a critic ahead of the curve, the Washington [State] news council and how it fared, the role of the FAIR progressive think tank, the fascinating tale of the rise and fall of *Brill's Content*—and why it failed, the shape of "public" journalism as one source of criticism, television news parody making press criticism a laughing matter, and more.

Kennedy, George, and Daryl Moen. *What Good Is Journalism? How Reporters and Editors Are Saving America's Way of Life*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2007. Poses the question—though perhaps not an answer (as seen in the subtitle) that many critics would prefer to hear. Not a book of criticism (as editors make clear in their initial sentence), this anthology of nine papers discusses why we value but also criticize news media, journalism as the lifeblood of democracy, the role of NPR in providing news and companionship, the role of hometown newspapers, journalism as the watchdog of government, the value(s) of investigative reporting, computer-assisted journalism as one means of creating new information, and how to the get the journalism you deserve.

Kovach, Bill, and Tom Rosenstiel. *Warp Speed: America in the Age of Mixed Media*. New York: Century Fund, 1999. Critical study of the 24-hour news cycle, primarily as revealed in the press frenzy over the Clinton–Lewinsky scandal and the role of anonymous sources.

McChesney, Robert W., and Ben Scott. *Our Unfree Press: 100 Years of Radical Media Criticism*. New York: The Free Press, 2004. Anthology of highly critical articles arranged into sections on press ownership, advertising control, profit and partisanship, and the need for a free press.

McManus, John H. *Market-Driven Journalism: Let the Citizen Beware?* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994. Suggests television news may be driven too much by market factors (especially advertisers, and what is interesting as opposed to what may be important) and that public or civic journalism may make this trend worse.

Scheuer, Jeffrey. *The Big Picture: Why Democracies Need Journalistic Excellence*. New York: Routledge, 2008. Argues that the United States is in trouble because (among other things) journalism is withering. Less a work of original research than as an extended essay drawing on the work of many others, this book builds on three "salient" moments in American media—the 1920s debate between Walter Lippmann and John Dewey over the role of the press in a democracy, the late 1940s Hutchins commission reports, and the 1990s public journalism movement.

Willis, Jim. *The Shadow World: Life between the News Media and Reality*. New York: Praeger, 1991. Reviews why there is such a gap between reality and media reporting of that reality, including several case studies and some analysis. Includes discussion of errant sources, competing media influences, and issues concerning the structure of news stories themselves.

I. Citizen/Civic/Public Journalism

Though it has been known by different (at least three) names, this reform movement has elicited considerable comment by journalists and others.

Anderson, Rob, et al. *The Conversation of Journalism: Communication, Community, and News*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994. Arguing that accurately reporting news is a surprisingly limiting if not disabling mission, the authors suggest a more ecumenical, constructive, participative, and democratically responsive role for journalism's future. Includes many current trends: minority voices, contextualizing news, providing interactive community forums, reconciling information and entertainment functions, and understanding the nature of bias.

Black, Jay, ed. *Mixed News: The Public/Civic/Communitarian Journalism Debate*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1997. Thirteen research papers on different aspects, including press accountability, the ethics of civic journalism, and communitarian and environmental journalism—each with responses from journalism practitioners.

Charity, Arthur. *Doing Public Journalism*. New York: Guilford, 1995. Based on a Kettering Foundation project, this explains why the movement began in the 1990s and how it has been practiced. Compares traditional and public journalists' points of view.

Christian, Sue Ellen. *Civic and Citizen Journalism Interest Group Bibliography*. http://www.has.vcu.edu/civic-journalism/bibliography. Print and online resources are included in this extensive and current bibliography.

Clark, Roy Peter, and Cole C. Campbell, eds. *The Value and Craft of American Journalism: Essays from the Poynter Institute*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002. Some 15 contributors assess important issues: how to restore the credibility of journalism, how journalists see their craft and how they connect it to values, and how leadership is expressed in news companies. Aspects considered: reporting, writing, judgment, editing, visual journalism, ethics, community coverage, language, ownership and leadership, new media, and race and diversity.

Corrigan, Don H. *The Public Journalism Movement in America: Evangelists in the Newsroom*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1999. A critique of public journalism showing that its advocates have failed to diagnose what ails American journalism and that their prescriptions are more likely to harm than to help the profession. The author introduces data from an extensive survey of newspaper editors and academics, as well as a comprehensive lexicon of public journalism.

Dahlgren, Peter, and Colin Sparks, eds. *Communication and Citizenship: Journalism and the Public Sphere in the New Media Age*. New York: Routledge, 1991. Each contributor to this collection concentrates on one aspect of the role and future of public opinion in the United States and Europe, including American politics and television news, feminist perspectives on the public sphere, the Polish media after Stalinism, and popular press and television in Britain.

Dahlgren, Peter. *Journalism and Popular Culture*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1992. Papers address limits and possibilities of journalism within the contemporary media environment including tabloid journalism, photojournalism practices, and the prevalence of celebrities in media.

Dahlgren, Peter. *Television and the Public Sphere: Citizenship, Democracy and the Media*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995. Clarifies the underlying theoretical concepts of civil society and the public sphere and relates these to a critical analysis of television journalism, information, and entertainment. Demonstrates the limits and possibilities of television and formats of popular journalism to the audience's potential to interpret, resist, or construct its own meanings.

Dahlgren, Peter, ed. *Young Citizens and New Media: Learning for Democratic Participation*. New York: Routledge, 1997. These papers integrate four topics: young people, citizenship, new media, and learning processes, which, when taken together, merge to define an arena of social and research attention that has become compelling.

Dahlgren, Peter. *Media and Political Engagement: Citizens, Communication and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Focuses on media's key role in shaping civic engagement, the role of new interactive media, the relationship

of key notions such as citizenship, the public sphere, agency, identity, deliberation, and practice, and offers an analytic framework called "civic cultures," which is applied to television, popular culture, journalism, the EU, and global activism.

Eksterowicz, Anthony J., and Robert N. Roberts, eds. *Public Journalism and Political Knowledge*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000. Journalists, communication scholars, and political scientists assess the state of contemporary public journalism—its origins, arguments for and against it, and public state of political knowledge. Addressing theoretical and academic notions, these papers explore whether public journalism can help elevate political knowledge.

Friedland, Lewis. *Public Journalism: Past and Future*. Dayton, OH: Kettering Foundation Press, 2003. Uses four medium-size daily newspapers—*The Wichita Eagle, The Charlotte Observer, The Virginian-Pilot,* and the *Colorado Springs Gazette*—to critically examine public journalism's successes, failures, and future challenges.

Gillmor, Dan. *We the Media: Grassroots Journalism by the People, for the People*. Sebastopol, CA: O'Reilly Media, 2004. Shows how anyone can produce news using personal blogs, Internet chat groups, e-mail, and a host of other tools, thus sending a wake-up call to newsmakers, politicians, business executives, celebrities, and marketers and PR flacks who promote them. The author explains how to successfully play by the rules of this new era and shift from "control" to "engagement."

Glasser, Theodore L., ed. *The Idea of Public Journalism*. New York: Guilford Press, 1999. These papers offer a critical and constructive examination of public journalism, the controversial movement aimed at getting journalists to promote and indeed improve—not merely report on—the quality of public life.

Haas, Tanni. *The Pursuit of Public Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism*. New York: Routledge, 2007. Introduction to the theoretical foundations and practices of the reform movement that seeks to reinvest journalism with its fundamental responsibilities to democracy and public life. Argues against many deeply ingrained practices ranging from journalistic detachment to framing stories via polar conflict in favor of greater civic involvement by journalists.

Lambeth, Edmund B. *Committed Journalism: An Ethic for the Profession*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986. Chapters discuss the journalist and classical ethical theory; the eclectic system of journalism ethics; applying principles to cases; values, virtues, and principles; ethics, the media, and the law; and social science and journalism ethics.

Lambeth, Edmund B., et al., eds. *Assessing Public Journalism*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1998. Provides the necessary framework for examining issues surrounding public journalism and determining what must be done to enable it to meet its full potential.

Merrill, John C., et al. *Twilight of Press Freedom: The Rise of People's Journalism*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2001. Postulates that institutionalized journalism is fading away and world journalism—prompted by people—is veering toward more order and social harmony, and away from the traditional idea of the press freedom. Provides a critical examination of the trend toward public journalism and considers how press freedom will be impacted by this trend in coming years.

Merritt, Davis "Buzz." *Public Journalism and the Public Life: Why Telling the News Is Not Enough*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1997 (2nd ed.). Develops the public journalism idea, responds to arguments against it, outlines how specific principles can be applied, and explains the importance of public deliberation and values in public journalism. Divided into three sections: why journalism and public life are inseparably bound in success or failure; evolution of the profession's culture and its impact on the author's extensive career; and implications of public journalism philosophy.

Perry, David K. *Roots of Civic Journalism: Darwin, Dewey, and Mead*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003. Discusses the philosophical roots of the civic journalism movement by focusing on

the ideas of Charles Darwin, John Dewey, and George H. Mead.

Ripley, Casey, Jr. *The Media and the Public*. New York: H. W. Wilson "Reference Shelf," 1994. Anthology of material on the relationship and how it is changing.

Rosen, Jay. *What Are Journalists For?* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999. Relates the development of the public journalism movement that emerged after the 1988 presidential election as a countermeasure against eroding trust in news media and widespread public disillusionment with politics and civic affairs.

Section 9

Audiences

Who reads, listens to, or watches media, and especially news and public affairs? The answers to those and related questions have been changing in recent years as more media options become available. This chapter provides a glimpse at sources describing what is known and what still needs to be researched, and how we know what we know.

Several important strains of media research, about which a lot has been published, are *not* included here, however, as they have little directly to do with journalism. These include the effects of media (and especially television) on children, the potential impact of televised or movie violence on their audiences, and the broad effects and impact of advertising and public relations efforts. Each of these topics has a substantial and growing literature.

A. General Surveys

Generally, this is a very large literature that can only be hinted at here—the emphasis below being on studies at least including journalism, though a good deal of research centers on entertainment audiences.

A-1: Media Audiences

These studies range over a variety of media (specific media are covered further below) and methods.

Anderson, James A., and Timothy P. Meyer. *Mediated Communications: A Social Action Perspective*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1988. An integrated treatment of the massive theoretical and empirical research literature from the previous two decades—what we know, how we know it, and what we still need to know. An organizing theory ties it all together.

Ang, Ien. *Living Room Wars: Rethinking Media Audiences for a Postmodern World*. New York: Routledge, 1996. Gathers ten of the Australian researcher's edited and updated writings over the previous decade, arranged into three sections on audiences in general, gendered audiences, and audiences and global culture. She argues that people's time is increasingly being "colonized" by the growing variety of media.

Becker, Lee B., and Klaus Schoenbach, eds. *Audience Response to Media Diversification*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1989. Research papers exploring the impact of more channel choice and how it has affected audiences in several countries.

Dervin, Brenda, et al., eds. *Rethinking Communications*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1989 (2 vols.). Some 60 papers growing out of an International Communications Association reassessment of where research in the field stands as to theory development, application of research methods, research findings, and what is still not definitively known.

Gaunt, Philip, ed. *Beyond Agendas: New Directions in Communication Research*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1993. Assessment of where things stand in media audience research as well as the work still needed in most major research topics.

Giles, David. *Media Psychology*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2003. Seventeen chapters survey

the field, presuming no prior subject background. Includes discussion of media theory, research methods, such major issues as violence and pornography, key audiences, major content types (including news), and the impact of changing technology. The discussion of research modes is balanced and useful.

Harindranath, Ramaswami. *Audience-Citizens: The Media, Public Knowledge, and Interpretive Practice*. New Delhi: Sage, 2009. Examines media and politics in contemporary India and in the developing world, exploring how sociological and cultural factors affect interpretations of mediated knowledge. Examines the notion that understanding is irretrievably linked to the interpreter's sociocultural position and explains the influence of sociocultural factors on the capacity for understanding. On a micro level, the author focuses on the evaluation and interpretation of nonfiction programs by different audience groups in India. He explores the sociocultural positioning of audiences and inequality of access to symbolic resources and cultural capital.

Harris, Richard J. *A Cognitive Psychology of Mass Communication*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1989. A topically organized review of what was then known about media impacts, including the psychology of advertising, sports, news, politics, and prosocial uses of media.

Hay, James, et al., eds. *The Audience and Its Landscape*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1996. Theoretical discussion in 21 scholarly papers of the media audience as a kind of landscape, including an assessment of the convergence of research traditions, rethinking audiences as an object of study, the politics of audience studies, and locating audiences within academic fields of research.

Klapper, Joseph. *The Effects of Mass Communication*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1960. While a half century old, the findings of this classic remains largely correct even today—that media reinforce rather than create (let alone change) opinions. To the time of its publication, it provides probably the best summation of media audience research efforts, both commercial and academic.

Machin, David, and Barrie Gunter, eds. *Media Audiences*. London: Sage, 2009 (4 vols.). This substantial collection gathers a range of theoretical, methodological, and thematically diverse articles and chapters that map important work and ideas in international audience studies. The individual volumes in this largest-ever anthology on the topic:

1. Surveys the history of audience research and how audiences have been conceptualized, including papers that consider how debates about audiences have changed in the context of media developments.
2. Deals with different ways that audiences and their responses/uses of media have been measured, paying attention to how audience studies have responded to challenges of different media.
3. Focuses on specific genres of entertainment, specific media, and on specific media groups.
4. Looks specifically at audience research that has tested the way that the media influence society, attitudes, and behaviors.

Napoli, Philip M. *Audience Economics: Media Institutions and the Audience Marketplace*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003. How electronic media (including Internet) audiences are "manufactured," valued, and sold to advertisers. Audiences are perceived here as an economic product. While the focus is on electronic media, many points fit print media as well.

Neuman, W. Russell. *The Future of the Mass Audience*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991. The conclusions of a five-year study of the splintering of mass audiences caused by newer media and substantial multiplication of options available to audiences. Argues that traditional national media will continue to be important despite the rise of newer (and often narrower) services.

Ross, Karen, and Virginia Nightingale. *Media and Audiences*. London: Open University Press, 2003. Introductory survey across a wide literature, taking both a chronological and thematic approach to explore how audience as an analytical concept has changed, as well as examining relationships

audiences have with texts and how they exert power as consumers. Discusses the political economy of audiences and how they are delivered to advertisers, ratings wars waged by broadcasters, and the development of narrowcasting and niche audiences. *See also* the authors' related anthology: *Critical Readings: Media and Audiences* (Open University, 2003).

Salvaggio, Joseph L., and Jennings Bryant, eds. *Media Use in the Information Age: Emerging Patterns of Adoption and Consumer Use*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1989. Useful multiauthor survey of research developments and findings from the 1970s and 1980s.

Webster, James G., and Patricia F. Phalen. *The Mass Audience: Rediscovering the Dominant Model*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1997. Focusing on television but arguing its points more generally, this reviews the breaking up of the once-mass audience into a series of smaller and more specialized groups. Compares and contrasts traditional and new views of audiences, concluding the "mass" rubric still fits to a substantial degree.

Wicks, Robert H. *Understanding Audiences: Learning to Use the Media Constructively*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2001. Reviews media in the construction of social reality (how people process information from media and other sources), constructing and framing media messages, and using them. Includes uses and gratifications research, and discussion of the Internet as an interactive medium.

A-2: Media Literacy

There is a growing literature on this and related topics, though most titles are introductory textbooks. "Literacy" in this sense means being an informed media user, aware of how media content (including news) is developed and presented.

Baker, Frank W. *Political Campaigns and Political Advertising: A Media Literacy Guide*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2009. Discusses the maze of blandishments and spin that is a hallmark of modern political campaigns, and how to dissect persuasive strategies embedded in political messages, assessing political advertising in traditional media (news papers, television, radio) and online (blogs, social networking, and user-generated websites).

Potter, W. James. *Media Literacy*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2008 (4th ed.). Standard text designed to help readers gain skills needed to navigate mass messages—which are variously designed to inform, entertain, and to sell them. Offers a plan for gaining a clearer perspective on borders between the real world and the simulated media world, helping readers become responsible media consumers.

Potter, W. James. *Theory of Media Literacy: A Cognitive Approach*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2004. Explains how audiences absorb floods of information in a media-saturated society and examines how we often construct faulty meanings from those messages. By building on a foundation of principles about how humans think, the author examines decisions about filtering messages, standard schema to match meaning, and higher level skills to construct meaning. A central theme is what governs the degree to which a person is media literate.

B. News Media Audiences

This has been a relatively limited literature (save for television) until fairly recently but is slowly expanding as more is learned.

B-1: General

Altheide, David L. *Creating Fear: News and the Construction of Crisis*. Hawthorne, NY: Aldine de Gruyter, 2002. Discusses how and the degree to which news media are making people more fearful of their surroundings and life in general. After a chapter discussing the concept of fear in various contexts, the author reviews the production of fear, the discourse of fear, journalistic interviewing, policing crime and fear in news media (fear coverage builds in readers and viewers), children and the discourse of fear, and the lens (media, that is) of fear. Much of this is based on content analysis of stories and headlines in key national newspapers.

Graber, Doris A. *Processing the News: How People Tame the Information Tide*. New York:

Longman, 1984. How people process (select and retain) news information to get what they want and need, based on a year-long multiwave panel of 21 residents of a Chicago suburb. Concludes that two-thirds of newspaper and broadcast news stories are passed over by most audience members.

Media Management Center of Northwestern University. *News Consumption*. http://www.mediainfocenter.org/journalism/news_consumption. The latest time-series information on who uses which media for news, showing changes over the past decade.

Mindich, David T. Z. *Tuned Out: Why Americans Under 40 Don't Follow the News*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005. Important analysis of a clear factor in declining news audiences, the "loss" of younger readers and viewers. Based in part on 2001–03 survey interviews with a variety of young people in different areas, the author defines some of the reasons—and likely impacts—of the decline in the use of legacy news sources.

Poindexter, Paula, et al. *Women, Men, and News: Divided and Disconnected in the News Media Landscape*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2007. Explores the divide between men and women in their consumption of news media, reviewing how genders read and use news historically and currently, how they use technology to access news, how today's news pertains to and is used by women, and the diversity issues among women's use of news (considering racial, ethnic, international and feminist perspectives).

Schudson, Michael. *The Power of News*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995. Explores concepts of news, journalism, and information as framed by culture within a society and suggests that journalism would be reinvented should it not exist, because society requires interpretation of information.

B-2: Newspaper and Magazine Readers

There are markedly few books on this topic, odd when one considers the importance of the subject.

Bennett, Charles O. *Facts without Opinion*. Chicago: Audit Bureau of Circulation, 1965. A fiftieth-anniversary history of the circulation-measuring service. *See* next item.

Bennett, Charles O. *Integrity in a Changing World: Seventy-Five Years of Industry Self-Regulation through the Audit Bureau of Circulations*. Chicago: Mobium Press, 1989. Updates information in the previous item.

Bogart, Leo. *Press and Public*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1990 (2nd ed.). Reviews what was then known about readers of American daily newspapers, the evolution of reading habits, news in the press and television, editors and their readers, and what portions of typical papers are most read. Very useful for its pre-Internet viewpoint.

Leonard, Thomas C. *News for All: America's Coming-of-Age with the Press*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995. Organized into three sections: creation of an audience for news in the nineteenth century; how readers have chosen what news to read and how to respond to editors; and how market forces and ideas of community collided in the twentieth century—reading newspapers is dying a slow death.

Nord, David Paul. *Communities of Journalism: A History of American Newspapers and Their Readers*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001. Reveals how newspapers have intersected with religion, politics, reform, and urban life over nearly three centuries in a wide-ranging discussion that shows journalism to be a vital component of community in settings ranging from religion-infused towns of colonial America to rapidly expanding urban metropolises of the late nineteenth century. Explores the cultural work of the press and how ordinary readers use journalism to form community attachments and engage in civic life.

Stone, Gerald L. *Examining Newspapers: What Research Reveals about America's Newspapers*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1987. Reviews significant findings about newspapers and the newspaper industry, focusing upon news gathering, news paper content, editing, writing, management, readership, and audience effects.

B-3: Broadcast Ratings

Because of longtime advertiser interest, broadcast audience information fills a large literature that falls into two categories—descriptions of commercial research (chiefly ratings, covered in this subsection), and scholarly studies using quantitative and qualitative research (next subsection).

A Guide to Understanding and Using Radio Audience Estimates. Columbia, MD: Arbitron, annual. Useful explanation of commercial radio ratings by a company that produces them, how they are derived and how to use them. Each edition updates to include the latest changes in how ratings are derived (such as use of portable people meters) and reported.

Arbitron, *American Radio Listening Trends*. http://www.arbitron.com/home/arlt.asp. Usually updated regularly, this includes program format trends and popularity, plus data on radio audience composition and people using radio information for commercial stations.

Beville, Hugh Malcolm, Jr. *Audience Ratings: Radio, Television, Cable*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1988 (2nd ed.). The best source of historical information on how audience ratings developed for radio and then television and the many companies (and methods) involved over time. One chapter focuses on cable audience measurement. Many ratings issues are covered, and a summary assesses what has been learned since 1930.

Buzzard, Karen S. *Chains of Gold: Marketing the Ratings and Rating the Markets*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1990. Brief historical survey of Nielsen and Arbitron (primarily) with some mention of other firms involved in developing and providing radio and television ratings.

Webster, James G., et al. *Ratings Analysis: The Theory and Practice of Audience Research*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2006 (3rd ed.). A standard textbook treating broadcasting and cable audience research plus that concerning advertising. Chapters assess audience research concerning program preferences, ratings and financial analysis, the role of research in social policy, and how audience data are gathered and used.

B-4: Broadcast Audiences

Note nearly all of this concerns television—there is very little research other than ratings concerning radio.

Ang, Ien. *Desperately Seeking the Audience*. New York: Routledge, 1991. After a general discussion of ways of viewing television audience roles, this provides a review of audience research methods and findings in both America and Europe.

Austin, Bruce A. *The Film Audience: An International Bibliography of Research*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1983. Some 1,200 annotated entries are included in one of the few reference sources on this medium, now closely allied to television and video distribution.

Barfield, Ray. *A Word from Our Viewers: Reflections from Early Television Audiences*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2008. Tracing public and critical responses to TV from its pioneering days, the author provides context to reactions of those who watched television's early broadcasts—from a privileged few in the 1930s, to those who bought TV sets in the post–World War II television boom, to still more who invested in color receivers and cable subscriptions during the 1960s.

Bianculli, David. *Teleliteracy: Taking Television Seriously*. New York: Continuum, 1992. Argues against many antitelevision views held by critics and explores some of the medium's more important roles for its users.

Bird, S. Elizabeth. *The Audience in Everyday Life: Living in a Media World*. New York: Routledge, 2003. The anthropologist argues that television's audience cannot be studied in front of the television alone—their interaction with media does not end when the set is turned off. Applying new developments in cultural anthropology and folklore to media studies, this offers a series of empirically based audience studies of media scandals, fan culture, representations of race and ethnicity, tabloid journalism, and runaway media hoaxes.

Bogart, Leo. *The Age of Television*. New York: Ungar, 1972 (3rd ed.). This reprints the 1958 edition (important in its own time), adding a separate section of notes to bring it up to date, thus providing a window into the first decade of commercial television in America, what audiences thought of it, and what was learned over the next 15 years. In all, this is a still-useful period piece.

Bower, Robert T. *The Changing Television Audience in America*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985. This is the second volume (*see also* Bower's *Television and the Public,* Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1973) that builds on Steiner's original 1963 study (see below), tracing how audiences for broadcast television were changing in their demographics and usage patterns. Many comparisons are made between the 1970 and 1980 national surveys on which the study is based.

Bryant, Jennings, ed. *Television and the American Family*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1990. Seventeen papers on uses by families, the portrayal of families on television, the effects of the medium on families, mediating television's impact, and public policy concerns.

Comstock, George, et al. *Television and Human Behavior*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1978. Despite its age, this remains an important volume summarizing from a vast amount of research what was then known. To the time of its publication, it was an unsurpassed summation of what was known about television's many "effects."

Comstock, George, and E. Scharrer. *Television: What's on, Who's Watching, and What It Means*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press, 1999. A briefer summary and updating of the prior entry.

Condry, John. *The Psychology of Television*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1989. Overview of research literature on the psychological impacts of viewing television, including viewing behavior, attention, comprehension, influence on beliefs and judgments, and imitation.

Fowles, Jib. *Why Viewers Watch: A Reappraisal of Television Affects*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1992 (2nd ed.). Argues positive points of television viewing to undermine arguments of critics, and debunks many myths propagated by media scholars and "television prigs."

Houston, Aletha C., et al. *Big World, Small Screen: The Role of Television in American Society*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992. Important summary of scholarly findings on TV impacts as seen in a multiyear American Psychology Association study, reviewing research results of the previous decade.

Kubey, Robert, and Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi. *Television and the Quality of Life: How Viewing Shapes Everyday Experience*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1990. Solid overview on research and its limits, the method of "experience sampling," and results from that research on television viewing as cause, habit, and effect. Demonstrates that "heavy viewers" were usually more passive and less alert.

Lewis, Justin. *Ideological Octopus: An Exploration of Television and Its Audience*. New York: Routledge, 1991. Reviews what is known of the television audience, new modes of research (including the previous decade's efforts in semiology and cultural studies), the audience for news specifically, and a review using case studies of other programs' audiences.

Lull, James, ed. *World Families Watch Television*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1988. One of relatively few comparative studies of media audiences, this relates culture and socioeconomic status to viewing patterns in Britain, Venezuela, Germany, India, America, and China.

Morley, David. *Television Audiences & Cultural Studies*. New York: Routledge, 1992. The development of audience research, theoretical frameworks, class and ideology, gender and viewing practices, and the consumption of television as a commodity. Draws on a host of previous research studies to develop a view of the changing multiple audiences for television.

Robinson, John P., and Mark R. Levy. *The Main Source: Learning from Television News*. Beverly

Hills, CA: Sage, 1986. What viewers seek, watch, and retain from local and network television newscasts. Argues that most Americans do *not* get most of their news from television.

Rosenstiel, Tom, et al. *We Interrupt This Newscast: How to Improve Local News and Win Ratings, Too*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007. Using audience ratings data, the authors suggest how to shift local television away from crime and fire coverage to a broader menu of information.

Seiter, Ellen. *Television and New Media Audiences*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. Through a range of case studies, the book explains what audience research tells about uses of technologies in the domestic sphere and classroom, the relationships between gender and genre, and varied interpretations of media technologies and media forms. The book reviews the most important research on television audiences and recommends the use of ethnographic, longitudinal methods for the study of media consumption, and computer use at home as well as in the workplace.

Selnow, Gary W., and Richard R. Gilbert. *Society's Impact on Television: How the Viewing Public Shapes Television Programming*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1993. Reverses the usual order of "audience" books and examines how various groups (including advertisers) impact the making of television programs, including many examples and case studies.

Steiner, Gary A. *The People Look at Television*. New York: Knopf, 1963. Historically, this remains *the* classic study of television viewing, based on a national survey about a dozen years after the inception of commercial television network programming. It includes some reference to news and documentaries prior to their expansion after 1960.

Svennevig, Michael, et al. *Godwatching: Viewers, Religion, and Television*. London: John Libbey, 1988. The British television audience for religious programming is compared with similar surveys done in the 1960s.

B-5: Cable and Newer Media Audiences

A fast-moving target of a subject, given the constant parade of new technologies and related difficulties in audience measurement, the literature here reflects how little is really known of audience patterns.

Castells, Manuel, et al. *Mobile Communication and Society: A Global Perspective*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2007. Wireless networks and the broadening menu of services for mobile phones is the focus here, along with how these will impact everyday life in its several contexts including news and public affairs both domestically and on an international basis.

De Vaney, Ann, ed. *Watching Channel One: The Convergence of Students, Technology, and Private Business*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995. A sometimes critical study of commercially supported satellite news system delivered into thousands of the nation's high schools.

Dobrow, Julia R., ed. *Social and Cultural Aspects of VCR Use*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1990. Eleven papers on how "watching TV" now means many different things because of VCR time shifting and other uses, including patterns in other countries and use of camcorders.

Heeter, Carrie, and Bradley S. Greenberg, eds. *Cableviewing*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1988. Provides 21 papers on all aspects of cable audiences including making choices of what to watch, viewing styles (zappers, grazers, and more), viewing time and channel type, program type preferences, and pay channel watchers.

Howard, Philip N., and Steve Jones, eds. *Society Online: The Internet in Context*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2004. Examines how new technologies have been diffused and how quickly they become embedded in society. Explores various impacts of multiple newer services including, but not limited to, the web. One section focuses specifically on news and politics.

Katz, James E., and Ronald E. Rice. *Social Consequences of Internet Use: Access, Involvement*

and Interaction. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002. Based on national telephone surveys in 1995 and 2000, the authors explore questions of access, social capital, and identity. Their "Syntopia Project" sought to place the web in context of other media and activities.

Levy, M. R., ed. *The VCR Age: Home Video and Mass Communications*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1989. Papers demonstrate how the video recorder gradually changed viewing patterns.

Lievorouw, Leah, and Sonia Livingstone, eds. *The Handbook of New Media: Social Shaping and Consequences of ICTs*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2002. Reviews the past two decades of social science research on information communication technologies. There are 45 academic papers in six sections, the gist of which center on a growing research understanding of how people use newer technologies, and with what impact or effect.

Mackay, Hugh, and Darren Ivey. *Modern Media in the Home: An Ethnographic Study*. Rome: John Libbey, 2004. An intensive study of ten households in Wales that reviews the role of media in everyday life and social relationships, showing how global media can impact local communities and cultural issues (including language).

Reeves, Byron, and Clifford Nass. *The Media Equation: How People Treat Computers, Television, and New Media Like Real People and Places*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996. Compares mediated (meaning those devices noted in the subtitle) to interpersonal interactions using results of various psychological experiments.

Rosenberg, Howard, and Charles S. Feldman. *No Time to Think: The Menace of Media Speed and the 24-Hour News Cycle*. New York: Continuum, 2008. As much about impact on audiences as on the media, this is a critical assessment of blogs and other modern modes of disseminating news.

Silverstone, Roger, and Eric Hirsch, eds. *Consuming Technologies: Media and Information in Domestic Spaces*. New York: Routledge, 1992. On the eve of the commercial Internet's introduction, this examines household uses of various legacy media as researched using different disciplines, including anthropology and cultural studies.

Turow, Joseph, and Andrea L. Kavanaugh, eds. *The Wired Homestead: An MIT Press Sourcebook on the Internet and the Family*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003. Twenty-one scholarly papers on the new web world in context, the Internet and parents and their kids, and the wired homestead and online life as well as civic life. The authors argue the Internet rivals the advent of the telephone, radio, or television in social significance.

Turow, Joseph, and Tsui Lokman, eds. *The Hyperlinked Society: Questioning Connections in the Digital Age*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008. Seventeen papers discuss the use of web links to organize attention and online behavior, in the business of media, and for social reasons.

Walker, James R., and Robert V. Bellamy Jr. *The Remote Control in the New Age of Television*. New York: Praeger, 1993. Sixteen research papers on the history and development, individual use, uses and gratifications research, group viewing and use of remote devices, and the impact of such devices on media industries.

C. Audience Research Methodologies

This is but a selection of a growing number of textbooks or "cookbooks" offering menus of applicable research instruments, all of which focus specifically on media research and examples.

C-1: Research Development

Studies of how media research has developed are relatively recent, and meld biographical study of key figures with development of both methods and findings.

See Beville, subsection B-3, above.

Dennis, Everette E., and Ellen Wartella, eds. *American Communication Research: The Remembered History*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1996. Fourteen contributed chapters appear in sections on the schools of thought (such

as work done at Yale, Columbia, and on the press as a social institution), eyewitness accounts (including early ratings, Frank Stanton, master teachers, and research and public policy), and reassessment (developing a historiography).

Glander, Timothy. *Origins of Mass Communications Research during the American Cold War: Educational Effects and Contemporary Implications*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2000. Focuses on the work of a number of pioneers, including chapters devoted to the pioneering work of both Paul Lazarsfeld and Wilbur Schramm.

Lerner, Daniel, and Lyle M. Nelson, eds. *Communication Research—A Half-Century Appraisal*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1977. One of the first books to take a summary of what had been learned in primarily academic work since the 1920s.

Lowery, Shearon A., and Melvin L. DeFleur. *Milestones in Mass Communication Research: Media Effects*. White Plains, NY: Longman, 1995 (3rd ed.). A dozen key studies from the early 1930s to the 1990s are discussed in the context of what is known now. This is valuable as it helps trace growing sophistication in method and what was (and is) known about media usage.

Rogers, Everett M. *A History of Communication Study: A Biographical Approach*. New York: The Free Press, 1994. Readable biographical approach to our growing understanding of audiences and the effects of media. Chapters generally focus on one researcher or specific school of study, ranging over about 150 years. This collection of research biographies makes clear how later work has built on that done before. *See* next entry.

Scannell, Paddy. *Media and Communication*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2007. While the title doesn't make it clear, this is a study of major media researchers from the 1930s to the present, chiefly those in Britain and America (with some reference to German researchers as well). Valuable for its comparative approach, the study melds well- and lesser-known researchers to illustrate how knowledge of media impact has developed over seven decades. *See* previous entry.

Schramm, Wilbur, as edited by Steven H. Chaffee and Everett M. Rogers. *The Beginnings of Communication Study in America*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1997. A manuscript found after Schramm's death and edited by two scholars to rescue his memory of who did what and when.

C-2: Methods

Much of this material is in textbook form, often revised.

Anderson, James A. *Communication Research: Issues and Methods*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1987. Broad survey of methods, ethics, and trends used in different types of communication (chiefly media) research with many interesting case studies to illustrate key points and approaches.

Bryant, Jennings, and Mary Beth Oliver, eds. *Media Effects: Advances in Theory and Research*. New York: Routledge, 2009 (3rd ed.). Begun as *Perspectives on Media Effects* (1986) and revised under this title (1994, 2002), this new edition was much expanded and in many aspects reconceived. The number of chapters grew from 16 to 27, many revised, and others explore new topics—such as the Internet. It is a cookbook of what is known, drawing on years of research effort by countless scholars.

Dominick, Joseph T., and James K. Fletcher. *Broadcasting Research Methods*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1985. A basic text that remains useful, despite passage of time, as it focuses on difficulties and options in studying broadcast audiences both for commercial and scholarly purposes.

Gunter, J. *Media Research Methods: Measuring Audiences, Reactions, and Impact*. London: Sage, 2000. A summary text, largely reflecting British experiences.

Iorio, Sharon Hartin, ed. *Qualitative Research in Journalism: Taking It to the Streets*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2004. Research methods (including focus groups, oral and life histories, ethnographic studies, textual analysis, and others) are discussed along with case studies of their application.

Jensen, Klaus Bruhn, ed. *A Handbook of Media and Communication Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Methodologies*. New York: Routledge, 2002. Offers a comprehensive review of earlier research and guidelines for how to think about, plan, and carry out studies of media in different social and cultural contexts. Divided into sections on history, systematics, and pragmatic aspects of research.

Lindlof, Thomas R., ed. *Natural Audiences: Qualitative Research on Media Uses and Effects*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1987. Anthology of papers on different approaches, with case studies of their application.

Lindlof, Thomas R., and Brian C. Taylor. *Qualitative Communication Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2002 (2nd ed.). Addresses the theory and technique of qualitative research across a breadth of approaches with substantive and illuminating examples drawn from a variety of topical areas.

McQuail, Denis. *Audience Analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1997. Provides a succinct account of the "media audience" concept in terms of its history and its place in present-day media theory and research; describes main types of audiences, alternative theories about audiences, and main traditions and fields of audience research.

Moores, Shaun. *Interpreting Audiences: The Ethnography of Media Consumption*. London: Sage, 1994. Charts the emergence of a critical ethnographic perspective on everyday consumer practice in sections on debates about media power to determine meanings made by their readers, an examination of relationships between media genres and social patterns of taste, day-to-day settings and dynamic social situations of reception, and cultural uses and interpretations of communication technologies in households.

Poindexter, Paula M., and Maxwell E. McCombs. *Research in Mass Communication: A Practical Guide*. Boston: Berdford/St. Martin's, 2000. Two senior academics offer a three-phase process for survey research, and offer coverage of content analysis, experiments, focus groups, and other methods as well.

Rubin, Rebecca B., et al., eds. *Communication Research Measures: A Sourcebook*. New York: Guildford, 1994. Reference guide to various quantitative texts and scales, all briefly described, with discussion of their reliability and validity.

Stempel, Guido H., III, et al. *Mass Communication Research and Theory*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 2003. Greatly updates Stempel and Westley's research guide of decades earlier, with a wide variety of methods including practical industry research. Authors of individual chapters are generally well-known academics in media research.

Wimmer, Roger, and Joseph Dominick. *Mass Media Research: An Introduction*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2005 (8th ed.). A standard and oft-revised survey text discussing overall research process, approaches and methods, and applications of research findings.

D. Polls and Public Opinion

This is a large research area with a substantial literature, as polling impacts many fields, not just media and politics. For more on political communication, see Section 6.

D-1: General

Best, Samuel J., and Benjamin Radcliff, eds. *Polling America: An Encyclopedia of Public Opinion*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2005 (2 vols.). Some 170 entries of two types—many types and methods of polling, and essays on changing public opinion about selected subjects that were polled over time.

Geer, John, ed. *Public Opinion and Polling around the World: A Historical Encyclopedia*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2004 (2 vols.). First volume covers the U.S. with both a survey of polling history and nearly 35 topics about which polls have been taken. The second covers other countries and adds a detailed bibliography.

University of Pennsylvania Libraries. *Public Opinion Polls—Research Guide*. http://gethelp.library.upenn.edu/guides/polisci/polls.html. Resources and strategies for researching public

opinion polls, including access to and information about past polls, current polling series, survey indexes and bibliographies, and further reading.

D-2: Political

American National Election Studies. http://www.electionstudies.org. A project of Stanford and the University of Michigan, this provides data on voting, public opinion, and political participation, including an extensive bibliography and information on elections around the world.

Brace, Paul, and Barbara Hinkley. *Follow the Leader: Opinion Polls and the Modern Presidents*. New York: Basic Books, 1992. How Presidents from Truman on were shaped by polls, with special focus on the first Bush administration (1989–93). Discusses the impact of polls on relations with Congress and in foreign affairs.

Cantril, Albert H. *The Opinion Connection: Polling, Politics, and the Press*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1991. Overview of the first half century or so of professional polling reviews the changing environment of polls and reporting about them, the reciprocal effects of polls and politics on one another, why polls are not equal in quality, and poll standards and accountability.

Crespi, Irving. *Public Opinion, Polls, and Democracy*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1990. Uses the 1988 presidential election as a vehicle for a practical and theoretical discussion of the rights and wrongs of polling, including how they are used, methods and meanings of polls, and polls and newer media.

Fishkin, James S. *The Voice of the People: Public Opinion and Democracy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995. Evaluates modern democratic practices and explains how the public voice has struggled to make itself heard. The author tells of changing concepts and practices of democracy, with examples that range from ancient Sparta, to early Gallup polls, to Ross Perot in 1992, and develops a rationale for a "deliberative opinion poll" that uses modern media and survey research to legitimately rediscover the people's voice.

See Iyengar, Section 6-B.

Lavrakas, Paul J., and Jack K. Holley, eds. *Polling and Presidential Election Coverage*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1991. Ten papers include discussion of polls during the 1988 election, a short history of exit polls, public polls and election participants, public attitudes about news organizations, and reporting on the technical details of polls.

Lippman, Walter. *Public Opinion*. New York: Harcourt, 1922. Pioneering book by a longtime political columnist that over the years prompted many more and a closer look at the whole subject.

Mann, Thomas E., and Gary R. Orren, eds. *Media Polls in American Politics*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1992. Seven papers on how polls can be and often are misreported with potentially serious impact on news veracity. Includes the growth in use of news polls, when to poll (and when not), technology and polling, why even well-designed polls disagree, sources of error, and the impact of poll results on reporters.

Pew Research Center for the People & the Press. *Survey Reports*. http://people-press.org/reports. Archive of more than two decades of research into public opinion about media and political communication. Datasets are available since 1997, and all are posted here.

Section 10

Global and Comparative Journalism

This section includes a selection (and given the pace of publication, it is only that) of English-language books on news media outside the United States. Published research on this broad topic is extensive, and only a sample of the best and more recent work can be included here. Please note: some very subject-specific comparative material appears in earlier sections, especially if it includes discussions of American journalism. For material on comparative policy and regulation, see Section 8-F.

A. Reference Sources

Attacks on the Press. New York: Committee to Protect Journalists, 1987–present, annual. Detailed accounting of violence and death in the line of reporting duty. Editors vary each year. The current version can be found online: http://www.cpj.org.

Balnaves, Mark, et al. *The Penguin Atlas of Media and Information: Key Issues and Global Trends*. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 2001. Color diagrams and maps provide a graphic way to illustrate the information age, press and radio, cinema, television and beyond, ownership and control, advertising, information and communication technology, and the media-created global village.

Columbia University Journalism Library. *News Magazines*. http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/eresources/enews/magazines.html. Allows ready linking to current issues of about 75 news magazines around the world with continental lists arranged by country.

European Audiovisual Observatory. *Statistical Yearbook: Cinema, Television, Video and New Media in Europe*. Strasbourg, France: EAO, 1995–present, annual. Invaluable collection of statistics, charts and tables, and related text, comparing and contrasting trends in all European countries.

Freedom of the Press: A Global Survey of Media Independence. New York: Freedom House / Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, annual. Very useful survey, annually updated, on virtually every country in the world, written by regional authorities. Each nation is ranked as to its legal, political, and the economic media environment (lower scores show a more open and the democratic system) and recent developments are reviewed. *See* Volume 6, Appendix B, for additional data and information on journalism.

Freedom of the Press throughout the World. Paris: Reporters Sans [Without] Frontiers, 1992–present, annual. Very detailed annual survey, with country-by-country reports, on the status of press freedom around the world. Several mid-1990s reports were published by John Libbey in England. Since 2002 they are available online at http://www.rsf.org/rubrique.php3?id_rubrique=736.

Kaid, Lynda Lee, and Christina Holtz-Bacha, eds. *The SAGE Handbook of Political Advertising*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2006. Gathers nearly 30 academic papers from a variety of scholars worldwide to provide an assessment of practice in other nations which underlines just how different national policies and practices are in different political and media systems. Coverage includes Britain, France, Spain and Portugal, Israel, Brazil, Chile, Germany, Nordic and Baltic States, Greece,

Netherlands, Italy, Mexico, Australia and New Zealand, East Asia (Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan), and evolving democracies such as Russia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Turkey, Southeast Asia (Philippines, Hong Kong, Singapore, Indonesia, and Malaysia), West Africa, and South Africa, with many comparisons and conclusions.

Media Sustainability Index: Development of Sustainable Independent Media. Washington, DC: IREX [International Research and Exchanges Board], 2001–present, annual. These volumes—also available free online (http://www.irex.org/msi/index.asp)—are produced with support from the U.S. Agency for International Development, and provide detailed assessments of independent (of government) media development in a growing number of Third World countries. The Media Sustainability Index reviews five topics: availability of legal and social norms to protect and promote free speech and access to public information; whether journalism meets professional standards of quality; whether there are multiple news sources to provide citizens with reliable and objective news; whether independent media are well-managed businesses, allowing editorial independence; and if there are supporting institutions that function in the professional interests of independent media. Thus far, there are three regions covered in the annual series that are accumulating the ability to show trends over time:

1. *Europe and Eurasia*. 2001–present. Covers 21 countries in southeastern Europe and Central Asia.
2. *Middle East and North Africa*. 2006–present. Includes 18 largely Muslim countries.
3. *Africa*. 2006–present. Includes 37 sub-Saharan nations, and considerable discussion of community radio.

Nafziger, Ralph D. *International News and the Press: Communications, Organizations of News-Gathering, International Affairs, and the Foreign Press*. New York: Wilson, 1940 (reprinted by Arno Press, 1972). Very useful for pre–World War II material, much of it annotated, this well-organized survey includes radio but is largely focused on newspapers.

Quick, Amanda C., ed. *World Press Encyclopedia: A Survey of Press Systems Worldwide*. Detroit, MI: Thomson Gale, 2003 (2nd ed., 2 vols.). Arranged by country with extensive information, focusing on events in the 1990s and since, this includes background on each country, newspapers, censorship and press law, news agencies, electronic news media, and education and training for journalism. For more historical background, see the first edition: George T. Kurian, ed. *World Press Encyclopedia* (Facts on File, 1982).

UNESCO. *World Communications*. Paris: U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1950, 1951, 1956, 1964, and 1975. These sequential editions provide country-by-country reports on the state of print, film, radio (and in later issues) television in most countries. There is some discussion of news agencies and journalism education as well. All but the final edition include colored charts as well. For various reasons, UNESCO did not continue this valuable series, though *World Communications Report* (1989; revised 1997 with subtitle *The Media and the Challenges of the New Technologies*) offered a far wider variety of information, including telecommunications, in chapters arranged by subject (including training, technology, economic and industrial patterns) rather than a directory by country.

World Press Freedom Review. Vienna: International Press Institute, annual. For some years issued as a special annual issue of the *IPI Report*, this extensive annual provides information on virtually every country of the world, plus some regional overviews.

World Press Trends. Paris: World Association of Newspapers, 1987–present, annual. By 2008 this had become a substantial publication with 150 pages of general press statistics, 232 reports ranging from two to eight pages on virtually every country's press media, and a section of quick reference data. The annual publication has grown greatly in size in recent years. The WAN also issues many special studies (including those on its "Shaping the Future of the Newspaper" project), and these additional annual reports combining text and statistics:

Innovations in Newspapers: World Report (2004–present).

World Digital Media Trends (2007–present).

Trends in Newsrooms (2005–present).

World Radio & Television Receivers. London: BBC World Service, International Broadcasting and Audience Research, Annual. A tabular accounting of the availability of receivers, VCRs, and related equipment in virtually all countries, including the number available per 100 persons, a valuable standard measure.

World Radio & TV Handbook: The Directory of International Broadcasting. New York: WRTH Inc, annual. Standard guide published since World War II, with text, tables, and charts on hours, frequencies, and programs of domestic and international shortwave and television broadcasting, as well as Internet access for such broadcasts.

B. Global and Comparative Media

For material on comparative media policy and regulation, see Section 8-F.

B-1: General

Albarran, Alan B., and Sylvia N. Chan-Olmsted, eds. *Global Media Economics: Commercialization, Concentration and Integration of World Media Markets*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1998. Twenty-one papers, most focused on one country or a specific region, arranged in sections on parts of the world. All review primary media economic and structure issues in "their" nation as well as underlying factors and trends behind those issues.

Artz, Lee, and Yahya R. Kamalipour, eds. *The Globalization of Corporate Media Hegemony*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003. Examines how commercial media practices, when infused into different cultures around the globe, often exacerbate social inequalities and class conflict, sometimes with the consent of media consumers. The anthology contains 15 research papers, most of them case studies of corporate media influence in selected countries: Brazil, Turkey, India, and Africa.

Boyd-Barrett, Oliver, ed. *Communications Media, Globalization and Empire*. Eastleigh, England: John Libbey, 2006. Fourteen papers analyze and critique the political economy of media worldwide, reviewing conflicting trends of globalization by media conglomerates and nationalism or even neo-imperialism (U.S. quest for national security). Includes discussion of news agencies, deregulation trends, and global advertising and public relations.

Browne, Donald R. *Ethnic Minorities, Electronic Media, and the Public Sphere: A Comparative Study*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton, 2005. Using case studies from a number of countries, this describes the growing media presence of indigenous and minority peoples and their increasing public role.

Chapman, Jane. *Comparative Media History: An Introduction, 1789 to the Present*. London: Polity, 2005. Beginning with Europe and then slowing expanding its coverage, discusses eighteenth- and nineteenth-century developments, assesses roles of technology and growing globalization through World War I, reviews expansion of mass culture and news through World War II, and discusses global media since the late 1940s. One of the few attempts at such a wide-ranging history.

Corner, John, et al. *International Media Research: A Critical Survey*. New York: Routledge, 1997. Nine contributed chapters discuss such topics as gender and media studies, postcommunist media in transition, media policy in North America, media and culture in Latin America, media and war, and Western European media research.

Fortner, Robert S. *International Communication: History, Conflict, and Control in the Global Metropolis*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1993. The rise and development of media (and telecommunications) from the birth of the telegraph in the mid-nineteenth century to World War I, expansion from 1914 to 1932, international propaganda in prewar and the World War II era, and the developments since that war.

Gershon, Richard A. *The Transnational Media Corporation: Global Messages and Free Market Competition*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1997. Timely analysis of the growing importance and clout of major international media players and their varied roles. Divided into two parts: the first looks at overall patterns while the second focuses on Time Warner, Sony, Bertelsmann, Disney, and News Corp.

Giffard, C. Anthony. *UNESCO and the Media*. White Plains, NY: Longman, 1989. Analyzes and critiques (as biased and one-sided) American news media coverage (some 4,000 reports) of the United States. withdrawal of its UNESCO membership. *See also* Preston, below.

Ha, Louisa S., and Richard J. Ganahl III, eds. *Webcasting Worldwide: Business Models of an Emerging Global Medium*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2007. Assesses a still-new medium as it is being developed in 17 countries. Included are reports on how best to analyze business models for emerging media, and webcasting in North America, Europe, Asia, and the Arab region of the world.

International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems. *Many Voices, One World: Toward a New More Just and More Efficient World Information and Communication Order*. London: Kogan Page, 1980. This is the famous UNESCO MacBride report that marked the peak of interest in New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO). Discusses Western news agency dominance of world news flow, and the need for greater government controls among many other recommendations.

McMillin, Divya C. *International Media Studies*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007. Moving away from once-traditional East versus West frame, this volume places media within a world of global interconnections addressing comparative themes rather than national systems, and applies case studies within a context of interdisciplinary theory.

McPhail, Thomas L. *Global Communication: Theories, Stakeholders, and Trends*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006 (2nd ed.). A theory-based overview of media companies and institutions conducting business across national borders, including corporations or institutions as far ranging as the BBC, Voice of America, Deutsche Welle, UNESCO, Time Warner, and Wal-Mart.

Nerone, John C., ed. *Last Rights: Revising Four Theories of the Press*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995. Eight Illinois scholars critique and build on the classic 1956 study (*see* Siebert, below), arguing it was a product of its cold war times and though once very influential, has now been superceded. This eight-author volume discusses how 40 years of change influences the original theories.

Newsom, Doug. *Bridging the Gaps in Global Communication*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007. Designed as an introductory text to the field, introducing both theoretical and practical aspects.

Picard, Robert G. *Media Firms: Structures, Operations and Performance*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2002. Fourteen papers compare industry operations in a variety of (primarily European) countries.

Preston, William, Jr., et al. *Hope & Folly: The United States and UNESCO, 1945–1985*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989. History of the relationship with the U.N. agency, news media coverage of UNESCO and the American decision to withdraw membership, and out-of-date U.S. information policy. *See also* Giffard, above.

Price, Monroe E. *Media and Sovereignty: The Global Information Revolution and Its Challenge to State Power*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002. Reviews emerging foreign policies that govern media in a world where war now has information and military fronts, asks how states (given institutional and technological change) control forms of information reaching their citizens, and provides a framework for analyzing techniques used by states to influence populations in other states. Draws on a global array of examples of regulation of media for political ends, including "self-regulation," media regulation in conflict zones, control of harmful and illegal content, and use of foreign aid to alter media in target societies.

Siebert, Fred W., et al. *Four Theories of the Press: The Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility and Soviet Communist Concepts of What the Press Should Be and Do*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956. Hugely influential book comparing and contrasting four approaches. While strongly colored by cold war thinking, and written before most colonies achieved their independence, the study's basic approach held up for decades. Widely used as a text, it

became the publisher's largest selling academic book. *See also* Nerone, above.

Smith, Anthony. *The Age of the Behemoths: The Globalization of Mass Media Firms*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press/Twentieth Century Fund, 1991. Explores the economic trend to centralized control and multicontinent chains of media outlets.

Tunstall, Jeremy. *The Media Were American: U.S. Mass Media in Decline*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008. Comparative study exploring how American media no longer dominate world markets, including the growing role of Brazil, India, China, European nations, and Arab-language media. This is really a study of world media trade patterns and how they are changing.

B-2: Broadcasting

Browne, Donald R. *Comparing Broadcast Systems: The Experience of Six Industrialized Nations*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1989. Included are France, the Netherlands, Germany (both halves as they then were), the Soviet Union, and Japan.

Head, Sydney W. *World Broadcasting Systems: A Comparative Analysis*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1985. Though dated in its detail, this provides a valuable picture of broadcasting before serious competition from newer media, analog or digital. It is topical in approach rather than country-by-country, providing an excellent sense of the system now largely replaced thanks to an explosion in viewing and listening options.

Lewis, Peter M., and Jerry Booth. *The Invisible Medium: Public, Commercial and Community Radio*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1990. A study of the changing role of radio in Britain, America, Australia, Italy, and France, reviewing traditional public service radio, different roles of listeners in different countries, and the struggle for viable radio systems in developing countries.

Negrine, Ralph, and S. Papathanassapoulos. *The Internationalization of Television*. London: Pinter, 1990. Assesses trends in the 1980s including restructuring of national television systems, new media challenging old, the role of international agencies in Europe, programming, the role of conglomerate firms, and multiple future TV channels.

Noam, Eli M., and Joel C. Millonzi, eds. *The International Market in Film and Television Programs*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1993. Nine research papers explore most aspects of a rising trend (largely with entertainment content, but including some documentary and news as well).

Quester, George H. *The International Politics of Television*. New York: Lexington, 1990. Survey of how transborder television services have been treated in terms of their economics, politics, ethnicity, and culture. Many examples illustrate the variety of issues that can arise.

Sinclair, John, and Graeme Turner, eds. *Contemporary World Television*. London: British Film Institute / Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004. Collects 33 brief essays on most aspects of television around the world, including commercialization of news, TV and war, international programming trade and distribution with papers on the impact of all this on national identity, TV and local communities, case study of StarTV in Asia, Europe as a television market, the ecology of multichannel television, TV and the Internet, and the like. A final section includes a comparison of television systems in Canada, Australia, the European Union, Germany, France, Italy, Russia, Eastern Europe, Latin American and Spain, India, Africa, Southeast Asia, Japan, Greater China, and the Arab-speaking world.

Smith, Anthony, ed. *Television: An International History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995 (2nd ed.). A useful anthology on the growth and status of broadcast television around the world, this is divided into sections on the origins and institutions of television, various program genre, television's impact on society, and television in the United States, Japan, Third World, Australia, and Africa.

Straubhaar, Joseph D. *World Television: From Global to Local*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2007. Offers an integrative assessment of varied roles of television around the world in an era of increasing globalization, but also of national and ethnic pride.

The book is grounded in theory and a broad world view rather than traditional country-by-country surveys that used to define this field. It assesses the roots of transnational, geocultural, and cultural-linguistic markets—the broad political, economic, and social context of television services. Discussion of creating national and regional television and cultural industries develops a new term, "glocalization," as another way of saying hybridization.

C. Global Journalism

See also Section 6-G, for references on journalism and foreign affairs.

Boyd-Barrett, Oliver, and Daya Kishan Thussu. *Contra-Flow in Global News: International and Regional News Exchange Mechanisms*. London: John Libbey, 1992. Draws on UNESCO research to see how much news flows back into developed nations, the objectives of news exchange, contents and clients, and the applicability of UNESCO's MacBride report of a dozen years earlier.

Collins, Ross F., and E. M. Palmegiano, eds. *The Rise of Western Journalism, 1815–1914: Essays on the Press in Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain and the United States*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2007. Focuses on principal trends and chief personnel essential to journalistic development in each country, and incorporates analysis of how each country's journalists influenced, or were influenced by, journalists from outside its borders.

deBeer, Arnold S., and John C. Merrill, eds. *Global Journalism: Topical Issues and Media Systems*. New York: Allyn & Bacon, 2003 (4th ed.). Basic text in two parts, first of which analyzes the impact of improving technology, coverage of world figures, and media organizations. The second offers a survey of eight major parts of the world, plus a case study of journalism in Afghanistan.

Desmond, Robert W. *World News Reporting*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1978–1984 (4 vols.). Going on three decades later, these four volumes remain a unique narrative of the development of news, news media, news agencies, and news people as a national and worldwide business. There is rich detail here on reporting across media in many countries, with a focus on the West, and expanding to include radio journalism in the final two volumes.

1. *The Information Process: To the Twentieth Century*. 1978. Beginnings of newspapers in Europe and America, news reporting processes, news agency development, and reporting wars.
2. *Windows on the World: 1900–1920*. 1980. Flow of news, establishment of wireless and its role, British and U.S. developments, reporting World War I, photojournalism, and news magazines.
3. *Crisis and Conflict: Between Two World Wars, 1920–1940*. 1982. Flow of news in and around various parts of the world, news agencies, newspaper services, and media coverage of the rising world crisis of the 1930s.
4. *Tides of War: 1931–1945*. 1984. Media reporting (by all sides) of the prewar and wartime period, with some attention to nonwar news as well.

Dunnett, Peter J. S. *The World Newspaper Industry*. London: Croom Helm, 1988. Chapters discuss the United States, Britain, Europe, Japan, Canada, and Asia, the Communist world, and the Third World and its newspapers.

Flournoy, Don M. *CNN World Report: Ted Turner's International News Coup*. London: John Libbey, 1992. Reviews the development and the first five years of this portion of the cable news service, as well as how it works. *See also* Section 2-I-4.

Flournoy, Don M., and Robert K. Stewart. *CNN: Making News in the Global Market*. Luton, England: University of Luton Press/John Libbey Media, 1997. Good description of the development and growing role of CNN around the world, with some discussion of both its application of technology and its content.

Gaunt, Phillip. *Choosing the News: The Profit Factor in News Selection*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1990. Comparative study of foreign news coverage in regional newspapers in Britain,

France, and the United States, reviewing different traditions in each country, recent technical and economic developments, and how profit dictates most news choices.

Hachten, William A., and James Scotten. *The World News Prism: Global Information in a Satellite Age*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2006 (7th ed.). Basic introductory survey of issues and controversies—and opportunities in news reporting. Among the topics covered are globalization and its shortcomings, propaganda in the coverage of the Iraq war, Arab communications satellite news, China's media, and a focus on how technological developments—Internet, blogs, and the camcorder's increasing role in documenting world events—affect news coverage.

Johnston, Carla Brooks. *International Television Co-Production: From Access to Success*. Stoneham, MA: Focal, 1992. Discusses how the process works (most often with dramatic productions, but sometimes including news or sports), legal and economic realities, acquisitions, and distribution.

Johnston, Carla Brooks. *Winning the Global TV News Game*. Newton, MA: Focal, 1995. Combines analysis with practical advice, focusing on how the process changed thanks to improving technology. Reviews the role of news agencies, television and cable news providers, and consumers of global journalism.

Johnston, Carla Brooks. *Global News Access: The Impact of New Communications Technologies*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998. Based on interviews and practical experience worldwide, the author argues it is time to drop the fascination with newer technologies and deal with their application on a day-to-day basis. Includes many relevant Internet websites.

MacGregor, Brent. *Live, Direct and Biased? Making Television News in the Satellite Age*. London: Arnold, 1997. The British view of changing processes and the impacts of global televised news. Noting both technological innovation and changes in the conception of public service broadcasting, the author reviews roles of BBC, CNN, and other international services.

McNair, Brian. *Cultural Chaos: Journalism, News and Power in a Globalised World*. London: Routledge, 2006. Argues for an alternative to the critical studies view of media power, holding that dissent, openness, and diversity are more likely in modern times; discusses the growing role of materialism in media and in life as well as the decline of deference in political and social interaction, transnational satellite news, online journalism and the blogosphere, and how these are contributing to a growing public sphere, global news culture and authoritarianism, and changing modes of democracy.

Merrill, John C., ed. *Global Journalism: Survey of International Communications*. White Plains, NY: Longman, 1995 (3rd ed.). Includes chapters on topics such as freedom of the press, ethics, media and development, as well as analyses of specific global regions.

Newspaper Association of America. *NewsVoyager: A Gateway to Your Local Newspaper*. http://www.newsvoyager.com/about.cfm. A comprehensive portal to newspaper websites, American and international, that can be searched by title or region (or state).

O'Neil, Michael J. *The Roar of the Crowd: How Television and People Power Are Changing the World*. New York: Times Books, 1993. Begins with an account of the attempted communist coup in Russia in 1991 to underpin a discussion of how television is best able to portray news events and political leaders as well as crises.

Parker, Richard. *Mixed Signals: The Prospects for Global Television News*. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, with distribution by Brookings Institution, 1995. Discusses how few of the world's people have access to news and how CNN and other services are modifying our view of the world.

Paterson, Chris, and Annabelle Sreberny, eds. *International News in the Twenty-first Century*. Eastleigh, England: John Libbey / Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004. Sixteen papers on structures, alternatives, meanings, and innovations. Running through this anthology are some key themes in the field—the growing conglomeration

of media firms, imbalances in reporting, the impact of changing technology, and audience perceptions of international news.

Shanor, Donald R. *News from Abroad*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003. Divided into two parts: the first questioning whether foreign news matters (including the balance between costs and effect, technology and getting news from abroad, and media gatekeepers), and the second covering the transformation of foreign news (by use of improvised and temporary coverage rather than foreign bureaus, for example). A former international journalist, the author suggests immigration patterns are an important overlooked factor in foreign news.

Shoemaker, Pamela J., and Akiba A. Cohen, eds. *News around the World: Content, Practitioners, and the Public*. New York: Routledge, 2006. Develops the first author's theories about what makes news in different countries: Australia, Chile, China, Germany, India, Israel, Jordan, Russia, South Africa, and the United States. Each includes analysis of news in at least two cities, with a total of some 60 different news media studied. Content analyses of some 2,400 newspaper stories contributed to the findings.

Silvia, Tony, ed. *Global News: Perspectives on the Information Age*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 2001. Sixteen papers range across the origins of the 24-hour news cycle, markets for news, the role of cultural values in determining what is news, the global audience for American news, the impact of imported news on small nations, and the reporting process.

Smith, Anthony. *Newspapers and Democracy: International Essays in a Changing Medium*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1980. Anthology of 13 of the author's papers on the state of newspapers and electronic media in a variety of largely European countries.

Sparks, Colin, and John Tulloch, eds. *Tabloid Tales: Global Debates over Media Standards*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000. History of tabloid papers over time and across borders—examples are drawn from nine nations. The authors conclude that tabloids do serve a valuable function of informing those who likely would not seek news elsewhere.

Stanton, Richard C. *All News Is Local: The Failure of the Media to Reflect World Events in a Globalized Age*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2007. Argues that western news media must change if they are to retain their edge, given rising competition from Third World and other countries. A local news emphasis ignores important aspects of globalization impacting everyone.

Strömbäck, Jesper, and Lynda Lee Kaid, eds. *The Handbook of Election News Coverage around the World*. New York: Routledge, 2008. Compares election news coverage in numerous democracies utilizing a single framework, thus providing a systematic comparison of important factors across countries and news media systems.

Volkmer, Ingrid, ed. *News in Public Memory: An International Study of Media Memories across Generations*. New York: Peter Lang, 2006. Among 14 papers are studies of nine countries and how audiences in those nations recall major news events as well as their perceptions of both global and local news.

Voltmer, Katrin, ed. *Mass Media and Political Communication in New Democracies*. New York: Routledge, 2006. These papers review developments in a number of countries, including Spain in the 1970s, postcommunist Russia (several papers), post-apartheid South Africa, journalism in Latin America, the 2002 Ukrainian election campaign, and Taiwan.

Wallis, Roger, and Stanley Baran. *The Known World of Broadcast News: International News and the Electronic Media*. New York: Routledge, 1990. Comparative study of how different countries (including Britain, Sweden, and the United States) and global regions report news and see the world. Includes a comparison of broadcast news with other media sectors.

See Weaver, Section 7-A.

Worldpress.org. *World Newspapers and Magazines*. http://www.worldpress.org/gateway.htm. One

of the web's largest and most comprehensive directories of world newspapers and magazines, sorted by country, region, and political affiliation.

D. Industrial Nations: Europe and the OECD

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries include the world's developed economies, among them Britain, Europe, North America, Australia, and Japan.

D-1: Surveys

These studies assess the status of media across multiple nations.

Anderson, Peter J., and Geoff Ward, eds. *The Future of Journalism in the Advanced Democracies*. Williston, VT: Ashgate, 2007. Anthology largely by British academics (plus a German, an Italian, and a Japanese) that provides an assessment of changing journalism, competing models of journalism and democracy, a number of British case studies (national newspapers, regional and local papers, radio journalism, online journalism, television news, and the changing face of sports journalism and its relationship to hard news) and comparisons with Japan, Germany, America, Italy, and France.

de Vreese, Claes H., and Holli Semetko. *Political Campaigning in Referendums: Framing the Referendum Issue*. London: Routledge, 2004. Reviews research on campaigns and elections and investigates the effects of campaigning in European integration referendums over 30 years, drawing on a panel survey and media content data, focus groups, and interviews with journalists and campaign managers. Argues that media coverage influences public perceptions of campaigns, referendum issues, and party leaders.

Esser, Frank, and Barbara Pfetsch, eds. *Comparing Political Communication: Theories, Cases, and Challenges*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Seventeen research papers ranging across cases drawn from multiple industrialized countries.

Gibson, Rachel K., et al., eds. *Political Parties and the Internet: Net Gain?* New York: Routledge, 2003. Provides an assessment of how political parties are adapting to the rise of newer information technologies, and what the consequences of that adaptation will be. Includes case studies of America, Britain, Australia, Korea, Mexico, France, Romania, and the Mediterranean region.

Hallin, Daniel C., and Paolo Mancini. *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Identifies the principal dimensions of variation in media systems and the political variables that have shaped their evolution. It then pinpoints three models of media systems development (Polarized Pluralist, Democratic Corporatist, and Liberal models) and explains why media play a different political role in each.

Kaid, Lynda Lee, and Christina Holtz-Bacha, eds. *Political Advertising in Western Democracies: Parties and Candidates on Television*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995. A dozen research papers reviewing political television in America and in selected Western European nations.

Merrill, John C., et al. *The Foreign Press*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968. Something of an encyclopedia rather than a narrative description of newspapers around the world as they were four decades ago.

Merrill, John C. *The Elite Press: Great Newspapers of the World*. New York: Pitman, 1968. Primarily a descriptive survey of selected European papers plus a few from other parts of the world.

Merrill, John C., and Harold A. Fisher. *The World's Great Dailies: Profiles of Fifty Newspapers*. New York: Hastings House, 1980. Includes a selection of major metropolitan dailies from around the world, with an emphasis on developed nations. For each, the authors provide history and background and the context of the paper's operations and their impact.

Schramm, Wilbur, ed. *One Day in the World's Press: Fourteen Great Newspapers on a Day of Crisis*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959.

A different kind of comparative assessment: How newspapers covered the then ongoing Suez and Hungarian crises on November 2, 1956, reproducing their front pages as translated into English.

Walker, Martin. *Powers of the Press: Twelve of the World's Influential Newspapers*. New York: Pilgrim Press, 1983. All save one (from Cairo) are from developed countries, providing an interesting picture of important papers before technological competition began to chip away at their role.

D-2: Britain

As might be imagined, the literature on British media (journalistic and otherwise) past and present is massive and steadily expanding (in quality as well as quantity), and only a sample can be included here.

Brake, Laurel, and Marysa Demoor, eds. *A Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism*. London: British Museum, 2009. Includes 1,700 entries by an international team of researchers, which reflect the range of the press, including art, children, illustration, literature, religion, sports, politics, local and regional titles, satire, and trade journals. "DNCJ" includes newspapers and periodicals in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, and includes entries on journals, journalists, illustrators, editors, publishers, proprietors, printers, and topics such as advertising, frequency, magazine day, printing presses, readership, social science and the press, and war and journalism. A bibliography, a chronology, and indexes provide finding aids.

Briggs, Asa. *A History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom*. Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1961–95 (5 vols.). Definitive history of the BBC from its experimental beginnings into the mid-1970s before commercial radio competition appeared. Includes extensive discussion of news and public affairs programming on both radio and television. See Briggs's *The BBC: The First Fifty Years* (Oxford, 1986) for a briefer summary of the story to 1972. *See also* Sendall et al., below.

Cohen, Stanley, and Jock Young, eds. *The Manufacture of News: A Reader*. London: Constable, 1973. A relatively early anthology treating news media coverage of social dissent and "deviance"—how news is selected and presented in general, coverage of a series of social problems, and some sense of the effects of such news coverage.

Cox, Geoffrey. *Pioneering Television News: A First Hand Report on a Revolution in Journalism*. London: John Libbey, 1995. Editor of the British commercial television news operation relates the story from its formation in the mid-1950s through the 1960s, eventually launching *The News at Ten* as a national service. There are useful comparisons made with American practice.

Curran, James. *Power without Responsibility: The Press, Broadcasting and New Media in Britain*. London: Routledge, 2009 (7th ed.). A longtime scholar provides a current and critical overview ranging over all news media.

Elliott, Philip. *The Making of a Television Series: A Case Study in the Sociology of Culture*. London: Constable, 1972. Participant observation study of the making of a documentary series on the nature of prejudice, reviewing both program makers and some of their audiences.

Franklin, Bob, ed. *Televising Democracies*. London: Routledge, 1992. Focuses on the introduction of cameras into the British House of Commons (how it happened and results to that point) but includes televising the German Bundestag, C-SPAN coverage of U.S. Congress, and similar moves in Europe.

Franklin, Bob. *Packaging Politics: Political Communications in Britain's Media Democracy*. London: Arnold / New York: Oxford University Press, 2004 (2nd ed.). Traces the rising popularity of media spin in Britain's domestic political scene. Includes discussion of censorship and news management, New Labour and "the end of spin?," government advertising, local government public relations, packaging postmodern elections, local newspapers, parliamentary communications as "the best show in town," and a final chapter on whether all of this is informing and/or persuading the reading and viewing public.

Freeman, Des. *Television Policies of the Labour Party, 1951–2001*. London: Routledge, 2003.

Argues that Labour has taken part in all main debates concerning British broadcasting and has produced proposals for reform, modernization, and consolidation of television structures in Britain. Examines the party's divided response to the development of commercial television in the 1950s and assesses the impact of Harold Wilson's governments on television in the 1960s. It concludes with an evaluation of the role of television in the emergence of New Labour and a critique of Tony Blair's government record concerning television developments.

Gavin, Neil T. *Press and Television in British Politics: Media, Money and Mediated Democracy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. Explores ways media portray a range of political and economics-related topics and assesses the likely impact of that coverage. Issues include British domestic economy, antiglobalization protest, European Single Currency, and Europe's economy.

Gough-Yates, Anna. *Understanding Women's Magazines: Publishing, Markets and Readerships*. London: Routledge, 2003. Explores changes in production, advertising, and marketing of British women's magazines in the late twentieth century. Through an analysis of magazine trade press and several case studies, the author argues that political and economic changes in the last two decades of the twentieth century led the women's magazine industry to shift its target audience from housewives with children to young professional women.

Griffiths, Dennis, ed. *The Encyclopedia of the British Press, 1492–1992*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1993. Includes biographies of editors, journalists, press magnates and other people with a formative influence on the British press over five centuries. After about 65 pages of historical period essays, entries in two-column format cover a wide range of people: famous newspaper dynasties such as the Aitkens, Berrys, and Harmsworths; newspaper giants such as Caxton and Daniel Defoe; and all modern national and regional newspapers, as well as many historical papers such as the *Pall Mall Gazette, North Briton, Daily Courant,* and Charles Dickens's *Household Words*.

Hampton, Mark. *Visions of the Press in Britain, 1850–1950*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2004. Analysis of differing historical views of the role of the press in British society between the mid-nineteenth and twentieth centuries using pamphlets, periodicals, parliamentary debate, and private correspondence to trace how historical conceptions about media shaped contemporary practices—everything from immediacy and lively writing style to objectivity and crusading exposés.

Harrison, Jackie. *Terrestrial TV News in Britain: The Culture of Production*. Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 2000. Chapters on the BBC, ITN, structures and practices of television news, television news values, and terrestrial services competing with growing satellite (and Internet) sources.

Havers, Richard. *Here Is the News: The BBC and the Second World War*. Stroud, England: Sutton, 2007. Examines the role of BBC domestic news broadcasts as well as broadcasts directed at Europe. Before September 1939 there were no BBC news bulletins until 6 p.m.; daytime news was reserved for newspapers. Soon listeners were relying on radio both for their daily bulletin on how the war was progressing and for updates on particular operations in which family, friends, or neighbors were involved.

Linton, David, and Ray Boston, eds. *The Newspaper Press in Britain: An Annotated Bibliography*. London: Mansell, 1987. Includes nearly 3,000 very briefly (often just a line or two) entries of mainly books plus some articles, with a detailed subject (but no title) index. "Press" includes photojournalism and political cartooning, but not magazines. One appendix offers a brief chronology of the British press, while another locates existing newspaper archives. *See also* next entry.

Linton, David, ed. *The Twentieth-Century Newspaper Press in Britain: An Annotated Bibliography*. London: Mansell, 1994. An updating and narrowing of the previous title, focusing on only the twentieth century, with some 3,700 entries of books, articles, and theses, very briefly annotated as with its predecessor.

Mitchell, Caroline, ed. *Women and Radio: Airing Differences*. London: Routledge, 2000. More than

20 papers review all angles of women and radio, including studies of program content and employment issues.

Raymond, Joad, ed. *News, Newspapers, and Society in Early Modern Britain*. London: Frank Cass, 1999. Originally a special issue of *Prose Studies,* these essays explore the impact of printed periodicals on British culture and society from 1590 to 1800, including the origins of printed newspapers; the role of manuscript transmission of news; the relationship between newsbooks and theatre; use of newspapers by political radicals during the Civil War of mid-seventeenth century; the role of women in the early periodical press; emergence of a public sphere of popular political opinion; distribution and readership of newspapers in the provinces; and the role of medical and philosophical journals in promoting medical reform.

Riley, Sam G., ed. *Consumer Magazines of the British Isles*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1993. History and current status (if then still published) of some 50 titles ranging over two centuries of publishing. There is also a directory of 330 further titles.

Schlesinger, Philip. *Putting "Reality" Together: BBC News*. London: Constable, 1978. A participant-observation study (that began as a dissertation) with more than 120 interviews gets behind the scenes at the making of BBC television news, especially that concerning troubles in Northern Ireland.

Sendall, Bernard, et al. *Independent Television in Britain*. London: Macmillan, 1982–2002 (6 vols.). Standard history of terrestrial commercial television operating companies in Britain, along with the Independent Television Authority, with much information on their news and public affairs programming. Later volumes explore the development of satellite and cable services as well. For the BBC, see Briggs, above.

Seymour-Ure, Colin. *Prime Ministers and the Media: Issues of Power and Control*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2003. Explores the many roles of a prime minister and the media of public communication, the growth of the Downing Street press office, political rumors, the nature of London news media, political cartoons, and media barons. Includes numerous comparisons with other countries, especially the United States.

Sommerville, C. John. *The News Revolution in England: Cultural Dynamics of Daily Information*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996. The first book to analyze the essential feature of periodical media—their periodic appearance. Having to sell the next issue as well as present one changes the relation between authors and readers—or customers—and subtly shapes how everything is reported, whether politics, arts and science, or social issues. With the birth of commercial periodicals in the late seventeenth-century England, news became a commodity. What constituted news, how it was presented and received, and how people responded to it underwent a fundamental change, dictating what was discussed and how.

Street, Seán. *Historical Dictionary of British Radio*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2006. Several hundred entries on the BBC and more recent independent (commercial) stations and services, including people, organizations, major programs, awards, places and many references to public affairs and news programming.

Thomas, James. *Popular Newspapers, the Labour Party and British Politics; From Beaverbrook to Blair*. London: Frank Cass, 2005. Reviews one of the chief features of British politics during the twentieth century—the conflict between a socialist Labour party and a capitalist popular press. The study assesses these competing claims, looking not only at 1992 but both back and forward to examine newspaper coverage of British politics and the Labour Party, exploring whether the popular press has lived up to its claim of being a democratic "fourth estate," or has merely, as Labour politicians have argued, been a powerful "fifth column" distorting the democratic process.

Tunstall, Jeremy. *The Media in Britain*. London: Constable, 1983. A broad view of print, film, and broadcast media amidst dramatic change, ranging over both journalism and entertainment services. Includes discussion of both London and provincial media, economic issues, and media policy.

Tunstall, Jeremy. *Newspaper Power: The New National Press in Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. Based heavily on more than 200 interviews with senior journalists and executives in the early 1990s, this reviews changes since the 1960s in British upmarket, midmarket, and downmarket papers, the changing role of unions and reading habits, ownership shifts, and more.

D-3: Canada, Australia, New Zealand

Here, too, there is extensive research and commentary, some of the latter highly critical. Emphasis below is on Canadian studies given that nation's widespread use of American media to supplement its own.

Barton, Richard L. *Ties That Bind in Canadian/American Relations: Politics of News Discourse*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1990. Comparative analysis of American and international press accounts of several selected issues in Canadian-U.S. relations presented within a theoretical framework.

Collins, Richard. *Culture, Communication, and National Identity: The Case of Canadian Television*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990. Analysis of successes and failures of national identity policies in broadcasting.

Cooper, Barry. *Sins of Omission: Shaping the News at CBC-TV*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994. Takes a dim view of televised news at the government-run channel, based on a content analysis of some 250 broadcasts in 1987–88, focusing on coverage of the Soviet Union, the Reagan–Gorbachev summit talks, and of Africa. Coverage is found technically competent and often entertaining, but biased, and the study provides examples to support this.

Crane, Rhonda J. *The Politics of International Standards: France and the Color TV War*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1979. Explains why there are three analog systems of color television in the world, focusing on the French political and economic quest to balance Germany's PAL and the American NTSC systems. For a more technical review, see Russell Burns, *The Struggle for Unity: Colour Television, The Formative Years* (London: Institute of Engineering & Technology Press, 2008).

Fetherling, Douglas. *The Rise of Canadian Newspapers*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1990. Concise survey of the story to about 1980 using existing data and bypassing some of the then-current ownership debates.

Lochead, Richard, ed. *Beyond the Printed Word: The Evolution of Canada's Broadcast News Heritage*. Kingston, ON: Quarry Press, 1991. This bilingual collection of papers includes broadcasting in Quebec, Canadian newsreels, CBC news research, the news services, news anchors, and coverage of Canadian identity.

Moran, Albert. *Historical Dictionary of Australian Radio and Television*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2007. Includes some references to broadcast news and public affairs people and programs.

Osborne, Graeme, and Glen Lewis. *Communication Traditions in 20th Century Australia*. Sydney: Oxford University Press, 1995. Reviews changes during three periods of the twentieth century—the neo-colonial nation to 1920, monopolies in the 1940s, and the postwar generation.

Raboy, Marc. *Missed Opportunities: The Story of Canada's Broadcasting Policy*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990. Starting in 1928, the author argues that policy has been shortsighted and narrow and has thus limited what broadcasting services could be provided. After reviewing periods of policy development, Raboy presents a picture of what might have been had decisions been different.

Russell, Nick. *Morals and the Media: Ethics in Canadian Journalism*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005. First in-depth study of journalism ethics as it applies to Canadian media, which have a very different context than those in America. Examines why media behave as they do, discusses how values have been developed and applied, and suggests value systems that can be used to judge special situations.

Spoonley, Paul, and Walter Hirsh, eds. *Between the Lines: Racism and New Zealand Media*. Auckland: Heinemann Reed, 1990. Growing out of concern over media treatment of 1987–88 racial incidents,

this provides 22 papers on the country's media and race relations, with several case studies.

Sutherland, Fraser. *The Monthly Epic: A History of Canadian Magazines: 1789–1989*. Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1988. The first such history, though it focuses on content with little on business, circulation, or even art and layout aspects. Most Canadian efforts failed when advertising went south of the border.

Winter, James P., ed. *The Silent Revolution: Media Democracy and the Free Trade Debate*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1990. Political aspects of media coverage of the 1988 federal election in Canada and Free Trade Agreement issues are assessed using content analysis techniques. Little corporate tinkering was discovered here, save for public relations efforts pushing the agreement.

D-4: Europe

Naturally, much of the European news media research and commentary is in languages other than English, especially German and French. Here are some of the English-language studies.

See Anderson and Ward, subsection D-1, above.

Collins, Richard. *Broadcasting and Audio-Visual Policy in the European Single Market*. London: John Libbey, 1994. The development of pan-European policies and working out differences among countries and media.

Euromedia Resesearch Group. *The Media in Western Europe*. London: Sage, 2004 (3rd ed.). Though developments date such a book quickly, this remains a useful survey, offering a chapter each on 17 countries of Western Europe detailing both print and electronic media and their regulation. Includes useful references.

Frachon, Claire, and Marion Vargaftig, eds. *European Television: Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities*. London: John Libbey, 1995. Combines topical essays (as on television and racial equality, migrant perspectives, black and independent producers, Council of Europe guidelines) and individual country reports.

Iosifidis, Petros, et al. *European Television Industries*. London: BFI Publishing / Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. Reviews some of commercial, legal, and regulatory changes that have come to shape European television in recent years. The study places developments within a historical context, provides an overview of changing organizational and ownership structures, explains and analyzes policy and legislative frameworks at both national and pan-Europan levels, reviews changing technology and its impact, and places Europe within a global television marketplace.

Jankowski, Nick, et al. *The People's Voice: Local Radio and Television in Europe*. London: John Libbey, 1992. Eighteen papers discuss two decades of generally commercial local radio development, including 11 focused on developments within specific countries.

Kuhn, Ramond. *The Media in France*. London: Routledge, 1995. Developments since World War II, including economics, the decline and fall of the ORTF broadcast monopoly, liberalization of television, and developing new media.

Machet, Emmanuelle, and Serge Robillard. *Television and Culture: Policies and Regulations in Europe*. Düsseldorf: European Institute for the Media, 1998. Discusses cultural policies and international organizations and national regulation, the means of assessing cultural program output, and cultural program output in a digital age, with recommendations for change.

Maxwell, Richard. *The Spectacle of Democracy: Spanish Television, Nationalism, and Political Transition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995. A study of changing content in post-Franco Spain, including funding of and programming on private television stations, the roles of political parties and other societal groups, and ownership of some media by those outside Spain.

Moragas Spà, Miguel de, et al., eds. *Decentralization in the Global Era: Television in the Regions, Nationalities and Small Countries of the European Union*. London: John Libbey, 1995. Fourteen chapters by as many European authorities explore different policies and developments in Western Europe.

Moragas Spà, Miguel de, et al., eds. *Television on Your Doorstep: Decentralization Experiences in the European Union*. Luton, England: University of Luton Press, 1999. One overview and 14 papers each devoted to a specific country, looking at financial, legal, and structural factors of smaller outlets, generally those outside of major cities. Indeed, local news often surpasses national programs in audience popularity.

Noam, Eli M. *Television in Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991. Provides a comprehensive view of European broadcasting systems, using the perspective of economics and policy analysis. Introductory part offers a framework for understanding media and forces of change affecting them. The main section provides a series of chapters covering broadcast and cable television systems of almost 30 European countries.

Olson, Kenneth E. *The History Makers: The Press of Europe from Its Beginnings through 1965*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966. This wide-ranging history provides extensive chapters devoted to each country and the development of its (often many) newspapers.

Paulu, Burton K. *Radio and Television Broadcasting on the European Continent*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1967. Remains useful as a historical record of how things had developed up to and during the cold war on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Siune, Karen, and Wolfgang Truetzschler, eds. *Dynamics of Media Politics: Broadcast and Electronic Media in Western Europe*. London: John Libbey, 1992. Members of Danish and Irish university communication faculties survey the building of media empires, regulation, technology, television content, public broadcasting in flux, and the role of media in smaller states.

Silj, Alessandro, ed. *The New Television in Europe*. London: John Libbey, 1992. This large anthology covers national broadcasting, changing technology, programming and viewers, public service systems in a multichannel world, reliability and comparability of statistics across countries, changing regulatory authorities and rules, and Europe's television advertising market. Final chapters assess specific regions and countries.

Wedell, George, and Phillip Crookes. *Radio 2000: The Opportunities for Public and Private Radio Services in Europe*. London: John Libbey, 1991. Surveys the status of radio broadcasting across the Continent including ownership, market politics, technology, changing program patterns, and radio audiences.

Zaharopoulos, Thimios, and Manny E. Paraschos. *Mass Media in Greece*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1993. Surveys print, radio, and television services past and present, placed against a background of recent Greek history and politics.

D-5: Public Service Broadcasting

The rise of cable and then satellite services threatened the Eurocentric model of public service radio (and television). For parallel U.S. studies, see Section 2-I-3.

Avery, Robert K., ed. *Public Service Broadcasting in a Multichannel Environment*. New York: Longman, 1993. Includes chapters describing public service broadcasting in Britain, France, Germany, Holland, Scandinavia, Italy, Canada and the United States.

Blumler, Jay, ed. *Broadcasting Finance in Transition: A Comparative Handbook*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991. Details the changing structure, role, and finances of developed nations' broadcast services as commercial pressures squeeze public service functions.

Blumler, Jay. *Television and the Public Interest: Vulnerable Values in West European Broadcasting*. London: Sage, 1992. Fourteen research papers demonstrating pressures on public service broadcasting amidst a growing number of commercial options. Chapters tend to focus on the situation in an individual nation, with three final overview surveys of the status across Europe.

Blumler, Jay, and Michael Gurevich. *The Crisis of Public Communication*. London: Routledge, 1995. Troubles of public service media in an

increasingly commercial media world are reviewed in chapters on media and politics and changes in that relationship after the mid-1960s, focusing substantially on the British scene.

Groombridge, Brian, and Jocelyn Hay, eds. *The Price of Choice: Public Service Broadcasting in a Competitive European Market Place*. London: John Libbey, 1995. Nine papers assessing non-commercial systems amidst growing competition and roles of broadcasters, government authorities, audiences, etc.

Helm, Dieter, et al. *Can the Market Deliver? Funding Public Service Television in the Digital Age*. Eastleigh, England: John Libbey / Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005. Nine papers review the British television market's mixture of public service (BBC) and commercial services amidst technological change at a time when the BBC's Royal Charter was up for renewal consideration. After a useful executive summary, papers explore public service broadcasting and BBC operations, the public realm in broadcasting, and Britain's public service broadcasting ecology.

Lowe, Gregory Ferrell, ed. *Broadcasting & Convergence: New Articulation of the Public Service Remit*. Göteborg, Sweden: Nordicom/ Göteborg University, 2003. Papers from a 2002 Finnish conference that surveyed public service broadcasting in Europe and the United States and the impact of newer technologies on that system.

McDonnell, James, ed. *Public Service Broadcasting: A Reader*. London: Routledge, 1991. From the Broadcasting Research Unit in London, this is a concise chronological and document-based historical summary of the BBC (from 1924) and later IBA (1955 on) development in Britain.

Nissen, Christian S., ed. *Making a Difference: Public Service Broadcasting in the European Media Landscape*. Eastleigh, England: John Libbey / Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006. Includes 13 papers covering the European audio-visual industry at the verge of convergence, public media in service of civil society and democracy, public service media and market failure, content provision between popularity and elitism, public media as a new means of education, new services and copyright questions, editorial autonomy and public control, European Union experiences, financing public media, and public service beyond the obsession with technology and marketplace.

Price, Monroe E. *Television, the Public Sphere, and National Identity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995. Covers the rise of global and transnational identities and related decline in national broadcasting, how theories of government and media have played out in practice, and how the U.S. government deals with competing media interests.

Raboy, Marc, ed. *Public Broadcasting for the 21st Century*. Luton, England: University of Luton Press/John Libbey Media, 1997. Sixteen country chapters, half dealing with shifting paradigms in the developed "heartland" of public broadcasting, and half assessing emerging models in developing nations.

Tracey, Michael. *The Decline and Fall of Public Service Broadcasting*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. Traces the dramatic changes in non-commercial radio and television over the past two decades, touching on developments in Britain, Europe, America, and Japan.

E. Russia and the CIS

The dramatic changes in Eastern Europe and Russia over the past two decades have sparked a considerable literature on news media in the region. This is a fair sampling of English-language material.

Androunas, Elena. *Soviet Media in Transition: Structural and Economic Alternatives*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993. Dramatic changes in print and broadcast media from the final years of the Soviet Union to the more confusing early Russian era.

Aumente, Jerome, et al. *Eastern European Journalism before, during and after Communism*. Cresskill, NY: Hampton Press, 1999. A comparative study of several related themes—the roots of journalism in the region, the role and effects of reporting leading up to the revolutions of 1989, journalism during the transition years of 1989–96, and the state of journalism education.

Buzek, Anthony. *How the Communist Press Works*. New York: Praeger, 1964. Useful for its description of how things operated at the height of the cold war, including discussion of Eastern Europe, then under Soviet control.

Ganley, Gladys D. *Unglued Empire: The Soviet Experience with Communications Technologies*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing, 1996. Tells of media and political changes from 1985 through 1991 as the Soviet Union once again became Russia.

Goban-Klas, Tomasz. *The Orchestration of the Media: The Politics of Mass Communications in Communist Poland and the Aftermath*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1994. Largely historical study of media's role in communist governments after 1960, with some discussion of the post-Soviet era of change.

Koltsova, Olessia. *News Media and Power in Russia*. London: Routledge, 2006. Assesses the historical context, then the primary agents of power (owners, advertisers, government), and several case study examples of what has been happening in recent years.

Markham, James W. *Voices of the Red Giants*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1967. Cold war–era view of the press (and some mention of broadcasting) in both the Soviet Union and what little could then be gleaned from "Red" China, as it was termed.

McReynolds, Louise. *The News under Russia's Old Regime: The Development of a Mass-Circulation Press*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991. Covers the 1855–1917 period, reviewing the varied roles of publishers, editors, writers, and readers.

Mickiewicz, Ellen. *Split Signals: Television and Politics in the Soviet Union*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990. Compares over 100 hours of Soviet and American television, covering programs broadcast during the last (Chernenko and Gorbachev) Soviet governments. The author describes the significance and popularity of news programs and how Soviet journalists work in the United States.

Mickiewicz, Ellen. *Changing Channels: Television and the Struggle for Power in Russia*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997 (expanded edition issued by Duke University Press, 1999). A longtime observer of Soviet/Russian media reviews the rapid changes in electronic media in the 1985–95 period, much of her information coming from interviews with key personnel.

Mickiewicz, Ellen. *Television, Power, and the Public in Russia*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008. Unveils a profound mismatch between the assumption of Russian leaders that people will absorb their messages, and what viewers really think. This may be first book to reveal what Russian audiences really think of TV news and the mental strategies they use to process it, using focus groups of ordinary people, rather than elites.

Oates, Sarah. *Television, Democracy and Elections in Russia*. London: Routledge, 2006. How television has helped to shape post-Communist politics, and why media not only failed to promote democracy, but appear to have served as tools for government. Includes discussion of Russian audiences based on a survey and focus group interviews.

Paletz, David L., ed. *Glasnost and after: Media and Change in Central and Eastern Europe*. Creskill, NY: Hampton, 1995. Media are described as agents of change in these country-by-country assessments, plus discussion of "westernification" of eastern European media.

Splichal, Slavko. *Media beyond Socialism: Theory and Practice in East-Central Europe*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1994. Reviews dramatic changes after 1989 with some context of what had gone before, and whether privatization of media systems would make sense.

Turpin, Jennifer. *Reinventing the Soviet Self: Media and Social Change in the Former Soviet Union*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995. Compares and contrasts various print news media under Brezhnev and Gorbachev to show how much changed even before the fall of the Soviet Union.

Zassoursky, Ivan. *Media and Power in Post-Soviet Russia*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2004.

Describes the rise of independent media from the Gorbachev era in late the 1980s to the turn of the century. This study is especially useful for its inside view by a Russian of the dramatic changes from about 1985 that have transformed the once-stodgy Soviet media image to something quite different now. But he stresses that changes continue and the system will soon look different again, for a variety of reasons.

F. Developing World

Early studies of media in the development process appeared in the 1950s when most developing regions were still European (primarily British and French) colonies. Sparked by the expanding number of newly independent countries after about 1960, research on the role of their media has greatly increased in the past few decades.

Katz, Elihu, and George Wedell. *Broadcasting and the Third World: Promise and Performance*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977. After three decades, this remains among the best discussions of how radio can help in the development process, using multiple case studies.

Reeves, Geoffrey. *Communications and the "Third World."* New York: Routledge, 1995. Explores the differences among different world regions, past research efforts, the "media imperialism" thesis, varying roles of the state and media in different countries, technology, and different types of media content including news—all with numerous country examples.

F-1: Latin America

Most studies are in Spanish or Portuguese as might be expected. The region has typically not been as well studied as other developing areas.

Alarcon, Antonio V. Menendez. *Power and Television in Latin America: The Dominican Case*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1992. The control and role of TV and its presentation of news is strongly critiqued, noting that five of the country's seven stations are mirror images of one another and suggesting that commercial competition may not serve the country well.

Cole, Richard R., ed. *Communication in Latin America: Journalism, Mass Media and Society*. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1996. A dozen research papers including a discussion of the role of women in Latin journalism, the effects of international propaganda and U.S.–Cuban relations, and journalism education—plus country studies of Mexico, Cuba, Chile, Argentina, Andean nations, and Brazil.

Dunn, Hopeton S., ed. *Globalization, Communications and Caribbean Identity*. New York: St. Martin's, 1995. Explores the economic, social, political, and cultural implications of changing technologies in the region, with case studies of Barbados, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago.

Ferreira, Leonardo. *Centuries of Silence: The Story of Latin American Journalism*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2006. Provides a critical history, as the author finds the press too much under control of various national elites, and rarely sticking up for common people or criticizing government personnel or policies. Begins with Spanish colonial newspapers, the role of the press in the early-nineteenth-century break from Spain, changes amidst various wars governmental upheavals, the rise of radio television, growing social and political pressures on papers, and more recent struggles against drugs, terrorism, and globalization.

Fox, Elizabeth. *Latin American Broadcasting: From Tango to Telenovela*. Luton, England: John Libbey Media / University of Luton Press, 1997. Surveys the recent development and current status in eight Latin countries: Mexico, Brazil, Venezuela, Peru, Colombia, Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile.

Fox, Elizabeth, and Silvio Waisbord, eds. *Latin Politics, Global Media*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002. A dozen papers, all but one providing a survey of a single country (there are two on Mexico) in the context of growing governmental democracy and trade globalization.

Hughes, Sallie. *Newsrooms in Conflict: Journalism and the Democratization of Mexico*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006. Examines changes within Mexican society, politics, and journalism that transformed an authoritarian

media institution into many conflicting styles of journalism with implications for democracy. Combining interviews with content analysis spanning two decades, the author explains how Mexican journalism changed from a passive institution into conflicting clusters of news organizations exhibiting citizen-oriented, market-driven, and adaptive authoritarian tendencies.

Latin American Network Information Center. *Journalism*. http://www1.1anic.utexas.edu/la/region/journalism. A University of Texas guide to organizations, topics, and countries on all aspects of news media in the region.

Lawson, Chappell H. *Building the Fourth Estate: Democratization and the Rise of a Free Press in Mexico*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002. Assesses whether a free press can "cause" a democratic system or is an outgrowth from it, concluding both are true. Chapters trace the old system of close media control and the ways in which newspapers broadened their role and readership.

Lent, John A. *Mass Communications in the Caribbean*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1990. Handbook of historical and then-current information on print, broadcast, and film media across the region. Chapters deal with specific regions (with an emphasis on British Commonwealth countries), and also with overarching topics, such as media's role in development.

Lent, John A. *Bibliographic Guide to Caribbean Mass Communication*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1992. Some 3,600 citations appear in sections on comparative and regional studies, and then individual parts of the region: the Commonwealth Caribbean and the French Caribbean.

Lent, John A. *Bibliography of Cuban Mass Communications*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1992. More than 4,000 citations, though only a few are annotated, which range over history and the current media scene.

Lent, John A. *Press Freedom in the Americas*. Miami, FL: Inter American Press Association, 1994–present, annual. Overview articles and profiles of each country's press freedom and events of the previous year.

Rockwell, Rick, and Noreen Janus. *Media Power in Central America*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003. Individual country chapters plus discussions of state power and the media, threats to journalism in the region, corruption and corporate censorship, and recent evolution.

Schwoch, James. *The American Radio Industry and Its Latin American Activities, 1900–1939*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1990. Reviews the role of American wireless companies in the region, the growth of broadcasting, the rise of a military-industrial complex, and international conferences on radio.

Skidmore, Thomas E., ed. *Television, Politics, and the Transition to Democracy in Latin America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993. Academic researchers assess the role of television in elections in Central and South America in the 1980s, especially in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico.

Vanden Heuvel, Jon, and Everette E. Dennis. *Latin America's Vital Media: Changing Patterns*. New York: Freedom Forum, 1995. Covers eight Central and South American countries based on several onsite visits and some 300 interviews, suggesting that media professionalism is increasing and government–press tension is down.

Waisbord, Silvio. *Watchdog Journalism in South America: News, Accountability, and Democracy*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000. Assesses (using both description and empirical data) the growing role of news media in exposing government wrongdoing, something previously lacking in most Latin journalism, focusing largely on case studies of Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, and Peru.

F-2: Africa

Given its huge variation, this is a hard continent about which to generalize, whether about its news media or other topics. Research has barely scratched the surface of what must be done.

Ainslie, Rosalynde. *The Press in Africa: Communications Past and Present*. London: Gollancz, 1966.

Interesting for its early viewpoint, just as many former colonies were achieving their independence and making their first independent decisions about media control and operation.

Barton, Frank. *The Press of Africa: Persecution and Perseverance*. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1979. Largely historical treatment of the continent's newspapers and people who have helped shape them. A clearly demonstrated trend is the strong role of government in press operations.

Bourgault, Louise M. *Mass Media in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995. This topical rather than country approach includes discussion of the precolonial legacy, colonial media and their impact, radio and television, style and freedom of the press, and media modernization in the development process.

Faringer, Gunilla L. *Press Freedom in Africa*. New York: Praeger, 1991. Focuses on English-speaking sub-Saharan Africa (Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya) as representing different courses of political development, and relations between government and the news media (chiefly newspapers).

Frere, Marie-Soleil. *The Media and Conflicts in Central Africa*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner, 2007. This investigation of the role that local news media play in Central African conflicts combines theoretical analysis with case studies from nine African countries: Burundi, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Chad, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, the Republic of Congo, and Rwanda. Each case study—a comprehensive discussion of media influences during conflict and their impact on the peace process—is introduced by a short contextual essay.

Hadland, Adrian, et al. *Power, Politics and Identity in South African Media*. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 2008. Explores the often-overlooked role of media in the shaping of identity and culture in postapartheid South Africa, shedding new light on how identities are constructed through media and providing case studies that illustrate the complex process of identity renegotiation taking place, giving a fresh focus to topics that scholarship has overlooked—such as the pervasive impact of tabloid newspapers. The contributors include both established scholars and new voices.

Hawk, Beverly G., ed. *Africa's Media Image*. New York: Praeger, 1992. Examines coverage of African news in American television, newspapers, and magazines in four parts: overall issues, patterns in African news over time, the continuing South African apartheid story, and how coverage is changing.

Ibelema, Minabere. *The African Press: Civic Cynicism and Democracy*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. Explores the thesis that civic cynicism in African countries is a major obstacle to the consolidation of democracy, and that the African press should address issue not just among leaders, but also among the general populace. Asserts that the growing independent press needs to intensify its critique of public attitudes and civic orientation, ground on which corruption in public life has thrived.

Thompson, Allan. *The Media and the Rwanda Genocide*. London: Pluto Press / Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2007. Brings into focus the horror of the 1994 genocide that killed as many as a million people.The book's 31 papers focus on media missteps that led to a skewed world view of what was happening then—and in years since. Not an easy book to read because of the horrors it covers—but it carries vitally important messages for news media. Coverage is discussed as it was within Rwanda and elsewhere.

Windrich, Elaine. *The Cold War Guerrilla: Jonas Savimbi, the U.S. Media and the Angolan War*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1992. American newspaper and magazine coverage of the Angolan war in Africa, and how it played out in publications favorable to or against U.S. administration policies. Reviews how "freedom fighters" were portrayed in both right- or left-wing accounts.

F-3: Asia

Here research tends to focus, as might be expected, on China, India, and Japan as the major nations and media voices.

Chang, Won Ho. *Mass Media in China: The History and the Future*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1989. Includes history, chapters on media (the

Xinhua news agency, radio, television, newspapers), and journalism education in the country.

Cole, Benjamin, ed. *Conflict, Terrorism and the Media in Asia*. New York: Routledge, 2006. Anthology of papers discussing American journalism as both servant and scourge; Al Qaeda and the struggle for moderate Islam in Malaysia; Indonesia, globalized media and the War on Terror; Philippines media; and political violence in India.

Gunaratne, Shelton A., ed. *Handbook of the Media in Asia*. New Delhi: Sage, 2000. Offers a country-by-country assessment of 22 countries that together make up half the world's population. Divided into sections on South, Southeast, and East Asia, the basic outline of each chapter is similar, with nation's background and context and then details on its media. Major country chapters are 20 to 25 pages long.

See Joseph and Sharma, Section 5-J.

Lee, Chin-Chuan, ed. *Voices of China: The Interplay of Politics and Journalism*. New York: Guilford Press, 1990. Seven papers by Chinese and Western scholars on the tribulations of Chinese reporters after a decade of reform, the structure and function of Chinese television, Shangai's reform media, press freedoms, Sino-American relations in the press, and reporting in America about China, among other topics.

Lull, James. *China Turned On: Television, Reform and Resistance*. New York: Routledge, 1992. Examines the role of television in the protests of 1989 and since, including the medium's expanding role, peoples' use of it, reform on prime-time television, popular culture and censorship, viewing habits, and cultural consequences.

McDaniel, Drew. *Broadcasting in the Malay World: Radio, Television, and Video in Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1994. The development of radio and then television in each country plus a review of media policy and content.

McDaniel, Drew. *Electronic Tigers of Southeast Asia: The Politics of Media, Technology, and National Development*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 2002. Analytic survey of changing media in ten nations—Philippines, Indonesia, Brunei, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, and Myanmar (Burma). Approach is topical rather than by nation, reviewing culture and economics as well as information policy of the region, archetypes and trends of state information and media policy, home video and the changing media environment, competition for satellite dominance, technology infrastructures, Internet policies, media content and audiences, censorship, and the Asian Values debate.

Page, David, and William Crawley. *Satellites over South Asia: Broadcasting Culture and the Public Interest*. New Delhi: Sage, 2001. Explores the increasingly central role played by satellite transmission in the region's news and popular culture in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, and Sri Lanka—and the impact of such services on national broadcast systems.

Sahay, Uday, ed. *Making News: Handbook of the Media in Contemporary India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006. Anthology based on firsthand experiences in news media by eminent Indian media personalities, exploring different kinds of news reporting across TV, print, and radio and across different genres like sports, business, entertainment, and war.

Steele, Janet. *Wars within: The Story of* Tempo*, an Independent Magazine in Soeharto's Indonesia*. Jakarta: Equinox / Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005. Tells an important story that is not widely known outside of Indonesia. *Tempo,* modeled on the American *Time* newsweekly, began publication in 1971, was suspended in 1994 by Soeharto's regime, and resumed publication in 1998 after Soeharto's fall. It is the most important newsweekly in the world's largest Muslim country.

Wang, Jing. *Brand New China: Advertising, Media and Commercial Culture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008. Explores the dramatic changes in China's cultural world with the increasing presence of advertising and entertainment media, and how American branding practices are being widely applied in the growing business and commercial sector.

F-4: Muslim Middle East

These studies may or may not include North Africa. There are some studies on Israeli media that are not included here as that country is considered developed (and most are published in Hebrew).

Boyd, Douglas A. *Broadcasting in the Arab World: A Survey of the Electronic Media in the Middle East*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1999 (3rd ed.). Country-by-country survey of national systems in the Middle East, Gulf States, and North Africa, and international broadcasting in Arabic, including a brief history and current developments.

Eickelman, Dale F., and Jon W. Anderson, eds. *New Media in the Muslim World: The Emerging Public Sphere*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003 (2nd ed.). Focuses on the arrival and impact of such things as the Internet, satellite television, and fax machines, as well as new uses of older media. The geographic focus is as broad as the Muslim world, including coverage of South and Southeast Asia in addition to the Middle East and Muslim communities elsewhere.

Kamalipour, Yahya R., and Hamid Mowlana, eds. *Mass Media in the Middle East: A Comprehensive Handbook*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1994. Covers North Africa and the Middle East as far east as Pakistan in detailed country chapters by more than 30 scholars.

Lynch, Marc. *Voices of the New Arab Public: Iraq, Al-Jazeera, and Middle East Politics Today*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006. Focuses on coverage of the Iraq war and the special role that Al Jazeera satellite news service plays in public perception and politics. A number of tables trace changes in media coverage and other indicators of public opinion. Chapters assess the Iraq war and the Arab public, structural transformation of the Arab public sphere, the Al Jazeera era, the impact of the fall of Baghdad, and emerging Iraq and new Arab publics, thanks largely to media reporting.

Mellor, Noha. *Modern Arab Journalism: Problems and Prospects*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008. Poses a series of questions: How is Arab journalism different from or similar to that in other countries, what defines its tasks, who has access to this field, how is power distributed in Arab journalism, and when were media programs launched at Arab universities and what characterizes them? Reviews Arab scholars' media research, and offers a case study of reporting the Iraq war in 2003.

Rugh, William A. *Arab Mass Media: Newspapers, Radio, and Television in Arab Politics*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004. Describes media services across the Middle East: their function and structure; mobilization press of Syria, Libya, the Sudan and pre-2003 Iraq; loyalist press of Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, Oman, the United Arab Emirates, and Palestine; diverse print media as found in Lebanon, Kuwait, Morocco, and Yemen; transitional print media of Egypt, Jordan, Tunisia, and Algeria; offshore pan-Arab print media; Arab radio and television prior to 1990; the structure of Arab television in years since; and Arab television programming.

Rugh, William, ed. *Engaging the Arab and Islamic Worlds through Public Diplomacy: A Report and Action Recommendations*. Washington, DC: Public Diplomacy Council, George Washington University, 2004. Eleven papers reviewing print and electronic media channels, academic and professional exchanges, and the impact of security concerns on communication links.

Sakr, Naomi. *Satellite Realms: Transnational Television, Globalization, & the Middle East*. London: I. B. Tauris / New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001. Explores the rise of transnational satellite channels in the region, the need for such services, who owns channels, regulation on an international and regional basis, and their content.

Zayani, Mohamed, and Sofiane Sahraoui. *The Culture of Al Jazeera: Inside an Arab Media Giant*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2007. Reviews the channel as an organization more than its role as a news service. Chapters place the channel within the context of other Arab media, and then assess factors behind the channel's success, how Al Jazeera differs from other services, the organizational model used, the values and beliefs that guide it, and who controls operations.

G. Propaganda

A closely allied field to our prime focus, it is often difficult to say where journalism leaves off and

propaganda efforts begin. This section includes but a small selection of the large and growing literature about propaganda (in the twenty-first century, it is more often termed "public diplomacy") that has expanded since the first studies appeared in the aftermath of World War I.

G-1: Reference Sources

Cole, Robert. *Propaganda in Twentieth Century War and Politics: An Annotated Bibliography.* Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 1996. Includes hundreds of subject-divided citations, arranged in chronological chapters, with annotations running a paragraph long. Defined broadly, many entries have a direct relationship to journalism, while others center on motion pictures.

Cole, Robert, ed. *The Encyclopedia of Propaganda.* Armonk, NY: Sharpe Reference, 1998 (3 vols.). A great deal of this material relates to journalism, including entries on people, countries, media, wars and other events, and government agencies, among other topics. Entries range from a column to several pages. *See also* next title.

Cull, Nicholas J., et al., eds. *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion: A Historical Encyclopedia, 1500 to the Present.* Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2004. Wide-ranging coverage includes many topics relevant to news and journalism. *See also* previous title.

Lasswell, Harold D., et al., eds. *Propaganda and Promotional Activities: An Annotated Bibliography.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935 (reprinted, with a new introduction, by University of Minnesota Press, 1969). A classic, which defines its topic very broadly and thus includes a lot of journalism material. Annotations are very brief and many items are not described at all. *See also* the two volumes edited by Smith, below.

Manning, Martin, with Herbert Romerstein. *Historical Dictionary of American Propaganda.* Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2004. Some 350 entries focusing mainly on U.S. government communications efforts and ranging from the mid-eighteenth century to the present. Topics include events, publications, media, people, government agencies and plans, organizations, and symbols.

Nelson, Richard Alan. *A Chronology and Glossary of Propaganda in the United States.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996. About half of this volume is devoted to each, plus adding a useful list of selected references. The glossary uses the term "propaganda" very broadly, and its definitions range up to half a page. Useful reference by a noted authority.

Smith, Bruce Lannes, et al., eds. *Propaganda, Communication, and Public Opinion: A Comprehensive Reference Guide.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1946. Continuation of Lasswell, above, though more selective and narrowly defined. Begins with four essays totaling 100 pages that survey the field, and then more than 2,500 citations from 1934 to 1943, nearly all briefly annotated.

Smith, Bruce Lannes, et al., eds. *International Communication and Political Opinion: A Guide to the Literature.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1956. Third in a series (see previous entry), this focuses more on international elements, with some 2,600 entries from 1943 to 1955, often described at some length.

G-2: General

Jowett, Garth S., and Victoria O'Donnell. *Propaganda and Persuasion.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2006 (4th ed.). Basic introductory survey text covering history and various applications. Authors also edited *Readings in Propaganda and Persuasion: New and Classic Essays* (Sage, 2006), an anthology of 14 scholarly papers past and present.

Lasswell, Harold D., et al., eds. *Propaganda and Communication in World History.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1979–80 (3 vols.). Very wide ranging in both its historical and topical scope, this anthology includes more than 50 papers by some of the field's foremost authorities, discussing all types of communication from a variety of countries and using many examples.

G-3: American Efforts

There are many analyses of U.S. government efforts at both print and electronic public diplomacy, a good number stressing historical development.

Cull, Nicholas J. *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945–1989*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008. USIA was created in 1953 to "tell America's story to the world" and, by engaging with the world through international information, broadcasting, culture, and exchange programs, it became an essential element of American foreign cold war policy. Based on declassified archives and more than 100 interviews with public diplomacy veterans from the Truman administration to the fall of the Berlin Wall, the author relates achievements and flaws of American public diplomacy.

Dizard, Wilson P., Jr. *Inventing Public Diplomacy: The Story of the U.S. Information Agency*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2004. Relates the story of the USIA (1953–99) as seen by a former official. Assesses wartime Office of War Information, the formation of USIA in 1953, the Murrow years (early 1960s, under John Kennedy), the "high summer" of the USIA in the 1960s and 1970s, operation of the USIA and USIS (as it was known abroad) globally, the delicate art of exporting culture, the sunset years and end of the USIA (its functions were shifted into the State Department), and the future of public diplomacy.

Heil, Alan L., Jr. *Voice of America: A History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003. The standard and most detailed history of the first 60 years (1942–2002) written by a veteran VOA staffer. Much focuses on the role of news reporting on the government service and who would control its content.

Puddington, Arch. *Broadcasting Freedom: The Cold War Triumph of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2000. A retired deputy director relates the often controversial history of two U.S. government services aimed at Eastern Europe and Soviet Union.

Shanahan, James, ed. *Propaganda Without Propagandists? Six Case Studies in U.S. Propaganda*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 2001. Includes framing of statehood for Hawaii, environmental issues at Hanford Nuclear Reservation in Washington, participation in the 1990–91 Gulf War, and news of Wall Street.

Simpson, Christopher. *Science of Coercion: Communication Research & Psychological Warfare, 1945–1960*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. How government funding, pushed by cold war exigencies, hastened mass communication research, some of it with wide ramifications for journalism.

Sosin, Gene. *Sparks of Liberty: An Insider's Memoir of Radio Liberty*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999. The author was a director of program planning for the lesser-known of two American radio services based in Europe.

Sweeney, Michael S. *Secrets of Victory: The Office of Censorship and the American Press and Radio in World War II*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001. Story of the civilian agency that administered largely voluntary censorship of wartime military information for American media.

Vaughn, Stephen L. *Holding Fast the Inner Lines: Democracy, Nationalism, and the Committee on Public Information*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980. The story of the Wilson administration's "Creel Committee," which controlled much of the federal government's wartime information during World War I.

Winkler, Allan M. *The Politics of Propaganda: The Office of War Information, 1942–1945*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978. A study of the primary federal agency that provided war news to U.S. news media.

G-4: International Radio

Such radio services, directed across borders, have traditionally focused substantially on news and public affairs in their programming.

Berg, Jerome S. *On the Short Waves, 1923–1945: Broadcast Listening in the Pioneer Days of Radio*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1999. Three main sections trace shortwave in the 1920s, shortwave broadcasting and listening in the 1930s ("Dxing" is emphasis here), and wartime use of shortwave services, with considerable discussion of equipment, QSL cards, shortwave publications (an excellent historical survey), and station operations.

Berg, Jerome S. *Broadcasting on the Short Waves, 1945 to Today*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2008.

Updates and expands on the previous volume (see entry above), with a chronological approach to detail year-by-year developments among global broadcasters. Illustrated with QSL cards and program guides. *See also* next entry.

Berg, Jerome S., *Listening on the Short Waves, 1945 to Today*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2008. A companion to the previous entry, this reviews audience makeup and size, listening clubs, publications, receivers, collecting QSL cards, the impact of computers and the web on shortwave listening.

Berg, Jerome S., and John C. Herkimer. *On the Short waves.com*. http://www181.pair.com/otsw/index.html. Background information on shortwave and "DXing," or listening at a distance, and especially annotated pages of further links to many other sites.

Browne, Donald R. *International Radio Broadcasting: The Limits of the Limitless Medium*. New York: Praeger, 1982. A detailed review of international radio services with case studies of American and overseas government and private operations, and a survey of audience research.

Fortner, Robert S. *Public Diplomacy and International Politics: The Symbolic Constructs of Summits an International Radio News*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994. International radio service coverage of six political summit meetings from 1987 to mid-1990 is reviewed through content analysis. The period covered includes the fall of much of European communism.

Mansell, Gerard. *Let Truth Be Told: 50 Years of BBC External Broadcasting*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1982. A history by a 1970s managing director, tracing the development from Empire Service, through world war, to modern international news and features service. *See also* Walker, below.

Nelson, Michael. *War of the Black Heavens: The Battles of Western Broadcasting in the Cold War*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997. A study of radio propaganda story making use of interviews and files of the Soviet central committee to argue strongly that Western radio services played a major part in the 1989–90 fall of communism. Ranges from the postwar start of the cold war, to the inception of RFE and RL and their role in the uprisings of 1953–56 in Eastern Europe, the beginnings of detente, other major broadcasters, the 1968 "Prague Spring" and invasion of Czechoslovakia, Poland's Solidarity movement and its use of the radio services, and final revolutions of 1989 and the role of radio in fomenting them.

Soley, Lawrence C., and John S. Nichols. *Clandestine Radio Broadcasting: A Study of Revolutionary and Counterrevolutionary Electronic Communication*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1986. Discusses material dealing with *other* than classic East-West propaganda. After an introduction to "the dark side of the spectrum," which defines and explains what clandestine radio means, the authors discuss the lead-up to and World War II, two decades of cold war radio, clandestine radio in the 1970s, changes wrought by the 1980s, Castro and clandestine radio in the Caribbean region, clandestine radio and the crisis of communism (as became even more evident just three years later), broadcasting and insurgency in Central America, lack of such services in most of East Asia, and a conclusion.

Street, Nancy Lynch, and Marilyn J. Matelski. *Messages from the Underground: Transnational Radio in Resistance and in Solidarity*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1997. Studies of Vatican, British, and American international radio services during the cold war. Nine further case studies in transnational radio cover Vatican radio and the Polish Solidarity movement, media and church leadership during a Philippine crisis, the BBC and the French resistence during World War II, anti-Castro broadcasting, organization and operation of Radio Liberty and related U.S. services, and Radio Free Asia.

Walker, Andrew. *A Skyful of Freedom: 60 Years of the BBC World Service*. London: Broadside Books, 1992. Account from the inception of Empire Service in the early 1930s, through World War II, to widely respected modern service, including a section on longtime Bush House headquarters.

Wood, James. *History of International Broadcasting*. London: Institution of Electrical Engineers and the Science Museum, 1992, 2000 (2 vols.). Exhaustive though largely technical history of facilities and operations of (primarily) shortwave radio services intended for transborder listening. The second volume centers on changes with the end of the cold war.

Section 11

Journalism Periodicals

As one might imagine, journalists write a lot about their trade. So do academics studying the media field. Listed here are, first, the major trade publications ("serials" in library-speak) about the media and closely related fields, and, second the more important academic or scholarly journals. All titles included here were actively publishing in early 2009.

Each entry provides the periodical's title, International Standard Serial Number (unique to each title and often helpful in locating it in libraries), the publisher, the year the periodical started (and sometimes information about title changes), how often it appears, its official website, and a few lines of description (in the case of the research journals, this is often a quote from the periodical's statement of its purpose).

A. Trade Publications

These titles demonstrate the breadth of professional trade publications available in North America. But the listing can't be complete, for depending on how you define the category, many others might be included. Further, there are many more titles (some of which appear in English) published elsewhere as well. Nearly all maintain some kind of web presence, often including both current and past issue access and sometimes a means of searching specific topics.

Advertising Age
ISSN: 0001-8899
Crain Communications
1930, weekly
http://adage.com
The most important advertising trade periodical, this covers news of and trends in print, broadcast, cable, and online advertising venues.

Adweek
ISSN: 1549-9553
Nielsen Business Media
1978, 36 issues a year
http://www.adweek.com/aw/index.jsp
News magazine for the advertising business.

The American Editor
ISSN: 1083-5210
American Society of Newspaper Editors
1923 (as *Bulletin of the ASNE* before 1995), quarterly
http://www.asne.org/index.cfm?id=27
News of the editing profession, chiefly newspapers but increasingly including online venues.

American Journalism Review
ISSN: 1067-8654
University of Maryland College of Journalism
1991 (as *Washington Journalism Review*), bimonthly
http://www.ajr.org
Critical commentary on all aspects of news media, with some emphasis on news of the federal government.

American Printer
ISSN: 0744-6616
Penton Media
1883 (as *Inland Printer*; later *American Printer and Lithographer*; took present title in 1982), monthly

http://americanprinter.com
Production side of newspapers, magazines, and other printed media.

AP World
ISSN: 0094-2189
Associated Press
1945 (as *AP Inter-Office*), quarterly
[no apparent website]
What is happening within the news agency, who is where, and behind-the-scenes pieces.

Broadcasting & Cable
ISSN: 1068-6827
Reed Business
1931 (as *Broadcasting*; took present title in 1993), fortnightly to 1941, then weekly
http://www.broadcastingcable.com
Standard industry news weekly covering programming, advertising, and policy events, issues, and trends in electronic media, chiefly broadcasting and cable.

Columbia Journalism Review
ISSN: 0010-194X
Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism
1962, bimonthly
http://www.cjr.org
The oldest and largest U.S. journalism review, *CJR* reviews and critiques print and electronic media content and trends.

Communication Arts
ISSN: 0010-3519
Coyne & Blanchard
1969 (as *CA Magazine*), eight per year
http://www.commarts.com
Focused largely on the design of print communication, including advertising.

Current: The Newspaper About Public TV and Radio
ISSN 0739-991X
Current LLC
1980, biweekly
http://www.current.org
Standard source for information about public (noncommercial) broadcasting organizations, programming, and people, including national organizations (CPB, PBS, NPR, etc.) and stations.

Design
ISSN: 1050-9224
Society for News Design
1980, quarterly
http://www.snd.org/resources/pubs.html
Focuses on magazine design trends.

Documentary
ISSN: 1559-1034
International Documentary Association
1989 (as *International Documentary*), quarterly
http://www.documentary.org
Covers all aspects of film, video, and online documentary making.

Editor & Publisher
ISSN: 0013-094X
Nielsen Business Media
1901, weekly to 2004, then monthly
http://www.editorandpublisher.com/eandp/index.jsp
Standard news magazine format covering American newspapers: its change from weekly to monthly publication after more than a century was an indicator of newspaper economic troubles.

Extra!
ISSN: 0895-2310
Fairness & Accuracy In Reporting (FAIR)
1987, bimonthly
http://www.fair.org/index.php?page=4
Calling itself a "progressive voice," FAIR's journal offers a critical assessment of news stories and trends in print and electronic services.

Folio
ISSN: 0046-4333
Red 7 Media
1972, monthly
http://www.foliomag.com
Print media design and graphics are covered.

Graphic Arts Monthly
ISSN: 1047-9325
Reed Business

1987 (as *Graphic Arts Monthly and the Printing Industry*), monthly
http://magazine-directory.com/Graphic-Arts-Monthly.htm
Centers on design issues in print media.

Grassroots Editor
ISSN: 0017-3541
Missouri State Southern University
(for the International Conference of Weekly Newspaper Editors)
1960, quarterly
http://www.mssu.edu/iswne/grhome.htm
Covers smaller market newspapers, often weeklies.

The IRE Journal
ISSN: 0164-7016
Investigative Reporters and Editors, Inc.
1978, bimonthly
https://www.ire.org/store/periodicals/periodicals.html
News about the organization's activities, and investigative reporting more generally.

The Masthead
ISSN: 0025-5122
National Conference of Editorial Writers
1949, quarterly
http://www.ncew.org/web/2005/06/the_masthead.aspx
By, for, and about the editorial writer and his/her product.

Multichannel News
ISSN: 0276-8593
Reed Business
1980, weekly
http://www.multichannel.com
Standard source for "new" (postbroadcast) electronic media developments.

News
ISSN: 0733-7795
Associated Press Managing Editors Association
ca. 1990, quarterly
http://www.apme.com
News of and about the news agency.

The News Media and the Law
ISSN: 0149-0737
Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press
1973 (as *Press Censorship Newsletter*), quarterly
http://www.rcfp.org/readingroom/index.php
Invaluable guide to state and federal court decisions as well as administrative law impacting the news reporting process; often includes reference guides to specific types of press-related laws in the 50 states.

News Photographer
ISSN: 0199-2422
National Press Photographers Association
1946 (as *National Press Photographer* until 1974), monthly
http://www.nppa.org/news_and_events/magazine
The world of "press" photography in all its forms; December is the annual "Best of" issue.

NewsInc: The Business of the Newspaper Business
ISSN: 1043-7452
The Cole Group
1989, monthly, later weekly (1997 to date archived on line)
http://www.newsinc.net
Just what the subtitle says.

Nieman Reports
ISSN: 0028-9817
Nieman Foundation, Harvard University
1947, quarterly
http://www.nieman.harvard.edu/reports/index.html
Wide-ranging journal of comment, largely by professional journalists temporarily at the Nieman center.

Presstime
ISSN: 0194-3243
Newspaper Association of America
1979, monthly
http://www.naa.org/Resources/Publications/PRESSTIME.aspx
The state of newspapers, covering virtually all aspects.

Public Broadcasting Report
ISSN: 0193-3663
Warren Communications
1978, biweekly
http://www.warren-news.com/tvandcableservices.htm
Newsletter on national and local developments and people in noncommercial broadcasting.

Publishers' Auxiliary
ISSN: 0048-5942
National Newspaper Association
1865, weekly, later monthly
http://www.nna.org/eweb/dynamicpage.aspx?webcode=aboutpubaux&site=nna_eweb
Coverage of the smaller market and weekly newspaper business.

Quill
ISSN: 0033-6475
Society of Professional Journalists
1912, nine a year
http://www.spj.org/quill.asp
"Surveys and interprets today's journalism while stimulating its readers to collective and individual action for the good of our profession" [from masthead].

Quill & Scroll
ISSN: 0033-6505
Quill and Scroll Society
1926, bimonthly
http://www.uiowa.edu/~quill-sc/magazine/magazine.html
Published by the International Honor Society for High School Journalists, this provides a window into secondary school newspapers.

RTNDA Communicator
ISSN: 1529-3106
Radio-Television News Directors Association
1947 (as *Communicator* to 1994), bimonthly
http://www.rtnda.org/pages/communicator.php
Trends in television and radio station news operations and their employees.

SND Update
ISSN: 1520-426X
Society for News Design (*was* Society of Newspaper Designers)
1991, eight per year
http://www.snd.org/resources/pubs.html
Design and graphics in all of the news media, chiefly print formats.

St. Louis Journalism Review
ISSN: 0036-2972
St. Louis Journalism Review
1970, monthly
http://www.stljr.org
Despite the title, tends to range over the whole Midwest news scene.

Student Press Law Center Report
ISSN: 0160-3825
Student Press Law Center
1979, three times a year
http://www.splc.org
Discusses cases and controversies involving the rights of student (both high school and college) newspapers.

Television Broadcast
ISSN: 1556-3588
NewBay Media
2005 (as *Digital TV*), monthly
http://www.televisionbroadcast.com
Commercial television business, both network and station.

TVWeek
ISSN: 1544-0516
Crain Communications
1982 (as *Electronic Media* to 2003), weekly
http://www.tvweek.com
News magazine for the commercial television business.

The Tyndall Report
No ISSN
Tyndall Report
Daily (online only)
http://tyndallreport.com
Summary report of ABC, CBS, and NBC evening network news stories.

Videography
ISSN: 0363-1001
NewBay Media
1976 (as *Corporate Video Decisions*), monthly
http://www.videography.com
Industrial and business video primarily.

B. Academic Journals

Academic research in scholarly (usually peer-reviewed) journals adds to our understanding of journalism. The major titles below show their current publisher (often a commercial firm different from the academic association that controls their editorial content). Many of these journals maintain websites, and increasingly also publish electronic versions. All ISSNs shown are for the print version of each journal, though many are also available electronically. The descriptive comments are taken from the respective journals' websites.

For further information on these and many other (though less relevant) titles, see *The Iowa Guide: Scholarly Journals in Mass Communication and Related Fields,* edited by Carolyn Stewart Dyer, at http://fm.iowa.uiowa.edu/fmi/xsl/iowaguide/search.xsl.

American Journalism
ISSN: 0882-1127
American Journalism Historians Association
1983, quarterly
http://ajhaonline.org/journal.html
"Contributions may focus on social, economic, intellectual, political, or legal issues. AJ also welcomes articles that treat the history of communication in general; the history of broadcasting, advertising, and public relations; the history of media outside the United States; and theoretical issues in the literature or methods of media history."

British Journalism Review
ISSN: 0956-4748
Sage
1989, quarterly
http://www.bjr.org.uk/index
"Designed as a forum of analysis and debate, to monitor the media, submit the best as well as the worst to scrutiny, and to raise the level of the dialogue."

Communication Abstracts
ISSN 1075-5470
Sage
1977, quarterly, later bi-monthly
http://www.sagepub.com/journalsProdDesc.nav?prodId=Journal200918&currTree=Subjects&level1=700&
"A comprehensive source of information about communication-related publications on a worldwide scale. *Communication Abstracts* covers communication-related articles, reports, papers, and books from a variety of publishers, research institutions, and information sources."

Communication Booknotes Quarterly
ISSN 1094-8007
Taylor & Francis
1998, quarterly (continuing a variably titled review publication that began in 1969)
http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/journal.asp?issn=1094-8007&subcategory =AH150000
"A review service for books, reports, documents, and electronic publications on all aspects of mass communication, telecommunication, and the information industry."

Communication Law & Policy
ISSN: 1081-1680
Taylor & Francis (for Law Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication)
1996, quarterly
http://www.comm.vt.edu/CL&P/index.html
"The journal seeks research that is informed theoretically by First Amendment constitutional analyses, historical approaches to communication law and policy issues, contemporary social theory literatures that treat the law as cultural forms, the sociology and philosophy of law, system approaches, critical theory and other appropriate theoretical bases."

Convergence
ISSN: 1354-8565
Sage
1995, quarterly

http://www.sagepub.com/journalsProdDesc.nav?prodId=Journal201774

"Topics include: Video games; Cable and telecomms; Mobile media/content; Internet studies; Digital/new media art; Digital photography; VR; Control and censorship of the media; Copyright/intellectual property; New media policy; New media industries/institutions; New media history; New media in cross-cultural/international contexts; New media products; Digital TV; DVD; Digital music—recording, production, distribution, file formats/file sharing; Cinema; Gender and technology."

Critical Studies in Media Communication
ISSN: 1529-5036
Taylor & Francis (for National Communications Association)
1984, quarterly, later five a year
http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/journal.asp? issn=0739-3180&subcategory=AH150000

"Publishes scholarship about media audiences, representations, institutions, technologies, and professional practices. It includes work in history, political economy, critical philosophy, race and feminist theorizing, rhetorical and media criticism, and literary theory. It takes an inclusive view of media, including newspapers, magazines and other forms of print, cable, radio, television, film, and new media technologies such as the Internet."

Electronic News
ISSN: 1931-2431
Taylor & Francis
2007, quarterly
http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/journal.asp?issn=1931-2431&subcategory=AH150000

Focuses on "readily accessible research and ideas that have clear relevance to the content, practice, and administration of electronic news, especially radio, television, and the Internet, and related areas, such as station Web sites. The journal will also provide articles for those who practice and/or teach broadcast/electronic journalism and related topics."

European Journal of Communication
ISSN: 1460-3705
Sage
1986, quarterly
http://www.sagepub.com/journalsProdDesc.nav?prodId=Journal200857

"Provides the best communication research and scholarship. It promotes dialogue on key issues across disciplinary and national boundaries, and offers a comprehensive diet of the best of empirical and conceptual work."

Federal Communications Law Journal
ISSN: 0163-7606
Indiana University School of Law (for Federal Communications Bar Association)
1937 (as *Federal Communications Bar Journal*), three times a year
http://www.law.indiana.edu/fclj/index.shtml

Law journal that "often features articles and essays by commissioners in the Federal Communications Commission ("FCC") as well as members of Congress."

Feminist Media Studies
ISSN: 1468-0777
Taylor & Francis
2001, quarterly
http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/titles/14680777.asp

"Offers a transdisciplinary, transnational forum for researchers pursuing feminist approaches to the field of media and communication studies, with attention to the historical, philosophical, cultural, social, political, and economic dimensions and analysis of sites including print and electronic media, film and the arts, and new media technologies."

Global Journalism
no ISSN available
Reynolds Journalism Institute, University of Missouri School of Journalism
1994, quarterly
http://rji.missouri.edu/global-journalist/index.php

News and features magazine that explores the "state of press freedom around the world, covers developments in international journalism and serves international journalists."

Global Media and Communication
ISSN: 1742-7665

Sage
2005, three times a year
http://www.sagepub.com/journalsProdDesc.nav?prodId=Journal201699

Covers "the international aspects of: communication studies, media studies, cultural studies, anthropology, telecommunications, sociology, politics, public policy, migration and diasporic studies, economics, geography/urban studies, transnational security and international relations."

Comm/Ent: Hastings Communications and Entertainment Law Journal
ISSN: 1061-6578
Hastings College of Law (San Francisco)
1990, three times a year
http://w3.uchastings.edu/comment/index.html

"Law journal covering the rubric of communications, entertainment, and intellectual property law. *Comm/Ent*'s subject matter has expanded to include issues such as the Internet, telecommunications, biotechnology, multimedia, broadcasting, and constitutional law."

Historical Journal of Film, Radio, and Television
ISSN: 0143-9685
Taylor & Francis
1981, quarterly
http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/journal.asp?issn=0143-9685&subcategory=AH300000

"An interdisciplinary journal concerned with the evidence produced by the mass media for historians and social scientists, and with the impact of mass communications on the political and social history of the twentieth century."

Howard Journal of Communications
ISSN: 1064-6175
Taylor & Francis (for Howard University)
1988, quarterly
http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/journal.asp?issn=1064-6175&subcategory=AH150000

"Culture, ethnicity, and gender influence multicultural organizations, mass media portrayals, interpersonal interaction, development campaigns, and rhetoric. Dealing with these issues, *The Howard Journal of Communications* is a quarterly that examines ethnicity, gender, and culture as domestic and international communication concerns."

Index on Censorship
ISSN: 0306-4220
Taylor & Francis (for Writers & Scholars International)
1972, quarterly
http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/titles/03064220.asp

"The only magazine devoted to protecting and promoting free expression. International in outlook, outspoken in comment, publishing some of the world's finest writers, *Index* exposes stories that are suppressed, publishes banned writing, initiates debate and gives breadth to news that has often been dumbed down in the world's media. In addition, every issue of *Index* since its inception has included a 30-page, country by country index recording violations of free speech."

International Communication Gazette
ISSN: 1748-0485
Sage
1955 (as *Gazette*), quarterly; later bimonthly
http://www.sagepub.com/journalsProdDesc.nav?prodId=Journal200826

"Covers all aspects of communications including the modern mass media, the traditional media, community and alternative media, telecommunications and information and communication technologies."

International Journal of Media Management
ISSN 1214-1277
Taylor & Francis (for Institute for Media and Communications Management)
1998, quarterly
http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/journal.asp?issn=1424-1277&subcategory=AH150000

"Provides a global examination of the fields of media and telecommunications management, with a strong emphasis on management issues. The goal of the journal is to osffer a close analysis of new industry structures, organizational forms, and critical competencies in the changing media environment."

International Journal of Press/Politics
ISSN: 1081-180X
Sage
1995 (as *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*), quarterly
http://www.sagepub.com/journalsProdDesc.nav?prodId=Journal201283
"Interdisciplinary journal for the analysis and discussion of the role of the press and politics in a globalized world. The Journal publishes theoretical and empirical research which analyzes the linkages between the news media and political processes and actors."

International Journal of Public Opinion Research
ISSN: 0954-2892
Oxford University Press (for World Association for Public Opinion Research)
1988, quarterly
http://ijpor.oxfordjournals.org/?code=intpor&.cgifields=code
Offers "informed analysis and comment for both professionals and academics…the journal is the first truly comparative, multidisciplinary forum serving the international community."

Journal of Advertising
ISSN: 0091-3367
M. E. Sharpe
1972, quarterly
http://www.mesharpe.com/mall/results1.asp?acr=joa
Designed "to provide a public forum where ideas about advertising can be expressed. Research dealing with the economic, political, social, and environmental aspects of advertising, and methodological advances in advertising research."

Journal of Advertising Research
ISSN: 0021-8499
World Advertising Research Association (for the Advertising Research Foundation)
1960, quarterly
http://www.jar.warc.com
Intended as "the R&D vehicle for professionals in all areas of marketing including media, research, advertising and communications."

Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media
ISSN: 0883-8151
Taylor & Francis (for Broadcast Education Association)
1956 (as *Journal of Broadcasting*), quarterly
http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/journal.asp?issn=0883-8151&subcategory=AH150000
"Contains timely articles about new developments, trends, and research in electronic media written by academicians, researchers, and other electronic media professionals. The Journal invites submissions of original research that examine a broad range of issues concerning the electronic media, including the historical, technological, economic, legal, policy, cultural, social, and psychological dimensions."

Journal of Communication
ISSN: 0021-9916
Wiley-Blackwell (for International Communication Association)
1951, quarterly
http://www.blackwellpublishing.com/journal.asp?ref=0021-9916&site=1
"Concentrates on communication research, practice, policy, and theory"

Journal of Current Issues and Research in Advertising
ISSN: 1064-1734
CtC Press
1978 (as *Current Issues and Research in Advertising*), semiannual
[apparently no statement of content, nor any online presence]

Journal of Mass Media Ethics
ISSN: 0890-0523
Taylor & Francis
1986, quarterly
http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/titles/08900523.asp
"Publishes original essays exploring the philosophical bases of decisions, reports from empirical studies, and literature searches and reviews dealing with mass media content and the behavior of practitioners in journalism, broadcasting, public relations, advertising, and other mass communication disciplines."

Journal of Media and Religion
ISSN 1534-8423
Taylor & Francis
2001, quarterly

http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/titles/15348423.asp

"Discuss[es] implications of the relationship between religion and mass media, generate[s] theory about the nature and behavior of religious audiences, explore[s] the social and cultural impact of religious involvement in public discourse about media"

Journal of Media Economics
ISSN: 0899-7764
Taylor & Francis
1988, quarterly
http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/titles/08997764.asp

"Publishes original research on the economics and policy of mediated communication, focusing on firms, markets, and institutions. Reflecting the increasing diversity of analytical approaches employed in economics and recognizing that policies promoting social and political objectives may have significant economic impacts on media, the Journal encourages submissions reflecting the insights of diverse disciplinary perspectives and research methodologies, both empirical and theoretical."

Journal of Radio & Audio Media
ISSN: 1937-6529
Taylor & Francis (for Broadcast Education Association)
1991 (as *Journal of Radio Studies* until 2008), annual then semiannual
http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/titles/19376529.asp

Publishes "interdisciplinary inquiries regarding radio's contemporary and historical subject matter as well as those audio media that have challenged radio's traditional use. Scholars are invited to submit articles pertaining to any area of radio and audio media. Areas of interest include, but are not limited to, formats and programming, new technology, policy and regulation, rating systems, commercial and noncommercial networks, radio history, management and innovation, personalities, popular cultures, uses and effects studies, propaganda, social movements, advertising and sales, market concentration, Internet and satellite radio, podcasting, alternative formats, diversity, gender and international radio."

Journalism
ISSN: 1464-8849
Sage
2000, quarterly, became bimonthly in 2007
http://www.sagepub.com/journalsProdDesc.nav?prodId=Journal200905

"Publishes both theoretical and empirical work and contributes to the social, economic, political, cultural and practical understanding of journalism. It includes contributions on current developments and historical changes within journalism."

Journalism & Mass Communication Abstracts
no ISSN
Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication
1963 (as *Journalism Abstracts)*, annual (printed through 1999 [vol. 37]; now available only online)
http://www.aejmc.org/abstracts

Provides brief summaries of MA, MS, and PhD theses in journalism and mass communication subjects.

Journalism & Mass Communication Educator
ISSN: 1077-6958
Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication
1944 (as *Journalism Educator*), quarterly
http://www.aejmc.org/_scholarship/_publications/_journals/_jmce/educator.php

"Addresses itself to the professional needs of the journalism and mass communication educator and administrator on both secondary and collegiate levels. Articles on teaching techniques, new courses and technology help promote excellence in the classroom. Statistical information on student enrollments and career interests, trends in curriculum design, surveys and opinion polls are featured."

Journalism & Mass Communication Monographs
ISSN: 1522-6379
Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication
1966 (as *Journalism Monographs*), irregular, then quarterly
http://www.aejmc.org/_scholarship/_publications/_journals/_jcm/monographs.php

"Presents in-depth research on specific topics within journalism and mass communication. The mission of the journal is to provide a venue for scholarly works, particularly those that provide a critical or applied synthesis of significant scholarship."

Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly
ISSN: 1077-6990
Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication
1924 (as *Journalism Quarterly)*, quarterly
http://www.aejmc.org/_scholarship/_publications/_journals/_jmcq/quarterly.php
"Focuses on research in journalism and mass communication. Each issue features reports of original investigation, presenting the latest developments in theory and methodology of communication, international communication, journalism history, and social and legal problems."

Journalism History
ISSN: 0094-7679
Ohio University School of Journalism
1974, quarterly
http://www.scripps.ohiou.edu/jh/jh.htm
"Seeks articles on topics related to the full scope of mass communication history. They may discuss individuals, institutions, or events"

Journalism Practice
ISSN: 1751-2786
Taylor & Francis
2007, three per year
http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/titles/17512786.asp
"Devoted to: the study and analysis of significant issues arising from journalism as a field of professional practice; relevant developments in journalism training and education, as well as the construction of a reflective curriculum for journalism; analysis of journalism practice across the distinctive but converging media platforms of magazines, newspapers, online, radio and television; and the provision of a public space for practice-led, scholarly contributions from journalists as well as academics."

Journalism Studies
ISSN: 1461-670X
Taylor & Francis
2000, bimonthly
http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/titles/1461670X.asp
"Provides a forum for the critical discussion and study of journalism as both a subject of academic inquiry and an arena of professional practice. The Journal's editorial board and contributors reflect the intellectual interests of a global community of academics and practitioners concerned with addressing and analysing all aspects of journalism scholarship, journalism practice and journalism education."

Mass Communication & Society
ISSN: 1520-5436
Taylor & Francis (for Association for Education in Journalism & Mass Communications)
1973 (as *Mass Comm Review*), quarterly
http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/titles/15205436.asp
"Publish[es] articles from a wide variety of perspectives and approaches that advance mass communication theory, especially at the societal or macrosocial level. It draws heavily from many other disciplines, including sociology, psychology, anthropology, philosophy, law, and history. Methodologically, journal articles employ qualitative and quantitative methods, survey research, ethnography, laboratory experiments, historical methods, and legal analysis."

Media, Culture & Society
ISSN: 0163-4437
Sage
1979, bimonthly
http://www.sagepub.com/journalsProdDesc.nav?prodId=Journal200958
"Forum for the presentation of research and discussion concerning the media, including the newer information and communication technologies, within their political, economic, cultural and historical contexts."

Media Ethics
ISSN: none
Media Ethics
1993, semiannual (was *Media Ethics Update* through 1992)
http://www.mediaethicsmagazine.com

"To provide a forum for opinion and research articles on media ethics."

Media History
ISSN: 1368-8804
Taylor & Francis
1998, three a year
http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/titles/13688804.asp
"Interdisciplinary journal which welcomes contributions addressing media and society from the fifteenth century to the present. Its perspective is both historical and international. It will explore all forms of serial publication in manuscript, print and electronic media and will encourage work which crosses the boundaries of politics, culture and communications."

Media Psychology
ISSN: 1521-3269
Taylor & Francis
1999, quarterly
http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/titles/15213269.asp
"An interdisciplinary journal devoted to publishing theoretically-oriented empirical research that is at the intersection of psychology and media communication. These topics include media uses, processes, and effects."

Media, War and Conflict
ISSN 1748-0493
Sage
2008, three per year
http://www.sagepub.com/journalsProdDesc.nav?prodId=Journal201796
"Maps the shifting arena of war, conflict and terrorism in an intensively and extensively mediated age. It will explore cultural, political and technological transformations in media-military relations, journalistic practices, and new media, and their impact on policy, publics, and outcomes of warfare."

New Media & Society
ISSN: 1461-4448
Sage
1999, bimonthly
http://www.sagepub.com/journalsProdDesc.nav?prodId=Journal200834
"Engages in critical discussions of the key issues arising from the scale and speed of new media development, drawing on a wide range of disciplinary perspectives and on both theoretical and empirical research."

Newspaper Research Journal
ISSN: 0739-5329
University of Memphis (for the Newspaper Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication)
1979, quarterly
http://www.newspaperresearchjournal.org
"Answers questions about U.S. newspaper performance and related topics of interest. Significant themes of research range from balance and fairness to the use of computer analysis in newspaper reporting."

Political Communication
ISSN: 1058-4609
Taylor & Francis
1992, quarterly
http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/titles/10584609.asp
"Features cutting-edge research at the intersection of politics and communication, broadly conceived. Its expansive subject is the site of rapid changes and pressing policy concerns worldwide. The journal welcomes all research methods and analytical viewpoints that advance understanding of the practices, processes, and policy implications of political communication in all its forms."

Public Opinion Quarterly
ISSN: 0033-362X
Oxford University Press
1937, quarterly
http://poq.oxfordjournals.org/?code=poq&.cgifields=code
"Publishes important theoretical contributions to opinion and communication research, analyses of current public opinion, and investigations of methodological issues involved in survey validity—including questionnaire construction, interviewing and interviewers, sampling strategy, and mode of administration."

Television and New Media
ISSN: 1527-4764
Sage

2000, quarterly
http://www.sagepub.com/journalsProdDesc.nav?prodId=Journal200756

"Addresses questions of how issues of economics and power are enacted in television. The journal focuses on textual analysis, political economy, cultural history, policy advocacy, audience ethnography, and economic and power issues that have an impact on the media."

Television Quarterly
ISSN: 0040-2796
National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences
1962, quarterly
http://www.tvquarterly.com/tvq_38_3_4/index.html

Includes informal papers by practitioners as well as more academic work, plus reviews.

Section 12

A Library User's Guide for Journalism and Mass Communication Subjects

This brief guide is designed to help users in library shelf searches on most aspects of journalism and mass communications. Almost any library of significance has an online guide or other materials on how to best utilize that particular library—and this section is intended to supplement such published material.

Although there are many schemes for organizing libraries, this guide covers the two most common systems used in academic and public collections. Indeed, many libraries use both as they decided some years ago to switch from the Dewey to Library of Congress (LC) system, but lacked funds and manpower to totally reclassify existing collections (indeed, this guide had its inception in difficulties arising from use of just such a library). The two systems detailed here are:

DEWEY DECIMAL (Dewey): Compiled by Melvil Dewey as the earliest of "modern" systems of library organization, the system first appeared in 1876 and has gone through more than 20 revised editions since. It consists of 10 classes each covering one large sector of knowledge. Most relevant to this book are 00–99 (general works), 300s (social science), 600s (technology), 700s (the arts), and 900s (history). It is still considered one of the best means of organizing a small-to-medium-sized library because it can expand with the collection, although it lacks the flexibility for a truly large collection. Citations in the Dewey system consist of numbers, often carried to two or three decimal places as human knowledge has expanded and become more complex.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS: As the largest library in the country and one of the biggest in the world, the Library of Congress needed a completely expandable classification scheme and so several people over many decades devised the letter-number scheme now in use. It is a complicated and detailed system, and one constantly under revision. Citations in the LC scheme always begin with one or two letters and then numbers (often up to four digits or more).

Most government documents are filed by a classification scheme established by the issuing agency (state, U.S. government, League of Nations, United Nations) and are ordered by agency rather than subject. Each library handles documents differently; some file them separately, others intermix them in the stacks using the overall library classification scheme. The same holds true for periodicals—some libraries file them all in a single place by title; others arrange them throughout the library by subject. Most libraries maintain reference collections, a cross-section of the full collection filed on a non-circulating basis, and the only copy of a mass communications reference may be there.

This guide is based on the published detailed descriptions of both Dewey and LC (the latter supplements amounting to over 50 volumes) rather than on books in any specific library because each collection takes a certain amount of liberty in using the schemes. Be warned: Misclassification in journalism and mass communications topics is all too common, so be sure to check related categories.

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*Reprinted with minor revisions from Christopher H. Sterling, James K. Bracken, and Susan M. Hill, *Mass Communication Research Resources: An Annotated Guide.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1998, pp. 183–188.

Using This Guide

In an attempt to be more useful, this guide incorporates a subject division that tends to over-compartmentalize what is increasingly an integrated whole. Cable and newer media usually appear within sections labeled broadcasting (or television) on these lists.

1. General Reference–Bibliographies
2. History
3. Technology
4. Industry and Economics
5. Content
6. Research and Audiences
7. Policy and Regulation
8. International

The listing appears in two columns, with classification for the Dewey System on the left, and the newer and usually more complex LC system on the right. Following each classification is a brief notation very roughly explaining what will be found there. General references come first, followed by print and then electronic media. As much as possible, given the vagaries of both systems, similar material appears in both columns on the same line. Please understand, however, that this brief summary is suggestive rather than exhaustive.

1. General Reference–Bibliographies

LC is more complicated than Dewey in that the former has many classifications whereas the latter crowds all bibliographies under a single main number.

Dewey	LC
016.001 5 (communications) 016.659 (same, all aspects)	Z 5630 (communications)
016.301 (advertising)	Z 7164.C81 (advertising)
016.070-79 (periodicals)	Z 6940-72 (journalism)
016.384 (broadcasting business)	Z 771 1 (television in general)
016.632 (technical aspects)	Z 6455.R2 (broadcast law)
016.371-74 (broadcasting in education)	Z 5814 (broadcasting in education)

2. History

Historical references are both technical and general, and are thus often found in two places under either classification scheme.

Dewey	LC
655.1 (printing history)	Z 4-8 (printing history)
070.1 (periodicals in general)	PN 48014829 (periodicals in general)
070.9 (specific histories)	PN 4832 (magazines)

	PN 4855-4900 (American periodicals)
384.5 (radio business history)	TK 5711-5739 (wireless telegraphy history)
621.384 (radio technical history)	TK 6545-6548 (radio technical history)
	HE 8660-8678 (wireless industry history)
	HE 8690-8698 (radio broadcasting history)
	PN 1991.2 (radio programs)
384.55 (television business history)	TK 6600-6635 (television technical history)
621.388 (television technical history)	HE 8690-8698 (television broadcasting history)
	PN 1992.2 (television programs)
	D 619.3 (propaganda in WWI)
940.488 (propaganda in WWI)	D 639.P6-7 (public opinion and propaganda)
	D 753.3 (propaganda in WWII)
940.548 (propaganda in WWII)	D 910.6-7 (same)

3. Technology

Although this overlaps somewhat with history, the intent here is to stress current state of the art. Check here and under history for full coverage.

Dewey	LC
655.2-3 (methods of printing)	Z 124-242 (printing)
655.7 (specific types, methods)	Z 250-276 (all aspects of printing)
534 (sound)	QC 221-146 (sound)
535 (optics)	QC 350495 (optics)
384.5-384.54 (radio)	TK 5700-5865 (wireless telegraphy)
621.384 (radio technology)	TK 6540-6575 (radio technology)
690.523, 725.23 (antenna towers)	
384.55 (general television)	TK 6600-6653 (television technology)
621.388 (television technology)	TR 882 (television cameras)

4. Industry and Economics

Included are management, finance, advertising, industry organization, operations, personnel, and related topics.

Dewey	LC
659.1 (advertising)	HF 5801-5866 (advertising)
	HF6178-81 (advertising agencies)
070.2-3 (periodicals)	HF 5871-6141(newspapers and magazines)
	PN 4709-28 (periodical reference)
	PN 4826-99 (American periodicals)
384.5 (radio industry)	HD 9999.R15 (radio industry)
	HE 8688-98 (radio broadcasting)
659.14 (radio advertising)	HF 6146.R3 (radio advertising)
384.55 (television industry)	HD 999.T37 (television industry)
	HE 8690-98 (television broadcasting)
659.143 (television advertising)	HE 6146.T42 (television advertising)

5. Content

Most aspects of journalism and mass communication content are included here.

Dewey	LC
070.4 (periodical content)	PN 47094731, 4751-477 1 (general and reference sources for periodicals) PN 48254853 (same) PN 48774899 (specific titles in U.S. by area)
371.805 (school newspapers)	LH 1-3 (school and college papers and magazines) LB 1044.N4 (newspapers as teaching aids)
374.26 (radio in adult education)	LB 1044.5 (radio in education) LC 6751-6779 (extension courses, instruction by radio)
070.46 (broadcast journalism)	PN 4784 (broadcast journalism)
254.3 (broadcast religion)	BV 656.3 (broadcast religion)
789.91 (recordings content)	ML 155.5-157 (recordings content)
371.335 8 (television in education)	LB 1044.7 (television in education)
374.27 (television in adult education)	LC 6751-6779 (extension courses, television instruction)

6. Research and Audiences

Includes information about audiences and the influences of media on audiences (and vice versa).

Dewey	LC
001.5 (general and theoretical works communications)	P 85-92 (general works on human on communication) HM 251-299 (social psychology in general)
301.183 (social psychology of audiences) 301.343 (cultural effects of media)	
070.1 (periodical audiences, impact) 070.33 (circulation studies)	PN 4756-71 (relationship of periodicals to society)
384.5 (broadcasting audiences)	HE 8694,8697.A6 (radio audiences)
791.4445 (roles of broadcasting)	PN 1991.6 (radio's influence) HQ 784 (broadcasting and children) PN 1992.6 (television's influence)

7. Law, Policy, and Regulation

Includes all aspects of law, regulation, policy, and industry responsibility. Many of the classifications listed below are most likely found in law libraries.

Dewey	LC
323.4 (freedom of speech)	HE 8697.L5 (freedom of the press)
016, 243, 277, 364 (press law and defamation)	KF 4774-4775 (press law)
177.3 (press law)	KF 2760 (press law)

	PN 47314751 (press regulation and control)
340 & 655.6 (copyright)	Z 55 1-656 (copyright)
338.8 and 658.04 (monopoly and antitrust)	KF 1631-1663 (monopoly and antitrust)
070.11 (press ethics)	KF 5386 (business ethics)
659.1934 (advertising law)	HF 5817-19.5833 (general advertising law)
384 (general electronic media law)	KF 2761-64 (general electronic media law)
	KF 2765 (FRC and FCC)
	KF 2801-28 (radio broadcasting law)
	KF 284049 (television law)
	TK 215-255 (electronic media legislation)

8. Foreign and International

References concern foreign (domestic service within a single country) and international (services reaching across the borders of more than one country) media communications.

Dewey	LC
072-079 (periodicals by country)	PN 4701-05 (foreign periodicals)
	PN 4714, 4736 (world news agencies)
	PN 4748 (press law, by country)
	PN 4793 (foreign media training and research)
	PN 4830 (general foreign journalism)
	PN 4900-5639 (media by country)
384.5 (radio by country)	HE 8665 (wireless in specific countries)
	HE 8668-70 (international radio law)
	HE 8692-93, 8699 (broadcasting abroad)
	PN 1991.3 (foreign radio)
384.55 (television by country)	PN 1992.3 (foreign television)
301 .I52 3 (propaganda, general)	HM 263 (propaganda, general)
327.14 (propaganda and international relations)	JF 1525.P8 (government publicity and propaganda)
	JK 468.R3 (government use of radio)
	KF 2765.2 (wartime propaganda controls)
016.301 (propaganda bibliographies)	Z 7204.S67 (propaganda bibliographies)

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Walter Bagehot *(The Economist),* **3:**1008
Wolcott Gibbs *(Time),* **3:**1007
Briton Hadden *(Time),* **3:**1007
Louis Harris *(Newsweek),* **3:**1101
David Lawrence *(U S. News & World Report),* **3:**1008
Henry R. Luce *(Time, Life, Fortune, Sports Illustrated),* **3:**1007, **3:**1018, **3:**1069, **3:**1165, **4:**1191, **4:**1393
Thomas J. C. Martyn *(Newsweek),* **3:**1007
Goenawan Mohamad *(Tiempo),* **3:**1010
Malcolm Muir *(Newsweek),* **3:**1007
Jean-Jackques Servan-Schreiber *(L'Express),* **3:**1009–1010
James Wilson *(The Economist),* **3:**1008
Mortimer B. Zuckerman *(U.S. News & World Report),* **3:**1008

Newsweekly magazines: popular titles
Atlantic Monthly, **1:**178, **1:**378, **2:**479, **2:**594, **2:**704, **4:**1262
Collier's, **2:**606, **3:**1017, **4:**1262
Der Spiegel (Germany), **3:**1009
The Economist (London), **3:**1008
Fortune, **1:**226, **1:**227, **1:**229, **1:**230, **1:**232, **1:**378, **2:**483, **3:**993, **3:**1007, **3:**1060
Good Housekeeping, **2:**691, **3:**1104
L'Express (France), **3:**1009–1010
Liberty, **2:**606
Life, **1:**201, **2:**437, **2:**483, **2:**530, **2:**606, **2:**710, **3:**1007, **3:**1052, **3:**1060, **4:**1435
Look, **2:**530, **2:**606
Maclean's (Canada), **3:**1008–1009
Newsweek, **1:**125, **1:**319, **2:**437, **2:**480, **2:**661, **2:**710, **2:**778, **2:**779, **3:**956, **3:**1007–1008, **3:**1018, **3:**1101
The New Yorker, **1:**377, **1:**378, **1:**379, **2:**478, **2:**481, **2:**594, **3:**856, **3:**1005, **3:**1006, **4:**1183
Saturday Evening Post, **2:**468, **2:**469, **2:**478, **2:**606, **2:**608, **4:**1262
Saturday Review, **2:**530
Tempo (Indonesia), **3:**1010
Time, **1:**282, **1:**378, **2:**437, **2:**483, **2:**530, **2:**707, **2:**710, **2:**778, **2:**779, **2:**799, **3:**956, **3:**993, **3:**1006–1007, **3:**1018
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James Gordon Bennett, *New York Herald,* **1:**45, **1:**226, **2:**426, **2:**478, **2:**479, **2:**480, **2:**604, **2:**698–699, **2:**719–720, **2:**729, **2:**762, **3:**851, **3:**1016, **4:**1191–1192, **4:**1192 (cartoon), **4:**1280, **4:**1361
William Bradford, first printing press, **3:**1015
Dorothy Day, *Catholic Worker* pacifist publication, **3:**1018
Eugene Debbs, *New York Call,* **3:**1017
Elizabeth Brener Drew, *New Yorker* "Letter from Washington," **3:**1088
Max Eastman, *The Masses* socialist magazine, **3:**1018
Emma Golman, *Mother Earth,* **3:**1018
Horace Greeley, *New York Tribune,* **3:**1016, **3:**1016 (photo)
Briton Hadden, *Time* magazine, **3:**1018
Alexander Hamilton, *New-York Evening Post,* **3:**1017
John Holt, *New York Journal,* **3:**1015
Henry R. Luce, *Time, Life, Fortune,* and *Sports Illustrated,* **3:**1007, **3:**1018, **3:**1069, **3:**1165, **4:**1191, **4:**1393
Thomas Martyn, *Newsweek* magazine, **3:**1018
Peter Maurin, *Catholic Worker* pacifist publication, **3:**1018
John Rivington, *Royal Gazette,* **3:**1015
Margaret Sanger, *New York Call,* **3:**1017
Dorothy Schiff, *New York Post,* **3:**1017
Ted Thackery, *New York Post,* **3:**1017
Noah Webster, *Minerva,* **3:**1015
John Peter Zenger, *New-York Weekly Journal,* **2:**586, **3:**1015
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Boston Eagle, **2:**708
Brooklyn Eagle, **1:**328
Catholic Worker pacifist publication, **3:**1018
Collier's magazine, **3:**1017
Cosmopolitan, **3:**1018
Courier & Enquirer, **1:**118
Diario Cubano, **3:**1017
East Village Other underground publication, **3:**1018
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Free Enquirer labor publication, **3:**826
Gazette of the United States, **3:**1015
Glamour, **3:**864, **3:**1018, **3:**1167
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Journal of Commerce, **1:**118
Lady's Home Journal, **3:**1018
La Prensa then *El Diarió La Prensa,* **4:**1179
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The Masses socialist magazine, **3:**1018
McClure's Magazine, **3:**1017
Minerva, **3:**1015
Morning Herald, **1:**311
Mother Earth magazine, **3:**1018
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The Nation, **3:**1018
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News Week magazine, **3:**1018
New York Age, **1:**317–318
New York Amsterdam News, **2:**708
New York Call socialist newspaper, **3:**827, **3:**1017
New York Commercial Advertiser, **1:**175
New York Courier, **2:**480
New York Daily Graphic, **4:**1453
New York *Daily News,* **1:**319, **1:**321, **2:**688, **2:**802, **3:**1017, **3:**1165–1166, **4:**1282
New York Daily World, **1:**220
New York Enquirer, **2:**480
The New Yorker magazine, **1:**377, **1:**378, **1:**379, **2:**478, **2:**481, **2:**594, **3:**856, **3:**1005, **4:**1183
New York Evening Mail, **1:**257
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New York Independent Journal, **3:**1015
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Lowell Bergman, investigative reporter, **2:**799
Homer Bigart, foreign correspondent, **2:**607, **4:**1437, **4:**1444, **4:**1447
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David Burham, investigative reporter, **2:**800
John Burns, Pulitzer Prize, **2:**609
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Craig Claiborne, food editor, **2:**594–595
Sara Jane Clarke, first female reporter, **3:**1021
Elmer Davis, reporter, **1:**328
Richard Harding Davis, war correspondent, **2:**605, **3:**899, **4:**1443–1444
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Thomas Friedman, *The New York Times,* Pulitzer Prize, **1:**319, **2:**609
Christopher Hedges, war reporter, **4:**1442
Seymour Hersh, investigative reporter, **2:**793, **2:**794–795, **2:**800–801
Gwen Ifill, political reporter, **3:**1088, **4:**1466
George Jones, co-founder, **3:**1020
William L. Laurence, science writer, **4:**1262, **4:**1264, **4:**1438
John Leonard, literary critic, **1:**377–378
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Henry J. Raymond, co-founder and editor, **2:**481, **2:**485, **2:**699, **2:**702, **3:**1020
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James "Scotty" Reston, political columnist, **3:**1001
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William Safire, op-ed columnist, **3:**1034
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June Almquist, *Seattle Times* women's editor, **3:**853
Christiane Amanpour, CNN foreign correspondent, Gulf War, **2:**601, **2:**755–756, **4:**1215, **4:**1385, **4:**1443, **4:**1447, **4:**1465
Mary Clemmer Ames, columnist, **1:**317
Judith Anderson, *San Francisco Chronicle* Myhe Award for Excellence in Reporting, **3:**853
Susan B. Anthony, *The Revolution* newspaper, **4:**1462
Diane Arbus, photojournalist, **3:**1063
Lucile H. Bluford, *The Kansas City Call* publisher, **3:**822
Nelly Bly, New York *World,* around the world journey, **2:**703, **2:**703 (photo), **3:**1016, **4:**1205, **4:**1281, **4:**1462, **4:**1463–1464
Margaret Bourke-White, *Life* photojournalist, **2:**710, **3:**1064, **4:**1464
Emily Briggs "Olivia," columnist, **1:**317
Helen Gurley Brown, *Cosmopolitan* editor, **2:**482
Carol Buzy, photojournalist, **3:**1065
Angela Carter, British literary journalism, **1:**198, **1:**199
Dickey Chapelle, *National Geographic* World War II, Korean and Vietnam War reporter, **4:**1438
Connie Chung, CBS News, **1:**84–85, **1:**114, **1:**263, **4:**1463
Sara Jane Clarke, *The New York Times* first female reporter, **3:**1021
Katie Couric, CBS News, **1:**84, **1:**85, **1:**263, **2:**600, **4:**1366, **4:**1463, **4:**1465
Ana Marie Cox, *Wonkette* website, **4:**1202
Christine Craft, woman's advocate, **4:**1463
Jane Cunningham Croly "Jennie June," columnist, **1:**317
Dorothy Day, *Catholic Worker* pacifist publication, **3:**1018
Nancy Dickerson, CBS, NBC, and Fox journalist, **4:**1215
Colleen Dishon, *Chicago Tribune* women's section, **3:**853
Kimberley Dozier, CBS correspondent, **4:**1366
Elizabeth Brener Drew, *New Yorker* "Letter from Washington," **3:**1088
Mary Baker Eddy, *Christian Science Monitor,* first woman founder of major daily, **1:**176
Donna Ferrato, photojournalist, **3:**1065
Pauline Frederick, NBC first woman fulltime network reporter, **4:**1216, **4:**1465
Margaret Fuller, first female news correspondent, **2:**699, **4:**1461
Carolina Garcia, *Los Angeles Daily News* Pulitzer Prize, **4:**1181
Anne Garrels, ABC, NBC, NPR foreign correspondent, **4:**1211, **4:**1465–1466
Elizabeth Meriwether Gilmer ("Dorothy Dix"), women's edition, **2:**571, **3:**851
Mary Katherine Goddard, *Maryland Journal,* **4:**1461
Emma Golman, *Mother Earth* magazine, **3:**1018
Katharine Graham, *The Washington Post* women's advocate, **3:**852, **3:**1163, **4:**1464
Terry Gross, *Fresh Air* NPR weekly magazine program, **2:**783, **3:**929, **3:**977–978, **3:**1151
Carol Guzy, international photojournalist, **3:**1065
Sarah Josepha Hale, magazine editor, **2:**479
Fran Harris, female radio newsreader, **2:**710
Marguerite Higgins, foreign war correspondent, **2:**607, **4:**1444, **4:**1463, **4:**1464
Gwen Ifill, *Washington Week* and *The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer* (PBS), **3:**1088, **4:**1466
Laura Ingraham, conservative talk show host, **4:**1373
Sallie Joy "Penlope Penfeather" columnist, **1:**317
Dorothy Jurney, *Miami Herald* women's advocacy, **3:**853
Louis Knapp, *Ladies Home Journal,* **4:**1469
Dorothea Lange, photojournalist, **3:**1066
Catherine Leroy, war photojournalism, **3:**1062
Monica Loranzo, Impremedia Spanish-language newspaper chain, **3:**834
Claire Boothe Luce, *Life* war correspondent, **4:**1464
Barbara Mandell, first woman newscaster in British television, **1:**191
Mary Margaret McBride, radio interviewer, **2:**783–784
Anne O'Hare McCormick, *The New York Times* Pulitzer Prize foreign correspondence, **3:**1021, **4:**1462
Susan Meiselas, photojournalist, **3:**1066
Judith Miller, *The New York Times,* free press and national security issue, **1:**271, **4:**1206, **4:**1356, **4:**1440
Andrea Mitchell, NBC White House and congressional correspondent, **4:**1217
Jessica Mitford, investigative reporting, **2:**792, **2:**801
Maria Morgan, *The New York Times* city room, **3:**1021
Lisa Myers, NBC political reporter, **4:**1217
Sara Parton, columnist, **1:**317
Eleanor M. Patterson, *Washington Times-Herald,* **3:**1165–1166, **4:**1464
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Jane Pauley, NBC *Today* show, **1:**83, **1:**84, **3:**943, **4:**1386, **4:**1466
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Diane Rehm, radio interviewer, **2:**784
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Martha Rountree, *Meet the Press* (NBC), **3:**940, **3:**977
Margaret Sanger, *New York Call* socialist newspaper, **3:**1017
Maggie Savoy, *Arizona Republic* women's page editor, **3:**853
Diane Sawyer, *Good Morning America, Prime Time,* and *60 Minutes,* **1:**3, **4:**1385, **4:**1386, **4:**1466
Laura Schlessinger, family values talk show host, **4:**1373
Sigrid Schultz, World War II commentator, **2:**710, **3:**924, **4:**1462, **4:**1466

Carole Simpson, first African American woman anchor, **4:**1466
Helen Sioussat, Murrow replacement, **4:**1462, **4:**1466
Elizabeth Spiers, online and traditional journalist, **4:**1202
Folline Squire, magazine editor, **2:**479
Leslie R. Stahl (CBS), **1:**263, **2:**452, **3:**978, **3:**1089–1090
Susan Stamberg, *All Things Considered* co-host (NPR), **3:**928, **3:**929, **3:**962
Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *The Revolution* newspaper, **4:**1462
Gloria Steinem, women's advocacy, **3:**852, **3:**853, **4:**1464
Marjory Stoneman, *Miami Herald* environmental journalist, **3:**897
Anna Louise Strong, INS reporter, **2:**776
Ida Tarbell, *McClure's,* Standard Oil corruption, **1:**80, **1:**227, **1:**229, **2:**530, **2:**792, **3:**856, **3:**922–923, **3:**1165, **4:**165, **4:**1206–1207, **4:**1282, **4:**1462
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Dorothy Thompson, World War II foreign correspondent, **1:**318, **1:**329, **2:**606–607, **2:**710, **4:**1465
Nina Totenberg, legal reporter, **3:**928, **3:**1089, **4:**1467
Eva Valesh, *St. Paul Globe* progressive labor journalist, **3:**827
Greta Van Susteren, Fox News, **2:**617
Elizabeth Vargas, first Hispanic evening news anchor, **1:**87, **4:**1386
Linda Villarosa, *Essence,* **2:**663
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Cornelia Wells Walker, first woman editor *(Boston Transcript),* **1:**176
Barbara Walters, television interviewer, **2:**787, **4:**1463, **4:**1467
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Judy Woodruff, NBC, PBS *Front Line, MacNeil-Lehrer Report,* CNN *Inside Politics,* **4:**1219
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Harry Evans, *Family Circle* and *Woman's Day,* **4:**1469
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Louis Knapp, *Ladies Home Journal,* **4:**1469
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